

The Arban Studies Newsletter

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Garrett Robinson '19 Wins Royce Fellowship

The Royce Fellowship is lauded among Brown's undergraduate awards. Through the Charles Royce '61 Endowment, Brown grants \$4,000 to scholars for summer research. This April, junior urban studies concentrator Garrett Robinson was awarded the Royce. Robinson hails from Santa Clarita, and plays running-back on Brown's football team. He will join other fellows for a week in late May, then pursue his work, joining the Society of Royce Fellows.



Photo: Meredith Paine

Robinson's research delves into a pressing urban studies problem: luxury development and displacement in communities of color. In January 2016, Robinson explains, the NFL announced that two teams - the St. Louis Rams and the San Diego Chargers - would move to Los Angeles, California. Before the announcement, Rams owner Stan Kroenke purchased land in the city of Inglewood to build a stadium. Construction is underway. By 2020, the 300-acre enterprise will be one of the area's hot spots.

"The fact remains," says Robinson, "that Inglewood is a predominantly black and brown community with an income level lower than those of many other cities in the L.A. area."This means the threat of gentrification is a major concern. Wealthy residents have begun to buy up property in the area. So, Robinson asks, "how will this massive stadium development project affect the people of Inglewood?"

Robinson cited "Crime and the City," a course by Professor Stefano Bloch, as an influence. Bloch, says Robinson, "exposed me to the subtler aspects of displacement,

and how it is carried out through political acts that are based in racist ideals." Bloch's story of the eviction of residents from Chavez Ravine in 1959 for the Dodger Stadium inspired Robinson work on the ongoing Los Angeles Stadium project

To understand the potential impact of the new Los Angeles Stadium on the city of Inglewood and its residents, Robinson plans to interview current and prospective residents, city officials, and NFL executives and planners. The interviews are meant as more than academic exercise. Robinson intends to make his findings widely available. "From a public perspective," says Robinson, "this research provides the people of Inglewood with a resource to learn about what is happening in their community." The paper will also include a collection of "solutions and actions" that can be taken to ensure that the stadium project is done responsibly.

Degree Days 2018

One of the seasoned traditions of the urban studies DUG is to gather concentrators and a panel of alumni on a spring afternoon, to illuminate the paths that can be taken from the program at Brown. This year, four alumni will join the panel, two of whom have previously been featured in this newsletter. In case you missed the event at 5pm on April 20th in Rhode Island Hall, these briefs give a sampling of concentrators' trajectories.

Renata Robles is a critical urbanist integrating design thinking with municipal government to address affordable housing shortages, information gaps, and economic inequities in urban communities. Since graduating in 2015, she has worked in landscape architecture, community development, and design education in New York and the Providence area. Though a California native, she is happy to call Rhode Island her second home.

Marisa Rodriguez graduated from Brown with an Urban Studies degree in 2010. While living in Providence after college, Marisa taught elementary school at Wheeler and interned at Cornish Associates, a real

estate development company committed to the principles of New Urbanism.

She then moved to Brooklyn, NY where she worked for four years at Michael Van Valkenburgh Associates, a world renowned landscape architecture firm. Since 2016, Marisa has worked at at Cambridge Innovation Center (CIC) as an City Expansion lead, managing real estate projects at all stages of development from site assessment and coordinating with the in-house design team to help CIC establish innovation centers. Marisa often joneses for travel, and has lately spent several months in Patagonia and Southeast Asia.

Abigail Jones graduated from the urban studies program in 2015, and in 2017 joined the Peregrine Group in Rumford, RI as a project manager. Between, she worked at CBRE in Boston, managing real estate and construciton projects. She also began a Certificate in Real Estate Finance at Boston University in 2016, which is ongoing. In her spare time, she is an avid runner and self-described beach bum.

Phil Crean joined the Massachusetts Housing Partnership's Community Assistance team in April 2016, the year that he graduated from Brown. While still in college he had interned with HousingWorks RI, and prior to university had spent four years in the United States Marine Corps. Now, he and his team focus on assisting cities and towns in implementing housing plans and strategies for multifamily development. His responsibilities include reviewing multifamily housing development, community data, bylaw analysis, and organizing workshops and forum for municipalities.

Phil's professional interests are at the intersection of state planning policy, land use decisions and applications of alternative models of economic development. Phil spends his spare time cycling, fishing and rock climbing.

Letter from the Director

Professor Dietrich Neumann

We are about to conclude another exciting and vibrant year in Urban Studies. Several new classes were offered for the first time and instantly popular. Professor Kate Ascher of Columbia University taught her wildly oversubscribed class on Real Estate, which we hope to offer again in the future. Professor Mariam Kamara (who won the prestigious Rolex Arts Initiative Award this spring for a mentorship with prominent architect Sir David Adjaye) introduced her students to strategies of Urban Planning in West Africa.

Next year we will be welcoming a new professor, Marijoan Bull, whose class on "Homelessness in America" sold out during preregistration already. She follows in the footsteps of our previous director, Hilary Silver (now chair of Urban Studies at George Washington University), who had researched homelessness in Providence and made two critically acclaimed documentaries about it.

Since last semester, the Urban Studies Department has established a permanent partnership with the student-run HOPE (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) initiative at Brown, which reaches out to the urban homeless population and provides assistance.

Sadly, we will lose Professor Yesim Sungu-Eryilmaz, whose teaching obligations at Boston University have steadily grown. She has been a wonderful presence in the department since the fall of 2012, teaching classes such as "Planning Sustainable Cities," "Understanding the city through data," and "Regional Planning." She will be sorely missed.

Our bus tours have continued successfully (now up to no. 24) with trips to Urban Development sites, crime locations, Urban Renewal, the Jewelry District and Museum, large scale murals and City Arts. We are about to publish a few of the handouts for these tours on our website, so you can conduct self-guided versions of them. Our big tour buses are regularly filled to the last seat and bring together students, faculty, staff and east side residents.

It is rewarding to see the Urban Studies Program grow and prosper with new classes and initiatives and many new students, who have just enrolled this spring – all this due in no small part to the tireless work of our academic program manager Meredith Paine.

Letter from the DUG

Lydia Elias '19 and John Beck '18

Greetings from the Urban Studies DUG! The spring 2018 semester kicked-off with an Open House for faculty and concentrators, as well as prospective concentrators looking to learn more about the program. It was a splendid event that brought the new generation of Urban Studies students into our orbit.

We had great conversations about all the varied interests our concentrators have, and provided clarification for prospective students revolving around declaring and general questions about the program. We hope to have more great discussions and learn more about our fellow concentrators at future events. A few professors spoke about their research and courses offered this semester that highlight aspects of the field that have not been delved into previously.

More recently, we had quite a unique bus tour, sponsored by the Urban Studies Program, which was led by Professor Samuel Zipp. Attendees had a chance to learn about urban renewal in Providence, and visit multiple sites where planners from the 1950s-1970s attempted to reclaim "blighted" areas and understand their successes and failures and how

they helped to form the city into what it is today.

Tour-goers were also excited to gain the chance to actually look through delicate journals and newspapers from that time, during the reception. Professor Zipp effectively captured the audience with his captivating knowledge and informative answers.

We are currently working hard to showcase the annual Degree Day this April. There will be a panel of Urban Studies alumni from diverse fields to discuss life after Brown with current concentrators and answer any lingering questions students may have about the future.

This month we also have the opportunity to have two concentration fairs during ADOCH, where we introduce the upcoming class of 2022 to Urban Studies. We continue to strive to build a strong Urban Studies community for concentrators and faculty alike. Thank you for supporting the DUG and we hope to see you at future events!

Letter from the Editor

Lance Gloss '18

Whatever your status may be space. See the online version in the Urban Studies Program - be you a stranger, a prospective concentrator, an upperclassman or an alumnus - you Each year, a senior in urban can expect to find something in this newsletter to inspire and inform your work. In this issue, find reflections on study abroad experiences, awards, and undergraduate theses. Find out about a star visiting professor and her Fall course, and read up on how urban studies students think about world events.

This year, we also released the fourth volume of the Urban Journal. It's packed with student work on topics ranging from urban design for water conservation in Rio de Janeiro to an analysis of 19th century Parisian depictions of public

on the Brown University Urban Studies Program website.

studies puts this newsletter and that Journal together. This position is open as of April 2018. If you are interested, and would like to apply, contact Meredith Paine in the urban studies department.

Most importantly for those in the department, keep your eye out for thinkers, practitioners, and activists in the world and in Providence whose work interests you. The program and the DUG are always looking for ideas and volunteers to host new events, workshops, and speakers.

Contents

Cover

Junior Garrett Robinson Wins Royce Fellowship Degree Days 2018

Letter from the DUG Letter from the Director Letter from the Editor

HOPE: First Summit on Homelessness and Poverty

Wandering Through Berlin Upcoming Course: Housing in America with Marijoan Bull

The Water's Edge: Day Zero

Encountering Buenos Aires FEATURE: SENIOR THESES Collaborative Planning for Little Free Libraries

[SENIOR THESES cont'd] Toward A Typology of Suburban Poverty

[SENIOR THESES cont'd] Confederate Public Monuments #NoDAPL: Extending the Right to the City

Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere: First Summit on Homelessness and Poverty

On Feb 23-25, the student organization Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE) hosted the Summit on Homelessness and Poverty (SHP) at Brown. Sponsored in part by the urban studies department, HOPE's summit is the first to bring groups from universities throughout the region together with community organizations in Rhode Island to share best practice.

Thirteen east coast schools sent representatives, from programs on their campuses. Through workshops, meals, and a flowing informal conversation, they shed light on the pressing challenge of serving people experiencing homelessness. The most recent count suggests that in Providence, on a given night, 1,180 people are without a home in which to sleep.

The summit was led by HOPE Co-Director Gabriel Zimmerman and Mariella Picharo, alongside program coordinators Natheniel Pettit and Kate Gerry. Others at Brown had a hand in the events. Among the many involved, Professor Irene Glasser (Anthropology) played a star role as HOPE's coordinator for the Engaged Scholars Program at the Swearer Center. The urban studies department also lent its support.

The contributions of community leaders shone through in the workshops. Barbara Fritas of the Rhode Island Coalition for the Homeless (RIHAP) and Karen Jeffreys of Riverwood Mental Health are both on HOPE's advisory board. Both had a hand in the conference, as did Megan Smith, who was in HOPE when she studied at Brown and now works for House of Hope CDC in Warwick. Their voices shaped the conference - a sucpeople have to improve the system of care for the homeless. In his speech, Dr. O'Connell discussed his work with the people he calls "Boston's rough sleepers." In 1985, as O'Connell was leaving medical school, he got involved with a shelter and kitchen called the Pine Street Inn.

There, providing care to some of Boston's most marginalized people, O'Connell realized that an inhibitor of his task was the gap in trust

and contact between care professionals and the street homeless. "In urban America," the doctor pronounced, "our homeless are probably the loneliest population we have."

To rectify the situation, O'Connell spearheaded a transformation in how Boston provides for people without homes, with an emphasis on continuity of care and on meeting the homeless where they are. A full 80% of the work with patients done by Boston's Health Care for the Homeless Program, of which O'Connell is president, happens "outside" of the clinic.

O'Connell's commitment to "engaging with the people that you are trying to take care of" has helped him to revolutionize Boston's approach to healthcare in the homeless community. This maxim also resonates with HOPE's street outreach program. That program folds Brown students into a larger community effort aimed at building relationships with those who live on the

> streets.HOPE's dual mission, to take direct action while addressing structural issues and policy, reflects an institutionalized belief.

Current HOPE co-director is the gateway drug to activism." Gusoff has continin medical school.

Gabe Zimmerman relayed founder, Geoff Gusoff, who believed that "direct action ued his commitment to social justice in health care at the University of Pennsylvania, where he is now



Photo: HOPE at Brown University

cess, Zimmerman noted, as HOPE "always seeks to take its lead from community partners."

The high point of the summit may have been the keynote speeches by James O'Connel and Sam Tsemberis. O'Connell's work, in particular, reflects HOPE's commitments and the opportunities that young The pearl of wisdom Gusoff left behind now permeates the organization. HOPE has found ways to take direct action on a range of issues that directly affect Rhode Island's homeless. Last year, the organization focused on protecting elderly residents' access to no-fare bus passes on RIPTA, the transit authority. They have protested the Kennedy Plaza smoking ban, with its ongo-



Photo: HOPE at Brown University

-ing controversy regarding alleged discriminatory effects of the ban on the homeless people.

HOPE pushed a "Yes on 7" campaign to support legislation that would fund housing in the state. This semester HOPE is part of the response to a survey of 280 underhoused and homeless Rhode Islands, who collectively identified "source of income discrimination" in the rental market as one of their primary obstacles to housing.

Another of HOPE's recent project is helping with the simple things. The organization is promoting he new Shower To Empower program organized by the House of Hope CDC in partnership with the City of Providence and Team Williams, LLC. Team Williams brings a well-equipped van around the community, offering showers, shaves, and haircuts.



Students and community members interested in HOPE's activities should reach out, as the organization is always looking a quotation from HOPE's to strengthen its ties and "get more good things done," says Zimmerman.

Wandering Through Berlin John Beck '18

Unlike its European capital counterparts, such as Paris and London, Berlin does not have a reputation for being conventionally beautiful. Physically devastated during the bombings at the end of World War II, much of Berlin's streetscape has been defined by the tumultuous decades following the war.

The streetscape of contemporary Berlin is filled with remnants of the generations of Berliners who lived in the German Democratic Republic, West Germany and ultimately the Federal Republic of Germany. It is through this urban fabric of Berlin that the current generations of Berliners can creatively interact with each other and the outside world.

Nothing in Berlin is as it initially appears. Take, for example, the Photo Automat, a staple in many European cities with its promises of 4 passport photos for 4 euros and ultimate disappointment when, having just deposited 4 euros and diligently posed, you discover it has not been working for years.

As I was wandering around Mauer Park, at the border of the old boundary between East and West Berlin, I happened upon one of these Photo Automats and decided I could use a few passport-style photographs. I went in, paid, and was subsequently blinded by a flash that seemed to have broken a light bulb somewhere inside the machine.

Afterwards, I waited outside for the photos. One minute passed. Two, then three. Just before I gave up, assuming the machine was broken, I read a placard pasted to the side of the machine. The machine, along with dozens of others across Berlin, turned out to be a refurbished vintage French analog Photo Automat and was the result of a project by young artists Asger Doenst and Ole Kretschmann.

I waited a few more minutes, more patiently than before due to my newfound knowledge, and the machine responded by spitting out a beautifully developed black and white strip of photographs.

Doenst and Kretschmann's Photo Automat project is just one example of the ways in which Berliners add to the fabric of their city creatively. Artists in Berlin often remark that the city's incompleteness and its limited development due to its relatively young physi-

cal age, has translated to a sense of opportunity and possibility in its residents.

A vacant lot can become a children's playground, an old gym can become a new club and even a street corner can become a home to a refurbished Photo Automat. My suggestion to visitors of Berlin? Wander around with no particular destination and actively explore and interact with the streetscape. You never know what—or who—you might discover.



PHoto: Thomas Ives

A castle, made of cartons, rocks, and old branches, by a group of children for themsleves, is worth a thousand perfectly detailed, exactly finished castles, made for them in a factory.

-Christopher Alexander et al, A Pattern Language, 1977

Upcoming Course: Housing in America with Marijoan Bull

To stack adages, Dr. Marijoan Bull has literally written the book on housing in the US, and it's hot off the press as of April 2018. Those who read *Housing in America*, co-authored by Bull and her Westfield State University colleague Elena Gross, will find it a page turner as textbooks go. Fortunately, for anyone who doesn't want to go it alone in the textbook, but wants to understand "just how critical housing is to people, and families, and cities, and to the nation," students are invited to show up to URBN 1260 - Housing in America, a new course in the Fall of 2018.

A long-time Providence resident, Bull is pleased to try her hand instructing Brown students as a Visiting Professor in the city where her connections are rich. With a PhD in the humanities and twenty years of urban planning practice in New England under her belt, Bull conducts a disciplinary fusion appropriate to the urban studies department. Also fittingly, Bull's trajectory as a planner began at 18,

with an urban studies course at Brown. Having retired from a professorship at Westfield State in Massachusetts, she returns to bring the story full circle.

The twice-weekly course that she will teach in the fall traces themes in housing through the planning and development of US cities. This entails a detailed dive into the cultural norms and federal policies that shape housing conditions for people across the US. For example, the course will examine what Professor Bull calls the country's "homeownership bias" as it has manifested in different periods. Students will learn how we came to "warehouse the elderly," and what it means for planners to speak in the "depersonalized jargon of 'housing units.""

Bull's position on the housing situation in the county is unequivocal. "The United States, she says, "has failed, and still fails, in a major way to meet the housing needs of its people." Yet, as a planner teaching a course infused with history, Bull remains committed to the idea that remembering can lead to change and resolution. "Everybody presents this history differently," she says. Varying points of [continued next page]



Photo: Westfield State

[continued from previous] view "all influence how we as a society define the need for housing and the need for change." That, says Bull, is where "it gets nitty-gritty."

The nitty-gritty should be challenging but digestible. As in her textbook, Professor Bull has wrangled a prime selection of materials for students to read and watch that bring America's ongoing housing failures from their roots up to the present moment. Students will find fresh perspectives on the matrix of racist housing policies in the 1950's, reading Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law*. Themes from that era will be brought up to speed with a reading of *Evicted*, Matthew Desmond's 2016 chronicle of routine displacement in Milwaukee since the foreclosure crisis of the 2000s.

Students will explore housing not just historically, but also how it relates to other

aspects of life. Housing, says Bull, "gets wrapped up not just in our physical wellbeing, but in our social wellbeing, and in our economic well-being." To this end, the course includes a housing autobiography. In this assignment, students will consider their personal relationships to housing in light of the course content. They should walk away with clear understandings of how systemic discrimination in housing has come to be, and the points of entry toward making a change.

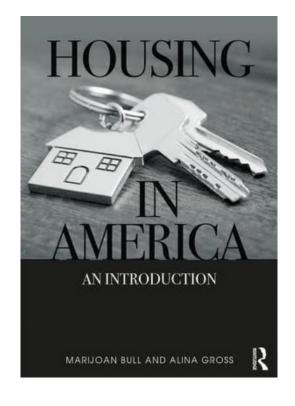


Photo: Routledge

The Water's Edge: Day Zero Gretchen Petersen '19

The world knows of the Cape Town water crisis. It is supposed to culminate in the apocalyptic "Day Zero" (running water shutoff to all non-essential locations) announcement by the government. However, many of hearing about the crisis through news outlets are not privy to stark inequalties in water access across Cape Town. Khayelitsha Township, classified by the UN as one of the world's largest slums, houses 2.4 million people, 98.6% of them Black. Khayelitsha, with no running water supply, exists constantly on a precipice of doubt.

To people living on daily truck-delivered water, Day Zero is a constant.

The framework of this research project was formed in an Urban Studies seminar, URBN1870S The City, The River, The Sea, with Professor Rebecca Carter, Ph.D. The course project presented a unique opportunity to examine the role of historic inequalities and vulnerabilities in the production of knowledge about Cape Town's crisis. Day Zero is a daily existence for half of Cape Town's population, and yet the world knows little about it.

My research involved an examination of the "fault lines of vulnerability" in Cape Town, and in particular the informal settlement of Khayelitsha. This shantytown of 2.4 million is more than half the size of Cape Town proper. Yet, a range of historical trends and current issues in the city have made it so that the total average use of the slum is one-twelfth that of the more affluent Cape Town. These and other calculations put Khayelitsha's existence at the literal and figurative edge of the water.

Much of the case-specific on this water crisis research comes from the Cape Town municipality, the South African government, international NGOs in Khayelitsha, and several international media sources. The way these sources talk about the water shortages reflects how knowledge about the shortages is produced.

"Day Zero" refers to the Cape Town government 's definition of the day that water will be shutoff to all non-essential structures, and Cape Town residents will be forced to collect 25L of water per

> day at monitored communal taps. If 25L a day is the Day Zero definition for a water crisis, then Khayelitsha has existed in a continual Day Zero since it was created in 1983 as an "apartheid dumping ground." Through reliance on water trucks and communal pumps, Khayelitsha exists on the edge of formalized water

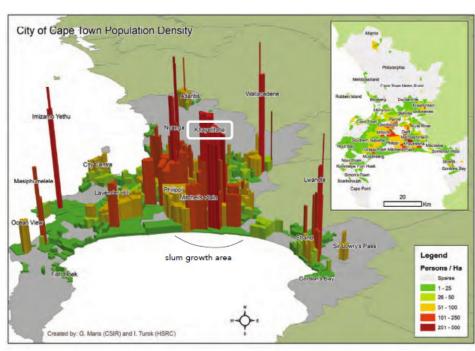
systems, a boundary defined by the Cape Town government as an "apocalyptic" end day.



Chart: Gretchen Petersen

Despite disregarding Khayelitsha's existence, "Day Zero" establishes a quantifiable end and edge to water availability. As a result, national and international media reports originate through the lens of this "Day Zero," a narrative of inconvenience for Cape Town's wealthy population. From media production, Cape Town's wealthier population controls visibility of the crisis, overshadowing Khayelitsha's perilous existence of doubt and uncertainty.

The "water's edge" is both quantifiably and theoretically defined through knowledge production and control in crises situations, as evidenced in international knowledge of the Cape Town water crisis. "Day Zero" renders itself a definable manifestation of social control and power over historically vulnerable and unequal communities, classifying daily realities for Khayelitsha residents as "inconveniences" in wealthier Cape Town communities.



Map: G. Mans and I. Turok

Encountering Buenos Aires Colin Kent-Daggett '19

At the beginning of my Fall 2017 semester in Argentina the language was the factor that took most of my energy each day. It took me a couple of weeks to get accustomed to the accent, the slang, and the unique conjugations, which got more intelligible bit by bit. But while my Spanish improved, I realized that the city of Buenos Aires itself was tiring me out more and more. Until that point I hadn't

noticed the influence that the weight of so many people, so much concrete, and so few trees had on my mood. After more than a month in Buenos Aires and two trips out of the capital, I gained a better perspective on a complicated city.

Buenos Aires has a high level of development in many of the necessary facets of a vibrant and livable city. Many "porteños"—or people from Buenos Aires—think their public transit system is worse than

those of the United States, but in reality it is perhaps the best I have experienced. Congestion is inevitable in such a large city and the combination of a reliable subway, a \$0.50 fare, and coverage at all times of day truly impressed me. The parks, which are a luxury for those in the north of the city, are also first class and contain a multitude of different spaces and activities. It is essential that a city so

large has greenspace and quiet areas to escape the noise of daily life. Getting to know another form of architecture and other ways of organizing a metropolis was a central part of experience abroad. In my urban studies courses at Brown we have discussed the idea of "eyes on the street." In Buenos



Photo: Colin Kent-Daggett

Aires, the incorporation of businesses on the bottom floor of almost every building assures that they is constantly someone watching the street. The balconies on every floor of the apartment buildings also creates a sense of active and inhabited neighborhoods instead of the walls of windows in New York or Chicago. In addition to the physical form of Buenos

Aires, the amount of people on the street at all hours creates safety and the crowds on the buses on Santa Fe Avenue at 3 in the morning always surprised me.

But Buenos Aires, as a city, has not just been peaches and cream. While the parks are beautiful, they were difficult to access from my apartment due to congestion and a lack of sidewalks. The

> canyons of buildings could feel claustrophobic and imposing. In addition, the city completely ignores the Rio de la Plata, which runs alongside it.

These disadvantages compared to smaller cities like Providence and my home city of Portland, Oregon have forced me to notice the importance of escaping the city. My trips to the Argentine countryside took me to peace and quiet, with more sky and less pavement. I learned a lot about the structure

and organization of Buenos Aires—its neighborhoods, its transportation, its history—but I also learned that I needed breaks from a city so large, loud, and complicated.

FEATURE: Senior Honor Theses

This year, four undergraduate students pursued honors theses. Each researched a topic in urban studies over the course of the year. Their investigations led them to Atlanta, to Detroit, to the Dakotas, and throughout Providence. Research-related travel was

generously supported by the Harriet David Goldberg '56 Endowment. Here, the thesis writers describe their work in brief. They will present their theses at 4pm on May 2 in Petteruti Lounge, alongside other concentrators who will present their capstone projects.

The Design Process of Little Free Libraries Nadia Larasati '18

spearheaded a citywide Little Free Library (LFL) initiative and began installing libraries in neighborhood parks all over Providence. To this day, the initiative remains one of the organization's key focuses and self-proclaimed triumphs.

However, while I was interning at the Partnership in the summer of 2016, I discovered that most of the libraries were empty and vandalized, and very few community members knew what they were or how they were meant to be used. Faced with these puzzling truths, I questioned how two years of planning, design, and implementation could yield consistently unsuccessful outcomes.

The failures that characterize the Partner-

In 2014, a local nonprofit organization ship's Little Free Library initiative are indica- an empirical critique of the model with the called the Partnership for Providence Parks tive of a broader problem with the present-purpose of unpacking its key limitations. day theories and models of urban planning that guide organizations and planners in making decisions about the use of public space. The Little Free Library initiative reflects not only the evolution of planning models over the past century, but also changes in the way planners conceptualize cities and city life.

> The Partnership's LFL initiative was guided by the dominant model of urban planning today—the collaborative planning model—which strives to inject meaningful public participation into the planning process. Drawing upon the Partnership's Little Free Library initiative as a primary case study, my thesis attempts to respond to the widespread call for more evaluative research into collaborative planning by conducting

The collaborative planning model is an important topic for inquiry because it represents society's 'ideal' mechanism for shaping cities. It speaks to how successful the planning discipline has been at involving the public directly in planning processes that dictate changes in the urban fabric.

Most of my research stems from my own observations and experiences first as an intern and then as a part-time volunteer for the Partnership. Between May 2016 and March 2018, I participated in regular Partnership staff meetings, attended over ten Little Free Library planning sessions, and visited each library site to observe usage and condition.

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I also conducted interviews with Partnership representatives, community leaders, and the designers responsible for constructing the libraries to gain a better understanding of their unique experiences with the LFL planning process.

My findings highlight key limitations of the collaborative planning model, namely its inability to transcend existing bureaucratic systems of urban governance, its severe procedural underdevelopment, and its preoccupation with issues of negotiation over those of implementation.

Given the apparent limits on the scope of my thesis research, I could not demonstrate definitely collaborative planning's failure as a model. The evidence I present does strongly suggest that, as it stands, the model is limited when it comes to safeguarding public participation and equal representation, two of the modern cornerstones of successful city-building. As the planning discipline welcomes a new generation of collaborative planning theorists into the field, they can find in my research several recommendations for the model's improvement and future directions for its growth.



Toward A Typology of Suburban Poverty Gray Brakke '18

Suburban poverty is on the rise in the Unit- ment and the poverty rate of people who ed States at a faster rate than urban pover-

up. Policy is lagging, too. Since the 1990s, the majority of Americans living in poverty now live in suburban areas, complicating popular narratives of poverty as an uniquely urban, inner-city phenomenon. This shift represents a spatial inversion of mid-20th century conceptions of a poor inner-city surrounded by wealthy suburbs.

Consequently, I explored the phenomenology of poverty's suburbanization over the past two decades. My aim, broadly, was to develop a taxonomy of suburban municipalities with high poverty rates across US metropolitan areas, using Atlanta

and Detroit as case studies. I compare selected suburbs of Detroit and Atlanta to each other, and to the rest of these cities' suburban areas. I show that the demographic histories of some suburban municipalities explain their high poverty rates

I divide impoverished suburbs into three main types: those with racially diverse populations, those with high immigrant populations, and those with minority-majority populations (here, majority-Black). I ascribe the poverty of racially diverse suburbs, to the related challenges of deindustrialization and the Great Recession.

The effects of these challenges are eminent in the divide between the poverty rate of people who have full-time, regular employ-

did not. In fact, I found that the poverty rate ty, yet popular imagination has yet to catch of people who were employed part-



Photo: Gray Brakke

time was nearly the poverty rate of people who did not work in the previous year. Though class structure is tied to racism, some of the largest increases in poverty rates in these diverse suburbs are found in their white populations.

In suburbs with high immigrant populations, meanwhile, I trace poverty to ascendant low-skill immigration in suburban areas. This trend has emerged due to ethnic enclaves forming in suburban areas, as employment opportunities at all skill levels have greatly suburbanized. Even so, the immigrant populations in these suburbs experience poverty at far higher rates than native-born populations, likely due to educational and skill disparities.

Finally, minority-majority suburbs have been constrained by racialized practices like redlining that have affected minority

> communities in all areas of cities. The processes that have created poverty in these suburbs are similar to and even historically-tied with the processes that have engendered urban poverty.

> The different forms that these trends have taken - three distinct strands of suburban history - lie at the heart of suburban poverty, and explain its many expressions. Suburban poverty is a new wave of dispossession wrought by a changing labor market, the quickening pace of deindustrialization, rising income inequality, and other challenges. Such transforma-

tions are emblematic of suburbs' growing diversity and their shrinking power to protect their inhabitants from poverty.

Confederate Public Monuments

Abigail Tisch '18

The Confederate flag and Stone Mountain, two of Atlanta's most visible monuments, have each been warped by a pervasive process of historical subversion. As fraught symbols of a bygone Confederate past whose lingering questions were never adequately addressed, these monuments, in their own respective ways, have both absorbed and enforced our era's cultural amnesia.

The result is that each functions the very opposite way that monuments ought to: instead of uniting people around a common history, they spread disunity and engender cultural division. Until the foundations of shared cultural knowledge are firmly established--bringing conflicting national, regional, and racial historical sentiments together under a common roof--these monuments will only reinforce divisions, and any debate that occurs around them will fail to truly address the problem at hand.



Photo: Max-o-Matic, SPLC

Ultimately, these examples speak to a larger sensation that is worth exploring: monuments have a message, and they rely on shared cultural knowledge to do their job of relaying it. Classic texts by Alois Riegl, Dell Upton, and Kirk Savage on monuments and commemoration speak to certain re-

quired frameworks for understanding them culturally.

Insofar as a monument can depend upon a relatively singular message, it will contribute to the establishment of unity within a community. But, as the Confederate flag, Stone Mountain, and countless other examples across America tell us, once a monument loses its foundational footing, it becomes jumbled, and with that turn, it loses its communal value, and begins, instead, to divide.

#NoDAPL: Extending the Right to the City Lance Gloss '18

Urban studies attracted me as a discipline that engaged multiple ways of knowing where they converge on shared problems. In writing my urban studies thesis about a land rights protest in one of the least-densely populated places in the US, I pushed our inter-disciplinary tactics to the test.

Many Americans have heard about the #NoDAPL protests staged by Lakota activists and their allies on the border of Standing Rock Sioux Reservation for ten months starting in April 2016. The controversy centered on the Dakota Access Pipeline, a project by Energy Transfer Partners supervised by the Army Corps of Engineers, which in 2017 was built under the Missouri River.

A stable population of 7,000-10,000 included people from some 700 nation-states

and indigenous nations. These people represented a multitude of resistance movements against land privatization and intrusive infrastructure projects - one that is not limited to the classical dimensions of the city. Instead, the loose movement shows us the faces of the wider urban world.

Here, I have landed on the problem of what Neil Brenner calls "extended urbanization." My point of entry is the pipeline. DAPL connects sites of resource exploitation—the shale fields—to sites of urban consumption. The self-described water protectors of #NoDAPL called the pipeline

was the "Black Snake," a Lakota sign of the apocalypse. Rendering the infrastructure as an intrusion, the water protectors asked us to consider how cities relate to their outsides, and how communities in the hinterlands interact with urban processes.

Water protestors, several of whom I spoke to at their ongoing camps in the Dakotas, took up several arguments. The Army Corps did not sufficiently consult tribal leaders. An oil spill where the pipeline crosses the Missouri would threaten Standing Rock's sole water intake, 70 miles downstream, plus 18 million other households. Cultural sites with guaranteed protections were bull-dozed in the pipeline's path. Each of these issues, moreover, reflected a land rights dispute two centuries in the making.

The history of the "treaty territory" crossed by DAPL begins with an 1851 Treaty guaranteeing the Sioux "free and unobstructed use" of the area. Changes in control over the land have since laid the foundations for ism and urbanization, whereby US cities have exerted control over Sioux land.

That's why I've come to see the #NoDAPL protest as about Native people and the environment, and also about exercising the right to the city. In urban studies, exerting the right of the city means influencing urbanization, and gaining access to its common benefits. At the camps, water protectors drew from their intersecting traditions of community-building to make sure that food, dwelling places, waste, and governance all got taken care of. In these scenarios, protestors were using their daily chores to work through their broader concerns about land rights and resources.

The #NoDAPL camps show how communities are collectively, intimately exercising

the right to the city outside of the places we usually call cities. In so doing, they are opening new intersections for action and scholarship about how communities can influence urban change in rural space.



Photo: Joye Braun

the pipe- line. Railroads were the Black Snakes of the 19th century, destroying the buffalo herds. Mining, commercial agriculture, and reservoirs have all diminished the area under Sioux control. The pipeline is part of both settler colonial-