

Planning Forum

Journal of the Department of Community and Regional Planning at
The University of Texas at Austin's School of Architecture

VOLUME 12: 2006



PLANNING FORUM

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PLANNING FORUM 2006

Planning Forum is an annual publication of the
Department of Community and Regional Planning at
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PLANNING FORUM

Journal of Community and Regional Planning

The University of Texas at Austin

School of Architecture

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It is the mission of Planning Forum to serve as a medium for the multi-disciplinary exchange of ideas related to the study of human communities and the interplay of social, political, and economic policy and action with built and natural environments. This nontradition, cross-disciplinary forum seeks participation and representation from students, faculty members, and field practitioners.

PLANNING FORUM

VOLUME 12 : 2006

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS..... 5

SPECIAL SECTION: HURRICANES KATRINA AND RITA

TAKING A LONGER VIEW: MAPPING FOR
SUSTAINABLE RESILIENCE..... 6

National Consortium to Map Gulf Coast Ecological Constraints

WET LAND-NEUTRAL GROUND: REBUILDING NEW ORLEANS..... 21

Jason Sowell, Nichole Wiedemann, et al.

LONG-TERM DISASTER RECOVERY IN THE WAKE OF
KATRINA AND RITA: POINT/COUNTERPOINT..... 31

Suzanne Russo, Emily Anderson, and Caitlin Uzzell

NEW ORLEANS: WHAT'S THE RUSH?..... 43

Cheryl Cioffari

ARTICLES

COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING IN AUSTIN, TEXAS:
ONE NEIGHBORHOOD AT A TIME..... 53

Sonya López

EXAMINING PROBLEMS WITH IMPLEMENTING
THE GERMAN ALLOTMENT GARDEN MODEL:
LEARNING FROM BUGO BARANGAY..... 81

Camille Tuason Mata

DIVERGING REPRESENTATIONS OF THE US-MEXICO BORDER:
THE CASE OF AMBOS NOGALES..... 103

Annemarie Strihan

BOOK REVIEWS..... 119

2005 PUBLICATIONS..... 131



As we perused articles for this year's issue of *Planning Forum*, it became evident that there was a significant gap in the subject matter. While the submissions we received treated important and timely planning matters (the three articles selected explore US-Mexico border issues, the importance of neighborhood planning in Austin, and community gardens as a sustainable food source in a Philippine town), none of them addressed what we consider to be the most important planning-related event of the year: the catastrophic hurricanes that swept our nation in August.

Because of the gravity and time-sensitivity of this subject, we felt that it was our duty to create a dedicated section that addresses various issues in planning that have arisen because of the hurricanes. To ignore the impact that Hurricanes Katrina and Rita had on the planning community, especially as students in the field, would be no less than irresponsible.

In this spirit, we have compiled various works on topics related to the Gulf Coast hurricanes: a special photo essay from Dean Frederick Steiner of the UT School of Architecture, a portfolio representing the work of a studio at the SoA, the annual Point/Counterpoint piece, and an editorial piece from a student in the School's Department of Community and Regional Planning. The addition of this special section is our contribution to continued learning in the planning field: our contributors have drawn lessons from the mistakes of the past year, in hopes that we can prevent such atrocities from happening in the future. We hope you enjoy the journal.

Rock on,

Kate and April

TAKING A LONGER VIEW:

Mapping for Sustainable Resilience

A Project of the National Consortium to Map Gulf Coast Ecological Constraints | APRIL 2006

A national consortium of planners, architects and scientists released this series of maps illustrating the continued vulnerability of the Gulf Coast to natural disasters, including tropical storms, sea rise, flooding and storm surges. The images raise questions about how and where rebuilding should take place, both in the aftermath of last year's devastating storms and of the cusp of a new hurricane season. The maps were originally released by the National Consortium to Map Gulf Coast Ecological Restraints as part of a conference held by Regional Plan Association, "Come What May: Planning in an Age of Disaster." The maps were prepared by consultants EDAW.

"It is our hope that planners and architects involved in the local rebuilding efforts use these maps in their decision-making," said Frederick (Fritz) Steiner, dean of the University of Texas at Austin School of Architecture. "This information is valuable to state and national policy makers, national foundation decision makers and local elected officials, business people and civic leaders, as well."

At a time when critical decisions are being made in the rebuilding effort, the maps were designed to help planners determine how to sustainably rebuild the Gulf Coast and encourage other regions to perform similar analyses to limit damage should disaster strike in the future.

"The Gulf Coast isn't the only region of the country that's vulnerable to natural disasters," said Robert D. Yaro, President of Regional Plan Association, a New York-based think tank on regional planning and development issues. "We hope that these maps will start a national discussion about how we protect our coastal areas and invest public funds in a sustainable way."

The National Consortium to Map Gulf Coast Ecological Constraints is a coalition of leading architects and landscape architects, urban planners, environmental and geographic scientists and other leading professionals in related fields. The group was convened by Regional Plan Association and the University of Texas at Austin in the aftermath of the Gulf Coast devastation. The maps were produced by national consulting firm EDAW. Reprinted with permission.

Co-chairs:

Regional ^{CT}^{NJ}^{NY} **Plan** Association

THE UNIVERSITY OF
TEXAS
AT AUSTIN


Maps and analysis:

EDAW

Millions of people in Louisiana and Mississippi were displaced by Hurricane Katrina and Hurricane Rita. As of December 20, 2005, FEMA had taken 2,530,657 registrations from victims. There is much debate on where, and how, rebuilding should take place. In some areas, safe drinking water may not be available for years to come. Should we rebuild in the same places, or do we need to rethink how and where we build along the Gulf Coast?

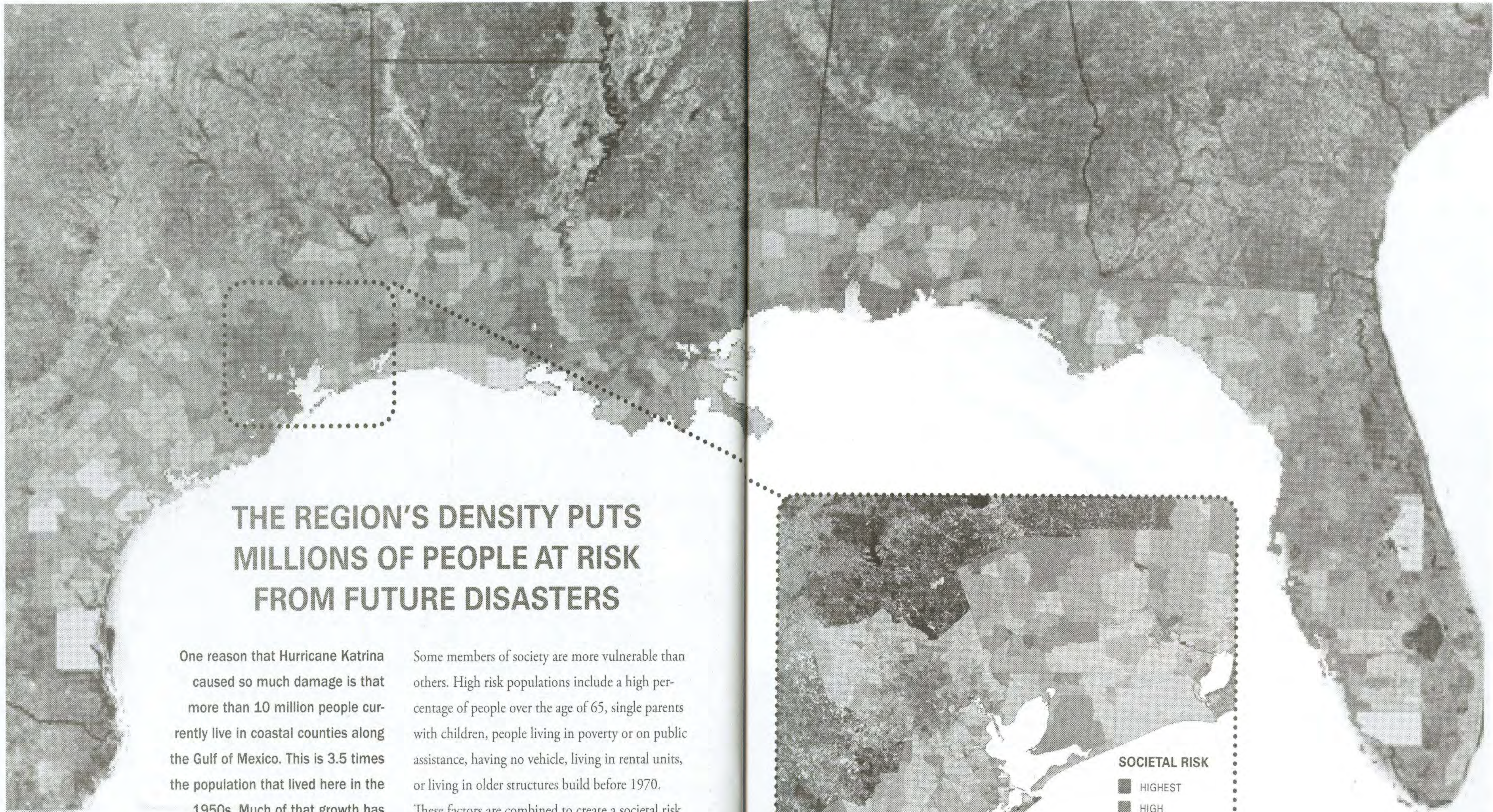
In the aftermath of the Gulf Coast devastation, Regional Plan Association partnered with the University of Texas at Austin to attempt to answer these and other questions. They convened the National Consortium to Map Gulf Coast Ecological

Constraints to advise this effort, comprised of leading architects and landscape architects, urban planners, environmental and geographic scientists and other leading professionals in related fields. The result was a series of maps, prepared by consultants EDAW, which graphically illustrate the continued vulnerability of the Gulf Coast to storms and sea level rise, including many areas that are slated to be rebuilt with billions in public funding. RPA and the University of Texas at Austin hope that the following maps and descriptions will help planners determine how to sustainably rebuild the Gulf Coast and encourage other regions to perform similar analyses so that damage can be limited should disaster strike in the future.



THE GULF COAST HAS A HISTORY OF NATURAL DISASTERS THAT IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE

A major hurricane has hit the Gulf Coast every year since 1994, and, in 2005, the area experienced 26 named storms and 14 hurricanes, 7 of them major. But this area has been historically hard hit. This map, showing all of the severe storms that hit the Gulf Coast from 1851 to 2000, helps illustrate the potential danger associated with living in the region. The map was generated using the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's (NOAA) Historical Hurricane Tracks tool, an interactive mapping application that allows you to search and display information about hurricanes in the Gulf Coast and along the eastern seaboard.



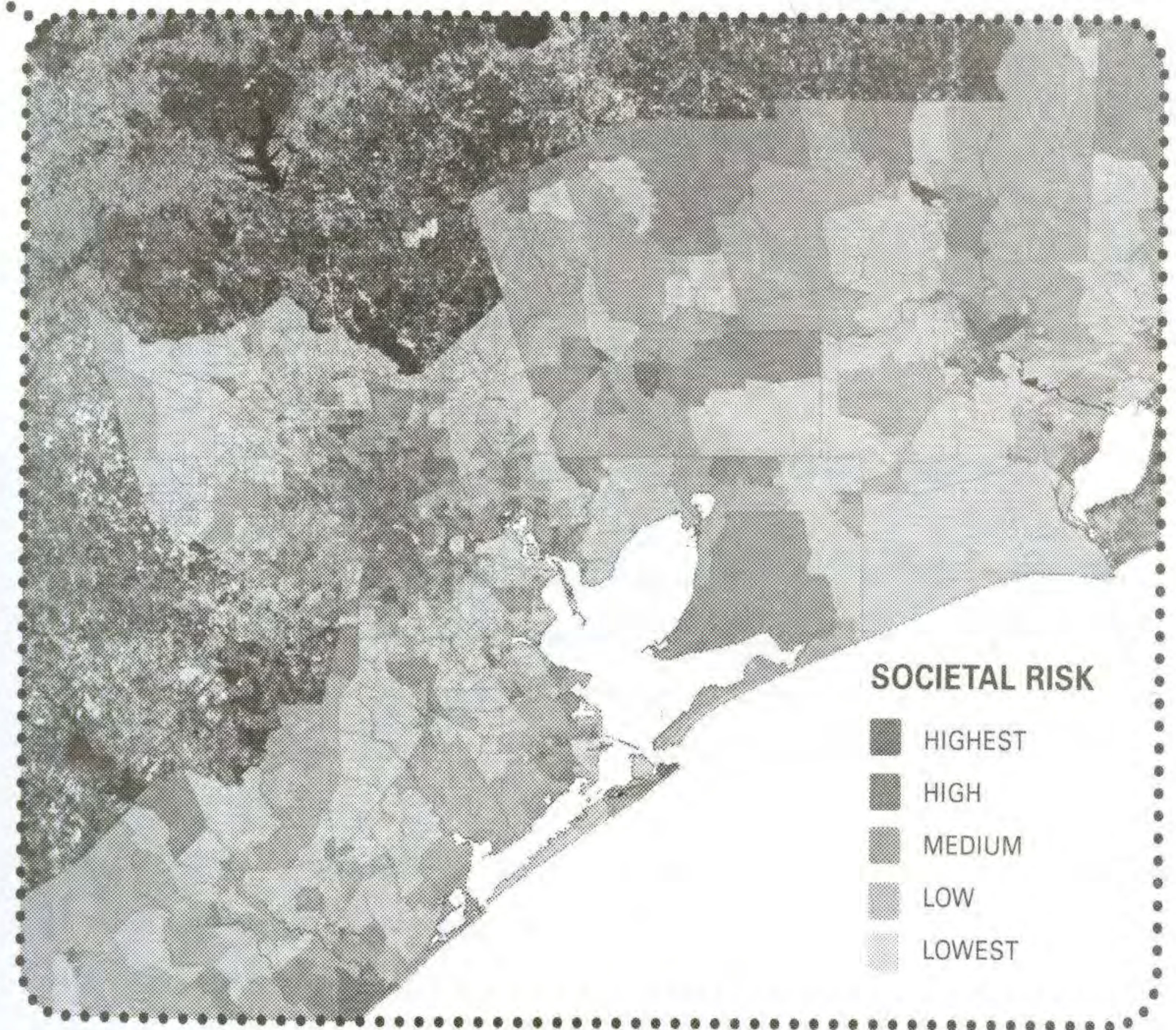
THE REGION'S DENSITY PUTS MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AT RISK FROM FUTURE DISASTERS

One reason that Hurricane Katrina caused so much damage is that more than 10 million people currently live in coastal counties along the Gulf of Mexico. This is 3.5 times the population that lived here in the 1950s. Much of that growth has occurred because of a lull in severe storms along the Gulf Coast over the last couple of decades.

Some members of society are more vulnerable than others. High risk populations include a high percentage of people over the age of 65, single parents with children, people living in poverty or on public assistance, having no vehicle, living in rental units, or living in older structures build before 1970. These factors are combined to create a societal risk map using data from the Coastal Risk Atlas (CRA). CRA is a project operated by the NOAA Coastal Data Development Center (NCDDC) in collaboration with the NOAA Coastal Services Center (CSC). The CRA can be used to identify high-risk demographic areas, as well as those that are vulnerable to storm surge, flooding, and high winds.

DENSITY LEVELS

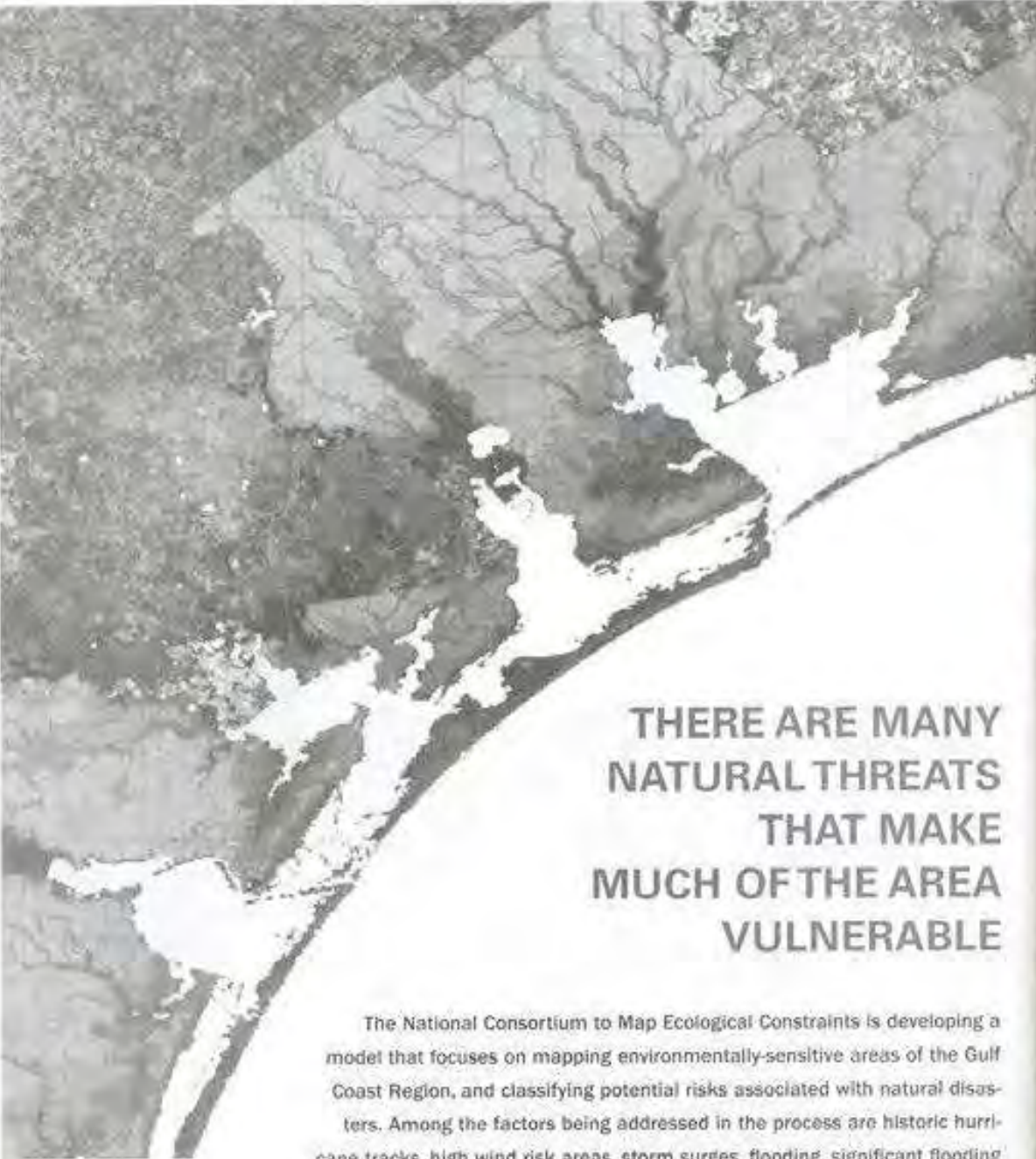
- HIGHEST
- HIGH
- MEDIUM
- LOW
- LOWEST



SOCIETAL RISK

- HIGHEST
- HIGH
- MEDIUM
- LOW
- LOWEST

CERTAIN SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION ARE AT GREATER RISK

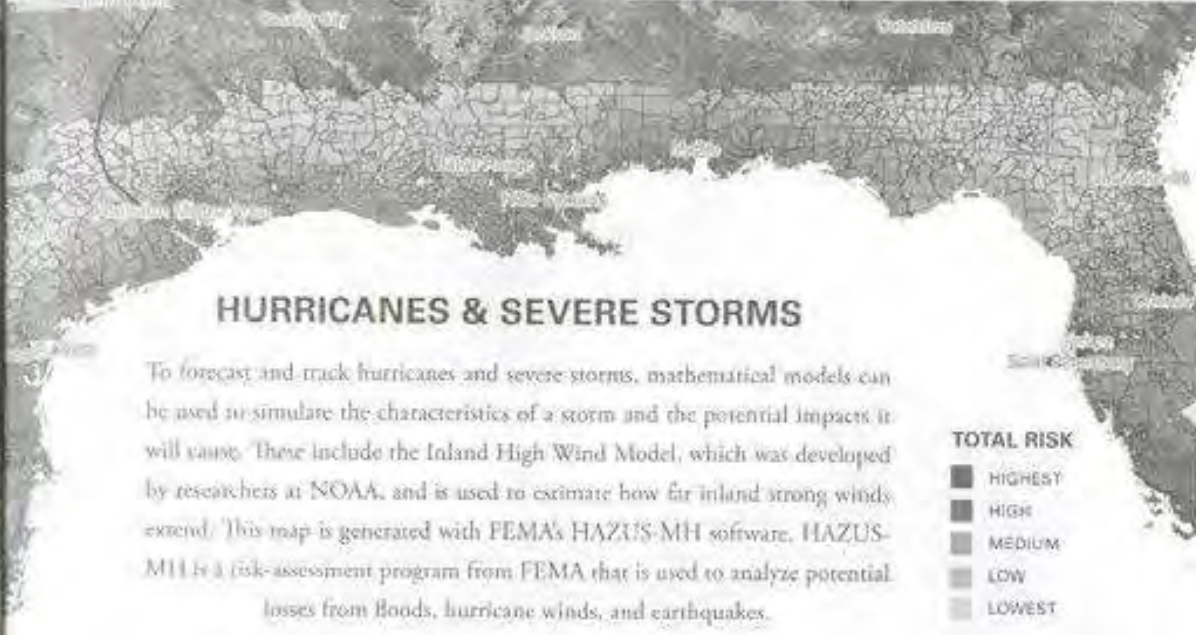


THERE ARE MANY NATURAL THREATS THAT MAKE MUCH OF THE AREA VULNERABLE

The National Consortium to Map Ecological Constraints is developing a model that focuses on mapping environmentally-sensitive areas of the Gulf Coast Region, and classifying potential risks associated with natural disasters. Among the factors being addressed in the process are historic hurricane tracks, high wind risk areas, storm surges, flooding, significant flooding events, rise in sea elevation, loss of wetlands, marshes, and barrier islands, economic impacts, demographic vulnerability, and growth patterns. By combining these factors into one comprehensive model (above), the resulting analysis can then be used to create public and private sector policies that reduce impacts from future hurricanes and severe storms.

COMBINED RISK

- HIGHEST
- HIGH
- MEDIUM
- LOW
- LOWEST



HURRICANES & SEVERE STORMS

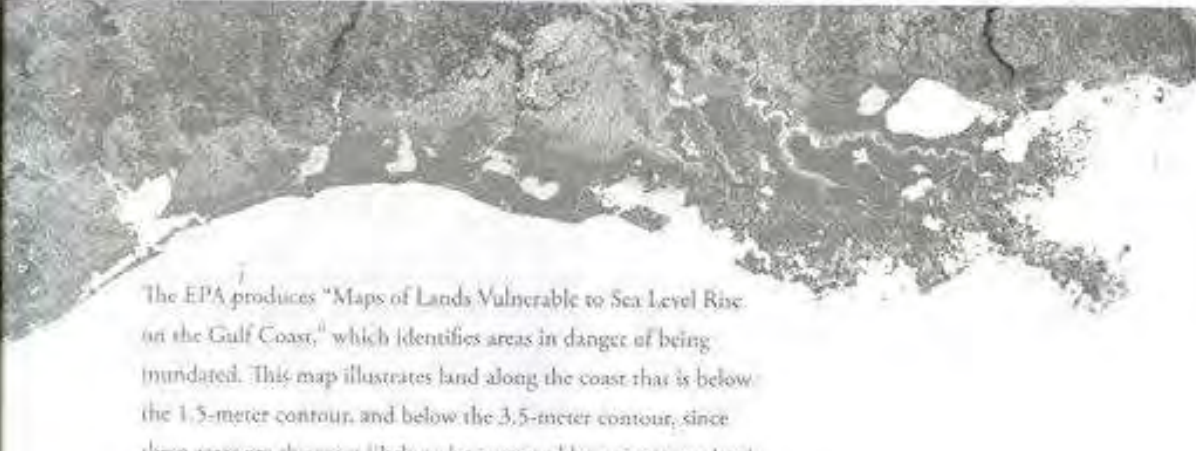
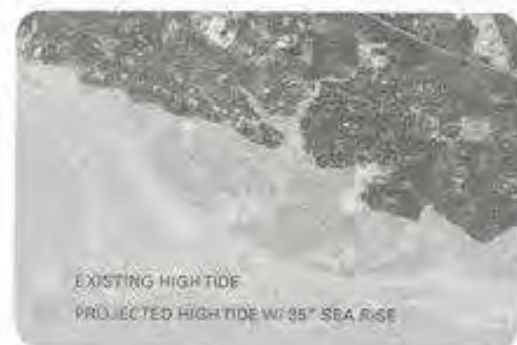
To forecast and track hurricanes and severe storms, mathematical models can be used to simulate the characteristics of a storm and the potential impacts it will cause. These include the Inland High Wind Model, which was developed by researchers at NOAA, and is used to estimate how far inland strong winds extend. This map is generated with FEMA's HAZUS-MH software. HAZUS-MH is a risk-assessment program from FEMA that is used to analyze potential losses from floods, hurricane winds, and earthquakes.

TOTAL RISK

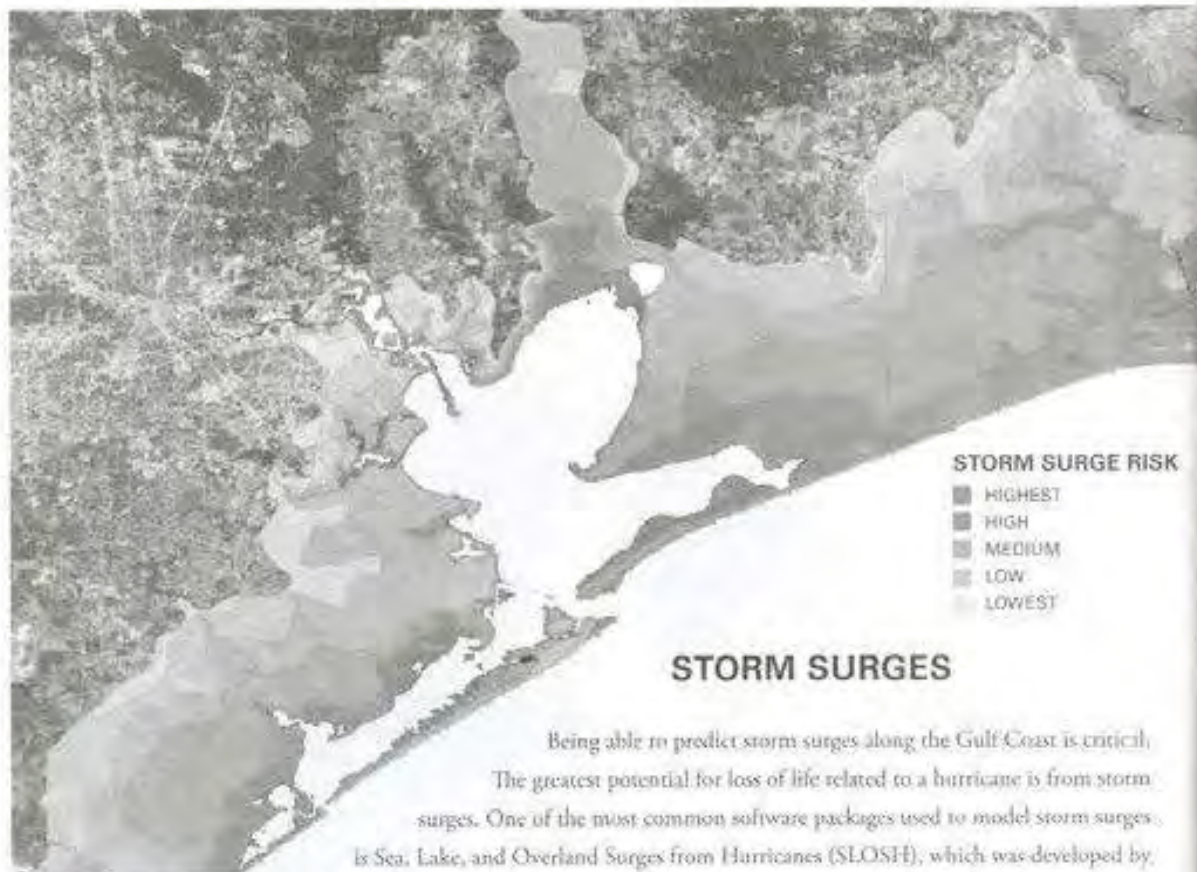
- HIGHEST
- HIGH
- MEDIUM
- LOW
- LOWEST

RISE IN SEA LEVEL

According to the 1989 Congress Report on Climate Change, 20% of the US coast, including the Gulf Coast, will be impacted by sea level rise. Scientists predict that in the next 50 to 100 years, we can expect the sea level to rise 21" to 44". This map indicates the impact that a rise in sea level would have on high tide at Lacombe, Louisiana.



The EPA produces "Maps of Lands Vulnerable to Sea Level Rise on the Gulf Coast," which identifies areas in danger of being inundated. This map illustrates land along the coast that is below the 1.5-meter contour, and below the 3.5-meter contour, since these areas are the most likely to be impacted by a rise in sea level.



Being able to predict storm surges along the Gulf Coast is critical. The greatest potential for loss of life related to a hurricane is from storm surges. One of the most common software packages used to model storm surges is Sea, Lake, and Overland Surges from Hurricanes (SLOSH), which was developed by the National Weather Service. The map above indicates the potential risk from storm surges along the Texas coast near Houston.



FLOOD ZONES

FEMA's Q3 floodplain maps indicate flood risks for a specific area based on local topology, hydrology, precipitation, and measures to provide flood protection. Q3 Flood Data product is designed to serve FEMA's Response and Recovery activities as well as to provide the foundation for flood insurance policy marketing initiatives. Many areas along the Gulf Coast, such as this section of the Florida Panhandle, are susceptible to flooding in low-lying areas.

Bathymetry shows the depth of the ocean floor from the water surface. The shallow coastal bathymetry along the Gulf coast has a significant impact on storm surge potential. Currents and tides are controlled by the basins and ridges that make up this undersea terrain.



CREDITS AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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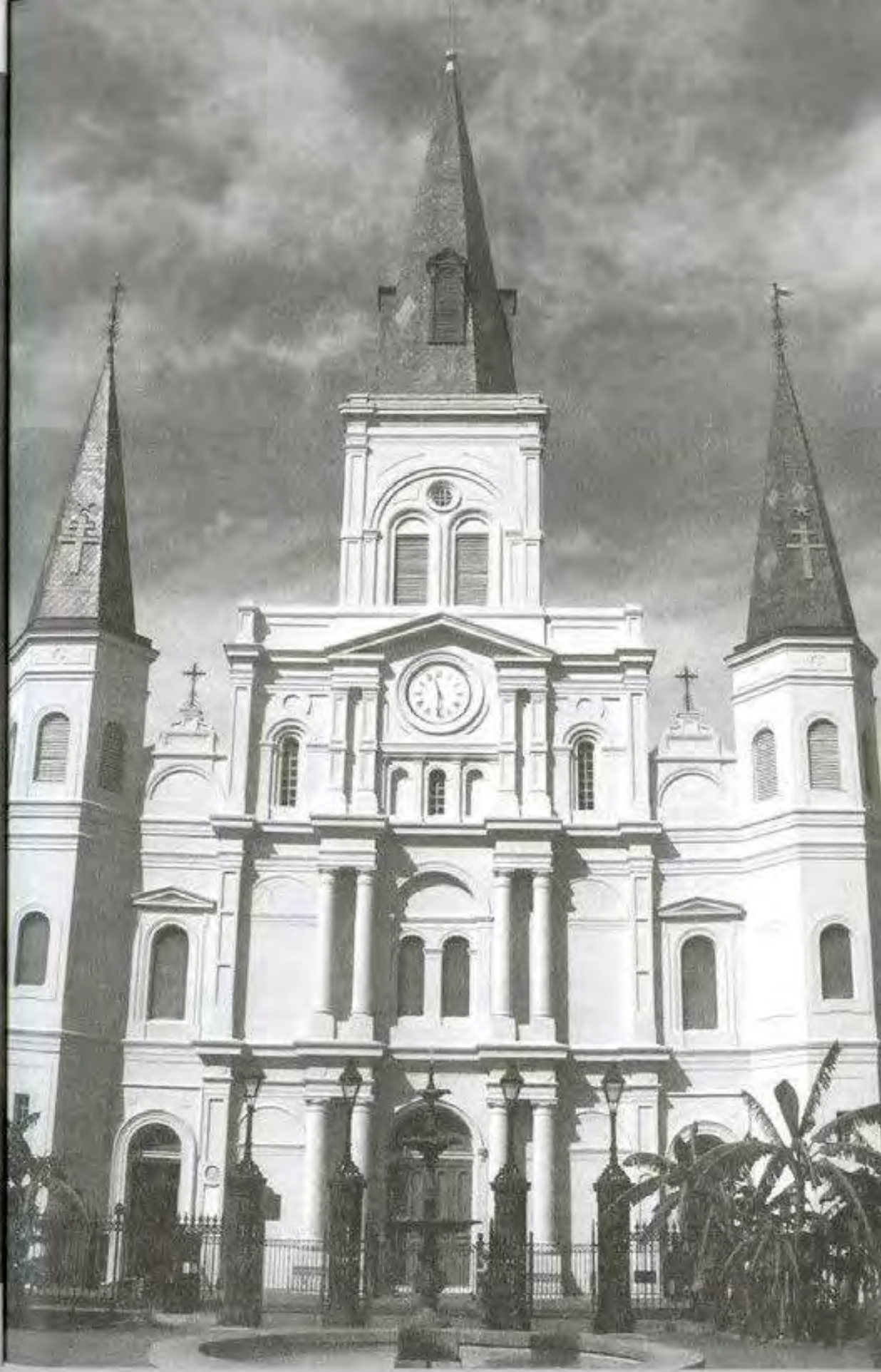
Barbara Fago, Chair of the Board, and *Jim Sipes*, Senior
Associate of EDAW for their pro bono work to create
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the project.

Graphic design by *Mihai S. Munka*, Intern, Regional
Plan Association.





CANAL NETWORK EXPANSION



LEVEE EXTENSION



PORT INFRASTRUCTURE + RIVER PREEMPTION

PHASING DIAGRAMS: REBUILDING INFRASTRUCTURE AS A DATUM FOR SOCIAL PROGRAMS, STORM WATER EVENTS, AND INCREASED FABRIC DENSITY.

WET LAND_NEUTRAL GROUND: REBUILDING NEW ORLEANS

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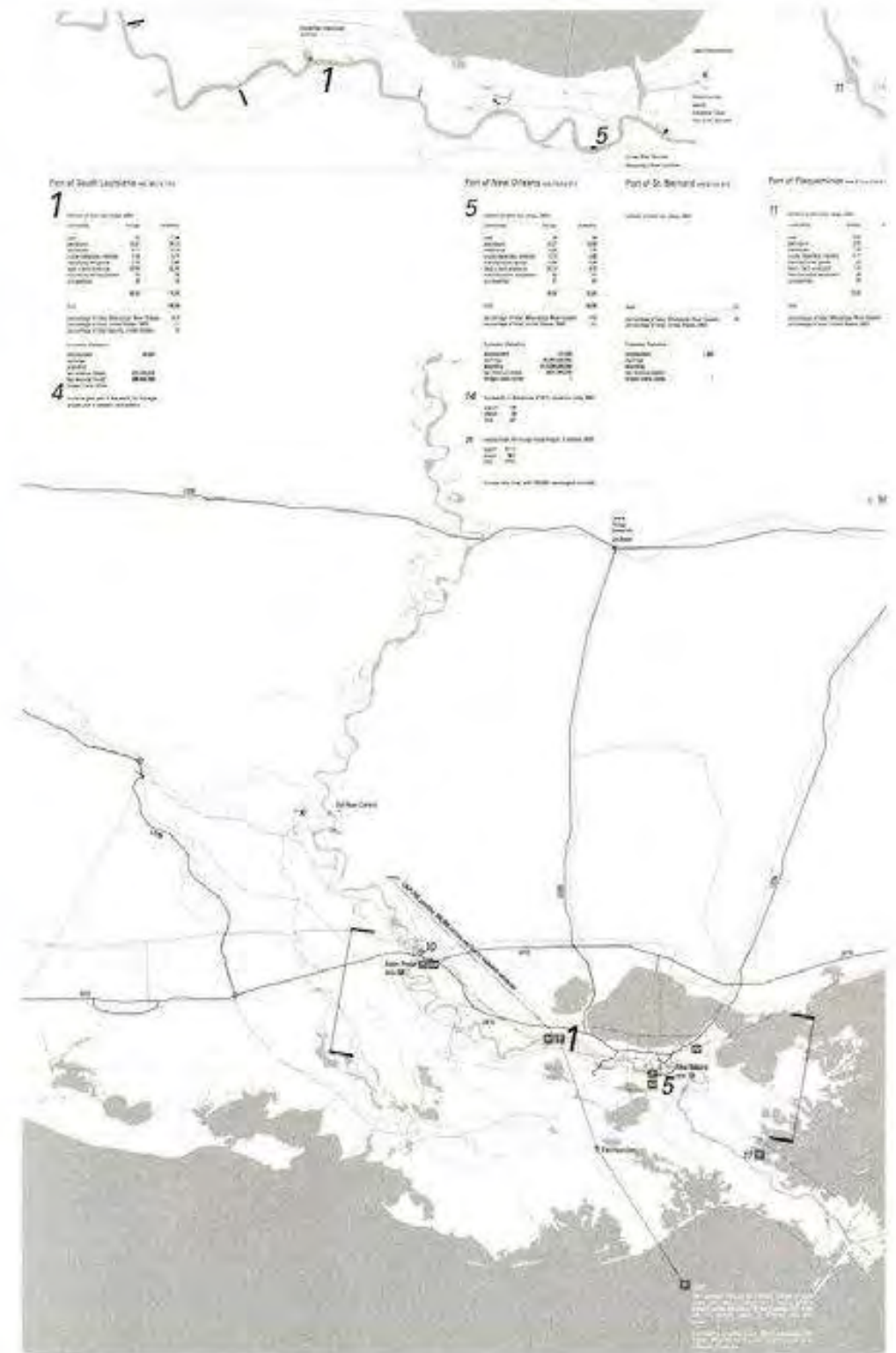
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WIEDEMANN

The following mappings and projections were taken from The University of Texas at Austin School of Architecture's entry into the UTSOA curated exhibition entitled Resilient Foundations: the Gulf Coast after Katrina; the exhibition is featured in the 10th Venice Architecture Biennale exhibition entitled Cities, architecture and society. The scenario privileges infrastructure, rather than architecture, in the rebuilding of New Orleans, and establishes initiatives at the regional and city scale in order to address the region's dynamic hydrologic and climatic conditions.

Building on typologies of wall, conduit, basin, and controls, the scenario augments existing infrastructure through sectional change in order to revamp typically banal infrastructural systems into datums, or levels, which organize storm water events, social programs, and zones of increased fabric density. The rethinking of infrastructure in this manner permits sectional overlaps to create landscape hybrids that stitch the city, both culturally and naturally, into a unified urban matrix.



MAPPING: REGIONAL POPULATION DISPLACEMENT POST KATRINA



MAPPING: REGIONAL INTERMODAL NETWORKS

ATOKAPLAN RIVER

Atokaplan River is a tributary of the Mississippi River. It is located in the northern part of the state and is known for its scenic views and recreational opportunities.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

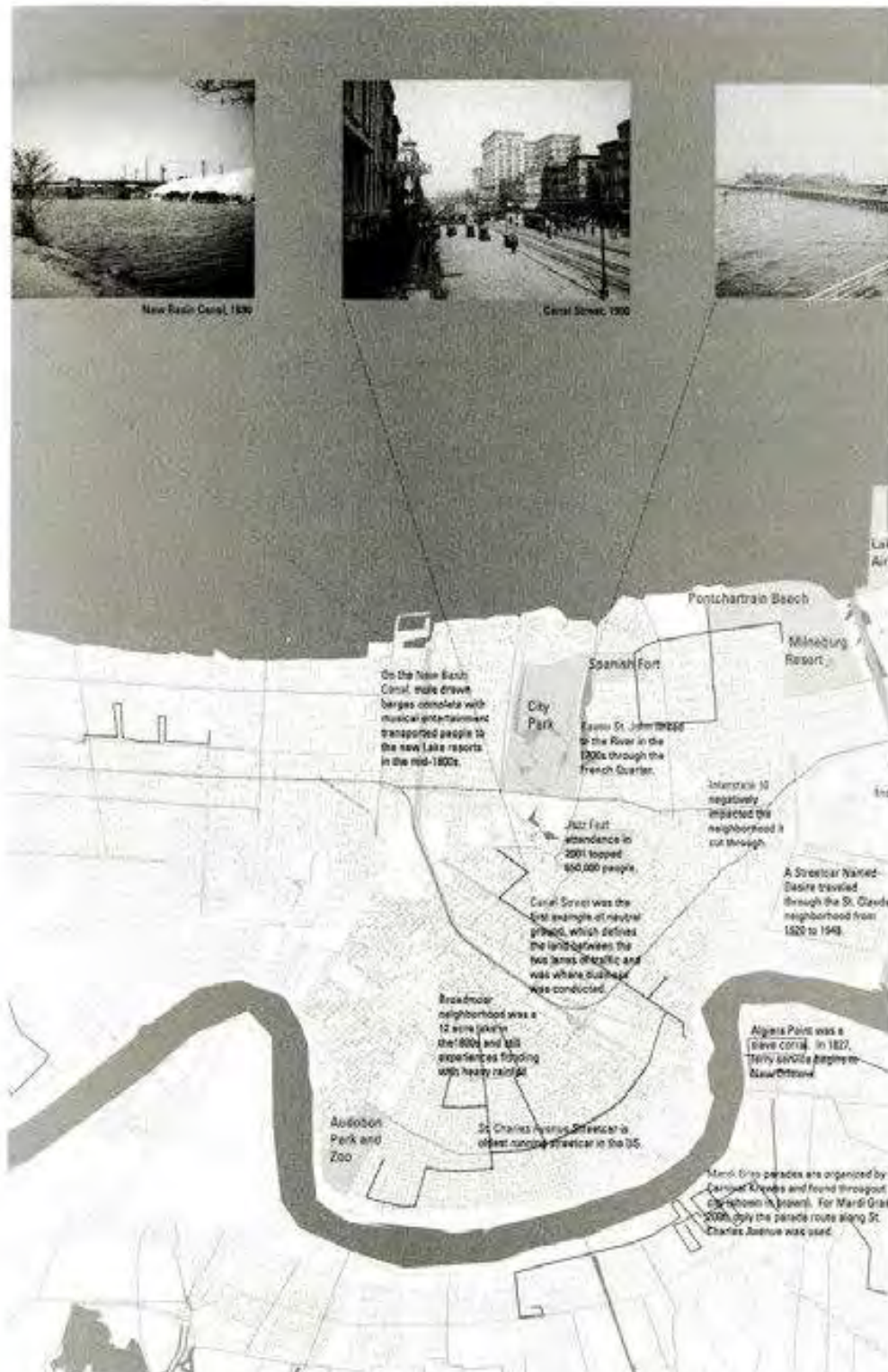
The Mississippi River is one of the longest rivers in the world, flowing through the central United States. It is a major waterway and has a significant impact on the region's economy and culture.



MISSISSIPPI RIVER BASIN
The Mississippi River basin covers a vast area of the central United States, including parts of 32 states and the District of Columbia. It is a major source of water and has a significant impact on the region's environment and economy.



MAPPING: REGIONAL COASTAL MORPHOLOGY

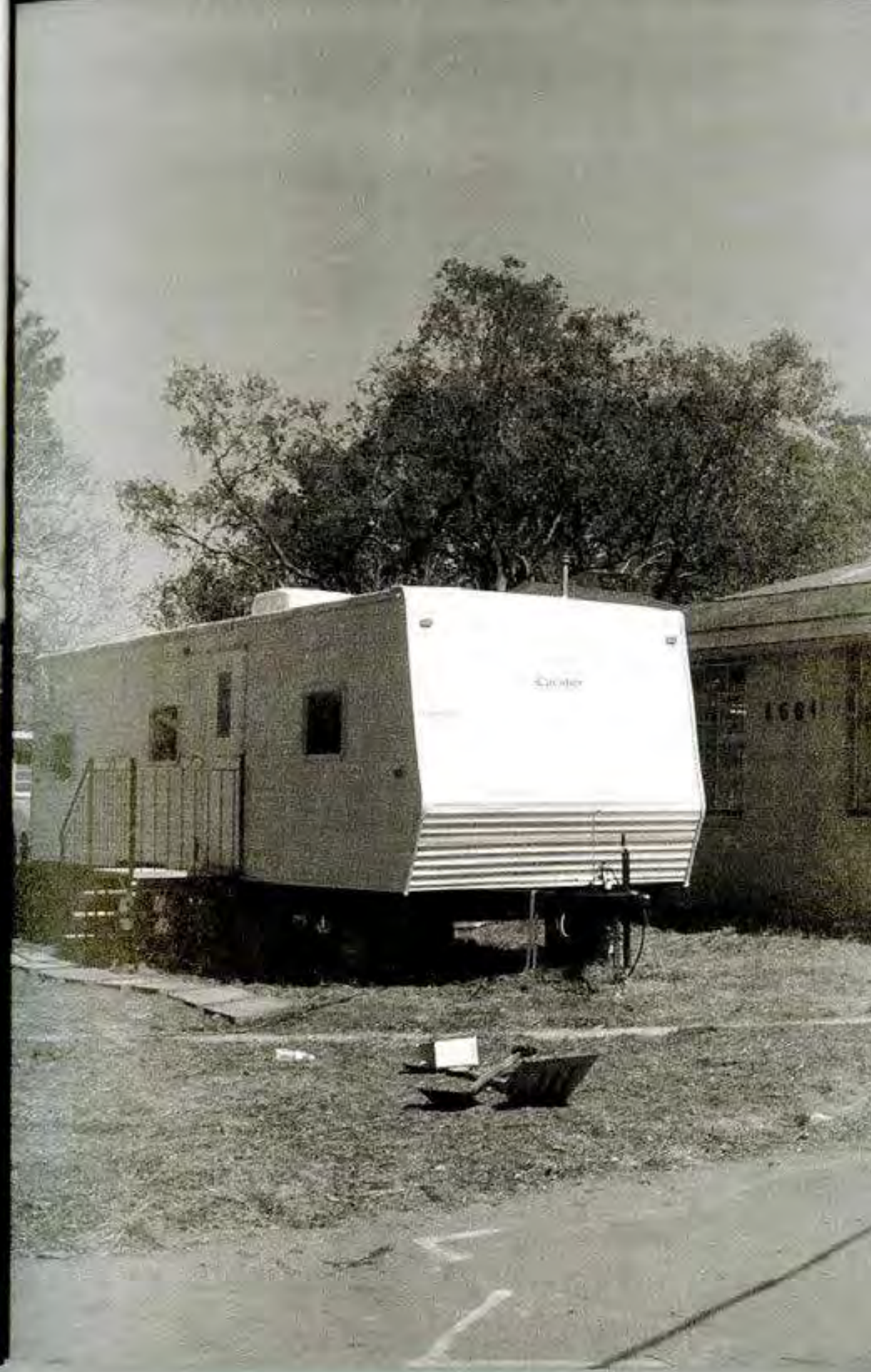


MAPPING: NEUTRAL GROUNDS. PUBLIC SPACE WITHIN THE CITY HAS HISTORICALLY SERVED AS SPACES FOR INTERACTION AND EXCHANGE BETWEEN DIFFERENT NEIGHBORHOODS OR FACTIONS.

PERSPECTIVE AT RIVER'S EDGE, LOOKING WEST. MEASURES FOR STACKING NEW PROGRAMS AND HIGHER DENSITY HOUSING OVER THE PORT ARE CONCEIVED IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE PORT'S ECONOMIC OPERATIONS, WHILE GRANTING PUBLIC ACCESS TO THE WATER'S EDGE. A PLATFORM IS EXTENDED OVER EXISTING FLOOD WALLS IN ORDER TO DENOTE AND ACCOMMODATE CHANGES IN PORT FUNCTIONS BENEATH; PROVIDE PUBLIC SURFACES TO ENGAGE THE RIVER; AND SERVE AS STAGING ZONES FOR FUTURE EVACUATION NEEDS.



PERSPECTIVE OF CANAL NETWORK, LOOKING NORTH. INFRASTRUCTURE EASEMENTS AND RIGHTS OF WAY ALONG JEFFERSON PARISH'S CANAL NETWORK ARE STRATEGICALLY APPROPRIATED IN ORDER TO SLOW DOWN STORM WATER EVENTS, PROVIDE GREATER AREA FOR WATER STORAGE, AND SERVE AS RECREATIONAL THREADS THAT KNIT TOGETHER THE CITY'S CULTURAL AND NATURAL SYSTEMS.





LONG-TERM DISASTER RECOVERY IN THE WAKE OF KATRINA AND RITA: POINT/COUNTERPOINT

EDITED BY SUZANNE RUSSO, EMILY ANDERSON
AND CAITLIN UZZELL

Abstract

In the immediate aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, humanitarian aid organizations, government agencies, and a spectrum of other entities rushed to the aid of survivors and evacuees. These efforts were in response to the immense pressure to deliver services on a short timeline. However, a long-term approach to disaster recovery requires a distinctly different kind of planning and service delivery. In this Point/Counterpoint piece, three individuals from various organizations, each representing a different city in Texas, were asked to explain their views on long-term disaster recovery. These professionals were all personally involved in post-hurricane recovery efforts in Texas, and offered their perspective based upon their recent experiences.

CONTRIBUTOR BIOGRAPHIES

Martha Blaine

Martha is executive director of the Community Council of Greater Dallas, a position she has held for over a decade. In that role, she is responsible for leading the organizations' efforts to identify and plan for health and human service needs, while also connecting people to the services they need.

Tim Kidwell

Tim is the Director of Disaster Services at the Greater Houston Area Chapter of the American Red Cross.

Bonnie Mallott

Bonnie serves as the Texas Conference of Churches representative to Central Texas Voluntary Organizations Active in Disaster. She has worked with CTXVOAD on the Long Term Recovery Committee. CTXVOAD offers services to the Central Texas counties of Bastrop, Burnet, Caldwell, Hays, Lee, Llano, Milam, Travis, and Williamson.

Fred Taylor

Fred is the Interim President/CEO of Southeast Texas Interfaith Organization for Disaster Relief (SETIO), an organization which formed after Hurricane Rita.

QUESTION 1

What is your interpretation of the phrase "long-term disaster recovery"?

Blaine

For FEMA, it has a very specific definition, including creating a new entity called the "Long Term Recovery Council" (or something similar). In Dallas, we defined long term recovery the efforts and activities that started about October 13, 2005 and are still continuing, to resettle the victims of the hurricanes. Several long term recovery councils and coalitions were established in various geographic areas. They all coordinated their efforts through a facilitation and communication link with the Community Council of Greater Dallas.

Depending on the nature of the disaster, long term recovery can start a few days to a week after the emergency, and continue on into the future an unspecified length of time. There are still advocates and social services working with the victims of the Oklahoma City blast.

Kidwell

Long-term disaster recovery means to me the efforts that take place after a disaster to try and return the individual disaster victim and the disaster community back to a position of where they were prior to the disaster. The goal is to move them is to move the individual and the community to as close to normal as possible.

Mallott

Long-term disaster recovery is the process of assisting disaster survivors return to normal, or what we refer to as a "new normal." The objective is to return them to their pre-disaster state – this is usually not possible. Long-term recovery is the third of the four stages of disaster, preparedness, response, recovery, and mitigation.

Taylor

LTDR organizations pick up after emergency services have ended. They are aimed at helping families get back to pre disaster capacity and condition.

QUESTION 2

What were the pressures your community faced in providing social services – including housing, job training, schooling and health care – to the evacuees of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita?

Blaine

Housing: There is no one agency or governmental entity responsible for housing tens of thousands of evacuees in a disaster of this magnitude. It was necessary to weave together a “patch-work quilt of housing opportunities and solutions.

Job Training: The skill sets of the evacuees do not match the available jobs in North Texas. There was a large portion of evacuees who were unemployed prior to the hurricanes.

Schooling: All of the area ISDs were very anxious to get all school-age children enrolled in classes immediately after the Labor Day holiday. Several of the students from Louisiana and Mississippi were not as advanced as the Texas students in the same grade.

Health Care: Many evacuees needed immediate health care upon arrival in our community. Some folks would need on-going medical care and medications. Cancer patients needed chemo and other on-going periodic treatments. A large percentage of evacuees were uninsured or had Louisiana Medicaid. Texas granted an emergency waiver to allow Louisiana Medicaid enrollees to utilize Texas Medicaid. However, that was a short-term solution.

Legal: Many evacuees needed legal advice as to family law, guardianship issues, and tenants’ rights.

Kidwell

The Red Cross deals with immediate emergency needs such as food, clothing, shelter, life sustaining medication. The Red Cross does not provide long term housing, job training, schooling or long term health care. The Red Cross does make referrals to other agencies that provide these services.

Mallott

The biggest pressure faced in Texas was in getting attention for Rita survivors in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. Although Katrina was clearly disastrous, Rita was a major event in its own right with around 480,000 FEMA applicants in the State of Texas. We continue to have difficulty in securing funding from the usual organizations to cover Rita recovery.

Taylor

Our organization, SETIO (Southeast Texas Interfaith Organization for Disaster Relief) came into existence after Rita with the goal of becoming a long-term disaster recovery organization. One pressure was finding starting up money to staff a volunteer based organization and then to build service delivery capability. Traditional long term disaster relief organizations have been designed for smaller scale disasters – so that they could get in and out in a limited time period. Katrina and Rita both have been disasters on such a broad scale that the traditional organizational paradigms have not been adequate to mobilize the kind of community movement necessary for long term recovery in these cases; hence the need for a community-based organization to be a catalyst for a larger, broader, and longer recovery effort.

QUESTION 3

How did your community cope with these pressures? What strategies or programs were employed to facilitate cooperation between the different social service providers – municipal and county government, private nonprofits, etc. – in your community? What types of groups were involved in the recovery process?

Blaine

Housing: Key players included the City of Dallas, Dallas Housing Authority and HUD. However, the hotel/motel manager’s association played a leadership role in assisting with housing arrangements. Many smaller nonprofits and faith communities also provided housing directly, and/or assisted in identifying and placing evacuees in housing. Evacuees

filled out a housing intake form at workstations in the Disaster Recovery Center, manned by professional and volunteer social workers recruited by the Community Council. These workers also made referrals, utilizing the database of social service resources, a tool created and kept current by the Texas Information and Referral Network and 2-1-1 Dallas Area Information Center.

Jobs: Worksource, (the Dallas County Workforce Development) played a major role in matching evacuees with jobs and job training. Other nonprofits, such as Catholic Charities and Jewish Family Services also assisted with job placement and training.

Schools: Dallas Independent School District (DISD) had emergency teams that went out into the community and met with evacuee families wherever they were housed, with the purpose of

Health Care: Immediate health care was initially available to all evacuees and disaster workers at the Disaster Recovery Center (co-located with the mass shelters). With the closing of the shelters, uninsured evacuees were directed to participate in free clinic services. As the recovery and resettlement has continued, outreach workers and case managers have assisted new residents in applying for Texas Medicaid or Children's Health Insurance Program, and where appropriate, Medicare.

Legal: Legal Services of Northwest Texas and the Dallas Bar Association took the lead in organizing the services of volunteer attorneys to assist hurricane victims.

Coordination and cooperation among service providers: The Community Council of Greater Dallas fills that function as an on-going part of its mission. The Council called together a series of collaborations, representing specific health & human service issue areas: Child Care agencies; coalitions of food banks and pantries; coalitions of organizations working with senior citizens; collaboration of mental health workers; coalition of homeless service providers; etc. Each of these coalitions took responsibility to formulate the response to meet the increased needs of evacuees in these areas. The Council also issued regularly scheduled information to keep over 425 organizations, public and private well informed. The Council

published a Hurricane Recovery Newsletter daily, then weekly, then every two weeks, and now monthly. Regular meetings were held of all agencies and coalitions assisting evacuees with on-going needs in the multi-county area. Informational meetings are still continuing. Support groups for evacuees were established, with self-declared evacuee-leaders as facilitators. Social service and faith based organizations serve as resources to these support groups.

Kidwell

The agencies involved in long term case management were agencies in the community that were already providing services in the community. The Red Cross, through the local Voluntary Organizations Active in Disaster (VOAD) Organization, was able to network with agencies directly. This allowed the Red Cross to make referrals to agencies that could help the clients with their long term needs. The VOAD is made up of all voluntary agencies in the community such as interfaith groups, civic groups, private and public agencies.

Mallott

We continue to seek funding, although in some communities survivors have had to wait quite a long time for the help they need. In Texas, FEMA and State of Texas Voluntary Agency Liaisons worked alongside Texas Conference of Churches representatives going into communities and meeting with groups. Our efforts were to reach the principles of forming long-term recovery committees – who should be involved, how do you get everyone to the table, how to apply for funding, etc. We have found the groups involved in the recovery process have mainly consisted of churches, social service nonprofits, and local governments.

Taylor

We first identified our base as local congregations, their national denominational disaster recovery affiliates and other local faith-based entities. By claiming a common grounding in faith and in racial and ethnic inclusion, we found sustainable common ground to work from. We have worked from envisioning a future after recovery and then translating that

to short term objectives (3 months, 6 months). Our goal is to recruit at least 100 congregations of all faiths, races and ethnic groups who will both support SETIO financially and provide manpower for "chewable" bites of service from a work project to replace a roof to providing meals for visiting teams of volunteers. In the process we are connecting with government, business and other community organizations. We are currently spearheading a demonstration project aimed at speeding the pace of recovery in a targeted residential area of about 1000 homes by engaging and coordinating case management and housing repair from a variety of agencies along with using commercial roof and house repair contractors along with volunteer work teams.

QUESTION 4

When looking back over the past year, what are the lessons you learned in coping with the effects of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita? (Which coping mechanisms or strategies have been most effective? Which have been least effective? Should your community have done anything differently?)

Blaine

- a) The 2-1-1 network functioned very well in north Texas to deliver necessary information to evacuees. The technological ability to link all 25 of the 2-1-1 call centers together into one statewide call center during the emergency created much greater capacity to answer the enormous call volume.
- b) The on-going relationships the Community Council had with its member and partner agencies allowed nonprofits to come together quickly, and communicate with each other efficiently, and share a real-time database of resources unique to the hurricane disasters.
- c) The Dallas area VOAD (Volunteer Organizations Assisting in Disasters) had been meeting regularly, so members knew each other, and were familiar with one another's services. These pre-existing relationships helped expedite cooperation and the delivery of services during the emergency response phase of each hurricane.
- d) We continued to hold special events, celebrating the hard work of all the volunteers and thanking them for their service.

Kidwell

The lesson that the Red Cross learned was that the public relies heavily on the Financial Assistance that the Red Cross provides. The demand placed on the Red Cross due to the magnitude of the disaster has required the organization to invest in such things as a one million card stock of Client Assistance Cards (CAC). This would hopefully prevent delays in providing assistance due to temporarily running out of CACs. The lesson is no matter how big of disaster that you pre-plan for, that level of planning can be exceeded. No other disaster in the 125 year history of the organization reached the 1.4 million families level of need that Hurricane Katrina and Rita did.

The community response in Houston was admirable. Since the disaster did not occur in this community, the city of Houston was responding to other cities' disasters. Community preparedness is always centered on responding to a disaster within that community. Hurricane Katrina, and to a lesser extent Hurricane Rita, saw large numbers of people being evacuated to almost every state. Prior to Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, no preplanning would have ever considered that scenario.

Mallott

The most effective coping strategy in long-term recovery is to realize that it is *long term*. Getting in too much of a hurry during this stage will only give you ulcers, because government and nonprofit helping systems do not always move very quickly. One thing that communities could do differently is bring a greater array of resource providers to the long-term recovery committee table. Some groups have a very few people who try to do everything. Of course, this won't work for the long haul.

QUESTION 5

Have you adopted a formal plan for dealing with current hurricane evacuees and managing future disasters that builds on these lessons? If so, please provide a brief description of the plan including whether it is a government, non-profit, organizational or cooperative plan. And please include some examples of how these lessons have been incorporated. If not, please explain if there is an alternate method in place to utilize the lessons learned and build off the past years experiences in future disaster recovery efforts.

Blaine

- a) The Community Council of Greater Dallas has a professionally prepared Business Continuity and Disaster Recovery Plan, which helps assure the continued effective functioning of services in any disaster. The Council is offering training to other nonprofits to prepare their Disaster Plans.
- b) The Dallas area governmental and VOAD organizations have engaged in tabletop exercises related to hurricanes, weapons of mass destruction, and pandemic. Through these exercises all parties gain a better understanding of their role and the role of other entities in responding to a disaster. We have also identified areas that need further development or refinement.
- c) The Community Council has worked with the Medical Reserve Corps to create an electronic volunteer database for scheduling staff and volunteers in a disaster. This function will be coordinated with the volunteers scheduled by Red Cross and the Volunteer Center of North Texas.
- d) The Community Council continues to refine a variety of communication tools and protocols to assure that the nonprofit social service agencies in a five-county area can work together efficiently in a disaster.
- e) The Dallas Area Agency on Aging is participating in the disaster planning with Dallas County officials. They will assist with triage of seniors, and the housing placement of seniors needing long term or institutional care.
- f) Dallas County is expanding its Emergency Operations Center and establishing coordination protocols with all thirteen municipalities in the county, as well as with surrounding counties.
- g) All First Responders are being trained in the new statewide Emergency Response Plan, and the Hurricane Evacuation Plan.

Kidwell

The national Red Cross organization has adopted a plan that expands the current stock of CACs to 1 million and triples the depot storage capacity of the organization for supplies such as cots, blanket, and hygiene kits, Heater Meals, etc. All of the expansion is based on 1 million of each item in storage.

The Red Cross is developing plans that build upon the "Mega" shelter experience. The shelter that holds 3,000 or more people is now the emphasis. How to plan on sheltering large numbers of people in the most efficient manner? The Hurricane Katrina experience saw individual shelter populations in tens of thousands at many shelters across the country. These shelters were "long term" shelters of more than a week to ten days. The shelter demand was to house a population that is homeless due to a disaster event that was 100s of thousands across many states. These shelter demands were never planned for that magnitude for the extended length of time seen after Hurricane Katrina and Rita.

Mallott

Central Texas VOAD is now working on a disaster plan which can be distributed to other organizations. It will take into account the City/County Emergency Plan and will outline how volunteer organizations will work in partnership with government entities. This is in the early stages.

NEW ORLEANS: WHAT'S THE RUSH?

CHERYL CIOFFARI

"The living was good there. The clock ticked more slowly; people laughed more easily; people kissed; people loved; there was joy. Which is why so many New Orleanians, black and white, never went north. They didn't want to leave a place where they felt at home in neighborhoods that dated back centuries.... They didn't want to leave a place that was theirs."

- Anne Rice

It was the languid, muffled sounds of street performers, the wrought-iron balconies and the sultry drawl of native New Orleanians that drew people into the Big Easy. Everyone knew New Orleans was an exceptional city – how many cities are built below sea level and survive for three hundred years? It seemed everyone knew it was only a matter of time before New Orleans would succumb to the natural desire of the Mississippi River and Lake Pontchartrain to reclaim wetlands drained long ago to make room for subdivisions and housing units. It seemed everyone knew if New Orleans took a direct hit from a hurricane, the city that gave birth to jazz lacked a clear plan of action to deal with the consequences. It seemed, when the question was raised about what to do if a hurricane hit New Orleans, everyone answered, "we will deal with it when the time comes."

New Orleans was a big city in a cypress swamp that lay several feet below sea level. Some of its many visitors remembered scantily-clad women raising their shirts for colorful, cheap plastic beads; others recall



Audubon Park, reminiscing about the loving fabric of the city that radiated a sense of calm, a state of serenity. New Orleans was crawfish étouffée and bourbon, fine dining or wallowing in booze, a city known to locals not to have good or bad areas, but rather good or bad *blocks*. The river and its great delta port became fixed in time as well as place; side by side sat intoxicating charm and dreadful wrongdoing: high rates of violent crime and property crime were small indications of the social unrest and inequity that were prevalent in the city.¹ According to the American Community Survey, in 2004, the Crescent City was two-thirds African-American, and nearly one-fourth of New Orleanian households lived below the poverty level. Only 20% of the residents of New Orleans held a bachelor's degree – a less-than-adequate share, when compared to the national average of 27%. Stark differences in income levels showed the pattern of inequity; the median income for African American households was twelve thousand dollars less than that for white households. In every area disparity persisted, no doubt aggravating and fueling latent resentment, instability and unrest. New Orleans was a city with two-faces: one seen in elaborate St. Charles mansions and the other seen in the dilapidated 9th Ward.

A combination of factors contributed to community degradation. Neighbors felt uncomfortable interacting and more significantly, a distrust of authority has festered since 1927 when the upper crust of New Orleans society broke levees in attempt to save the city, causing severe flooding northwards along the Mississippi River. When Hurricane Betsy battered the city in 1965, the lower 9th Ward flooded; many residents believed that city officials had intentionally directed floodwaters to the predominantly African-American area in order to save wealthier white neighborhoods. This sense of disenfranchisement was further magnified by perceived and real corruption in the political system, as well as in the police force, with whom many citizens had daily contact. Given this history of distrust, is it any surprise that when Mayor Ray Nagin announced a mandatory evacuation for the city of New Orleans, citizens questioned the order to leave, ignoring the magnitude of the potential devastation of the storm?

1. According to the Website of New Orleans Crime Statistics and Crime Data, (<http://neworleans.arenacommecor.com/crime1.htm>), the rate of violent crime in 2004 was 948.3 per 100,000 people, and the rate of property crime was 5,162 per 100,000 people.

When the larger American community realized that not all residents were able to make it out of New Orleans – they wondered why. A partial answer is that the 8.6% of households in New Orleans without access to motor vehicles had nowhere to go except the designated shelters within the city.

New Orleans, with its history of upper-class complacency and corruption, was viewed as a naughty child and the rest of America tended to look the other way. So, with these attitudes, was it a shocking revelation when the city had no comprehensive emergency disaster plan linked to larger governmental agencies? Was it a surprise when its ability to provide for its neediest residents proved insufficient? Was it surprising that the levees that wrapped around greater New Orleans, which has continually had their funding cut, would become the mechanism that flooded the city and trapped her neediest citizens?

No, clearly not. However, alarm, even horror, began to settle in as we saw the history of corruption reemerge in the public, particularly as the city moved from search and rescue, to planning and reconstruction. To many experts, this was a disaster waiting to happen. Direction in the wake of Katrina changed, from saving lives and providing basic assistance to cleaning up New Orleans and the reality of rebuilding. Most will rightly agree on the urgency of those first two steps in the course of action following Katrina, but should we *rebuild* New Orleans?

Katrina was not solely a natural catastrophe; it was, and still is, a social, political, human, and engineering disaster. Katrina was not the worst-case scenario. Had the eye of the storm made landfall just west of the city (instead of to the east, as it did) the wind speeds and the associated coastal storm surge would have been higher in New Orleans (and lower in Gulfport, Mississippi). The city would have flooded faster, and the loss of life would have been greater.

Money is pouring into the region in the form of corporate contracts. However, it remains most uncertain whether decisions are being made using the ideals of urban and coastal planning. In the rush to reconstruct a city that means so much to so many, is big money silencing city planners and jeopardizing the future of the City of New Orleans? Is the current political push to raise and strengthen the levees a hollow promise? The scientific truth is that higher levees will mean that deeper floods will inevitably follow. Maybe we shouldn't rebuild New Orleans at all.

Government Response: Ten feet below sea level

Hurricane Katrina made landfall on Monday August 29, 2005, wreaking havoc from New Orleans east to Biloxi, Mississippi and the surrounding areas. The anticipated cost to rebuild New Orleans fluctuates depending on who is providing the estimate. As recently as April 2006 the U.S. Corps of Engineers estimate the cost to repair the levee system and provide protection at \$4.1 billion.² There were over 300,000 automobiles strewn across the city waiting to be hauled away. Of the 142,000 houses damaged by Hurricane Katrina, 79% were designated "affordable" to low income households by the National Coalition of Low Income Housing. The levee system that allows New Orleans residents to live on dry land failed to protect the city when the system was breached in four places: those failures illuminate structural short-comings. The Army Corps of Engineers, the entity responsible for maintaining such vital structures, has seen its funding cut in recent years as the federal budget has been stretched. In a slow motion act of negligence, all involved watched as New Orleans challenged Mother Nature to a one-on-one boxing match, with no gloves.

Powerful and extensive media images of Katrina's devastation and human suffering prompted unprecedented responses from the general public. Local, state, and federal government offered a mixed bag made from one cloth: "Quick, let's get it done" - a bad mantra that rushed officials in every level of government. Local government, headed by Mayor Nagin, asked the state Legislature for expanded gambling in the city's central business district; the goal, to accelerate the return of tourists. In addition, Nagin considered suspending historic preservation laws in an effort to attract developers back to New Orleans, even proposing development of the Lower Garden District into a pseudo-suburban subdivision - a nightmare for preservationists. While some of these suggestions may have been made "on the fly" by a government official under stress, Mayor Nagin's rush to reconstruct re-enforces the thoughtless behaviors that characterize such quick-fix solutions.

The Bring New Orleans Back Commission (BNOBC), established with members appointed by Mayor Nagin, has provided suggestions and a

² This estimate was released by the Press Office of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of the Federal Coordinator for Gulf Coast Rebuilding.

framework for reconstruction of the Crescent City. The group has seized the opportunity to be more than a token agency providing a shallow forum; it has engaged the public in a total effort to overcome this seemingly impossible challenge. To create a comprehensive report, the BNOBC divided into sub-committees to address the many issues facing the city, including economic development, cultural preservation, and infrastructure. Now that the suggestions have been presented to the public, the question is whether or not the suggestions will be fully utilized.

The prognosis is uncertain. Hampering local rebuilding initiatives is the fact that the city's tax base has been obliterated. Most parishes do not have enough money to keep basic public services in order. The rapid depopulation of the city, coupled with the uncertainty regarding how many residents will return, further impedes the rebuilding effort. Entire segments of the former New Orleans population may not return to the city, either because they lack anything to return to, or because of the new opportunities that have arisen to live and work in other cities. A case in point is the tourism industry, which employed 19% of New Orleans residents, has witnessed a decrease in flights, hotel bookings, and convention bookings.

The federal government's response has not differed much from that of the local government. The difference is that the federal government has the ability to invest vast resources, whereas the local government is essentially broke. Immediately following the hurricane, Congress responded with \$1 billion in disaster loans to Gulf Coast communities. Since then, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) has distributed over \$13.2 billion under the National Flood Insurance Program to policyholders in Louisiana and \$3.6 billion in housing assistance checks as of July 18, 2006. FEMA also dispersed debit cards valued at two thousand dollars each to some of those affected by the hurricane. Designed to hold people over, it gave many the ability to survive during a tumultuous time and restored a modicum of dignity by recognizing that people have the ability to make intelligent decisions. Nevertheless, the positive work done by FEMA has been eclipsed by reports of FEMA blocking relief efforts from outside agencies and individuals.

If, as Marvin Olasky argues in *World*, we truly live in a "paperocracy," then the lackluster government reaction to Hurricane Katrina showcased the extreme difficulty in coordinating the efforts of multiple agencies because of red-tape. Did bureaucratic red-tape feed into the inability of FEMA to synchronize efforts? The unsatisfactory nature of the federal response was further highlighted by the ability of mega-stores such as Wal-Mart to provide citizens with better help and services following Katrina than the government of the United States. Yet, as New Orleans moves toward rebuilding, the government is handing out levee-reconstruction contracts to large corporations, and that is most disconcerting. Corporations such as Halliburton and Bechtel & Flour have no personal stake in the reconstruction process – they are in the business to make a profit, and New Orleans residents are left to wonder if they will be shortchanged.

Planning Response: Plans, plans and more plans

With dead oak trees signaling that the marshes are in a fight for their lives, and with grasses and debris littering the streets, New Orleans is obviously ailing. Faced with the intricacies of reconstruction, a battered New Orleans is tip-toeing through the potential minefield of stakeholders. The planning community has responded with enthusiasm and hope. At this historic moment, older philosophies such as "destroy and restore" should give way to a more enlightened perspectives on what must be preserved and what can be abandoned. Typically, Americans have not been extremely concerned with retaining relics from the past, due in most part to the difficulty and expense it takes to save buildings, coupled with the large amount of land the country originally had at its disposal. Sometimes, it is easier for a developer to raze an entire building than it is to gut it and remodel the interior. Furthermore, time is of the essence. Waiting for structures to dry could take longer than other methods. Planners have a rare opportunity to rebuild a foremost metropolitan center and potentially correct major flaws exacerbated by continuous thoughtless development. The American Planning Association notes the effort to rebuild must be collaborative and locally based, with high levels of community participation and engaging practitioners from multiple professional realms – architects, planners, engineers, social workers, and so forth.

The fear is that New Orleans will likely become a city where people visit but no one lives, a Creole Disneyland. The apprehension of many within the planning community is that the rebuilding process will focus on replicating the structures/architectural styles that made New Orleans so intriguing without acknowledging the vast array of problems facing the city. Part of what makes New Orleans unique is its broad ranging architectural mix reflecting the influence of varied settlers: New Orleans Chamber of Commerce records more than 40,000 buildings as listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the majority located within the boundaries of the French Quarter (which was spared the worst of Hurricane Katrina because of its minor elevation above sea level). The call remains to balance historic preservation with the demands for a quick fix by politicians whose voices are driving the reconstructive efforts.

Planners argue that the reconstruction process could decentralize poverty by building mixed income, infill housing on higher ground, and allowing low-lying areas of the city to take the brunt of storms. How to proceed? Creating a new city based upon New Orleans' historic, pre-hurricane character, as suggested by a number of plans, could be dangerous. A reasonable facsimile of the 2004 New Orleans can be constructed, but it will be a sterile casing lacking New Orleanian spirit and soul. Planners could look to the original 1878 plan for the city, in which city officials designated land that could be developed and land that should not be developed. Early New Orleanians settled on the small swath of land that remained dry during the post-Katrina floods – a strip east of the Mississippi River running from Jefferson Parish to Poland Avenue. They settled on natural levees that developed over time as the Mississippi River dumped silt to create higher ground on which the city was founded. Areas of New Orleans that flooded in September 2005, including what is today known as the 9th Ward, are clearly marked on the 1878 map drawn by T.S. Hardee: "Cypress Swamp."

The potential plans for the 9th Ward, including the suggestion that the entire neighborhood be razed in order to fashion a park or wetlands to help mitigate future flood threats, has caused concern among the city's poorest residents. Residents of the 9th Ward, a cultural Mecca within the city, see this solution as another way in which they are being made invisible

– as if their contributions to the city of New Orleans are not valuable or worthy of developing a strategy to overcome the devastation. However, safer development could occur in areas above sea-level that remained dry during the flood. This can be accomplished by enacting policies to encourage infill development. Yes, this will alter the “look” of New Orleans – but cities are meant to evolve – or they will stagnate and begin to die (as we have witnessed in old manufacturing centers in the mid-west). Rebuilding with the same pre-Katrina mindset in regards to development is ill-advised.

A second option is to revamp the transportation infrastructure by replacing the freeway system with more public transit. The suggestion is to go back to pre-World War II days when trolley cars criss-crossed New Orleans and supplied not only charm, but also a well-connected city that did not reinforce patterns of inequality among the citizens. If the trolley cars are brought back, we could see a New Orleans that is a dense, urban, walkable city, accessible to all parts of society via affordable public transportation.

Solutions must be proportional to the problem. Perhaps projects scaled small enough to be feasible and locally acceptable are dwarfed by the magnitude of the crisis. New Orleans might find that the Netherlands offers a more appropriate example. After severe flooding in the 1950's, and again in 1995 and 1998, rather than responding in the traditional manner and building taller, stronger dikes, the Netherlands realized the levees were breached and overtopped. Thus, taller levees were not the answer. Rethinking possible solutions, the final response was a concrete-and-steel dam and seawall project that cost the country billions of dollars. Engineers developed a scheme to breach levees on purpose during critical flood conditions, this way pressure from the waters could be diverted to areas where flooding would prove less disastrous such as undeveloped open space. Additionally, the Dutch invested in the re-creation of sand dunes along the coast and cleared buildings along riverbanks to provide additional land for flooded rivers. Even the homes in the Netherlands are built to perform during a flood – some amphibious models can accommodate changes in water levels. In order to arrive at such a comprehensive solution, the Dutch had to reject the notion that bigger is better, and embrace the fact that they

were living with water. Changing the mentality in America, land of the big, is a lofty goal, but such a change certainly needs to be part of any viable solution to the problems New Orleans faces.

Perhaps it is not enough to challenge nature; perhaps we have to *collaborate* with nature to protect our cities. When considering how to tackle reconstruction, New Orleans can begin by spending billions of dollars to bring infrastructure up to date, and building to the specifications of a storm with unimaginable strength. Both of these tasks can be achieved: we have the capital as well as the American work ethic, enabling us to conquer the unimaginable. However, we also must remember that the fact that it is technologically possible to do something – in this case to build a city below sea level – is not an indisputable reason to do it. If New Orleans truly desires to rebuild itself without becoming a hollow showcase of “pork projects,” leaders from government, the planning community, and citizen's groups must emerge to demand that alternatives are not only voiced, but also heard, valued and incorporated. New Orleans, urban capital of the Grand South, a signature American city, the world is watching – what's your move?



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COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING IN AUSTIN, TEXAS: ONE NEIGHBORHOOD AT A TIME

SONYA LÓPEZ

Abstract

Austin, Texas has had a remarkable record of citizen-based planning efforts since the 1970s. This article examines the latest incarnation of participatory planning in Austin: neighborhood planning. Unlike the comprehensive planning efforts of the past, neighborhood planning takes a piecemeal approach to urban planning. To date, over thirty neighborhood plans within Austin's urban core have been completed under the guidance of the Neighborhood Planning and Zoning Department, with about twenty-five neighborhood planning areas remaining. The program has had several noteworthy successes but has also revealed significant limitations to participatory planning at the neighborhood scale. This article will critique the neighborhood planning process in Austin from a municipal staff perspective to reveal the benefits, limitations and potential future direction of the program.

"There are times which are not ordinary, and at such times it is not enough to follow the road. It is necessary to know where it leads, and if it leads nowhere, to follow another."

- R.H. Tawney

The practice of participatory planning emerged in Austin, Texas in the early 1970s and has had an influential role ever since on how city planning is conducted. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Austin struggled to create a comprehensive plan for the City that was supported by both elected officials and a majority of citizens. The inability to create a citywide plan with mass public involvement that would respond to both growth concerns and the desire to foster economic development led to the current form of comprehensive planning in Austin today, Neighborhood Planning.

In Austin, the general public has had, and continues to have, many formal and informal opportunities to communicate its impressions and criticisms regarding planning processes and products. However, the same cannot be said for city planners, who are more cautious with their opinions because the subject matter can be controversial and political in nature. As a result, city staff views regarding the effectiveness of the planning programs they lead are largely unknown to those outside their department. This article will identify two of the primary challenges of the Neighborhood Planning program according to current and former Neighborhood Planning staff.

The article begins with an examination of contemporary citizen participation in the U.S. and summarizes some of the critiques that have surfaced in response to its application in the field of planning. This is followed with contextual information about the City of Austin and an overview of participatory planning efforts prior to the late 1990s. The author then focuses attention on the Neighborhood Planning program and presents some ideas on how participatory comprehensive planning in Austin could be improved. It should be noted that there are many areas

related to participatory planning that are relevant topics for discussion that were not within the scope of this paper. There has been much criticism regarding the lack of definition of the term "community planning", the concern being that this leads to confusion and disagreement with respect to exactly what it is supposed to accomplish and that it is difficult to know how to carry out community planning effectively. In addition, there are several issues that fall within the category of representation that relate to the age, race, gender and income level of participants. All of these issues merit further research and discussion when looking at the holistic effectiveness of participatory processes.

A Look at Contemporary Citizen Participation in the U.S.

The motivation for contemporary citizen involvement in urban planning can be traced back to the 1960s when citizens began to reject the technocratic planning approaches common at the time that subordinated individual interests to the public good. Harsh federal programs emanating from legislation like the 1950s Housing and Highway Acts had detrimental effects on individuals and communities. The Civil Rights Movement that emerged as a result of social discontent awakened citizen participation from its slumber under a system of professionalized city management (Hester, 1996). According to Burke, "one legacy to come out of this Movement was the dramatic illustration of the power of citizen participation" (Burke, 1979, 72).

Citizen participation today does not just focus on combating racism and addressing the needs of the poor, as was often the case in the 1960s. According to Hester, the protest activities at the time reawakened local participatory democracy in all aspects of city life (Hester, 1996). The practice of citizen participation has questioned democracy in society and has been interpreted as a right of citizens instead of simply existing as a moderate accommodation as in prior years (Burke, 1979). With respect to planning, people began to demand that planning be conducted "with" or "by" the people instead of "for" the common interest or public good. Consequently, today's planners include some sort of public involvement element when planning either as a result of federal or state mandates, or because citizen participation is often perceived to be a "required" element

of planning. In many instances, it is politically impossible (or impracticable) not to include at least some level of citizen involvement in city planning activities.

Planning theories and practices that emerged after the 1960s represented a shift away from the plans themselves to emphasize planning process, focusing on the contribution of participants rather than the creation of documents (Neuman, 1998). While planning scholars and practitioners accept for the most part the idea that public participation is essential to create solid and lasting plans (Brody, Godschalk, and Burby, 2003; Burke, 1979; Day, 1997), some maintain that too much attention to procedural details has led to a corresponding abandonment of plan development. This has resulted in the neglect of the physical aspects of planning and a disregard for the citywide vision and a broader understanding of the public interest/good (Berke, 2002; Talen and Ellis, 2002). According to Berke, planning has become increasingly difficult since the 1960s as attention has shifted away from large scale planning to focus on the planning process. He contends that the dominance of the procedural approach is limited in that it "emphasizes diversity, openness, and consensus building but is not equipped to plan for, and implement, a shared civic vision in local planning arenas dominated by fragmentation and conflict" (Berke, 2002, 22). Without the plan as the foundation, citizen participation tends to be reactionary and the resulting planning products are narrow and shortsighted because they are based on individual self-interest; procedural oriented approaches result in parochialism as there is no shared understanding or concept of planning for the common good (Berke, 2002; Hester, 1996; Talen and Ellis, 2002).

Critics do not propose to eliminate citizen participation from planning but rather to incorporate the approach into a program that has a solid basis in physical form and concepts to redress the present imbalance between process and substance. They argue that how planning is conducted should not consume the process; planners need to be drawn back into matters of planning substance to help put the "plan" back into planning (Breheny, 1996; Levy, 1992).

The Austin Context

Not long ago, Austin was still considered a small town, and felt

as such to its residents, despite its position as the capitol of the immense state of Texas. In the mid-1900s, Austin began to experience significantly steady increases in population, with the average rate of population growth between 1940 and 2000 at more than thirty percent per decade, from 87,930 to 656,562 (City of Austin, 2004). Much of this growth is attributed to the expansion of the economy due to the emergence of the high tech sector (Orum, 1987). Unlike the remainder of the state where petroleum industries dominated the local economy, Austin succeeded in attracting cleaner industries and by the early 1990s, the Austin Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) was home to approximately 400 high-tech companies (Humphrey, 2004). The influx of new citizens and companies caused the real estate market to boom and in addition to the size of the populace, the geographic confines of the city itself expanded dramatically. From 1960 to 1995, the Austin metropolitan area grew from 55 square miles to almost 230 square miles, an increase of over 300 percent (City of Austin, 2004).

Around this time, some of Austin's citizens began to question the rapid growth of the city and worried that continued development might threaten their quality of life and the character of the community. In the early 1970s, citizens involved with neighborhood associations and environmental organizations recognized their common goal of preserving Austin's social and environmental characteristics and developed a shared opposition to unmanaged growth. Ironically, the quality of life features that contributed to the decision of large technology-based firms to locate in Austin were the very things that long-time Austinites felt were being jeopardized due to uninhibited growth.

In conflict with neighborhood and environmental groups were development and business interests hoping to capitalize on the burgeoning high-tech wave. Their main focus was not to build a community but to turn a profit through land development deals (Orum, 1987). This new concept of land as a commodity by developers sparked a conflict in the city that continues to exist today. Austin continues to grow, although at a much slower pace relative to previous decades. However, the various individuals and groups that make up Austin's social strata do not cease in their efforts to either limit or propagate this growth. One of Austin's

greatest challenges for the future is to find a balance between the economic development it has long sought with the kind of life its residents have long treasured.

History of Participatory Planning in Austin

Austin has operated under a number of comprehensive plans throughout its history. Prior to 1979, the City relied on plans that were created by technical experts with almost no citizen participation input. Planning was staff oriented and the director of the planning department could almost operate as a "benevolent dictator" (Polnau, 2004). The primary method for soliciting public opinion regarding development was via the traditional public hearing held at board, commission and City Council meetings. The rapid population growth resulting from the burgeoning high-tech industry beginning in the 1970s demanded that sensible planning guidelines be developed and followed (Keeling, 2000). Citizens encouraged the municipal government to adopt regulations to channel this growth in a sensible manner. It was at this time that Austin began to include extensive public involvement in master planning activities.

The Austin Tomorrow Process (1972-1979)



In the early 1970s, Austin was still operating under the Development Plan of 1961. The City recognized that a new master plan was needed since the current plan did not shape growth so much as it responded to, or reflected, current growth trends already underway (Polnau, 2004; Watson, 2004).

Updating of the [Development] Plan was needed to meet the demands of a changing community. It was agreed that the new plan had to be much more comprehensive than in the past and had to consider more thorough land use planning. It also had to define the broad planning

policies of the City for as much as 20 years, and at the same time it had to be implemented in five year increments through Austin's Capital Improvements Program (CIP), the annual budget and the City's policies, codes and ordinances (Austin Tomorrow Goals Assembly, 1975, 10).

In 1972, the City launched the Austin Tomorrow Program with the intention of creating a new master plan that would take into account the latest growth and development projections. The program recognized the strong interest of citizens in growth and development issues and realized that public input was essential to finding a sensible strategy for growth in Austin (Austin Tomorrow Goals Assembly, 1975). This was to be Austin's first experience with conducting a large-scale participatory planning process.

According to Luther Polnau, a former city planner who had a significant role in both the Austin Tomorrow planning process and its successor, Austinplan, the Austin Tomorrow endeavor was innovative with respect to how it legitimized citizen participation in planning, giving it a formal role in the planning process. The effort was applauded for its community building aspect and for catalyzing the formation of new and numerous neighborhood organizations. While city planners who worked on the plan were satisfied that the level of citizen participation achieved was high and that representation was generally good, they acknowledged that the business and development community was not as active a participant as it should have been; a group that ultimately contributed significantly to the delegitimization of the plan (Polnau, 2004).

Austin Tomorrow was written primarily as a policy document to be implemented by future City Council actions made in conformance with the plan. However, its policies made development interests uneasy. The boom in the economy in the mid to late 1970s caused Austin to grow at an unprecedented pace, which was a positive trend for Austin's influential development community. They did not want to see the development boom in Austin curtailed by Austin Tomorrow. At the same time, vocal neighborhood and environmentalist factions felt that Austin Tomorrow was not a strong enough document to meet their expectations of either halting urban growth entirely or at least keeping development from getting out of control. Austin Tomorrow, although adopted by the City Council

in 1979 as the new comprehensive plan for the city, lacked the backing of a number of influential people and groups who managed to put significant pressure on the City Council to withhold support for the adopted plan. After adoption, it became clear that Austin Tomorrow did not have the crucial support from elected leadership in addition to the citizenry that it needed to succeed as a new and improved guiding document for Austin (Poer, 2004; Polnau, 2004).

Given the unpopularity of the Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan at that time, it is ironic that it continues to exist as the official comprehensive plan of the City today. However, the phrase "Austin Tomorrow" is rarely uttered by city planners and the document is not referenced when making either short or long-term planning recommendations. Neither is it a document that community members mention during planning discussions. In effect, while the document is official City planning policy, no one is inclined to reference or utilize it for guidance despite the acclaim bestowed on the participatory element of Austin Tomorrow's planning process.

The Austinplan Process (1985 - 1989)

The Austin Tomorrow comprehensive planning process led to a second participatory planning venture in the mid-1980s. Austinplan was intended to delineate growth policy until 2020 with population projections as the driving force behind the planning effort. The City claimed that this new plan would update the problematic Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan but in reality, the intent of Austinplan was to replace it with a completely new product. There was a conscious decision made by the planning department to start fresh with Austinplan and not repeat the mistakes of the past, effectively leaving Austin Tomorrow behind (Polnau 2004; Poer 2004).

Like Austin Tomorrow, the Austinplan process included a significant amount of citizen involvement, although some planning staff felt that participation was not as representative of the City's different groups as during Austin Tomorrow (Polnau, 2004; Poer, 2004). According to planning scholar Timothy Beatley, Austinplan "was imaginative in conception, and used one of the most extensive citizen-based comprehensive planning processes ever attempted" (Beatley and Brower, 1994). There was a very

elaborate participatory structure to Austinplan starting with one large steering committee at the top overseeing the entire process, down to numerous sector councils (i.e. working groups) that focused on specific areas of the city.

Unlike Austin Tomorrow, Austinplan was intended to be more than a policy document. The primary element of Austinplan was to be a set of sector maps that dictated land use intensity levels. Sector planning was intended to create land use plans for small sections of the city, sector by sector, with the eventual goal to bring all of the areas together to make one master land use plan. However, according to one planning staff person involved in the project, there was no clear structure to guide land use planning and each sector was planned in isolation of the others (Poer, 2004). There was nothing in place to ensure that sector plans were coordinated and compatible with each other and that the final result would be a logical and orderly land use scheme for the city. Not surprisingly, participation tended to be dominated by neighborhood groups in the central city sectors and large landholding interests in the Extra Territorial Jurisdiction (ETJ) sectors. This resulted in central area plans that typically promoted lower densities while some of the outlying areas were planned to have more intense levels of development (Poer, 2004).

The timing of Austinplan, like Austin Tomorrow, proved unfortunate in that the planning process coincided with dramatic fluctuations in the local economy. The boom that had occurred during the Austin Tomorrow process was followed by a dramatic dive in the economy during Austinplan. Austinplan became riddled with competing interests and its consensus based approach collapsed as infighting prevented individuals and groups from reaching agreement. As with Austin Tomorrow, the development community again was very nervous about the implications of the Plan on future City development (Poer, 2004; Polnau, 2004).

The process of drafting Austinplan lasted approximately three years and then the plan went through a lengthy review process by the Planning Commission. Following the Commission review, city staff presented Austinplan to the City Council. After approving Austinplan at the first two readings, the City Council decided to return it to the Planning Commission for further review. It was never taken back to either the

Planning Commission or the City Council (Poer, 2004; Polnau, 2004).

By the end of the drawn-out Austinplan process, all parties involved were exhausted and disillusioned by the effort. The climate in municipal government as well as in the City as a whole no longer supported the comprehensive planning approach, hence the plan lost its priority position as other pressing issues became more important (Polnau, 2004; Watson, 2004). The failure of Austinplan to get adopted was devastating to the morale of planning staff (Poer, 2004). An Austin American-Statesman article headline summed up the outcome of Austinplan: "With Austinplan, apathy overrides the grand vision". The author wrote:

The plan, bogged down in a cumbersome process that involved thousands of people, took its toll on city staff members, who left their jobs to do something – anything – other than Austinplan (Pope, 1989).

The economic slump had contributed to the general public's lack of interest in continuing on with the comprehensive planning effort, and support for the process had dwindled. Development interests has circumvented the process and managed to persuade the state legislature to change the Texas Local Government Code to limit the authority of municipalities in Texas to impose land use regulations. In other words, even if Austinplan had been adopted, the power of its land use recommendations most likely would have been significantly limited by state restrictions. The draft Austinplan document is itself evidence of its shortcomings: "Although the recommended Austinplan document has been based on a consensus approach, there is not unanimous support for the overall Plan nor for particular aspects of the document" (City of Austin, 1988, i). By the time Austinplan was taken to City Council for adoption there was virtually no one from the community to champion the plan and development pressure on council members effectively killed it. The fate of Austinplan was sealed in 1989 when Council cut the printing budget and all staff positions associated with Austinplan (Polnau, 2004; Watson, 2004).

Citizens' Planning Committee (CPC) (1994-1997)

The City was learning that creating a current comprehensive plan utilizing a participating planning method was challenging. The Austin City Council responded by establishing the twenty-two member Citizens' Planning Committee in 1994 to find more effective means to address, among other things, Austin's growth concerns. This Committee was charged with making recommendations for how citizens, neighborhoods, and the City could work together to improve planning and development in Austin. Committee members ranged from members of City boards and commissions, to experts in planning, development, neighborhood, transportation and environmental issues. The individuals that comprised this broad spectrum of interests all agreed that Austin was headed in the wrong direction and maintaining the status quo would only prolong and exacerbate the current situation of "unplanned growth with no unified vision for the future" (Citizens' Planning Committee, 1995, 1).

Citizens' Planning Committee Members:

Ben Heimsath	Phil Friday	Abel Ruiz
Betty Edgemond	Cecil Pennington	Curt Shaw
Melvin Wrenn	Scott Polikov	David Smith
Larry Anderson	Alicia Reimmund	Jean Mather
Fred Blood	Yolanda Reyes	Darwin McKee
Milosav Cekic	Mike Rivera	John Bolt Harris
Smoot Carl-Mitchell	Fred Robinson	
Carroll Faulkner	John C. Rosato	

(Citizens' Planning Committee, 1995)

In 1995, the Committee produced a report that made twelve core recommendations "intended to serve as the comprehensive framework for a more livable and sustainable Austin" (Citizens' Planning and Implementation Committee, 1997, i). One of the recommendations was for the City to work with neighborhood residents, property owners, business owners, and other stakeholders to develop neighborhood plans.

According to Fred Blood, a member of the Committee: "This was a way for the City to build trust and avoid conflict, allowing communities to express their specific heritages, instead of a one-size-fits-all master plan" (Blood, 2004). Consciously avoiding a citywide master planning process, neighborhood planning was selected as the appropriate comprehensive planning strategy for Austin.

The Neighborhood Planning Program (1997 - Present)

In 1996 a Pilot Neighborhood Planning Ad Hoc Committee was established with representatives from key constituencies.

Neighborhood Planning Ad Hoc Committee Members

Thais Austin	Cloteal Davis Haynes	Veronica Perez
Army Barbee	Jeff Jack	Luther Polnau
Alice Glasco	Jean Mather	Harry Savio
Brad Gieclblum	Michele Middlebrook	George Villalva
Jay Haily	Gonzalez	Tracy Watson
Ben Heimsath	Cecil Pennington	Roger Duncan

(From a report to City Council on May 13, 1997)

The group formulated recommendations on how to initiate neighborhood planning in Austin. Their report was presented to the City Council in the spring of 1997. Later that year, the City Council initiated neighborhood planning with three pilot neighborhoods that were selected on an application basis. The pilot neighborhoods were East Cesar Chavez, Chestnut and Dawson. These plans were largely crafted by the neighborhood participants themselves with staff assistance.

In 1999, as more neighborhoods became interested in creating plans, the City Council approved the Urban Core Neighborhood Planning Strategy with a goal of completing neighborhood plans for the central part of Austin (a.k.a. the urban core), generally bounded by Stassney Lane, Braker Lane, Hwy 183 and Mopac. The application process used in the pilot stage of the program was eliminated in favor of City Council selection of neighborhood planning areas.

Land use and zoning are by far the most influential and weighty

parts of neighborhood plans. A Future Land Use Map (FLUM), an example of which is provided in Figure 1, is the most important element of the plan and serves as a guide for future rezoning proposals. Mass zoning recommendations are created during the planning process in an effort to implement the land use vision that is depicted on the FLUM. When the neighborhood plan is presented to the City Council for adoption, a corresponding zoning ordinance is taken forward, that includes multiple recommendations to rezone properties within each neighborhood planning area.

Apart from land use and zoning, transportation issues are a less important element of neighborhood plans. Typically the transportation section includes recommendations for new or improved sidewalks, bike lanes, and trails, in addition to transit improvements. Neighborhood plans also contain urban design recommendations in the form of voluntary guidelines. As of 2001, these guidelines are no longer individually crafted for each planning area and now consist of broad design statements that are included in each neighborhood plan. These receive relatively minimal attention when compared with more divisive and polarizing issues such as zoning.

Austin Tomorrow is still the City's current comprehensive plan, although the priorities, goals, policies, and recommendations in Austin Tomorrow are not recognized during the neighborhood planning process. With each neighborhood plan adopted, there is an update to the comprehensive plan. Some have called this approach to comprehensive planning a "patchwork quilt" since the ultimate goal is to create a new comprehensive plan for Austin by cobbling together the individual neighborhood plans. An average of six to nine plans are adopted each fiscal year and to date, thirty-three of the fifty-eight neighborhood planning areas that make up the urban core have adopted neighborhood plans (See Figure 2).

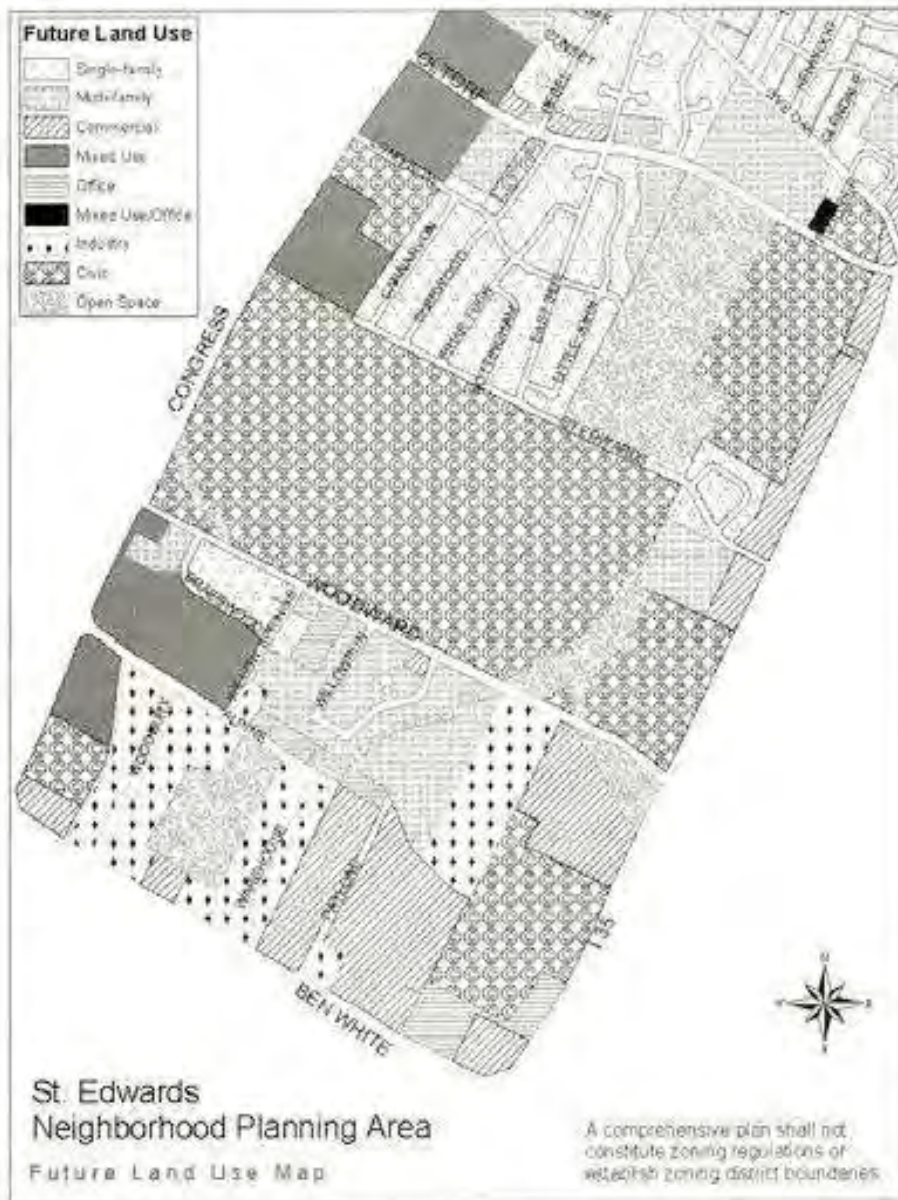


Figure 1: An example of a Future Land Use Map (FLUM).

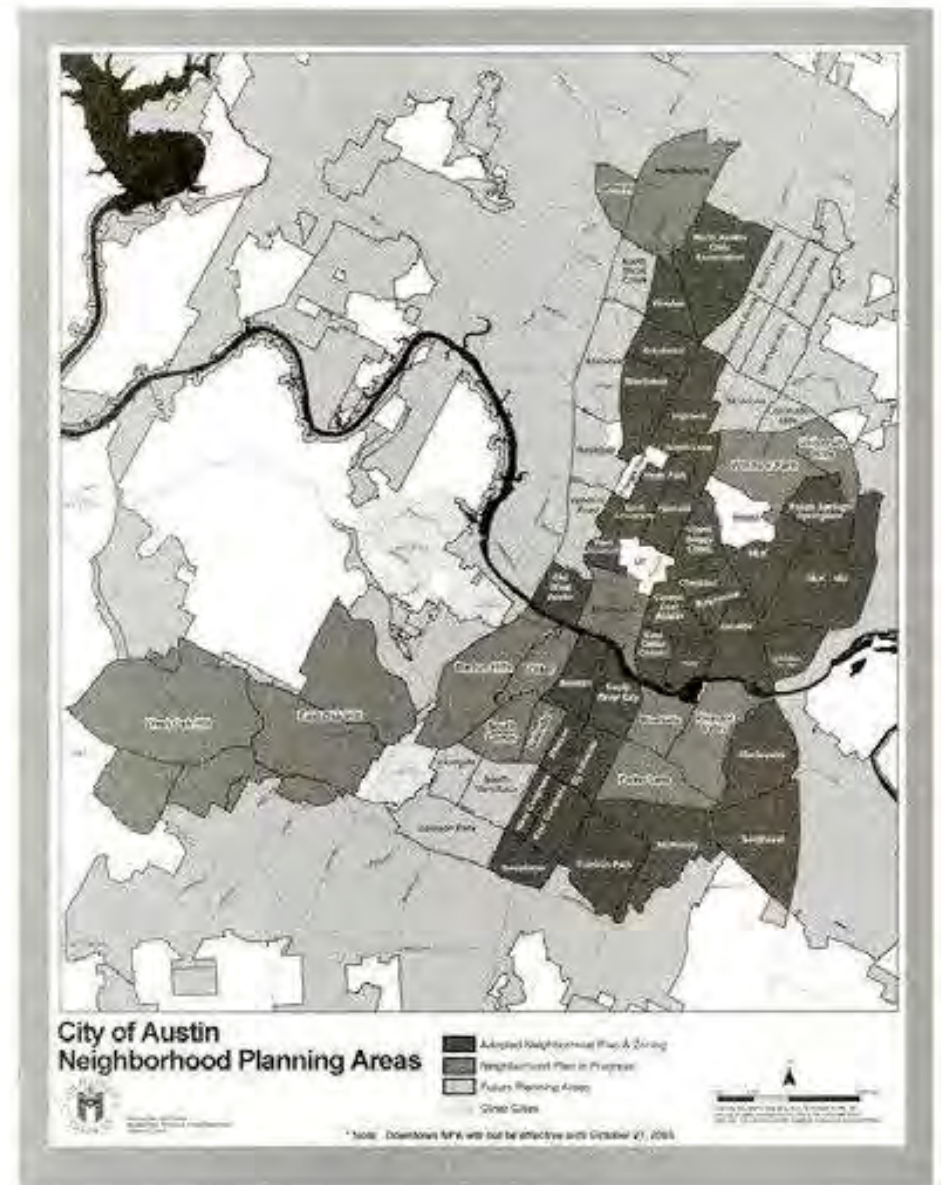


Figure 2: Neighborhood Planning Areas in Austin.

Neighborhood Planners' Perspectives

The role of the neighborhood planner is challenging and often conflicted. Planners are expected to represent and balance not only City interests but also those of the many constituencies that participate in a continuously evolving process. Given their intimate involvement with the program and the stakeholders that participate in the process, reflections of neighborhood planning staff are especially relevant.

The following information is culled from semi-structured interviews with neighborhood planning staff conducted in 2003. The author interviewed four of the ten current neighborhood planners (as of 2003) in addition to two former neighborhood planners. The tenure of the interviewees ranged from one-and-a-half to four-and-a-half years and positions ranged from the Planner II level to Principal Planner. Interviewees were first and foremost selected based on their level of exposure to neighborhood planning issues, with a higher degree of exposure desired. Second, the author selected a group of planners who had worked in a diversity of planning areas that, when combined, covered a broad range of geographic areas of the City. All of the interviewees have master's degrees in planning and are in their mid-to-late 20s or early-to-mid 30s. The identity of the interviewees is not revealed and comments are not distinguished by interviewee so as to not associate a series of statements with a particular individual. The reason for maintaining the complete anonymity of the subjects is two-fold. First, since most of the interviewees are current city employees (although not necessarily in Neighborhood Planning), it is a precautionary measure to avoid potential conflict with City colleagues and officials as well as individuals involved in the Neighborhood Planning process who may find their comments objectionable. Second, anonymity is necessary to elicit sincere and honest opinions, avoiding reticence to critique a City program in which they are, or were, involved.

Interviews with Neighborhood Planning staff revealed two principal themes: one, citizen participation in the Neighborhood Planning process is limited and typically not representative of the diversity of interests within the broader community and two, the Neighborhood Planning program lacks a citywide vision and goals to guide planning efforts.

There was unanimous agreement that while the Neighborhood

Planning process has the ability to accommodate a diversity of interests, they acknowledged that in reality, the interests that are represented in the process belong to those individuals that have the time and interest to participate in public meetings. Half of the planners felt that limited resources restricted planning staff's ability to do much more than work with those people who announce themselves as being stakeholders in a particular area after responding to an initial neighborhood-wide mail-out. They believed that because the job of conducting a participatory planning process is busy, demanding and challenging, staff ends up unintentionally focusing on the individuals and groups who are immediately present, making their needs and desires known. Established neighborhood groups and local organizations are well-known by neighborhood planners as they tend to be extremely vocal at meetings, but several planners expressed concern regarding how much these groups truly represent the people who they claim to represent. According to one planner, "The neighborhood planning process seems to represent and reward those interests that announce themselves as stakeholders regardless of how diverse or representative those interests are in actuality."



Figure 3: Neighborhood Planning Meeting.



Figure 4: Community participants at a Neighborhood Planning meeting.

A widely shared critique of the planners was that the mass mail-out technique is an ineffective method to achieve significant participation and true representation and that more resources need to be devoted to targeting specific groups so that they are made aware of the process, of why it is important, and how they can contribute. All stated that the majority of participation comes from single-family homeowners whose primary interests are to preserve the status quo, restrict residential density and commercial intensity, and maintain and improve single-family neighborhoods. The business community is not well represented in the planning process and there were concerns expressed by a couple of planners that the label "Neighborhood Planning" gives business owners the impression that the process is only for residential interests. The business and non-residential property owners that do participate in the process often have staunch Libertarian principles: "Just leave me alone, do not interfere with my property rights."

Another shared opinion was that one of most significant challenges from a participatory standpoint is increasing involvement from the rental community, which is extremely low and often nonexistent. Several planners felt that the "inability" to attract a large representative base of citizens to participate in the process is a significant shortcoming of the program in that it limits the feedback at meetings to the interests and opinions of those present. Neighborhood planners attempt to get participants to consider the perspectives and needs of the broader community, in particular those stakeholder groups that are absent from the meetings, with little success.

The problem of unsatisfactory participation is exacerbated by the fact that the Neighborhood Planning program lacks a citywide vision and goals to guide planning efforts. The planners all commented on this deficiency and how it hinders community-wide thinking. There are citywide issues that need to be addressed such as affordable housing, transportation, urban form, density and growth, but citywide issues are not the primary concern of planning participants, with one planner stating, "Many neighborhoods are so wrapped up in their own self-interest that city and regional issues seem to have no meaning to them." It can even be a significant challenge for planners to get participants to deliberate and plan at the neighborhood level (versus the individual property level), much less at a citywide scale. According to one planner, it is very difficult to get participants to understand that the city is a dynamic place and that change is inevitable as it grows.

All of the planners concurred that not having a solid comprehensive vision and set of guiding principles for how the city should develop physically is problematic because planners are unable to provide Neighborhood Planning participants with clear goals that they should pursue during the planning process. According to former Austin Chronicle columnist and Central East Austin Neighborhood Planning Chair, Mike Clark-Madison, "There are no goals to meet; there are only wishes, dreamed up by staff, or by council, or by neighbors, in their respective vacuums" (Clark-Madison 2002). In this context, planners find it extremely difficult to get planning participants to consider the broader needs of the community.

To some of the planners, this flaw of the planning program raises serious questions about the value and validity of Neighborhood

Planning products. Without a shared understanding of what needs to be accomplished, it is unclear how things will end up when Neighborhood Planning is completed in the urban core. Planning one area at a time, with each planning area establishing its own vision and goals independent of other neighborhood plans, is a haphazard and piecemeal approach towards developing a comprehensive plan. Planning in this manner is risky in that no one really knows what the final product is going to look like when it all comes together, a thought that is anathema to rational planners and advocates of comprehensive planning. One planner recalled that staff would joke amongst themselves that the final product might look more like the face of Frankenstein than a patchwork quilt.

In response, the author feels that Austin should make it a priority to develop a citywide vision that reflects the current economic, social, and environmental situation in Austin to serve as the foundation for the Neighborhood Planning process; a vision that each neighborhood plan uses for direction and guidance. Perhaps a community-wide visioning process that doesn't bog itself down with implementation details could be a way to manage divergent interests, first determining where commonalities exist with respect to Austin's future and then focusing on those issues where there are conflicting opinions. A process is needed that allows citizens to envision broadly how Austin should be in twenty-five or fifty years without getting caught-up in specifics like zoning. The key is to create a broad outreach strategy that would include a lot of people (homeowners, renters, business owners and non-resident property owners of diverse ethnicities and education and income levels) in discussions about the future. The approach must not be so specific that people instantly oppose it because they perceive that it might threaten their private property rights or induce change, but it should include a thorough discussion of the issues of population, growth and density.

The vision could be the first component of a city planning hierarchy, with subsequent elements building off the product of the preceding phase. Ideally a step-by-step approach would not overwhelm the community or create panic as both the Austin Tomorrow and Austinplan processes did; it would be a methodical building block strategy including:

- A community vision that establishes **broad citywide goals** as the basis for a master plan;
- A **master plan** that creates policies, priorities, and strategies to guide neighborhood planning; it would address how the vision will affect citywide issues such as land use, transportation, urban form, the natural environment and affordable housing, in addition to other long-term issues with possible recommendations for revisions to City Code;
- **Neighborhood plans** that implement the master plan and address issues such as zoning at the local level

Mike Clark-Madison aptly asks some of questions that would be suitable discussion topics during the creation of the master plan:

How much growth will we absorb within the existing city limits? Where do we want the students, the yuppies, the poor people, the large employers, the small employers? What kinds of development should we require, not just encourage? How do we want our streets to function? (Clark-Madison, 2002).

During this master planning process (and probably at the visioning stage as well), the goals and recommendations established under Austin Tomorrow and Austinplan could be reviewed and possibly incorporated into the current vision or master plan in addition to the work of the Citizens' Planning Committee. It is likely that some of the content of past planning efforts would be valued by Austin citizens today. A cursory examination of both Austin Tomorrow and Austinplan reveals that many, if not most, of the priorities identified during these planning processes are still important today based on public input at Neighborhood Planning meetings. Some of these priorities include:

- Managing growth in an orderly and planned manner
- Respecting Austin's natural environment by encouraging land use patterns that preserve and protect sensitive environmental areas
- Protecting and preserving natural resources

- Promoting a unique image and special character for the City
- Promoting cultural diversity and economic vitality
- Making development and redevelopment compatible with existing styles and characters
- Preserving the residential character of new and existing neighborhoods and protecting them from the intrusion of higher intensity land uses
- Improving housing and neighborhood quality
- Preserving open spaces and providing adequate park land
- Improving water and air quality
- Increasing the availability of housing for low and moderate income households
- Developing balanced and diverse neighborhoods
- Reducing neighborhood segregation and promoting social and economic integration
- Developing a multi-modal, safe and efficient transportation system
- Preserving historic and cultural sites, corridors and areas
- Stimulating enterprise development and utilizing human resources (Austin Tomorrow, 1975; Austinplan, 1988)

According to long-time neighborhood advocate, Jim Walker, the Austin Tomorrow plan, while now a bit outdated, is still an important and relevant document created from a strong base of citizen input.

To assist planners and planning participants at the neighborhood planning stage (and most likely to a certain degree in the previous two phases) with determining how citywide issues can be addressed at the local level, there needs to be more focus on concrete concepts and analysis. One of the most contentious issues in Neighborhood Planning is growth and development. Solutions on how to accommodate future population growth are inconsistent at best, and in many cases, absent in the current process. If the planning process were operating under the vision and master plan established earlier, it could utilize citywide data and information for topics like existing and planned population densities, the existing amount, location and estimated deficiencies of different housing types in addition

to office, retail and commercial space, the availability of reasonably priced housing and their placement within the City, etc. With this information, planning participants would be better able to identify opportunities within their area to meet citywide goals. It would be important at this stage to continuously refer back to the City's vision and master plan and inform participants of the larger process of which neighborhood planning is only a part.

It would be helpful as well as prudent for the City of Austin to build off of the results of the Envision Central Texas (ECT) long-range regional visioning exercise when creating its own vision, policies, and strategies. The goal of ECT is to create a common vision among five counties, one of which was Travis County, to address growth in a positive, proactive and innovative way (Envision Central Texas, 2005). The process is an unparalleled planning endeavor with thousands of people throughout the region participating in workshops, surveys and other forms of community outreach. The high levels of projected population growth for central Texas (in addition to the dramatic changes that have occurred in the region in the past few decades) have encouraged many people to get involved and through this process, the public has been educated on certain realities that will most certainly cause significant change in the future. The ECT Vision was released in May 2004; however, the City of Austin has yet to make a formal commitment to the ECT product.

Conclusion

The City of Austin has an interesting and lengthy history of participatory comprehensive planning efforts. The community as a whole seems to have an unerring desire to include public participation in its planning efforts and has implemented several citizen participation based approaches throughout the years in an effort to create a functional comprehensive plan for the city. The issues and challenges identified in this article that face the City's current comprehensive planning program, Neighborhood Planning, are not exhaustive. Plan implementation and inter-departmental communication and coordination are other areas that need serious attention and revision in addition to the topic of neighborhood empowerment.

However, the most serious concern for this program is that, while citizen participation in principle is positive, participation without a guide or foundation is problematic, making the planning process difficult and compromising the validity and value of the final product. Neighborhood Planning is a program whose process is greatly influenced by the citizens of Austin. However, it is susceptible to conservative and narrowly focused interests because of its absence of vision. The lack of a citywide vision and guiding framework creates an unfocused and inconsistent process and creates uncertainty and ambiguity for both planners and participants.

For planning processes and products to improve, change at the most fundamental level needs to occur; change that will require the unified and demonstrated support of Austin's city management and elected leadership towards creating a supporting framework for Neighborhood Planning. Austin's current "backdoor approach" to master planning is proving ineffective at dealing with the City's most pressing issues, and only when the community determines its broad values and a suitable direction, can the Neighborhood Planning program become a valuable and meaningful vehicle to adequately plan for Austin's future.

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EXAMINING PROBLEMS WITH IMPLEMENTING THE GERMAN ALLOTMENT GARDEN MODEL: LEARNING FROM BUGO BARANGAY

CAMILLE TUASON MATA

Abstract

This article highlights and examines the problems associated with implementing the German allotment garden model to the Philippines. In so doing, scholars of community development and urban agriculture are forced to think about (1) the socio-economic aspects underlying the notion of food security, and (2) the comprehensiveness of the planning process driving model implementation for allotment gardens in developing countries. Resultantly, the article raises corollary questions regarding how best to plan effectively for allotment gardens.

In the urban and regional planning discipline, models serve as the capstone for engendering improvements in the social and/or physical infrastructure of a place (Faludi, 1973; Faludi, 1986; Cambis, 1979), a practice that has carried over into community development planning. The purpose underlying these models is to transfer the successes of the parent morphology through replication.

Among the urban agriculture typology, allotment gardens have been viewed positively, having curried approval and widespread promotion from scholars studying the subject. Spawned in Germany over 200 years ago, allotment gardens, which have earned the sobriquet 'gardens of the poor,' are lauded for: their contribution to alleviating food shortages by providing supplemental crops; their contribution as a potential source of petty cash income; and for their compatibility with the surrounding ecology (Holmer, Clavejo, Dongus, and Drescher, 2003; Drescher, 2001). For these reasons, the allotment garden has been replicated in developing countries to resolve ecological problems connected specifically to landfills, to improve food security, and to generate a meager income at the community scale. Model implementation, however, is not without challenges. Because models are ensconced in turbulent spatial and continuously mutating economic, policy, and social intersections, scholars attempting to establish similar allotment gardens elsewhere should not concentrate on morphology (the emphasis behind model replication) alone, but must above all be scrutinizingly cognizant of existing operations in situ. These may include policies related to land zoning, employment opportunities and underemployment, and the welfare system. When planning for allotment gardens, concentrating only on agricultural yields without acknowledging said functions leads to model incompatibility, and fails to achieve the desired objectives.

Problems associated with model implementation were discernible in the Philippine Allotment Gardeners Association (hereafter PAGA), an urban agriculture case study in Bugo Barangay, just outside of the Cagayan de Oro poblacion (city center). Consequently, some of the households participating in the gardening project did not achieve the level of food

security that they had expected. This paper discusses two glaring problems associated with this outcome. Firstly, although applicability of the German model in the Philippines would presumably be simple, the differences between the two countries in terms of welfare systems, land ownership policies, and employment opportunities make direct replication difficult; moreover, they contrast enough to necessitate a re-conceptualization of the prevailing food security idea. The body of the article will discuss these differences in detail.

The second problem is the planning process. As the PAGA case study demonstrates, planning for allotment gardens requires the principles and skills exercised in community development planning in order to conceive, map out, and structuralize compatibility between the allotment gardens concept and the context of the environment to which it is adapted. Generally, this planning means including all stakeholders into the preliminary stages of the planning process to attain a comprehensive understanding of all possibilities and constraints.

In highlighting and examining the problems associated with model implementation, scholars studying both community development and urban agriculture are forced to think about (1) the socio-economic aspects underlying the notion of food security, and (2) the comprehensiveness of the planning process engineering model implementation for allotment gardens in developing countries. Resultantly, the article raises corollary questions regarding how best to plan effectively for allotment gardens.

Understanding the German Allotment Garden Model

In publications related to urban agriculture, increased attention has been directed towards the German allotment garden model as a possible resolution for food insecurity based on observations of successes of existing gardens. Urban agriculture scholars Dr. Robert Holmer of Xavier University, in the Philippines, and Dr. A.W. Drescher at the University of Freiburg, Germany, have touted the gardens' 200 year old historical value to poor factory workers who migrated into Germany's major cities. Like the Victory Gardens in Great Britain, the US, and Canada (Pack, 1919; Buswell, 1980), the allotment garden was reclaimed from its original purpose as children's gardens (Groning, 1996) and converted to vegetable plots,

providing either staple or supplementary food to migrant workers who traveled to the city center during the industrial boom in search of factory work. Despite the employment growth produced by rapid industrialization, the migrants faced food shortages, which often resulted in neighborhood riots. To prevent future riots, municipal officials allotted small plots of land to households for vegetable production (Drescher, 2001). The first project was established in Kiel in Northern Germany, but soon expanded to other cities, such as Leipzig, Berlin, Hannover, and Dortmund (Groning, 1996).

The proliferation of allotment gardens can be credited to the emergence of democracy and citizen participation during the Weimar Republic (1919-1933). The allotment gardens reflected these ideals. As the gardens' organization became more sophisticated vis-a-vis the creation of political associations among participating gardeners, and stronger vis-a-vis a growing State interest, a partnership evolved between the gardeners and government, which led to the first allotment garden law (the Allotment Garden and Small-Land-Rent Law) on July 31, 1919. The law legalized allotment gardens as a viable city levy and made permanent their presence in the cityscape. Bylaws guiding implementation soon ensued on January 27, 1920, thus institutionalizing the allotment into city planning and zoning (Groning, 1996). The number of allotment gardens increased dramatically after WW I and II, when household poverty reached its peak and the gardens became a necessity for food production (Holmer et al., 2003). Today, Germany boasts over 1.4 million allotment gardens occupying 47,000 hectares of land (Drescher, 2003).

Standard Model

Models provide a frame of reference by which to develop and establish a similar scheme elsewhere. The allotment garden can bring about both socio-economic and structural advantages. These advantages constitute the rationale for replication.

The social and economic benefits that households acquire from the gardens include (Drescher, 2001; Holmer et al., 2003):

- Provision of fresh, wholesome food for households by promoting organic farming;

- Supplementation of the food budget, thus offsetting costs and staving off food shortages;
- Encouragement of social interaction and provision of a natural environment in which children can play;
- Empowerment of households to participate in municipal politics through their membership in the association.

More recent literature has recognized the gardens' enhancement of green space in the city. As such, it is now, "conceived as an integral part of the public green belt area in cities" (Holmer et al., 2003). Moreover, as the experience with the PAGA will demonstrate later in this paper, allotment gardens can be integrated into organic waste programs of cities.

The standard garden structure has been deemed sufficient for producing adequate food per family, although none of the publications consulted for this research specify a standard household size. The measurement of a garden plot for each household is 20x20 meters to equal 400 m², comprising of 8 rows of raised beds (Holmer et al., 2003). Placement selection, however, requires that the location meets the basic requirements of availability of land and appropriateness of plot size; accessibility to a water source, potable drinking water, and infrastructure for proper waste removal.

The Philippine Allotment Gardeners Association (PAGA)

The PAGA began as a pilot project that grew out of a community waste recycling initiative in Cagayan de Oro that was made possible through the city-sponsored Strengthening Local Environment Planning and Management (L-EPM) Project. At Xavier University's suggestion, the biodegradable waste division of the community recycling project was linked up with the PAGA garden plots, acting as receptor for the biodegradable waste collected from households (Holmer, et al., 2003). It later came to be viewed as a potential solution to the conflict within the region's food system between production, affordability, and local agriculture. In this way the PAGA presented itself as a resolution to the dual problems of food cost increases and the economic circumstances of the area.

The PAGA community is situated in a residential development in Bugo Barangay, a ward of Sitio Suntington in Cagayan de Oro. The

Table 2: Comparing Two Periods of Population Increase in Cagayan de Oro (in % of Total Population Increase)

Type of Pop. Growth	1990-1995	1995-1997
Natural Increase	60%	47%
Net Migration	40%	53%

Source: NEDA, 1997.

Population change has also expanded Cagayan de Oro's urban boundaries; new residents mean greater demand for housing. To meet such demands, an aggressive residential development policy converted thousands of acres of land into housing complexes and subdivisions (see Table 3). By 2000, about 6,000 hectares of land had been converted into residential development. For May 2001, the city's land use plan projected an additional 10,527.27 hectares to be turned over into 101 subdivisions containing 79,979 small lots.⁴

Table 3: Breakdown of Residential Land Divisions

Land Division Type	Hectares
Residential Zone	5,980
Existing Subdivisions	1,545
Complex Subdivisions	811
Housing Units (1990)	62,081
Doubled-up Households	21,006

Source: CLUP, 2000.

AGRIBUSINESS TRENDS. The agribusiness industry is given special mention here because it is one of the largest in Northern Mindanao, and is partly responsible for land conversions. Cagayan de Oro accommodates three large agri-business companies: (1) Del Monte, Incorporated, (2) Tropical Fruits, and (3) Nestle (NEDA, 1997), allowing large tracts of land to be

⁴ The document does not make clear, however, whether the converted lands were government-owned or privately owned.

developed into export-crop production zones. The land area zoned for agricultural production noted in the city's land use document (2000) was 28% (13,556 ha.) of the city's total land area of 48,886 ha. Of the agricultural land area, 10,410 ha. are utilized for commercial production (Bona, 2001). Unfortunately, this compels the city to grapple with two predicaments. One is that land space that could be appropriated for locally-produced agriculture is usurped by these agri-business industries. Only 1% was appropriated for local production despite the high consumption of vegetables by households for all income groups in Cagayan de Oro (Bona, 2001). The second is that foods produced and manufactured in the area for export forces the city to import vegetables from elsewhere, which can be more expensive than locally-grown produce.

Low Agricultural Production for Locally-Grown Produce

The combination of industrial and residential development has resulted in a steady loss of agricultural space since 1985 (Bona, 2001). This trend especially threatens local agriculture. In the absence of a comprehensive land use plan, loss of local growers' space is ominously imminent, as continued development only threatens low-income and poor households' access to affordable, locally grown vegetables (Bona, n.d.). Another important point to make is the influence imported foods have on agricultural prices. Presently, most produce in Cagayan de Oro is imported from Bukidnon Province (south of Misamis Oriental Province) and the upland growing areas of Misamis Oriental, which inflates prices and virtually shuts out the low-income and the poor from accessing vegetables. An example of this is rice (a staple crop) not grown within the city's immediate boundaries. In July-August 2003, prices for rice were PhP 90-95 per kilo, an unaffordable amount for most unemployed and underemployed households.⁵

Two separate, but complementary studies on food production (1995) and food requirements (1999) illustrate more succinctly the threat to food security. The 1995 study showed that the city produced only 548,000 kilos of vegetables for that year, which did not meet the daily requirements of 169,932 kilos indicated in the 1999 study (Bona, 2001; Bona, n.d.).

⁵ The author observed the prices in a number of grain shops near Cagayan de Oro's central market place during fieldwork.

Moreover, because food is imported from the surrounding regions and is heavily dependent on foreign agribusiness industries, reliability of supply is precarious since they are more likely to relocate than local growers and producers (Mougeot, 1999).

Food insecurity is especially pronounced for the poor because of inadequate wages, but it is exacerbated by socio-economic circumstances of Cagayan de Oro: (1) low prospects for employment; (2) distance to the poblacion, where most job opportunities are, making attainability difficult; and (3) low educational levels (even café jobs require a college degree). Many households develop an informal economy sector (e.g. *lavandera*, raising *rasa*) for petty cash.

The Development of PAGA

In addition to the decline of local agricultural space, Cagayan de Oro was faced with the corollary problem of a bloating landfill. The municipal government released data describing the solid waste generated in the area. It showed a two-fold increase over a two-year period, 1996 and 1998. Since 1996, garbage volumes had increased from 134,939 cubic meters (cu.m) to 141,087 cu.m at a daily disposal rate of 615.0 cu.m, or 30 tons [computed for 1999] (CLUP, 2000). The 1998 data gives a breakdown of the sources of total waste.

Table 4: Waste Generated by Source, Cagayan de Oro (1998)

Residential Waste	54.00%
Commercial Waste	29.00%
Market Waste	10.00%
Industrial Waste	7.00%
Slaughterhouse Waste	.51%
Agricultural Waste	.03%
Hospital/Funeral	.36%

Source: CLUP, 2000.

From 1998 to 1999, total waste production, generated at 1.48 liters per day, increased again from 31,907.7 cu.m to 51,420 cu.m. The landfill had amassed a 12% increase in one year (Bona, n.d.).

Following the release of the information, the planning office responded with two policies to minimize pressure on the single landfill: (1) create a second landfill, and (2) bridge the community recycling initiative with the federal solid waste management program (the Ecological Solid Waste Act of the Philippines, RA 9003).⁶ The city, in conjunction with CLENRO, also established targets for reducing the volume of solid waste materials produced. They hoped to reduce waste sent to the landfills by 14% (Section 5.3.4.3 in CLUP, 2000), and increase the amount recycled and composted by 12 tons per day (Section 5.3.4.2 in CLUP, 2000).

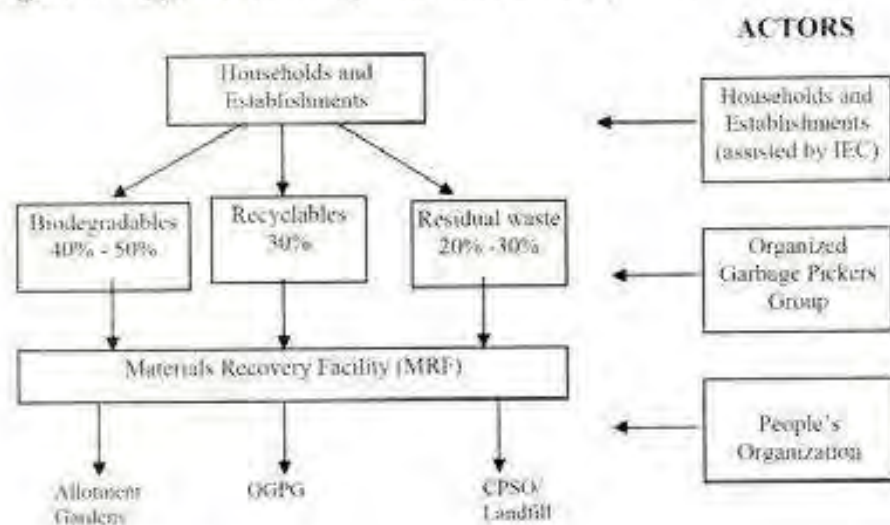
Integrating PAGA into City Policy

Alongside the community recycling initiative, and at the recommendation of Xavier University, municipal officials voted to establish the PAGA, which concurred with the Integrated Environmental Management and Sustainability Development Program, a subdivision of the I-EPM (Bona, 2001). The objectives were to eliminate the obstacles to accessing affordable food, while simultaneously mitigating the problems with the burgeoning landfill. Both programs complemented each other: the PAGA absorbed the biodegradable waste collected from the households, while the community recycling project provided free compost, helping to multiply the gardens' harvest. The non-profit organization, the Organized Garbage Pickers Group (OGPG), a collective of community volunteers, collects waste from the households and delivers them to the PAGA site. The waste is subsequently separated into biodegradables, recyclables, and residuals. Once separated, they are transported to their respective disposal sites: the allotment gardens, OGPG, and the landfill (see Figure 1).⁷

6. This Act is accountable to the Agenda 21 set by the United Nations and the Philippines' version of Agenda 21.

7. The City Public Services Office (CPSO) collects the residuals for disposal at the landfill (Holmer et al., n.d.).

Figure 1: Suggested ISWM System, Pilot Barangay Level



Source: Holmer et al., n.d.

What is noteworthy about the PAGA and the recycling program linkage is that it demonstrates the ability of government institutions and community groups in Cagayan de Oro to collaborate, thus serving as an example from which other cities can draw. Nevertheless, in spite of the structural success of this collaboration, there remain gaps between model (and therefore, theoretical) aims and results with respect to the second objective driving the collaboration: food security. Interviews with participants in the allotment gardens revealed that food security is tied to external variables that have little to do with harvest yields. This topic is discussed in greater detail in the section entitled "Community Evaluation of the PAGA Pilot Project."

Selecting a Site and Beneficiaries

Choosing a location for the allotment gardens and selection of beneficiaries were based on a series of criteria. As told through interviews with Dr. Robert Holmer, director of the allotment gardens project, and Killian Deveza and Yvette Guanzon, project agronomists, location identification was determined according to the spatial availability of land

large enough to accommodate a gross area of 400m² for eight family units. It also had to be adjacent to a water source, as well as within proximity of the community recycling program. Participants were selected based on six factors: (1) low-income status, (2) residency in Bugo Barangay, (3) housing near the project site, (4) households not being immediately related to each other, (5) willingness to participate in the gardens at least part-time, to cooperate, and to train new members, and (6) agreement to the guidelines set out in the Memorandum of Agreement (the formal contract between the household participants and the Association⁸). The plot size to which each household was entitled is equivalent to that of the German model; it was expected that cultivation and maintenance were the responsibility of the households.

Additional structural requirements were the erection of a tool shed (bodega) to store tools near the entrance of the garden space, a nursery, and adequate water supply. The space is fenced in to keep out looters. The Association does not currently pay rent on the space, as the 400 square meters of space was donated to them by a private landowner on the proviso that they maintain the space. This arrangement is also advantageous to the landowner, as she saves money on security costs. Moreover, because it is cultivated she does not have to pay government land taxes (Holmer, Interview, July 2003).

Community Evaluation of the PAGA Pilot Project

Although the German allotment garden model appears sound, not all the participating households were able to achieve the expected benefits. In fact, of the eight original participants only two were active at the time of field research. Three were inactive and the remaining three had dropped out all together. The two active households contributed considerable hours (8-11) in their respective plots. During the interview, they assured this author that their harvest was sufficient to comfortably feed their families, as well as to sell some to the neighbors. Ten percent of the sales from the crops, as per the Memorandum, are normally invested into the PAGA fund. Surplus vegetables, if any, were shared with the inactive households and neighbors.

⁸ As in the German model, the household participants were required to form an Association.

The three inactive households raised two central reasons for inability to participate. The first was opportunity cost due to both unemployment and underemployment. Income in underemployed households derived largely from wages earned from intermittent opportunities (e.g. tricycle fares, odd-laboring jobs, raising fighting cocks, or doing laundry for people in the neighborhood). Aside from food costs, household expenses stemmed from electricity and water bills. Without steady income, these households felt it more important to spend time looking for employment rather than working in the gardens. The fact that three of the male household heads, who had dropped out of the PAGA program completely, opted for steady work outside of the city underlines the importance of adequate and consistent wages to them.

The wage significance also applies to each household's nutritional requirements. Since they grew primarily leafy vegetables, various legumes, herbs, tomatoes, eggplant, spinach, and peppers rather than rice (their staple grain), the gardens alone did not provide the minimum 2100 calorie benchmark established by the World Health Organization (Scholes & Biggs, 2004)⁹. To complete daily health requirements, such as dairy and protein, they must turn to the market economy, a gesture that raises their monthly wage requirements. Comparatively, the two active households, who benefited greatly from the gardens, could rely on steady, gainful income through a teacher's salary, a pension, and remittances.

Food for Thought:

Reexamining Food Security and the Planning Process

That six out of the eight households testified to being food insecure despite the presence of the allotment gardens forces scholars to re-evaluate the food security concept, specifically what it signifies about the social, policy, and economic environment in which the gardens are embedded. In doing so, they are subsequently forced to re-consider the process behind planning for them, especially the appropriateness of the model to place-context and integration into city planning.

⁹ This minimum kilo-calorie requirement, of course varies across gender (Scholes & Biggs, 2004) and with age (Weissel, 2002).

Revisiting Food Security

Several publications attest to food security's definition as meeting criteria that respond to cultural appropriateness, affordability (Koe et al., 1999), and an ample supply rich in vitamins, minerals, and proteins (Nugent, 2000; Drescher, 1999¹⁰), which would be met if a wide variety of crops were cultivated.

We learn from the PAGA case study that the social and economic conditions, alongside the zoning policy orientation of a country influence the degree of dependence on the allotment garden. Dependence on them increases when access to external variables that stabilize basic needs, namely employment opportunities, welfare services, and land security, are reduced. By inference, increased dependence means that the gardens must then provide not only a greater variety of produce, but a more ample volume as well, in order that households meet daily nutritional requirements. The ability to be food secure with the gardens, given their limited structure, is contingent upon households' access to these variables. Not surprisingly, the discrepancies in success between the PAGA and the German model can be credited to differences in these external factors.

Before discussing the differences, however, examining the assumption behind the original model is necessary in order to clarify why the exogenous factors mentioned in the previous paragraph play such a crucial role in food security. The structure was intended as a supplementary food production tool that "enhanced food security and improved food supply" (Holmer et al., 2003), to which households tended part-time. It was not meant to supplant entirely the wages earned from full-time work. Thus, the structure was limited from its inception; households engaged in allotment gardening depended on access to employment opportunities, a garden-integrated land zoning policy, and welfare services from the beginning. Having established this, such variables can then be regarded as supportive mechanisms, a 'safety net' as it were, for the gardens.

The differences between Germany and the Philippines in these areas are vast. First of all, more numerous employment opportunities

¹⁰ A.W. Drescher notes in his study of urban agriculture in Lusaka, Zambia that because of lack of protein in the village, the inhabitants are potentially at risk for high levels of anemia and Vitamin A deficiency (1999).

exist in Germany as compared to the Philippines. The unemployment rate for the latter was 11%, as of January 2004, and was compounded by an underemployment rate of 20.5% as of April 2005 (National Statistics Office, Philippines). Beyond statistical evidence, the narratives collected from the PAGA households were extremely telling of their inability to maximize the benefits from the garden plots. Comparatively, Germany exhibited 9.3% unemployment in August 2005 (Federal Statistics Office, Germany). Another result of the higher level of employment in Germany is the fact that the function of the gardens has transitioned from being primarily economic to being more social and recreational (Holmer et al., 2003; Drescher, 2001). Nowadays, the allotment garden in Germany is no longer crucial for supplying households with food.

The second point is that Germany offers generous welfare subsidies for unemployed households. Under the umbrella of the Social Security scheme, the government disburses unemployment pay and relief, a maintenance allowance, and a short-term working allowance. In addition, it provides children's allowances for households with children, who qualify based on low annual salaries. Gross expenditures on public assistance amounted to more than €25,590,000 (Federal Statistics Office, November, 2004). Conversely, apart from pensions (payments to retirees), there were no data for public assistance for the Philippines.¹¹

The final point is the security of allotment garden plots in city zoning plans. As mentioned earlier in this article, in the early 1900s Germany had developed a legal scheme by which to protect allotment gardens' presence in municipal land use zones. This allows for long-term continuation of the gardens. In Cagayan de Oro, however, it is a concept that is still being introduced in municipal planning offices. At the time of the field research, the city government was considering a law that required idle land to be taxed in the hopes that private land owners would lease or donate idle land for allotment garden use, but it did not encompass zoning (Bona, Interview, July 2003). Resultantly, the PAGA is continuously under threat of reclamation and the members, thereby, must re-negotiate their

11 The public assistance referred to here is wage support as well as child support for low-income persons and those whose wages are not sufficient to support their household.

contract with the landowner (Holmer, Interview, July 2003).

Understanding place-context differences informs scholars that food security is defined more holistically than simply by affordability, variety, and abundance of harvest yields. To be more precise, food security is in fact underscored by open access to high levels of employment, a generous social welfare scheme, and security in land zoning plans. To adapt the allotment garden model to the Philippine context, the model itself must change. Attempting to improve employment opportunities, change zoning laws expediently, or increase money in the treasury to invest in public assistance programs like Germany would be difficult for the households, as such changes are beyond their control. Change would be simpler to effectuate at the local scale, and would be more a propos to place-context if the structure was modified (1) to respond to the limitations facing the Philippines and (2) to assimilate into the urban landscape. The details guiding the re-design of the model's structure leads into the second re-examination: the planning process.

Re-Assessing the Planning Process

According to the participating households, when a group of scholars initially came to conduct a feasibility evaluation at Bugo Barangay to determine whether the site (where the PAGA gardens are now) would be able to accommodate the garden, arrangements and plans were made amongst themselves without including the households into the preliminary discussions. It was not until after the initial infrastructure baseline assessment was completed was a community mapping session carried out on August 7, 2002 (Asia-Urbs First Intermediate Report, 2003). Axel W. Drescher, in a 2000 paper, points out the dangers of conducting procedural planning in this manner. Basing a plan of action on a pre-established "blueprint" that emphasizes morphology disengages the model from the functional processes occurring in the surrounding environment, with which users of the model have established a relationship. In the case of PAGA, because the German allotment garden was already limited in scope in terms of the extent to which the gardens enabled households to self-provide, it was necessary to conceptualize in cooperation with all the household participants how the model's restrictions might play out amidst the zoning, employment and welfare context of the Philippines.

As Drescher so aptly states, "... urban planning should be more than the preparation of master plans" (2000, p. 1). If models are to have any relevancy to the communities or peoples they serve, or if they are to function effectively in a given place-context, their application should transcend simply following the master plan, line by line, structure by structure. In translation, the garden plan for PAGA should have been negotiated concurrently at two levels. The first is on the ground, where the planning process reflects the perspectives of the stakeholders and is able to answer potential questions pertaining to use-value:

- What were the expectations from the allotment gardens?
- How should the model be adapted to meet expectations?
- How could the model best be modified to meet the households' needs in light of constraints imposed by few employment opportunities and an impoverished welfare system?

The households' inclusion in the planning process would have, additionally, rendered place-context relevancy to plot sizes, types of crops cultivated, and the features to enhance in order to maximize the benefits.

The second level for negotiations is at the wider policy level, whereby CLENRO, Xavier University, and city planners could devise policy shifts in zoning that valued allotment gardens as a viable component of the urban/peri-urban landscape. Additionally, what zoning methods, for example, would capitalize on the gardens' value as a food source for the poor, so as to reconcile food access inequalities even for squatters living in and around the city? What policies would effectively expand allotment gardens and weave them into Cagayan de Oro's ecological aspirations? To what extent should allotment gardens be enlarged so as to achieve a larger economic value? Such zoning queries would trigger ideas about land use for allotment gardens with respect to the scope of city planning.

Conclusion

Analyzing the shortcomings of the PAGA allotment garden informs us that food security is more strongly defined by a broader set of conditions than improving availability and volume of nutritionally-rich foods. Indeed, access to food security is clearly determined by a household's ability to secure employment outside of the home, given the part-time

nature of the gardens, and other sources of financial support. Clearly, the German allotment gardens did not translate well to the Philippine context, but it nevertheless says something about the importance of integrating all stakeholders' voices into the planning process when adapting models. Models are at best useful for guiding entry into a planning problem. Strict adherence to them without acknowledging holistically the exogenous factors that affect their outcome masks crucial differences, while accentuating broad applicability. Strict adherence, moreover, erringly minimizes the importance of stakeholders' perspectives, useful in suitably adapting the model to best meet needs and accommodate place-context. As PAGA exemplifies, stakeholders' absence potentially introduces problems into the outcome.

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DIVERGING REPRESENTATIONS OF THE US-MEXICO BORDER: THE CASE OF AMBOS NOGALES

ANNEMARIE STRIHAN

Abstract

Taking discourse analysis as a point of departure, this study investigates how a segment of the US-Mexico border – corresponding to Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora -- is envisioned in two local newspapers: *Nogales International* and *Elimparcial*. It shows how different representations of the border shape different representations of fears and desires related to the border region. Uncovering these differences may facilitate ways of agreeing on solutions to border problems.

'If the federal government won't close off the border to illegal crossings, do it yourself,' stated two state legislators in Arizona who are putting together a bill that would create Arizona's own border fence.

- *Nogales International*, 08/26/05

Physical closure as a solution for border problems emerges out of a particular representation of the border. The US-Mexico border is understood as a one-way oriented (from Mexico to the US), and threatening flow of people. Both the border problem (dangerous one-directional flows) and the solution to it (stopping the flows) are conveyed in this representation.

I examine this and related representations of the border segment between two cities -- Nogales, Arizona, U.S.A. and Nogales, Sonora, Mexico -- as they appear in two local newspapers: *Nogales International* (NI) published in Arizona, and *El Imparcial* (EI) published in Sonora. This analysis has been stirred by a bill proposal, emerged in Arizona in summer, 2005, which planned to create a border fence. During this time, Arizona's governor has declared the border segment a "Disaster Zone," comparable in violence with the Iraq war. This declaration stirred bitter reaction on the Mexican side that did not consider the border segment so threatening as to justify such a categorization. Border representations thus differ strongly across the borderline. This article aims to uncover major differences in border representations.

This article is organized in three sections. *First*, it describes briefly the two Nogales and relates them to the larger context of the US-Mexico border region. *Second*, it introduces the data and methodology of examining border representations. Taking discourse analysis as a point of departure, it examines 43 articles concerning the border (14 in the US newspaper; 29 in the Mexican newspaper) published in August 2005, the time when Mexican reactions to Arizona's declarations about the border escalated. *Third*, it explores discourse themes related to the border and the way in

which they are realized in text. Three main themes are identified and analyzed here: representations of the border; representations of fears and problems related to the border; and representations of desires related to the border. The article concludes with remarks on the usefulness of this methodological approach for the examined case.

The Two Nogales

The US-Mexico border cuts Grand Avenue that runs through Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora. The history of the two Nogales entangles tightly with the history of the border. The lengthy process of tracing this border through treaties, laws, and social practices determined the evolution of the two cities, as it did with other pairs of cities straddling the border such as Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, San-Diego and Tijuana, Calexico and Mexicali, Ciudad Juárez and El Paso.

The US-Mexico border -- as a meaningful dividing line between different social, economic, and political orders -- is mostly a product of the twentieth century (Massey et al., 2003). In the last two decades urbanization in the border region has drastically accelerated, particularly on the Mexican side of the border. The economic growth -- based in a great part on the maquiladora industry -- has driven the influx of population from other parts of Mexico to the border region (Canales, 1999). But the urban infrastructure -- from sewage and drinking water to housing and education -- did not match the population growth, resulting in poor living conditions. Moreover, the process of social development had a much slower pace than the dynamic maquiladora industry, which evolved as an export enclave and failed to stimulate local capacities of development. On the US border side, unemployment has risen. This increase led to the incapacity to use the existent infrastructure -- e.g., unaffordable housing costs (see Henneberger 2000 for examples in Texas).

Compared with other border cities, the two Nogales are middle-sized cities. With almost 21,000 inhabitants, Nogales, Arizona is nearly six times smaller than Nogales, Sonora. They are neither the most crowded frontier points nor the cities with the highest crime rate. Nevertheless, the local government of Nogales, Arizona has considered this border segment as extremely violent and has aimed to turning it into the safest border

segment. The declarations of August 2005 that classify the border as a "Disaster Zone" and proposals to build a state border fence that doubles the length of the federal one are considered to lead toward this goal.

Representing the Border: Data and Methodology

The border region – as well as the fears and desires associated to it – take different meanings in the two Nogales. This analysis deals with representations of the border, as well as fears and desires related to it, as they appear in two local newspapers: *Nogales International* (published in Nogales, Arizona) and *Elimparcial* (published in Nogales, Sonora). The chronological frame centers on August 2005, a time when Arizona's governor uttered radical declarations about safety in the Arizona-Sonora border segment. Although people on both border sides strive for safety in the border region, they have different representations of safety because they itemize the border's problems differently, as this analysis will show. Safety therefore takes different meanings across the border.

In order to make these meanings transparent, this study uses discourse analysis as an approach. Pervading various fields of social sciences, discourse analysis assumes that certain linguistic expressions used systematically cover mental representations of the world in which relations of power, frames of reference, and ingrained cultural patterns persist and can be detected. Unlike traditional text analyses that are concerned with relations of truth and falsity between language and reality, the discursive approach assumes that the mental representations of reality are constructed by individual perceptions, by social interactions and by texts produced by others. Here I use discourse analysis in order to examine texts related to the border. I identify thus themes related to the border and their linguistic means of realization in texts.

Themes Related to the Border

The border region appears as a major concern for Nogales' inhabitants; it directly influences the safety of the urban environment as Excerpt 1 from *Nogales International* shows:

Excerpt 1:

Illegal immigration has had a negative impact on Arizona's schools, health care facilities, and on property owners whose land is used by smugglers and groups of migrants. (News: "Two lawmakers favor state fence along the border," *NI*, 08/26/05)

I identify and examine three themes related to the border region, present in both *Nogales International* and *Elimparcial*, but differently constructed.

- First, there is the *idea of border*. Representations of the border convey the way people understand the border problems. Therefore different understandings yield different solutions to these problems which may diverge across the border. I center on a representation of the border present in both newspapers: the border as flows of people and goods. Yet each border side perceives differently these flows and thus the problems related to them. In *Nogales International* these flows are mainly associated with illegal immigrants, whereas in *Elimparcial* they are socially diversified, from tourists to criminals. As a result, in Arizona the perception to the end of problems seems to be the end of flows, while in Sonora it appears to be a better regulation of the border.
- Second, there are the *border problems*. This category includes narratives of collective fears and concerns which are perceived to be partially caused by the proximity to the border. For instance, *Nogales International* presents pollution and crime in Nogales, Arizona as deriving to a great extent from proximity to the borderline.
- Third, there are the *desires related to the border* and, implicitly, to the city. I focus on safety as a major desire that pervades discourses about the collective present and future. Yet the understanding of safety differs to some extent across the border. For instance, safety in *Nogales International* includes the protection of the natural environment, whereas in *Elimparcial* it refers mostly to crime. The future of the border is thus envisioned differently and, therefore, agreements on a common future for the border region become difficult.

In the text to follow, I discuss these themes and significant ways of realizing them in texts:

THE IDEA OF BORDER. The border is shown in both newspapers through flows of people and objects crossing it. *El Imparcial* illustrates more socially diverse people than *Nogales International*: shoppers, tourists, people with economic opportunities on the other side, and criminals. *NI* illustrates mainly the flows of illegal migrants and criminals, and to lesser extent the shoppers (the latter mentioned only once in the analyzed articles covering one month) and emphasizes only one direction of people flow: from Mexico to the US. Regarding the flow of objects, *EI* distinguishes between positive (economic goods) and negative flows (US-produced arms used by criminals in the border region, not mentioned in *NI*) that cross the border in both directions. On the US side, the emphasis is on one negative flow of objects, namely the objects that threaten the natural environment such as chemical substances polluting waters. The environmental factors are considered as dangerous as criminals and even include the weather (bad weather perceived as coming from the Mexican side). As with the flow of people, the flow of objects appears in *NI* to have only one direction: from Mexico to the US. The other direction is mentioned only in referring to the case of stolen cars. These flows are summarized in Table 1 and categorized according to their direction (US to Mexico and Mexico to US) and their point of observation (*EI* on the Mexican side of the border and *NI* on the US side).

Table 1: Perceived flows of people and objects crossing the border.

<i>Flows</i>	<i>Perceived from Mexico</i>	<i>Perceived from US</i>
<i>crossing from US into Mexico</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tourists - drugs - arms - stolen vehicles - economic goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - stolen vehicles
<i>crossing from Mexico into US</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - shoppers - migrants - people with economic opportunities on the other border side - coyotes - drugs - economic goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - illegal immigrants - criminals - coyotes, violent gangs, smugglers, people violent against border police - shoppers - untreated waste water, chlorinated water, sulfuric acid spills - heavy rains' effects (sewage)

From these various flows, I deal in more detail with flows that pollute the natural environment and the syntactical means and argumentation techniques that help represent them. Pollution is particularly relevant since it appears only on the US border side, in *NI* articles, as a threat to the safety of the urban environment, and it is perceived as coming from a unique direction, from Nogales, Sonora to Nogales, Arizona. These concerns are related to the presence, in *NI*, of many descriptions of the natural environment surrounding Nogales, Arizona. Nogales and the whole Santa Cruz County appear as something very precious that should be preserved, as Excerpt 2 shows. On the contrary, on the Mexican side, *EI* does not mention the natural environment as an asset.

Excerpt 2:

There are many wonderful and exciting places in the United States, but as images of Hurricane Katrina flash across the television screen one can't help but feel snug and safe living in Santa Cruz County ... Consider just for a second, though, just how blessed and fortunate residents here are.

The weather is generally mild; we can sleep nights secure in the knowledge that the crime rates are low; no worries that the roofs over our heads will get blown off ...

Recently a letter writer was critical of what he called the "Ambos Nogales mentality" inferring small-mindedness and sheltered lives. What is preferable, the sophistication and cultural offerings of the metropolitan areas, or the fact that we can still see the mountains around us, breathe clean air and our kids can walk to school without some pervert whisking them away?

(Editorial: "Safely unsophisticated," *NI*, 08/29/2005).

Comparisons – between Nogales' "mild weather" and US' hazardous weather; between sophisticated, artificial US metropolises and the simple, natural Nogales – oppose the natural environment (climate, earthquakes) to the man-made environment (urbanization). Nature is valorized (as opposed to urbanization) and associated to positive social values by means of enumerations in which natural and social elements mix (mild weather, low crime rates, mild winds; beautiful landscapes, clean air, safety for children). Enumerations associate elements which seem similar. What seems similar is a matter of perception; for instance, in Excerpt 2 the mix of social and natural elements in enumeration – a pattern used only in *NI* – blurs the limits between natural and social by associating them very closely. This technique reifies the climate in the sense that it makes it controllable, makes people responsible for its effects, and gives it spatial coordinates. In the same vein, Excerpt 3 associates two problems that Nogales, Arizona has to face: sewage flows (caused by natural agents, that is, by heavy rains) and sulfuric acid spills (caused by human agents, that is, by the incapacity of the Mexican side to treat sewage flows). This

association creates similarities between the two events to the extent that it renders the Mexican side as the origin of both. It starts from an easily perceived similarity – namely, that both pollute Arizona's waters – and implies a similarity between their causes and directions – namely, that both come from Mexico.

Excerpt 3:

But the stormy weather seems threatening at times. Last week, it was the sewage flowing into the Nogales Wash from Sonora. The week before, it was 24,000 gallons of sulfuric acid from two railroad tankers in Mexico that poured into the Santa Cruz River ...

Nogales, Sonora is bursting with growth, generating more and more raw sewage that is increasingly difficult to treat. A project to expand the Nogales International Wastewater Treatment Plant in Rio Rico and other efforts to meet this added demand, have been stalled in a quagmire of politics and ineptitude. Fingers point to the U.S. Section of the International Boundary and Commission.

We hope Marin [White House appointed] can quiet the storm and renew respect for the agency.

(Editorial: "Down came the rain," *NI*, 08/23/2005)

BORDER PROBLEMS. In both *EI* and *NI*, violence is named as the worst border problem. However, the degree of violence is perceived differently across the border. In *EI* the border problem is usually called a "violence problem at the border" (*problema de violencia en la frontera*) which includes drug trafficking, illegal immigration, and illegal arms, but few details are given about them. *EI*'s texts argue that violence in the Arizona-Sonora border segment is not so threatening as to justify Arizona's decision to classify the border a "Disaster Zone" and to compare the situation there with the one in Iraq. Appeasing declarations from both sides (Sonora's and Arizona's governors) state that this measure has been taken to get more US federal funds for enhancing border's security, such as paying extra time to border patrols; reparations for border fences; costs related to illegal immigrants' deaths. Yet, despite these declarations, the higher degree of

violence perceived on the Arizona side motivated two state legislators to propose the construction of Arizona's own border fence. In presenting this proposal, *EPs* texts abound in words and expressions that include the US side of the border in actions and problems related to the border region such as "common" (e.g., common border - *frontera común*, common preoccupation - *preocupación conjunta*), "both" (e.g., both border sides - *ambos lados de la frontera*, both countries - *ambos países*), the particle "co" in Spanish words such as *comparten* (share). Excerpt 4 presents such an example; the emphasized words and expressions include both border sides in the same events and perceptions related to the border:

Excerpt 4:

El Gobernador Eduardo Bours reiteró que Sonora y Arizona **comparten** su preocupación por conseguir una mayor seguridad fronteriza, donde la búsqueda de mayores recursos ante los gobiernos federales **de ambos países** constituye un recurso viable que beneficia a **ambas regiones**.

El Gobernador Bours indicó que la noche de este lunes la Gobernadora de Arizona, Janet Napolitano, habló con él vía telefónica para comentarle ella misma, de primera mano, que la declaración de alerta que daría a conocer a la opinión pública sería con la única finalidad de obtener recursos para condados de la vecina entidad.

"Esto no tiene por qué afectar, al contrario, nos va a beneficiar el hecho de que haya mayores recursos para combatir los problemas de inseguridad en la frontera, nos ayuda a ambos lados", precisó.

Mencionó que este tipo de solicitudes que realiza Arizona ante su gobierno federal, ya se han aplicado aquí en Sonora, donde informó que se ha logrado conseguir con la Federación alrededor de 90 millones de pesos para seguridad pública en la franja fronteriza.

Puntualizó que todo esto es parte de la **preocupación conjunta** que tienen Sonora y Arizona por combatir la inseguridad en **ambos lados de la frontera**.

Expresó que el próximo viernes en la ciudad de Nogales, Arizona, se reunirá con la Gobernadora Janet Napolitano, a fin de revisar el Plan Sonora y el inicio de su segunda etapa, el cual

como se recordará, busca que la frontera de esta región **de ambos países**, sea la zona más segura de todo México y Estados Unidos.

Por otra parte, el Gobernador Eduardo Bours Castelo mencionó que el Presidente Vicente Fox Quesada, vio con buenos ojos su propuesta de reducir los impuestos en los automóviles nuevos para hacer más competitiva a la industria automotriz nacional con relación a los autos chuecos.

Explicó que en charla sostenida con el mandatario nacional durante su gira de trabajo por la entidad, el ejecutivo federal coincidió en la importancia de reducir los costos, en especial para los autos compactos.

(Nota: "El Gobernador Eduardo Bours reiteró que Sonora y Arizona comparten su preocupación por conseguir una mayor seguridad fronteriza," *EL*, 08/16/05).

EP repeatedly states that the border is a common problem of the US and Mexico. On the contrary, *NTs* texts do not explicitly emphasize the common character of the border. Moreover, they demarcate more clearly than *EPs* texts the border sides through the frequent use of the personal pronoun "we" (and its corresponding possessive pronouns), which refers only to the US side. In discourse analysis, the personal pronoun "we" is relevant for delimitating social/ethnic groups because it shows the people included under "we" as a group. According to the border-related situation, in *NTs* texts, "we" refer to inhabitants of Nogales, Arizona, or Santa Cruz County, but only sporadically to the US in general and never to both US and Mexico. In *EPs* texts, "we" refer to inhabitants of Mexico in general, rarer to Sonora inhabitants, and to both Mexico and US: *nuestra gente* ("our people" referring to Mexicans), *nuestras fronteras* ("our frontiers" referring to both Mexico and US frontiers, or only to Mexico frontiers). Referents of "we" are more specific in *NTs* texts: specific organizations or communities such as border communities on the US border side; public or private organizations involved in controlling the border such as state police, the Greater Nogales Santa Cruz County Port Authority.

Concluding, *NI*'s texts detail the border problems and identify the people affected by them as well as the people responsible for them, whereas *EP*'s texts present the border problem and the people affected by them at a general level, and do not identify people responsible for them. Violence is the main border issue in both newspapers, but *NI*'s texts explicitly state what violence includes, whereas *EP*'s texts only name it as a problem.

COLLECTIVE DESIRES. Fears and desires are intrinsically connected. What one fears, one wants to get rid of. The border is the element mostly associated with fears in the analyzed texts and, thus, with the desire to overcome fears by reaching a state of safety. Table 2 shows the most common associations that include the border.

Table 2: Associations of words involving the border.

<i>El Imparcial</i> - Border associated with:	<i>Nogales Internacional</i> - Border associated with:
- safety and security	- safety and security
- violence	- emergency
- agreements between Sonora and Arizona concerning safety	- crime
- better regulations for border region	- US police officers and Border Patrol
	- law enforcement
	- illegal crossing
	- fence, or some kind of barrier
	- buzzword for politicians
	- polluted water

Safety and border are most commonly associated in both newspapers. Safety appears thus as a major collective desire for the border region. Yet the fears of which people want to be protected do not exactly overlap across the border, as Table 2 shows. In *EP*'s texts, collective fears, concerns, problems associated with the border are mostly related to physical violence against people and goods. Violence has two directions: from Arizona to Sonora as well as from Sonora to Arizona. Therefore border security is seen as a common concern of both US and Mexico (or Arizona

and Sonora). Communication, better regulations and agreements involving both sides are considered desired solutions for border problems.

In *NI*'s texts, collective fears are associated not only with physical violence, but also with violence against the natural environment. Pollution appears as threatening as illegal border crossing; moreover, both have one direction: from Sonora to Arizona. Therefore, border security is seen as a concern present predominantly on the US side; only police officers on the Arizona border side are perceived as enforcing the law. Border security is presented by *NI*'s texts (unlike *EP*'s texts) as an urgent situation, a crisis that needs radical and rapid solutions. Such solutions differ drastically from the ones envisioned on the Mexican side (e.g., agreements, better communication and regulations). They support the physical closure of the border – “some kind of barrier,” a fence – as the most appropriate way to impede the threatening flows from Sonora. This solution is perceived as more tangible and fast – thus, more effective – than endeavors to enhance communication across the border about collective fears and desires. The debates about the border are considered in several of *NI*'s texts as less effective because the border becomes a buzzword for politicians.

Concluding, collective fears and the respective desires to overcome them differ across the border. The border appears as a continuous, extreme, one-way threat against people, goods and nature in Arizona, whereas it seems a less acute, two-way threat against people and goods in Sonora. A tangible, urgent, and unnegotiated solution is thus preferred in Arizona; a negotiated solution across the border is favored in Sonora.

Conclusion

The understanding of political borders as socially constructed has gained importance in political geography, regional studies, and related literature and acknowledged that cross-border agreements are difficult because they entail different modes of understanding the reality. I investigated in this study how a segment of the border region – corresponding to Nogales, Arizona and Nogales, Sonora – is envisioned in two local newspapers: *Nogales Internacional* (Arizona) and *El Imparcial* (Nogales, Sonora). Taking the discourse analysis as a point of departure, I analyzed how border is represented, as well as what fears and desires are

associated with it. The most salient desire on both border sides is safety. Despite this common goal, tensions arise due to different representations of fears related to the border and, thus, of what safety means.

The underlying assumption of this analysis is that different representations of the same object make agreements on that object more difficult. In other words, different representations of border problems hamper common solutions. Although convergent representations do not guarantee alone that agreements are reachable, they ease the way to negotiate them by facilitating modalities of agreeing on border problems and, thus, on solutions to them.

This analysis started with representations of the border in order to identify corresponding concerns related to it and their respective solutions. A prominent way in which the border appears in both newspapers is as flows of people and objects. Yet, representations of these flows differ across the border. *NI*'s texts present the border as a permeable place crossed principally by illegal immigrants, criminals and polluting substances in only one direction, from Mexico to the US. *ET*'s texts neglect the natural environment and mention more diverse flows of peoples crossing the border both ways: from criminals and shoppers (Mexican shoppers on the US side) to entrepreneurs and tourists (US tourists on the Mexican side). Fears are perceived according to these representations of cross-border flows. As a result, *NI*'s texts present the border as a "daily threat" to Nogales, Arizona, whereas the *ET*'s texts have a more moderate perception of the violence at the border. In *NI*'s texts, the natural and social environments are perceived as one; thus, a safer border environment implies not only protection against crime but also against ecological threats. In *ET*'s texts, safety refers only to the socioeconomic context of the border. Solutions are envisioned according to these meanings of safety. Therefore, in *NI* border safety appears only as a concern of the US side, whereas in *ET* it appears as a common concern. Since in Arizona the flows across the border appear as one-way, daily threats from Sonora to Arizona, a material, rapid solution to block them is desired, such as a real fence. Since in Sonora the flows are perceived as two-way and are more differentiated – from good to dangerous – a solution based on negotiations and regulation changes is envisioned.

By highlighting differences in border representations, concerns and solutions across the border, this study highlighted that divergent representations of the border may impede agreements concerning the border. In this case, mutually comprehensive border representations could have facilitated ways of agreeing on border problems and, thus, on common, constructive reactions to them. The events presented in *NI* and *ET* showed that agreements concerning the security of the border region depend in a great part on convergent perspectives of what should be secured.

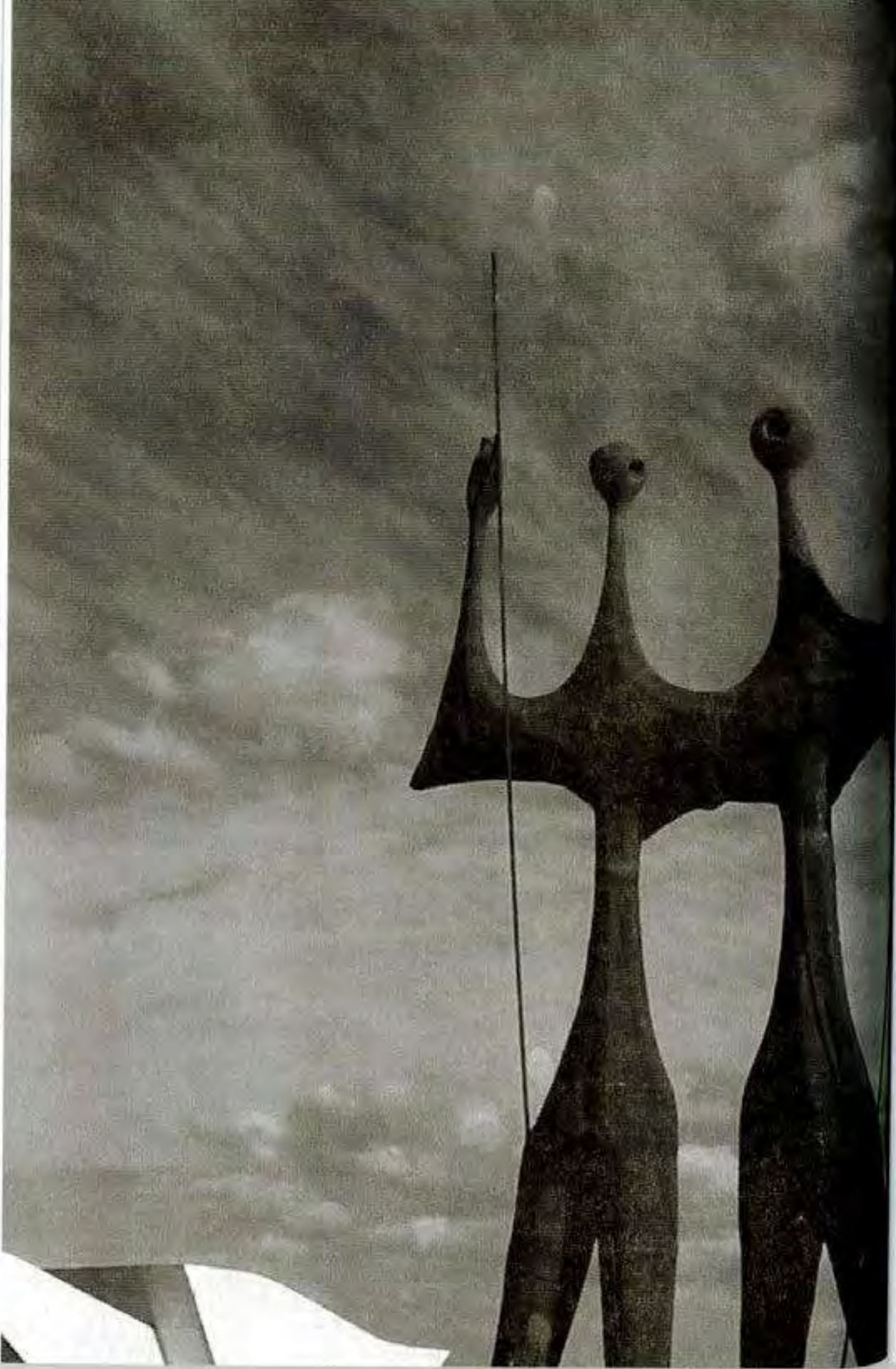
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BOOK REVIEWS:

NEW BOOKS IN PLANNING - 2005

CONTRIBUTORS

- ROSIE TIGHE
Reviewing *The Geography of Opportunity*..... 120
- ANDY KARVONEN
Reviewing *Unbuilding Cities*..... 122
- JUCHUL JUNG
Reviewing *Beyond Segregation*..... 125
- MICHAEL GERUSO
Reviewing *Fair Trade for All*..... 128

The Geography of Opportunity: Race And Housing Choice In Metropolitan America (James A. Johnson Metro Series)

by Xavier N. De Souza Briggs and William Julius Wilson (Editors).
ISBN: 0815708734

Review by Rosic Tighe

The relationship between discrimination in housing choice and financing and segregation by race is well established. However, in the minds of most Americans, these issues are part of the historical record, not a feature of today's society. The 2000 census demonstrated the fallacy of this belief in its revelation of persistent segregation by both race and class in American cities. Furthermore, the census showed that the patterns of segregation have spread to the suburbs, bringing with it the inequality of housing choice typically associated with inner city neighborhoods. As America becomes increasingly diverse, its neighborhoods continue to be substantially homogenous. These patterns of segregation have led to an unequal "geography of opportunity" in American metropolitan areas. In this compilation of the same name, each contributor emphasizes the importance of understanding and changing this geography. As editor Xavier de Souza Briggs states, doing so, "is crucial if America is to improve outcomes in education, employment, safety, health and other vital areas," (p.2)

A joint undertaking from the Brookings Institute Metropolitan Policy division and Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies, *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America* focuses on the role of housing choice in defining economic opportunity. The authors address how public policies and public attitudes affect these opportunities for people of different races and classes. In particular, the chapters included center on:

- The forces driving economic and racial segregation and housing patterns in increasingly diverse metropolitan areas;
- The role of growth management responses to sprawl in shaping racial equity and housing opportunity; and
- The politics and effectiveness of efforts to reduce geographic barriers to racial justice and more equitable opportunity.

A theme that runs through many of the pieces included in this volume is that of racial prejudice and stereotyping. As Camille Charles explains in her contribution, whites continue to, "adhere to negative racial stereotypes, deny the persistence of pervasive racial prejudice and discrimination, and are quite likely to oppose race-based social policies," (p. 74). Each contribution to this book presents an example of how these perceptions are false – that racial prejudice continues to pervade public thought. Further, as Turner discusses, discrimination in the housing market is still a major problem, although the forms of discrimination are more subtle than the blatant exclusion that preceded fair housing laws. These findings are echoed by William Apgar's discussion of the degree to which racial discrimination in financing housing persists and acts to destabilize already vulnerable neighborhoods.

The question at hand is, if the primary barriers to integration are negative stereotypes and public attitudes, how can public policy address and change these views? Charles suggests community building, public relations campaigns, and enforcement of fair housing laws to encourage inter-racial contact and the reduction of discriminatory behavior. The authors in this book agree that alleviating persistent race and class segregation and producing an equal geography of opportunity are just and collective aims. However, the extent to which policy-makers and the public share these views is debatable, and an agreement as to appropriate action to obtain these results is far from realized.

Part II of the book discusses specific policies that aim to integrate communities and expand housing opportunity. For the most part, programs aimed at integration such as Moving to Opportunity and Gautreaux have shown positive outcomes for participating families. However, the impacts of these programs on host neighborhoods, or the attitudes of receiving neighbors receive little discussion in this volume. Rosenbaum, et al. assert that neighbors in the Gautreaux program responded positively to their new neighbors, but if racial prejudice is as pervasive as Charles, Apgar, and Turner suggest, the widespread acceptance of similar programs is unlikely.

The Geography of Opportunity presents clear evidence of persistent segregation, discrimination, and prejudice, but also discusses the impacts of each on the spatial and social features of American neighborhoods.

As Briggs states in the opening chapter, "the segregation of American neighborhoods and cities by race and classes is largely invisible on the public agenda and in the nation's intellectual life," (p. 5). Until these issues and their impacts are more widely recognized, combating them from a policy or public relations standpoint will not be successful. This book plays an important role in placing these issues on a broader agenda, which is the first step to resolving them.

Unbuilding Cities: Obduracy in Urban Socio-Technical Change.

By Anique Hommels.

The MIT Press

ISBN: 026208340X

Reviewed by Andy Karvonen

"Cities are being built and rebuilt all the time; they are never finished but always under construction, always being realized." (p. 10)

In *Unbuilding Cities: Obduracy in Urban Socio-Technical Change*, Anique Hommels uses the theme of urban change to explore the complex relationship between urban residents and the materiality of cities. The author, an assistant professor in the Faculty of Arts & Culture at the University of Maastricht, describes three Dutch case studies where conflicts have emerged over urban redevelopment and the embedded opinions and politics of place. She avoids taking sides in the debate over historic preservation versus urban redevelopment, arguing that urban change cannot be perceived as a beneficial or detrimental phenomenon but rather as a continuous, inevitable condition of the city.

Hommels' study is unique because it adopts theoretical approaches from Science & Technology Studies (STS) to describe and interpret urban redevelopment activities. STS emerged as a formal field of study in the late 1970s and early 1980s as sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and other social scientists began to examine the social and cultural impacts

of science and technology development. While many of these studies have been successful in addressing urban technologies, Hommels argues that STS research rarely considers the city itself as a technical artifact. Instead, the city merely serves as the setting where technologies are debated, shaped, interpreted, and employed. Hommels' treatment of the city as a large technical system has the potential to stir up controversy among scholars outside of the STS discourse because she considers urban residents to be an integral part of the larger socio-technical city ensemble. She writes that, "a city, conceptualized as a technological artifact, consists of a wide array of erratic and heterogeneous elements that we must take into account if we are to begin to understand its complexity more comprehensively" (p. 15). Such a perspective blurs the line between what is technical and what is social and her approach is ultimately effective because it avoids attributing urban obduracy to a single cause such as material conditions or social influence.

In the three case studies, Hommels debunks four commonly held beliefs about barriers to change in urban redevelopment – namely, lack of money, lack of consensus, inability to overcome existing power structures, and material obduracy. She argues that these explanations tend to be too simplistic and in reality, it is often a combination of these factors, coupled with cultural, social, and material conditions, that hamper redevelopment efforts. Her first case study describes redevelopment activities for a commercial district in Utrecht connecting the train station with the old city center. Different stakeholders including commercial, government, and residential groups promoted competing interpretations of urban form, leading to a wide array of design solutions for the centrally-located district. Ultimately, contestation in the design process along with budgetary problems and shifting political alliances resulted in the failure to adopt any of the proposed redevelopment plans. Hommels refers to obduracy in this case as *dominant frames* because the barriers to change resulted from the specific ways that the urban design problem was framed or perceived by the stakeholders and subsequently, the inability to reach agreement on a solution that aligned with the perspective of each stakeholder.

The second case study involves efforts to redevelop a 1950s highway project that effectively divided the city of Maastricht in two.

Hommels identifies a second form of obduracy here, *embeddedness*, which arose from the tight integration of urban services. The proposed changes to the highway design could not be realized without altering the neighboring residential buildings due to their close proximity and thus, the embedded material and social relationships of the redevelopment project within the larger city context prevented change from occurring. In addition to physical and social embeddedness, Hommels identifies a form of mental embeddedness that arose in the proposed solutions. A tunnel solution persisted as the dominant design option despite a number of other options available and the significant costs associated with relocating the highway underground. In this case, one proposed plan had become embedded in the minds of the stakeholders, revealing the influential power of narrative in urban planning processes.

In the third case study, Hommels describes a residential redevelopment in suburban Amsterdam. The project, designed after the radical functionalist designs of Le Corbusier, included a strict separation of traffic flows in addition to homogeneity of building types. The development had been plagued with social problems since its completion in the 1970s and it is here that a third type of obduracy is identified, *persistent traditions*. Planners, architects, and politicians continually derailed redevelopment talks because they wanted to maintain the conceptual consistency of the original modernist plan. Meanwhile, the residents effectively "unbuilt" the area by circumventing the designers' original intentions in various ways (filling open space with refuse, diverting footpaths, etc.). The conflict between the intentions of the original designer and the experiences of the residents highlights the obduracy of the historical plan and fueled a strong desire by some to preserve and reinforce the original design intentions of the neighborhood design while others called for the complete redevelopment of the site. In this case, a compromise solution was eventually reached between the competing factions that called for a portion of the neighborhood to be preserved while another portion would be redeveloped to better fit the needs of the current residents.

One significant omission in all of these case studies is the economic dimension of urban redevelopment. Municipal finances and private development economics must have been a significant factor in the success

or failure of these projects but Hommels hardly mentions their influence. Likewise, she fails to address power issues systematically, creating an unrealistic portrait of urban design activities as a process of negotiation among equals. Hommels argues that her notion of power is relational rather than monolithic but this relational perspective tends to flatten power relations rather than reflect the uneven distribution of power that exists among various stakeholders. Despite these shortcomings, the book is successful at uncovering the cultural aspects of urban redevelopment and their relationship to the material aspects of these projects. The author is particularly convincing when she describes the contested nature of urban redevelopment and how solutions are implemented (or not) depending on a variety of interrelated factors. Hommels effectively bridges the fields of urban studies and STS by highlighting the complex interrelationships between the technical and social elements in cities and invites further exploration into the importance of technological artifacts to urban residents.

Beyond Segregation: Multiracial and Multiethnic Neighborhoods in the United States.

By Michael T. Maly.

Temple University Press.

ISBN: 1592131352

Review by Juchul Jung, PhD

In the last decades of the twentieth-century, racial segregation has become a prominent feature of U.S. urban neighborhoods. With many manufacturing jobs, and their associated white middle-class taxpayers, moving away from cities, the growing population in those cities became poor black residents in need of increased services. However, during this same time period, city revenues were declining and many cities experienced fiscal crises. In this situation, how can local communities act to promote and maintain racially integrated communities? Is it possible? While it seems

that to planners these questions are normative and natural, it is interesting to hear a positive and an empirical answer from other disciplines aside from planning.

Michael Maly, a sociologist and author of *Beyond Segregation*, tries to answer the above questions and argues many neighborhoods can achieve racial integration. This book offers an important corrective to perceptions of U.S. cities as inevitably and perpetually racially divided, and examines the basis for stable integration in ever-changing communities, focusing on the role of leaders and community groups to produce neighborhood outcomes. Maly seeks to advance the understanding of the relationship between local decisions, collective action, and structural forces in the production of integration. The author's goal is to prove that while larger social forces (structural/institutional forces such as biased real estate and banking practice) influence local communities, individual action (or inaction) makes the influences real.

The first chapter of Maly's book explores the legacy of racial residential segregation and of the pro-integration movement to maintain racial integration across the United States. Chapter Two examines changing demographics and residential settlement patterns by race at the neighborhood level over two decades. In the chapters that follow, three diverse-by-circumstance communities are examined. These communities, Uptown in Chicago, Jackson Heights in New York City, and San Antonio-Fruitvale in Oakland, are selected as representatives of the changing form of racial and ethnic integration. Through the case studies, the author shows how each community reacted to racial change and how contextual differences led to varied social dynamics, community debates, and organizational approaches.

Beyond Segregation is the story of the emergence, existence, and maintenance of three racially integrated communities. Michael Maly employs a quantitative measure of neighborhood diversity to select the three cases. He selects three neighborhoods that had maintained a multiethnic and multiracial mix for more than a decade. In addition, using qualitative methods, the author explores the micro-level decisions by local leaders, the conflict and negotiations of community groups working to integrate racially changing neighborhoods, the historical context of neighborhoods,

and the role of individual agency. Field research was conducted between 1996 and 1999, including more than seventy-five open-ended interviews with leaders in the three neighborhoods. Additionally, the book uses news media accounts, community group reports, and newsletters, flyers, and published accounts by scholars and journalists. The author also conducts participant observation by attending community meetings and events, thereby exploring the culture of each community.

The three qualitative case studies illustrate that it is difficult to offer simple solutions applicable to all communities working toward stable integration. That is, it is difficult to make generalizations about how integration can be, and maybe even should be, maintained. The racial and socioeconomic character of each case seems to lead to varied social dynamics, community debates, and organizational approaches.

Nonetheless, this book provides two important major findings. First, racially integrated neighborhoods do exist and are not as rare as one might think. These integrated communities can be maintained, stabilized, and promoted through local intervention and strategies; local agents can successfully intervene to prevent racial transition and stabilize integration in the face of racially biased housing markets. Segregation is not the inevitable result of structural/institutional forces. Instead, local efforts play an important role in stabilizing racially changing neighborhoods.

Second, the book identifies the emergence of a different type of integrated community. The United States is experiencing "new" race relations that involve multiethnic and multiracial populations. It challenges traditional assumptions about racial relations between whites and blacks and the old models of housing – "ethnic enclaves" or "urban villages" – where residents share a common culture and pursue a unified set of interests. Instead, residents of the integrated communities comprise numerous subgroups with assorted lifestyles, class interests, goals, and ideologies. While one might predict that such differences would make integration difficult, the three cases in this book have been able to remain stably integrated.

Finally, the author argues that integration does not equal desegregation. While the two terms often are used interchangeably and viewed as opposites of segregation, he identifies the difference between

them. Desegregation seeks to make people of color full beneficiaries of the American Dream, through formal efforts to eliminate policies that promote segregation. The goal of desegregation, however, is not necessarily to achieve integration. Integration in neighborhoods differs from desegregation in that it creates or sustains an interracial mix in residential settings and greater interracial interaction. While integration, like desegregation, seeks to break down discriminatory barriers, it is more complex and controversial than desegregation. To the author, integration is more creative than desegregation, stating that cultivating social and political capital within the community becomes more important than controlling the real estate market or testing for discrimination. He concludes that racially integrated neighborhoods will provide the type of contact that can reduce prejudicial attitudes, and that an increase in integrated residential spaces in a metropolitan area will reduce overall rates of segregation.

Fair Trade for All: How Trade Can Promote Development.

By Joseph E. Stiglitz and Andrew Charlton.

Oxford University Press.

ISBN: 0199290903

Review by Michael Geruso

In 2001, the World Trade Organization issued the Doha Declaration, a commitment to focus the next round of global trade negotiations on issues germane to development. The historic pronouncement was as much an admission that past trade negotiations had failed the developing world as it was a promise to finally address the trade interests of poor countries. *Fair Trade for All* examines how current trade policies would have to change if the member countries of the WTO, and in particular the developed nations, were to actually fulfill the pledge of the Doha Declaration.

Authors Joseph Stiglitz, a Nobel Prize-winning economist and former World Bank Vice President, and Andrew Charlton lay out the agenda for a trade agreement that is fair to both rich and poor countries

alike. The authors are optimistic about the power of free trade to benefit the developing world, though their position stands in stark contrast to the Washington Consensus view that the best policy prescription is for developing countries to open up their markets as fully and rapidly as possible. After beginning with a brief history of the WTO and past trade regimes, the early chapters outline how trade liberalization, improperly handled, has hurt developing countries in the past.

The classic economic argument in favor of removing the tariffs, subsidies, and other barriers that distort international trade is that this liberalization allows expansion in the size of markets and enhances global efficiency, with workers moving from less productive sectors to more productive sectors.

But, as in Stiglitz' best-selling *Globalization and Its Discontents*, the authors point out that the theory that predicts these unqualified gains from liberalization assumes a world of full employment, perfect competition, and perfect capital and risk markets, which are never the case, especially in poor countries. History has proven that developing countries usually gain less from trade liberalization than predicted and often times actually lose on the net. Instead of workers moving from less productive sectors to more productive sectors through comparative advantage, workers move from less productive sectors to unemployment.

Stiglitz and Charlton levy most of the blame for today's failing trade regime on developed countries, which often retain their own protective barriers even while they force developing countries to liberalize. Nonetheless, *Fair Trade for All* is certainly not anti-trade or anti-globalization. Instead, the authors insist that trade liberalization—implemented properly—can benefit all. In later chapters, Stiglitz and Charlton offer policy proscriptions and priorities for development-focused trade liberalization. These include freer movement of workers, temporary protection of nascent industries, and a Market Access Proposal under which countries get free access to markets in countries that are bigger and richer (greater GDP and greater GDP per capita), and give free market access to countries that are smaller and poorer.

The authors conclude with a clear description of the adjustment challenges that poor countries will face even if a true development round

occurs. Changes in trading patterns create both winners and losers within any country, and these distributional impacts can incur major social costs. Stiglitz and Charlton warn that poor countries will need assistance in overcoming adjustment costs due to institutional weaknesses and lack of social safety nets such as unemployment insurance. Without the aid of the developed world in overcoming adjustment, even a development-focused trade round could hurt poor countries.

Readers should be warned that political analysis is conspicuously absent from *Fair Trade for All*. Instead, the book offers a vision of what a true development-focused trade regime could be, distilling classic and modern economic research into a concise and compelling story. *Fair Trade for All* is about policy—not politics—so readers expecting a window into the political workings of the WTO will be let down. Nonetheless, Stiglitz and Charlton fully succeed in their stated goal of describing how trade policies can be designed to benefit developing countries and better integrate them into the world trading system.

Fair Trade for All is a natural follow-up to *Globalization and Its Discontents*, and so a must-read for Stiglitz fans. For new-comers to Stiglitz, *Fair Trade for All* stands alone quite nicely to present a coherent and balanced introduction to global trade and development at a moment in history when these topics are gaining unprecedented popular attention. Readers would benefit from some basic background in economics, though the book is nonetheless accessible and valuable to any policy maker, activist, or responsible citizen wishing to take first steps into thinking about trade and its impact on the developing world.

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Planning Forum, the student journal of the Department of Community and Regional Planning at The University of Texas at Austin's School of Architecture, serves as an outlet for the multi-disciplinary exchange of ideas regarding the workings of social, political, built and natural environments. The journal is currently welcoming submissions of original research papers, timely book reviews, and discussion of current debates.

Submission Guidelines: The editorial staff is currently accepting abstracts (no more than 500 words) of articles to be published in *Planning Forum*, Volume 13. Graduate students and faculty from various planning-related disciplines are encouraged to submit their work. The deadline for the submission of abstracts is Friday, September 29. If the submission is found both interesting and relevant, the editors will ask the author to submit their article. The editors will respond to all submissions by the Monday following the deadline.

Suggested length for articles is 5,000 – 10,000 words, including notes and references. Please indicate number of words on the cover sheet. Book reviews on relevant, recently published works, should be no more than 1,000 words. Complete articles and book reviews must be received by Monday, October 16.

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