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Editor’s Note

Planning is about community. Rather than focusing on a narrower, technical definition, this journal is based on an understanding of planning as the study of human communities and their interaction with the social, built, and natural environments. Planning Forum seeks to present practical information, scholarly research, and alternative viewpoints from a wide range of disciplines related to planning and to encourage debate that cuts across a variety of academic areas and professional fields. We hope to make topics as diverse as urban geography, environmental ethics, and property law accessible both to the non-specialist and to the professional planner so that Planning Forum can serve as medium for the exchange of ideas about maintaining, improving, and creating communities.

Volume 2 of Planning Forum features four articles selected through a peer review process and five pieces selected by the editorial board. The four peer review articles are of a more traditional academic nature and format. Ruth Ellen Handy examines the history of citizen participation in urban renewal in order to illuminate the methods and successes of current grassroots community revitalization efforts. In an article describing the intellectual and political context of Texas Senate Bill 14, the Private Real Property Rights Preservation Act, I explore the constantly changing boundary between the rights of the community and the rights of the individual. Next, Scott Housnel compares the internal geography of twin cities along the Texas-Mexico border, seeking to identify an appropriate model for the interdependent yet morphologically and culturally distinct communities. Finally, Mary Burns describes the social, juridical, and economic forces that combine to disenfranchise Latin women in Latin American and Caribbean nations, focusing on women’s exclusion from housing policy, planning, and design.

To complement these perspectives, the editorial board has chosen five less traditional pieces. In this issue’s first article, Mark Forsyth looks at the lives of a fictional Texas family, the Andersons; he uses their experiences to frame observations about the form and function of American suburban communities. Point-Counterpoint, edited by Ashley McInany, features the opinions of prominent individuals, active in planning and design, juxtaposed as a debate about the definition and benefits of nontraditional design. Sanggran Kallivavanam’s “The Indian Village” is primarily a graphic article, a first for Planning Forum, that describes through drawings and photographs the design and planning elements that give small Indian communities their unique character. Completing the journal are two discussions of how a community forms values. By lecturer Stephen Ross and Professor Robert Mengerken.

Support for Planning Forum has come from many quarters of the University of Texas at Austin. Without the generous sponsorship of the Mike Hogg Foundation for the School of Architecture, the Friends of Architecture, Cabinet of College Councils, the College of Business Administration, and the Advanced Institute, this volume of Planning Forum would not have been possible. Our sincere thanks to Kati Killam of Austin, whose munificence is greatly appreciated. The members of our Advisory Board, particularly faculty advisor Susan Handy, have also provided support, in the form of constructive criticism, advice, and encouragement. Donna Jones helped with distribution. Finally, a special thank you to Scott PESTERNA, Lois Powell, and Robin Bedford, the students who worked so hard to create the first Planning Forum in 1995 and laid the groundwork for this second volume.

The graduate students who produced this edition of Planning Forum have maintained a year-long commitment to the journal despite the numerous other demands on their time. Congratulations to all of them, with special recognition to Mark Forsyth, who almost by himself formatted the entire journal. On behalf of everyone involved with Planning Forum, I hope that you enjoy Volume 2.

Leilah Powell
At Home in Suburbia

by Mark Forsyth

Among planners and architects, there is a general consciousness that suburban sprawl poses a significant threat to the health of communities. However, for many Americans, suburbia represents an attractive alternative to skyrocketing housing prices, high crime rates, and heavy traffic.

Living in Ashville: At home on the range

Ronnei and Belva Anderson married in 1983 and settled into a three-bedroom house in the StarMark Homes' Willow Grove subdivision in Round Rock, Texas. For each, it was the second marriage, and each brought two children into the relationship. Ronnie and Belva had met at work at PolyTech Industries, a computer chip manufacturer, where Belva served as a production manager and Ronnie worked in accounts payable. The couple loved their new home, and the children seemed to get along just fine.

Belva grew up in a farming community in West Texas where she graduated from high school and started taking classes part-time at the local community college. Here, she met her first husband, and, after the wedding and his graduation, Belva followed him to Austin, dropping out of college to take care of their children.

Childhood and adolescence for Ronnie were not strikingly different than his wife's. He and his six brothers and sisters were raised in Harrisburg, Penn., by parents who owned a True Value hardware store franchise. Ronnie studied at Penn State, and after receiving a business degree, went to work for PolyTech's branch office in Pittsburgh. Hard work earned him a promotion to the company's sales office in Austin, where he married an apparently not-quite-so-reformed alcoholic who fell off the wagon in the mid-1970s.

Neither Ronnie nor Belva ever cared too much about community or neighborhood value. Growing up, Belva's closest neighbors lived a mile down a gravel road, and her best friends were the cows that she milked every morning and탄 편지 David at his growing up in Johnson County, the land that Belva's childhood was spent helping his father unload boxes at the True Value that he never noticed whether or not there were other kids in his neighborhood or if the trees in their yard touched the trees on the other side.

Little has changed for this couple who recently celebrated their 12th anniversary. The subdivision is now 85 percent occupied, yet the Andersons know only their immediate neighbors and certainly wouldn't feel comfortable visiting either of them without a phone call. There is no garden in the yard, although Ronnie cuts the grass every Sunday after church and Belva keeps up with milk and flower arrangements in every room of the house, Guflflint Drive, the 35-foot-wide road that the Andersons' driveway empties onto, never entertains playing children, because the vegetation that is growing up not knowing anything.

The streets are not the same as in the suburbs for the same price, or a house the same size for tens of thousands of dollars less. However, the couple decided instead that sharing a sense of place with their neighbors was worth the money and the compact quarters. They know nearly everybody on their block and many in the surrounding blocks and were greeted with a block party barbecue. Visiting from Texas, Belva doesn't much care for the small streets, and while she loves the flowers that are planted along the sidewalk, she wonders why they can't walk across her daughter's yard along the narrow strip of concrete.

The young couple, however, is worried that this neighborhood may not last. With inner-city crime rates rising just a few miles away, many older residents are looking to the suburbs for retirement homes. Belva and Beck still drive through more depressed neighborhoods and wonder why graffiti-covered houses are no different than their own. Many of the couple's neighbors are willing to put up a fight and work together to save the park and local elementary school from crime, but still others feel that they are facing an uphill battle.

Back in Round Rock, Belva and Ronnie's three sons are all taking classes at a community college in Leander and two now live in apartments in Cedar Park. All three have similar ambitions; they want to continue living, just they way they are now. High school for the Anderson sons was a constant game of phone and paper tag, basketball, and car trips, and the boys are now working at Pizza Hut and one other strip mall and shopping at the Safari and other strip malls. They are not the pager service. For them, the concept of neighborhood is limited, and social interaction occurs only on the court and across the phone lines. To these boys, Beck's "community" is foreign, they have never seen it. Though they "live" in Austin and cheer for UT, they rarely pass south of Highway 183, and would have a hard time finding their way around downtown.

Whether the cause of suburban sprawl is a surplus of inner-city crime or frustration with downtown traffic, or simply a redefinition of the American dream, developers have forever changed the physical and social landscape of this country's cities, physically, superhighways, strip malls, and subdivisions have pushed the outer limits of cities far into the surrounding countryside. Socially, the developers have sold a new lifestyle to the Andersons and hundreds of thousands of other families, who in turn have given birth to a second generation.

Should architects and planners or anybody worry about suburban sprawl? If Belva, Ronnie, their sons, and the millions of others living in front of the television are content with their lack of community, why should we care? We should care if we wish to preserve the Texas Hill Country and other areas threatened by suburban sprawl. If we wish to fight crime by revitalizing inner-city neighborhoods, or if we believe that recycling old buildings is a healthier answer to growth than cutting down forests for wood to build new ones.

If creating a compact city and fighting crime with revitalization is the design problem, and cre-
Living in Asphalt II: the daily commute to work

..."community" attachment is the design solution, then what should become the real-world tactics behind this move? I would offer three suggestions: first, begin with downtown and integrate cultural and retail opportunities into declining areas; second, ensure that areas that already have a sense of neighborhood retain it; and, third, sell "community" to the suburbs. Most importantly, architects and planners involved in this process must leave their ego at home, approaching change with patience and working within today's social, economic, and political realities, rather than fighting against them.

Downtowns are important. They signify psychologically the center of the city, as a heart of commerce, culture, business, and, in many cases, political leadership. When the downtown falls victim to crime, vandalism, and neglect, the immediately surrounding areas quickly follow suit. However, when the downtown works to attract business, residents, and tourists through one strategy or another, suburban sprawl is often slowed, and inner-city problems are controlled. Even if traffic is worsened, many visitors put up with slower driving to share in the splendor of the heart of the city.

Minneapolis and Toronto are two prime examples of "healthy" urban centers. Both have integrated successful shopping malls, professional sports stadiums, and museums with existing office towers and historic tourist attractions. With the success of these ventures, urban parks, apartment buildings, restaurants and bars have opened, bringing more people to the inner city and fostering a sense of personal security in numbers. Promoting mixed-use development, offering tax incentives for affordable housing, and blending sufficient parking alternatives and mass-transit opportunities into this web of services are key design elements that have helped to create a sense of community pride in downtown.

Older neighborhoods often lie in the path of threatening urban problems. Many residents in these areas work hard to fend off neighborhood crime-watch groups and others who lead efforts to pick up trash, but some grow frustrated and leave. Once pillars of the neighborhood, these families buy into the new American dream of wide streets and bigger, newer houses, and while they may miss their friends in the city, a life in the suburbs without the fear of crime and with lower taxes is much easier to swallow.

City officials must protect older neighborhoods by financially supporting the grassroots efforts of local residents. Without creating a police state, security should be improved. Funding for neighborhood schools should be increased to promote quality education for all. Maintenance of public utilities and roads should be stepped up. As in the downtown, zoning laws should be rewritten to promote multi-use development and protect housing opportunities. These areas should be preserved as examples for future development, rather than be left as victims of neglect.

In the suburban fringe, architects, planners, and city officials face a challenge as difficult as turning back crime. Here, creative marketing can sell the energy-conscious design of compact neighborhoods to developers and residents. Attacking developers with restrictions and attacking politicians with protests will only stir up the hornets' nest. Instead, educating residents and even developers that there is physical, psychological, and economic value in creating neighborhoods that may foster a sense of community may be the subtle and more effective answer.

Most residents of Willow Grove or similar subdivisions are completely satisfied with their lifestyle. Unfortunately for the architect/planner turned salesperson, they are also often stubborn. However, some are merely ignorant and others still remember when they could borrow a cup of sugar from just about anybody on the street. To these people, the architect can address issues of security and community friendship; and, if energy consciousness or recycling can't be sold, then maybe children playing in the street or block parties will raise an eyebrow.

Many people, like the Anderson boys, have never seen a "real" neighborhood, and truly don't know what they're missing.

In this effort, knowing about modern suburban society is important. Many architects are repulsed by the Willow Grove lifestyle and, instead of trying to understand it, they run from it. These designers, who often claim to know how everybody wants to live, could learn a lot from the Andersons. They could also learn a lot from developers about selling their society.

There are lessons, however, that architects can certainly offer developers and politicians. Both groups could gain priceless credibility if they promoted themselves as saviors of the environment. The Andersons might even become interested in recycling if they knew that their house was surrounded by low-water-use native grasses and plants. These are economic opportunities as well: build more slowly and charge more for custom-designed homes, integrate restaurants, bookstores, and coffee houses into subdivisions and take a cut on the profits, make roads narrower and save money on concrete, or save trees and spend less on landscaping. Some changes involve overhauling zoning laws, such as adjusting the width of the street or changing land-use restrictions, and, while this may seem difficult, convincing Texas' governor or Austin's mayor may be a lot easier than convincing Mrs. Anderson.

Community does have value. It is society's greatest weapon against its own self-destruction. Some people need more convincing than others, but for each person the value of community lies in different benefits. To Becky and John, community means a sense of belonging and happiness. To developers and politicians, it can bring a new way to cash in. And, to Belva and Ronnie, community may just give them the freedom to cross 183.
Citizen Participation

by Ruth Ellen Hardy

In Boston, Mass., and San Antonio, Texas, citizens have created effective, practical models for community revitalization. To be understood fully, however, these efforts must be viewed within the historical context of urban renewal and its discriminatory citizen participation strategies.

Demolition mandated by urban renewal devastates the physical and social fabric of many low-income, inner-city communities.

Citizen participation in urban renewal has been a contentious issue since the inception of post-war policies for housing, "slum" clearance, and urban redevelopment (Wilson, 1966; Slayton, 1966; Bellush and Rauschmacht, 1967; Smith, 1984). Government and development agencies carried out many public works and urban redevelopment projects in the 1950s and 1960s without the input or consent of residents in the targeted areas. Thousands of low-income people were forced to leave their homes, displaced by bulldozers that knocked down houses deemed uninhabitable (Slayton, 1966). With little voice in the urban redevelopment policies that determined their futures and little control over the land upon which they lived, low-income people were forced to relocate as urban planners moved the poor to lower-priority locations (Medoff and Sklar, 1994).

Federal regulations encouraged some citizen participation, but generally only middle-income residents who could afford to contribute to rehabilitation, and would benefit from urban renewal through increased property values, were invited to participate in urban renewal programs. The dichotomy of middle-income participation and low-income protest prompted some planners and academics to seek methods for effective citizen participation. James G. Wilson offers a model for citizen participation in urban renewal. The first is based on Saul Alinsky's power politics approach to organizing low-income communities—an attempt to capitalize on the special characteristics of an economically depressed area. The second is a neighborhood organization model where citizens collaborate with city planners and agencies to form common goals for urban revitalization. Wilson (1966) also distinguishes between citizens with a "private versus public political ethics," the latter being more likely to participate effectively in urban renewal programs. T. Michael Smith (1984) presents a theory for healthy communities focusing on twelve characteristics necessary for effective citizen participation and offers what he terms "methodologies" communities should adopt in order to enhance their participation strategies. These methodologies offer some insight into the difficulties and possibilities for citizen participation in urban renewal programs.

The early history of urban renewal in the United States is critical for understanding current efforts for citizen participation in, or even control of, urban revitalization projects. The urban renewal "slum" clearance programs of the 1960s left scars upon the many low-income communities that were relocated, ignored, or abused by planners and policy makers. Citizens have used these scars as catalysts for protest, organizing, and planning, creating citizen-controlled models that have blossomed into effective practical models for citizen participation in urban revitalization. To understand today's successes, we must understand yesterday's failures.

In this essay, I argue that citizen participation in urban revitalization must be understood within this historical context. Wilson's and Smith's theoretical models are useful for highlighting the flaws of citizen programs, but Wilson's theory must first be criticized for its essentialist views on class and race in citizen participation. Finally, the most effective approach to analyzing citizen participation is through an examination of the program themselves. I will argue that the history of urban renewal programs is closely tied to both theory and practice, and that all these three elements are crucial to understanding where to proceed with citizen participation in urban revitalization.

First, I will examine the policies of urban renewal following World War II and the attitude toward citizen participation in redevelopment practices. Next, I will analyze Wilson's and Smith's theories regarding citizen participation, and their support for the effective action. Finally, in an effort to identify program strengths and derive recommendations from them, I will apply these theories to two resident-controlled initiatives working toward community revitalization in low-income urban areas.

The Post-World War II Roots of Urban Renewal: 1949-1964

Following World War II, the United States experienced several decades of tremendous growth. Federal policies promoting the suburbanization of metropolitan America and the "renaewal" of inner-city areas encouraged the spawling growth phenomena. Because huge numbers of people were leaving cities for the greener fields and larger homes of the suburbs, inner-city America was becoming neglected and concentrated with disenfranchised residents. Due to these theories, the federal government passed several laws to revitalize inner cities hampered by difficulties with assemblage small plots of land into tract large enough for development. In addition, the enormous cost associated with such development was in most cases prohibitive (Slayton, 1966).

Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 attempted to address these redevelopment problems and create a national policy for urban renewal. The Act enabled local governments to use the power of eminent domain to acquire land and create large areas for redevelopment. The Act also required local and federal governments to pay the net cost of urban renewal, which served to realign the economic base and the taxable resources of cities ... creating job opportunities as well as improving housing conditions," the effect was often to relocate people and poverty to other sections of the city while failing to create adequate job opportunities for low-income people (Slayton, 1966, 194). Low income people were neither served by the slum clearance and economic development projects nor included in the housing rehabilitation initiatives.

Because many of the projects enacted under Title I displaced people through "slum" clearance and demolition, the URA directed local programs to re-house people who were displaced under re-

Because the Housing Act of 1949 allowed for the use of eminent domain, land acquisition and structure demolition were major components of urban renewal programs, while housing rehabilitation was far less popular. By the end of 1964, the Urban Renewal Administration (URA) had approved approximately 970 urban renewal projects, with plans for the acquisition of 36,400 acres of land and the demolition of over 150,000 structures (Slayton, 1966). Due to the cost of wholesale slum clearance and because at least some housing was not deteriorated enough to justify demolition, the URA encouraged physical conservation and rehabilitation through the authorization of Federal Housing Administration (FHA) financial assistance. Despite the availability of these funds, only 292 rehabilitation projects had been started by 1964. Rehabilitation "requir[ed] a high degree of participation by the local citizenry," with "accomplishments depend[ing]" so much upon the decisions and voluntary actions of many individual owners of a great variety of separable properties" (Slayton, 1966, 214). Most of the people residing in target areas were low income, and therefore either they did not own their homes or were unable to fund the rehabilitation of their own properties. Due to this lack of citizen financing and because the URA was not willing to educate low-in- come residents about the structural rehabilitation, relocation was simpler than rehabilitation.
Generally, when renewal plans called for wholesale clearance and redevelopment, development agencies avoided seeking any type of citizen input, while actively seeking resident participation when plans focused on housing rehabilitation.

The Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) is an example of the type of planning and development agency that took on huge projects without the participation of low-income citizens (Medoff and Sklar, 1994). BRA's only attempt at citizen participation came with projects in middle-class areas aimed at rehabilitation, not redevelopment (Wilson, 1966). In the 1950s prior to BRA's reign, the City of Boston's redevelopment policies had set an exclusionary precedent with the complete demolition of the West End, a neighborhood covering 38 blocks and 41 acres and home to 9,000 mostly low-income Italian immigrants, in order to make way for high-rise, high-rent apartment buildings (McQuade, 1966). The City of Boston did not include the residents in the redevelopment plans, but rather chose to relocate them to make way for higher-rent tenants.

In 1959, a group of Boston elites, responding to several decades of urban decline, planted the seeds of the BRA. The group began working with Mayor Collins to capture federal dollars for redevelopment. They convinced the BRA to approve ten simultaneous renewal projects, pushing Boston from seventeenth on the federal funding list to fourth (McQuade, 1966). They adopted the slogan "Planning with People," but the people planned with were mostly property-owning, middle-class residents who would be allowed to stay in their neighborhoods and benefit from rehabilitation projects. The BRA slated eight areas for demolition, including the Washington Park section of Roxbury, which lies only a twenty-minute taxi ride away from the center of Boston" (1996, 271).

"Poor Blacks were not invited to participate in Washington Park urban renewal planning. They were considered the 'brightening influence' whose removal was part of the renewal process strongly supported by many middle-class Blacks. Numerous low-rent dwellings were eliminated without replacement" (Medoff and Sklar, 1994, 19). In another area, North Harvard-Alston, in which the BRA decided to conduct complete clearance, "no effort was made to obtain citizen participation and the plan was approved by the city council without the consent of the neighborhoods" (Wilson, 1966, 417). Participation inclusion was not split along racial lines in these cases, but most definitely along class lines. Out of fear of losing the political support that allowed them to destroy neighborhoods, the BRA only sought resident participation when it was necessary that citizens rehabilitate their own homes. Participation was not a means for citizen input, but a means for citizen assistance with the pre-determined goals of redevelopers.

Like Boston, Chicago renewal policy makers only sought participation in areas where residents had
An attachment to the physical and social well-being of a place and community is vital to the success of citizen participation, but it need not only be associated with middle-class areas.

Two Theories for Citizen Participation

Ruth Ellen Hardy

a vested, property-owner interest in revitalization and the ability to weather the renewal storm. For example, the residents in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area surrounding the University of Chicago successfully played a role in the renewal project in their neighborhood. Citizen support for renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood stemmed from the fact that the grassroots participants "represented that part of a very heterogeneous community which would ultimately benefit from renewal. The upper-middle- and upper-class professionals, housewives, and business and professional men (both white and Negro) who made up the bulk of the participants were mostly people who were going to remain in the community and whose peace, security, cultural life, and property values would probably be enhanced by a successful renewal plan" (Wilson, 1966, 412). This attachment to the physical and social well-being of a place and community is vital to the success of citizen participation, but it need not only be associated with middle-class areas. As demonstrated with the case studies below, low-income communities can also have a deep attachment to an area and a vested interest in its revitalization, but may not have the financial resources, time, or political connections to demonstrate this attachment immediately.

These two examples point to the consistent practice of developers and policy makers seeking resident participation only when it was politically and economically feasible. Yet, even in Huxley and Hyde Park-Kenwood, residents did not choose the revitalization path for their neighborhood. Their citizens showed them a plan and asked them to abide by it, not change it to suit their own community vision. Citizen participation was a commitment to personal labor and a token measure of support, not a mechanism to empower residents. Despite these precedents, there are citizen participation models that offer insight into how urban revitalization projects could include meaningful citizen participation. Below I will focus on two core theories for resident involvement.

Two Theories for Citizen Participation

When faced with the prospect of losing their homes through no choice of their own, citizens might find that their only recourse is to vent their anger through political protest or civil disobedience. Power is a premium and low-income citizens will use what little bit they have to vehemently object to being left out of the decision-making process. If policy makers give low-income citizens no "official" voice from the beginning, they will be forced to use their voices strongly in reaction to policies that affect them.

Wilson’s second approach to citizen participation works through neighborhood organizations to create common goals in collaboration with city planners and agencies. Wilson prefers this option, but acknowledges its difficulties and record of mixed results. Citizens are not likely to cooperate with city agencies if urban renewal is going to mean the loss of their homes. According to Wilson, urban renewal with the support of strong indigenous organizations in low-income areas is extremely rare. With the threat of losing their homes through wholesale neighborhood clearance, or being forced to pay for rehabilitation out of their own pockets, Wilson points out, there have been few incentives for low-income residents to support urban renewal or participate in its process. This leaves a situation in which "middle-class persons who are beneficiaries of rehabilitation will be planned with; lower-class persons who are disadvantaged by re-

habitability are likely to be planned without" (1966, 418, emphasis in original). Not only are there few incentives for low-income people to participate, urban planners and policy makers often give them no opportunity. This second strategy can only operate if there is a two-way effort from both citizens and from cities.

For this second model of resident participation to be successful, city planners and policy makers must reconstruct urban revitalization. Wilson assumes that urban renewal must necessarily be a top-down process, rather than one controlled at the grassroots level by citizens themselves. Once this assumption is abandoned, options available to citizens in participation and in control of urban revitalization. Cities need to ease the decades of fear that urban renewal projects have engendered in low-income residents and work to build trust and equal partnerships. This type of process takes time, but once planners and policy makers understand the importance of common goals, urban revitalization projects will produce more lasting and equitable results.

A second theory of citizen participation in urban revitalization, proposed by F. Michael Smith, seeks methods for including low-income voices in the planning and revitalization process through changing the conception of process and community. Planners and developers have not yet "learned to involve a broad enough cross section of the community...democratically in deciding what the problems are, how to solve them, and to integrate large issues into a comprehensive understanding of community" (Smith, 1984, 123). Most redevelop- ment efforts do not involve a democratic process, stemming from the principal of white presentation and voice, and urban planners many times do not understand the community for which they are planning.

Smith suggests 12 characteristics of "good or competent communities" that could assist urban revitalization efforts. They are: 1) development of primary group relationships; 2) increase of self and other awareness and clarity of situation definitions; 3) internal communications; 4) articulate citizens; 5) participation; 6) commitment to a locality: 7)
machinery for facilitating participation and decision-making; 8) increased autonomy; 9) neighborhood control; 10) increased power distribution; 11) degree of heterogeneity; and 12) conflict containment (1984, 129). Communities that embody these characteristics are more likely to be able to engage in meaningful participation. Unlike Wilson, Smith does not contend that income level or race contribute to the ability of communities to participate in or initiate neighborhood revitalization; thus, he does allow for the participation of communities most directly affected by urban redevelopment.

Along with the above characteristics necessary for community involvement, Smith outlines several related "methodologies" that communities should follow for effective participation. First, communities must focus on issues of concern, involving, through a structure of continuous outreach, a broad cross section of people—anyone who has a stake in an issue. Second, communities should make decisions democratically after providing education and information dissemination. Third, communities should work toward building group and leadership strength among all members, increasing the community's overall capacity for effective action. Fourth, communities should follow a problem-solving process to ensure the best possible solutions are discovered. Fifth, communities should link issues in a holistic manner, recognizing the complexities of the community and the interrelated segments. Finally, if neighborhood or community organizations are assisted by professional staff members, these people should act as facilitators, educators, and coordinators, fostering the awareness of the group and allowing them to concentrate on the task at hand (Smith, 1984). Although these methods are difficult to maintain over extended periods of time, the success of a neighborhood initiative can rest upon the health of the process and organization.

In combination, Wilson's and Smith's theories provide a useful framework in which to examine two citizen efforts in urban revitalization and politics. Wilson establishes a loose dichotomy of citizen participation models, one of brass power politics and one of neighborhood-city partnerships. Smith lays out citizen characteristics necessary for successful participation and suggests "methodologies" that citizen groups should use within any model. In the following section, I will apply Wilson's and Smith's theories to examples of successful citizen participation in urban revitalization in the very different communities of San Antonio, Texas, and Boston, Mass.

Community Participation in Action

The roots of urban revitalization are planted in a history of resident relocation, development agencies controlled by economically powerful interests, and failed government policies. In reaction, citizens have formed their own organizations to fight detrimental projects and plan futures for their communities.

Situated adjacent to the Washington Park section of Roxbury that was demolished during the "slum" clearance programs in the early 1960s, many Dudley residents remember the anguish such policies brought upon the low-income residents who were forced to relocate. They had witnessed no improvements as a result of policies that were intended to remove "slums" and inner city decay. The legacy left by Urban Renewal is the scars of vacant land, abandoned buildings, a fear of displacement and gentrification, and a fear of lack of control over the future of one's own community (Medoff and Sklar, 1994, 19). These scars were irritated during the mid-1940s when the Boston Redevelopment Agency (BRA) submitted a new plan for the Dudley area that resembled former urban renewal projects. "The BRA proposed a "New Town" strategy with a 750-acre complex of office towers, hotels, housing, historical parks and light manufacturing in the northern Dudley area..." The BRA admitted that its strategy could lead to displacement of existing residents, the gentrification of existing single-family neighborhoods, and jobs for 'new' residents at the expense of current residents" (Medoff and Sklar, 1994, 50-52). DSNI was spurred on by a displacement strategy in the Woodlawn Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) in Boston, Mass. COP's in a direct descendant of Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), a politically aggressive, low-income citizen organization founded in response to urban policies in the 1960s. COP's was also fueled by the effects of racist campaign tactics used during the 1966 local elections: The San Antonio White power bloc effectively knocked out most of the candidates backed by a growing coalition of Hispanics, Blacks, White liberals, and unionists, by fostering a White fear of "the black hand over San Antonio." The resulting deflection of the coalition candidates and the scars propagated by these racist tactics deeply affected the future COP's leaders and participants: "To understand what [COP's] is doing in Texas and elsewhere in the nation, it helps to understand the black hand and San Antonio..." it was certainly not without turmoil that the city's 'charming' Hispanic majority finally in the 1970s came into its own..." (Rogers, 1990, 69). In the 1970s Hispanics fought to gain political power and dispel the racist myths built up by the "black hand" smear tactics. Any analysis of COP's must place it in this specific historical context, and the larger urban renewal historical context outlined earlier.

DSNI has also been affected by the legacy of urban renewal programs in the 1950s and 1960s. COP's relies on a strong network of community activists who meet frequently to discuss their concerns, strategies and solutions.
ground play a large role in his community philosophy. COPs' organizing has come largely through churches, and COPs' strategies have come largely from IAF (Rogers, 1990).

Participation. While Cortes initiated COPs and was its original inspirational leader, he has never been its practical leader. From the start, residents who are seeking change have led the organization. Cortes has been a supporter and promoter of the organizers who he believes are the organizers and leaders: "he has tried to deflect the spotlight from himself to the people who hold his organization together" (Rogers, 1994, 24). COPs needs to empower people, train them to organize citizens, and use strength in numbers and strategy to gain representation and action from those in power. Cortes and his colleagues have created the means for effective citizen participation: "People commit themselves to a community, contribute to the definition of goals as well as the means for their implementation and enjoyment when they participate in the process of interaction which is both process- and product-oriented" (Smith, 1986, 128). Citizens actively direct the future course of COPs and decide which goals the organization should pursue. This participation has sustained COPs through two decades of citizens and urban politics and been the lifeblood of the organization.

COPs' first major endeavor is an example of the participation of citizens in determining the priorities of the organization and then acting to carry out those plans. In 1974, COPs forced Mayor Charles Becker and the City Council to address the disastrous drainage problems on the West Side. Each year, floods caused tremendous personal and property damage, many times taking the lives of children as a result. The City acted to eliminate this problem, but in 1975, COPs began a long-term social program to help. COPs members decided this situation was a priority and hundreds of them filled the City council chambers and demanded that the City take action to solve the drainage problem. The result was the approval of a $46 million bond issue and the City's attention to a neighborhood that for decades had been ignored. (Rogers, 1990) Not only was this an opportunity to plan and participate, but it introduced many low-income Hispanic residents to the idea of personal political power. This leads into the second of Smith's characteristics.

Increased Power Distribution. Wilson complains that this type of citizen participation is too much about power, and Cortes would not disagree. Cortes explains: "But just as we know that power tends to corrupt, we also know that powerlessness corrupts. We've got a lot of people who've lost their sense of the community and support of their community. They've been institutionally trained to be passive. People is nothing more than the ability to act in your own behalf, to act for your own interest" (Rogers, 1990, 31). COPs trains citizens to understand and use power to fight for their interests and their neighborhood. This characteristic of COPs highlights Smith's call for increased power distribution among communities fighting for participation in urban revitalization. COPs provides its members with training and leadership skills and then trusts them with the power to speak on their own behalf. Increased Self and Other Awareness. Unlike Wilson's complaint of a focus on the "private-ori-ented fears of low-income people" and a tendency not to "bring low-income citizens into the normal pattern of civic action" (Wilson, 1986, 416), COPs' strategy is that of its place in the community at large and its responsibility to the institutions and leaders who stand up for the organization. Smith's call for "increased self and other awareness" is addressed with this aspect of COPs. For example, Cortes reminded COPs leaders of their responsibility for protecting Mayor Henry Cisneros because he protected COPs: "... [Cisneros] meets with us because he needs us, just like we need him. He needs us to do what we do because it helps him keep the developers from running roughshod over him ... We understand this and can work with him..." (because we're going to be around a long time) (Rogers, 1990, 29-30). COPs comprehends "its own identity and position on issues in relation to that of other parts of the community in a larger context" (Smith, 1986, 127). COPs holistic, long-term approach forces us to be realistic, context, where its actions effect how it functions within the larger community and how the larger community views COPs.

Articulate Citizens. The power, responsibility, and leadership COPs instills in its members enables citizens, who never before could imagine confronting the elite of City Hall, to speak directly to those in power for the first time. COPs members prepare judiciously for such confrontations. When they attend their infamous "accountability sessions" with city and state officials, COPs' members have more knowledge about the history, politics, and solutions to neighborhood and city problems than those with whom they debate. COPs creates Smith's "articulate citizens" who have the ability to articulate views, attitudes, and intentions, and to express their perceptions of the relation of their position to that of the other citizens or segments of the community" (Smith, 1986, 128). Members are able to speak truthfully about their demands in a context of political action because they are trained and prepared to confront institutional and political forces.

Methodology for Problem Solving. Finally, COPs utilizes the type of problem-solving methodology called for by Smith. As discussed above, members spend great amounts of time discussing the problem and goal, gathering information, examining options, deciding what to do, and doing it. Perhaps its greatest problem-solving strength comes through its intense evaluation sessions. After meetings with officials, public demonstrations, training sessions, or organizing efforts, COPs members spend time evaluating their successes and failures. This enables them to store up information on what they can do better in COPs in the future, and what tactics they should repeat or discard. While many organizations do not spend any time on evaluation, COPs requires "organizational accountability" sessions for itself, ensuring that it does not hold other institutions to higher standards than it expects of itself.

COPs has garnered its greatest successes through human development. People who never before could imagine confronting the elite of City Hall, to speak directly to those in power for the first time. COPs members prepare judiciously for such confrontations. When they attend their infamous "accountability sessions" with city and state officials, COPs' members have more knowledge about the history, politics, and solutions to neighborhood and city problems than those with whom they debate. COPs creates Smith's "articulate citizens" who have the ability to articulate views, attitudes, and intentions, and to express their perceptions of the relation of their position to that of the other citizens or segments of the community" (Smith, 1986, 128). Members are able to speak truthfully about their demands in a context of political action because they are trained and prepared to confront institutional and political forces.

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) is an organization that follows Wilson's second citizen-participation model of neighborhood organizations working in partnership with city planners and agencies to create common goals and strategies. DSNI is a resident-controlled, community organization established in 1985 with the goal of revitalizing the neighborhood through a resident-controlled comprehensive development initiative. It was not originally conceived as a partnership with the city, but rather formed to fight against the BAA's Dudley plan. Slowly, however, the City of Boston entered into a partnership designed by DSNI itself. So while DSNI is in the spirit of Wilson's model, it turns the city/neighborhood partnership on its head by reconceptualizing community revitalization as a ground-up process rather than one driven by the developers.
Heterogeneity. DSNI also meets Smith's call for a "degree of heterogeneity [where] different life styles, subcultures, and values in a diversified, pluralistic society [are] accepted and valued" (1984, 129). The Dudley Street area is composed of four major cultures: African American, Latino, White, and Cape Verdean, and equal representation of each group is required on the DSNI Board. In addition, one of the major annual events of DSNI is a multi-cultural festival. As a DSNI Board member explains, "The festival is a multi-ethnic celebration. It's breaking down walls. It's learning to respect the rituals and the values of [other cultures]... It's one more time where [DSNI] is saying that this is not a homogenous community. We have our differences, but they... can enrich us rather than divide us" (Medoff and Sklar, 1994, 111). While DSNI has gone through some bouts of cultural tension, its goal is to improve the lives of all members of the area, through everyone's participation. 

Machinery for Facilitating Participation and Decision-Making. The "machinery for facilitating participation and decision-making [and the processes of interaction for achieving consensus and decisions]" (Smith, 1984, 128) are integral facets of the structure of DSNI. Originally conceived as an "organization of organizations," DSNI was quickly formulated as a resident-controlled community initiative. At the first community-wide meeting, called by non-profit organizations in the area to announce plans to begin efforts to revitalize the neighborhood, Dudley residents immediately objected to what was perceived as more organizations telling low-income people what to do. They forced a change to the Board structure, gaining resident control of the governing and decision-making structure. Annual elections are open to all residents of the area, paid staff members are often residents, and major decisions and policies are controlled by those living in the Dudley Street area.

Neighborhood Control. This structure inherently facilitates Smith's neighborhood control. DSNI has taken control concept quite literally, gaining control over the physical land of Dudley Street and putting its future development into the hands of the residents. In 1988 the BIA granted DSNI the power of eminent domain in order to gain control over a large parcel of land in the neighborhood. The BIA was forced by Mayor Flynn to vote for this action, and in a letter to power politicians, dissenting BIA members were later replaced by the Mayor. The land is now held in a community land trust over which the residents have control. This type of power had never before been granted to a community group in any part of the country. While eminent domain has gotten the attention of their neighbors through their clearance programs during urban revitalization in the 1960s or highway development in the 1950s, DSNI used this power to the benefit of its members (Camello, 1988; Martin, 1988).

Professional Staff. Methodology. Throughout this process, DSNI has been able to garner support from many powerful people and organizations, including former Boston mayor Ray Flynn and various city agencies and officials: the Ryan Foundation, one of the state's largest private foundations focusing on Boston low-income youth; the Ford Foundation; several elite Boston law firms; the MIT Department of Urban Studies and Planning; SAC International, a Washington, D.C.-based urban planning firm specializing in resident participation in community planning; and Shull and Lee, a Boston-based planning and urban architecture firm specializing in physical design (Medoff and Sklar, 1994).

This institutional and political support, along with the efforts of a dedicated and competent professional staff, has greatly enhanced the power of DSNI. The first director of DSNI was Peter Medoff, a community organizer with an urban-planning degree. He came from outside the Dudley area, but his commitment to the organization and enthusiasm were necessary to run a fledgling organization. The second director of DSNI was Dina Newport, former mayor of Berkeley, California. Also from outside the neighborhood, Newport contributed status and an intricate knowledge of city politics and structures. Angeline Wittinrout, Dudley Street resident and long-time DSNI member, is the current director.

Under each director, the staff have played the role of information finders, support givers, and technical assistance providers. Through a relationship of mutual trust and respect and because many staff members are also residents, new staff members have never had the staff gained more power than the residents, nor have the residents devalued the importance of competent and trustworthy staff (Medoff and Sklar, 1994).

DSNI has been addressing the realities of neighborhood inequalities and resisting displacement and gentrification through grassroots, resident-initiated strategies. It is working in partnership with local government, foundations, developers, and universities, but in every relationship DSNI remains the senior, controlling partner. By turning the power-structure on its head, DSNI has begun to reverse years of neglect. The process is on-going and the bricks and mortar are only beginning to be seen, but the stage for long-term revitalization has been set.

The strategies address the issues of both COPS and DSNI, and the most important is that they understand the context of city politics and through the channels of city institutions, but that it must spring from the efforts of the citizens themselves. Homegrown revitalization will avoid the mistakes of urban renewal in the 1960s and create a process for the future that will benefit both citizens and cities.

Second, urban revitalization takes time and citizens should not try to rush the process. COPS has been around for twenty-one years, DSNI for nine. Both organizations have won change through incremental steps, beginning with critical issues such as drainage and dumping, and moving further into areas of political representation and neighborhood planning. Often planners and policy makers do not have the patience to weather the many years necessary for urban revitalization. They would like success to fit nicely into an election cycle, but sustainable success can be nurtured only with patience.

Third, planners and policy makers should not fear citizen anger and power. As Ernie Cotes ex-
Bibliography and Notes


In this paper, I generally use the terms urban renewal and urban revitalization interchangeably. However, a slight distinction does exist. Urban renewal refers to the early programs of "slum" clearance and redevelopment, while revitalization refers to more current initiatives to improve cities, though not through wholesale clearance.

Eminent domain is defined as "the power of the sovereign [the state] to take property for public use without the owner's consent upon making just compensation." Under Massachusetts law, two types of entities may use eminent domain, either the BRA or an "urban redevelopment corporation authorized by the BRA to undertake a Chapter 121a project [which is] any undertaking consisting of the construction in a blighted open, decadent, or substandard area of decent, safe and sanitary residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, recreational, or governmental building . . ." (Annotated Laws of Massachusetts, Chapter 121a).

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Point–Counterpoint

What is "neotraditional" design?

Langdon: Neotraditional design is an attempt to reclaim the public realm, to form neighborhoods and communities in which the public spaces encourage sociality and interchange. It is an attempt to apply the lessons of communities from several centuries of human history and particularly to shape some of today's public spaces to provide a sense of enclosure, of forming an "outdoor room."

Duany/Plater-Zyberk: Neotraditional design, or the New Urbanism, is an attempt to replace the suburban sprawl with the time-tested model of the neighborhood, no more and no less. The Neighborhood has the following physical attributes:

- The Neighborhood is a comprehensive planning increment: when clustered with others, it becomes a town; when standing free in the landscape, it becomes a village.
- The Neighborhood is limited in size so that a majority of the population is within a five-minute walking distance of its center. This center provides an excellent location for a transit stop, convenient work places, retail, community events, and leisure activities.
- The streets are laid out in a network, so that there are alternate routes to most destinations. This permits streets to be smaller with slower traffic and to have parking, trees, sidewalks, and buildings. They are equitable for both vehicles and pedestrians.
- The buildings are diverse in function, but compatible in size and in disposition on their lots.
- There is a mixture of houses, outbuildings, small apartment buildings, shops, restaurants, offices, and warehouses.
- Civic buildings are often placed on squares or at the termination of street vistas. By being built at important locations, these buildings serve as landmarks.

Molinaro: "Neotraditional" community design describes a pattern of land planning that resembles the towns and suburbs built in the early to mid-twentieth century more than the automobile-dominated suburbs of the 1940s and later. While the suburbs and master-planned communities of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1980s stressed a separation of uses and a great emphasis on the automobile, neotraditional design stresses integration and connectivity and a greater emphasis on the pedestrian. "Traditional" refers to the fact that the techniques of planning and building such a community are informed by methods used in the past. "Neo-" reflects that the past is not just being copied but is being modified to suit the needs of today.

"Neotraditional" development or "Traditional Neighborhood Development" refers to development that is more town-like than the development we have experienced in the past fifty years. Ideally, a Traditional Neighborhood Development displays the following elements (among others):

- Pedestrian-oriented streetscape with homes that show a "friendly" and "human" face toward the street—doors and windows facing the street, front porches, homes close to the street.
- Sidewalks on every street. Less reliance on loop streets and cul-de-sacs. It is possible to walk around the block.
- Parallel parking provides an important physical and psychological barrier between moving vehicles and pedestrians on the sidewalk.
- Open space that is not just leftover space, but greens and squares that are the focal point of neighborhoods.
- Retail is along streets with sidewalks. In a Main Street configuration. Adequate parking is provided, but parking lots do not dominate the landscape.

Kortlander, in Maryland, designed by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Architects and Town Planners, features front porches, higher densities, and on-street parking.

Hunky: Too often neotraditional design is defined by specific physical elements, such as a rectilinear street network, narrow streets, front porches, alleys—the visible elements of traditional communities. Instead, it should be defined in terms of performance characteristics: shops within walking distance of home, spaces where residents are likely to gather and interact, a sense of safety and security. The physical elements of neotraditionalism may be one way of achieving these performance characteristics, but they are not the only way and perhaps not the best way.
emphasis has shifted toward performance. But the common assumptions about which physical elements mean what in the way of performance—the pervasive belief among proponents of the New Urbanism that cul-de-sacs and front garages reduce the sense of community, for example—should not, without empirical testing, be accepted as fact. The evolving definition of the New Urbanism must build upon past, present, and future research on the relationship between urban form and human perceptions and behavior.

Knack: Neotraditional—or New Urbanism—design is aimed at recreating the image of the small town or traditional suburbs that we, or our parents or grandparents, grew up in. That means there’s a downtown probably at the center of the development, an interconnected hierarchy of streets on a grid pattern, houses built close to the street, front porches are required. Various types and sizes of housing units are intermingled throughout the development. Some sort of row zoning such as a “traditional neighborhood code” has been adopted to implement the plan.

Coltin: The neotraditional concept appears to be an approach to capturing the images of the past, an essence of the “good old days” of selective memory. It creates a nice image and a simulated environment, a visual reinvention and the comfort of memory if you are wealthy enough to be part of it.

Pheugs: The use of the oxymoronic term “neo-traditional” as a modifier of “design” suggests an additive combination of the new with that which is inherent, established, or customary. The term itself remains perhaps usefully impotent. It gives no indication of either the effects of each of its components or of their relative importance. I am aware of the current use of “neo-traditional” to describe a general approach to urban and suburban design in which the dominant organizational patterns and physical expression could be said to be traditional within a given geographical context. In this planning usage, the neo component appears to differ from the formerly established model mostly in less clearly expressed matters such as ownership, construction technique, communications systems, and the updated lifestyles of inhabitants.

Stewart: As a developer, I view the terms “neo-traditional” and “new urbanism” as horrible terms that confuse people and are particularly damaging in the zoning process. I prefer the term Traditional Neighborhood Development or village, community or small town. It is the design of how people interact in a pedestrian orientation versus the automobile age of remote-controlled “garagescapes” and long commutes.

What are the most important positive or negative aesthetic, economic, environmental, or social impacts of neotraditional design?

Aesthetic

Holinaro: Creating a “third” space. The techniques of traditional town planning create an environment that speaks to something in many people but is hard to define—that elusive “sense of place.” One indication is that throughout the nation, traditional towns and neighborhoods become tourist magnets because people like being there. Traditional town design creates places that are more memorable and more satisfying aesthetically.

Langdon: One of the great achievements of Neotraditional design, in its brief history, has been its success in coxing many Americans to recognize the glaring imbalance between the private and public spheres in our communities. Neotraditionalists have exposed the absurdity of creating jacuzzi-equipped bathrooms, master bedrooms big enough for a basketball game, and other private amenities while at the same time creating an antisocial public environment lined by the blankness of three-car garages.

Knack: Critics talk about suburbania’s sea of asphalt. The neotraditionalists have actually figured out a way to reduce it. A plus is the emphasis on focal points in neotraditional plans. Streets don’t just wander off into the prairie. They terminate at a building or a tower or even a gaso. However, cookie-cutter design is the big danger. Another big danger is the Disney syndrome. From a distance, the houses in Seacliff look like Disney’s Main Street. It’s easy to see that’s what’s going to happen. A New Yorker cartoon some years ago featured a signpost for the town of “Faux.” Would you want to live there?

Handy: Although much of the interest in the concept of neotraditional design centers around the belief that design will change behavior, scant evidence exists to support this belief. The problems of automobile dependence and decaying social structures are much too complex to be solved through design alone. But appropriate design, by providing residents with options, can begin to facilitate more comprehensive solutions. The most significant thing about the New Urbanism movement is that it has raised awareness among professionals and the public of the limitations of current forms of development.

Economic

Dunyak/Plater-Zyberk: Current patterns of suburban sprawl have negative economic consequences. By consigning the bulk of the available public budget to pay for asphaltic infrastructure, the human infrastructure of good schools, post offices, fire stations, meeting halls, cultural buildings, and affordable housing is starved. Certain classes of citizens suffer particularly from the pattern of suburban sprawl including the middle class, who are forced into multiple automobile ownership. The average yearly cost of car ownership is $5,000, which is the equivalent of a $50,000 mortgage payment. The possibility of owning one less car is the single most important subsidy that can be provided towards affordable housing. By forbidding mixed use areas, the investment of personal time in the activity of commuting is mandatory. A person who drives two hours a day spends the equivalent of eight working weeks a year in the car. Neighborhood development is working to help change this pattern.

Landon: In developments laid out according to Neotraditionalist thinking, there seems to be some what more economic diversity than in conventional subdivisions. Rigid separation of housing types has relaxed, at least in some developments, although this depends very much on the attitude of the particular developer.

Holinaro: We do not have much data to conclude that Traditional Neighborhood Developments are good investments for developers. We may have data in a few more years. There seem to be good opportunities for increased profits by using higher densities. The mix of uses in a Traditional Neighborhood Development also suggests benefits to developers because it allows the flexibility to meet many market segments in one project. Several pioneering developers are betting that there is a significant market for the traditional neighborhood. Demographic shifts toward smaller families, more single-parent households, and more single homebuyers suggest that the market for traditional neighborhoods will increase.

Although they feature porches and sidewalks, neotraditional developments also employ wide streets promoting automobile orientation.
Kantlands’ townhomes face a village green and are lined by red-brick sidewalks.

Mellano: Obviously, building more compact communities at higher densities will use less land, thereby preserving more land in a natural state or for agriculture. However, building at higher densities in a more dense pattern creates “hot spots” of environmental impact that must be addressed, often at great expense, i.e. stormwater management.

Colman: I am sure that the basic physical environment considerations such as slopes, soils, drainage, vegetation, and climate are addressed even if not wholeheartedly integrated into the design of these developments. Form-making in geometric and symmetrical formats overrides the climatic and site conditions such as wind, orientation—the fundamentals in energy-conscious design. I’ve noticed that the edges of projects, the slopes, and the drainage characteristics seem to be relegated to the geometry and form of neotraditional design patterns.

Knack: As a way of encouraging compact development, neotraditionalism is our best hope for maintaining some green space between subdivisions. It is good to see developments such as Prairie Crossing outside Chicago that combine an interest in “sustainable development” with the neotraditional design. Prairie Crossing includes a community farm. Nonetheless, with few exceptions, the neotraditionalist developments are being sited at the urban fringe. It would be far better if these architects, planners, and developers devoted their energies to revitalizing existing small towns and city neighborhoods. When I’ve asked New Urbanist advocates about this, they talk about the market. Consumers want new homes in new developments. There’s a certain amount of hypocrisy involved in giving them what they want. My hope is that the second phase of neotraditionalism will focus on infill.

Social

Langdon: As a result of questioning and ridicule from Neotraditionalists, even conventional home-builders and developers increasingly acknowledge that houses need to contribute to making the streets and sidewalks engaging—fostering an atmosphere in which people will find pleasure in public spaces and will have a greater likelihood of seeing other residents of the community.

Environmental

Dunay/Plater-Zyberk: By assuming that the people will drive to and from all activities, the need for large streets and parking lots becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. The exhaust emissions resulting from such trips are the single greatest source of air pollution in the United States. By the construction of an excessive asphaltic infrastructure, the natural landscape is destroyed. Each automobile not only generates roadways, but also requires a paved parking place at the dwelling, another at the work place, and yet another at the shopping center.

Mellano: In a true neotraditional community, different types and prices of housing are integrated. Ideally, this may improve social interaction among different age and economic groups, which may break down some of the barriers that keep people isolated from and hostile to their fellow citizens. However, I do not foresee neotraditional communities as being a panacea for our social problems. I don’t think neotraditional communities will reduce crime or drug use or improve relations among different races.

Knack: Neotraditional developments are intended to enhance community life, with a renewed emphasis on public space. The movement’s advocates believe strongly that design influences behavior, that people will sit on a front porch if it’s there, I hope they’re right. On the other hand, if neotraditionalism turns out to be just another style of development, such social goals as economic integration will not come to pass. People will be left feeling confused. But the most serious problem is the divorce of housing from jobs. More thought should be given, up front, to the question of where the residents of the new community will work.

Dunay/Plater-Zyberk: The neighborhood has several positive consequences. By bringing most of the activities of daily living into walking distance, everyone gains independence of movement, especially the elderly and the young. In the current pattern of suburban sprawl, the young, below the legal driving age, are dependent on adults for their social needs. The elderly lose their self-sufficiency once they lose their drivers’ licenses.

By providing streets and squares of comfortable scale with defined spatial quality, neighbors, walking, can come to know each other and to watch over their collective security. By providing appropriate building concentrations at easy walking distances from transit stops, public transit becomes a viable alternative to the automobile. By providing a full range of housing types and work places, age and economic classes are integrated and the bonds of an authentic community are formed. By providing suitable civic buildings and spaces, democratic initiatives are encouraged and the balanced evolution of society is facilitated.
Coltmam: Neotraditional neighborhoods will provide a good social environment for those who like formal arrangements and have common interests and lifestyles. Yet this is a small selective slice of society. Only ten percent of us could afford one of these neotraditional homes, even though more people might prefer this lifestyle. Most community social needs are messy: kids’ toys, pets, shopping bags, vegetable patches, a couple of cars, school yards. None of this belongs in the formal images of neotraditional developments that I have seen. Thus the clustered, gated, selected place may be the fate of the communities we call neotraditional, yet another place for escaping the brutalities of the world in which the other 90 percent of us live.

The last word: Stewart: Is it worth it? Today, Highland Park in Dallas is one of Texas’ best examples of what a mature TND would resemble. It has a sense of community unmatched in the area. And, it is also the most expensive.

Knack: My biggest gripe about New Urbanists is that they unfairly accuse planners of being responsible for suburban sprawl. The real culprits are developers, bankers, and consumers, who keep yearning for larger houses and larger lots, and freedom from urban problems. The civil engineers who lay out most subdivisions and the traffic engineers who require streets wide enough for two fire engines are also to blame.

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Compensation bills require governmental entities that promulgate a rule or regulation diminishing the fair market value of property (by at least the given percentage) to compensate the property owners or accept invalidation of the action.

12630 was more restrictive than existing case law in defining which actions are legitimate exercises of governmental power. Most assessment measures retain this narrower focus, so that only actions protecting public health and safety are constrained as advancing the public welfare.

Compensation bills require governmental entities that promulgate a rule or regulation diminishing the fair market value of property to at least the given percentage (usually ranging from ten to fifty) to compensate the property owners or accept invalidation of the action. For the purposes of this paper, "taxing" will be used as shorthand for excessive governmental encumbrance of private property for a public purpose.

Taking Legislation
Takings bills fall into two categories: assessment bills and condemnation bills. Assessment legislation requires that all or selected governmental actions be reviewed for potential impact on private property before implementation; the reviewing body may be the state attorney general, a designated state agency, or the enacting entity itself (Freelich and Doyle, 1994). These reviews, called "takings impacts assessments" (TIAs), in theory should incorporate the standards judicially determined by previous litigation. In that way, the TIA should be the substantive, though not procedural, equivalent of a "judicial review" carried out before suit is brought for inverse condemnation action (Martinez, 1984). A privately owned property is said to be invasively condemned when action affecting it is in some way parcel adds the property value. In process, TIAs differ obviously from judicial review by occurring before implementation of the action. A TIA can only predict the effect of the regulation on a specific property; the TIA is a process one property rights advocate described as a "shot in the dark.

Most scholars believe that assessment measures are descendants of Executive Order 12630, issued by Ronald Reagan, who mandated that federal agencies prepare a private property rights impact statement for all federal regulations implementing property protection regulations addressing safety and health concerns respond only to "real and substantial threats to public health and safety, be designed to advance significantly the general public purpose, and be no greater than is necessary to achieve the health and safety purpose." Executive Order

by Leilah Powell
The Private Real Estate Rights Preservation Act of 1995, also known as Texas Senate Bill 14, is the product of the national movement to restrict government regulation of the local, state, and federal level. However, the legislature's action and the Texas legislation with established principles of constitutional and local law seems almost impossible.

Since 1991, 18 states have adopted "takings" or property rights legislation, while efforts to pass bills failed in 30 other states; only in Connecticut and Ohio was some form of takings legislation not introduced. Texas' 74th Legislature enacted Senate Bill 14, the Private Real Estate Rights Preservation Act, in 1995. Texas Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, a co-sponsor of federal takings legislation, recently enacted legislation for property rights bills. "Given Congress and Washington regulators' reluctance to enforce Fifth Amendment protections, it is up to the states to protect their citizens' property rights. ... The recourse available is to demand that Congress pass legislation making property rights protection the law of the land." The government official, no matter how well-meaning, should be able to unscramble or uncumber private property" (emphasis added, Powell et al., 1995). Her remarks typify the anti-regulatory attitudes that inspire takings bills (Jacobs, 1995; Deibel, 1995).

With this focus on the unrestricted use of private property as the guiding force behind takings legislation, it is little wonder that planning, environmental, preservation, and citizen groups have actively opposed the passage of these bills. In Texas, a coalition of environmental and policy organizations including the Environmental Defense Fund, Lone Star Chapter of the Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, National Wildlife Federation, Texas Center for Policy Studies, and Texas Committee on Natural Resources opposed the passage of Senate Bill 14 on the grounds that it would "stymie legitimate government actions necessary to protect most private property owners and to protect the broader public interest."

What is takings legislation and how does it accord with traditional Supreme Court jurisprudence on takings? More specifically, how is Senate Bill 14 connected and how does it mesh with the Texas Constitution and existing case law in the state? This paper addresses the above questions, without making any claim to comprehensiveness; the following treatment of these complex issues is meant as an introduction only. Nor do the limits of this format allow a discussion of whether a taking can result from failure to adhere to the due process clause in exercising the police power, or can follow solely from the power of eminent domain. For the purposes of this paper, "taxing" will be used as shorthand for excessive governmental encumbrance of private property for a public purpose.

Takings Jurisprudence: The United States
How are these new statutes related to case law dealing with inverse condemnation and the taking of private property for public use? The Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution, made applicable to the states through the 14th Amendment, states in part "nor shall property be taken for public use, without just compensation." How, it was not until the 1870s that physical invasion — flooding of land — was recognized as a compensable action, and not until the 1920s did the Supreme Court invalidate a regulation for depriving an owner of property rights. Significantly, during the same period the Supreme Court allowed to stand new and far reaching for both the police power and the powers of eminent domain. Justice Holmes, writing the majority opinion in Pennsylvania Coal Co. v. Mahon, summed up this rather confusing state of affairs: "while a property may be regulated to a certain extent, if regulation goes too far, it will be recognized as a taking."

In the closely held quarters of a century since the Pennsylvania Coal Co. decision, the meanings of "property," "too far," and "taking" have been argued heatedly. While the prevailing view has been that a property interest must be considered as a whole and all value must be extinguished, a recent footnote has added fuel to the fire of this debate. The general judicial stance has been that there is neither a precise definition of a taking nor a bright line" test to determine when one has occurred: "this Court, quite simply, has been unable to develop any set formula for determining when 'justice and fairmindedness' require that economic interests caused by public action be compensated by the government."

Four cases decided within the last ten years have honed this indecision to a slightly finer point, while whittling away the presumption of validity enjoyed by government action. The decision in First English Evangelical Lutheran Church v. County of Los Angeles clarified the way for the compensation of temporary takings in addition to invalidation of the offending regulation or restriction. In Nollan v. California Coastal Commission, the Court introduced the rational nexus test for easement dedications: the governmental action must substantially advance and be rationally related to the legitimate governmental objectives served by denial of a permit. In this test the Court, in Dolan v. City of Tigard, added the rough proportionality requirement for municipal actions involving exactions, dedications, or impact fees.

Delivering the majority opinion, Justice Rehnquist stated that under the new test, "the city must make some sort of individualized determination that the required dedication is related both in nature and extent to the impact of the proposed development."

In a decision more favorable to governmental actions, the Court's decision in Keystone Bituminous Coal Co. v. DeBenedictis recognized that actions taken to protect public safety are valid and non-compensable if all economically viable use of the property as a whole is not extinguished.

From the above decisions have emerged a variety of tests currently used in the ad hoc analysis of takings claims: the rational nexus test of Nollan, rough proportionality of Dolan, complete loss of economic viability and the common law nuisance exemption from Lucas. The standard that has frequently been used in recent cases is the ripeness doctrine: no taking has occurred until the property owner has at least sought and possibly exhausted the possibility of administrative relief, special permit, or variance."

Takings Legislation and Jurisprudence
Advocates of takings legislation argue that private property rights ought to be accorded the same respect granted to other rights guaranteed in the Constitution, such as freedom of speech and freeexercise of religion (Adler and Anderson, 1994). The new statutes, they say, will "reaffirm ... Constitutional protection of property rights and restrain
the property rights envisioned by the framers of that document (Powell, 1995). Taking bills proponents thus put themselves in the odd position of defending the Constitution by disregarding many principles of Constitutional law enunciated by the Supreme Court during the past 200 years.

Not a single decision supports the main thrust of the new takings legislation, which is that the mere diminution in government's ability to tax is an unconstitutional restraint on government power. As noted above, “the power to tax is the very essence of sovereignty,” (Powell, 1995). The economic interest 20% of the property value and all governmental restrictions on the property was overturned on appeal. The decision in Am. V. Deer Park remains a good summary of this theme in Texas jurisprudence: “A taking of actual physical invasion, appropriation, or occupation can amount to a compensable taking when a government agency has imposed restrictions that constitute an unreasonable interference with a landowner’s right to use and enjoy the property.”

Texas courts have held, however, that use and enjoyment are not commensurable with the fair market value of the property. Explicitly citing the argument that public ownership of such a property is for the public good, the court found in Westgate v. State of Texas and City of Austin that a property owner may not recover for damages if there is no physical invasion, appropriation, or restriction of access. Moreover, the use value in dollar amount is not compensable in a taking in Harris Co. v. Feliz, where the owner filed for compensation of loss of value in a residential property due to the impact of a freeway. Nor has there been a showing that a governmental action prevents the most profitable use of property even sufficient to establish a taking.

Following the direction of the Supreme Court, Texas courts have relied on the reported case-by-case analysis to determine whether a particular regulation or action is a taking of a particular property. In Standard Oil Co. of Dallas, the court implied that no standardization process is possible: “the circumstances of each case determine the factors a court should consider in a taking case.” Judging whether a particular governmental action is valid or constitutes a compensable taking is, in Texas, a question of law, to be decided by the court, and a strong presumption of validity is attributed to the governmental action. Furthermore, state courts have also endorsed the ripeness doctrine and its implications that the property owner must have exhausted all administrative and judicial remedies without finding relief.

Texas courts have followed the two-part test created in City of College Station v. Turtle Rock Corp. For an “ordinary” to be a valid exercise of the city’s police power, not constituting a taking, there are two related requirements. First, the regulation must be adopted to accomplish a legitimate goal; it must be “substantially related” to the health, safety, sanitation, and general welfare of the people. Second, the regulation must be reasonable; it cannot be arbitrary.

The Court emphasized that all property is held subject to the valid exercise of the police power, and that governmental actions constituting a proper exercise of the police power cannot trigger a taking or payment of compensation. As defined in Turtle Rock, the police power encompasses a broad range of monetary, physical, spatial, and aesthetic values, allowing municipalities ample justification for passing ordinances not advancing an immediate health and safety purpose but designed to protect the quality of life of residents.

Senate Bill 14

As mentioned above, Senate Bill 14 is a combined assessment and compensation measure. The legislation provides for a property owner to bring an action for both a taking and restriction in the courts of this state. The property is assessed at its pre-20% value and 20 percent threshold is also filed in district court to invalidate any governmental action that reduces the fair market value of any legally recognized interest in real property by more than 20 percent. The governmental entity may elect to pay compensation rather than accept invalidation of the action causing the “taking.” This compensation accrues from the date on which the regular governmental action takes effect. Presumably, a citizen may also challenge the TID prepared by the regulatory entity.

A first and obvious disclaimer, shared by all takings legislation, is that the finding of a taking has traditionally rested with the courts. This has been a real question of law, not of fact, and this was clearly stated in Mayhew v. Sunnyvale: “whether a ‘taking’ has occurred under inverse condemnation”, a question of law (citations omitted). Takings legislation of course makes this finding a question of fact. The burden of establishing a potential taking is thus shifted from the court, which considered only contested cases, to the governmental entity, which must review every potentially affected property. This burden is thus magnified greatly and apportioned to bodies that may have no expertise as to the inconvenience whatsoever in this area (Freilich and Doyle, 1994). Furthermore, compensating a predicted loss of value overtures the ripeness doctrine relied upon to determine the true extent of the restriction imposed upon a property owner.

The bill begins by redefining “taking” and “private real property” in a manner inconsistent with established Texas and federal jurisprudence. In addition to the accepted definition of taking as elucidated from the Texas and United States Constitutions, Sec. 2007.002’s (b) adds governmental actions that “in whole or in part or temporarily or permanently” limit a property owner’s rights and produce a loss of fair market value greater than 20 percent. As mentioned above, this controlling decision is in Texas or the United States supports this proposition in the absence of physical invasion, a condition not specified by S.B. 14. To the contrary, those courts would defeat the decision in Westgate and Feliz explicitly reject the definition of taking.

By making fair market value the sole indicator of an owner’s ability to use and enjoy the property, S.B. 14 ignores decades of jurisprudence by Texas’ highest courts. The 20 percent threshold is potentially challengeable as an arbitrary and unreasonable standard of review.

Nor is S.B. 14’s definition of “property” consistent with established jurisprudence. In the new legislation, “private real property” means an interest in real property recognized by common law, including a groundwater or surface water right of any kind. This novel construction conflicts with the jurisprudential tradition of treating property as a whole bundle of rights, rather than focusing on individual sticks, when considering takings cases.

A further conflict lies in the bill’s exemption of actions that are taken in response to “real and substantial” threats to public health and safety. Like Executive Order 12530, this de-legitimates other governmental actions long recognized in Texas and throughout the United States for advancing the public welfare, such as aesthetic controls. Other commentators have noted that interpreting what constitutes “real and substantial” threats will likely keep Texas courts occupied for some time to come.

Conclusion

While much of the scholarship work on the impacts of takings legislation deals with the effects...
on planning and environmental regulation, the sweep of Senate Bill 14 is much broader than just these two fields. All governmental entities are affected, ranging from the Board of Regents of the University of Texas to a municipal utility district commission, and almost all governmental actions could conceivably have some impact on property values. While the Attorney General and the Legislative Budget Board were somehow unable to estimate the costs of assessment and compensation required by the new legislation, other states have produced implementation cost forecasts for similar bills. Estimates of the administrative costs alone range from $8.5 million in Wisconsin to $26.7 million in Colorado, without including the costs of increased litigation or compensation payments. An economic impact study of the State of Washington's property rights initiative, which was rejected by voters in 1995, estimated administrative costs of $121 million for counties and districts. In light of the costs and the conflicts of interest within the legislature, the attorneys general of twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia wrote to Congress in opposition to proposed takings legislation at both the state and federal levels. Against these arguments, the Texas Legislative Budget Board and the Attorney General's statements, fiscal impacts stemming from the enactment of S.B. 14 are almost unavoidable. In Prestasio Bridge Company v. Predici County, for example, the owner of a bridge between the United States and Mexico sued for inverse condemnation when a new bridge was constructed by the county. Presumably, under the new takings legislation, the county and perhaps the state would be liable for diminishing the value of the company's property. Diminution of value would have to be compensated in cases such as Prestasio v. Fultz, where the impact of a freeway reduced the fair market value of the home in question by more than 25 percent. Other impacts might stem from a redrawn school district boundary that lowered residential property values; an increase in sales tax that depressed commercial rents; or an anti-discrimination law that landlords claim reduces the profitability of their units by prohibiting bias against HIV-positive tenants.

Bibliography and Notes


3 The American Planning Association provides a partial list of other groups which see the APA oppose takings legislation. Among others, this list includes the Center for Science in the Public Interest, Clean Water Action, League of United Latin American Citizens, National Conference of State Legislatures, National Trust for Historic Preservation, National Wildlife Federation, Sierra Club, United Church of Christ, and United Steelworkers of America. Organizations and corporations supporting takings laws include the American Farm Bureau, American Mining Congress, American Petroleum Institute, Boise-Cascade, Cato Institute, Chemical Manufacturing Association, Coors Foundation, Exxon, Ford, Motorcycle Industry Council, National Association of Homebuilders, and National Cattlemen's Association. See "Protect Planning and Land Use Regulations: Stop "Takings" Measures From Becoming Law," Sierra Club, March 1995.

4 "Joint Statement on the Development of Guidelines by the Attorney General of Texas to Implement Senate Bill 14, the 'Takings Law,' as Enacted by the 74th Texas Legislature," Presented to Representatives of the Office of Attorney General for the State of Texas at a Public Hearing in Belton, Texas, November 2, 1995, Sierra Club of Austin.

5 Frelich has argued persuasively that this distinction is at the heart of the takings compensation issue. See Solving the "Takings" Equation: Making the Whole Equal to the Sum of Its Parts. 15 Land Use and Environmental Annual 447, 461 (1984).
Leilah Powell

Some scholars term these procedural and substantively, see J. Martinek, Statutes Enacting Takings Law: Flying in the Face of Uncertainty, 26 Urban Lawyer No. 2, 336-338 (1994). While other researchers have treated measures requiring that rules be reviewed by the State Attorney General as a distinct category of legislation, I term these assessment bills. See L. Merendino, Takings for Granted, State Legislatures, No. 6, p63 (1995); American Resources Information Network, Summary of State Takings Legislation, October 17, 1995.


Exec. Order No. 12,630, 3 C.F.R. 554 (1988); see Martinek, supra, at 332-336.

Florida’s H.B. 863 is greater in scope but does not establish a percentage for mandatory compensation. See American Resources Information Network, supra.


260 U.S. 393, 415 (1922).


If a regulation requires a developer to leave 90 percent of a rural tract in its natural state, it is unclear whether we would analyze the situation as one in which the owner has been deprived of all economically viable use of the burdened portion of the tract, United States v. South Carolina Coastal Council, 112 S. Ct. 2886, 2894, n.7 (1992).


A fifth case, San Diego Gas & Electric v. City of San Diego, 450 U.S. 621 (1981), is significant not for the decision but for Justice Brennan’s often quoted dissent.

482 U.S. 304 at 308, 310, 321.


Dallan v. 820.

See also Lucas v. South Carolina Coastal Council, 112 S. Ct. 2886 (1992); regulation is a taking when it extinguishes all economically viable use, even if there is a rational nexus with the legitimate government purpose of preventing harm to the public.


450 U.S. at 636-661.

Citing Brennan’s opinion in Penn Central, 438 U.S. at 124: “This Court has...recognized, in a wide variety of contexts, that government may execute laws or programs that adversely affect economic values.” William et al. state that the Brennan dissent in San Diego “upsets settled constitutional doctrine—that police power regulations that restrict the value or use of property are the price we pay for a reasonably lawful and orderly society.” R. Williams, R. Smith, G. Siemon, D. Mandelker, and R. Babcock, The White River Junction Manifesto, 17 Land Use and Environmental Annual 218 (1986).

Texas Constitution, Art. 1, Sec. 17.


882 S.W.2d 824, 826 (1994). Note that even in this case any potential compensation would result from the physical invasion occasioned by the ditch, at 828.

843 S.W.2d 648 (1992). See also Allen v. City of Texas City, 775 S.W.2d 863, 865 (Texas Ct. App. 1989); Hohler v. City of Corpus Christi, 564 S.W.2d 816, 821 (Texas Civ. App. 1978).

881 S.W.2d 866, 869 (1994); see also Allen, 775 S.W.2d at 865.


...the ordinance is presumed to be a valid exercise of the police power absent a contrary showing by the plaintiff on the basis of which reasonable minds could not differ.” Turtle Rock Corp., 640 S.W.2d at 804-05; see also DuPont, 396 S.W.2d at 110; Estate of Scott, 778 S.W.2d at 590.


680 S.W.2d at 804-05.


“A municipality’s legitimate concern is to ensure that the community is beautiful as well as healthy, spacious as well as clean, and well balanced as well as carefully patrolled.” Turtle Rock, 680 S.W.2d at 805. See also City of Fann v. Pena, 853 S.W.2d 56.

Tex. Gov’t Code Ann. Sec. 2007.024(b).

905 S.W.2d 234 (1995).

Supra at Sec. 2007.023 (a).

See Agins, 447 U.S. at 263; Williamson County, 473 U.S. at 190-191; City of El Paso, 803 S.W.2d at 399.

Chapter 2007, Subchapter A, supra.

843 S.W.2d 448; 881 S.W.2d at 869. See also Bennett v. Tarrant County Water Control and Improvement District, 894 S.W. 244 (1995).

Sec. 2007.002, (4), supra.

See Penn Central, 438 U.S. at 130; Keystone, 480 U.S. at 501; Westgate, 843 S.W.2d at 869.

Sec. 2007.003, (13), supra.

See Turtle Rock, 680 S.W.2d at 805; City of Fann, 853 S.W.2d 56.


Through an open records act, information was obtained indicating that the Attorney General expected S.B. 14 to have an enormous fiscal impact, although the public position was that the legislation would not cause any additional costs, id. at 3.


These costs reflect preparation of economic impact statements, similar to TAs, for a limited range of governmental activities. See “Referencebook 48: Economic Impact Study of the Property Rights Initiative,” Institute for Public Policy and Management, University of Washington, September 28, 1995.

Copy of this letter obtained from the American Planning Association “State Materials,” compiled by Nancy Willis, Director of Government Affairs.

726 S.W.2d 212 (1987).

881 S.W.2d at 869; see also Allen, 775 S.W.2d at 865.

The uselessness of these constructions in efforts to challenge or amend the bill should not be overlooked, because Subchapter C, Sec. 2007.041(c) requires that the Attorney General ensure consistency between the application of S.B. 14 and “the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court and the supreme court of this state.”


David Socolow, Director, American Resources Information Network, interview by author, October 12, 1995.
The Indian Village

by Sangram Kakulavaram

Culture and social patterns have a strong influence on the built environment, just as architecture and planning shape our everyday activities. This interaction of social and physical concerns takes place at all scales, from the siting to the detailing of a house.

THE VILLAGE
THE WORK OF MAN, A CREATION OF TIME
A CHARACTERISTIC AND ATTRACTION PRODUCT OF THE INDIAN WAY OF LIFE

THE BIG BANYAN TREE UNDER WHOSE THICK SHADOW A CANTINA OF CONVERSATIONS FORM. A PART OF THE LIFE & THE COMMUNITY WELL WHERE ALL THE VILLAGE WOMEN GATHER & DO MORE THAN JUST COLLECT WATER IN THEIR POTS ARE A TREAT TO AN ALIEN EYE. THE BLUNT MUD WALLS AS IF RISING FROM THE EARTH ON THEIR OWN GENTLY ENVELOP SPACES CREATING A SENSE OF PLACE AND BELONGING. ALL THESE ARE A REFLECTION OF THE VIBRANCY, BEAUTY & SENSE OF COMMUNITY A VILLAGE SUSTAINS.

SITING
THE SITUATION OF A VILLAGE AND ITS SIGNIFICANT DETERMINING INFLUENCE ON THE PLANT FORM

THE DETERMINANTS

PHYSICAL FEATURES

LAKE

FOREST

HILLOCK

FUNCTIONAL FEATURES

PROXIMITY RELATED
NEARNESS TO NEARNESS TO
MAJOR ROAD & TOWN

PROFESSION RELATED
AVAILABILITY OF PHYSICAL FEATURE
RAW MATERIALS AIDING PROFESSION

THE VILLAGE CONFORMS AND RESPONDS TO THE PRESENCE OF THE TOPOGRAPHICAL FEATURES AND BECOMES A PART OF THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

THE SITING OF THE VILLAGE IS STRATEGIC IN RESPONSE TO THE FUNCTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS TYPICAL OF THE PLACE
PLANNING FORUM

PLAIFORM

NO SET PATTERN TO WHICH VILLAGE PLANS CONFORM. SHAPE, SIZE, AND CHARACTER VARY GREATLY. NO VILLAGE IS QUITE LIKE ANY OTHER—THIS IS THE GLORY OF IT. EVERY VILLAGE IS AN INDIVIDUAL PLACE BOSTING OF HARMONY & IDENTITY.

IN ALL THIS VARIETY TWO MAIN TYPES OF VILLAGES CAN BE IDENTIFIED

ROADSIDE VILLAGE

- Generally at the junction of roads.
- Simple stringing along a single road.
- Road sometimes widens or narrows.
- Begins definitely and ends definitely.
- Character usually from the structures aborning the road.
- Approaching the village, one can see through it and can't see beyond it before one actually goes into it.
- The road seems to push the structures along it.
- A temple, a community tree, or the village head's house may stand at the turn of the road.

SQUARED VILLAGE

- Easily recognizable and appreciable road as a whole.
- May be of almost any shape.
- Staggered entering road.
- View blocked by houses, walls or the road.
- Location of temple or village head's house gives emphasis to one or more points in the plan.
- The community well like a monument in the city.
- The structures along the road seem to contain it.
- A community tree a local climax.

STREETS

Lay out plan of Nedururu Village

Main Street

Sub Street

Lane

By Lane
STREET CHARACTER

The character and the nature of activities vary greatly with the width of the street.

Activities spill onto the streets and they become part of the houses along it.

Each street has a strong visual note at the end of it giving the street an identity in an otherwise dense network of streets.

Main streets widen as they approach the lake, widening results in emphasizing the main street and the community space.

The presence of trees results in formation of new open spaces.

The house interface with its scale, colours, and materials influences the character of streets.

Streets taking bends break the streets into a number of definite visual statements.

Long street is broken up into small visual compartments when it branches off to form sub-streets making the transition pleasant.

Hierarchy of spaces - an expression of man's relationship with the community

THE COMMUNITY SPACES

The Community Tree

The Community Well

The Public Space Near the Temple

High Degree of Activity in Cluster Spaces

Incidental Spaces for Stop-Gap Gatherings

Tea Bunk on the Bank of the Lake

Lake Bank - the Focal Point of Activities

The Arugu - a place for evening talks
THE VILLAGE HOUSE

PLANFORMS

- HOUSE WITH BACKYARD
- FRONTYARD AND COURTYARD
- HOUSE WITH FRONTYARD
- BACKYARD AND COURTYARD
- FRONTYARD AND BACKYARD
- COURTYARD

THE TRANSITIONAL SPACE FROM THE STREET INTO THE HOUSE

FORMS THE HEART OF THE HOUSE WITH A VARIETY OF ACTIVITIES IN AND AROUND IT

THE PERSONAL ZONE FOR THE HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

STRONG CENTRAL AXIS EMPHASIZED BY A SERIES OF DOORS CENTRAL COURT AND TULASI PLANT

HIERARCHY OF SPACES, PRIVACY LEVEL INCREASES TOWARDS THE BACKYARD

VERANDAH - LIVING ROOM

CENTRAL CIRCULATION ZONE - DINING KITCHEN - VERANDAH - BACKYARD

PERSONALISATION

AN EVIDENT FEATURE WITH RICHLY CARVED DOORS AND COLUMNS, PATTERNS OF MUQQAA, COLOURS ON THE WALLS LENDING IDENTITY TO AN INDIVIDUAL'S PLACE

TRANSITION ELEMENTS

- STREET TO FRONTYARD
- FRONTYARD TO VERANDAH
- VERANDAH TO ROOM
- ROOM TO COURTYARD
- ROOM TO BACKYARD

THE ENTRANCE GIRDING MAKES THE TRANSITION FROM THE STREET INTO THE FRONTYARD PLEASANT

THE STEPS LEADING TO THE DOOR AND THE THRESHOLD MAKE THE ENTRY INTO THE HOME COGNIZABLE

THE SEMI-OPEN SPACE AROUND THE COURTYARD ENCOURAGES A VARIETY OF ACTIVITIES

THE USE OF LOCALLY AVAILABLE MATERIALS IS THE PHYSICAL EVIDENCE OF A VILLAGE HOUSE

RESPONSE TO CLIMATE


Sangram Kakulavaram is a second-year graduate student in the Community and Regional Planning program at the University of Texas. He received his undergraduate architectural training in Hyderabad, in southern India. He is currently interested in the impact of computer technology on the social landscape of cities.
A Tale of Twin Cities

by Scott Bousel

The twin cities of the United States-Mexico border exhibit geographical and social patterns that distinguish them from other cities in the two countries. The emergence of a distinct cultural and economic region—a zone that literature calls "MexAmerica"—has in many ways shaped the morphological evolution of the twin cities.

With the establishment of the fixed international border between the United States and Mexico in 1848, the borderlands region was partitioned where access and trade across both societies. In fact, the development of the borderlands region as a buffer for the vast economic disparities and societal differences between the United States and Mexico. Since the creation of the border, the development of the borderlands has been marked by the growth of twin cities, whose considerable population growth is a reflection of the daily interactions between these two neighboring countries.

In Mexico and the United States, the economic and urban development of the border region has received more attention with the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Free trade first arrived on the border in 1961, as the Border Industrialization Plan (BIP) allowed American companies to move into the region, employ cheap labor, and export their goods with minimal duties. Thereafter, the border cities shared a higher degree of economic involvement as well as closer social and cultural ties. Population growth on both sides of the border has increased dramatically as a result of the growing economic linkages. A recent Newsweek article proclaimed the existence of "MexAmerica" as a distinct cultural entity, encompassing the land 60 miles north and south of the U.S.-Mexico border (Aller and Padgett, 1995). With the gradual elimination of all tariffs between the U.S. and Mexico, NAFTA continues to increase the interaction between neighbors.

This paper will examine urbanization along the U.S.-Mexico border. It will also address the morphological evolution of the twin cities by reviewing geographical models of United States and Latin American city structure. After establishing the particular urban patterns for each country, two specific border models will be reviewed. This paper will also consider the role of economic interaction within the larger context of cultural convergence in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Ultimately, the issue at hand is how the cultural convergence of MexAmerica reaches the municipal level and shapes the urban form of border cities.

Urban models of Mexico and the U.S.

The United States and Mexico have been culturally separated since their origins. Differences in the evolution of both the external and internal urban structures are a reflection of the variations around this large border region. The border region is highly developed, with a mix of urbanization and economic prosperity, which have created a specialized spatial structure. While a number of different models have tried to represent the urban structure of large U.S. cities, no model has attained a consensus among geographers.

For Mexico and the developing world few urban models exist, so much discussion revolves around the role of industrialization and urban change. Three classic models exist that describe internal city structure of the United States (Herbert and Thomas, 1990). The first model, the concentric zone model, was created by Ernest W. Burgess to show morphological change over time. It is more specifically urban change as a product of urbanization and succession by competing urban groups. Given a flat terrain, the city grows in rings called zones around its central business district (CBD). The zone immediately following the CBD, the zone of transition, is in constant flux as industry and commercial interests clash with a declining residential area, mostly filled with recent immigrants. Most housing in this zone is temporary, because as residents save enough money they gradually filter outward. Within each successive ring the residential areas are increasingly more expensive, as elite groups are able to afford larger homes and commute to work in the CBD (Figure 1). Although the concentric zone model has received much criticism based on empirical findings, the true worth of the Burgess model can be attributed to its simplicity and generalization (Herbert and Thomas, 1990). However, other models better acknowledge the role of transportation and industrialization on urban morphology.

FIGURE 1: Three generalizations of the internal structures of cities

1. CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT
2. WHOLESALE LIGHT MANUFACTURING
3. LOW CLASS RESIDENTIAL
4. MEDIUM CLASS RESIDENTIAL
5. HIGH CLASS RESIDENTIAL
6. HEAT MANUFACTURING
7. OUTLYING MANUFACTURING
8. RESIDENTIAL SUBURB
9. INDUSTRIAL SUBURB
10. COMMUTER ZONE

The second model of urban structure is the sector model as created by Hoyt. In contrast to the closed rings of the concentric model, the high-income residential and industrial sectors are open-ended as they grow outward. High-income homes are developed on land with easy access to transportation routes, whereas low-income homes are relegated to undesirable areas near industrial plants. Hoyt's model has established two important ideas about urban morphology in the U.S.: that the planner and city are important in deciding location of factories and industrial necessities; and that transportation was important in establishing "spines" of business activity towards suburban areas.

The third model, multiple nuclei, was created by Harris and Ullman. Its main distinction is that the ideas that center other than the CBD develop to serve particular business interests. The secondary model is designed for the U.S. and Mexico and includes a mix of urbanization and economic prosperity, having created a specialized spatial structure. While a number of different models have tried to represent the urban structure of large U.S. cities, no model has attained a consensus among geographers. For Mexico and the developing world few urban models exist, so much discussion revolves around the role of industrialization and urban change. Three classic models exist that describe internal city structure of the United States (Herbert and Thomas, 1990). The first model, the concentric zone model, was created by Ernest W. Burgess to show morphological change over time. It is more specifically urban change as a product of urbanization and succession by competing urban groups. Given a flat terrain, the city grows in rings called zones around its central business district (CBD). The zone immediately following the CBD, the zone of transition, is in constant flux as industry and commercial interests clash with a declining residential area, mostly filled with recent immigrants. Most housing in this zone is temporary, because as residents save enough money they gradually filter outward. Within each successive ring the residential areas are increasingly more expensive, as elite groups are able to afford larger homes and commute to work in the CBD (Figure 1). Although the concentric zone model has received much criticism based on empirical findings, the true worth of the Burgess model can be attributed to its simplicity and generalization (Herbert and Thomas, 1990). However, other models better acknowledge the role of transportation and industrialization on urban morphology.

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Scott Haunsel

FIGURE 3: A generalized model of Latin American city structure (Griffin and Ford, 1980, 406)

1980, 409). Overall, the rings of economic status in the Griffin-Ford model have an inverse relationship to the Bumpus model mentioned earlier. This inverse relationship is partly due to the inability of the Latin American city to handle its population growth, particularly when a much greater percentage of the population lives in poverty.

It follows the familiar trend toward urban centralization and primacy. Most cities in Mexico, like the rest of Latin America, share the same "grid-street pattern" required by the Spanish under the 1573 Law of the Indies. During the colonial period, the Spanish conquistadors imposed this urban form in Mexico on the Mexican cities that were established by the Aztec and Mayan civilizations years before. While political power has changed hands in Mexico City, it remains the dominant center of Mexican life. As in other Latin American nations, the centralized political structure in Mexico has reinforced the economic gap between elites and the impoverished majority. Consequently, Mexico's history and economy continues to be dominated by the decisions and events emanating from the center. For many years, the Mexican cities on the northern border served as the undesirable periphery, receiving little attention from the capital, a pattern also true for U.S. border cities. Recent Mexican interest in establishing economic ties with the U.S. has drawn attention to the northern border. Urbanization has also occurred outside of Mexico City: Guadalajara, Monterrey, Puebla, and border cities such as Tijuana and Ciudad Juarez have all witnessed tremendous growth. Urban and industrial development have been superimposed on the Spanish form of the preindustrial city as Mexico's cities continue to expand. The urban evolution of Mexico has been the subject of much academic discussion, yet systematic analysis of urban geography is much harder to find. One study of the development of secondary cities in Mexico was a doctoral dissertation by Harris W. Baker (1970). In his dissertation, Baker created a spatial and temporal model of the Mexican city as it has evolved since independence (Figure 3). The model was based on land use diagrams for all Mexican cities with a population over 100,000 in 1965, which included Ciudad Juarez, Matamoros, Mexicali, Nuevo Laredo, and Tijuana. For Baker, the zoning of residential structure was the most general characteristic of land use in the industrial city. Whereas the preindustrial city is compact with mixed land use, an industrial city is larger in terms of population and physical size, which allows the city to divide into residential zones based on income (upper, middle, and lower), commercial, and industrial areas. Baker identified five morphological traits that distinguished the modern industrial city from a pre-industrial city:

1. The development of large upper-class and upper-middle-class planned subdivisions on the periphery of the city;
2. The growth of a ring of lower-class housing at the periphery of the central business district;
3. The growth of a ring of lower-middle-class housing beyond the central ring of lower-class dwellings;
4. The growth of highway-oriented suburban industry;

Using this criterion, Baker ranked the twenty largest cities (excluding Mexico City) according to their development within the model. Each city was classified as preindustrial, transitional, or industrial. Ciudad Juarez, Matamoros, and Nuevo Laredo were considered to be transitional cities in 1970. Baker did not study extensively the Mexican border cities because they were younger cities experiencing rapid growth in addition to social and economic influence from the United States (Baker, 1970). Baker acknowledged in his conclusion that development along the border may not have evolved in the same pattern as other cities.

Overall, Baker's model is very similar to the Griffin-Ford model. The main difference between the two models is that the Griffin-Ford model places the poorest on the periphery, while Baker believes the poor will occupy the inner areas near the CBD which are abandoned by upper classes. In his conclusion, Baker stated that the "large Mexican city, as in the nation itself, is in a dramatic race between population growth and economic development" (Baker, 1970, 311). Baker indicated that the fifth stage of urban development would either be the "North American Model or the Dual City." Baker's description of the dual city appears to be similar to what Griffin and Ford observed in 1980. Given the difficulties that most developing countries have faced since 1970, the North American concentric model has not been the norm. Fueled by population growth and migration, the outer ring of most Latin American cities is filled with squatter villages and small town classification.

Returning to the U.S.-Mexico border, the next section of the paper will utilize the models and concepts described earlier to explain urban change where the U.S. and Mexico meet face-to-face.

The Mexican Border City

Although urban growth along the border occurs in pats, the Mexican city and its U.S. counterparts have not shared the same degree of growth since 1950. For economic reasons, the Mexican border cities have experienced a population boom while U.S. cities have grown more slowly. Of the eighteen Mexican cities on the border, eight have a population of over 100,000 people.

The U.S. border region has only five cities with more than 80,000 people, although the Metropolitan Standard Area (MSA) populations are higher as they include neighboring cities with populations over 50,000. Ironically, many U.S. border cities are smaller in population, but larger in area than the Mexican cities, reflecting the general trend that Latin American cities have a much greater population density than U.S. cities.

The border cities have undergone more changes as the forces of economic integration have become more powerful. Today, many of the Mexican border cities would be classified as industrial using Baker's model, however, the different model of industrialization along the border demands a thorough analysis of economic and geographical change. After researching the 18 Mexican border cities Arnedo and Cuitláhuac (1993) developed an urban structural model specific to the Mexican border city. Their model (figure 4) highlights specific social and economic landmarks such as maquiladora parks and tourist-oriented districts which are unique to the borderlands. It is apparent that the "border" model city has made a transition from pre-industrial to industrial. On the other hand, its development is closer to Hoyt's sector theory than Burgess's concentric zone theory.
The Arroela and Curtis model bears a strong resemblance to the sector model as described by Hoyt in relation to U.S. cities. Specifically, the elite and upper-middle income groups have formed a sector emanating from the right side of the CBD. Access to the CBD is doubly important in the border cities as it also serves as the crossing to the U.S. side. Elite groups along the border have a greater interest in staying closer to the inner core than elites in other Mexican cities, as Baker predicted. Thus, the conversion of the inner core from upper income to lower income has not fully occurred. On the opposite side of the CBD, a sector of lower income slums has developed, with lower and middle-income groups occupying the space in between. Finally, the Arroela and Curtis model shows the existence of squatting settlements along the urban fringe.

Another element of urban development has been the location of industry. In the Arroela and Curtis model, older industrial areas appear to have moved along other commercial spines, as Hoyt indicated. However, the development of the maquiladoras or industrial parks has coincided with the development of the upper income residential sector. Sponsored by foreign firms, maquiladoras are a new form of industrial development which has altered the spatial form of the Mexican border city. Maquiladoras were made possible through the Border Industrialization Plan (BIP) of 1961. Under BIP, foreign companies were allowed to own subsidiaries in Mexico within 12 miles of the U.S.-Mexico border. The U.S. gave tariff reductions to participating firms, which limited the tariff only to the value added by the assembly process. Currently 75 percent of the 2.0M maquiladoras are located in the Mexican border cities. Total maquiladora employment in Mexico is 675,941 (Twin Plant News, 1995); a majority of these jobs belong to women. Each maquiladora allows the parent firm to pay developing world wages just minutes from the United States border. The maquiladora parks represent a new era in urban planning for Mexican cities as the parks are designed with large lots, paved roads, and improved access to utilities and major transportation routes. However, most maquiladora jobs are not upper income, so most workers use the mass transit system to reach the industrial parks located in the higher income fringe areas.

In terms of commercial development, the Arroela and Curtis model shows that the large Mexican city has evolved from preindustrial to industrial. As Baker hypothesized, the "growth of highway-oriented suburban industry" is a product of the public's higher mobility due to cars and public transportation. Despite the huge attraction of stores in the U.S., Mexican border cities have been able to develop pockets of retail trade. Regional shopping centers have sprung up near the CBD or in urban income areas. The government has actively supported the border cities through the Programa Nacional Fronterizo (PRONAF) based in Juarez. PRONAF's goal is to beautify the border cities through public works projects and new recreational and commercial areas. Built in 1962, Juarez's PRONAF Center is a shopping mall at the eastern end of the major commercial spine. As predicted by Baker, the development of commercial centers outside the CBD is part of the transition to an automobile-based transportation system. The Soriana Mall in southern Reynosa is another example of an U.S.-type shopping area with a full range of specialty stores, a food court, and movie theaters (Arroela and Curtis, 1993). Especially in the periods following the deregulation of the peso, Mexican malls continue to provide a valuable alternative to U.S. stores. In fact, the combination of regional shopping centers and maquiladoras in the upper-income sector have created secondary nuclei in some Mexican border cities.

When comparing the aggregate model of Arroela and Curtis to studies of Ciudad Juarez, the results are similar. The eastern side of Juarez is upper-income residential, while the western side is progressively more impoverished as the mountains make construction almost impossible (Lloyd, 1986, 51, figure 5). All five industrial park areas are also located on the eastern side which makes them closer to the Juarez airport and the new Zaragoza bridge (George, 1986). Highways leading into Juarez also serve as major commercial spines. The Rio Grande Mall and the PRIAF Center are also located just east of the CBD and a high-income enclave remains in the same area.

The location of maquilas and high class residential areas on the eastern side of Juarez should not be surprising as private land development has been the driving force. Unlike the U.S., the Mexican government provides for the public ownership of land, much of which is used as ejido lands for communal farms. Like most Mexican cities, land on the west side of Juarez is publicly administered. Squatters in Juarez have been successful in taking public land, and their makeshift homes have eventually been recognized by the city. However, pri-
vate agricultural land on the east side has been transformed into high class residential areas since 1950 (Gildersleeve, 1978). Thus, the sectoral growth of the east side is marked by private subdivisions or fraccionamientos, which appear to be heavily influenced by U.S. suburban homes (Gildersleeve, 1978; see also Arceola and Curtis, 165-174).

In his original survey, Baker ranked Juarez as a transitional city between preindustrial and industrial. With the recent changes, Juarez can easily be characterized as having the five traits which Baker identified to describe the industrial city. The main difference between Juarez and other Mexican cities is that residential development has a more sectoral appearance, because upper income groups have not completely left the inner core. Also, the poorest of the poor do not occupy the inner core, but rather are relegated to the worst land on the urban fringe. The land use maps of Juarez and the Arceola model show that centrality to the CBD remains important since it allows easy access to the international crossing point. The development of two more international bridges in Juarez (the Cordova bridge, near the Fronan tourist district, and the Zaragoza bridge on the far east side) has created a secondary nuclei for upper income and industrial development (Arceola and Curtis, 40). With more bridges in Juarez and other cities, future urban development will be less likely to depend on centrality.

The Binational Urban Model

Just as the example of Juarez largely validates the model of Arceola and Curtis, the important role played by El Paso in the development of Juarez suggests that a binational city model may be necessary to explain urban economic development along the border. According to the Newsweek article referenced in the introduction, the capital of the "MexAmerica" is Tijuana-San Diego, which implies that the border cities have achieved a sort of unity despite national separation (Adler and Padgett, 1995). One author summarized the argument for a bi-national model: "The current interweaving of economic, social, and cultural interests...graphically exemplifies symbiotic relationships long prevailing in the twin communities. Adjacent to the international boundary is a transitional corridor of cultural overlap and blending. A third culture, neither completely Latin nor Anglo-Saxon, has appeared as a synchronization of the two. Cultural fusion has affected the development of distinctive city forms and organizations instead of mere facsimiles of either Mexican or U.S. urban centers" (Dillman, 1983, 239). With cultural fusion, one would expect that the border areas would be in a process of merging to create a new form which would differ from the national urban growth models described earlier. The fundamental question is whether employing a singular model of the bi-national city is preferable to a model of comparison between the U.S. and Mexican cities' internal structure.

One model of the U.S.-Mexican border city was created by Charles W. Gildersleeve in his doctoral dissertation (1978). His aggregate model (Figure 4) was based on three twin cities: Amberg Nogales (Nogales, Son.-Nogales, Ariz.), Douglas, Ariz.-Agu Prieta, Son., and El Paso, Texas-Ciudad Juarez, Chih. By reviewing the economy of each city in terms of economic base and sphere of influence vis-a-vis its neighbor, the internal urban relations for the Mexican city and the corresponding U.S. city were compared. Gildersleeve determined that mutual interactions, such as finance, industrial production, retail trade and tourism between the two cities demonstrate an interdependence that is representative of a single unit. The Gildersleeve model attempts to define the paired Mexican and U.S. city as "one spatial unit which happens to be separated by a bi-cultural, political boundary" (340).

Gildersleeve specifically states that the two cities are "connected both physically and functionally" (1978). For the three twin-city areas that Gildersleeve studied, this was certainly true. Other border twin cities do not show the physical confluence of Juarez-El Paso. Almost every Mexican city is pressed up against the border. However, the primary urban areas of McAllen, Texas, and San Diego, Calif., lie approximately ten miles from the border. Although the city limits for both cities extend south to the border, much of the land is vacant. San Ysidro, annexed by the City of San Diego in 1957, serves as the international crossing to Tijuana (Herneg, 1990). Ten miles south of McAllen, the tiny city of Hidalgo serves as home of the international bridge to Reynosa. Due to economic and transportation linkages, the historical establishment of McAllen and San Ysidro placed the nucleus of the city at a slight distance from the border, while urban growth has been slow to move to the south. Thus, the physical connection between the two sides does not always exist, at least as the growth of the U.S. side does not necessarily move southward. Still, it is the functional connections between the cities which determine the extent of unity which Gildersleeve ascribes to the border cities.

The complementary nature of the two local economies supports the contention that the two cities act as a functional unit. Gildersleeve used an economically based comparison to isolate the economic components of each Mexican and U.S. city. International stimuli provide for the employment and income crucial to every city along the border. The ability of a city to exceed minimum requirements (either employment or income) for a particular good or service translates into the ability to export that good to other external areas. With smaller cities, reliance on exports is great as the city can not efficiently produce goods only for local consumption. Larger cities show a more balanced relationship between basic (export-oriented) and non-basic (minimum required for city size) industries, a ratio that shows how dependent a city is on the livelihood of its exports. Mexican border cities, with their employment based on maquila exports, services and tourism, have a high amount of export employment. Meanwhile, U.S. border cities have little manufacturing, yet the retail stores located on the U.S. side serve the consumer needs of both cities. Thus, U.S. cities share a similar basic/non-basic ratio. When combined, the two economies...
Nacho Laredo's Boys Town is the most famous compound; it is fenced in like a fortress, with over 30 bars employing nearly 1,000 prostitutes. Contrary to popular belief, the clientele is a mix of U.S. and Mexican customs, reinforcing the idea that zones de tolerancia serve the populations of both the U.S. and Mexican border cities.

compared the border cities to other cities in their respective countries. The residential pattern in U.S. cities has elements of the concentric zone and sector theories described earlier. El Paso is described as a "three-fingered hand" (Gildersleeve, 1978, 122) as the Franklin Mountains to the north block development. Consequently, distinct rings or sectors have not occurred. In the three U.S. cities that Gildersleeve studied, the specialization of land use associations was the most important factor in explaining land use. It is the "internationally-caused" characteristics that create land uses that form unique features. For example, all three cities had a strong CBD within a half mile of the border, reflecting the strong retail ties with Mexico. The CBD for American side is the de facto CBD for the twin border city. Other examples of land use specialization exist for different American cities. Nogales, Ariz., has a special zone for produce wholesale operations as the highway through Ambos Nogales is the major route for produce trade. Douglas, Ariz., has an industrial zone for warehouses which serve the maquiladoras in Waterfront, Son.; both cities have concentrated industrial activity on the western side. El Paso, a much larger city, has many specialized retail areas. Shopping centers closer to the border crossings depend much more on Mexican consumers. Moving north, as distance from the border increases, the proportion of sales to Mexican decreases. The degree of Spanish spoken in stores decreases along with the number advertise in Spanish, as one moves away from the border (Gildersleeve, 1978, 263-274).

As in the U.S. border cities, land use in Mexican cities has also been specialized to suit the border economy. Maquiladoras parks, described earlier, are the best example of specialization. Another example is the tourist landscape as described by Arellano and Curtis (76). For Tijuana alone, tourism contributed over $700 million to the local economy during 1986. Every Mexican border city has some type of tourist district, usually a small area near the international crossing. For tourists who walk over to Mexico, the districts are pedestrian-oriented and the small shops and stands offer the traditional curios. Bars and dance clubs catering to Americans are nearby. James R. Curtis (1980) aptly describes the touristic districts as "mixed-used places" that support the current stereotypes of Mexico: sombreros, ponchos, bullfights and tequila. A different type of tourist district is the zona de tolerancia, or a specialized area catering to adult entertainment and prostitution, which is not strictly prohibited in Mexico. Part of PRIOMA's goal of beautification is to isolate the adult entertainment away from the main tourist districts. Twelve of the eighteen Mexican border cities have either a compound or district which acts as a zona de tolerancia. Nuevo Laredo's Boys Town is the most famous compound; it is fenced in like a fortress, with over thirty bars, employing nearly 1,000 prostitutes. Contrary to popular belief, the clientele is a mix of U.S. and Mexican customers, reinforcing the idea that zones de tolerancia serve the populations of both the U.S. and Mexican border cities.

For the Mexican cities, Gildersleeve's observations have much in common with the model created by Arellano and Curtis. The Mexican border cities also have much in common with interior Mexican cities, given their shared history of town planning and the highly centralized Mexican political system. Gildersleeve, writing in the 1970s, noted that newer parts of Juarez have moved away from the traditional grid-street pattern to a more skeletal form with arterial roads and a highway. However, neighbors that each side of the twin city retains its national identity in terms of internal spatial form, but the high levels of economic interdependence indicate that the future of each side is tied to the other's.

Institutional Factors and Urban Form

One author described the city of Mexicali as "a small pressed against an aquarium wall" (Weisman, 1986, 164). Although the structure of the Mexican border city is "similar to that of urban places elsewhere in Mexico" (Arellano and Curtis, 1993, 70). The extent of U.S. influence must be considered on the international scale of the twin or dual city. Looking back, the model city of Arellano and Curtis appears to be literally half of Baker's industrial city, as the U.S. border bisects the normally circular shape of a city. By implication, the other half is the U.S. component, the second partner in the twin city. The role of the American side cannot be excluded when researching the development of the Mexican border city, or vice-versa. However, after reviewing the Arellano and Curtis model with the Gildersleeve models of the U.S.-Mexico border city, greater weight must be given to the national models instead of the binational economic integration between the United States and Mexico is a vehicle for convergence on the municipal level; however, the social, political, and cultural differences are obstacles that remain
The comparative centralization of Mexican border cities is both political and social, as well as the fact that Mexican cities cannot afford to provide services at extended distances. Many Mexican residents are unable to afford to live far from the center, unlike U.S. residents who live in suburbs further away from downtown.

Conclusion

The economic interactions which Gildersleeve described earlier should be considered what Lawrence Herzog has called trans-boundary economic space, the "overlapping of product, service and labor markets across the international political line" (1980, p. 56). Instead of forming a single city, the regional economy binds the two sides together without uniting them. The two sides may function as a single economic unit, but each has a different role in the transborder international economy. The economic flows resulting from maquiladora production, tourism and retail trade influence urban development only to the point that the political and cultural systems can assimilate change. The high level of detail in the Mexican border-city landscape model of Arreola and Curtis is necessary to exhibit the particular influences of heightened economic exchanges with the U.S. inside a Mexican city. Ultimately, the high level of dependency between the two border cities should not be mistoken for unity.

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Bibliography


Gender Blindness

by Mary Burns

Despite recent gains, women in Latin American and Caribbean nations still face blatant discrimination in the social, political, and economic areas. Women, particularly poor women, make up a disproportionate number of rights and housing policies that remain blind to their needs.

This paper will address the issue of gender-blind housing policy in the following fashion. First, the sexism, economic conditions, and the system of property rights in Latin America will be examined, with Peru serving as the most frequently-cited example. An examination of housing policy in two countries will then be undertaken, using Jamaica and Peru as primary examples. Finally, prescriptions to remedy gender blindness will be proffered.

Sexism In Latin American Society

Although on the wave, the overall cultural paradigm in Latin American society is the machismo-hembrismo dyad. Such an archetype represents men and women to separate and unequal private and public roles and permeates all components of Latin American life. Within the family, the concept of patrilocal families—the male as household head—prevails. In the economic realm, the man is the breadwinner, providing for all macro-economic decisions. The woman may preside over the micro-economics of the household with his approval. If the woman works outside the home, her job is seen as a derivative of her gender and of less importance than that of a man. In the political domain, men possess both de facto and de jure rights. He is both judge and lawmaker. The legal system is intrinsically biased towards his needs and interests. Although women possess de jure legal rights, in reality, such rights are often circumvented or denied them by husbands or fathers.

Such a power differential, according to such feminist housing scholars as Caroline Moser, has impeded society’s ability to recognize women’s “triple function” as producers, reproductions, and community organizers, and to integrate such functions into the overall economic workings of society—particularly in housing production. Moreover, according to Moser, the machismo-hembrismo dyad has distracted planners from the reality that females are the facto heads of 50 percent of Latin American families (Moser, 1987). Consequently, housing prescriptions formulated on the nuclear family and “women-as-reproducer” paradigms do not serve the spatial and social needs of female-headed households and thus rehearse the fundamental gender stereotypes and spatial orientations of society.

Macro-Level Economic Determinants of Housing Policy: Peru

Latin America’s housing complexity has been largely determined by two factors. The first is demographic, following World War II, Latin America began to industrialize and urbanize. In Peru, for example, extensive rural-urban migration and the proliferation of the paterfamilias, or extended households, created a tremendous demand for urban housing. In an attempt to satisfy this demand by increasing housing supply, the Peruvian government concurred and promoted self-build housing and upgrading projects. Paradoxically, such a policy put pressure on land prices and building material costs, subsequently decreasing the stock of affordable housing.

The second factor is economic. The “Lost Decade” of the 1980s resulted in a diminution of real wages, a scarcity of capital, and a balance-of-payments crisis throughout Latin America. In Peru, such a dismal economic climate exacerbated the already precarious affordable-housing situation. Because of tight capital—the result of an adverse balance-of-payments—two thirds of Peru’s population was denied access to home ownership via the conventional private and public lenders (Young, 1987).

In its successful crusade against hyper-inflation, down from an astounding 7,650 percent in 1990 to 39.5 percent in 1994 and in attempt to reverse Peru’s balance-of-payments crisis, the Fujimori government has embarked upon a program of structural readjustment by increasing taxes on telephone, gas, electricity, and water; liberalizing land and labor markets; and cutting social service programs (North/South Focus, 1993). Particularly hard-hit by these austerity measures has been the Peruvian housing program. By 1990, for example, spending on housing was 28 percent of its 1980 level. While Peru had allocated 5.2 percent of its public service budget to housing in 1970, by 1990, that figure had dwindled to two percent (Figueras, 1993).

In a sense, the Peruvian government has robbed Peter to pay Paul. While such austerity measures have generated and freed up a great deal of capital, this money has been directed toward private housing finance, which typically favors those with means. Conversely, public housing finance, which favors low-income individuals and families, has seen its resources drained while demand for such funds—the result of continued urbanization and increased unemployment—has risen.

Women’s Economic Position within the Macro-economic Framework

Women, because of their position within the family and society, have typically been relegated to the economic periphery. The sexual division of labor, determined and delimited by a system of expectations, dictates the amount of time a woman must spend on domestic chores. This, in turn, circumscribes the amount of time that can be spent in paid labor. Although women are rapidly entering the formal sector, most are employed in cottage industries, the informal sector, seasonal employment, or very low-paying jobs. Indeed, 48 percent of Peruvian women work at home and 70 percent are employed in the informal sector (Chavez-O’Brien, 1988).

Because of problems of definition and categorization, women’s employment is often not deemed “work” as such by government agencies. Often times categories are biased and do not count the informal sector (of which women comprise the bulk) as real employment. For example, in Peru, women who take on paid work are not counted among employees (Young, 1989). Such omissions have their roots in cultural proscriptions. It is considered inappropriate for a woman to work in the fields. Yet, 80 percent of women in the Sierra Sur, where the majority of Peru’s peasants reside and which has a high rate of male migration, consider agriculture as their main form of employment (Young, 1989). Such cultural biases have had dire economic consequences for women, reinforcing the erroneous notion of man as worker and woman as helpmate.

This gender-specific economic realities (the sexual division of labor, the official absence of women’s labor participation, as well as women’s lack of access to the means of production) are embedded in an informal macro-economic system, and this system has been variously, in a tremendous gender wage differential. In every Latin American country, women’s aggregate income is less than that of men (Young, 1989). In Lima, as a case in point, 50 percent of female workers versus 16 percent of male workers earn less than the monthly minimum wage (Chavez-O’Brien, 1988).
Women and Property Rights

Gender discrimination rears its head not only in the economic realm, but in the legal domain as well. Unfortunately, women have made substantial legal gains within the past twenty years. Still, for the most part, men enjoy principal tenure in land and housing. Even when women possess de jure property rights, they are subject to de facto discrimination. Until recently in Mexico, for example, daughters could inherit ejidal lands only if there were no sons and/or the policies of the specific ejido allowed such transfer. However, through widows and daughters now enjoy inheritance rights, these rights are often not honored by male family members who refuse to relinquish the ejidal land (American Association for the Advance ment of Science, 1977).

While most new legislation concerning women's property rights has been progressive in terms of gender-inclusion, some has actually been retrogressive. Until the late 1960s, both men and women in Peru enjoyed equal access to land under the ejido system. The Agrarian Reform Act of 1969 replaced indigenous land codes with an urban Hispanic code, which made the male principal householder and gave him final say over land use. Legally, women were stripped of the collateral, physical and financial security, and capital that land ownership provides. Economically, the Agrarian Reform Act divested women of their intangible labor value and economic autonomy and subordinated them to their husbands (Chan, 1992).

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Housing Policy

As has been illustrated, the cultural, economic, and legal realities of the apple public property context within which housing policy and production occur. Furthermore, they establish the criteria against which housing eligibility and allocation are determined. Rather than a source of gender-blindness, housing policy is a conduit for the most comprehensive institutional sexism that exists on both a macro- and micro-level in Latin America. Certainly planners have aggrandized this gender bias by not tapping into what we believe terms women’s “triple functions” and ignoring overall female economic contributions. Such a sin of omission has resulted in a huge data vacuum. Since housing agencies are compelled to use objective criteria (access to capital, collateral, work history, etc.), in allocating mortgages, the absence of such data, as well as the lending criteria themselves, further exclude women from access to affordable housing.

Almost all Latin American countries have either a state, private, or parastatal organization designed to provide low-income housing to the poorest segments of society. In all Latin American societies, that poorest segment is women with children. Yet, it is exceedingly difficult for women to gain access to housing independent of men. Bias against women exists in all areas of housing policy and production. Such an assertion can be supported by examining three phases of housing policy and production in Jamaica—eligibility, allocation, and services.

Eligibility

In 1976, the National Housing Trust (NHT) was created by the socialist government of Jamaica to finance a large number of working-class units and distribute them according to housing needs. The NHT is not without its critics. Indeed, it is responsible for the largest number of housing projects in the country. The NHT targets women, in general, as a greater credit risk than men because of women’s shorter default time and their disproportionate activity in the work force. Nevertheless, since a large proportion of low- and middle-income women apply and are rejected for NHT mortgages, the class bias of the NHT program falls disproportionately upon one gender. Other national housing agencies have not been as rigorous toward women. Oftentimes, eligibility criteria for sites-and-service projects are targeted in terms of male income and regular employment. In Peru, a female agricultural worker in the sierra is ineligible for housing assistance because she is considered her husband’s helper. Female applicants in Mexico were in the past required to have a male partner. In the boa Vista, Brazil, self-build housing projects, the applicant basic are never to be the “father” of at least two children and had to earn between one and three minimum wages. In Brazil, 50 percent of female-headed households earn less than one-half of the minimum wage (Moret, 1987).

Housing Allocation

Marriage, even an unhealthy one, may be the lesser of many evils for women when it comes to housing allocation. Since the allocation of land and housing in both capitalist and petty-commodity forms of housing production shows a distinct bias toward married couples and against all non-nuclear and shared arrangements, a woman who chooses to leave an unsuitable or dangerous domestic situation may face a distinct disadvantage in terms of procuring a home. However, marriage as an avenue to better housing is often a poisoned chalice. In capitalist modes of housing production, an unmarried woman, on no matter how poor, is not granted the man on the assumption that he heads the household. Such a practice poses very real physical and economic risks to a woman since, without property rights, she cannot protect herself from threatening domestic situations nor gain the equity that property ownership confers (Moret, 1987). In the petty-commodity forms of housing production, influence leaders oftentimes insist upon allocating land or subdivisions to couples, as opposed to women with children (Wend, 1994).

Services

Income remains the key determinant in access to such services as water, electricity, and sewage. Their presence adversely impacts women, especially poor women, since they are the primary users of these services. Lack of basic water and sewage services means that women have to spend more time on tasks associated with basic household maintenance and rudimentary hygiene (Chastain, 1984).

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results in longer cooking and washing times. The absence of water or water lock-offs can have deleterious income effects on women who take in washing for pay. A lack of access to potable water yields more critical communal health consequences. In Peru, poor sanitation and a lack of potable water resulted in a 1991 cholera outbreak. Most of the 320,000 persons afflicted had limited access to sanitation and drinking water (Ward and Chant, 1990).

The paucity of sanitary facilities is perhaps the most glaring example of gender blindness in the area of service provision for housing. Since men’s sanitary needs are easier to address, they can often make do with simple latrines or with stulls with small or no doors, whereas women’s privacy and sanitary needs often remain unserved. As with improper access to water, a lack of access to sanitary facilities has profound health consequences for an area.

Prescriptions for Gender-Sensitive Housing Policy

A nation’s housing policy mirrors its overall social, economic, and political composition. Hence, housing policies toward women cannot change without a complete transformation of the social, economic, and juridical values and institutions that marginalize women. Such an assertion by no means implies that there be no independent efforts to fashion gender-sensitive housing policies; rather it

There is a pressing need for affordable housing in Latin American and Caribbean nations.

In Latin America and Caribbean nations, women are often left out of housing policy discussions. This is despite the fact that women are often the primary caregivers for children and older family members. Women are also more likely to be employed in informal sector jobs, which do not provide access to affordable housing. Policy recommendations should take into account the specific needs and experiences of women in order to create more equitable and sustainable housing solutions.

Next, women must be actively recruited into the housing, planning, and construction fields as architects, planners, builders, and policy makers. Since they are the primary users of domestic space and services, women know best about the infrastructural needs of a community. Women must be included at the macrolevel of housing, as data analysts and policy makers, and at the microlevel as community organizers and construction workers. Indeed, women have been successfully trained in housing construction in Panama, Jamaica, and Nicaragua.

Currently, the funding priorities of housing agencies themselves must change. This can be tricky because they are leveraging other people’s money. Housing agencies cannot arbitrarily abandon all objective financial criteria. Yet, for the most part, needy women are excluded from such formal financial channels. Through creative fiscal planning—e.g., revolving loans, community-developed credit unions, deferred-interest loans—the gender-biased structures of current housing finance policy can be obviated to give women easier access to housing.

These proposed remedies will be a long time in coming. In reality, most Latin American nations operate under severe financial constraints and possess neither the money nor resources to make the above proposals a reality. Yet, the picture is far from grim. Machismo is on the wane and women have made tremendous social, political, and economic gains. Within the past decade, housing policy has become more gender sensitive in response to such realities as well as to the changing family paradigm. The 1990s have witnessed important economic growth in Latin America in general, with dynamic economic growth in particular countries like Chile and Peru. A healthier economy means a healthier housing industry. Women stand only to gain from such progress.
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Notes

1 Machismo is a cultural ethos that delineates very rigid gender roles for men and as such elevates them to a position of familial and social prominence and dominance vis-a-vis women. "Macho"—general term for male, mostly used in reference to animals. Hembra is a cultural ethos that delineates very clear gender roles for women, oftentimes based on religious imagery (e.g. La Virgen), usually focused on her reproductive capacities. Subordinates the woman to a position of subservience vis-a-vis the man. "Hembra"—general term for female, mostly used in reference to animals.

2 Capitalist housing production: The sale, purchase, or construction of housing in the formal housing finance system. This can be private (home purchase through real estate agencies), through direct purchase, or via government/financial institution housing programs.

3 Petty-commodity: Housing construction in the informal market, usually through land invasions and self-build projects.

4 In Peru, female agricultural workers in the sierra are not eligible for housing assistance because they're considered their husbands' helpers.


6 This is a fairly common occurrence for women attempting to receive government assistance. Attempts by American volunteers in Peru to set up "mother centers" in pueblos jovenes were detailed because a large number of women couldn't read or speak Spanish and did not know their birth dates or complete legal name. Tina Rosenberg. 1992. Children of Cain: Violence and the Violent in Latin America, 180.

7 1988 figures.

8 In some cases, up to 14 hours a day spent on such chores. Peter Ward and Sylvia Chant. 1990. "Family Structure and Low Income Housing Policy." Third World Planning, 14.


Valuing Value

by Stephen Ross

Can we afford value? What price do we pay for defining value too narrowly? In a world 'made to measure' if value is only a quantity are we then doomed to only painting by numbers?

What is Value? What is "good value?"
What is a good value?

I was considering these questions the other day when a voice came on the TV asking me the very same questions. It turned out to be a Chrysler commercial. This very dignified yet disembodied voice asked, "What is Value?" Seemed it was a rhetorical question because he immediately answered it. He quickly said: "You know what value is; value is more for your money." OK. That one was followed by a Ford truck commercial. Guess what? Same question. Turns out that when it comes to Ford trucks value is "more legroom for your money." So, according, value must be a quantity: a magnitude. Value is value added. That's easy enough.

Easy, yeah; but, maybe, just maybe, it's also misleading, too restrictive, too over-determined. What if value was or could be more than a mere number or measurement? I ask this question because, you see, these first two commercials were followed by a Burger King commercial. Different question this time. It's the one with those three elderly ladies at a bowling alley. They ask, "WHAT IS THIS TALK ABOUT VALUE! IT'S NOT VALUE DAMMIT IT'S A HAMBURGER!" Finally!

What this last commercial alludes to is, in a sense, the death of value: if value is only a disembodied abstraction, a number, a measurement, then it's probably not something we'd be willing or able to sink our teeth into. If value is only a measurement, a quantity, then, according to this commercial, these bowlers want no truck with value. Why? Because they aren't interested in the measurement (the value) about something), they instead want the thing being measured (valued). In fact, they're hungry for it. It is their sustenance.

These commercials highlight that today value is the measurement; not the thing being measured!

That's why when I go to our university's Union to buy a Coke, the lady always says, "That's eighty-five cents." Of course I want to say, "No, it's not; it's a Coke." But I don't because I know she's right. As far as she and the Union and Coca-Cola Bottling Company and all their creditors and investors are concerned, it's more $0.85 than it is anything else.

But what if...? What if value could be seen as the thing itself; the thing being valued? If this is possible then we indeed currently de-value value. We have reduced the potential scope and capacity of the meaning of value. We have narrowed the definition of value to that which has been reduced to a mere number. We have narrowed value to width and breadth and depth. (Its unmeasurable W/KB/KB, that is.) We have done this in science and economics, and to a profound degree it has trickled down to the level of dominant culture and everyday life. In a sense we have killed (disembodied) value because it now only exists as a historical fact. Value exists as a measurement only, and only a measurement taken "before now." We have de-valued value because we have de-valued the unmeasurable qualitative nature of value and replace it with an over-valued investment in the measurable and quantitative as value.

Now we only have the numbers to go by. Only that which can be counted counts.

So, back to the commercials. We saw that if value is a quantity then the value of things is pretty easy to claim. All we have to do is measure stuff. But often when we find things to be easy and straightforward, what we are finding is a limited version of something that may very well be a shallow version that ignores and represses and denies and cheapens and destroys too much as a consequence. Often that which is ignored is more valuable, yet harder to place a value on. It is ignored because it is more difficult, complex, un-decideable, and indeterminate. And, it is ignored because our accepted valuing mechanism seems less certain when addressing more than the quantifiable.

We see indeed missing something when we value this way. We err on the side of precision at the price of seeing and valuing the whole too narrowly; of perhaps missing the whole completely. Especially if the whole is more than the sum of its parts.

The moment one begins to count; one begins to err.

-Latin saying, quoted in Particles and Luck, by Louis B. Jones, 1993

Nothing less than certainty will do for a true philosophy of nature. Certainty is the equivalent to measurement. Measurement validates or falsifies.

-Benedict Correard (collage of statements)

Value [...] is [...] the leading edge of reality [...]. Value is the predecessor of structure. [...] Our structured reality is preselected on the basis of value, and reality to understand structured reality requires an understanding of the value source from which it's derived.

—Robert Flou, 1974

To know something is to subdivide it, measure it, and recombine it.

—Isaac Newton

FROSTED NAMES

$1.01

Kellogg's Super Value Pack
39.30-Ounce Package

$4.99

$5.49
When you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meager and unsatisfactory kind.

—Kelsen

But men love abstract reasoning and neat systematization so much that they think nothing of distorting the truth, closing their eyes and ears to contrary evidence to preserve their logical constructions.

—Fyodor Dostoevsky

Values are not magnitudes... A gestalt is an intangible thing. The chances are that once mathematicized, it stops being a true gestalt.

—Morris Berman

The ethics of optimas and the ethics of maxima are totally different ethical systems.

—Gregory Bateson

We owe all the great advances in knowledge to those who endeavor to find out how much there is of anything.

— Clerk Maxwell

It is impossible to escape the impression that people commonly use false standards of measurement [...] and that they underestimate what is of true value in life.

—Sigmund Freud

We can never escape the question: How are we to know that we have a choice? We are in the same position as everyone else who wants to have a choice.

—Henry David Thoreau
The question of values is more fundamental than the question of certainty.  

—Kierkegaard

Money is the yardstick of value in the exchange of one thing for another. Money is also power and a sign of power, a power that derives from the mind-invented measure. A measure controls-empowers-activities in a certain field. Since power attracts people’s attention, money is a great motive force that extends to all areas of human life.  

—David Applebaum, 1991

A dollar is not value, but representative of value, and at last, of moral values.  

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

The cost of a thing is the amount of what I call life which is required to be exchanged for it, immediately or in the long run.  

—Henry David Thoreau

Most economists today do not even see the need for a ‘theory’ of value, as distinct from a theory of price, and would in fact be hard pressed to explain the difference between the two.  

—Robert Heilbroner, 1992 Behind the Veil of Economics

[A]ll actions […] are rooted in the conditions of valuation[…].  

—Max Scheler

Changing cultural values reflect change in economic values. [U]se follows shifts in value. The play of economic value through urban forms and spaces creates simultaneous pressures to both create and destroy.  

—Sharon Zukin, 1991 Landscapes of Power

I took one draught of Life, I’ll tell you what I paid—Precisely an existence—The market price, they said.  

—Emily Dickinson

Nestlè Semi-Sweet Chocolate Morsels 8 To 12-Ounce Bag

FREE
Six Pack of Coke

Buy Any Kodak Color Print Film

Save $1.00

4000

6100

FREE

8-Episode Series

Saved 216 Hours of Video Editing  

$79.95

12-Pack Soda

$2.98 Ea.
Compassionate Values

by Robert Nagerauer

Sustainability has become a buzzword and marketing tool through which we promote products and projects. It is part of an image of environmental consciousness that permeates everything from toilet paper to new subdivisions. Yet there is a rich tradition of ideas about ethics and social justice that could support the formation of a theory of sustainability, a theory that advances our understanding of the basic resource allocation choices we face today. From this understanding emerges a new system of compassionate values, a guide to sustainable actions in a postmodern world. First, however, we need to clarify the terms in which the issue is posed and try to understand the topography of the basic issues. We begin with an intellectual geography so that we can come to an agreement about what is debated and agree at some shared terms.

Ethics

As a first point, I want to discuss briefly the character of ethics. Ethics is not simply opinion, nor is it identical with all possible bases for choices about values. After all, there are many ways to choose what to do in the world. We might have a god who, we believe, tells us or shows us directly what to do. Or, we might act in some way that is purely traditional, which we do not think through or necessarily question.

In such cases, we act according to the customs of our cultural environment. Ethics is different from such practices. Ethics amounts to principled judgements and actions. Theoretically justified, legitimized judgement and action are necessary in a pluralistic world because we do not share a belief in one (or any) god or one tradition that would indicate what we all should do. That we do not share a set of religious or political beliefs, or a set of values, is obvious if we look at our conventions concerning major moral issues. Is abortion right or wrong? Is homosexuality something that should be socially permitted or socially censured? What shall we do about the wholeness of the environment and our need for economic growth and development? Clearly we do not agree on these issues.

If we can't agree on these things by virtue of religious or traditional values, then certainly we live in a world where the only possible alternatives are either reasoned judgement, with discussion leading to action, or violence and force wielded against each other. If, of course, in the absence of principled judgement and action, we become violent towards one another, trying to impose on others our views about what we find acceptable. The alternative to imposed power is the universal human ability to reason, a capacity that enables us to understand reality and to make some decisions about it. For all the cultural, historical, ethnic, and gender differences among us, we nonetheless share a rationality enabling us to give reasons for our positions and thus to arrive at grounded decisions.

In ethics, defined as this legitimized series of understandings and judgements, there are four basic principles relevant to our discussion of environmental ethics and sustainability. These four principles are agreed upon by many theorists no matter what their particular bent (utilitarian, deontologists, natural law people). With the discussions and analyses of the past 2500 years as evidence, we now have a basically sound justification for what we do if we act in accord with these four principles.

According to the first principle, autonomy, persons have the right to make decisions about their courses of action, decisions about their own lives. This is a fundamental principle in ethical thought, not simply in Western culture. If persons were not seen as being free and able to make decisions, able to be responsible for their own actions, then we wouldn't have, or need, an ethics to guide responsible choices and behavior. The essence of autonomy comes down to respecting someone else's responsible choices even if we disagree.

The second basic principle is beneficence, meaning one has an obligation to do good, in Latin, bene (well). One has an obligation to help other people fulfill their fundamental dimensions and needs as embodied, social beings. Closely connected with doing good for others, we find the third principle, nonmaleficence: we shall not commit harm against or allow harm to come to others. Maleficence would include a broad spectrum of phenomena, not only obvious bodily or physical harm, but also harm to a person's reputation, property, or liberty. For professionals, such as planners and architects, nonmaleficence includes the responsibility to avoid negligence, indifference, and ignorance of new ideas or information. Thus, we are responsible for keeping up to date on research findings. If you are in an environmental discipline, for instance, your knowledge of what is toxic and what is not needs to be current, because failure to keep up with these determinations could cause or allow harm to those for whom you're responsible. We see the pairing of beneficence and nonmaleficence in the slippery slope of which doctors used to take: when said doctors would both do good and not allow harm to come to their patients. The same would hold today as a principal basis for planners' actions towards their clients and the public.

The fourth principle, which is more complex and to which we will return, is justice. The many definitions of justice cause problems when we try to define our relationships to other members of our society or to other societies, or the relationships of different societies to the natural environment. Justice sometimes is defined intuitively as a sense of what is fair or equitable. Alternatively, justice is defined as that to which reasonable, rational people would agree if they had a choice about how their lives would be governed. Here, without debating all the alternatives or fine points, we can see the fundamental principle: individuals, social sub-groups, and whole societies have the right to self-determination because they are autonomous and also are due justice (the right not to be treated unfairly, unless they should agree freely to it).

Sustainability

So returns to "sustainability," obviously a vague term, we must make use and abuse of the phrase and the concept. Sustainability has become part of an image to generate and manipulate our production and consumption patterns. Such use persuades people to buy a product or to believe that the manufacturer or sponsor using the word "sustainability" is good, and to be trusted. Certainly we see that products labeled "green," "environmentally friendly," and "eco-sensitive" increasingly are salable in today's markets. Where sustainability is part of this green marketing strategy, the term often is abused. Without being cynical, we have to be critical about what sustainability really means. Sustainability might also be merely a pious hope, especially for many in the prosperous world of Europe and the Americas where we have incredible over-consumption. I am certainly a case in point: my car, my home, my life pattern uses up materials and energy at an unjustifiable, unsustainable rate. But often sustainability is taken by people like me to mean 'let us do what we need to,' so that we can continue to consume indefinitely at the current rate. Certainly this is not what sustainability means or involves. In this case, the term again is abused. Professor Peter Coleman, of the University of Texas, has noted on several occasions that sustainability is not the same as self-sufficiency. To be self-sufficient means one provides one for one's own needs. But that is certainly not the case for any part of American society today. We are not self-sufficient at a local scale because we are part of a global networks of production, consumption, and logistical impact. What we do in a given place affects the possibilities for sustainability of other dimensions of our particular locality, of the larger bio-region within which we live, and also of national and even international realms. In the next section, when I ask about the scale at which a society might be sustainable—local, regional, national, or global—sustainability certainly does not appear to be a local issue.

The question of whether we act sustainably must then be answered at a larger than local scale.
content that the regional scale is the smallest at which sustainability is intelligible, and that it actually requires a transregional scale to operate successfully in ethical disputes among neighbors and involving resource use across the planet. The question, then, is how we might act together across the planet to live in a decent but modest way to provide the same possibilities we have had available for future generations, so they too can freely choose their own ways of life.

This point brings us closer to the question of what sustainability and sustainability means really mean, especially in relation to values, beliefs, and motives. Currently, we understand sustainability as a certain attitude towards the earth and its prospects which entails changing our patterns of over-consumption and destruction of our natural resource base so that we consume less and reduce the lasting impacts. This idea of stewardship is embodied in the In-quisiti notion that we must treat the earth as though it is a trust held for the seventh generation. Certainly there is reason to suspect or criticize many who use the term "sustainability." But if we take seriously the possibility of actually transforming current values, beliefs, and practices into a new way of behaving, then sustainability may be possible. Sustainability would then raise the question of how we could grow with some kind of equity. Despite our knowledge of the grievous effects of overpopulation, and efforts to modify our growth through birth control, clearly the world’s population is still growing. I do not believe that these trends will reverse—we are not going to reduce the global population. Thus we cannot rely on fewer humans to ensure reduced consumption in the future. The problem will remain one of finding some way to grow. Again, we arrive at the basic question, "What is a legitimate way to grow and develop with equity?" which really asks how to bring the ethical principles of autonomy and justice to bear on the question of sustainability.

Are Conservation and Preservation [the Alternatives]?
One common way to think about the issue is in terms of resource conservation, saving the fundamental resources we now over-consume. But, behind the idea of resource conservation there seem to be several conflicts, and I say "seem to be" because we assume that there are polarities here. In this section, I examine these supposed polarities more closely and argue that they should not determine our discussion of sustainability. As Engel and Engel point out in the introduction to their book "Ethics of Environmental Development: Global Challenge, International Response" (1990), and as the other authors in the volume agree, it is important to clarify the real conflicts and issues behind what merely appears to be the case.

Apparently we have a polarity between resource or environmental preservation and the kind of conservation attitude that is actually a developmental outlook. If we look at the conservation movement as Pinchot and the progressives in America first articulated it, conservation basically means saving or preserving things so we can continue to develop them according to American patterns, practices, and habits. Here, conservation clearly means to see nature as a resource to be used for development. This position is typically juxtaposed with resource preservation, in which we preserve or set things aside and do not use them. We consider preserving the land, holding it so that it is not used, to be a distinct and separate position from conserving the land so we can keep growing crops and cattle on it, keeping production from the mines and forests, ensuring a stock of resources for future development. Conservation-Preservation seems like a polarity.

On reflection, this polarity depends on another, deeper polarity between intrinsic value and instrumental value. The conservation movement appreciates resources for their instrumental value. The wilderness, forests and the mountains' ores are valuable for what they can be used to achieve, in the utilitarian sense that the determination of what is good or valuable is a matter of its use. This is an instrumentalist or consequentialist position. Here the forest would not be seen as having inherent value, but would be, for example, valuable for the wood that could be used to build homes for people.

An opposite to instrumental value is the idea that nature itself has intrinsic value. Sometimes this view is connected with deep ecology: the natural world or environment itself has rights because it has intrinsic value. When we argue issues such as whether trees or endangered species have rights or when we ponder whether natural ecosystems have value independent of their human-centered uses (that is, whether ecology or life should be based upon naturalism rather than humanism), we really are pondering the issue of intrinsic value.

The extrinsic (use) versus intrinsic value binary may not be the ultimate distinction, but certainly it appears that the resource preservation movement recognizes and depends on the idea of intrinsic value, whereas the conservationdevelopment movement is based on the idea of instrumental or use value. Arguments over the treatment of rain forests exemplify this value binary. Many would argue that the life forms themselves, whole ecosystems, are intrinsically valuable and need to be understood and protected for their own sake. Others argue more pragmatically, more instrumentally, that there are wonderful undiscovered medicines within the rain forests' ecosystems. The cure for your granddaughter's rare disease may be found only in a species exterminated at this very moment. This last argument holds the rain forest and its life forms valuable because of their use value for human life.

Distributive Justice
I and others have come to believe that these matters, and our alternatives, are not so simple. While the resource preservation movement is responding to the idea of intrinsic value and while the conservationdevelopment movement is responding to the idea of instrumental value, I contend that the issue is much deeper. In this I agree with the deep ecologists, who think we really have to do with the difference between ecological integrity and the idea of distributive justice in and between generations. Environments are constituted of complexly interconnected, interdependent ecological systems. These members of these ecological systems, whether living or atmospheric or geological, have a complex integrity that is not completely understood and for which we have not begun to be appreciated by human beings. We must try to recognize, respect, nurture, and promote ecological integrity.

Distinct from this recognition and from our respect for ecological integrity is another aspect of distributive justice, distributive justice, which is the idea that there are both benefits and costs associated with the manner in which we distribute and use goods. Distributive justice calls for both the costs (or burdens) and the benefits associated with our providing and using resources to be fairly, equitably, and legitimately spread across different societies. Within societies, costs and benefits must be spread equitably both among and within generations. This is the definition of sustainability: what we are really saying is that sustainability is an issue of distributive justice between today's generations and future generations. In other words, "How are the uses, the benefits, of the resources shared more equitably among those alive today and those who are going to be alive in the future?"

Similarly, we are concerned with costs and their distribution—how to give up luxury, bear the burdens of environmental destruction, and deal with the diseases that come with environmental degradation. How should these negative dimensions be distributed among different current societies or sub-groups and between current societies and those to come? What appeared as a polar issue before—preservation and intrinsic value on the one side and conservation and instrumental value on the other side—dissolves before us when we realize that it does not present the most basic alternatives. In fact, we face two more complex issues: first, how to respect the ecological integrity of complex systems around the world; and second, how to have simultaneously a system of adequately distributive justice for the benefits and harms of environmental resources among societies existing today and between today's and future societies.

In other words, we do have a conflict, but not the conflict we might have identified before. It is not simply the conflict between polarized groups of people for whom distributive justice does not exist. Our new understanding substantially advances the argument about how this appreciation of conservation versus preservation or intrinsic versus extrinsic value, because it indicates the real moral dilemma not represented in the contest between no growth and pro-growth tendencies. There is a set of more fundamental issues people across the spectrum must deal with for which we need to find some shared social answer. The real question for all of us—no matter whether we're preservationists, conservationists, or deep ecologists—is how to act with environmental responsibility and also with social justice among and between communities today and those of the future.
Mixed Communities

Life on earth is understood best in terms of individuals in community—a basic phenomenon that, for the most part, has been overlooked in ethical thinking. All living things on earth appear as individuals in communities. No individual or subgroup, of humans or animals, is truly independent; interdependent communities operate across all levels. In a given geological and vegetational realm, we find particular species and associations of plants, animals, and people. Across the globe, there is an interlocking network of ecosystems or eco-communities, each involving many different individuals in community. As a practical consequence, one either nurtures or harms entire eco-communities, including human members. If we are to respect their autonomy, they have the right to determine their identities and place themselves within the power dynamics of their communities. In these communities, we are not only interdependent, but also intercontingent. If the entire ecosystem, of which humans are one integrated aspect, needs to be respected if we take the principle of autonomy seriously.

Too, we cannot ethically make choices about others’ mixed communities. We still do have to deal with the other issue of distributive justice. In social justice occurring among communities? If an autonomous community does not contain a certain element, action would not be ethical if it causes damage or allows harm to come to the way of life to another mixed community of plants, animals, and people. We maintain that in the United States cannot ethically argue that our autonomous preference for cheap hamburgers justifies destroying interdependent Amazonian communities by clearing the rain forest to create pasture for cattle. Justice, and all we have assembled here, would override our autonomy. There is no opposition between environmental responsibility and social justice; rather, the two coincide. This more sophisticated, pluralistic view of the relationship between environments and mixed communities focuses on the fundamental issue of social, distributive justice among groups and across generations. But, translating our principled ideas into principled actions involves one final issue.

Action and Compassion

The superficial and unconscious attitude in which sustainability is taken to mean maintaining our current pattern of consumption—which amounts to an attempt to sustain our way of unsustainable life—must undergo a substantial change. The pragmatic problem is how such a change could come about, especially if we respect the principle of autonomy where we do not force our views on others.

The German theorist Werner Marx, in Towards A Phenomenological Ethics: Ethics and the Life-World (1992), suggests that there is only one workable motive in today’s postmodern world. In our pluralistic society traditional transcendent sources of value, and even rationality, are challenged. We no longer believe in traditional, shared justification indicating a common course of action, transcendent religious being, or philosophical principles motivating us to act. In the post-structuralist world, even human reason is challenged: cultures and time periods are so radically relative that there is no shared rationality enabling us to come to a reasoned, legitimate course of action. In this context, Marx argues, the only real motivation to practical change is compassion, compassion, a feeling, with a feeling. He argues that we would not seek or seek a new intellectual movement, but work instead to promote feelings of compassion for other peoples as they unself-consciously go about their projects immersed in their own complex and integrated natural environments. Marx suggests that we form an initial impression of compassion, and an impulse to action following from that compassion, by confronting our own mortality. We recognize that we are mortal, we come to the basic insight that we are not self-sufficient. If we have an accident and are hurt or helpless, we immediately cry for help. We instantly recognize that we are not able to do things in the usual manner, that in fact our independence is incredibly fragile. We depend on the complex interactions of our social constructions with sets of natural systems and phenomena which constitute our viable life-worlds.

Usually these natural systems are taken for granted, as are the social systems. We neither appreciate them or give thanks for the operating interdependencies, the provisions and resources fulfilled for our existence. In contrast to such inattention, a thoughtful life involves confronting our mortality, confronting our limitations, and our finitude. If we become aware of how limited we are and realize our need for other people, then Marx hopes, we might become compassionate and attentive to the things other people need. We might, in the Engels term, realize how all members of a mixed community need each other to maintain their current identities. This new position would include a reflective appreciation of the ways in which people need the animals and plants belonging to their shared mixed communities.

In sum; if we become compassionate toward a people, we do not face the mutually exclusive questions of whether we should be compassionate for those people, or for the animals, or for the plants of the ecosystem. To be compassionate is to be compassionate for all the members of a given, whole life-world. If we can recognize our common finitude and common dependence, we can realize how fragile these ecosystems or mixed communities are and become able to maintain, nurture, and keep delicate mixed communities in balance.

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