SOCIAL LEARNING FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION: A CASE FOR ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY IN PLANNING

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SOCIAL LEARNING FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION: A CASE FOR ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

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Do you question your gods/ and goddesses?

Do you revere your daughters/ our suns and our moons/

This is for all who survived the slaughter

And for all of our young people/ gone too soon/

How we canonize you

3rd degree murders/ 3rd degree burns

This is how we atone for the lives in churn

While we earn our degrees/

of freedom

Can we conjure up the wisdom required/

To fight fire with air and flowers in bloom?

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SUMMARY

This research investigates planning theory and education from a critical race and radical planning perspective. While planning theory includes strands that explore the social determinants of health, regime power, and equity planning, it will often miss how these operate as interconnected economic, political, and ideological forces that maintain mass imprisonment, poverty, and neoliberalism as the dominant development paradigm. This study explores the relationship between racial capitalism, regime power, and collaborative rationality and the impact of capitalist institutions and planning on neighborhood development. It concludes with suggestions for the social learning that must occur in order to reorient students and professional planners, as well as the field, to social transformation.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: THE CALL FOR SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

There is a scholarly demand for more empirical work on planning theories that attempt to contextualize and support the actions of planners and communities facing the brunt of neoliberal and capitalist policies and development in the 21st century (Meth 2010; Mukhija 2005; Margerum and Robinson 2016). This project explores how concepts around prison abolition and resident-led neighborhood development could become dominant paradigms in community planning through the framework of economic democracy. This introductory paper offers abolitionist planning to bring together approaches to neighborhood economic development that support marginalized communities to challenge and change the social, political, and economic institutions which shape their lives.

Critical planning and critical race theories inform the analysis of liberal, neoliberal, and progressive land use decision making infrastructures that facilitate racial capitalism and racist health outcomes. Abolitionist planning positions radical, insurgent, and decolonial planning strategies alongside of community planning and organizing strategies in order to confront the impact of racial capitalism on individuals and communities. Grappling with the intersection of theories and their attendant implementation strategies produces learning that can help marginalized populations transform societal structures and institutions. Urban regime theory and collaborative planning emerge as significant planning concepts that contend with the complexity of land use decision-making in urban contexts.

1.1 A brief history of urban planning approaches in the U.S. context

A review of past and contemporary planning literature reveals scholars' and practitioners' deep grappling with issues that remain contentious to this day. This includes attention to inequitable development and displacement, unemployment, transit, and environmental impact. Despite the robust analysis and theorizing from interdisciplinary scholars (Bates 2013; Jennings 2016; Jennings et al. 2016; Silver 1985; Gordon-Nembhard and Haynes 1999), beyond some incremental progressive advancement over decades of time, there is a lack of corresponding material changes to society based on their analyses.

Critical planning scholar Purcell (2009), for example, notes that a number of national, regional, local government and philanthropic reports use Census and locally generated data based on race, income, educational status, gender, and age to articulate the nexus of challenges between wealth and income inequality, educational attainment, and poor infrastructure in cities, suburbs, and rural areas. Despite ongoing study, the nature of who has the most access to capital, health and wellbeing, has not changed perceptively; neither has who is most impacted by poverty (Gordon-Nembhard 2004; Toussaint 2019; Carter 2015) environmental pollution (Williams 2016; McNeil 2001), poor morbidity and mortality (Bhatia and Wernham 2008; Evans 2003). Race continues to be a key indicator of poor health outcomes, and lack of access to key dimensions of individual and neighborhood wellbeing (Sewell 2016; Dantzler 2021; Jennings 2016).

As with many academic fields, there is little agreement within planning about which planning theories are best, most useful, or most accurate for equitable development practice. Nor is there much agreement outside of the field about the role of planning and

planners in relation to addressing salient issues around equitable development. Close attention to planning scholarship reveals how the field has developed theories to position itself variously over time as part of the physical design and economic growth focused modernist project of capitalism (Foglesong 1986; Molotch 1976; King 1989abc; Beauregard, 1994); the expertise and technical skill focused project of professionalized practice (Bratman 2007; Friedmann 1987; Poxon 2001; Hemmens 1988); and the social change focused advocacy project of civil and human rights (Davidoff 1965; Clavel, Pitt, and Yin 1997; Arnstein 1969; Saegert 2006).

Early planning practice in the U.S. sprang from public health needs to intervene in sanitation and housing as people convened near agglomerations of factories, production, and transit centers. At the formal end of the institution of slavery and decimation of attempts at Reconstruction in the South, centers of manufacturing attracted workers in search of living wages. Temporary housing and infrastructure quickly buckled under the weight of the immense need; however, due to profit accumulation by capitalists, workers could not afford to make their own upgrades to their living environment (Foglesong 1986). Faced with deteriorating infrastructure, city planning strategies in the 1930s converged on top-down slum clearance and urban renewal through approaches such as "the City Functional" and "the City Beautiful" (Foglesong 1986; Sandercock 1998, 35).

These traditions promulgated a top down, comprehensive, rational planning model and quickly moved to a more incremental approaches in order to maintain control over capital surplus. The push for advocacy and equity planning in the 1960s, were attempts to respond to the needs and aspirations of society's most marginalized and oppressed people in the face of labor, civil, and human rights struggles for community control over

development. However, the field quickly turned to less political transactive, communicative and collaborative rationality in the 1980s (Sandercock 1998; Miraftab 2009; Porter 2015).

Critical planning scholars have, since the 1960s, attempted to develop planning theories and practices that incorporate a challenge to the typically disenfranchising and marginalizing norms of economic and land use development in planning. Miraftab (2009) outlines the trajectory of planning theories that emerged from criticisms of rational planning after the 1960s. She is encouraged, as Sandercock (1998) is, by the rise of advocacy planning, equity planning, participatory planning, and communicative planning, however she notes that the theories "remained within the bounds of the conventional wisdom that conceptualized planners as professionals who stand outside the society, though reaching out to citizens for inclusion, perhaps through redistribution but at least communication (41-42)." This has included developing formal models of public participation (Arnstein 1969), advocacy and equity planning (Krumholz 1982; Davidoff 1965), as well as communicative and collaborative planning strategies (Forester 1989; Innes 2004) to engage residents in decision making.

1.2 Conflict theory and the challenge of the U.S. as a liberal democracy

Conflict theory is a sociological concept that names the ongoing competition between social groups as the reason why the oppression and dominance of various social groups persists in pervasive and identifiable ways (Collins 1971; Williams 1976). Collins (1971) offers a conflict theory of stratification which posits that wealth, power, and prestige are "goods" for which there are continual struggles. While everyone may not seek to

maximize their share of these goods, Collins (1971) argues that because "power and prestige are inherently scarce commodities and wealth is often contingent upon them, the ambition of a small proportion of people for more than equal shares sets up an implicit counter-struggle on the part of others to avoid subjection." While individuals struggle with each other interpersonally, because individual power is premised on membership in a status group, "the cohesion of the status group is a key resource" for the group (Collins 1971, 80).

Based on work by political theorist Weber, Collins (1971) contends that "status groups," are "associational groups sharing common cultures," which form the "basic units of society (80)." These groups are derived from differences in lifestyle based on economic situation, power position, or cultural conditions and "distinguish themselves from others in terms of categories of moral evaluation….which legitimizes the exclusion of persons who lack the ingroup culture. Thus, land use decision making in the U.S. is reflective of the conflicts and collaborations between White settlers, native and indigenous people, as well as enslaved Africans who were made citizens after the formal institution of slavery ended in 1962.

The violence required to enforce property rights of White people – physical as well as racial – impacts the health and well-being of all people not considered to be White (Sewell 2016; Harris 1993). The war waged on native tribes to the U.S. and Americas in the enclosure of the land stole their children, decimated their hunting and cultivated grounds. By policy and practice, colonizers trapped people in reservations and required identification as a citizen to provide access to institutional resources, creating strife within and among tribes. The erasure of indigenous stewardship has left non-White peoples without efficient social, political, or technological infrastructure to contend with the

physical environment and extreme weather events. As a consequence of facing natural and man-made disasters without the means for protection, there is overall poor health and an overreliance on White supremacist social, political, and economic infrastructure prevails

Many would argue that the U.S. has come a long way from its roots in genocide and land theft. In fact, democracy is promoted as one of the United States' greatest achievements. However, numerous scholars, particularly critical planning scholars and critical race theorists have identified persistent connections between imperialism, settler colonialism, indigenous genocide and enslavement of Africans and people of color within present day urban planning and democratic institutions (Gunder 2010; Purcell 2009; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Wolfe 2006; Harris 1993; Sewell 2016; Shange 2019). Shange (2019) offers themes that support this analysis in *Progressive Dystopia* which she defines as "a perpetually colonial place that reveals both the possibilities and limits of the late liberal imaginary (11)."

Liberalism in U.S. democratic society has made developing cohesive planning and decision-making strategies difficult. Shange (2019) uses 'late liberal' as "a modifier that attempts to index the changing global landscape after the collapse of Fordist-Keynesianism, while also calling attention to the continuities between the neoliberal era and the [previous] age of globalization ushered in by transatlantic slavery and franchise colonialism (6)." The 'liberal imaginary' is also referenced by critical planning scholar Purcell (2009) who contends liberal democracies "claim that all citizens are equally valued and carry equal voice (144)" yet foundationally exist on unequal markets designed to exploit and extract human and natural resources.

Shange (2019) argues that "liberalism and its attendant modes of material provisioning (capitalism, slavery) capacitate the production of blackness through its dysselection from humanity (6)." Sewell (2016) names race and racism as "a tool used by colonizing subjects to maintain a status hierarchy that allows the colonizer to reap the rewards of colonialism, including health and quality of life (410)." Once whiteness is defined as the threshold of what is human, what is property, and therefore available for exchange in the market economy through extraction, exploitation, and ownership is also defined (Harris 1993; Sewell, 2016). Purcell (2009) agrees in principle, contending that the social inequality that is manifested by the market economy produces "democratic deficits (144)" in governance and land use decision making which cannot easily be overcome by current planning approaches. The "production of blackness" infiltrates progressive approaches to solving society problems resulting in "an incredibly diverse group of communities and individuals," who use the term to describe themselves "some of whom have conflicting political imaginaries (Shange 2019, 11)."

Shange's (2019) use of the term dystopia to describe San Francisco's "left of liberal political economy (12)" suggests that a "postapocalyptic frame is not hyperbolic - for Black and indigenous people in the americas, the apocalypse came and never left, resulting in the dystopian reality of those of us enduring settler colonialism in the wake of chattel slavery (TallBear 2016; Shange 2019, 12)." Racial terror is a key feature of colonialism and domination (Sewell 2016; Shange 2019; Mowatt 2017). Shange (2019) cites Hartman as a way to reference how "'Black lives are still imperialed and devalued by a racial calculus and a political arithmetic that was entrenched years ago;" it includes, skewed life changes,

limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment' (7)."

Shange (2019) asserts that "the frame of dystopia invokes intention and authoriality - rather than an unfortunate product of a series of arbitrary events, dystopias are always 'planned, but not planned all that well or justly (Gordin, Tilye and Prakash 2010, 1-2; Shange 2019, 24)." In her analysis of San Francisco, Shange (2019) highlights the "planned nature of [a] progressive dystopia, a city where industry and state development scheme[s] collide to produce a racialized, uneven distribution of life and death (Shange 2019, 24)." Mowatt's (2017) analysis of the murder of 12-year old Tamir Rice by a city of Cleveland police officer at a public recreation center condemns the field of parks and leisure for its lack of commentary on "the structural and systematic nature of racism and the violence against populations of color in public recreation and leisure spaces (3)."

Mckittrick (2011) offers an analytical link between plantations, prisons, and the continuous recreation of the urban through the death of black bodies in the framework of urbicide. Linking the requirement of black death on the plantation for the economy to the prison industrial complex, and thus to the urban as "institutions [of] displacement, surveillance, and enforced slow death," Mckitrrick (2011) contends that planning involves "the naturalization of the incarcerated and dispossessed and the seduction of conceptualizing this naturalization within our present order of human life (Mckittrick 2011, 958)." Mowatt's (2017) supports this analysis by explaining how the "symbolic threat of Black youth informs macro-level patterns of police use of force. Differences in neighborhoods determine policing style, and communities with higher levels of poverty and disadvantage increase the likelihood of the use of force (9)." Mckittrick encourages

the humanization of “labour shortage, idle land, unemployment, activism, political manoeuvres, reproduction, households, work, legal documents, capital, as these spaces and social processes underwrite the making of prison life (Mckittrick 2011, 959).”

What Mckittrick (2011) describe as “prison life (956),” Shange (2019) refers to “the carceral (14)” referencing a continuum of containment and imprisonment “conceptualized by Loic Wacquant (2000) as the circuit between the ghetto and the prison, relayed in large part by the punitive system of social welfare (Shange 2019, 14).” Shange (2019) continues to note: “If the landscape is a progressive dystopia, then carceral progressivism is a key way to move material and discursive resources through that space - it is a routing and rerouting of power through the uneven, interlocked mechanisms of the state, private funders, and civil society (Shange 2019, 14).” Shange’s (2019) critique of carceral progressivism is that it “functions as a pinnacle of efficiency for late liberal statecraft because the discursive narratives and material gains of redistributive social movements are cannibalized and repurposed as rationales for dispossession (Shange 2019, 15).”

Equitable development is therefore predicated on a liberalism that structures the social, political, and economic structures of the market system by casting some bodies as disposable. The challenge of liberal democracy requires radical intervention into the processes that inscribe and reinscribe uneven power relations into places, institutions, and relationships through the planning process (Sewell 2016). Reconsidering democracy and planning as being in “the afterlife of slavery” is an intervention designed to shed light on the dire need to shift the status quo of “statecraft” by connecting it to history, and disregarding notions of time that do not honor the gravity of the task at hand

The conflict theory of stratification therefore provides an explanation for why the carceral system is a justifiable use of resources by dominant status groups. The foundations of the carceral system in slavery, poverty, and mental health suggest that as it is an institution rooted in the domination and subjugation for the purpose of extracting the land and labor of surplus populations from outgroups, for use by dominant status groups (Sewell 2017). Furthermore, the ability to regulate certain populations to criminal, future criminal, and ex-convict is a powerful incentive to maintain cohesion within and among race and class status groups. As Collins (1971) argues, "insofar as a particular status group controls education, it may use it to foster control within work organizations. Educational requirements for employment can serve both to select new members for elite positions who share the elite culture and, at a lower level of education, to hire lower and middle employees who have acquired a general respect for these elite values and styles (81)." The converse of this analysis is that educational requirements can serve to select members for undesirable positions in society as well.

Despite being corralled into sharecropping and tenant farming; displaced through segregation, slum clearance, and urban renewal; and disenfranchised through racial capitalist policies, practices, and ideologies, indigenous, Black and African American people have managed to create wealth generating institutions and infrastructure that have stewarded resources on behalf of their communities (Gordon-Nembhard 2014). Conflict theory explains why the violent repression of these political, economic, and social shared equity institutions such as joint stock companies, cooperatives, land trusts, buying clubs, and freedom schools, has led to an erasure of their relevance in urban economic

development (Woods 1998). Nevertheless, narratives of democracy and freedom persist in the U.S. liberal imaginary.

1.3 Citizen participation and the U.S. as a constitutional democracy

In addition to a "liberal" democracy in the U.S. has been described as a constitutional democracy. However, the country's genocidal and settler colonial foundation marks the citizenship granted to formerly enslaved Africans as well as the natives who agreed to give up their tribal stewardship to participate in U.S. land distribution as particularly coercive (Wolfe 2006; Hannah-Jones 2019). This is not unique to the United States as the impact of colonial and imperial histories present in local places will often dictate the extent to which residents participate in formal land use decision making. As Watson offers (2014), "in many parts of the global South, planning and urban development laws and regulations are inherited from colonial times and channels for engagement at best may allow for no more than formal presentations of state plans to communities (Watson 2014, 71)."

Citizen participation in planning, policy making, and land use decision making is not formally required by the U.S. Constitution, nor is it formally mandated by many states. Citizen participation was mandated through the adoption of various federal community development, policing and public safety, and environmental management programs. Brody, Godschalk, and Burby (2003) noted that it was "first mandated in the 1954 Urban Renewal Program and expanded during the Model Cities program and the War on Poverty in the 1960s. Congress added participation requirements throughout the 1970s in the Coastal Zone Management Act and the Energy Reorganization Act (Lowry et al. 1997;

Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003, 245)." At the state level, model state planning legislation requiring local governments to offer citizens an opportunity to comment on plans was written by the U.S. Department of Commerce in the 1920s (Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003, 246)." Furthermore, "beginning with Hawaii's state growth management law in 1962, [various] state growth management legislation ha[ve] also required citizen involvement (Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003, 246)."

According to Rothschild (2018), "a number of important Constitutional scholars have decried the absence of direct democracy in the US Constitution (Dahl 2001; Holton 2008)." She adds, however, that "49 of the 50 state constitutions, do contain opportunities for direct democracy, most typically the opportunity for direct referendum and recall, and 21 of the states permit what is known as the 'voter initiative,' meaning that citizens can actually initiate legislation not undertaken by their representatives (Rothschild 2018, 129)."

Rothschild (2018) presents an analysis of U.S. democracy framed by conflict theory. She notes that "important scholars of the Constitutional era have argued that the framers who met in Philadelphia did not wish to see much power rested in the states or in the people. Rather, it was average persons who insisted, sometimes violently (recall Shay's Rebellion and other rebellions), on a constitution that would protect their individual rights and more local rights to govern themselves (Holton 2008; Kramer 2004; Rothschild 2018, 129)." The characterization of the U.S. as a "constitutional democracy or a democratic republic, mean[s] that it sets forth a governance structure for a representative democracy, carefully constrained by the cross-checking structures and super-majorities (Rothschild 2018, 129)." There is tension, therefore in the roles of state and local governments in coordinating land use decision making. Furthermore, the tension between "the Federal

government as the protector of individuals' civil rights and the state governments as the potential usurper of such rights (Foner 2014; Rothschild 2018, 129)" becomes evident.

The U.S. Constitution embeds and protects unequal power relations in U.S. society in the form of property (Nedelsky 1994, 5). It does so by excluding the majority of people from participating in both political processes as well as the economic benefits of the nation. The Federalists framed the issue for debate in the Constitution as how to protect minorities from majority rule. However, as Nedelsky (1994) writes: "The problem [in the construction of the U.S. Constitution] was that if political rights were granted equally to all, the rights of persons and the rights of property would not be equally protected…the rights of property would be at risk whenever the sheer numerical advantage of the poor was translated into political power through equal political rights (Nedelsky 1994, 5)." This fear was fundamental to the way U.S. political institutions were structured. The Federalists designed a political structure that ensured their economic power, and therefore rights to private property would continue.

The way that they protected economic power, Nedelsky (1994) argues, was by constructing a political system – federalism – which took the ability to make democratic decisions about property out of the realm of feasible actions. Nedelsky (1994) contends that it is unequal property rights, holdings, and relationships that ultimately connotes inequality and domination, not necessarily the tension between the individual and the collective (209). In accepting vast economic inequality as a given and the contours of property rights as obvious, writers of the Constitution were in fact focusing on protecting the rich from the poor, not individuals from the collective of which they are a part (Nedelsky 1994, 209)."

Protecting the rights of minorities from the potential threat of an oppressive majority became about distancing the decision-making from the masses. Nedelsky (1994) contends, “The structure of the extended republic, with large election districts and institutions providing successive layers of distance between the people and those in office, would contain the ever present threat of the ‘people’ by rendering not just public office, but public affairs relatively inaccessible to them (205).” The United States’ impressive record in protecting private property actually embedded in American politics an undemocratic political regime: “The protection of property requires controlling not possible majorities, but a particular majority: the propertyless (Nedelsky 1994, 204).”

Nedelsky (1994) credits the Marshall Courts for the solidification of corporate private property rights and the removal of market barriers to the deployment of individual property in ways seen fit to owners. The Marshall Court helped to establish limited government – limiting the legislature’s ability to interfere with commerce as a way to protect private property, particularly for corporations (Nedelsky 1994, 8). This inherent contradiction – taking a fundamental question of society, distribution, out of the realm of democratic control – distorted the democracy, producing democratic deficits which will be described in later chapters.

The foundation upon which US property relations were built, stems from the political economic institutions of colonial land grants and enslavement. Much of the land in the United States was expropriated from the Native peoples who had been stewarded it by royal land grants and charters to people and corporations to form colonies and businesses (Zinn 2008). The people who benefited from this institution were rich, white

men. These same men wrote the U.S. Constitution, which codified their "right" to the land as their private property.

The concept of *Whiteness as Property* (Harris 1993) springs from the combination of the protection of physical property with the Fugitive Slave Clause in the Constitution. With that clause, being white gave White people social capital that bonded them to other White people insofar that blatant acts of violence and enforced servitude were not to be wielded against each other. With the abolition of enslavement as a socio-political institution, the concept of *Whiteness as Property* (Harris 1993) extended into other quality of life institutions such as employment, housing, built infrastructure, healthcare, transit, and education. For example, after enslaved Africans were freed following the Civil War, the need for cheap labor gave rise to penal policies and institutions that continued to be extractive to the U.S.'s black population. While the 13th Amendment abolished slavery, it maintains that involuntary labor can be extracted from incarcerated peoples. Black Codes and Jim Crow laws restricted black life and kept a low wage labor force in place, by criminalizing black men and putting them back to work on prison farms, and facilities.

At the same time, after the Civil War ended, Reconstruction laws were passed, and Black legislators were elected across Southern states. Sharecropping and tenant farming were still being practiced, maintaining the extractive plantation dynamics of enslavement so these Black elected officials implemented free public education and tried to get funds disbursed to African American cooperatives and farmers in order to confront the future from a lens of human rights, economic democracy and sustainability (Woods 1998; Equal Justice Initiative 2020). Woods (1998) argues further that economic democracy in the form of cooperative development and shared equity enterprises, sustainability, and human rights

have been part of the development trajectories practiced by African American farmers, and communities in the face of plantation power.

Indeed, these strategies are what prompted the severe backlash from White plantation owners and citizens who wanted to maintain the racial hierarchy. In various writings, Gordon Nembhard argues similarly that cooperative development has been pursued by groups facing political and economic marginalization from dominant social groups (2014; 2008; 2006). The repression of these strategies led to urban development trajectories which have served to further marginalize black and indigenous planning strategies. Thus, the creation and criminalization of poverty is intimately tied to plantation politics and racial capitalism.

Participation in government decision making - franchisement and political fluency is still precipitated upon economic power, and so land, poverty, and participation inform the vicious cycle of racial capitalism. As noted in the literature review, community engagement and citizen participation regarding land use development has been required at the federal and state levels since the 1950s. Again, we see the role that a lack of political power has on economic power, and visa versa. Following the Civil Rights movement – a movement that demanded both political and economic justice for black people in the U.S. – the backlash, which occurred after some political rights had been secured (the right to vote, equal education, etc.), led to policies such as "Law and Order" from Nixon due to protesters being casts as criminals. Reagan's War on Drugs/Tough on Crime policies followed this closely.

It is important to surface the legacy the particular configuration of American democracy has left on society. Perhaps had exclusion not been a feature of American democracy as Nedelsky (1994) argues, then the legacy of inequality could have been mitigated by the "reformulation of property rights [which is a] basic social process (Nedelsky 1994, 209)." Rather, women and people of color have continued to bear the brunt of extractive institutions. Nedelsky (1994) contends: "When we see the American practice and conception of the politics of private interest as a limited form of democracy, rather than a self-evident truth of politics, we can understand why the expansion of the franchise [to women and Blacks] did not itself transform the nature of American democracy (214)."

For example, a key concession made in the labor movement for workers to have rights and federal protections deliberately left out farmworkers and domestic workers, as these were jobs primarily occupied by black people, people of color, and women. Export based industrial development in the U.S. is a linchpin of economic activity in the U.S. which leaves little room for local, indigenous, and endogenous economic development, workforce development, and wealth distribution strategies. The rise of the "prison industrial complex" as a system of laws and policies that create and recreate a disenfranchised and criminalized population which corporations and institutions can profit and benefit from has further served to extract wealth from this segment of society (Wacquant 2001; Harvey 2007). Similarly, the "non-profit industrial complex" describes the system of laws and policies that creates financial and operational infrastructure for tax exempt organizations and endowments, effectively providing tax shelters and private

corporate service providers in lieu of fair compensation for workers and revenue for government interventions (Smith 2007).

1.4 Planning for social transformation? Democracy and power in planning

Despite the structural barriers, certain planners remain committed to using the field to achieve social, political, and economic equity. Wright (2009) offers a theory of social transformation which includes a theory of social reproduction, a theory of gaps and contradictions, a theory of trajectories of unintended social change, and a theory of transformative strategies (273). The theory of social reproduction includes how active social reproduction is created by "specific institutions and structures" of the political economy such as police, courts, and the education system while passive social reproduction is "anchored in the mundane routines and activities [that drive dispositions and behaviors] of daily life (Wright 2009, 274). Wright (2009) argues that despotic (coercive) and/or hegemonic (cultural) mechanisms of social reproduction are put in place in order to contend with the latent ability for human ingenuity and problem solving to collectively challenge political economy structures of domination, oppression, and exploitation (278-279).

Complex interactions between institutions with coercive sanctions, internal institutional rules, articulations of ideology/culture, and articulations of material interests combine to produce decision making environments with hegemonic and despotic transitions from active social reproduction to passive social reproduction (Wright 2009, 279). Nevertheless, Wright (2009) contends there are gaps, limitations, and contradictions in the combined mechanisms of social reproduction that represent opportunities to intervene in the dominant political economy. Namely, the purpose and scope of state action

in the economy is perpetually contested, there is a lack of strategic intentionality in institutional design, internal processes of social control within institutions results in lack of responsiveness, and while the democratic institutions that liberal democracies accomplished within capitalism make learning and change possible more efficiently then do more closed authoritarian institutional structure, [they] are plagued by institutional inertia (Wright 2009, 291).

The institutional path dependencies for the state include elections, rules, political jurisdictions, and administrative structures. As noted by Wright (2009), they hinge on capitalist and democratic infrastructure created "under specific historical conditions facing particular problems and design possibilities (294)." Similarly, the path dependencies of capitalist firms include corporate structure, managerial hierarchies, divisions of labor, and educational systems (Wright 2009, 294). Wright (2009) cites examples of the rise and fall of corporate leadership over worker healthcare provision between 1950 and 1960; the impact of suburbanization and automobilization on public transit; as well as laws guiding property, income, and sales and other taxes (294).

1.4.1 Neoliberalism, hegemony, and the rationalities of communicative action

In the planning literature, neoliberalism provides a hegemonic rationalization for urbanization by linking the ideology of growth to privatization, market based economics, and the material interests of residents. In a departure from Marxist's historical materialism, neoliberalism provides an expansive and inclusive explanation for the continuous land and labor appropriation that occurs by private actors and the continuous expropriation of accumulated capital by the state (Wright 2009). In order to continually implement land

uses that do not directly serve indigenous populations and residents: i.e., export driven production, segregated housing and amenities, and sports and entertainment complexes, beyond the violent repression in the initial taking (despotic power), a justification of the process and outcomes is required.

Hegemonic power is a key operator in the process of development and in the ways that "the lifeworld in traditional societies is changed, or rationalized, during the course of modernization and capitalist development (Habermas 2001, 288 as cited in Bolton 2005, 14)." The concept of hegemonic power, which is the foundation of Habermas' communicative action theory, has been used by planning theorists to explain why after the violence and repression of the settler-colonial-slave state was established, some decision making dynamics stop being criticized even as the conditions driving violence and repression continue in various forms (Bachrach and Baratz 1962; Forester 1989; Gaventa 1982; Lukas 1974).

Commonly identified as dimensions or faces of power (Lukas 1974) are decision making power, agenda setting power, and the power to shape the felt needs of the population (Forester 1989). Hegemony lies in the power to shape the felt needs of the population. This occurs with coercive power as a backdrop, but institutional rules, ideologies, and material interests produce actions that communicate the imperative to buy into the system. Communicative action makes it possible for the domination to occur without direct or overt violence from the state or disruptive resistance from oppressed people. Institutions at the intersection of ideology, culture, material interests produce cohesion among elites as well as the active consent of subordinate classes and groups (288).

Hegemony relies on the alignment between ideology, culture, and material interests in decision making institutions and infrastructure (Wright 2009). Bolton (2005) emphasizes Habermas' theories of *communicative action* and *rationalization* as key mechanisms for implementing hegemonic land use planning processes and decisions. In capitalist land use planning, individual actions and decisions combine in complex ways that are not always in the direct material interests for all the actors involved in the development project (Habermas 2001, 288; Bolton 2005, 8). In such contexts, Habermas (2001) contends, communicative action has occurred. Communicative action is a way to describe the coordination of actions between actors with differing self-interests and levels of power within a state (Bolton 2005). This aligns with Wright's (2009) understanding of hegemony as ideology and culture with ideology referring to the "conscious aspects of subjectivity i.e., beliefs, ideas, values, doctrines, and theories; and culture being "the unconscious aspects of subjectivity i.e., dispositions, habits, tastes, and skills (283)."

Rationalization can be described as the process of converting active social reproduction, or ideologies into passive social reproduction, or culture. Rationalization therefore occurs as part of the communicative action process. Rationalizing the resource distribution and planning process permits interactions and decisions that are not necessarily aligned to be guided by communicative action (Habermas 2001, 337, 340). The hegemonic power of communicative action occurs when, "the cultural stock of knowledge is [so] strong [that] ... the "need for understanding [rationalization] is covered in advance by an interpreted lifeworld immune from critique (Habermas 2001, 70; as cited in Bolton 2005, 15)." Rather it is based on communicative rationality, the assumption that one should rely on and trust the state's actions as legitimate, sincere, comprehensible, and accurate.

Planners operate as agents who facilitate this understanding as various levels of authentic dialogue between capitalists and laborers (Dantzler, 2021). Hegemonic power relations are embedded throughout decision making institutions and systemic processes. Particularly, the state provides Gramsci's notion of "moral and intellectual leadership (Wright 2009, 289)."

As part of the function of planning and development in the public domain, the government must be regarded as an actor that provides comparative and competitive advantages in land use decision making processes through everchanging policies, plans, programs, and projects (Friedmann 1987). State power is a critical mechanism of accumulation, and therefore race based expropriation. As Bates (2005) highlights to explain the role of the public sector in regime-led inequitable development, citing Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2001, 63):

> "Although the public sector has only limited direct contribution to the housing stock, it does affect the housing market through the creation of general and specialized plans; through regulation of development; and with incentives. In order to understand how gentrification relates to public policy and investments, it is important to understand the market ramifications of public sector actions. Neighborhood change and community displacement aren't due to "just the market" acting on its own, but occur within a context set in part by plans and policies—especially within areas designated for special public investment, such as urban renewal areas" (Bates, 2005:18).

The urbanization, spatialization, and agglomeration of capital occur under racial capitalism requires a degree of land use planning which siphons the power to plan from local, indigenous use values. Gunder (2010) argues that "planning is inherently ideological,

because ideology constitutes our chosen and dominant belief, or value, systems. These in turn, shape what we want, what is important, and hence our planning objectives and goals (299)." Urban, regional, or spatial planning is specifically about making choices about how we use land – it's about governing space (Cowell and Owen, 2006). Planning is the ideology of how we define and use space. (Gunder 2010, 299)"

As noted, political economy has a base, forms, and superstructure. Neoliberalism has become the successful ideological project of hegemonic power or dominance to maintain the economic base of racial capitalism (Purcell 2009). It has "required both politically and economically the construction of a neoliberal market-based populist culture of differentiated consumerism and individual libertarianism (Harvey 2005, 42; Gunder 2010, 299)." In his critique of collaborative planning in neoliberal governance contexts, Purcell (2009) uses Harvey (2005) to trace the evolution of the U.S. political economy, however he leaves out a critical discussion of racial capitalism. Purcell (2009) starts from the Keynesian welfare state approaches in the 1950s and 1960s and describes the advent of neoliberal policies in response to stagflation and the economic recessions of the 1970s (Purcell 2009, 142). The backdrop of civil unrest in urban centers due to post war job and material shortages, redlining, and urban renewal, and the resulting racial terror and riots are not mentioned (Comedy 2015; Peterman 2004; Heskin 1980; Trounstine 2018; Charles 2003; Wyly and Hammel 2004). Furthermore, unmentioned are the periods of settler colonialism, enslavement, industrialization, and Reconstruction as political economy precursors to Keynesian policies (Katznelson 2014; Robinson 2000; Robinson 2019; Gilmore 2009; Rose 2015)

Arguing that neoliberalism achieved full resonance with the elections of Thatcher (UK) and Reagan (US) in the late 1970s, Purcell (2009) describes it as an "ethic in which the state would play a minimal role in the economy and 'the invisible hand' of market

decisions would determine economic outcomes (Purcell 2009, 142).” He contrasts this with Keynesianism as an “economic policy regime [which] instituted strong union power, significant national-state intervention in the economy, a measure of material equalization, and a relatively large national welfare state apparatus. (Purcell 2009, 142).” Proponents of neoliberalism such as Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek, and the adherents of the Mont Pelerin Society, pursued free-market policies that severely reduced government regulation of capital (Purcell 2009, 142).”

Critical race theorists would associate this transition period with mass incarceration and globalization which require significant state sanctioning and investment (Robinson 2000; Alexander 2010; Gordon 1998; Story 2016; Rose 2015). Critical race theory offers the historical human, labor, and civil rights struggles as context for political and economic crises. In the construction of free market economies, the dissolution of formal enslavement based economic policies and practices led to new economic crises in labor and therefore new policies around unionism, education, and economic mobility which must constantly be justified by new economic ideas and policies. Political economy infrastructure includes the institutions which make decisions, set agendas, and embed the values and ideologies of dominant system in their practices. In this way, classical, neoclassical, and neoliberal economic frameworks are cycled and recycled in order to maintain market-based dominant economic trajectories (Skott and Auerbach 1995).

Purcell (2009) categorizes the contradictions that neoliberalism wreaks upon society as “democratic deficits (143).” He argues that “the neoliberal project requires decision-making practices that are widely accepted as ‘democratic’ but that do not (or cannot) fundamentally challenge existing relations of power (Purcell 2009, 143).” Although Purcell (2009) acknowledges that these democratic deficits have long been present in liberal democracies in order to manage and legitimize social inequality (Purcell 2009, 144), he does not make the claim based on the history of enslavement and the

colonization upon which most liberal democracies were founded. Rather, he claims more generally that the "liberal" separation between the public and private spheres [characteristically] allows them to claim the existence of a formal political equality even when manifest social inequality is present (Purcell 2009, 144).

Purcell (2009) argues that under Keynesianism, the democratic deficit of social inequality was "mitigated by significant material redistribution and the meaningful inclusion of organized labor in state decisions (144);" however, the neoliberal erosion of those policies has exacerbated this foundational challenge. Furthermore, as self-proclaimed representative governments, liberal democracies under neoliberalism produce a democratic deficit "to the extent that neoliberalization succeeds in its explicit agenda to augment the power of capital vis-à-vis the state, …because it transfers [land use decision making] power from democratic citizens to corporations (Purcell 2009, 145)."

Because neoliberal policies also privatize government functions and services by "contracting out services to volunteer organizations, community associations, non-profit corporations, foundations, and private firms, and by developing quasi-public bodies, such as QUANGOS, appointed competitiveness councils, urban development corporations, and public–private partnerships" which are not subject to any kind of direct democratic oversight, neoliberalization has made it more likely that "policy decisions will be made by bodies unaccountable (at least in a meaningful way) to democratic citizens (Purcell 2009, 145)." Finally, Purcell (2009) contends that neoliberalism constrains policy options for citizens by seeking to "establish a particular commonsense notion that competitiveness is not only 'the way it is', but also a good thing, an ethic that will help generate wealth and ensure happiness (145)."

Purcell (2009) names the devolution of authority that occurs with neoliberalism as the fulcrum upon which proponents claim that neoliberalism leads to a more democratic

political economy. Harkening back to Keynesianism, Purcell (2009) claims that the ability for neoliberals to argue that there is more democracy in the devolution of authority is partially because in "the Keynesian welfare state … decisions tended to be national, top-down, bureaucratic, and expert-driven….arbitrary, unchecked power (146)." Citing Swyngedouw et al., (2002), Purcell (2009) concedes that "devolving the authority of the national Keynesian state [to more local ones] allows places more power to shape decisions to their particular context (146)." However, as he further notes, "when that authority is ceded by the national state to local authorities or to non-state entities, it can be mobilized democratically or not (Purcell 2009, 146)."

The field of planning has used the rationalities to theorize about the power, analysis, and actions for coordinated decision making that leads to development (Albretcht 2003; Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003). From comprehensive, instrumental, communicative, and agonistic rationality, planning theories abound to rationalize complex systemic outcomes. In the field of planning, additional theories of democracy include aggregative democracy, deliberative democracy, agonistic democracy which help explain the advent or use of various planning approaches to economic development over time. See Figure 1.

Figure 1-1: Planning, democracy, and power: theories and rationalities

Democracy theory	**Agonistic**	**Deliberative**		**Aggregative**		
Planning theory	Radical, Insurgent	Advocacy | Collaborative Equity | Communicative		Innovative	Allocative	
Type of Rationality	Agonistic, Abolitionist	Collaborative	Communicative	Incremental	Instrumental	Comprehensive
Degrees of Hegemonic Power	**Deconstructing Hegemony ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← Degrees of Power → → → → → → → → → →→ → Reinforcing Hegemony**					

1.4.2 Aggregative democracy and allocative planning: comprehensive and incremental rationalities

According to Bäcklund and Mäntysalo (2010) the point of departure in aggregative democracy theory is that democracy is seen as a competition based on the distribution of power between interest groups and voting is the central instrument of political decision-making. Aggregative democracy is so called because if "we assume that this competition is equally accessible to all interest groups, then we may regard the ones who have gained their power through voting to represent the ideas that are most broadly shared in the society (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 339)." However, the reality is that the disenfranchisement, displacement, dispossession, and disinvestment that occurs on the basis of race and income in regime led development is not based solely on aggregated individual preferences.

Aggregative democracy uses the formal political process to facilitate allocative planning. Allocative planning is described by Friedmann (1989) as a key mechanism of corporate social guidance over the planning process. Allocations (a communicative action) are justified by comprehensive, incremental, and instrumental rationalities. Conceiving of planning as the facilitation of large-scale planning processes using highly technical plan analyses serves to justify capital allocations to uses instrumental for social reproduction such as administration and bureaucracy. According to Albrechts (2003) "traditional [physical] planning very often equates with the rational comprehensive model developed at the University of Chicago (906)." Furthermore, in gathering data, studying alternatives, and consequences, "planners were told to attend to means and to leave the selection of ends to others (Albrechts 2003, 906)." Technical analysis is used to justify courses of action based primarily on financial benefits due to land values or potential revenues. Because communicative action is institutional action in alignment with more coercive mechanisms of social reproduction, it represents an aggregation of the decisions that can be agreed upon

by all stakeholders at the table whether through tacit consent, a majority vote, or concessions in exchange for small wins by potential opponents.

Comprehensive and incremental land use planning rationalize social guidance from the corporate sector. The result is allocative planning programs which serves to channel extracted resources from corporate profits back into public infrastructure for planning, development, and services, rather than into neighborhood resident priorities such as better wages, benefits, neighborhood services and amenities. Tax incentives and tax increment financing for developers, and property and capital gains tax law for investors close the loop between corporate profits, corporate taxes, and government services in favor of the capitalist class. The corporate sector's guidance around land uses for growth and accumulation is already embedded into the process of comprehensive planning, and their resources provide the technical assistance for cost benefit analysis (Friedmann 1987).

The public's knowledge and interests are sublimated to market interests in comprehensive and instrumental rationality (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 338) through the "distinction [made] between the citizens' opinions and the educated planners' knowledge (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 338)." The distance between the intellectual capital of the planners and the residents is often instrumentally dictated by race which connects rational planning and decision making to access to financial capital; bonding, bridging, or linking social capital; and the corresponding political capital found in the political process (Lung, citation). Actors can amass additional political capital in aggregative democracy through the coordination of incremental policy changes at the margins of the political process (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 340; Dawes 2020).

According to Bäcklund and Mäntysalo (2010), “it was Lindblom’s incrementalism which opened the door to interest-based politics in the realm of planning preparation (339).”

1.4.3 Deliberative democracy: communicative and collaborative rationality

Both comprehensive rationality and incremental rationality build upon the hegemonic power embedded in the use of technical expertise and cost benefit analysis (instrumental rationality). Public administrators can use any of these rationalities to define public interest. Unsurprisingly, “since the late 1960s, incrementalist politics have been criticized for their inherent tendency towards corporatism (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 340).” Critics contend that incremental decisions tend to mirror the values of those already in power, the status quo (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 340) because “access to the decision-making process is not evenly distributed between the interested ‘partisans’, ...the process opens up more readily to those who are well organized and influential (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 340).” Due to the backlash against the lack of voice and participation offered by planning practice through comprehensive, instrumental, and incremental rationality, communicative and collaborative rationality became the guiding influences for planning in the public domain.

Nevertheless, although “the communicative planning theorists abandoned the aggregative model of democracy and turned to the ideals of deliberative democracy as a central source of their critique of both incrementalist and comprehensive-rationalist planning theory (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 340)” planning interests still accrues to those already in power. Deliberative democracy departs from aggregative democracy’s focus on making the best case for voting through technical arguments, by focusing on

dialogue, argumentation and persuasion (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 340). Supporting deliberative democracy are communicative rationality, collaborative rationality, and agonistic rationality which can foster innovative planning proposals as well as radical planning programs and policies in some cases.

The contention in the literature is that collaborative planning can be a planner mediated consensus building exercise in which conditions of communicative rationality can reduce power differentials between participants who have diverse yet interdependent interests (Innes and Booher 2003). The result is that adaptations to the system in the form of shared identities, shared meanings, innovation, and new ways of operating occur based on the relationships, reciprocity, learning, and creativity generated by the authentic dialogue of communicative action (Innes and Booher 2003; Innes and Booher 2010). Bäcklund and Mäntysalo (2010) argue that collaborative rationality overcomes the issue of representation in planning. While there has not been more access to decision making, this has not been the goal. Rather it has been to "offer a social space for the active politicization of issues (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 345-6)." Therefore, participation in collaborative planning processes has not" posed a threat to the legitimacy of the representative political system in the same manner as the demands for direct and effective participation (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 345-6)."

Because the urban is a complex adaptive system, collaborative planning can reproduce the same uneven power dynamics as rational and incremental planning. In the first, second, and third cycles (Harvey 1989) of land use decision making, institutions are created that coordinate communicative action for racial capitalism. This process of race reification (Sewell 2016) leads to racist relational structures, harmful ecological

environments, and isolating ethnoracial institutions (Friedmann 1987; Sewell 2016). Bäcklund and Mäntysalo (2010) maintain that despite communicative, deliberative, or agonistic efforts, "Embedded in the institutionalized structures and normative prescriptions of good governance, [is] the deep-seated comprehensive-rationalist model of planning and the associated aggregative model of democracy (2010, 348). The technical and instrumental rationality required to implement plans is thus still reliant on corporate social guidance.

According to Watson (2014), "collaborative and communicative planning processes have generally focused on the debates needed to shape plans but have been less concerned with involvement in delivery processes and subsequent management of projects (71)." This has led critics to note that collaborative planners "have been strongly concerned with communicative rationality but far less concerned with instrumental rationality involving the conversion of agreed ideas to plans and regulations, and hence to implementation (Watson 2014, 71)." Similarly, the reliance on "networks as next-gen governance structure[s] may actually obscure and endorse processes of political legitimation, so that existing elites are more, not less, able to manipulate and capture the support and benefits of planning decisions (Taufen and Olson 2020, 3)" whether plan implementation or otherwise. Therefore, as Bäcklund and Mäntysalo (2010) describe "consensus would be merely a temporary result of the stabilization of power relationships, necessarily involving exclusion itself (342)."

1.4.4 Agonistic democracy: radical and insurgent planning for abolition

The communicative planning critics, therefore, have "attack[ed] the narrowness of communicative rationality following the deliberative model (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 341)." Communicatively rational actors in search of consensus is not an accurate descriptor of the land use decision-making arena, even in conditions where the best practices of collaborative planning are in use. While deliberative democracy has the potential to foster innovative planning and policy changes in the public arena, these critics prefer a more realistic model of democracy where actors have potentially adversarial views (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 342). Mouffe's agonistic model of democracy [addresses] the tensions between the aggregative and deliberative modes of political activity, acknowledging both of these modes as legitimate interpretations of democratic conduct (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 342)."

Rather than "focus on a binary understanding of conflict versus consensus building in the political arena (Legacy et al. 2019)," some planning theorists' focus on "the interstitial spaces existing between consensus and conflict reveals a more relational dynamic that positions consensus and conflict as co-constitutive and continuously being shaped by the performance of politics by state and non-state actors (Legacy et al. 2019)." Agonistic rationality offers planning practice the notion that "planning communication should thus focus on reaching an achievable level of mutual understanding for the purposes at hand, while retaining awareness of that which is not understood (Healey 1992, 154; Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 342)."

Therefore radical planning and revolutionary practice strategies as described by Friedmann (1987) and Watson (2003) can be introduced legitimately to the planning arena when agonistic rationality is used. The question of whether these strategies can lead to

system transformation is still up for additional study and debate. However, by "dealing with a conflict between conceptions of reality when, for example, the participants already at the outset have different understandings as to whether there may be a planning problem in the first place (Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010, 341), agonistic democracy has the potential to foster innovative and radical policy changes in response to planning in the public domain (Friedmann 1987; Watson 2003; Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010).

Planning scholars analyzing community development practices the Global North and South argue that insurgent planning includes radical planning activities that additionally challenge societal and economic norms and institutions with the intention to upend them in the present or in the future (Meth 2010; Sandercock 1998; Miraftab 2009). According to Miraftab (2009) "insurgent planning has traveled an important further path by revealing how inclusive planning, with its emphasis on citizen participation and civil society partnership, has often become the accomplice of neoliberal governance. Insurgent planning reveals how the interests of global capitalism and the corporate economy misappropriate collective action to depoliticize progressive planning and transform its actors to 'radicals you can take home to mother' (Miraftab 2009, 43)."

In *Planning for Social Justice*, Uitermark and Nicholls (2015), for example, mention Miraftab's (2009) documentation of South American families' varied actions in response to forced eviction. Of the families who chose to accept the relocation to temporary tents, they write: "People often are not fully committed to collective action and may be more than ready to 'make bargains with hegemony (Rankin, 2010: 187)' (Uitermark and Nicholls 2015, 15)." Professor Jennifer Clark (2017) describes neoliberalism's impact on worker organizing noting "the decline of labor unions, first in the private sector and later in the

public sector, coupled with the rise of for-profit labor market intermediaries (including various forms of temporary employment firms)" as having eroded some strong protections previously provided to certain segments of the population. Miraftab's 2009 article, *Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South*, further contends that "Planning practices that celebrate inclusive planning through citizens' participation yet remain uncritical of the complexities of inclusion and resistance in the contemporary neoliberal era are complicit in the binary misconception of civil society and public action (39)."

Policies both impact the environmental contexts in which residents make decisions, and are created through the societal institutions to reinforce the economic system. Dawes (2020) identifies policies, governmental structures, and voting as the primary political mechanisms that shape the social and economic contexts of health outcomes. He contends that decisions around transportation and housing are undergirded by structural and institutional decision-making mechanisms such as the zoning and redistricting processes, the court system's action or inaction on particular laws, and money in politics. For example, as industrial labor and formerly enslaved agricultural workers fought to improve their own economic outcomes by gaining control over land (possession and decision making in urban and rural contexts) and over the means of production (in the form of labor unions and cooperatives), the courts intervened on behalf of capitalist and corporations to dismantle their efforts (McAlevey, 2015; Reece, 2018).

Radical and insurgent planning strategies exist wherever communities are resisting social, political, and economic domination. As Miraftab (2015) acknowledges, "Whether

they be from minority populations of the global North or marginalized residents of the global South, they employ direct practices whereby citizens do not regulate the defense of their interest to others – be they politicians, bureaucrats, or planners. Furthermore, their… citizenship practices occur in self-determined 'invented spaces of citizenship' where people participate through direct action to respond to specific contexts and issues (Miraftab 2015, 223)."

In *Unsettling Insurgency*, Paula Meth (2010) tells the story of South African women using insurgent planning practices to provide housing, employment, and most controversially, safety and justice in their community. These actions constitute a direct challenge to the state's "authority to maintain law and order (Meth 2010, 242)" which they maintain while also fighting for state intervention into their poor living conditions (Meth 2010, 252). Their enactment of a combination of interstitial, symbiotic, and ruptural strategies create the conditions for social transformation to occur. Uitermark and Nicholls (2015) offer a framework for understanding insurgent planning as one that requires a high levels of community engagement as well as a strong sense of substantive justice. The strong sense of substantive justice is what links ruptural strategies to the other two strategies in insurgent planning.

Citing Miraftab (2009), Uitermark and Nicholls (2015) add that "characteristic of insurgent planning is an acute recognition that collaboration can result in complicity when 'inclusion' or 'participation' serves to streamline rather than obstruct regressive processes….community engagement is only validated and recognized if it results in challenges against neoliberalism. Thus, Miraftab (2009) reserves the concept of 'insurgent planning' for 'radical planning practices' resisting neoliberalism (Miraftab 2009, 32;

Uitermark and Nicholls 2015, 14).” The idea of obstructing regressive policies is in line with the notion that insurgent planning requires an intention to transform society. Meth (2010) notes this as a contradiction, however, and asks for more planners to research and provide empirical evidence for insurgent planning.

1.5 Strategies for social transformation: Cooperative rationality

Considering community development and equity planning through the lens of a Black radical planning tradition provides theoretical space for designing policy and practical interventions that align at various scales to address the deeply entrenched issues in U.S. society. Given the need for strategies that combine ruptural, symbiotic, and interstitial approaches to social transformation, cooperative rationality induces planners to: 1) support an expanded view of planning activities as community building activities and “plan from below (Sandercock 1998; Miraftab 2009);” 2) support the development of communities’ collective and democratic decision making capacity (Howell 2016; Saegert 2006; Beard et al. 2006, 2009); 3) provide, experience, and foster the transfer and development of a range of skills and knowledge-bases (Manzo and Perkins 2006; Sandercock 1998; Beard et al. 2006, 2009); and 4) design social, political, and economic interventions that disrupt current relationships between individuals, societal institutions and the economy (Meth 2010; Sandercock 1998; Miraftab 2009).

Symbiotic, ruptural, and interstitial strategies, must be developed in tandem in order to build a movement for social transformation that can address the challenges (See figure). Ruptural strategies involve explicitly organizing to change the system or directly challenge its logic (Wright 2009). Tactics for ruptural social change include direct action and civil

disobedience such as marches, rallies, and sit ins. Interstitial strategies include creating institutions and engaging practices that can build the community's capacity in the cracks and contradictions of the system, these strategies include worker cooperatives, land trusts, and community gardens; and finally, symbiotic strategies consist of working within the system for change – channeling resources to provide direct services, supports, and capacity; as well as participating in insider politics with policy makers and targets (Wright 2009).

Power and political economy are therefore coherent topics in planning theory (Friedmann 1989; Forester 1989), and regime and regulation theories emerge as strong contenders for understanding the complex relationship between urban planning processes, capitalist policies and institutions, and the poor outcomes of marginalized residents (Peck and Tickell 1995; Woods 1993). There is also recent scholarship about the role of academic, philanthropic, non-profit organizations and institutions in regional and community economic development, through coalition building, collaborative planning processes, and adaptive governance (Clark 2017; Scholz and Stiftel 2005).

Arguably, due to the non profit industrial complex, the social movement interstitial strategies are not as alternative or independent from the state; or as dismissive of the capitalist bourgeoisie as Wright's (2009) framework suggests. Nevertheless, the multiple approaches and scales at which action must occur means there is an important role for planners in social transformation. Challenging societal structures is a key element in the ruptural strategies of Wright's (2009) social transformation framework, and planners must be willing to take on and create space for both radical and insurgent planning in order to achieve social transformation (Laskey and Nicholls 2019).

The dominance of the non profit organizational form in the neoliberal era leaves confusion as to whether the interstitial strategies are operating outside of the state or whether they truly ignore the bourgeoisie. Government and foundation funding, as well as collaboration with various planning processes has made grassroots organizing strategies seem more than symbiotic strategies. Maroon societies, mutual aid and some anarchist strategies may more closely align with interstitial social movement strategies. This paper considers how cooperatives and shared equity projects can contribute as combined ruptural, interstitial, and symbiotic interventions into the economy.

Figure 1-2: Three Models of Transformation: Ruptural, Interstitial, and Symbiotic

	Pivotal collective actors	**Responses to the state**	**Responses to capitalists**	**Metaphors for success**
Ruptural	Political parties	Frontal attacks on the state	Sharp confrontations with capitalist	War
Interstitial	Social movements	Outside of the state	Ignore the bourgeoisie	Ecological system dominance
Symbiotic	Popular coalitions	Use the state (from within)	Positive collaborations	Evolution
Adapted from Wright (2009, 304) Three Models of Transformation: Ruptural, Interstitial, and Symbiotic				

1.6 Dissertation overview

Scholarship in the Black Radical Tradition offers deep analysis of race as the linchpin in inequitable social, economic, and political structures stemming from imperialism, enslavement, and colonialization (Robinson 2000; DuBois 1935; McKittrick

2011). This project names racial capitalism as one of the significant barriers to equitable development practice, and directs inquiry towards regime power, and collaborative planning theories to address equitable development in the U.S. democratic context.

Critical planners and radical planners have highlighted the ways collaborative planning and rationality serves to reinforce racial capitalism within the framework of liberal democratic governance. The article takes collaborative planning and collaborative rationality as posited by its proponents (Innes and Booher 2003; Booher and Innes 2002) out of its endemic theoretical context to analyze it within the context of agonistic rationality. It highlights the notion that collaborative planning is the baseline planning mechanism of the state as it incorporates formal and informal citizen participation and community engagement strategies to gather input from multiple stakeholders.

While consensus may be the implicit goal, the corporate growth strategy built on racial capitalism is an untested and assumed constant. The paper seeks to highlights the ways in which diverse and interdependent actors come together to produce the urban environment through policies and institutions that ultimately reinforce the power of the regime. The framework is intended to point to directions where diverse and interdependent actors can come together to create contending policies and institutions that point to abolition - of prisons, the housing market, and other market-based infrastructure of domination within neoliberal urban contexts.

Complexity theory (Chettiparamb 2006; Bryne 2003; Moroni 2015) has been offered as a planning framework that better encompasses the interplay of institutions, processes, and actors in the development process. The idea that there are non-linear

feedback loops and process models closer to natural systems encourages the acknowledgement that there is not one right answer, or one right way to develop communities or achieve social transformation. Bryne (2003) offers participatory action research as a methodology that reflects the iterative nature of complex systems. Bryne (2003) also advocates for a "methodological pluralism" which integrates multiple forms of data collection and scientific methods in the research on complex systems.

Moroni's (2015) article offers "explanation of the principle," "qualitative predictions," and "framework-instruments" as concepts that complexity theory has for learning self-organization within urban systems. Explanation of the principle refers to the idea that descriptions of complex systems and structures cannot (and should not) provide explanations for the particular details in a situation but can explain how or why a system works (Moroni 2015, 3). **Chapter 2. Racial Capitalism, Regime Power, & Collaborative Rationality in Planning** defines racial capitalism with concepts and definitions that prior planning scholars have used to describe the relationship between urban planning infrastructure and capital flows (Dantzler 2021; Fields and Raymond 2021; Camp 2009; Leong 2020; Rose 2015). Chapter 2 is an attempt to explain the principles of a racial capitalist political economy as defined by urban planning and development scholars and critical race theorists.

Chapter 3. Racial Capitalism, Regime Power, & Collaborative Rationality in Neighborhood Development carries the analysis from Chapter 2 into a case study of Atlanta's urban regime, to further illustrate the challenges of resident led planning in neoliberal contexts (Stone 1993; Keating 2001). Qualitative predictions are contrasted with specific predictions and describe the type of event or outcome that might occur as a result

of actions taken rather than predicting an event or outcome precisely (Moroni 2015, 5). The use of a case study in Chapter 3 intends to provide qualitative predictions about the outcomes of racial capitalism in current neoliberal contexts.

Chapter 4. A Social Learning & Communicative Action Curricular Framework for Social Transformation puts forth a pedagogical approach for producing significant learning outcomes for students in teaching about racial capitalism, urban regimes, and equitable development. The paper highlights the importance of teaching economic democracy as a way to liberate planning from its racial capitalist foundations and get closer to equitable development through an abolitionist planning lens.

Framework instruments provide parameters to regulate actions within a system, which differs from patterning instruments which attempt to lay out specifically how plans should translate to reality (Moroni 2015, 9). These ideas point to the need for experimentation, sharing, and learning as part of the process of planning. Chapter 4 is a curricular framework for communicative action with students around economic democracy projects with residents.

CHAPTER 2. RACIAL CAPITALISM, REGIME POWER, & COLLABORATIVE RATIONALITY IN PLANNING

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 is a theoretical/conceptual paper that defines racial capitalism and regime power. It also highlights key planning theories, practices, and mechanisms that support the analysis. It is informed by a thorough literature review of urban and regional planning and development concepts to answer the question of how capital flows, switches, cycles, and fixes are conceived of by planning and critical race theory scholars. The work of critical race theorists, critical geographers, and other scholars of radical planning and the Black radical tradition are operationalized and cited. The paper offers a political economic analysis of regime power under racial capitalism that points to direct democratic interventions into the neoliberal political economy as potential remedies for poverty, incarceration, and poor health outcomes.

This paper introduces critical theories of race, planning, and public policy to the planning dialogue as approaches that produce a more synthesized and coherent understanding of the relationship between collaborative planning and the political economy. The paper starts with a definition of racial capitalism and highlights the processes and institutions that reify it within the current political economy, which connects the concept to regime power in planning. It offers overview of the political economy contexts under which planning has occurred and a summary of critiques of current communicative and collaborative planning practices, particularly in neoliberal contexts. It

discusses how communicative/collaborative rationality and planning facilitate regime power and therefore racial capitalism. The final section concludes with suggestions for how grassroots actors can contend with the regime power factors embedded in the political economy using cooperative rationality. Deeper understanding of communicative/collaboratively rational planning strategies as capitalist regime power factors (and the racism embedded therein) can help grassroots actors better contend with neoliberal contexts.

Political economy is best understood as an "economy policy regime" that can be described through its economic base, institutional forms, and an ideological superstructure that work together to ensure the desired outcomes of those in power (Gordon Nembhard 2008; Tauheed 2008). Common features of a political economy include how property is defined (economic base), how the relationship between in the individual and the collective is understood (institutional forms), and how capital is transformed and mobilized for common purposes (capital flows, transfers, and fixes). Racial capitalism has emerged as a useful framework through which to understand the political economy of the U.S. (and other) contexts (Dantzler 2021; Leong 2013; Robinson 2019). While the levers and forms shift and change, the underlying primacy of racialized violence for the purposes of expropriation remain. With this understanding, the U.S. political economy context has evolved out of settler colonial and plantation regime politics, into forms that allow for more voice and participation, yet still retains the features that allow White, male, landowners to maintain control over vast amounts of resources.

2.2 Industrialization, spatialization and the cycles of capitalist urban development

Urbanization is a capitalist process of embedding over accumulated capital into the built environment (Harvey 1989; Brenner and Schmid 2014; Sewell 2016). The export-based markets upon which the urban process is based has and continues to dominate the economic activity and outlook of settled and colonized areas (Hecklescher 1919; Ohlin 1933; North 1955; North 1956; Myrdal 1957). These commodity markets are built upon enslavement and genocide, as well as collaboration, often through coercion (Coburn 2016), which structures the participation of indigenous peoples into the economy of the dominant social group. These social groups derive power from international imperial powers establishing their industrial domination through war, politics, and culture.

The cycles of capital can be seen throughout history along spatial and temporal scales. When an urban environment goes through all three circuits, it completes a cycle of accumulation and spatialization that is marked by crises which must be resolved by new or additional economic, political, and social infrastructure for accumulation. It is from this point that non-capitalist actors within these agglomerations of capital often engage in land use decision making. The cycles of capital reinforce the concepts of rent and wages through the collaboratively rational decision-making processes of capital switching and spatial fixing. Whether through international markets, regional expansion, or urban renewal, the primacy of neoclassical economics and capitalism ensures that surplus capital is accumulated primarily through industrial development.

Spatialization in the urban process under capitalism is reliant on the power of the state to expropriate capital from land and labor and inscribe it into the built environment. Inherent to spatialization is the power of state to valorize capital (Fields and Raymond 2021; Dantzler 2021), that is, to assign higher or lower values to property. This has been

described as filtering (Smith 1987) and the valuation of property is according to the needs of the dominant class. While industrialization and spatialization are inherently political processes, the economic process are justified by theories that normalize an abstract market, equilibrium prices, and supply and demand driven producer-consumer relationships.

2.2.1 Neoclassical economics: markets, prices, rent and wages

Neoclassical economics is a theory of the market whereby exchange between individual self-interested actors is regulated by prices which find equilibrium through multiple exchanges. The idea that capitalism is based on the functioning of "free" markets is a misconception that belies the role of government in constructing and shaping market activity. Theoretical conditions, such as the rational, self-interested market actor, are also common neoclassical economic assumptions. These assumptions are used to make economic predictions and modeling economic activity. These neoclassical economic theories justify capitalism and have tremendous power in how people understand and relate to the economy as workers, consumers, and entrepreneurs (Gordon Nembhard 2008; Tauheed 2008). Whereas policies set the prices of goods, not the market, Tauheed (2011) argues that the field of economics is constrained by quantitative methods that do not easily allow for economic modeling of non-neoclassical assumptions.

While phenomena such as unemployment, lack of access to capital, and credit shortages are market failures with structural and political causes, often personal responsibility is ascribed to their impact on people of color (Tauheed 2008). Economists will use neoclassical models in "microeconomics and general equilibrium theory [to] presuppose that a single set of causal factors underlies economic phenomena [and treat]

other relevant causal factors as disturbing causes (Tauheed 2008, 725).” These ideas bear little relevance to the actual function and complexity of economics institutions for production, consumption, and social reproduction (such as prison and incarceration) in society.

Black political economists argue that “standard economic theory, of the capitalist or Marxist variety,” is at odds with political economic systems that center Black people because of it their overreliance on “a single predominant causal factor, self-interested maximization or class struggle, respectively (Tauheed 2008, 725).” DuBois (1935), Robinson (2000), Omi and Winant (2014) confirm in their analyses that White supremacy intentionally forms the logic of the alliances between the White “labor aristocracy,” and capitalists, globally and domestically.

In The Urban Experience, Harvey (1989) first describes rent as “a side-payment allowed to landowners to preserve the sanctity and inviolability of private property in general, and private ownership of the means of production in particular” (1989: 93). He argues that the sanctity and inviolability of private property and ownership are fundamental to capitalist mode of production and therefore to the development of cities. He calls this the urbanization of capitalism. Similarly, as described by Marx, wages are the “sum of money paid by the capitalist for a particular labour time or for a particular output of labour (Marx 1885, 204)” According to Marx, “Capital presupposes wage labour; wage labour presupposes capital (Marx 1885, 209).” In these ways, in the development of cities, land and labor are “treated as pure financial asset[s], a form of ‘fictitious capital’ [that] amounts to a property right over some future revenue” (Harvey 1989, 95). Harvey (1989) postulates that there are three circuits of capital that embed accumulated revenues from industrial

activity into the urban environment. The circuits of capital reinforce the concepts of rent and wages through the processes of capital switching and spatial fixing.

2.2.2 Urbanization and the cycles of capital as a complex adaptive system

The literature highlights Harvey's (1989) description of urbanization as cycles of capital which allow capitalists to "accumulat[e] through dispossession (Fields & Raymond 2021; Dantzler 2021)." Harvey (1989) argues that there are three cycles of capitalism – production, consumption, and social reproduction which stem from the violent, colonial, and imperial basis of primitive accumulation. Brenner and Schmid (2015) criticize the tendency to limit understanding of the urban to the cycle of production noting the common "conceptualization of urbanization with exclusive reference to the condition of agglomeration, the spatial concentration of population, means of production, infrastructure and investment within a more or less clearly delineated spatial zone (165)." Their concept of planetary urbanism extends Harvey's concept of cycles to include the idea that within each cycle are cycles of accumulation, institution building, and spatialization. These cycles produce, for the purposes of further accumulation, institutions that systemize decision-making processes involved with capital transfers.

Brenner and Schmid's (2015) argue that urbanization consist of "three mutually constitutive moments - concentrated urbanization, extended urbanization and differential urbanization (166)." In the first cycle of capital, concentrated urbanization occurs whereby "firms, workers and infrastructure cluster together in space during successive cycles of capitalist industrial development (Brenner and Schmid 2015, 166)." Brenner and Schmid (2015) argue that the uneven development that characterizes urbanization manifests not

only in these concentrations of capital, but also in the metropolitan area. Accordingly, the process of extended urbanization entails:

> "(1) [development of] city 'hinterlands' as plans are operationalized to support socioeconomic dynamics of urban life….(2) ongoing construction and reorganization of relatively fixed and immobile infrastructures (in particular, for transportation and communication) across progressively larger zones ….[and] (3) the enclosure of land from established social uses in favor of privatized, exclusionary and profit-oriented modes of appropriation, whether for resource extraction, agro-business, logistics functions or otherwise (Brenner and Schmid 2015, 166)."

Extended urbanization, therefore, "is intimately intertwined with the violence of accumulation by dispossession (often animated and enforced by state institutions through with non-commodified modes of social life are destabilized and articulated to global spatial divisions of labor and systems of exchange (Brenner and Schmid 2015, 167)." Finally, "the differential moment of urbanization puts into relief the intense, perpetual dynamism of capital forms of urbanization, in which sociospatial configurations are tendentially [biased] established, only to be rendered obsolete and eventually superseded through the relentless forward motion of the accumulation process and industrial development (Brenner and Schmid 2015, 167)."

Complex adaptive systems are considered to be iterative and self-regulating, meaning interactions can change to maintain the same or similar system performance; and there are feedback loops that guide interactions towards path dependency. Harvey (1989)

describes the cycles of capital as moving from land uses tied to production, to consumption, and then further to social reproduction. Economic base theory describes how agglomerations of capitalist firms form the base of an export-based economy in the productive cycle of capital. As capital is accumulated in the first cycle; however, rather than redistribute it to workers, or allow for democratic planning through taxation and policy, capitalist firms employ capital switches and spatial fixes to control land uses in second and third cycles of capital as well.

While economic base theory is a useful concept to explain agglomeration and the productive land use cycle of capitalist development, it does not explain the complex power dynamics behind land use decision making in the consumption and social reproduction cycles of urban development (North 1957; Sewell 2016). The goods and services that non-basic firms provide are typically imported from the global capital relationships found throughout the rest of the world. Their land uses, based on consumption, are considered part of the second cycle of capital. These and other land uses such as housing, transit, parks, and other services and amenities that are also created in the second cycle of capital, often rely on institutions to implement.

Institutions serve as iterative, self-regulating and self-reinforcing system adaptations in complex adaptive systems. Institutional capital is defined by political, social, intellectual, and ideological capital (Fung 2006). Institutions therefore embody the hegemonic power of capitalist communicative action by providing socially reproductive feedback loops for land use decision making within urbanizing contexts. Therefore, the choice to direct land uses to re-entrenching export-based, capitalist, neoliberal development, rather than endogenous growth and sustainable development, is rationalized

throughout the planning process by industries and institutions that make development pathways foregone conclusions. Third cycle innovations include, for example universities, museums, bureaucratic offices, media, philanthropic institutions, non-profits and social enterprises, as well as industrial policies, and university collaboratives. As capitalist institutions, they represent accumulated capital from the first and second cycles that can facilitate the social reproduction of the racial capitalist status quo. Land uses for second and third cycle institutions require rationalization and communicative action.

2.2.3 Neoliberalism, networks, and democratic deficits in urban development

While the hegemony of neoclassical economics and the rationality of the free market have faced challenge and resistance through labor organizing, social movements, and outright rebellion during various periods of unrest in history, neoliberalism is marked, according to other scholars by a certain "post-political" environment, whereby outright dissent and unrest is quelled and subdued (Deas 2014; Roy 2015; Fougere and Bond 2018).

With the advent of current forms of neoliberal development, urban regimes and the mechanisms of promoting growth have become more networked and embedded in the third circuit of capital, the area of cultural production and social reproduction. Neoliberal development is characterized by a re-entrenchment of neoclassical models of development in the economy through the privatization of public goods and services. Scholars also highlight features of neoliberalism such as the primacy of networks to facilitate governance, the over-reliance on public-private partnerships, and the increased access to global information and capital flows (Lester and Reckhow 2013). Networks facilitate the inclusion of previously marginalized populations into the dominant regime.

According to Lester and Reckhow (2013), “Networks are distinguished from hierarchical and market forms of organization by a useful set of defining factors. For example, networks are built on reciprocal forms of exchange - actors provide information or resources to one another to support the goals of the network, rather than for economic gain or to follow certain protocol (121).” “Thus, networks depend upon a higher level of goal consensus and normative commitment among actors than other forms of organization in order to maintain the reciprocal exchange among actors.” “Moreover, networks are typically more flexible than hierarchical forms of organization (Lester and Reckhow 2013, 121).” Because urban development is reliant upon a growth machine consisting of multiple different actors acting in their own best interests, urban regimes can be thought of as particular kinds of networks whereby growth and development are the goals.

Taufen and Olson (2020) argue that:

> “to the extent that networks are understood as a new kind of structure, the actions that planners and others take are understood in response to, or in coordination with, that structure…If the network structure is benign, as much of the initial literature and analysis implies, then planning action is (or ought to be) cooperative: how do we manage and collaborate within these new network settings to get things done? If the network structure is more quietly and perniciously oppressive, as critical planning analysts claim, then planning action is or ought to be resistant: how do we frame and empower insurgent ideas, marginalized groups, and redistributive ends to contend with such a setting? If, however, networks are not structure itself, but rather a contingent—if frequently path-dependent—arrangement of people, organizations, things, and patterns of behavior…then perhaps effective planning

action must cooperate and resist, using networks and their enactment to politicize rather than reproduce the reliably unjust conditions of urbanization (3)."

Among the planning scholars who critique communicative and collaborative planning in political economy contexts, analyses suggest that neoliberalism is just a new framework for a familiar system. Purcell (2009) argues that "The doctrine of Neoliberalism is in many ways the reassertion of a classical liberal economic argument: society functions better under a market logic than any other logic, especially a state-directed one' (141)." However, because liberal democracies "claim that all citizens are equally valued and carry equal voice" yet foundationally exist on unequal markets designed to exploit and extract human and natural resources, Purcell (2009) contends that the social inequality that is manifested by the market economy produces "democratic deficits" in governance and land use decision making (Purcell 2009). Gunder (2010) and Purcell (2009), suggest that this ideology has required constant reassertion and reification to manage resistance from the local to national levels. This is supported by regime and regulation literature which describes modes of social reproduction for the dominant economy (Peck and Tickell 1995). Under a racial capitalist political economy, there are political and economic crises that lead to new economic and/or political ideas, and then new economic and political policies and practices.

The landscape of communicative interactions and planning between the individuals, institutions and infrastructure in the first, second, and third cycles of capital have been described more recently as networks (Taufen and Olson 2020; Lester and Reckhow 2013)." Taufen and Olson (2020) contrast the traditional notions of governance as "highly bounded, hierarchical, and bureaucratic (Taufen and Olson 2020, 3)" with networks noting that

“networks are described as able to capture a far more complex reality, where public and private actors, nested scales of authority, and regional, national, and global flows of capital and imperatives populate local governing institutions (Taufen and Olson 2020, 3)."

In neoliberal contexts, “the loss of hierarchical authority characteristic of the traditional state has been accompanied by a “hollowing out” of state power and resources (Campbell, Tait, and Watkins 2014; Harvey 2005). “The eras of communicative planning, collaborative governance, and the New Public Management brought with them a new conceptual frame for theory and practice: networks (Agranoff 2006; Booher and Innes 2002; Hajer and Wagenaar 2003).” Nevertheless, "in [the network model of] collaborative planning while the structure [and configuration of capital flows] may have changed (flat and multi-nodal, as opposed to tiered and vertically linear), the actions and outcomes that it privileges, and power dynamics that it bolsters or justifies, have not changed (Purcell 2009; Watson 2014; Weir, Rongerude, and Ansell 2008; Taufen and Olson 2020, 3)."

Here we see how regime power and collaborative rationality have come to dominate the local landscape of land use decision-making. While, “as federal government programs to help poor communities were replaced by a plethora of block grants, local state agencies, non-profit corporations, religious organizations, philanthropic foundations, and for-profit firms, neoliberals claimed they had freed communities from the tyranny of central state control and created a more democratic, ‘grassroots’ alternative (Purcell 2009, 146).” This “marketization” of government services has not led to more democracy. The democratic deficits are persistent as “neoliberalization has increasingly shaped state policy to benefit capital rather than citizens (Purcell 2009, 143).” Purcell (2009) “As a result, it has produced an acute political problem: how to legitimate itself as it dismantles welfare systems,

increases inequality, and unleashes into urban political life the harsh relations of market competition. It is necessary, therefore, to understand neoliberalization [and all market-based economies] not just as a concrete policy agenda to retrench welfare and assist capital, but also as a successful ideological project to establish neoliberal [market-based] assumptions as dominant (Harvey 2005) (Purcell 2009, 143)." He contends, "Communicative planning, insofar as it is rooted in communicative action, is just such a decision-making practice (Purcell 2009, 141).

Gunder (2010) attempts to "demonstrate how planning policy practice is largely deployed as a mechanism that shapes our identifications with, and of, space." He argues for an "ideological critique [of] planning's contemporary and evolving role of defining the use of space and that this is a space currently dominated by the values and logic of global capitalism: neoliberalism (Gunder 2010, 299)." He agrees with Purcell (2009) that "'The doctrine of Neoliberalism is in many ways the reassertion of a classical liberal economic argument: society functions better under a market logic than any other logic, especially a state-directed one' (Purcell 2009, 141)."

2.3 Planning and the production of race: racialization, racial caste, and racial capitalism

A racial capitalist political economy is one where human capital and physical capital are abstracted and alienated from their embodied and indigenous forms and defined (exchanged, used, transformed into) as fungible commodities in cycles of capital markets. Constantly assailing the land stewardship and self-determination of indigenous populations, racial capitalism in the U.S. creatively reinvents itself through policies and

practices of democracy, republicanism, progressive and liberal policies, practices, and ideologies.

The literature highlights Harvey's (1989) description of urbanization as cycles of capital which allow for capitalists to "accumulat[e] through dispossession (Fields & Raymond 2021; Dantzler 2021)." Harvey (1989) argues that there are three cycles of capitalism – production, consumption, and social reproduction which stem from the violent, colonial, and imperial basis of primitive accumulation. These cycles produce, for the purposes of further accumulation, institutions that systemize decision-making processes involved with capital transfers. Fields and Raymond (2021) note Harvey's expansion of primitive accumulation from its Marxian roots in the pre-history, or as a precondition of capitalism. Harvey (1987), they write, "points to the persistence of primitive accumulation within capitalism (74)." They add that "primitive accumulation was not only needed to jumpstart capitalism; [but that] capitalism must routinely turn to dispossession of non-capitalist and/or underdeveloped places and populations as a means of forestalling crisis and securing further accumulation (Harvey 2003; Luxemburg 2014; Fraser 2018)."

Despite this revision, Fields and Raymond (2021) along with Dantzler (2021) argue that Harvey misses the mutually constitutive nature of race in the built urban environment of capitalism. It is a central feature of capitalism and is reproduced by processes inherent to capitalism (Field and Raymond 2021). Harris (1993) offers a historically grounded understanding of production of property in policymaking in Whiteness as Property. Fields and Raymond (2021) add to the analysis, noting that racial differentiation is fundamentally a spatial process "whereby the sorting and separation of social groups into distinct

geographies serves as the basis for racialized expropriation (Melamed 2015; Gilmore 2002; Elwood 2006)."

Race is politically created to pre-determine the social relations between people in regards to their occupation, location, movement, and participation (Mowatt 2019). The production of abstract space is a feature of capitalist economic development and planning. The concept of "property as an abstraction" includes private property, public property, and Whiteness as property (Harris 1993). As McCann (1999) argues, "In this regard, Lefebvre's concept of "abstract space"—space represented by elite social groups as homogeneous, instrumental, and ahistorical in order to facilitate the exercise of state power and the free flow of capital—lends itself to a discussion of the manner in which downtown business spaces in U.S. cities are exclusionary territories dominated by White, middle-class males (1999, 164)." McCann (1999) contends that "In order for such a space to become dominant [instrumental], two major processes must occur. First, there must be concerted attempt to define the appropriate meaning of, and suitable activities that can take place within, abstract space (169)." This is the inherent goal of planning.

2.3.1 Race, racialization, and racial caste

Sewell (2016) describes race-racism reification as a process whereby racist relational structures such as property and wages; lead to harmful ecological environments, such as ghettos and suburbs; and furthermore to isolating institutions such as universities, museums, and stadia which serve to recreate the racist dynamics upon which they were founded. Dantzler (2021) agrees citing DuBois' argument that "racial stratification is a fundamental feature of the modern city, urbanization and urban migration (DuBois 1935;

Dantzler 2021).” Dantzler (2021) points to further literature that emphasizes DuBois’ observations about how the “socially-constructed racial hierarchy of the United States shaped the material conditions of industrial cities (Loughran 2015; Dantzler 2021, 130).”

A critical capitalist institution therefore has been the development of race and the racialization process. Racialization is “an ideological process, the purpose of which is to provide a racialised labour force which maintains capitalist structures, attendant inequalities and divisions amongst the working class (Cole 2012, 2017a; Walton 2020, 84).” As a part of the political economy, racialization serves to reinforce the foundational power dynamics of society. Sewell (2016) argues that racialization is a “race-racism reification” process of extraction and accumulation based on the race-based spatialization of capital. Mowatt (2019) agrees offering that race is both socially constructed and spatially produced through geographies of domination; violently keeping with its foundations in expropriating labor from an enslaved labor force, and expropriating land through genocide and enclosure. The racialization process creates a caste system of role delegation in the production of goods and services at the export market industrial scale. It also creates site of concentrated poverty; a politically motivated segregation of wages and rents by land uses for the purposes of revaluation and fixation of over accumulated financial capital.

Harvey’s (1989) urbanization of capital framework provides a useful tool for analyzing the racialization of land use decision making in urban development. Institutions reproduce racial capitalism through dispossession, displacement, disinvestment, and disenfranchisement; transfers and switches of capital over cycles of time starting with production, moving to consumption and cycling back to production. The land use decision making that accompanies the production, consumption, and social reproduction cycles of

capital connect and overlap imperial, colonial, plantation based economic development with local and indigenous land uses. Commodities are created as capital markets alienate human and physical resources from their use values and define them as capital by their exchange values as financial, social, political, intellectual, cultural/ideological and built environment expressions of power.

Dantzler (2021) attends to the base, forms, and superstructure of the urban political economy. While Dantzler (2021) contends that racial capitalism is a political economy with race-based cycles of dispossession and displacement at the root, the work prompts further analysis of the circuits of racial capitalism within the capitalist production, consumption, and social reproduction cycles. Dantzler (2021) argues that the circuits of capitalist production creates racialized actors in the material laborer and the racial capitalist. McCann (1999) offers a definition of racialization as "an ongoing process in which subjective identity and material urban spaces exist in a mutually constitutive relationship." A key feature of racialization is abstraction, a term that describes the violent process of making people and places instrumental, ahistorical, and exclusionary (homogenous) to serve capitalism.

Fields and Raymond (2021) describe financialization as the abstraction of people and places into fungible categories that allows the state and other capitalist entities to extract value. Fields and Raymond (2021) note that racial capitalism depended as much on the "production and negotiation of difference[is in place] as it has through enforce[ment of] sameness, standardization, and homogenization (Hall 2017; quoted in Virdee 2019, 9)." There is a nuanced distinction between race as the static product of a caste system and the racialization process. Most people experience race as static category because phenotype

and genealogy converged to justify race as a classification system for hierarchical stratification. Understanding racialization as a process that continually produces the justification for race-based striation, however, allows for deeper understanding of the habitus, or cultural capital required to maintain its reproduction (Moulaert and Cabaret 2006).

Organizational sociologist Paul Goodman (1973) defines caste as "ascriptive status and occupational recruitment on the basis of religious or racial criteria." Writing about the American caste system, he notes that there are differences between "mental" workers and "production" workers that outweigh the fact that "neither owns or controls the means of production and both receive compensation in the form of wages or salaries determined by their superiors (Goldman 1973)." Nevertheless, "by virtue of different lifestyles, personal biographies, and, most important, relatively limited vertical mobility (Goldman 1973)," "mental" workers constitute a higher class within the non-capitalist class.

While the social and economic upward mobility of individuals are lauded features in the discourse of the U.S. economic system, the chances of this mobility is low. The Equality of Opportunity Project, for example, documented the low mobility rates of children in the South noting that "the chance of a child moving from the bottom to top quartile in Atlanta is 4.5 percent." Concentrated poverty and racial segregation are named as key indicators, among others, for areas with low economic mobility. Poverty and segregation, however, are not accidental or incidental. Jim Crow laws prohibiting where Black people could live, work, and recreate; followed by redlining, urban renewal, and suburbanization provide evidence for the notion that racism "serves as a mechanism by which capitalistic visions of society are justified and actualized (Sewell 2016)."

Sewell (2016) contends that the first cycle of industrial production is where racist relational structures are first created and defined. Harmful ecological environments are then created based on those structures through the second cycle of consumption. Finally, isolating racial and ethnic institutions are created to reify and reproduce the divisions and stratifications created by the cycles of production and consumption. This paper argues that the social and political and ideological power of racism brought by European settlers and colonizers generated first cycle institutions (corporations, banks, States) which racialized humans and physical capital into financial capital. The ideological power manifests as second sector institutions (neighborhood, real estate, community associations) which transform social, political, and financial capital into built environment capital of varying ecological values for consumption. Third sector institutions include nonprofits, universities, museums which transform intellectual capital into the other forms of capital through further domination of the built environment.

McCann (1991) offers that "The production of public space can be seen, then, as a continual struggle between the state and capital trying to produce and maintain a seemingly homogeneous but fundamentally contradictory abstract space, on the one hand, and subaltern groups, often working through oppositional elements in the media, asserting their "counter-spaces" and constructing their "counter-publics," on the other (Lefebvre 1991, 381-385)." He further notes that, "In the U.S. city this process of contestation and struggle is fundamentally and inescapably racialized and entails not merely the making of certain streets as "White" or "Black" spaces but simultaneously the social construction of subjective identity and political activity through spatiality (McCann 1999)."

While much attention has been given to abstraction and describing "abstract space," this paper focuses on the purposes that the production of abstract space serves; and how its features facilitate domination of market-based economies. As actors in urban regimes, these cross-sector institutions create industrial complexes that facilitate economic growth by inscribing accumulated profits from capitalist industrial development into the spatial form (Harvey 1989; Krugman 1998) in ways that further isolate populations for continued expropriation (Sewell 2016).

2.3.2 Regime power, urban growth machines, and the reproduction of race

Regime politics proliferate in places with imperial, plantation, and settler colonial legacies of power, distribution and governance in land-use and labor-market decision making. As it is described by Fields and Raymond (2021) and Dantzler (2021), the power of the state to extract value is called expropriation. By creating an enabling environment for capitalists to implement neo-classical, neoliberal, market-based activities, regimes structure relationships and institutions in ways that impede residents and policy makers who care about wages, housing, and public investments in job creation and infrastructure (Sutton 2019). Urban regimes generate spatially and temporally inequitable land, consumer, and labor market based economic activity through collaboratively designed policies and institutions that define, control, and decide how capital resources are distributed.

Regimes regulate the relationship between accumulation at different scales by regulating land (physical capital) and labor (human capital). Peck and Tickell (1995) contend that there are local modes of social reproduction that must exist in balance with

regional and national forces in order for development, however uneven, to occur. Rather than focusing on the relative success or failure of multiple interest groups grappling for power and influence over policy-making, the focus of urban regime theory is on the social reproduction of power. By analyzing the "informal arrangements that surround and complement the formal workings of government authority (Stone 1998, 3)," regime theorists find that the major incentive for actors with control over resources is solidifying the mechanisms of "getting things done," namely, executing projects that grow the city or regional economy (Stone 1993, 1998).

A particular mode of social reproduction is what Molotch (1976) describes as a growth machine, which are "localities...that attempt to maintain the kind of 'business climate' that attracts industry." Firms are attracted to a climate that lowers their costs, such as low minimum wages and low property taxes (Molotch 1976, 312). In Product-cycle Model: A Critique, Taylor (1986) criticizes localities that attempt to mimic areas that already have high growth industries by recreating their physical conditions, including "freeways, parkland settings, good schooling, executive housing, golf courses, convenient access to airports, a nearby university, and so on." (Searle 1985; Taylor 1986).

To facilitate the conditions for growth, growth machines are indicated by coordination among urban actors as varied as leading elite organizations, active civic and business organizations, growth promoting local media, active neighborhood associations, technically informed local officials, encouraging government officials, cooperation between business groups and local government, as well as a strong municipal administrative bureaucracy (Logan et al. 1999, 79-80). Logan et al. (1999) add that a "pro-growth coalition typically brings together landowners and land developers - often those

with concentrated investments in old or emerging business districts where potential land values are highest - and...is typically reinforced by local utility companies, construction unions, news media, and even cultural organizations like sports teams, theater companies, and universities" (1999, 89).

Molotch (1976) offers an explanation of growth regimes that focuses on the ways local business interests build coalitions and foster support for their agendas. Stone (1989) describes the alliances and compromises between White business elites and middle class Black voters that made Atlanta a global, metropolitan city as an urban regime. Stone (1989) writes: "The greater the ability of a regime arrangement to contribute to and coordinate project efforts, the more other elements of the community are attracted to 'going along'….Politically, that enables the large coordinating capacity to divide and rule over small capacities….thus, not going along means surrendering opportunities, particularly if one coordinating capacity dominates the civic scene (235)."

Regime theorists name urban regimes based on the outcomes they are able to engender through the resources they are able to mobilize. The types of regimes Stone (1993) identifies include: 1) maintenance (of the status quo), 2) development (or growth), 3) middle class progressive (balancing growth with social outcomes), and 4) lower class opportunity expansion (i.e., community organizing). In Blues and Plantation Power, Woods (1998) discusses plantation regimes as the White supremacist (using race and resources) control over rural land in the U.S. South. The "institutional rents" they were able to extract at the state and county levels through their relationships with elected officials at the state, county, and federal levels impacted the growth and the development of cities and rural areas across the U.S. South.

McCann (1999) again offers a useful analysis of Lefebvre production of space in order to explain how cities require tacit consent from the occupants and residents.

"As Lefebvre puts it, in a passage that speaks directly to why the protests in downtown Lexington were so shocking to most residents of the city, '[Abstract space] implies a tacit agreement, a non-aggression pact, a contract, as it were, of non-violence. It imposes reciprocity and a communality of use. In the street, each individual is supposed not to attack those he [sic] meets; anyone who transgresses this law is deemed guilty of a criminal act. A space of this kind presupposes the existence of a "spatial economy" closely allied, though not identical, to a verbal economy. This economy valorizes certain relationships between people in particular places (shops, cafes, cinemas, etc.), and thus gives rise to connotative discourses concerning these places; these in turn generate "consensuses" or conventions according to which, for example, such and such a place is supposed to be trouble-free, a quiet area where people go peacefully to have a good time, and so forth (Lefebvre 1991, 56)' (McCann 1991, 169)."

Federated governance institutions such as the U.S. and State Constitutions; Congress and General Assemblies; and the Federal Reserve banking system provide the framework for the policies and bureaucracy required for the operation of capitalism. As the goal of capitalism is further accumulation by dominant class groups, these institutional and ideological financialization processes facilitate the accumulation of capital primarily through the expropriation of human (labor) and physical (land) capital from racialized populations.

However, regimes facilitate the inclusion and/or exclusion of certain actors from urban accumulation by subverting and co-opting oppositional and alternative development strategies. A notable strand in contemporary planning literature is the debate surrounding communicative and collaborative planning, its foundations and origins, and its role in strengthening or mitigating the power dynamics that permeate society (Gunder 2010; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Purcell 2009, 141). Communicative planning and communicative rationality rests on theories of power [a Habermasian theory of power] which contend[s] that domination is secured through how our values are embedded and communicated not only in our speech, actions, and responses, but also through our institutions and information networks (Friedmann 1987, 1989; Gunder 2010). Bolton (2005) emphasizes Habermas' theory of rationalization as part of the communicative action process. He explains, "rationalization is a process in which claims of validity increasingly are exposed to criticism and discussion rather than accepted merely on faith. When the cultural stock of knowledge is strong… (15)," it may be that the society that is constructed is "immune from critique (15)."

The resultant planning theory and practices focuses on deliberative discourse, reducing information and power distortions, and introducing values into dialogues where they were previously ignored (Bolton 2005; Fung 2005; Rydin 2007; Bäcklund and Mäntysalo 2010; Brand and Gaffikin 2007). According to Bolton (2005), "Habermas provides a theoretical basis for a view of planning that emphasizes widespread public participation, sharing of information with the public, reaching consensus through public dialogue rather than exercise of power, avoiding privileging of experts and bureaucrats,

and replacing the model of the technical expert with one of the reflective planner (Bolton 2005, 2)."

As part of the function of planning and development in the public domain, the government must be regarded as an actor that provides comparative and competitive advantages in land use decision making processes through everchanging policies, plans, programs, and projects (Friedmann 1987). State power is a critical mechanism of accumulation, and therefore race based expropriation. For example, Zaimi (2020) argues that "the professionalisation of real estate was pivotal for realtors' consolidation of the class power necessary to realise class-monopoly rent. Through appraisal, the industry (re)produced and instrumentalized racial difference to construct markets whose routine operation could generate the residential differentiation crucial for profit (1540)."

Studies on displacement document the ways that public subsidies set the conditions for and catalyze displacement in development processes (Zuk et al. 2018, 32). Governmental policies have "played a key role in creating these patterns by directing public and private capital in ways that advantage some and disadvantage other neighborhoods (Rose 1984; Harvey 2001; Smith 1982; Zuk et al. 2018, 32)," effectively facilitating "neighborhood disinvestment and subsequent decline...in lower-income inner-city neighborhoods (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008; Hamnett 1991; Lees 2000; Zuk et al. 2018, 32)." Zuk et al further note that "Government working in conjunction with private actors makes up the larger political economy that aims to accumulate capital through land use management and city development, echoing the idea of the city as a "growth machine" (Logan and Molotch 1987; Smith 1996) (Zuk et al. 2018, 32)"

Regime and regulation theory therefore help explain the government's communicative action, or role, in supporting the basic sector in order to promote the growth of the economy. Regimes provide local modes of social reproduction for complex flows of global capital in order to stabilize the inherently unstable relationships between local actors in uneven development conditions (Peck and Tickell 1995). These modes include formal community engagement and participation policies, public hearings and forums, and platforms for decision-making about allocation of resources; as well as informal relationships, boards, and associations for coordination and consensus-building. According to Fung (2006, 67) "decision making in a complex urban development project, for example, often results from interactions among multiple arenas, such as planning such as planning agencies, stakeholder negotiations, neighborhood councils, and public hearings. (Fung 2006, 67).

In capitalist urban development cycles, hegemonic power relations are seen in the growth machines and urban regimes that drive land use decision making. Urban regimes direct and restrict access to capital and coordination capacity by creating informal networks around formal decision-making actors. The decision making and agenda setting framework that is set by the state, along with the connection and interactions between the actors in the informal networks shape the felt needs of the population; often providing coordinating capital for small projects to elements who might otherwise have contending land use decision making interests. The result is a complex adaptive system whereby despite complex interactions and engagements among various actors, or claims to liberal democracy, the equilibrium of the social, political, and economic system maintains a

commitment to dominating land uses despite overtures of equity, sustainability, and democratic process.

Treating urban regimes like complex adaptive systems means they can be categorized by describing the different actors involved; the nature of their interactions; and the principles or rules that govern the system's behaviors (Moroni 2015; Chettiparamb 2006) U.S. society and urban centers are described using racial capitalism because they involve racialized actors as the material laborer (formerly enslaved, worker) and the racial capitalist (producers); racialized interactions such as segregation, urban renewal, suburbanization; and rely on race-based cycles of capital extraction and accumulation . Arguably, the system of racial capitalism resists disruption of its overall intention by rationalizing communicative action in land use planning and development throughout the cycles of capital.

Thus urban contexts stay true to their nature as complex adaptive systems, even as networks. Complex adaptive systems are considered to be iterative and self-regulating, meaning interactions can change to maintain the same or similar system performance. The field of planning has therefore used a number of different rationalities to theorize about the power of collective decision making, as well as the analyses and actions that lead to development (Albretcht 2003; Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003). From comprehensive, instrumental, communicative, and strategic rationality, planning theories abound to rationalize complex systemic outcomes.

2.3.3 Collaborative and communicative rationality: communicative action and racial capitalism

Purcell (2009) explains the Habermasian ideal is that "Communicative action should aim at creating what he calls 'the ideal speech situation' (Habermas 2001, 102). That ideal requires that all participants transparently articulate what they really believe; that power differences between participants be neutralized for the purposes of deliberation; that all participants affected by the decision participate in it meaningfully; that everyone has an equal chance to participate in deliberation; that each must be willing to empathize with the arguments of others; and that everyone aim to achieve the good of all rather than their particular self-interest (Cohen 1997; Cunningham 2001; Flyvbjerg 1998a; Habermas 1990, 1993; Purcell 2009, 149)

Collaborative planning and rationality as a separate planning theory from communicative planning also rests on communicative rationality's assumptions of hegemonic power; however, the planning practices lean towards consensus building and collaborative planning processes with explicit or informal negotiations and mediations (Hillier 2003; Innes and Booher 2003; Tewdwr-Jones 1998). Collaborative planning is described as a process whereby diverse, yet interdependent actors come together in authentic dialogue to accomplish a goal or make collective decisions (Innes and Booher 2003; 2010). In planning literature, achieving collaborative rationality is described as a planner led or mediated process in which professional planners and mediators can ensure that a broad range of stakeholders are at the table and that the ideal speech conditions, which allow for authentic dialogue, are met (Innes and Booher 2003).

Meeting the ideal speech conditions for collaborative rationality links it to communicative rationality in that "the deliberations must be characterized by engagement among agents so that they can mutually assure that their claims are legitimate, accurate,

comprehensible, and sincere (Innes and Booher 2010, 36)." The results of the authentic dialogue in collaborative processes include relationships, reciprocity, learning, and creativity as well as adaptations to the entire system in a double loop learning process (Innes and Booher 2003). The adaptations to the system are realized as shared identities, shared meanings, new ways of operating, and innovations (Innes and Booher 2003; 2010).

Innes and Booher (2010) acknowledge that "in practice it is not uncommon for powerful agents to exclude some affected interests or perspectives," and contend that "when this happens, the results of the dialogue are likely to be infeasible, uninformed, or unjust (36)." However they argue that the: "many examples of processes that are called 'collaboration' fail to meet the conditions of authentic dialogue….either because they do not have the expertise to do this, or because outside pressures such as political posturing (strategic communication) or media attention lead to distortion in the necessary speech conditions (Innes and Booher 2010, 37)." This means that the shared identities, shared meanings, new ways of operating, and innovations that arise from collaborative processes are typically skewed towards those already in power. Embedded in this assessment is an acknowledgement that there are always larger systematic contexts that impact planner-led collaborative processes.

The urban environment is described as a complex adaptive system, in which there exists notions of feedback loops, cycles, and equilibrium which respond to stimuli that may be emergent, iterative, and self-reinforcing (Innes and Booher 2010; Schneider and Somers 2006). This means that decision-making processes create feedback loops that helps the system tend towards its former equilibrium. Communicative and collaborative rationality, therefore, cannot escape the hegemony of the dominant political economy; and

collaborative processes can reinforce the inequitable market structure in which they are operating (Moulaert and Cabaret 2006). Collaborative and communicative planning are critiqued as neoliberal devices whereby dissent is subsumed by processes that bring diverse actors to the table without facilitating fundamental changes in strategy, approach, or resource allocation (Roy 2015).

Indeed, as Bolton (2005) argues, as lifeworld is colonized by the system, social capital is primarily a strength of in group bonds as language, norms, and practices shape group participation in development. In connecting groups for communicative action, the rationalization process places priority on the framework as communicated by the group in power. Bolton (2005) contends, "Some planning theorists believe a desideratum of planning is the encouragement of communicative action to facilitate the production of social capital (3)." He cites Habermas' notion that the accomplishments of this production of social capital are represented by the mechanisms for coordinating action and interpretation in the planning process (Habermas 1984, 101; Bolton 2005, 3).

As described, communicative rationality and collaborative planning provide a solid foundation for the maintenance and reproduction of social capital in racial capitalism. The social capital developed by the process, however, is more linking social capital than bonding or bridging (Putnam et al 2004; DeFilippis 2001). Linking social capital connects an ingroup to people in positions of power, which helps get things done. Bonding social capital strengthens ties within a group, and bridging social capital strengthens ties between groups. Through policies and institutions that impose alienation, abstraction, segregation, and filtering as described above, collaborative rationality makes linking social capital the dominant option for coordination in urban development. Racialization is therefore a

traumatic experience which impacts the communication, coordination, and cooperation of members within marginalized groups by fracturing resource sharing elements of within group bonding social capital, and between group bridging social capital thereby enforcing links to power holders.

In describing the differences between collaborative planning and communicative planning, Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones (2002) argue that in the U.S., the autonomy granted to local governments over land uses lends itself more to "informal negotiations" for consensus and alignment building; whereas in the UK, there are formal institutions that bring stakeholders together for the mediation of local land use decision-making (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002, 8). Accordingly, Healey's theorizing about communicative rationality in collaborative planning in the UK focuses more on the potential to transform existing structures and institutions; while communicative planning in the U.S. as described by Forester "focuses more on agency and the mechanisms and direct outcomes of interpersonal relations (Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002, 8)."

Forrester (1980) agrees that the ideal speech conditions can be distorted by power. There is a larger context of power which dictates which interests and at what levels of interdependence are incorporated into the regime. According to Forrester, power operates by limiting the decisions, shaping the agenda, and constraining the felt needs of the people involved in planning (Forrester 1980). These attention shaping efforts could be thought of as occurring in the first, second, or third cycles of capital. With each cycle, communicative action by the actors involved in decision making either reinforces, or impedes regime desired outcomes. Moulaert and Cabaret (2006) reference Bourdieu's description of the relationship between real and symbolic (cultural) power through the

work of habitus as "a set of structures and habitual ways of understanding which are characteristic and constitutive of a society or group…The dispositions incline agents to act and react in certain [acceptable] ways (63)." Regime actors learn and implement particular strategies to maintain their hegemonic dominance over capital. Inserting power into the framework of collaborative rationality produces a framework for understanding how urban regimes operate using collaboratively rational processes in cities as complex adaptive systems.

Therefore, while authentic dialogue can be framed through the lens of a planner centered process, expanding the framework offers the viewpoint that wherever an exchange between actors produces an understanding about the nature of those relationships, an authentic dialogue has occurred. This creates space for understanding how even violent processes of settler colonialism, rebellions, and other forms of direct action operate through the lens of collaborative rationality. The actors who created property rights, and chartered corporations engaged in "authentic dialogue" with natives and indigenous people to the land to create treaties and land use agreements. Experience from prior interactions revealed that the genocidal threats of settler colonialists and capitalists were sincere and legitimate.

McGovern (2019) encourages "scrutiny of the 'formerly hidden Whiteness' in all urban regimes through the racial dynamics of political discourse [which] may uncover the subtle and not-so-subtle biases that reaffirm White privileges while justifying policies that unfairly burden people of color (McGovern 2019, 13)." Furthermore, understanding authentic dialogue in contexts that produce non-participation in collaborative process, or direct action against particular development projects is important.

What is missing from the collaborative rationality framework, therefore, is the role of power in the collaborative process. Collaborative rationality is an exercise of power within an urban regime and it manifests in the policies leveraged by formal city hall processes, as well as in private, informal meetings, and the organizational structures that spring from their alignment. Miraftab (2015) contends that the concerns of marginalized residents are typically confined to "claims-making actions to 'invited spaces of citizenship' such as the senate, the municipal councils, the planning commission's community hearings, citizen review boards, and NGOs (Miraftab 2015, 223)." Stone (1989) contends that it is the capacity to "get things done" that provides the "small wins" that actors who may not benefit directly from the growth machine trade for their acquiescence to the regime. In growth machines, therefore, the power of capital to facilitate coordination is what drives collaboration.

Given the hegemony of the neoclassical, export-based growth regimes, embedding capital in the spatial environment through the three circuits of capitalism can be understood as collaboratively rational processes. Cities as urban regimes, therefore, behave in collaboratively rational ways when certain actors - local politicians, property owners, developers, corporations, and residents - find their interactions mediated by prior relationships and alignments.

For example, developers, politicians, and real estate agents mediate face-to-face dialogues between their clients and constituents in order to make deals and communicate the next steps that will facilitate growth. New development partners, agreements, and business infrastructure typically result. Therefore, the displacement occurring across major cities and towns worldwide are the result of various forms of authentic dialogue between

institutional actors, leadership, policies, and practices which, while potentially varying in their severity and intention, produce the consistent result of displacing long term residents as investment comes to the area. A power centered understanding, rather than a planner centered concept of authentic dialogue, therefore, helps to illuminate how coordinating capacity is actually negotiated between participants in the system in order to produce the agreements that allow for small projects to be accomplished by certain residents alongside the operating growth machine.

The distinctions that are made between the types of regimes (for example growth regimes versus progressive regimes), can be clarified by understanding the nature of their authentic dialogue, that is, the reciprocal relationships between actors, as well as the institutions and policies they create. Racial capitalism produces displacement regimes in particular which are marked by actors, policies, and institutions that do not act to address the displacement impacts of growth and development.

Critics of collaborative and communicative planning highlight the deemphasis on the power differentials between actors that are brought to the processes. They also highlight the insidious nature of the theory particularly in neoliberal contexts where democratic infrastructure is already hampered by social and economic policies which set the terms of local land use decision making (Tewdwr-Jones 1998; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Gunder 2010; Purcell 2009; Roy 2015; Friedman 1987). While some theorists argue that social capital writ large can be built and mobilized for economic development (Putnam et al. 2004), others, alongside this paper argues that a particular kind of social capital is required to contend with the forces of racial capitalism, regime power, and collaborative rationality (DeFilippis 2001; Gittell and Vidal 1998; Bolton 2005) .

While critical of the way collaborative and communicative planning shows up in state planning processes, some critical planning theorists and scholars miss opportunities to offer a actionable alternative planning paradigm by focusing their descriptions on the primacy and pitfalls of collaborative planning theory and the resultant institutional context, rather than the historical racial, political and economic drivers of the infrastructure (Phelps and Tewdwr-Jones 2000; Roy 2015). A binary understanding of conflict versus consensus building in the political arena position collaborative and communicative planning approaches as oppositional to political economy approaches. while other theorists focus on "the interstitial spaces existing between consensus and conflict [which] reveals a more relational dynamic that positions consensus and conflict as co-constitutive and continuously being shaped by the performance of politics by state and non-state actors (Legacy et al. 2019).

Nevertheless, Gunder (2010) argues that the discourses on communicative and collaborative planning have put political economy approaches to planning into contrast with communicative planning approaches. Citing Healey (1999), Gunder (2010) contrasts the political economy focused planning inquiry on "formal strategies, government structures, and policy instruments" to the communicative planning focus on "the interactive practices through which policy ideas are developed and disseminated, on policy discourses and the social relations of policy practices (Gunder 2010, 299)." The reality is the communicative and collaborative planning are political economy approaches to planning. However, critics of communicative and collaborative planning say as much that there is a sense that if this were acknowledged, communicative and collaborative planning would be

abandoned as an approach taken by planners committed to social change, mobilizing, and transformation (Gunder 2010; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones 2002; Purcell 2009, 141).

Collaborative planning and communicative rationality are displayed in the entrenched grassroots interests found in coalition building and citizen participation through boards and initiatives. Regime and regulation theories attempt to provide a framework for these alignments by describing the political economy through the lens of growth machines and urban regimes, and regional and adaptative governance offer analysis of new institutional and management contexts. Nevertheless, similar analysis of how collaborative and communicative planning can support or hinder the ability of grassroots strategies and actions to contend with the underlying political economy, namely, racial capitalism, and the current neoliberal context should also be made.

According to Purcell (2009), "language is always political; it is distorted by power, and those distortions establish hegemonic relations among participants. That realization leads Mouffe (2000) to conclude that we should not be attempting to progressively eliminate distortion and create non-political communication; rather we should accept that distortion and power is necessarily present in communication. She argues we should seek to mobilize that power, not minimize it. Creating elaborate techniques to reduce distortion and power in communication can never neutralize or eliminate them. But practices of communicative action, because they seek to reduce communicative distortion and power, lead us away from a critical analysis of power in language. (Purcell 2009, 150)."

2.3.4 Educational institutions and prisons as mechanisms of socialization and racialization

In particular, third sector institutions (Clark 2017) such as educational institutions serve as complex mechanisms of capitalist development through research and technical assistance in development. They serve as spatial fixes of accumulated financial capital with extensive campuses, featuring office space, housing for students, and recreational facilities. As nonprofit institutions, they are privately owned; or as public institutions they are state owned. Academic institutions own extensive property in the surrounding communities and are often seen as anchor institutions. They are at times granted powers of eminent domain. Yet, they do not pay property taxes, sale taxes, or contribute to the local tax digest.

Goodman (1973) highlights that educational institutions in particular serve to maintain existing differences between the traditional working and middle classes through racially segregated and isolated schools. He suggests that the unwillingness to apply caste to describe the racialized system in the U.S. may be due to the popular discourse about the American Dream found in the notion that "public education and an emphasis on universalism and achievement are thought to determine life chances (Goodman 1973)."

To plan there is a process of abstraction where what is there is reimagined or reconceptualized beyond what is actually there. To the extent that this includes or not what is already there is often up to the imaginer. The existing paradigm of planning student education teaches students to abstract from the learning environment in ways are capital extractive to local and graduate students, neighborhoods, and long-time residents in particular. Students are expected to provide labor with little pay or benefits in exchange for the idea and possibility of full-time employment from the corporate or public sector. The institutions participate in/recreate the job market hierarchy by providing the training that justifies stratification. Custodial staff, adjunct professors, and graduate students fall at the

bottom of the wage earners in these institutions while graduates are tied into the creative or middle class, upwardly mobile capitalist economy. This is reflective and indicative of a political economy based on racial capitalism.

Collins (1971) uses historical and descriptive studies of schools to explain the link between education and occupational stratification. Collins (1971) argues that "schools are usually founded by powerful or autonomous status [social] groups, either to provide an exclusive education for their own children, or to propagate respect for their cultural values….education is a screening device for employees with desirable (middle class) character and demeanor (82)." The process of urban development is informed by layers of academic policies and data analysis that guide material resource distribution. The role of students in equitable development is therefore critical.

Across the globe, universities have long histories as part of growth machines and urban regimes (Molotch 1976; Elkin 1987; Stone 1989, Mossberger and Stoeker 2001; Hobson 2014). The ability to assemble and mobilize vast amounts of intellectual capital while serving as "anchor institutions" for local businesses and neighborhoods positions them to be critical collaborative planning institutions (Adams 2003). Sociologist Randall Collins (1971) challenges the theoretical arguments for functional theories of educational stratification which are promoted by academic institutions. Collins (1971) does not believe these premises are adequate explanations for educational upgrading, particularly "in a society that has passed the point of initial industrialization (1005)." Neither does the technical-functional approach account for the evidence that better educated employees are not always more productive than their counterparts; that vocational skills, as well as employee retraining, are typically learned on the job (Collins 1971, 76-77); and that "the

quality of schools themselves and the nature of dominant student cultures suggest that schooling is very inefficient as a means of training for work skills (Collins 1971, 76-78)."

Furthermore, the technical-functional approach also does not explain why social origin has "a direct effect on occupational success, even after the completion of education (Collins 1971, 78)" and why this link has remained constant (Collins 1971, 79)." The education system is an outgrowth of conflict between social groups in that it is situated by the role that the carceral system plays as an organizational employer within states and in society. The training and apprenticeship for well compensated skilled labor work (for example, in the building trades) is controlled by labor unions; and academic standards are set and enforced by the state. While early labor movements were marked by the attempt to connect the interests of White and Black workers, after the violent repression of worker organizing, and the expansion of the military industrial complex, White laborers made concessions to White capitalists which amounted to excluding Black workers and their leadership from their negotiating power (Harris 1993). Correspondingly, the power of districts and states to set educational standards is matched by their legislative and fiscal power over state prisons.

The United States has the highest per capita number of inmates in the world and over two-thirds of that population is black or from a racial minority status group in the U.S. Over 90% of the prison population is being housing in state-regulated facilities. The over inflated role of the prison system as a functional part of society has been termed the "prison industrial complex" and the relationship between education and incarceration has become known recently as the "school to prison pipeline." Abolitionist educator Love (2019) explains that "America's deep entrenchment in [the] racist ideas that produce

discriminatory policies [such as] ‘mass incarceration, beatings, and the killings of Black people by law enforcement’ is the same reality that functions as a site of dispensability for dark people in American schools (Love 2019, 39).”

The prevalence of school closings in urban neighborhoods and the “Zero Tolerance” model of discipline in corporate charter schools is supported by this aspect of conflict theory (Shange 2019). Montessori schools which allow for student creativity and self-direction, while typically also producing high achieving students are not being encouraged as the standard to implement in failing or turnaround schools. Rather, a model which promotes conformity and discipline are the socializing norms for the education of low wealth/income Black children.

The cycles of capital link labor market institutions like unions and professional associations to educational institutions for human capital and technological research and development. Prisons, museums, universities, parks, mark the development of third cycle institutions that serve as social reproduction for further exploitation in capitalist production and consumer markets. The social determinates of health framework connects the immediate the neighborhood environment to morbidity and mortality outcomes for racialized populations. Being White, along with higher education and income level attainment is linked to better health outcomes (Ross and Botchwey 2014). With exposure to violence, surveillance, and imprisonment serving as a socializing norm for racializing places as well as people, the school to prison pipeline is a key element of the prison industrial complex (Sewell 2017; Dantzler 2017). Lack of access to educational resources from a young age is known factor in lack of long term income and wealth attainment (Hamaji 2017; Sawyer and Wagner 2020; Wacquant 2001).

A cohesive understanding of Collins' (1971) conflict theory of stratification, bolstered by the evidence Hirschfield (2018) provides about disproportionate minority contact, would suggest that most educational interventions entrench the education system further into the conflict between status groups by not challenging the role that the carceral system plays as an organizational employer within states and in society. Hirschfield (2018) cites several studies that provide evidence for the existence of the micro-level and macro-level mechanisms result in the disproportionate contact of minorities with the carceral system in schools.

At the micro-level are decisions made by individuals, principles, judges, and officers including: out of school suspensions and disciplinary referrals; zero-tolerance policies and the rise of alternative schools; school choice and declining enrollment in neighborhood schools; school arrests and court referrals; use of factors such as prior record, pending court cases, active probation status in court; and the use of school enrollment and attendance as standard conditions for probation (Hirschfield 2018, 13-16).

The macro level mechanisms cited by Hirschfield (2018) include the policies and practices of the schools, police, and juvenile courts. These include: disciplinary codes and their enforcement; concentration of acutely disadvantaged and disengaged students that attend schools that practice harsh discipline; lack of resources to pursue special services and protections; lack of screening for students with learning disabilities or behavioral disorders, and the inability to provide special education; and the presence of greater security and police scrutiny in schools (Hirschfield 2018, 13-16).

While the "federal No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) codified for the first time accountability standards for all U.S. public schools, requiring that all students perform at academic proficiency levels by 2014...[it was] states [who] were responsible for writing both the learning standards and creating the accountability exams to assess student proficiency based on state determined standards (Steinberg and Quinn2017, 191)." Furthermore, "the 2009 federal Race to the Top (RTTT) grant program incentivized a number of policy reforms at the state and district levels…[including] the implementation of common state education standards...and revisions to state and local human capital policies around educator (i.e., teacher and principal) evaluation (Steinberg and Quinn 2017, 192)." As of December 2015, the "reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, now referred to as the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), grant[ed] states (and districts) newfound autonomy to revise accountability, testing, and educator evaluation policies (p.192).

Focus tends to be on educational interventions those that focus on improving student outcomes, student performance, and teacher performance (Steinberg and Quinn 2017). Many of these practices are part of the "No Excuses" framework lauded earlier by Steinberg and Quinn (2017) for their potential ability to improve student outcomes. Steinberg and Quinn (2017) discuss the "No Excuses" charter school model which includes rigorous testing, parental involvement, behavioral contracts, a rigid discipline system, and an empowered principal; as well as the wraparound services provided by the Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ) in conjunction with their charter schools, the Promise Academy (p.209). The "Accountability, Standards, and Assessment" and "Market-Based Reforms and School Choice" sections of Steinberg and Quinn's (2017) article included studies on a

range of strategies including providing school performance data to parents, providing the supplemental educational services offered by NCLB, test-based accountability, data-driven reform, school closures, small schools, school vouchers, and charter schools.

The research on these interventions is used by planners and policymakers to make trade-offs and decision about land uses for prison facilities, community centers, police force and training facilities, educational institutions, and workforce development programs. The authors fail to state conclusively that school closures should not be used as policy for improving student achievement despite the evidence of multiple years of adverse impact on students who moved from a closed school to a new school (Steinberg and Quinn 2017, 206). The idea that students may experience improvements when they move from low performing schools to higher achieving ones obscures the reality that most students do not do so.

Hirschfield (2018) then presents evidence for the use of school-based restorative justice practices like conferencing and peacemaking circles; expanded treatment access for poor students and school districts using federal and state resources made available by the Medicaid expansion under the Affordable Care Act; and particularly Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS) - a multi-tiered, team based intervention framework that trains staff in non-punitive methods of behavior management and provides structured monitoring and intensive individualized supports. The evidence suggests that a coordinated approach is needed to develop the political will and capacity at the federal, state, district, and school levels to both fund the programs and implement them.

Addressing the devastating impacts of the prison system would require a comprehensive look at the overlapping systems of education and employment and consensus on strategies to address the racial capitalism and regime power embedded within the system. The next section will expand on the theories and practices of collaborative planning in order to explain the challenges of equitable development in racial capitalist contexts.

2.4 Conclusion – Planning for industrial complexes

The circuits of capital can be seen throughout history along spatial and temporal scales. When an urban environment goes through all three circuits, it completes a cycle that brings actors and decision makers back to the point of continuing to accumulate. It is from this point that actors who find themselves within these agglomerations of capital engage in land use decision making. Regimes facilitate the inclusion and/or exclusion of certain actors from urban accumulation by subverting and co-opting oppositional and alternative development strategies. As described above, the circuits of capital reinforce the concepts of rent and wages through the collaboratively rational decision-making processes of capital switching and spatial fixing. Whether through international markets, regional expansion, or urban renewal, the primacy of neoclassical economics and capitalism ensures that surplus capital is accumulated primarily through industrial development. Coherent responses to racial capitalism will therefore allow for endogenous growth, import replacement, resident-led land use decision making, and regional governance for equitable neighborhood development.

Table 2-1: Definitions of useful terms related to Racial Capitalism

Definitions of terms	
Abstraction	The process of separating people and places into their exchange versus use values
Racialization	The continuous process of classifying people and places into racial categories; relies on abstraction
Racial caste	Stratified categories of economic value based on phenotype and origin; product of racialization
Financialization	Assigning extractable economic values to people and places so that they can be exchanged on the market
Expropriation	The extraction of funds from people and places by a form of state authority
Urbanization	The process of using accumulated capital to build physical infrastructure around agglomerations of capitalist firms
Regime power	Local modes of regulating urban land use decisions that aligns local capital with international and national scales of expropriation
Collaborative rationality	Planners bringing diverse participants together to make land use decisions that within the neoliberal political economic context

CHAPTER 3. RACIAL CAPITALISM, REGIME POWER, & COLLABORATIVE RATIONALITY IN NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

Like many cities with significance at the global scale, Atlanta, Georgia is a city of contradictions. Boasting one of the world's largest and busiest airports, the city also prides itself as being in the cradle of the Civil Rights Movement, as the home and final resting place of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. As a Civil Rights leader, King championed equality and justice through the lens of the Beloved Community, a vision for local and global well-being and solidarity, which he believed could come about by challenging the three evils of racism, economic exploitation, and militarism. Atlanta's promotion of the narrative belies the reality that in the rankings of cities by income inequality, Atlanta has consistently placed among the top 10 U.S. cities with the highest disparities (Bach 2020; Berube 2018). Furthermore, there are extreme disparities in black-white health and educational attainment (Ross 2007); and its policing expenditures and incarceration rates have risen consistently over the past 3 years (Ford 2021; Hamaji et al. 2017).

The story of the regime that coalesced to drive over 40 years of development in Atlanta by attracting foreign capital, building and modernizing the airport, hosting the Olympics, desegregating downtown businesses, and hiring African American contractors and firms, has been documented by urban theorists, political scientists, and historians (Stone 1989; Hobson 2014; Pomerantz 1996; Keating 2001; Kruse 2005). Their economic

development efforts succeeded in increasing Atlanta's corporate tax base of industrial and multinational corporations, and heightened Atlanta's global economic participation as a transportation and logistics hub. Unfortunately, only certain residents have benefited primarily from the influx of development capital, while others have participated unevenly in development gains in the short or long term based on their socioeconomic positioning (Jennings 2016; Kruse 2005). Despite the anecdotal and data based evidence pointing to regime-led racial capitalism, Atlanta has managed to promote itself as a "Black Mecca" (Hobson 2014) with opportunities for social and economic mobility abounding for working class and middle class African Americans.

The inequalities and disparities that mark world cities such as Atlanta derive from the similarities that exist across urbanizing contexts. Some urban theorists contend that these inequalities are due to the spatial dominance of the industries that populate cities of their nearby local and regional environments, without corresponding economic integration of the people from those nearby localities and regions (Peck and Tickell 2014). This dynamic is the result of political, social, and social reproduction that maintains power for those who have stolen and dominated natural resources over centuries. Theorists describe this racialization of people and places using concepts such as abstraction, financialization, and spatialization which, while useful, detract from a thorough understanding of displacement, dispossession, disenfranchisement, and disinvestment as visceral, violent and violating experiences that Black, indigenous, and other socially marginalized people face daily.

Atlanta presents a curious case of regime politics and racial capitalism due to the political leadership class being primarily African American or Black. If regime power were

a concept separate from racial capitalism, Jennings and King (1986) note dynamics of racial capitalism in Boston in *From Access to Power: Black Politics in Boston*. They call out Mayor White's administration (1967-1983) for preventing the development of a progressively oriented black politics in Boston through 1) the selective use of city hall patronage and public dollars for purposes of reward and punishment, 2) manipulation of public relations techniques to preserve the 'liberal' image of the mayor; 3) manipulation of various electoral processes, such as voter registration procedures and city elections, and 4) the nurturing of 'cooperative' black political leadership (Jennings and King 1986, 62)."

In documenting the inclusion of Black individuals in "human services bureaucracies" and "visible leadership position lacking in substantive or institutionalized power" they highlight the gatekeeping and politically neutralizing position that white supremacy places on of Black leadership in urban development (Jennings and King 1986, 75). They note that the White administration's "major accomplishment was the development of an atmosphere that was considered positive by big business interests; most of the mayors more important actions were taken at the expense of those at the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder (Jennings and King 1986, 61)." Arguably, this is a dynamic that is consistent across racial capitalist, urban regime contexts.

To construct a case study of collaborative rationality, racial capitalism, and regime power in neighborhood development, community indicators literature was consulted to create evidence-based criteria. King (2017) describes the creation of sustainability indicators and offers "three important uses of indicators (1) indicators serving as a tool for public communication and public participation; (2) indicators serving a more technical and managerial role, and (3) indicators serving to achieve political objectives (King 2017,

168).” Creating indicators that communicate complex topics for public communication and participation, as well as political objectives is a key goal of this assessment.

Studies showed that “community indicators can serve as ‘attention shaping’ by working to bring attention to local issues and foster political will toward action.… [and] catalyz[ing] discussion about the current state of affairs and what can be done to address its deficiencies (Ridzi 2017, 46).” Similar to the goal of developing collective goods criterion, the analysis of the democratic deficiencies in Atlanta’s political context can support bridging and bonding social capital development for currently marginalized grassroots actors.

Furthermore, as Holden (2017) notes, “while many macroeconomic and political-economic drivers of housing unaffordability have been posited and tested…relatively neglected have been the micro-scale municipal context contributors to housing development activity (housing diversity) and costs (housing affordability) (Holden 2017, 89).” To the point, policy making around housing affordability is exceedingly difficult. Therefore, this assessment will consider the relationship between micro, meso, and macro forces in implementing planning decisions for neighborhood development. It will rely on methods offered by Pacetti (2017) used to align local and regional indicators to achieve a more inclusive economy. Pacetti (2017) argues that “without strong connections between neighborhoods and the regional economy, the region risks ending up with aggregate growth even while pockets of poverty remain stagnant or in decline (Pacetti 2017, 77).”

This paper presents an analysis of the power in land use planning in the City of Atlanta. It argues that collaborative planning facilitates regime power and therefore racial

capitalism. This dynamic allows the negative impacts of capitalist, neoliberal, growth-driven economic development to persist in cities, while being masked by narratives of democracy, hope, progress, and inclusion. It posits that growth machines and urban regimes generate spatially and temporally inequitable land, consumer, and labor market based economic activity through collaboratively designed policies and institutions that define, control, and decide how capital resources are distributed. Finally, it offers strategies that can help residents contend with racial capitalism as it manifests in their localities (displacement, divestment, disenfranchisement, dispossession).

3.2 Literature review

This paper devises a analyzes the democratic deficits of collaborative planning in Atlanta using literature and studies on community indicators; assessing and evaluating participation and planning processes; and categorizing typologies of planning documents in networks. The four democratic deficits of liberal democracies in general and neoliberalism in particular are outlined by critical planning theorist Purcell (2009, 143). First, he contends that liberal democracies under neoliberalism produce a democratic deficit because the privatization of certain goods, services, and value chains "transfers [land use decision making] power from democratic citizens to corporations (Purcell 2009, 145)." Moreover, because the private service providers tend to be "volunteer organizations, community associations, non-profit corporations, foundations, and private firms,...quasi-public bodies,...appointed competitiveness councils, urban development corporations, and public–private partnerships...which are not subject to any kind of direct democratic oversight, neoliberalization has made it more likely that "policy decisions will be made by bodies unaccountable...to democratic citizens (Purcell 2009,145)."

Thirdly, while Purcell concedes that "devolving the authority of the national Keynesian state [to more local ones] allows places more power to shape decisions to their

particular context (Swyngedouw et al. 2002; Purcell 2009, 146)," he notes that technical capacity required to mobilize land uses towards democratic outcomes may be lacking (Purcell 2009, 146)." Finally, Purcell (2009) contends that neoliberalism constrains policy options for citizens by seeking to "establish a particular commonsense notion that competitiveness is not only 'the way it is', but also a good thing, an ethic that will help generate wealth and ensure happiness. (145)." The four democratic deficits are summarized in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1: Democratic Deficits of Collaborative Planning in Liberal Democracy

1. Corporate control over economic and land use decision making
2. Lack of resident oversight over private entities
3. Constrained policy options due to lack of technical capacity
4. Dominant discourses around growth, competition, and wealth building
Derived from Democratic deficits as described by Purcell (2009, 143)

The indicators are further developed specifically to aid in the analysis of democratic deficits in collaborative planning processes. Advocating for a criteria-based methodology in line with the community indicators literature, Agger and Lofgren (2008) review planning literature in attempts to construct a democratic assessment of collaborative planning practice (Agger and Lofgren 2008, 146). They address both the demand from practitioners and scholars for methods on how to appraise the democratic performance in collaborative

planning projects (Agger and Lofgren 2008, 146) as well as the notion that since collaborative planning activities have become institutionalized policy-making processes in many democratic systems, they should also be subject to democratic scrutiny in line with other political institutions and processes in society (Agger and Lofgren 2008, 146).

According to Brody, Godschalk, and Burby (2003), planners have seven strategic planning choices when designing up collaborative planning processes. Administration includes whether to prepare a participation plan and how to staff citizen involvement efforts. Only 2 of 10 states that Brody, Godschalk, and Burby (2003) analyze require that local governments establish a formal public participation program when they prepare a comprehensive plan. Georgia's Department of Community Affairs requires a formal comprehensive planning process for local governments to receive access to state and local funds for community development, but it does not require a formal public participation program as part of the process.

Further, Brody, Godschalk, and Burby (2003, 246) claim that objectives test whether the goal of collaborative planning is to educate citizens, seek their preferences, or grant them influence. Six of the 10 studied states require local planners to pursue various objectives ranging from complying with state requirements to actively engaging citizens in decision making. The most frequent objectives are to learn citizen preferences (three mandates) and to educate citizens about policy issues (three mandates). Georgia's mandate states that public hearings must be held 'to inform the public about the purpose of the plan and the process to be followed in the preparation of the plan, as well as to elicit community input' (GA Comp. Rules and Regulation, sec 110-3-2-06)."

Two mandates (Oregon's and Hawaii's) go much further and direct planners to foster citizen influence in decision making. Oregon's legislative directive (ORS, sec 197.160) requires that local governments designate a citizen advisory committee or committees broadly representative of geographic areas and interests to provide input during plan development.(Washington's) stating that "'each county and city 'shall establish and broadly disseminate to the public a public participation program identifying procedures providing for early and continuous public participation in the development and amendment of comprehensive land use plans and development regulations implementing such plans (WRC, sec.36.70A.140).

Six state mandates designate the planning process stage at which citizens should become involved. Timing of participation can range from the very beginning of the process, when planners are deciding on the scope of the plan and the issues to be emphasized, to the end of the process, when public hearings are held on a draft plan. Of the six mandates, three require citizen involvement at the initial (preplanning) stages of the planning process, and three require participation at the end (postplanning), before the plan is formally adopted. Washington and Vermont require that groups be targeted for participation and provide direction on which groups should be included. Washington provides a detailed list of specific stakeholders to include. Most states leave this decision to local discretion.

Techniques describe what types of participation approaches to employ. In most cases, state growth management laws do not go much beyond a requirement to hold a public hearing before adopting the plan. Other techniques, such as visioning sessions and facilitated workshops, are mentioned infrequently. Washington, Maine and Vermont require workshops or open discussions in addition to formal public hearings. Information

- what types of information and dissemination processes to incorporate in participation activities (Brody, Godschalk, and Burby, 2003, 246) Each state mandate requires that public notice be given before public hearings. Mandates rely primarily on newspaper inserts or public notices and little attention is given to more recent, technology-driven techniques, such as television and Internet.

Finally, Brody, Godschalk, and Burby (2003, 248) describe enforcement of planning mandates in terms of coercion (or 'sticks') and persuasion (or carrots'). Coercion usually involves monitoring compliance and imposing sanctions upon localities that do not meet program requirements. Florida, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Vermont have the strongest coercive features. These states set forth review and approval requirements, make local compliance with state policies mandatory, and impose sanctions for non-compliance, such as legal actions, fines, or loss of state funding.

Georgia, Hawaii, and Maryland have weaker coercive enforcement measures, where there is little oversight by state agencies and no sanctions are imposed for lack of compliance. Maine's mandate to prepare a comprehensive plan is now voluntary making it the weakest of the sample. Florida, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington all provide financial and technical assistance for the preparation of plans by local governments. In contrast Georgia, Hawaii, and New Jersey do not provide financial support or incentives for local planning. (Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003, 249)

Agger and Lofgren’s (2008) democratic assessment of collaborative processes is based on the democratic norms offered by Dahl (1998). These norms include 1) Access, 2) Public Deliberation, 3) Adaptiveness, 4) Accountability, and 5) Political identities and

capabilities. Fung's (2006) classification of the varieties of participation in complex governance offers additional criteria for the democratic assessment.

Taufen and Olson's (2020) framework on plans as actants in networks is relevant to assess the democratic character of collaborative governance in a complex adaptive system. See figure. They contend that "within a framework that acknowledges distributed power and networked governance, many scholars have noted the shifting role that plans and planning documents play in shared-power contexts, wherein implementation often relies on the consent and action of a wide array of actors: regional and local governments, municipal corporations, non-profit and business stakeholders, and organized publics (Taufen and Olson 2020, 4)." They then call for "effective planning action [to simultaneously] cooperate and resist, using networks and their enactment to politicize rather than reproduce the reliably unjust conditions of urbanization (Taufen and Olson 2020, 3)."

Figure 3-1: Planning Reports as Network Actants

	Intermediary or mediator	Problematization	Interessement	Enrollment	Mobilization	Notes
Manual	Intermediary	Defines precisely, clearly, and/or narrowly	Includes data to align with existing programs, plans, and rationales	Enlists identified actors to adopt, follow, or respond to directive	Promises stable resources from existing, defined patterns	Planning report as something to be followed
Boundary object	Intermediary	Identifies an issue, problem, or process involving multiple parties	Allows, invites, alignment by numerous parties and interests	Documents the various positions, concerns of the different actors	Demonstrates need for additional research and collaboration	Planning report as an artifact or multi-party challenge
Framing	Mediator	Redefines an issue, problem, or process in	Suggests ways that different parties might	Creates new ways of enlisting	Recommends targeted resources to	Planning report as

		different or more complex terms	be aligned, related, or implicated	partners, justifying investments	build, stabilize potential opportunities	opportunity to rethink
Catalyst	Mediator	Identifies previously unacknowledged issues, problem, or process and call attention to need for change	Documents new claims with data, interpretation, justifications, call to action	Insists on involvement from related fields, demands attention	Raises profile, identifies possible pathways for change	Planning report as critique, exposure, provocation
Reproduced from Planning Reports as Network Actants (Taufen and Olson 2020, 6)						

Taufen and Olson (2020) analyze the role of plans in networks by first considering whether they serve as intermediaries or mediators. Network actants "orient, define, shape, and/or delimit subsequent forms of action" Intermediaries perform more of a linking capital function, connecting or translating between groups and power holders by reinforcing existing network pattern; whereas mediators translate on behalf of a group, bridging by provoking and creating new associations.

Manual planning reports and boundary objects serve as intermediaries between a community or residents and those in power. A plan as a manuals will define the problem and solution space precisely, clearly, and/or narrowly. It will include data that aligns with existing programs, plans, and rationales. The goal of a planning report that serves as a manual is to enlists the identified actors to adopt, follow, or respond to the directive in the plan. The manual will promise stable resources from existing and defined patterns (Taufen and Olson 2020, 6). Boundary objects as intermediaries will identify an issue, problem, or process involving multiple parties. It will allow or invite alignment between numerous parties and interests by documenting the various positions and concerns of the different

actors Boundary objects typically demonstrate the need for additional research and collaboration.

In a network context, some plans also serve as mediating translators to bridge between perspectives or interests. Framing documents will redefine an issue, problem, or process in different or more complex terms and suggest ways that different parties might be aligned, related, or implicated. It may create new ways of enlisting partners and justifying investments; and recommend targeted resources to build and stabilize potential opportunities. Catalyzing planning reports and documents serve as mediators by identifying previously unacknowledged issues, problems, or processes and call attention to the need for change. These documents may make new claims with data, interpretations, justifications, and issue a call to action that insists on the involvement or demands attention from related fields. A plan that is a catalyst will raise the profile of a problem or solution and identify possible pathways for change.

Finally, to capture the complex relationships between each indicator, power, network, and policy analysis tools will ensure sufficient attention is paid to the myriad ways that "markets are not confined by political boundaries….residents produce, consume and operate in a universe that crosses the political and jurisdictional boundaries of census "block groups," workforce investment boards, municipalities, counties, states and countries (Pacetti 2017, 77)." See Table 6 for a summary of the goals, data sources, and preliminary indicators.

Table 3-2: Relevant Atlanta-area Plans and Development Policies

Plan Name	Year	Jurisdiction	Plan Agency/ Author(s)
2011 Comprehensive Development Plan	2011	City	City of Atlanta, Bureau of Planning
2016 Comprehensive Development Plan	2016	City	City of Atlanta, Department of City Planning
2021 Atlanta City Comprehensive Development Plan	2021	City	City of Atlanta, Department of City Planning
One Atlanta Economic Resilience Plan	2020	City	City of Atlanta, Office of the Mayor, Invest Atlanta
One Atlanta Housing Plan	2019	City	City of Atlanta, Office of the Mayor (Chief Resiliency Officer and Chief Housing Officer), Department of City Planning, Invest Atlanta, Atlanta BeltLine Inc, Fulton County/City of Atlanta Land Bank Authority, Atlanta Housing Authority
One Atlanta Transit Plan	2019	City	City of Atlanta, Office of the Mayor (Chief Operating Officer), Department of Public Works, Department of City Planning, Renew Atlanta, Atlanta Department of Transportation (forthcoming)
2001 Pittsburgh Community Redevelopment Plan	2001	Neighborhood	Pittsburgh Community Improvement Association
Preservation of Pittsburgh Master Plan report	2012	Neighborhood	City of Atlanta, PCIA, Annie E. Casey Foundation, Enterprise Community Partners, JP Morgan Chase, religious institutions of Pittsburgh
2004 Mechanicsville Redevelopment Plan (1995 update)	2004	Neighborhood	Enterprise Foundation, Mechanicsville Civic Association; *Previously (1995) the Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta (CODA), with the assistance of the City of*

			Atlanta Department of Planning, Development and Neighborhood Conservation
2004 Peoplestown Redevelopment Plan (1996 update)	2004	Neighborhood	City of Atlanta Bureau of Planning, Peoplestown Community, Peoplestown Revitalization Corporation
2015 Summerhill Park Pride Vison Plan	2015	Neighborhood	Park Pride, Friends of Summerhill Parks
2004 Summerhill Redevelopment Plan (1993 update)	2004	Neighborhood	The City of Atlanta Bureau of Planning, Summerhill Community
2018 Grant Park Park Pride Vision Plan	2018	Neighborhood	Park Pride, Grant Park Conservancy
2020 Emmaus House Strategic Plan	2020	Organizational	Emmaus House, Peoplestown Community, Annie E. Casey Foundation
2015 Turner Field Livable Centers Initiative Study	2015	Neighborhood Planning Unit	Peoplestown, Mechanicsville, Summerhill, Pittsburgh, Grant Park
2010 City of Atlanta Urban Redevelopment Plan	2010	City, State	Department of Planning and Community Development, Invest Atlanta
ARC Regional Development Plan	2016	Metropolitan	Atlanta Regional Commission

3.3 Data and Methods

Like collaborative planning, networks, are largely theorized as positive features of society; democratizing access to information and lowering transaction costs for actors who find themselves connected through other actors and institutions. However, an empowered network theory approach, will center how "property relations, labour–capital relations, finance capital, the State as an extended logic of capital, etc., play a direct role in most networks embedded in the socio-economic world (Moulaert and Cabaret 2006, 63)." Moulaert and Cabaret (2006) contend that "this means that stakeholders hold significantly

unequal stakes, that the decision-making space is limited or even, in extreme cases, that the outcome of negotiation processes is known beforehand, because the structural-institutional impact of the logic of capital and politics is so significant (63)." Moulaert and Cabaret (2006) also suggest an "empowered network analysis (65)" for the study of "policy and planning arenas or fields (65)" in order to infuse a coherent theory of power into social science network theories (Moulaert and Cabaret 2006, 61).

An empowered network analysis combines regime and regulation theory with Bourdieu's explanation of habitus, or cultural capital, as a "set of structures and habitual ways of understanding which are characteristic and constitutive of a society or group (Moulaert and Cabaret 2006, 63)." This approach reveals the nature of the regime as a complex adaptive system by situating the actions and institutions of the actors and actants in the social reproduction cycle of capital within "the institutional structure of property relations, the possible collusive relations between local authorities and real estate developers, the control over the labour-market held by principal employers in localities, [and] the structure of the local financial market (Moulaert and Cabaret 2006, 65)."

A number of planning documents, policies, and institutions are produced to support land use decision-making at multiple scales. The following analysis highlights plans that exemplify the democratic deficit in the Atlanta context. It uses evidence of and from the plans, as well as literature to contextualize the content or process of the plan as an indicator of regime politics, racial capitalism, collaborative rationality or communicative action. The Urban Redevelopment Plan provides details on the federal framework for development in the neighborhood. The timeline was set in 2001, prior to that in 1996 the remaining neighborhoods in NPU-V were completing redevelopment plans. Those plans were

updated in 2006, and while many of the projects in these neighborhood plans were included in the Stadium Neighborhoods TAD and the BeltLine TAD, they were not adopted in the City of Atlanta's 2011 CDP plan.

The ARC regional plan explains the legal framework for comprehensive planning. The One Atlanta city plans are analyzed to compare which of the neighborhood plans/priorities were included and adopted. The plans focus on transit, housing, industrial/economic development (jobs), as well as infrastructure (streetscapes and public utilities). Finally the Draft 2021 Atlanta Comprehensive Development plan provides additional data about the convergences and divergences between the development contexts. The plans do not do a great job of showing how the various plans are connected, so that is partially the work of this analysis. The grassroots plans: The Housing Justice League's Beltlining Report and Policy Package do the work of showing the similarities in the development context that residents are responding to across places.

The case narrative proceeds as an analysis of planning actors, policies and institutions in Atlanta, centering, in particular NPU V. It describes the actant, their role in the network, and their relationship to other actors using democratic deficits, democratic norms, community indicators, and collaborative planning as frameworks for the indicators.

3.4 Data Analysis

The collaborative planning context in Atlanta reflects the limitations of liberal democracy as described by the literature. The corporate control over the economy is maintained because although numerous land use decision making is subject to public hearings, no formal participation requirements are consistently established by law for various land use decision making processes at the state level (Brody et al). For example, the Georgia Public Service Commission is a board of 5 elected commissioners who regulate

the market for private and commercial telecommunications, utilities, and transportation services across the state. The commissioners are elected for 5-year terms to serve in district seats, although the seats are technically at large. When the utility companies want to adjust their prices, they submit the new rates to the Public Service Commission, who review it in a process that can be as quick as 60 days, or as lengthy as 5 months. The utility is required to advertise the three rounds of public hearings which occur throughout the process to provide opportunities for public testimony.

On the other hand, the GA Department of Revenue mandates that county governments submit and balance tax digests. Each year the Revenue Commissioner is required to examine the tax digests of every county and to determine the overall average assessment ratio for the county. The purpose of the digest review procedure is to equalize county property tax digests between and within the counties. This procedure is designed to require the county boards of tax assessors to make adjustments in the valuation of property to ensure uniformity and equity.

Georgia's Department of Community Affairs requires a formal comprehensive planning process for local governments to receive access to state and local funds for community development, but it does not require a formal public participation program. The comprehensive plan is required by the state of Georgia and must be approved by the state Department of Community Affairs, the Atlanta Regional Commission, and the City Council. The process and approvals are required in order for local governments to receive a "Qualified Local Government" designation from the state. This designation qualifies local governments for certain federal and state grants and funds.

The comprehensive planning process reveals itself as a collaborative planning process. Indeed, in 2021 Atlanta's Comprehensive Development Plan was approved by City Council despite the lack of a robust community engagement process in order to meet the DCA deadline for approval. The City of Atlanta Department of City Planning incorporated feedback the plan received over the last 5 months of the process, however insisted that "this year's update is just the beginning. Preparing *Plan A* is a multiyear, multiphase process." They assured participants through email communication that they "now have a foundation to dive deeper into the needs and opportunities for comprehensive planning" and would "update all stakeholders on the next phase of *Plan A* at the CD/HS committee in the first quarter of 2022."

Despite the lack of formal participation requirements, urban land use development and planning has required the collaboration of diverse actors to make and implement large scale development decisions. However, the overlapping jurisdictions and forums for decision making are ineffective tools for equitable decision making. Collaborative planning in Georgia is also facilitated by the Atlanta Regional Commission - a metropolitan agency with both formal and informal participation requirements.

3.4.1 Atlanta Regional Commission

According to federal law, to be designated as a metropolitan area, at least 1 million people must live in and around the city. ARC has authority under state laws as a Metropolitan Area Planning and Development Commission (O.C.G.A. 50-8-80) as an area with greater than 1 million residents (p..4). In addition to being the official planning agency under state law for the 10-county region, ARC is also the transportation planning

agency for the Atlanta region under federal law as the designated Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) for a 20-county area. In support of planning for transportation, ARC must develop a long-range forecast for population and households for a 20-county area to ensure transportation activities are consistent with efforts to improve air quality in this area. ARC provides planning staff to the 15-county Metropolitan North Georgia Water Planning District (MNGWPD), whose mission is to develop comprehensive regional and watershed-specific water resources plans for implementation by local governments. ARC also serves as the administrative agency for the 7-county Atlanta Regional Workforce Board (ARWB).

According to the ARC website, prior to 1989, six plans had been prepared for the Atlanta Region – in 1952, 1954, 1962, 1968, 1975, and 1984. Each plan represented an expression of how the region should grow and change in order to achieve future goals. Each plan was long-range and general in nature, allowed for local decision-making, and represented a benchmark in an ongoing planning process. Over the years, state legislation evolved, providing a framework for each of these planning efforts. In 1989, the Georgia Planning Act set the stage for the most current collaborative planning approach. The Act requires all local governments and regional commissions in the state, including ARC, to prepare comprehensive plans that feature a "bottom-up" approach, with local plans coming first and regional plans following. The Atlanta Region's Plan considers regional priorities for each of these different roles, but primarily fulfills the requirements of the Regional Agenda as mandated by the Georgia Department of Community Affairs and the Regional Transportation Plan as mandated by U.S. Department of Transportation.

The Regional Resource Plan is a required component under DCA's regional planning rules. It describes the regional policy for Regionally Important Resources (RIRs), such as areas of conservation and recreational value, historic and cultural resources, and areas of agricultural and scenic value. This was produced in 2016. The ARC Implementation Plan section includes the regional Five-Year Work Program, as well as ARC programs that implement The Atlanta Region's Plan. The Local Government Plan Implementation Appendix includes Performance Standards for Local Governments. The standards are divided into minimum and excellence achievement thresholds. These standards are ways that local governments implement The Atlanta Region's Plan.

Elements of the Atlanta Region's Plan are updated on various cycles. The latest update to the transportation portion of the plan (2050 Regional Transportation Plan) was completed in February 2020 and the next update must be completed four years from that date. In addition to mandated regional planning, ARC provides technical assistance to local governments as well as leadership programs including the Regional Leadership Institute (RLI), the LINK program, Community Planning Academy (CPA) and the MARC (Model Atlanta Regional Commission) youth leadership program. Atlanta Regional Commission also provides research, data, and market analysis on the areas primed for development.

With a 50-year outlook, their ability to help local government jurisdictions coordinate their development plans is a critical piece of the urban regime that facilitates certain relationships and generates particular outcomes. In 2015, the Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC) released a number of policy recommendations for development in the 10-county metropolitan Atlanta-area. The goals focused on generating activity in the first

circuit of capital, including improving education and workforce readiness while ensuring access to digital infrastructure; enhancing employment centers by improving transportation and land use; and focusing on the freight, start up, and film industries as employment sectors. However, the ARC arguably has limited power to implement any of their recommendations. To do so, they would need the cooperation of local governments in prioritizing these goals to ensure the regional coordination of economic activity

The ARC provides local planning capacity to counties, cities, and neighborhoods to develop economic development strategies through initiatives such as the Livable Cities Initiative (LCI). The LCIs fund studies that provide market, demographics, and spatial analysis about the particular areas with corresponding recommendations for achieving the development goals. The economic development recommendations that are traditionally included relies heavily on tax increment financing in the form of tax allocation districts, or enterprise zones and community improvement districts. The incentives that these strategies provide to business through tax abatements, subsidies, and public sector infrastructure investments are key agglomerative factors that attract the firms to an area.

In this context, plans, institutions, and policies are mostly created with feedback loops to the regime actants that sponsored them.

3.4.2 Atlanta's Urban Redevelopment Plan

In a network context, manual plans serve as intermediaries by defining a problem and a solution precisely, clearly, and/or narrowly. They include data that aligns with existing programs, plans, and rationales; enlist identified actors to adopt, follow, or respond to directives; and promise stable resources from existing, defined patterns (Taufen and

Olson 2020, 6). The Urban Redevelopment Plan is a manual for development in Atlanta that serves regime actors and produces racial capitalist outcomes.

Through the Urban Redevelopment Law (O.C.G.A. 36-61), the State of Georgia sets forth criteria for areas of blight or distress, particularly when, "the persistence of these conditions substantially impairs or arrests the sound growth of the City." The Urban Redevelopment Plan identifies and sets the boundaries of Urban Redevelopment Areas by describing the conditions of poverty, unemployment, criminal activity, vacant and underutilized land, foreclosures, structural deficiencies and deterioration of buildings, code enforcement actions, building permit activity, business license application, infrastructure obsolescence and disrepair, and transit connectivity.

City funding for redevelopment projects comes from four main sources:

1. A Recovery Zone resolution passed by City Council in 2009.

2. The state of Georgia created the Opportunity Zone Job Tax Credit Program in 2004. It offers up to $,3500 in tax credit to offset State income tax liability and payroll withholding for up to five years as long as the jobs are maintained. It was amended in 2008 to expand the economic incentive by lowering the new job threshold from 15 to 2 new jobs and expanding eligible businesses to any legal business.

3. In 1997, the General Assembly enacted the Enterprise Zone Employment Act to encourage private businesses to reinvest and rehabilitate these places. The

Enterprise zone provides property tax exemptions, abatement or reduction in occupation taxes, reduced regulatory and other qualifying fees.

4. The Georgia Redevelopment Powers Law enacted in 1985 gives local governments the power to facilitate the redevelopment of blighted or economically depressed areas. A Tax Allocation District is established for the purpose of catalyzing investment and reinvestment by financing specific redevelopment projects in underdeveloped or blighted areas with the use of public dollars. The redevelopment projects are funded with bonds that are sold based on the pledge of future increase in property taxes generated by the new development. Invest Atlanta, or the Atlanta Development Authority was established to manage the TADs and redevelopment in the city.

Tax Allocation Districts are designated only after the government verifies that the area is in need of redevelopment through the Urban Redevelopment Plan. Following the adoption of the plan, the city of Atlanta adopts enabling legislation which establishes the base tax value for the district. Neighborhoods create corresponding redevelopment plans which are adopted through the Comprehensive Development Plan process. These plans serve as manual document as they outline the TAD, private, public, and philanthropic dollars that they anticipate using for their redevelopment projects.

Tax increment financing is a planning and development tool authorized by state governments for local governments to use for infrastructure projects. The designation of particular areas as tax allocation districts freezes the property taxes and siphons the additional values into a pool of money that funds ongoing development in the area.

Depending on the program guidelines, interested developers can apply for the funds to execute projects.

There are 10 Tax Allocation Districts in the City of Atlanta. Roy (2015) provides an in-depth analysis of the collaborative planning processes guiding the Atlanta BeltLine and makes the case of it as neoliberal strategy. In particular Roy (2015) calls out that when the BeltLine TAD legislation was initially passed in 2005, they projected that it would yield $3-billion in 5 years. After the economic downturn that occurred in 2007, the BeltLine revised their numbers to say that over the course of the whole TAD (2003-2030) it would make the $3 billion. The City of Atlanta bailed out the BeltLine for their payments in lieu of taxes to Atlanta Public School.

The Stadium Neighborhoods TAD was created in 2006. The Stadium TAD Program guidelines includes Invest Atlanta Workforce Housing Income Limits and Maximums. With an AMI of $57,900 for 1-person, or $82,700 for a 4-person household, a person making 30% of the AMI is estimated to make $17,370 and a 4-person household would be making $24,810. Invest Atlanta sets the workforce rental housing maximus for a 1-bedroom at $1,241 for a person making 80% of the AMI, and at $465 for a person making 30% of the AMI. A 4-bedroom is set for $1,920 at 80% of the AMI and for $720 at 30% of the AMI. The maximum sale price of a 1-bedroom for owners making 100% of the AMI is $186,150 while a 4 bedroom is $288,000. For homeownership, they create a floor for the limits at 60% of the AMI and a ceiling of 140% of the AM. The maximum sale price for a 1-bedroom can therefore range from $111,690 to $260,610; while 4-bedrooms can range from $172,800 to $403,200.

The redevelopment plans leave gaps for renters making below 30% of the Area Median Income. Because the AMI is already defined by the metropolitan area, residents in some disinvested neighborhoods are priced out even when housing development is supposedly affordable. The planning reports are therefore intermediary documents that serve as manual for how redevelopment should occur.

Boundary documents serve as intermediaries in networks as well. Boundary objects help set a boundary for who participates and/or who should have an interest. They identify an issue, problem, or process involving multiple parties and allow, invite, alignment by numerous parties and interests. By documenting the various positions and concerns of the different actors, boundary objects demonstrate need for additional research and collaboration. Example reports that serve as boundary objects in Atlanta's collaborative planning landscape include the One Atlanta Plans (2019), the Pittsburgh Master Plan (2012), the Stadium Neighborhoods Livable Centers Initiative (2015), Summer Hill Park Pride (2015), BeltLine Health Impact Assessment, the Turner Field Health Impact Assessment, and the Stadium Neighborhood TAD Design Framework.

Boundary objects can represent intentional collaboration between entities seeking future alignment or be the result of the interest of a particular actor with resources. The One Atlanta Economic Resiliency Plan, for example represented for the first time a collaboration between WorkSource Atlanta, Invest Atlanta, and the City of Atlanta to bridge job creation and quality strategies of workforce development with industrial economic development. The Stadium Neighborhoods received support from the Atlanta Regional Commission's Livable Cities Initiative to study the area and provide alternative development scenarios. The LCI included the neighboring Grant Park in the analysis while

excluding two neighborhoods that are part of NPU-V: Capitol View and Adair Park. The Preservation of Pittsburgh Neighborhood Master Plan was funded in part by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, while the Parks of Summer Hill's Vision plan was funded by greenspace focused non-profit Park Pride.

Student work in studio courses, academic centers, and/or philanthropy tend to produce boundary objects that highlight particular issues. For example, Cultivating Connections A Housing and Economic Development Implementation Strategy for the Mechanicsville Neighborhood of Atlanta, GA was produced by a studio course of Georgia Tech students in 2018. The express goal of the report is to "provide an implementation framework for community level development strategies." The students contend that while "the future of Mechanicsville has been laid out in several previous plans…they have resulted in little additional development for the neighborhood." The students name the "numerous planning initiatives [that] have taken place in Mechanicsville in recent years, including the 2004 Community Redevelopment Plan Update, the Stadium Tax Allocation District (TAD) Redevelopment Plan (2006), the Atlanta BeltLine Sub-Area 1 Master Plan (2010), the Stadium Neighborhoods Livable Centers Initiative (LCI) (2015), and More MARTA (2018) (p.9)." Their recommendations include the creation of resident-led development organizations that can continuously interact with developers, work with a community land trust in acquiring properties that ensure permanent affordability, especially for single-family homes and housing for extremely low-income residents (at or below 30% Area Median Income) (p.4).

The Center for Quality Growth and Regional Development Georgia completed a health impact assessment of the Atlanta BeltLine between 2005-2007. It was made possible

by a research grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and with technical assistance from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. According to the report, the team "utilized the Atlanta Development Authority's BeltLine Redevelopment Plan (November 2005) as the basis for the HIA. The Redevelopment Plan provides a framework for the parks, trails, transit, and redevelopment components of the BeltLine. It specifies the boundaries where TAD funding can be collected and bond money spent, describes the vision of the project, establishes the area's current tax base and projects the increase in the tax base after redevelopment, defines the types of costs that will be covered by bond funding, and meets the requirements of the Georgia Redevelopment Powers Law to establish the TAD (p.16)."

The report notes in particular that: "The BeltLine faces the challenge of implementing a unifying revitalization and redevelopment plan, but with a combination of public- and private-sector investment. The difficulty arises because private entities operate within a much different process and timeframe than public entities. The result of the differences in public and private progress is a temporal mismatch, where the publicly funded parks and transportation improvements necessary to make the new development livable for both new and existing residents and businesses lag behind private development. While some delay is inevitable, too great a disparity between the work of the two sectors can have health and more broadly quality of life implications (p.11)."

Furthermore, the report highlights that "the BeltLine investment is anticipated to increase property values in and around the TAD, potentially forcing residents to make unhealthy housing choices or leave/locate outside the study area. Left unchecked, the process of neighborhood change can force residents to spend a disproportionate share of

their income on housing, leaving less money to acquire healthful products and services; can make residents live in substandard or overcrowded housing units, which increases the risk of negative health outcomes; and causes people to move away, which disrupts people's social networks and access to services and can increase travel times for work and school. Populations at-risk of displacement include renters and households whose median income is below the area median income. Although rental units are scattered rather evenly around the study area, areas with the lowest median income are located in the Westside, Southwest, and Southeast planning areas, where incomes are 30 to 60 percent of the Area Median Income (p.13)."

The BeltLine HIA makes a number of recommendations based on its analysis including: 1) developing a mechanism to consider health impact in order to make health protections an explicit consideration for public funding (i.e., appointing a health official to the BeltLine Inc. Board or the TAD Advisory Committee), 2) establishing shared performance measures for the many city departments including planning, public works, etc. in order for the various departments to effectively collaborate, 3) developing a 25-year public involvement process that applies strategies to involve representatives of people who currently live, work or go to school in the area, as well as the next generation of citizens, 4) establishing policies and programs to prevent displacement in areas surrounding the BeltLine TAD including property tax freezes, assistance for housing improvements and other programs that can reduce displacement of residents from neighborhoods where property values are rapidly increasing. The recommendations suggest that the BeltLine should form partnerships with organizations such as the Atlanta Neighborhood Development partnership, the Atlanta Housing Authority, and others.

In a cycle of social reproduction, manual documents and boundary objects provide feedback loops to the extractive cycle of production and reproduction of race and racism. The timing of the phases of the BeltLine allowed for the abstraction and financialization of disinvested areas with low property values over long timelines (Roy 2015). As another example, the TAD encouraged disinvestment from local education in favor of redevelopment. The planning documents produced over the past 15 years reflect this reality. According to the BeltLine TAD:

> "The Atlanta City Council approved the Atlanta BeltLine's 25-year financial plan in 2005, following a 12–3 vote, to establish the Atlanta BeltLine TAD. Shortly after, Atlanta Public Schools and the Fulton County Board of Commissioners voted to enter into an intergovernmental agreement with the city to share future tax revenues with the Atlanta BeltLine through the TAD. Soon after its formation, the TAD faced a legal challenge from local attorney John Woodham, who argued that participation by Atlanta Public Schools in the TAD violated the 'Educational Purpose Clause' in the Georgia State Constitution, as it diverted funds that could be used for education to non-educational purposes. The case pushed for the removal of Atlanta Public Schools from the agreement, a move that, if successful, would dramatically decrease the Atlanta BeltLine's primary funding source, reducing TAD revenues by 45 percent. In 2008, because of the ABI lawsuit and the broader risk to other TADs in Georgia, the State held a referendum to change the constitution to allow TADs to use educational purpose revenue. The referendum narrowly passed with 51 percent of the vote, after which Georgia passed House Bill 63, also known as the "Redevelopment Powers Law." The Redevelopment Powers

Law explicitly allows TADs to use school district revenue to fund redevelopment projects."

3.4.3 Pittsburgh Redevelopment Plan

According to the Pittsburgh Redevelopment Plan, the "redevelopment of the Pittsburgh Neighborhood as a whole should be carefully phased over a period of 20 years." The plan suggests that "over the long term, this [long term strategy] will minimize the fiscal exposure of non-profit organizations and public sector subsidies…[and that] later phases of redevelopment should be primarily supported by private-sector markets (Pittsburgh Community Redevelopment Plan, Part 3.1: Implementation Overview Plan).

Citing the NPU system as "an officially recognized system of community governance and advocacy," the redevelopment plan names NPU-V as the "officially recognized steward of overall community consensus." While the Pittsburgh Community Improvement Association (PCIA) is named as the "steward of the Pittsburgh area." NPU-V is responsible for: "reviewing rezoning requests; referring issues to appropriate neighborhood groups; identifying representatives to attend ADA [Invest Atlanta] meetings; garnering community consensus for desired projects; approving redevelopment plan amendments (should they be required in the future); and initiating a formal community review mechanism for redevelopment projects

The oversight that PCIA provides to the NPU includes "insight into neighborhood issues…setting community policy at the neighborhood level; initiating grassroots participation in volunteer revitalization efforts (e.g., neighborhood clean-ups); disseminating information to neighborhood residents, businesses and institutions;

identifying participants for community enterprises (e.g., cooperative businesses); and making formal recommendations to NPU-V with regard to neighborhood-specific issues." However, the plan insists "in matters of dispute, the City/ADA will look to the NPU for guidance."

Furthermore, "as the local CDC the Pittsburgh Community Improvement Association (PCIA) responsibilities includes: co-sponsoring local, state and federal grant applications; property acquisition; new housing development; housing rehabilitation; economic development projects; property management services; project management and creating development partnerships with the private sector." The plan notes that PCIA "may be targeted as the 'sole-source' developer for certain project types, but insists that PCIA operate under the same provisions of the NPU project review process." The plan also lists "improv[ing] organizational capacity as well as increas[ing] community capacity through the creation of jobs" as a primary goal for PCIA throughout the implementation of the plan. However, this goal does not have measurable indicators for job creation anywhere else in the plan.

As Casper-Futterman argues (2019), "the pursuit of capital investments often yield fewer jobs than promised, and those that do materialize more often than not pay low wages….this is often by design, as economic development practice tends to 'subordinate job growth to capital investment' in addition to being 'inattentive' to the quality of jobs that are created (Beauregard 1993, 270; Casper-Futterman 2012, 115-120; Casper-Futterman 2019, 76)." Furthermore, Casper-Futterman adds: "large-scale construction projects such as convention centers and sports arenas and tourism complexes are most indicative of these strategies, which often claim construction jobs as part of their benefits,

even though many construction jobs do not employ local residents (Casper-Futterman 2019: 76).

The plan reiterates that "the private sector will be heavily relied upon as the economic engine driving the redevelopment of the Pittsburgh area…[as] public sector resources will be scarce." The redevelopment plan asserts that "the success of the plan is contingent upon establishing a private market for community reinvestment." The public sector and community organizations will actively seek private sector partners for redevelopment including: "traditional lenders; residential and non-residential developers; charitable foundations; corporate sponsors; and nonprofit financiers." The plan lists examples of "successful models of public-private partnership…in other Atlanta redevelopment neighborhoods including most notably: single-family housing development in the Old Fourth Ward (Nations Bank CDC and the Historic District Development Corporation-HDDC); and townhouse development in Summerhill (Weiland Homes and Summerhill Neighborhood Development Corporation-SNDC)."

Corporate control and lack of resident oversight are indicated by the lack of leadership and the fragmented decision-making jurisdictions including, the neighborhood CDC, large land holders such as the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the NPU, the city council district, and the BeltLine subarea Master planning process. The Advisory Boards for the BeltLine TAD, the Stadium Neighborhoods TAD, and the Invest Atlanta Committee are not accountable to residents in NPU or city council district settings. Development financing options are limited to program as set forth by the TADs. Private fund and philanthropic dollars are coordinated through the regime such that neighborhood Community Development Corporations find it difficult to access funds for appropriate affordable

housing projects. There is a lack of coordination between these entities and regime actors. The Turner Field Community Benefits Coalition represented one such effort and resulted in a trust fund for the neighborhood.

3.4.4 Turner Field Community Benefits Coalition

The Turner Field Community Benefits Coalition was created in 2013 to unite the Stadium Neighborhoods in the creation of a Community Benefits Agreement for the redevelopment of Turner Field after the Braves moved to Cobb County. The Coalition consisted of over 40 advocacy groups, tenant and neighborhood associations, as well as community development corporations that came together to resist displacement and demand community priorities in the Turner Field redevelopment process (Molotch 1976; Logan et al 1999). As a framing document, the survey report was meant to invite redefine inclusive development of the neighborhood by highlighting the resident priorities and leadership. While their efforts to generate an enforceable, legally binding Community Benefits Agreement were thwarted by the strength of the growth regime. The TFCBC succeeded in creating a 5-million-dollar Stadium Neighborhoods Community Trust Fund to capture part of the revenues of sales and rents within the catchment area for redistribution to community projects and priorities.

A key member of the TFCBC was the Housing Justice League. HJL was created from resident efforts to garner tangible wins from the Occupy movement in Atlanta by formalizing organizing relationships between Occupiers and legacy residents. The organization released a report on the BeltLine in 2017 which justified their BeltLine for All campaign and catalyzed their work in defending residents against unlawful and

inhumane evictions. A key recommendation in the Housing Justice League's **Beltlining: Gentrification, Broken Promises, And Hope on Atlanta's Southside (2017)** is for a community land trust to take land off the market around the BeltLine in order to maintain affordability.

In an example of coopted narratives as a democratic deficit, the Atlanta BeltLine, in collaboration with Casey Foundation has created the Atlanta Land Trust. The website defines a community land trust as "a democratically governed…membership-based organization…where parcels of land are removed from the real estate market and become community-owned." They contend that through a unique board structure, meaningful community-based decision-making is possible.

A CLT functions as a social change mechanism. It can provide opportunities for building stronger and more supportive communities. The trust acquires the land and maintains ownership of it permanently, with prospective homeowners entering into long-term renewable leases of the land. However, the board leadership is largely corporate and the affordability thresholds followed so far reflect market level prices.

3.5 Discussion

With the linchpin being capitalist racial dominance, marked by continuous cycles of indigenous erasure, regime politics proliferate in places with imperial, plantation, and settler colonial legacies of power, distribution and governance in land-use and labor-market decision making. Bates (2005) explain the role of the public sector in regime-led inequitable development writing: "When a City signals its commitment to place-making in a particular neighborhood through improvements to the built environment and

development incentives, it decreases the risk of investment. The private market will respond by making capital available and increasing development activities. Additionally, as the public sector improves neighborhood access, infrastructure, and amenities, the neighborhood becomes more desirable and demand to live there by higher-income households increases. When public investments are made in neighborhoods where markets are already heating up, it can increase the intensity of the change and exacerbate displacement (Bates 2005, 19)." The persistent democratic deficits in neoliberal urban regimes noted above facilitates corporate power and decision making timelines, provides little resident oversight, constrains options, and dominants the narrative of development, most often to the detriment of local residents.

Tellingly, regimes often rely on strong Mayors or CEOs with the power to drive corporate development agendas and align political interests (Stone 1993; Dahl 1961; Bachrach and Baratz 1961). Stone (1993) writes of the measures Maynard Jackson took to strengthen the Mayor's office by rewriting the city charter, creating district based councilors, and designing the NPU system in his first and second terms while expanding the airport, investing in a number of public works projects, and attracting the 1996 Olympics games. While the Mayor plays a large role in facilitating deals between private developers and the city council, they also play a role in quelling the resistance to public support for those projects.

The economic development recommendations that are traditionally included relies heavily on tax increment financing in the form of tax allocation districts, or enterprise zones and community improvement districts. The incentives that these strategies provide to

business through tax abatements, subsidies, and public sector infrastructure investments are key agglomerative factors that attract the firms to an area.

The challenge, however, is that these free market-based strategies do not address, and often exacerbate, the displacement of long-time residents in an area suddenly experiencing this level of investment. In capitalist development, this shift can be described as a "spatial fix" for groups with higher incomes replace those who have been living in poverty due to racial capitalism. The confusion created by overlapping relationships among actors with divergent interests under the pretense of inclusion is exacerbated by fragmented jurisdictional relationships that make decision making pathways and timelines are unclear. This often legitimizes the informal arrangements used to pool resources and the flexible meshing of formal and informal decision making and consensus building arrangements. Social capital networks between regime actors become normalized as appropriate avenues for decision making to occur.

Purcell (2009) contends that communicative and collaborative rationality as planning approaches reveal the democratic deficits of liberal democracies. Analysis of collaborative planning processes reveal violations of Dahl's democratic norms. Because these processes do not challenge the corporate guidance endemic to the land use development process, they effectively neutralize the dissent around planning and development in the public sphere by limiting access to certain decisions. Collaborative planning can be said to reinforce corporate control over the development process by obscuring timelines and decision-making processes; thereby limiting public deliberation.

To the extent that technical capacity is needed to make projections and construct alternative development scenarios, collaborative planning processes limit the field of options to the status quo of private and corporate funding. The lack of adaptiveness and accountability in the process serves to delegitimize resident leadership and infrastructure, resulting in narrative legitimacy accruing to actors in power already. To the extent that innovative planning and institutions are created, the collaborative planning process aids in the cooptation of grassroots strategies and narratives in service of corporate goals and actors.

Illustrative of the racial capitalism and regime power in Atlanta's collaborative planning landscape is the complex web of relationships in institutions and infrastructure such as the Atlanta BeltLine, the Atlanta Land Trust, the Turner Field Community Benefits Coalition. A network analysis reveals the corporate social guidance at the core of these collaborative projects. Individuals, as well as formal plans, policies, organizations, coalitions, collaboratives, initiatives, and grassroots reports all constitute actants in the network (Taufen and Olson 2020).

The comprehensive planning process reveals itself as a collaborative planning process. The comprehensive plan is required by the state of Georgia and must be approved by the state Department of Community Affairs, the Atlanta Regional Commission, and the City Council. The process and approvals are required in order for local governments to receive a "Qualified Local Government" designation from the state. This designation qualifies local governments for certain federal and state grants and funds.

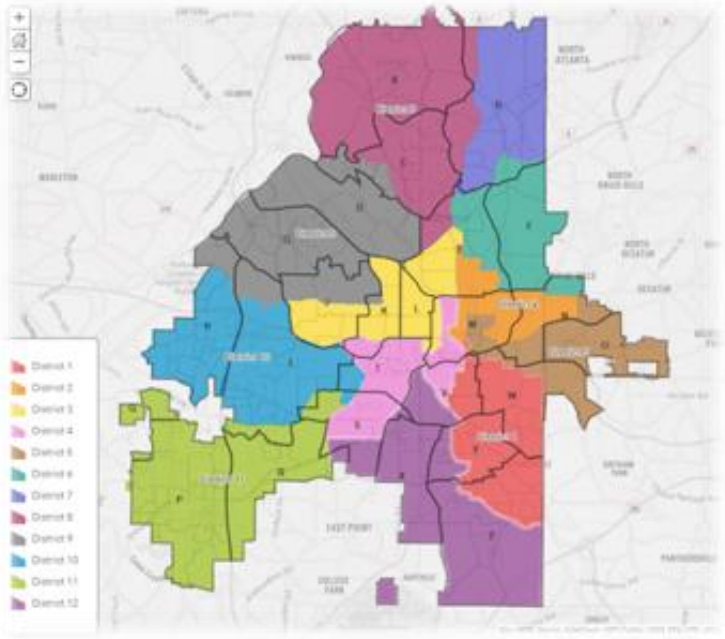
The first democratic deficit centers corporate power/ownership particularly over land use decisions. Fragmented jurisdictions with overlapping legal boundaries are identified as political determinants of health (Jones 2019) along with an indicator of disenfranchisement under corporate leadership. Neighborhood Planning Unit V, for example, has three different city council districts whereas some [wealthier] NPUs only have one or at most two district seats [see Figure 3 below]. The legal context also sets the stage for corporate power control over development. For example, the Annie E. Casey foundation[1], a philanthropic foundation, was created in 1948 by the family that started the United Postal Service (UPS). Its work has focused on child welfare, juvenile incarceration, foster care, and other family services. Similarly, on the westside, the Blank Foundation is owned by Arthur Blanks, the founder of Home Depot and owner of the Atlanta Falcons National [American] Football League.

In Atlanta the Community Benefits Plan for the Mercedes Benz Stadium, the Westside Tax Allocation District (TAD), and the creation of the Westside Future Fund are a few examples of policies and institutions that serve as "innovative planning," adaptations to the system that reinforce the growth imperative of the urban regime. These policies and institutions are often a manifestation of the social reproduction of power and ideology through narratives and culture building (Zanotto, 2020), which is found in the third circuit of capital. However, the Turner Field Community Benefits Coalition, the Housing Justice League, the Stadium Neighborhoods Community Trust Fund, and the Red-light the Gulch Coalition are also examples of adaptations to the system that are created through collaboratively rational processes. The resident leadership displayed created policies and

[1] https://www.aecf.org/about/history

institutions that brings questions of equity and equitable development to the forefront of development practices in Atlanta.

Figure 3-2: Map of overlapping NPU and City Council jurisdictions



Aligning diverse yet interdependent actors through the collaborative planning process results most often in institutions and infrastructure that reinforce racial capitalism and regime power. This can be seen through an analysis of the democratic deficits in the formal policies, boards, staff, and partners that form the organizational landscape of affordable housing interventions: corporate control, lack of resident oversight, constrained options, and coopted narratives. The analysis reveals contexts that align with the literature on regime power: a figurehead that helps produce the alignment in the midst of fragmented jurisdictions; unclear decision-making pathways and extended timelines; disrespect for

resident leadership and knowledge; technical capacity and narrative legitimacy accrue to entities with power; and dominant narratives are promoted to quell dissent.

Public and private institutions, such as the real estate industry's appraisal process for individual properties (Zaimi 2020) as well as policies at every scale, such as the process for updating the county tax digest, work together to manage the pace and scope of financialization of places according to the needs of the market. The planning literature identifies four democratic deficits of liberal democracies, whether they are big government or neoliberal regimes (Gunder 2010). The government defines how entities access capital as investors, producers and consumers, by constructing markets and regulating their strength through prices, incentives, and sanctions. The profit-motivated, supply and demand foundations of racial capitalism in land and labor expropriation ensures that these democratic deficits persist.

There are four interrelated characteristics of the authentic dialogue that further describes the reciprocity, relationships, learning, and creativity that facilitate spatial fixes and capital switches between the first, second, and third circuits of capital within displacement regimes. The interactions facilitate the collaboration, coordination capacity, and resource pooling among diverse, yet interdependent urban actors that are required for corporate growth. A political figurehead, such as the Mayor, typically unites the diverse actors by highlighting the interdependencies and ignoring the disagreements. In order to garner the private and public resources to support a project, a political figurehead typically unites (or co-opts) overlapping and interconnected relationships (and narratives) to develop a united front. This causes narrative legitimacy, political, and social capital to accrue to

those in power. As part of a growth machine, public sector activity is already part of the urban regime.

Furthermore, the fragmented jurisdictional boundaries allow decision making pathways and timeline to remain extended, unclear and/or nontransparent. Co-opting narratives to develop a united front and flexibly meshing formal and informal arrangements allows technical expertise and narrative legitimacy to accrue to those capital holders already in power. and thus, easily exploitable by regime actors with more access to resources. Finally, oppositional resident leadership is delegitimized and disrespected as the hegemonic paradigm of development is reinforced and alternative and oppositional options are disregarded.

The land use and economic growth planning framework for neighborhood development is complex. Private property, and therefore the right to profit-driven land use development, is protected by law. The few constraints on development include zoning regulations and neighborhood approvals for variances, tax incentives, or to prompt infrastructure improvements. The residential and commercial real estate markets are expected to lead and guide the economic development process - catalyzing and proposing projects that attract businesses or residents that raise the property values to an area. The complex network of actors includes, but is not limited to the banks, development companies, academic institutions, healthcare facilities, and major retailers.

Large scale initiatives and collaboratives between universities, governments, and philanthropy are examples of policies and institutions that serve as adaptations to the system and reinforce the growth imperative of the urban regime. These policies and

institutions are often a manifestation of the social reproduction of power and ideology through narratives and culture building (Zanotto 2020), which is found in the third circuit of capital. The resulting system adaptations of collaborative rationality in urban development tend towards capitalist institutions with marginal and/or private resources.

Displacement regimes are also marked by the imbalances in technical expertise and narrative legitimacy lent to those in power because institutions such as the media and universities usually provide the intellectual capacity for the actions taken by those in power. This effectively commandeered the creative space of problem solving and solution generating. As corporations, foundations, educational institutions and high net wealth individuals provide resources and technical expertise to developers and high capacity community groups, this serves to de-legitimize, disrespect, and fragment grassroots community representation and leadership. With formal political support, the available technical support often accrues to support regime led infrastructure projects that threaten to displace residents as well. When dealing with displacement regimes, community members are often left wondering who can redress their issues when public officials, business leaders, and nonprofit entities are all colluding in overlapping and intersecting ways to accomplish goals that are not ultimately in the communities' best interest.

The Bronx, a borough in New York with a population of 1.5 million, is about half a million people larger than Fulton County, where the city of Atlanta is located. In 2017, the Bronx Cooperative Development Initiative, MIT Community Innovators Lab, and Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable (2018) released a "Development without Displacement Toolkit" to provide lessons, tools, and practical strategies for cities across the U.S. to address the immense displacement pressures that have come with public

and private development. At the request of grassroots partners, the Community Innovator's Lab (CoLab) in MIT's Department of Urban Studies and Planning and the Bronx Cooperative Development Initiative engaged Bronx stakeholders in a roundtable of mission-driven developers, community residents, organizations, unions, anchor institutions, community leaders and elected officials through an 18-month process to "advance a more equitable development process." This convening occurred after the development of an "Economic Democracy Training Series" for the grassroots partners of the Bronx Cooperative Development Initiative, a MIT studio course on the Bronx development context.

The development context that the Roundtable (2018) identified in the Bronx is one that 1) excludes resident priorities, 2) avoids meaningful community engagement, and 3) fails to consider the risks and benefits of development to current residents. The Roundtable (2018) defined development as the building of collective assets and governance with marginalized residents; displacement as forced migration from "home, place or space;" and "development without displacement" as strategies that advance the aforementioned definition of "development" without "displacement." They identified tools that have been used historically until now to "wage structural violence on local communities of color" including:

> "an increased police presence, the criminalization of young people, disinvestment in public schools, escalation of deportation efforts, tenant harassment by landlords, and the invalidation of local culture, in order to make room for more affluent, often white, communities (Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable, 2018)."

They note that "today, these tools assume the forms of community rezoning and development projects that fail to reflect the best interests of local residents and small businesses and threaten their displacement (Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable 2018)."

The authentic dialogue of the displacement regime is evident in the lack of attention paid to residents' priorities and urgency throughout the development process across urbanizing areas. The authentic dialogue also leads to the creation of policies and institutions that reinforce the hegemony of the neoclassical, export driven development cycle. These adaptations to the system represent the regime's attempts to provide coordination capacity for the small wins of actors with diverse interests while the growth agenda remains unchallenged.

Adaptations to the system induced from collaborative rationality are described as shared meanings, shared identities, new heuristics, innovation between the diverse and interdependent actors, engaged in the multiple forms of authentic dialogue. They would include any policies for workforce and housing (Peck and Tickell 1992) as well as institutions such as nonprofit organizations, funds, collaboratives, and initiatives that engage and regulate the dialogue between regime actors in different parts of the circuit of capital. Typically, the system adapts by creating organizations or institutions with big visions but marginal resources to actually tackle resident priorities. Policy platforms with limited implementation strategies and timelines are often a result of system adaptations. Where resources are applied, it is oftentimes toward nonlocal nonprofits with corporate boards and outside leadership

Community development corporations have long histories and complicated roles in the context of urban regimes and have often facilitated the implementation of hegemonic economic development strategies through an overreliance on the private sector for economic development and management services (Deas 2014; Roy 2015; Fougere and Bond 2018). Due to the reliance on funding from the regime, the arena for public deliberation is limited, overt conflict is restrained (Deas 2014; Fougere and Bond 2018). This makes policy making around resident interests at the city scale particularly difficult in the "post political" neoliberal environment (Deas 2014). Fougere and Bond (2018) suggest that the need for activism and antagonism in such political environments is important to ensure that certain issues even make it onto the agenda of formal or collaborative planning processes. McGovern (2019) offers a mobilization-governance framework to "demonstrates how mobilized groups, especially if they are able to collaborate effectively, can ultimately shape the agenda and sway policy making."

Within the landscape of interdependent and diverse actors in Atlanta exists tension between those who prioritize growth and development and those who have more neighborhood-based priorities such as affordable housing and public transit. There are priorities such as good schools and public safety that many actors share, however; these become issues that are easily exploitable by the racial capitalist regime. Furthermore, there are actors who actually control development capital and those whose approvals are needed in order for development projects to leverage public subsidies. Finally there is tension between those who value grassroots voices and democracy in decision making versus those who are comfortable with regime led decision making.

Collaborative planning and bureaucratic decision-making processes privilege groups who dominate capital; and facilitate the corporate control, lack of resident oversight, constrained field of options, and narrative legitimacy of land use planning. Aligning the broad democratic deficits with local conditions regulating land use decision making, produces an understanding of regime power factors that impact the overall framework for neighborhood development.

3.6 Conclusion - where do we go from here?

3.6.1 Regional and neighborhood equitable development

In all of the strategic responses to poverty and displacement (community organizing, community building, coalition building, etc.), resident leadership and resources are required to organize and challenge unwanted and unaffordable development, create plans that are reflective of resident's needs and desires (which connect resident priorities to land uses), and implement those plans. The ways different communities have mobilized and coordinated around various community organizing, community building, and coalition building strategies to prevent displacement and gentrification of their neighborhoods and communities warrants future exploration using this framework.

McGovern's (2019) mobilization-governance framework for coalition building includes political conscious raising and organizational capacity building as key steps in the mobilization phase. The governance phase includes both top down and bottom up coalition building to create the space for participatory planning and policy making. McGovern (2019) argues that "because of their dearth of resources, marginalized groups are compelled

to enlist allies who do possess ample resources and a willingness to employ them to rebuild distressed neighborhoods (McGovern 2019, 14)."

Unfortunately, McGovern (2019) contends, because "such allies include private foundations and education and medical institutions serving as neighborhood anchors…forging a productive relationship with such actors requires community organizations to abandon any previous inclination to assume a confrontational posture toward entrenched interested in favor of a more cooperative, constructive approach based on 'a cautious willingness to bargain for community benefits' (McGovern 2019, 15)."

While "most regime theorists have posited an inherent conflict between the business community and residents over growth policy"...[at times], "poor and minority neighborhoods seeking new investment sometimes align themselves with business interests (Logan et al. 76). Therefore, literature that positions an "antigrowth coalition...[as] residential interests in the form of neighborhood associations, environmental groups, and other civic organizations (Logan et al. 1999, 89)" that are inherently oppositional to the growth machine warrants challenge. A nuanced perspective is necessary to analyze the relationship between regime actors and grassroots "anti-growth" actors and residents, who may not, in fact, be "anti-growth" but would like to participate and/or be included in growth and/or simply provide environmental controls and protections to limit unsustainable growth.

As Zanotto (2020) writes in her exploration of ideology in neoliberal contexts, "If we understand practices and structures as mutually constituted (Giddens 1984), then we must consider planning not simply as a practice bounded by social structures, including

ideology, but also as capable of both reproducing, sustaining, challenging, and transforming them. For practices to be transformative, actors must be able to acknowledge the possibility of alternatives." Elwood (2006) offers a framework of spatial politics, institutional politics, and knowledge politics in the production of neighborhood development which reinforces the notion of three cycles of capital. She argues that community organizations must flexibly engagement in all three dimensions in order to "expand their role and power" and contend with the disempowerment of residents and neighborhoods relative to the state and other urban actors (Elwood 2006, 324).

The *Development without Displacement Toolkit* contends that development without displacement requires a coordinated two-pronged strategy of "fighting back" while "fighting forward" (Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable 2018). While the EDTS presented popular education strategies for fighting forward, the Toolkit elucidated the connections between the fighting forward and fighting back. Fighting back includes using traditional organizing strategies and tactics that use policy change and campaigns to curb displacement in the short term "such as exposing bad landlords, demonstrating against unfair city planning campaigns, and working to expand the rights of tenants." Fighting forward requires visioning for the long term through equitable development projects "such as establishing community land trusts, creating spaces for high-road local businesses with high-paying jobs, and...opportunities for shared wealth creation and ownership." In order to balance fighting back with fighting forward, the toolkit promotes the use of the framework of "economic democracy," the process of "co-creation" and the methods of "participatory planning" (Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable 2018)."

Elements of fighting back while fighting forward can be found in the strategies of grassroots actors across U.S. cities, whether explicitly codified in organizational missions, and visions, or evident in their activities. By linking the theory of regime power under racial capitalism to the Black radical planning tradition, this study seeks to align contemporary planning practice with a historical understanding of equitable development and growth. Centering the theory and practice of Black Americans fill gaps in planning theory and practice that fail to acknowledge the construction of race and class through planning history and practices of racialization, financialization, and spatialization. Woods (1998) points to a development trajectory centering human rights, sustainability, and economic democracy as was the focus of local African American leaders after the end of the civil war.

The toolkit offers lessons from the Roundtable's (2018) work including the need for coordination and collaboration across the borough, and capacity building around analysis, strategy, and coordination for grassroots partners. They argue that borough-wide coordination and collaboration is important in order to shift the focus from "individual campaigns or neighborhood-level activities" to development as a process so that grassroots actors can collectively coordinate and implement a "larger movement for shared wealth building (Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable, 2018)." Similar to the county level, the borough is the scale at which policy making at the city and state levels, advocacy efforts at the neighborhood level, and real estate analysis at the city-wide/market level converge. Coordination of actors at this scale, therefore, is critical.

The study backtracks into the assumption of similar development contexts and deployment of tools of structural violence across urbanizing contexts. While cities Boston,

the Bronx, and Pittsburgh Atlanta may not be specifically comparable across demographics, certain complex conditions of abstraction, racialization, financialization, spatialization, and urbanization take place across all urban contexts.

3.6.1.1 Coalition building for participatory policy development

When dealing with displacement regimes, community members are often left wondering who can redress their issues when public officials, business leaders, and nonprofit entities are all colluding in overlapping and intersecting ways to accomplish goals that are not ultimately in the community's best interest. While the Turner Field Community Benefits Coalition potentially represented a reliable mechanisms for residents to make their voices heard in the development process (Wolf-Powers 2018; Jennings et al. 2016; Gross 2007; Baxuma 2008) their efforts ultimately suffered from an inability to articulate the need for a relationship between the coalition itself as a community institution, and the need for institutions that would ultimately be implementing the work of community led development priorities (CDCs, developers, service providers, etc.). Future research will examine the potential for increased awareness of shared equity models of housing, non-profits, and business to serve as adaptations to a system of urban regimes and growth machines.

Many planning scholars and policy analysts see policy making as a crucial intervention in disrupting displacement trends, yet much of the literature acknowledges the dearth of federal, state, and local affordable housing policies that protect residents from the displacement impacts of inequitable development (Bates 2013; Mueller and Schwartz 2008; Elmedni 2018; Lens 2018; Foyt 2018). Community benefits agreements are also

studied as mechanisms that allow community priorities to impact the local development process (Bates 2013; Wolf-Powers 2018; Gross 2007; Baxamusa 2008). By leveraging their formal or practical role in project approval, community representatives or leaders can negotiate specific requirements for jobs, wages, services and projects that must be met by the developer or the development project.

Community benefits agreements can be made between the community residents and the developer, the developer and the city, and/or the city and the residents. Some agreements are codified in policy while others are not. In any case, monitoring and implementation of the CBAs are an ongoing concern which require grassroots capacity and coordination (Wolf-Powers 2018; Gross 2007; Baxamusa 2008). McGovern's (2019) mobilization-governance framework for coalition building includes political conscious raising and organizational capacity building as key steps in the mobilization phase. The governance phase includes both top down (collaborative, linking social capital) and bottom up (grassroots, bridging social capital) coalition building to create the space for participatory planning and policymaking.

Peterman (2004) describes a combination of advocacy planning and collaborative planning as being critical to designing effective community planning and inclusive development models. In an article titled Community Planning, Sharing Law And The Creation Of Intentional Communities: Promoting Alternative Economies And Economic Self-sufficiency Among Low-income Communities, the author, a transactional lawyer and community planner, Elizabeth Carter (2015) suggests the focus of resistance efforts should be community building rather than community organizing. Citing Bill Traynor's work on community building, Carter (2015) notes that in community building, "the focus is on the

community itself through the development of social capital and cooperation, whereas community organizing is political, confrontation, and hierarchical with a focus on 'power building and confronting entrenched interests of the broader political economy' (692)."

The framework of cooperative rationality demonstrates the potential for neighborhood residents to resist displacement regimes by spatializing capital according to their own preferences, with or without regime led planning processes. While "most regime theorists have posited an inherent conflict between the business community and residents over growth policy"...[at times], "poor and minority neighborhoods seeking new investment sometimes align themselves with business interests (Logan et al. 76). Therefore literature that positions an "antigrowth coalition...[as] residential interests in the form of neighborhood associations, environmental groups, and other civic organizations (Logan, et al. 1999, 89)" that are inherently oppositional to the growth machine warrants challenge. A nuanced perspective is necessary to analyze the relationship between regime actors and grassroots "anti-growth" actors and residents, who may not, in fact, be "anti-growth" but would like to participate and/or be included in growth and/or simply provide environmental controls and protections to limit unsustainable growth.

An example of the type of coalition building that links hyper local challenges and land uses to federal, state, and national policies is the work of the Back in the Black Coalition in Durham North Carolina. This coalition has brought together several local organizations to develop an organizing plan to secure community control of American Rescue Plan Act funds in Durham, NC. The American Rescue Plan Act was signed in March 2021 and the first distribution of funds was on May 11, 2021, where several billion dollars went to municipalities. The second distribution will be in May 2022.

Local organizers have likened the amount to the funding provided to local governments through the New Deal in the 1930s. While the New Deal included policies and initiatives that helped some people, racial motivated Jim Crow laws enforcing redlining and segregation prevented Black people from accessing these public funds. The Back in the Black Coalition Proposal is to secure 45% of Durham's funds for Black-led businesses & organizations (Southern Movement Assembly, email communication 10/11/2021).

3.6.2 Economic democracy policies

According to the Development without Displacement toolkit, economic democracy, co-creation, and participatory planning are crucial elements that must come together to contend with development without displacement. Economic democracy is:

> "a framework that centers collective ownership and democratic governance of the assets and institutions that make up a given economy by those most impacted by it. BCDI and MIT CoLab advance a collective understanding of economic democracy based on histories and experiences from the Bronx and around the world, grounded in histories of struggle against colonial, racial, and ethnic violence and oppression: Mondragón in Spain, caracoles and ejidos in Mexico, Seikatsu in Japan, Ujamaa in Tanzania, and many more (Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable, 2018)."

Furthermore, co-creation offers the opportunity for:

> "the work of the Roundtable and BCDI to create a Bronx-wide strategy for development without displacement [by] shifting the focus from individual

campaigns or neighborhood-level activities to collectively coordinating and implementing a larger movement for shared wealth building." The work of co-creation also allows for Bronx-wide coordination as key to ensuring that "interdependent issues and related campaigns are not occurring in siloes--that largely residential neighborhoods in the Northwest Bronx advocating for affordable housing, for example, are aware of and engaged in fights for the preservation of industrial land, open space, and high-road jobs in the South Bronx (Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable, 2018)."

Finally, participatory planning is:

"the practice of urban planning that is truly in partnership with and controlled by community members --residents, workers, small business owners. Experience has shown that top-down, technocratic approaches to planning do not benefit community members or prevent displacement, in addition to lacking democratic values. From the beginning, MIT CoLab has taken the directions of its community partners in co-creating its planning tools. The Bronx and New York City as a whole also have a long history of planning processes that the community itself has designed and led in response to the traditional processes that leave them out or tokenize their participation. To quote a common Bronx rallying cry, 'Nothing about us, without us, is for us!' (Bronx Development without Displacement Roundtable, 2018)."

There are more specific economic democracy policies that can be implemented to address racial capitalism and regime power and foster economic democracy, co-creation, and participatory planning such as participatory budgeting (Hamaji 2017; Story 2016).

3.6.2.1 Government finance reforms, participatory economic planning and policy making

Considerable literature questions the efficacy of tax increment financing in creating equitable development outcomes (Peterson 2014; Flint 2018; Farmer 2019; Merriman 2018; Knight 2016). This begs the question of how to finance large infrastructure upgrades and projects. The history of racial capitalism and regime politics has made policies that further the racialization and financialization of people and place-based for the purposes of expropriation "go-to" methods for community and economic development. Unfortunately, these methods, intentionally (or not) facilitate profit driven development and exclude poor residents from participating in the gains in property valuation.

In *Unlocking Land Values to Finance Urban Infrastructure,* Peterson suggests that "special measures may need to be taken to make land-based financing support investment in basic municipal services [since] land financing has been… used less frequently to finance investment in existing basic infrastructure services, such as repair or upgrading of water supply, wastewater collection, or solid waste removal (Peterson 2009, 111)." Peterson (2009) notes that basic services agencies (such as water supply or public works) "typically do not own excess land that can be sold or developed" unlike "transportation agencies or development authorities." Because the budgets are not fungible, "institutional owners of public land are reluctant to share sale proceeds with others, including other

agencies in the same government." Peterson (2009) offers as a solution to this risk "governance reform, which establishes a consolidated capital budget, or in a sharing agreement that automatically allocates a part of land finance proceeds to the municipal government (Peterson 2009, 111)."

In additional to governance reform, Casper-Futterman (2019) outlines a number of policy proposal that could provide financing for public infrastructure projects in New York where he has conducted an extensive analysis of the Bronx Cooperative Development Initiative. The policy proposals include:

> "proposals such as taxing fictitious capital to create real capital, essentially a financial transactions tax; municipalizing New York City land; bringing elite nonprofits under city control or enacting substantial PILOTs (something that Anchor institutions would be unlikely to support); establish the new york bank for jobs and development (analogous to the recent launch of a public banking campaign for New York City, see Mohammedi and Murphy 2019); fund and finance producer coops, small and minority owned businesses; treat industrial land like parkland, treat industrial buildings like landmarks; roll back subsidies for luxury housing development; abolish public development authorities (this would in present day terminology include the NYC Economic Development Corporation); build a new port and restore rail linkages to the region; revive housing production with 50,000 new units per year; save jobs by extending rent regulation to commercial and industrial enterprises 317 (similar to the Small Business and Jobs Survival Act now under consideration by the New York City council see Warerkar 2018); and finally, promote economic democracy through employee and worker ownership and the

development of a city-led industrial policy for economic diversity (1993, 250-267). (Casper-Futterman 2019, 316)

Casper-Futterman (2019) suggests that local economic democracy policies can be best leveraged if there are "aligned policies at the national level under a supportive administration; including a more steeply progressive redistributive tax code, modernized labor laws, revived and modernized anti-trust and anti-monopoly and anti-monopsony enforcement legislation (Casper-Futterman 2019, 317)."

3.6.2.2 Enabling environment for cooperative development

As member owned business enterprises, cooperatives are owned and controlled by their bylaw defined membership. Their purpose can circumvent the legal imperative for corporate entities to maximize their profits for the benefit of their stakeholders. Cooperatives are operated for the benefit of their members – whether to provide lower prices or rates, bulk products, services, jobs, and the benefits that come from workforce development. As Spicer (2018) contends, to create a truly "'national' cooperative ecosystem, [cooperative enterprises] must leverage their civil society-based solidarity to "scale up" like a social movement, from "local" problems to national scale, and achieve affirmative access to national economic policy tools."

Sutton (2019) describes the foundation of legal and regulatory policies required in order for cooperative development to support equitable neighborhood development. In analyzing 12 U.S. cities for their support of [mostly worker] cooperative development, Sutton (2019) found that to create an enabling environment, the government creates a legal definition and designation of what inclusive ownership structures are; including access to

ownership and distribution of the ownership. Explicit definitions are essential for the flow of public benefits and tax treatments (See Figure 3-3) (Sutton 2018, 1082). Nevertheless, "some cooperative cities are city-led with civic institutional backing and others are grassroots and advocacy led and the city only validates the efforts. The cities fell into three general categories:

Cultivator Cities are using grassroots and advocacy based strategies to push cities policies and city investments, often due to grassroots insistence. NYC falls here, and this also includes Minneapolis and Madison. The enabling environment in Developer Cities is led more by civic institutions and the city. Cleveland, OH; Richmond, Virginia; and Rochester, NY are examples. In Endorser Cities - the larger group; there is some grassroots activity, but the city only validates and does not lend monetary support. Endorser Cities includes Austin, Texas; Berkeley, California; Boston, MA; Oakland, CA; Philadelphia, PA; and Richmond, California (Sutton 2019).

Figure 3-3: Enabling environment for cooperative development

(1) Mandating strategies support a legal framework well fitted to the goal	modify city rules, city ordinances, regulatory processes, eliminate constraints
(2) Facilitating (and partnering) strategies	approve multiyear budget initiatives that help assemble capital, provide nontax-based incentives (e.g., land, technical expertise), assemble multiscalar public resources, broker market entry and expansion
(3) Promoting strategies	raise public awareness about the structure and function, educate city administrators and policymakers embed initiatives in city agencies as pilot programs, bolster legitimacy, support research and knowledge development
Derived from enabling environment as defined by Sutton (2019, 1082)	

Generally policies must provide "business development support, which are typical of what many municipal governments provide now to small businesses. This includes

access to affordable in-state financing, access to markets, and business consulting and services (Sutton 2019). Policies that support enterprise resilience are also required. First, is an organizational resilience which requires membership and broad cooperative associations; then financial resilience, which requires that a certain level of profits to be retained and indivisible inside the cooperative. The typical legal threshold is 30% but it many go beyond that. These profits can never be spread to individual members and are instead saved within the cooperative. Cooperative development polices must also support the requirement to fulfill community wealth building. This includes requiring high employee ownership, and a solidarity fund, which requires that a set portion of the cooperatives profits to go toward a fund to develop new cooperatives that further connect the place through neighborhood investment programs (Gordon Nembhard 2004).

Casper-Futterman (2019) further notes that what is "striking about these proposals is the extent to which some of them seem politically impossible or implausible, while others are being actively debated and promoted (Casper-Futterman 2019, 317)." The following chapter introduces a pedagogical framework that supports planners in analyzing and identifying policies that are "what we really need," "politically feasible," and "false solutions."

3.6.3 Social learning for abolitionist planning

The praxis of planning is highly contentious - how planners learn the priorities and interests of the communities they are planning for, with, or around and come to represent those interests (or not) to government leaders, policy makers, real estate developers, corporations, and other decision makers has evolved as the consequences of top down

decision making have detrimentally impacted already marginalized residents and indigenous populations. Coming from the perspective of these indigenous, black, resident populations, a critical question becomes how to develop neighborhoods, cities, schools, livelihoods, etc. amidst the infrastructure of centralized, neo-liberal, market-based capitalist planning which ignores, displaces, or consumes them.

For those of us attempting to build institutions and infrastructure of democratic collective decision making within disenfranchised resident populations, the practice of planning is difficult for a number of reasons. Policy and planning decisions are most often already made and then announced. Resources for development, programs, and projects typically do not originate within the community. The information required to plan is typically withheld or concentrated within communities with the time and resources to research or have advocates. Furthermore, there is a lack of coordination capacity to execute projects and plans at the scale at which our dominant systems of governance can. What can planners do to shift the power and resources to implement projects, plans, and programs to the neighborhood scale? Community organizers operate from this perspective, but they can often lack the institutional knowledge to implement plans and projects.

CHAPTER 4. A CURRICULAR FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL LEARNING FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

4.1 Introduction to the short course: *Equity, Place, and Justice: Reckoning wih the Past, Planning for the Future*

The Georgia Tech short course *Equity, Place, and Justice: Reckoning with the Past, Planning for the Future* was taught in the School of City and Regional Planning in the Spring of 2021. Amidst a global pandemic and historic civil rebellions of Black, indigenous, poor, and working-class young people protesting displacement, police brutality, and environmental degradation, the 3-day course provided a look into the historical dynamics of urban planning and equitable development in the South.

It was co-developed and co-taught by Dr. Nisha Botchwey and her PhD student nene igietseme. Using a mix of guest lecturers, including Dr. Prentiss Dantzler, dr. kamau bobb, and Nathaniel Smith of Partnership for Southern Equity; multi-medium information sources; as well as experiential learning strategies, the course was designed with key pedagogical features for significant learning. With modifications, the course can be an experiential capital and capabilities building community planning course featuring action learning through economic democracy projects with urban residents.

The course offers a "*Feel-Know-Do*" framework as an engaged learning pedagogy for teaching communicative action in planning. This paper presents the course as taught, including the advertised description, course objectives, activities, and assignments; and student work and evaluations are presented in the discussion as evidence of significant

learning outcomes. The paper concludes with considerations for expanding the course objectives and activities into a 16-week action learning or field education course that introduces cooperative rationality as a form of communicative action. A number of grassroot curricula and resources, as well as relevant literature and model academic courses are cited and referenced to inform the modifications for the course.

4.2 Course outline: *"Feel-Know-Do"*

The short course was designed to facilitate significant learning about racial capitalism, regime power, and collaborative rationality in planning practice using "*Feel-Know-Do*" as a framework for socially engaged, active learning pedagogy. It builds upon Botchwey et al.'s (2009) teaching model for an interdisciplinary active learning course which is based on L. Dee Fink's (2003) Integrative Course Design framework utilizing backwards planning design. This model can be used to develop engaged learning courses in community planning by combining foundational knowledge about a subject with training and experiences in application, self-directed learning, social-emotional development, and analytical abilities to synthesize ideas and interactions across different realms of the subject (Botchwey and Umemoto 2020). According to indigenous scholar Styres (2018) "Critical pedagogy is one site of radical critique of education, rooted in sometimes Marxist, sometimes postmodern desires for social transformation current scholarship on critical pedagogy interrogates pedagogy not simply as effective classroom practice; but as a source of praxis that has a present purpose and future purpose toward change (Chapter 1)."

The description for the short course was as follows:

Effective advocacy planning and equity planning requires a willingness to confront the complex relationships between equity, justice, and history in places. In the U.S., the legacies of forced labor, segregation, and racial terror persist at the individual and institutional levels; showing up in conditions such as mass incarceration, voter suppression, and inequitable development practices that lead to displacement. In this short course, participants will examine their understandings of equity, justice, and race using frameworks of inequality and place from leading scholars and practitioners. This short course will deepen the reflective practice of planning students through multi-media sources, readings, lectures, and active discussions. It includes engagement with the New York Times' *1619 Project* by Nikole Hannah-Jones, the Equal Justice Initiative's website and reports *Reconstruction in America, Lynching in America* and *Slavery in America*; and curriculum from Mississippi's Freedom Summer in 1964.

The course was open to students at GA Tech and working planning professionals through the Georgia Planning Association. It was initially conceived as an in-person experience for students and local Georgia planning professional in Fall 2019 which would include a field trip to the Equal Justice Initiative's *Legacy Museum: From Enslavement to Mass Incarceration* and the *National Memorial for Peace and Justice Legacy Museum* a commemorative site for the victims of racial terrorism in Montgomery, Alabama. However, due to the impact of the coronavirus pandemic, the course was redesigned for virtual delivery and ultimately, 19 students and 1 professional took the course online. Although it was only a 3-day course, the learning goals and outcomes desired reflected the instructors' confidence in effective active learning course design (Botchwey et al 2009;

Botchwey and Umemoto 2020). By the end of the course participants were expected to be able to:

- Share their personal understanding of the relationship between the post-Civil War Southern response to integration and present-day inequalities
- Explain the role of enslavement, Jim Crow laws, lynching, and segregation in the community and economic development of the South
- Identify urban planning skills and capacities that can be improved with a more thorough understanding of history
- Reflect critically on their role as planners in policy making and economic development, and the impact of conceptions of equity and justice in place-based work

The 16-hour short course was taught over a Thursday evening, full-day Friday, and Saturday morning with activities respectively corresponding to "*Feel*," "*Know*," and "*Do*" each day. Thursday (*Feel*) opened with a simulation activity to set the tone for active learning and exploration. Friday (*Know*) was a mix of lectures, reviewing content in small groups, and reflections through group discussions. Saturday (*Do*) concluded with a lecture, small group application activity, and presentations.

4.3 Feel: Embodied Exercises

The *Feel-Know-Do* framework corresponds to an embodied critical transformation pedagogy which is also based on Kolb's experiential learning cycle. Offered by Johnson

(2015), the embodied critical transformation pedagogy starts with a concrete experience of embodied oppression (88). In diverse social learning groups where individual experiences with oppression cannot be assumed or safely unpacked, a simulation can provide a baseline activity for students to engage questions of privilege, identity, and power. The Power Game is an interactive activity adapted from a popular simulation used to provoke participants to rethink their assumptions about the use and abuse of power. Students participate, discuss and come to some consensus about the nature of power in systems based on their experience in the simulation activity.

The use of simulations is a common practice in "embodied social justice" approaches to teaching and learning (Johnson 2015, Introduction). An embodied approach to social justice education is one that "recognizes the degree to which our bodies are implicated in the reproduction of social power (Johnson 2015, Introduction)." Embodied exercises bring to the forefront experiences of violation and denial of legal rights and freedoms (Johnson 2015, introduction). It provides the opportunity to discuss the ways power is experienced at the core of our beings and manifested in our everyday interactions with others (Johnson 2015, Introduction). Focusing on the body is critical to understanding the connections between the macro, structural and ideological levels of power embedded in social institutions and the micro-sociological impacts of the socialization it engenders (Johnson 2015, Introduction; hooks, 2014).

Phase two of the embodied critical transformation pedagogy treats the debrief as embodied critical reflection. Maxwell et al (2011) also describe the importance of facilitating debriefs as part of intergroup dialogues and activities: "While the simulation itself is a provocative experience, it is the debriefing (often lasting as long or longer than

the simulation itself) in which trainees begin to make connections between the exercise, their life experiences, the course reading, and what other have shared about their lives. The debriefing also serves to elucidate participant emotional feelings about the exercise as it relates to real-life experience (46)." According to Johnson (2015), in this model "the emphasis on social critique is emphasized. The dominant or default social lens is identified, and a counter-hegemonic perspective explored (89)." Facilitators are instructed to "actively inquire about power and privilege, and encourage participants to question social norms and assumptions (89)." A key part of the critical reflection is for participant to develop a "felt sense (Johnson 2015, 90)" of how and where oppression and power exists in their bodies so that they can identify their responses to racial oppression as traumatic experiences.

The Power Game debrief questions are in line with embodied critical reflection and the debriefing methodology promoted by Maxwell et al (2011). Maxwell et al (2011) note that debriefing "typically begin[s] with question[s] about how participants feel and then move to question about what happened in the exercise itself (What did you and others do in the simulation? What did you observe happening around you? What were the consequences of unequal treatment experienced by each group?). [Facilitators] then move to relating this exercise to real-life experiences and how new insights can be applied to spheres of influence in their own lives (How does this exercise relate to real-life experiences? What did you learn that you can use in your sphere of influence?) (46)." After facilitating the Power Game, the instructors asked the following questions:

- What were your initial objectives in the trading rounds and in the rule setting or suggesting?

- How interested were you in changing the system? What specifically did you want to change?

- What strategies did you use to try to create change? What other options were available to you? Why didn't you consider those? What happens to us as we gain power?

- How are these insights related to a time when you felt powerful or powerless as a planner or in an organizational setting? How did that feel? How did that position affect your relationships? Your performance?

Student responses confirmed that simulation activities allow students to reflect critically on their role as planners in policy making and economic development, and the impact of their conceptions of equity and justice in place-based work. Takeaways of the discussions included:

- To change behavior, it may be necessary to change the system in which that behavior occurs

- Few people are likely to participate in an endeavor if they feel powerless

- If rules do not have legitimacy, they will not be obeyed

- What seems fair to people in power is not likely to seem fair to those who are out of power

- People who are promoted rarely remember those they leave behind

The simulation game provides a low-stakes way to explore difficult topics. As an indigenous learning model role-play is critical to learning (Mosha 2000; Suarez 2018). According to Suarez (2018, 87) "because play energizes, it increases joy, which helps stabilize body and mood…Play supports well-being…because play supports experimentation and learning it quickens growth and evolution. Because it allows encountering new situations where one can imagine and experience the future and create possibilities, play allows the practice of skills that help create one's future self. Play also preserves the best of past social selves. It sculpts the brain and guides adaptation. Finally, because play helps human beings learn to move through the environment and the rules of engagement with others necessary in social groups, it helps one learn a public self…It is a penalty-free space for rehearsing the social give and take of living in community."

With this point of departure, participants are ready to move into the "*Know*" phase of the course with tools to name power and oppression using language they may not have had before; having connected macro dynamics to internalized, personal, and interpersonal experiences.

4.4 Know: Critical Literary & Intergroup Dialogue

Phase three of the embodied critical transformation pedagogy is integrated distillation. In Kolb's model of experiential learning, this is referred to as the abstract conceptualization phase, and is characterized by an emphasis on thinking and hypothesizing, making connections, and connecting the dots. This is a synthesizing phase where students are asked to "distill these various aspects and perspectives into a more cohesive whole." The "*Know*" phase offered new information in the form of lectures and

historical narratives, along with space for discussion and reflection so that students could come to new understandings about equity and planning.

4.4.1 Reading assignments

In addition to the simulation activity, multimedia content reviews, and guest lectures, the participants were also assigned to read one of three books and then prepare a 1-page, single spaced reading reflection responding to the following two questions:

- Which of your perceptions about planning, policymaking, and development are challenged or reinforced by the narratives and content in the book?
- What planning skills and capacities can be improved with a more thorough understanding of the content presented in the book?

The participants were also asked to respond to the following book specific questions:

- *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontent by Isabela Wilkerson:* Which pillars of the seven pillars of caste are most relevant to planning practice and equitable development? Why or why not?
- *Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption by Byron Stevenson*: What is the relationship between the legal system, incarceration, and economic development? How does planning practice interface with this relationship?
- *Where Peachtree Meets Sweet Auburn: A Saga of Race and Family by Gary Pomerantz*: How does the development of Atlanta as an urban center reflect the legacy of enslavement and appropriation of indigenous lands?

On the first day, participants were broken out into small groups where one person who had read each book was in each group, so they could offer different perspectives and analysis. The reflection papers demonstrated that the participants engaged in active reflection on privilege, dominant narratives, and policies as it relates to their past and future planning careers. Many participants also made the connections between planning history, mass incarceration, and policing. The 1-page reflections served as formative assessments of course goals 1 and 2: share personal understanding of the relationship between the post-Civil War Southern response to integration and present-day inequalities; as well as explain the role of enslavement, Jim Crow laws, lynching, and segregation in the community and economic development of the South.

For example, one student who read *Just Mercy* wrote in reflection that:

> *"I know multiple people who were stopped by police officers who found illegal drugs on them who were let off with warnings, people who drove recklessly, destroyed property, sexually and physically assaulted others and any other number of criminal acts who were issued fines and had their juvenile court records sealed. These people have since graduated from college and entered the job market with well-paying jobs. Many of these crimes that would have gotten my peers labeled troubled kids and placed them on a collision course with the criminal justice system had they been born into a poor, black community, are instead now being told as funny anecdotes at bars and parties, because they were instead born into an affluent, white community."*

Student reflection on *Caste*:

"Caste provides a framework of accountability and I think irrefutable truth that we live in a society based around the maintenance of white power and white purity, by any means necessary. I think when a planner reads this book, it should be quickly obvious how they can connect their own skills and power to the detangling of whiteness from power and uplifting black people into power. This means often stepping away from their own seats of power and allowing black communities to state their needs and you work for them to implement solutions accordingly. Community participation can go beyond a survey or a public input meeting. Connect neighborhoods with the resources that your very institution that you work for as a planner is supposed to provide. The racist strategies repeat themselves under different names; have the awareness of the history of your planning department and the decisions it has been a part of (or excluded from in the case of private development, and push to change that) and don't continue to fall into the traps that keep black communities underfunded, overpoliced, or later displaced."

4.4.2 Lectures & Multimedia Close Reading

Building on the reading assignments, the discussion questions in the *Know* were designed to elicit responses that provided evidence of their understanding of the course topics and themes. Notably, participants were asked to share understandings of the relationship between the post-Civil War Southern response to the end of enslavement and present-day inequalities. This reflected a refinement of the initial course goal that students share their understanding of the response to integration based on feedback from students about the content of the readings. While some of the reading materials were on segregation and integration, students mostly focused on the readings and documents from the EJI

Slavery in America and Lynching in America reports. Discussions revealed that students made connections between racial capitalism, incarceration, regime power, and equitable development. The group reflections on guest speakers were another opportunity to hear the students integrate their understandings of the history with present day equitable economic development challenges.

In the *"Know"* section, the participants engaged in lectures, read and/or listen to content from the New York Times' 1619 Project by Nikole Hannah -Jones; the Equal Justice Initiative's public education reports on slavery, Reconstruction, racial violence and terrorism; and read excerpts from a complied and published version of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer curriculum. The methodology of the "*Know*" phase highlights the importance of critical literacy. Styres (2018) offers the description that "critical literacy encourages students to actively analyze and engage with meaning-making through a variety of texts, media, and popular culture looking for and exploring underlying messages and symbolic representations (Styres 2018, Chapter 1)." Furthermore, as a decolonial pedagogical praxis "one of the main goals of critical literacy is to open up opportunities for learners to understand themselves first through critical self-reflection, and to gain a better understanding of each other and the ways power, privilege, and colonial relations continue to inform our ways of knowing and being in the world (Styres 2018, Chapter 1)."

The facilitators led participants in a series of small group and full group reflections on what they heard and learned, and the relevance to economic development and planning practice. Three important features of intergroup dialogue are content learning, structured interaction, and facilitative guidance (Maxwell et al. 2011). These aspects were reflected in the design. Participants were divided into small groups and allowed to choose a resource

from a list of readings, audio and video files; they were giving discussion questions as a lens for their exploration. After 20-30 minutes, students were brought back together in a facilitated dialogue to share important take away points and any questions that arose from their exploration of the content.

Since its founding by Bryon Stevenson, the Equal Justice Initiative has challenged mass incarceration by opposing the death penalty and excessive punishment, as well as providing legal representation to people who have be "illegally convicted, unfairly sentenced, or abused in state jails and prisons.[2]" The Equal Justice Initiative released a number of reports between 2014 and 2020 including, *Slavery in America* which highlights the impact of the slave trade through Montgomery, AL in the South, as well as the differences between the early trade and after the invention of the cotton gin. *Reconstruction in America: Racial Violence after the Civil War* delves into racial violence after the Civil War, while *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror* and *Targeting Black Veterans* explores the conditions that drove the explosion of this form of racial terrorism. The report *Segregation in America* focuses on the policies and politicians who perpetuated the myth of racial difference at the expense of equitable development and fought against Civil Rights and integration practices. Together, the reports argue that the concessions made to segregationists in the face of racial terrorism allowed racial domination to persist and infuse into our present-day institutions and policies.

EJI created corresponding curricular guides for high school teachers and educators where they have matched the content from their website and reports to interactive learning

[2] https://eji.org/about/

activities for grades 9-12. The activities only needed slight modification to meet the graduate school level and time constraints of the course. The first content piece was a video by the Equal Justice Initiative defining racial terrorism and racial terror lynching. The goals were for students to reflect on the definition of racial terrorism and racial terror lynching, as well as acknowledge the importance of defining terms in planning practice.

The students in the short course also listened to two of the five podcast episodes in the 1619 Project in order to identify the present-day impacts and manifestations of the violence and brutality of the institution of slavery. Episode 1: *The Fight for True Democracy* and Episode 2: *The Economy that Slavery Built*. As of June 2021, The Pulitzer Center has produced listening and curricular guides for the *1619 Project* podcasts for students of all ages[3].

Students heard from Dr. Prentiss Dantzler in an Introduction to Racial Capitalism lecture. Dr. Dantzler provided a theoretical overview of racial capitalism within urban processes to frame the historical narratives found in the content of the reports that extend, challenge, and refine our understanding of the development of cities and neighborhoods (Dantzler, 2021). His lecture challenged dominant theories of urbanization processes to unpack how race is embedded in capitalist institutions and used as a mechanism for value extraction. The question and answer included discussion of the relevance of racial capitalism to housing, transit, and other critical planning issues.

4.4.2.1 Slavery, Democracy, & the American Dream

[3] https://pulitzercenter.org/builder/lesson/listening-guide-1619-podcast

This session focuses on understanding the unique attributes of American slavery; particularly its reliance upon a racial caste system, or racial hierarchy, that tied enslavement to race. Participants explored the power of the "Myth of Racial Difference" and the purposes served by a narrative of black inferiority. The content focused on Episode 1 of the 1619 Project: *The Fight for a True Democracy*. After listening to the podcast, student selected from other content for this section including: "The Lives and Fears of America's Enslaved People," "Montgomery Slave Trade," and "The Post-Slavery Experience" from *Slavery in America* (8-11; 17-21; 27-39); and "Secession and Emancipation: 1861-1865" and "Back to Brutality: Restoring Racial Hierarchy Through Terror and Violence" from *Lynching in America* (6-17; 18-26).

4.4.2.2 Economics of Racial Terror

This section focused on Episode 2 of the 1619 Project: *The Economy that Slavery Built.* It starts with participants gaining an understanding of the role of the genocide and land appropriation of indigenous Americans in the development of the U.S. economy and the South by observing maps of the original tribe locations as well as Georgia's watershed. Students then focus on contextualizing racial terror and public spectacle lynchings of African Americans (particularly veterans) throughout the history of post-Civil War economic development including the experiences of Reconstruction, black codes and Jim Crow laws, the Great Migration. They studied the Great Migration Map and the Racial Terror Lynchings Map on EJI Website and selected readings from the EJI reports including: "Lynching in the South, 1877– 1950" and "Lynching Outside the South, 1877 – 1950;" and "Enabling an Era of Lynching: Retreat, Resistance, and Refuge" from *Lynching in America* (39-45; 48–58).

Some students elected to read stories and narratives from *Lynching in America: Targeting Black Veterans* including "Red Summer of 1919 (22)"; "Moore's Ford Bridge (27);" "Hosea Williams (32);" and "Marching Toward a Movement: Black Service in World War II (34-38)." Highlighting the constraints of housing, jobs, and access to services faced by Black Veterans, in particular, served to put into perspective that was gained by White segregationists in perpetuating the myth of racial inferiority. Students discussed the impetus for a racial hierarchy and identified laws and policies adapted to reposition black people at the economic and social bottom of society. The goal of this section was for students to meet learning objective two and explain the role of enslavement, Jim Crow laws, lynching, and segregation in the community and economic development of the South

4.4.2.3 Racial Caste & the Franchise

The final critical literacy content section introduced content from a Freedom School Curriculum derived from Mississippi Freedom Summer, 1964. This session focuses on the impact of the racial caste system on access to voting rights in particular. The relationship between enfranchisement and the economy were explored using content that documented the relationships between local, state, and federal, levels of political representation and support, health outcomes and economic development options. Students chose from a number of content options including: "Freedom Summer Curriculum case studies (174-180);" "The Mississippi Power Structure Part I : Where Their Money Comes From, Part II: Industry and Politics" (256); "The Power of the Dixiecrats (265)"; "Voter Registration Laws in Mississippi: Subversion of the 15th Amendment in Mississippi (334)." The *Lynching in America* report also offered selections relevant to this section including: "Confronting Lynching (57–64);" "Racially Biased Criminal Justice and Mass

Incarceration (60–61);" "Lynching's Legacy: Capital Punishment in America (62–64)," and the "Trauma and the Legacy of Lynching (65)."

The "Know" section of the course was concluded by two lectures to transition participants to the "Do" phase. *Dr. kamau bobb,* delivered a lecture entitled *Justice, Access, & Opportunity*. Dr. bobb's lecture served as a 'call-to-action' and highlighted the relationships between equity, opportunity, and access to STEAM (Science, technology, engineering, arts/design, math) learning and careers. This call to action reoriented the historically focused conversation to the present and allowed for the opportunity to make connections between a historically grounded understanding of equity and more contemporary uses and definitions. Nathaniel Smith delivered a lecture entitled *Where do we go from here?* Featuring his work in regional coalition building and policy making with his organization, Partnership for Southern Equity.

In the ensuing discussion, students were able to connect equitable development to equity in the STEM enterprise, large educational systems, and the social and structural conditions that influence contemporary U.S. American life. After hearing from Nathaniel Smith, students were prepared to identify urban planning skills and capacities that can be improved with a more thorough understanding of history and reflect critically on their role as planners in policy making and economic development, and the impact of varying conceptions of equity and justice in their work. Furthermore, students worked to identify narratives, terms, and misconceptions that need to be addressed or defined by the field of planning, including equity, justice, and development.

4.5 Do: Applications to Planning Practice

The final stage of the framework is "Do." In this stage, participants worked in groups to present synthesized reflections on their learnings, the applications to development in Atlanta, and implications for planning practice. The desired learning outcomes were that students would review plans and evaluate how they have or have not addressed the historical context explored in the prior sections; identify policies and practices that are needed, politically realistic, and/or false solutions; and identify points of intervention in policies and planning practice. As Johnson (2015) notes, after identifying, critically examining, and gathering together all the elements of an experience, the next step in the embodied critical transformation cycle asks participants to cycle focuses on new ways of acting in (not just thinking about) the world (91). It is called embodied critical experimentation. This phase asks participants to experiment with solutions to the problem of embodied oppression they have identified in the previous phases of the cycle (Johnson 2015, 91).

On the last day of the course, students were asked to apply their learnings to planning practice through the analysis of a planning document in the Atlanta area. Each student contributed to an analysis of a current plan or policy using an grassroot policy analysis framework called the 3-circles strategy chart (See Appendix A). The diagram has three overlapping circle – a three circle Venn Diagram where the first and third circles do not overlap. The first circle is "what we really need." This is informed by how students feel about the history we discussed; the knowledge they gained about the determinants of health outcomes and the root causes of migration, poverty and resistance. The middle circle is defined as what is politically realistic, and the final circle is defined as false solutions. The space where the first circle, what we really need, and the middle circle, what is politically

realistic overlap is described as the space where we need to codify practices. What we really need that is outside of the realm of the politically realistic is the space for governance, or it still needs to be created. The space where false solutions and what is politically realistic overlap needs to be opposed, and false solutions generally need to be exposed.

Applying the social justice framework of "false solutions" versus "what we really need" students were asked to categorize the various policy and planning instruments found in the plans within that dichotomy, paying particular attention to what was politically realistic. The call to action through the framework is to expose the false solutions that are not politically realistic; meaning they are part of planning practice but are frowned upon when discussed explicitly or in particular ways. The false solutions that fall out of the bounds of being politically realistic must be exposed as such narratives keep the boundary of what is political realistic far away from what we really need. False solutions that are politically realistic must be opposed.

The goal of the analysis is to expand the bounds of what is politically realistic to include what is really needed. Students are encouraged to think of how to create the things that are really needed but not yet politically realistic and codifying the things that are what is needed and already politically realistic. The politically realistic space in between what is really needed and what are false solutions holds many policies and ideas that offer opportunity for governance, that is, being pulled towards what we really need. Hearing the participants' explanations for what was needed, versus was politically realistic or a false solution was a great way to glean their understanding of the relationship between history and equitable development. Furthermore, the ensuing discussions helped students

contextualize their understandings of what is politically realistic based on the responses and attitudes of their classmates and colleagues.

For example, students in Group 5 identified displacement and disregarding/devaluing community input from adjacent neighborhoods as false solutions that are also politically unrealistic (see Figure 1). The challenge is that while displacement is considered politically unrealistic to plan for explicitly, it is very much part of planning practice. The false solutions that are politically realistic tend to reinforce displacement without calling for it explicitly. Students in Group 5 identified SPLOST funding, market analysis, and gentrification when presented as economic development as politically realistic false solutions. Identified by Group 5 as what is really needed were: quality affordable housing, living wages, healthy environments (no pollution, walking/biking infrastructure), sustained political power of communities. However, these fell outside of the bounds of what is politically realistic.

Group 5 identified community benefits agreements, a REAL taskforce (emphasis from the students), a community-owned trust fund to purchase project equity, property owner loans, health impact assessments, incorporation of community-driven narratives, and organized resistance to the arena development as what is really needed that is also politically realistic. Students in Group 5 identified the economic development in the arena district as a key space for governance, as well as freezing property taxes around the district.

The final presentation provided evidence of participants having met learning goals 3 and 4: to identify urban planning skills and capacities that can be improved with a more thorough understanding of history; and to reflect critically on their role as planners in

policy making and economic development, and the impact of conceptions of equity and justice.

Figure 4-1: 3-Circle Strategy Chart (Group 1)

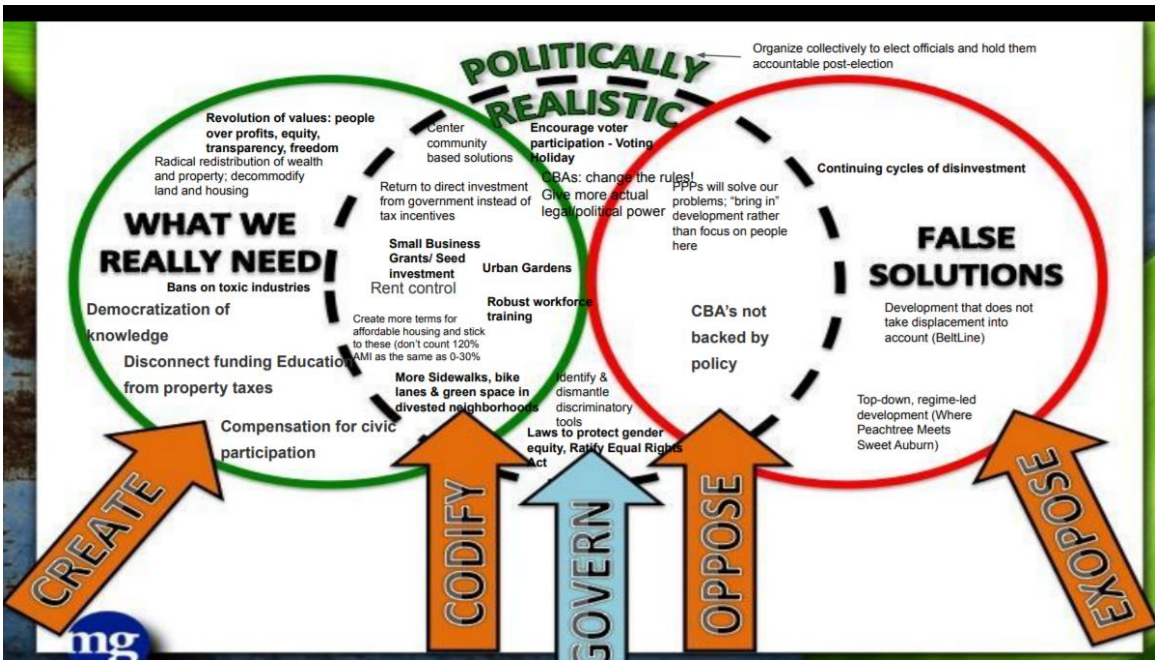


Figure 4-2: 3-Circle Strategy Chart (Group 3)

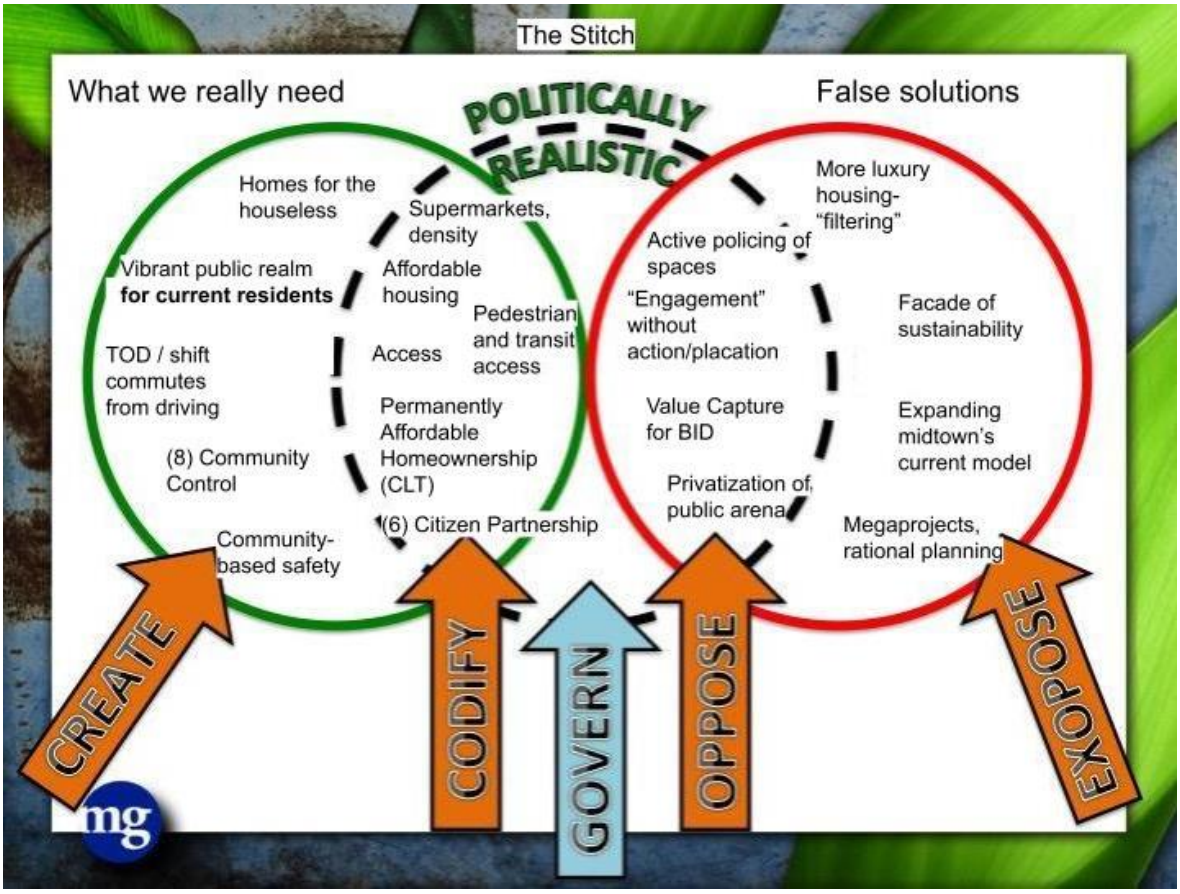
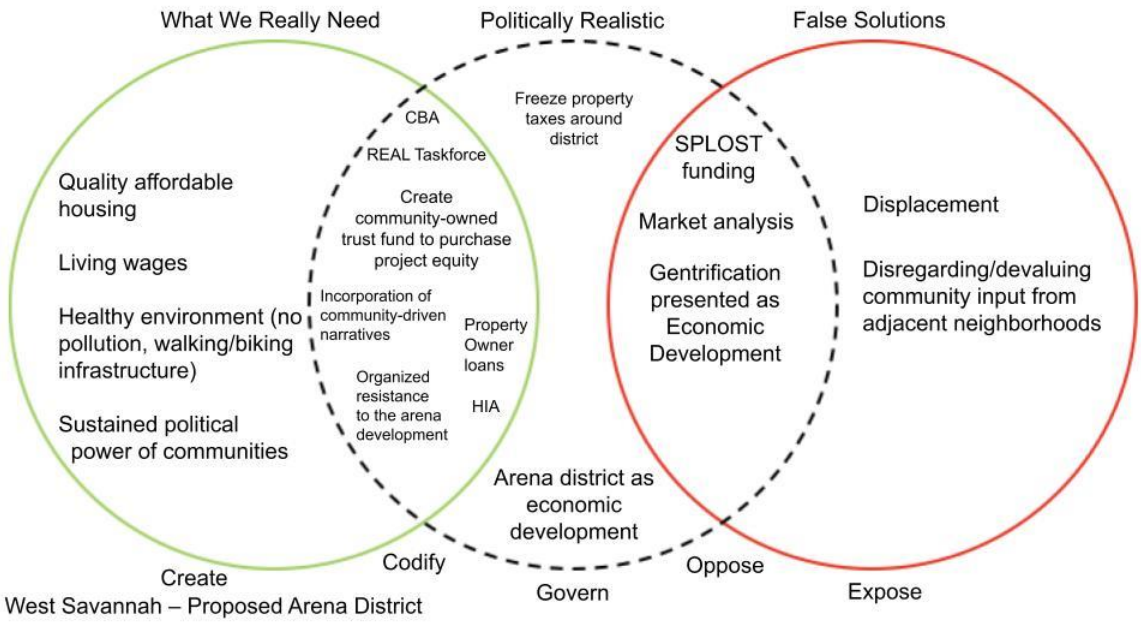


Figure 4-3: 3-Circle Strategy Chart (Group 5)



4.6 Discussion: Considerations for Future Courses

4.6.1 The use of or importance of reflection on historical narratives

While Gunder (2010) contends that planning is simply an enactment of the ideology of neoliberal space – powerful actors defining land uses for their profit motives at the expense of indigenous and local land use, Throgmorton (1993) argues that "planning can usefully be construed as persuasive and constitutive storytelling about the future (1)." In order to take on the task of contending with the dominant ideology of neoliberalism, however, it "will necessarily have to begin from a normative position," and juxtapose "diverse locally-grounded common urban narratives (Finnegan 1998; as cited by Throgmorton 1993, 1)," against each other in order to "enable the actual geohistorical

readers of transnational places to engage in fruitful dialogue (Eckstein 2003; as cited by Throgmorton 1993, 2)."

Throgmorton (1993) acknowledges that "powerful actors will strive to eliminate or marginalize competing stories (2)." The obfuscation of deep understanding of the period of enslavement, Reconstruction, and segregation and the relevance to planning and development today through sanitized history textbooks and test-based curricula in public school prompts a thorough investigation of historical narratives of enslavement, economy, and Reconstruction.

As a student participant noted:

"A perception on planning and policy making I had prior to reading the book was that many plans and policies were not totally, or at least significantly, driven by business elites and corporate interests…However, after reading about the significant power of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and its business interests, such as those of Ivan Allen Jr. and Coca Cola magnate Robert Woodruff, I realize that nearly every major decision or policy, including those of desegregating schools and restaurants, were driven by Atlanta's millionaires to preserve an image of the city that would drive further business and economic growth to the white millionaires and corporate leaders. Looking at Atlanta's current deference to major companies, such as Microsoft and Georgia Pacific, and their "master plans" for communities or their (and the City of Atlanta's) mild responses to the Summer 2020 protests and police murders and brutality, I am not sure if Atlanta's power structure or decision-making model have changed much."

Mowatt (2017) argues that "the racial ideology that operates in the United States is a racial contract and cognitive model that precludes self-transparency and genuine understanding of social realities…Racial ideologies rely on not knowing and not being reflexive about empirical exemplars of racism ([i.e.,] the case of Tamir Rice) (Mowatt 2017, 6)." Advocacy and equity planners must therefore take care to be reflective practitioners in order to "devise plans (stories about the future) that are designed to persuade…the audiences that most matter to them Throgmorton 1993, 2)."

4.6.2 The various roles of planners in social transformation

Planning as a field initially theorized about the role of the planner as an expert, technician, administrator, and/or bureaucrat (Roberts 2004). These emphasized the planner's role in relation to the state, making it clear that the planner's power originates from the state in relation to the residents (Arnstein 1969). After the 1960s Civil Rights and Black Power movements, theories of advocacy planning, communicative and collaborative planning also emerged, which shifted the ideas about the potentials and functions of the intermediating role of the planner to consider more the needs and views of marginalized populations (Heskin 1980).

Meth (2010) and Sandercock (1998) agree that "insurgent planning practices are instigated by mobilized communities, acting as planners for themselves (Sandercock 1999, 42; Meth 2003, 243). This does not mean there is no role for professionally trained planners - whether they are from the community or not. Phronetic, practical knowledge, development that links action and theory in the field of planning is required to advance the goals of social transformation (Flyvberg 2001). As authors Manzo and Perkins (2006),

Matthews (2012), Campbell et al (2014), and Innes and Booher (2010) indicate, the connection between planning and social transformation has implications for planning practitioners as well as students and teachers in planning.

Sandercock (1998) describes the "new faces" of radical, or insurgent planning practice as "grass-roots, community based planning, working to develop bottom-up (as opposed to top-down) programmes, that begin outside the local planning establishment….The overall goal is not so much to create a document called a plan as to generate a political process, which may involve plans, policies, programmes (6)." These practices distinguish radical planning from equity planning in that equity planners often work from within the state as advocacy planners to advance their conception of justice (Krumholz 1982). Support for community-building, "planning from below" work can look many different ways, depending on the planner. Planning from below requires taking on the perspective of the community and necessarily advancing their goals and aims. Sandercock (1998) cites Leavitt's perspective on the role of the radical planner: "At some point the people with whom I work will interact with either the planning establishment or other political bodies. They will frequently need to use research I have helped produce with them for that purpose. I may or may not be at the meeting: when I am, my role is to validate but not to be their voice. (Leavitt 1994: 127; Sandercock 1998: 98).

Other theorists also challenge this notion of separation between planners and communities partially because the field itself is becoming more diverse as Lung-Aman, Harwood, Sandoval and Sen offer in *Teaching equity and advocacy planning in a multicultural 'Post-Racial' world* (2015). Miraftab's perspective adds: "A range of actors may participate in insurgent planning practices: community activists, mothers, professional

planners, school teachers, city councilors, the unemployed, retired residents, etc. Whoever the actors, what they do is identifiable as insurgent planning if it is purposeful actions that aim to disrupt domineering relationships of oppressors to the oppressed, and to destabilize such a status quo through consciousness of the past and imagination of an alternative future (Miraftab 2009, 44)." In Beardstown, these activities included setting up integrated residential housing in neighborhoods, pushing for two-way language immersion in schools, and fighting to play soccer in public parks (Miraftab 2015). In *Learning Radical Planning*, Victoria Beard (2003) adds actions undertaken by Indonesian settlement residents "planning from below;" to meet their community needs for a health care clinic, improved pathways, and a library.

Student reflections include:

> *"A principle planning skill that could be improved through knowledge of this book is to learn empathy for Black communities in distrusting planners and governments due to their history of being allowed access to their rights in exchange for further destruction or their wealth or some other power."*

Still, however, the field does not offer many ideas for how to operate outside of the power of the state or the private sector as aligned with the state. Botchwey and Umemoto (2020) contend that "A capacity-building approach to community planning requires that planners play a variety of roles, even beyond those articulated by the major traditions in planning theory. There are certain skills that students can hone through this approach. They speak to various traditions in planning, most closely advocacy and equity planning,

collaborative and communicative planning, indigenous and multicultural planning, and social learning (Botchwey and Umemoto 2020, 334)."

Student participants in the short course identified deep listening, reparations, and interdisciplinary action as key roles for planners in addressing inequitable development. With social learning and reflection, students can apply the specialized planning skills they are learning in design and visualization (Walker 2011); economic and policy analysis; or transportation, health, environmental science to the challenges they see in community and economic development. Collaborative planning from below

The recent research on radical planning, insurgent planning, and social movements offers insights into processes and projects that support communities to advocate for themselves, implement their own projects based on their own priorities, and oppose the state if necessary (Sandercock 1998; Cullors 2019). The praxis of 'planning from below,' as the literature call it, however, is elusive to many planners. Our identities, privileges, and experiences with power impact our ability to be in direct alignment with disempowered populations. As crucially as communities need the technical assistance, capacity building, and support, we do not have the skills and practice to do this in authentic and impactful ways. As an ideal, we can strive for it, but it must truly be a praxis - a lifelong commitment to equity and dismantling systems of dominance.

In collaborative planning methodology, for example, Booher and Innes (2002) call for "collaborative participation." The space requires dialogue and joint problem solving, to which a more diverse representation of citizens would greatly add. The intentional addition of more voices to the space would move public participation toward the goals of building

civil society and creating an "adaptive, self-organizing polity (Innes and Booher 2010)" by allowing community members to practice "doing democracy (Agger and Löfgren 2008; Briggs 2006)." As a caveat, with more diverse participation, meeting leaders would have to bring more awareness of what Briggs (2006) calls "social performance," that is, modes of communicating that reflect differing cultural modes, attitudes and associations with power, planning, and governance.

Botchwey and Umemoto (2020) highlight the importance of students developing these planning skills by citing Beebeejaun (2006), who argues that "simply bringing together the appropriate stakeholders does not ensure an equitable planning process; it is important to consider the broader constellation of power relations as well as cultural dynamics in creating safe spaces for honest and respectful deliberation (355)." They offer an agonistic analysis by adding "that context, especially in sites of settler colonialism, provides the basis to understand competing discourses and positionalities among participants. Students may be challenged to design or facilitate processes that garner mutual trust and relationship building, sharing of ideas and knowledge, and strategic thinking about solutions from the standpoint of situated others (Umemoto et al. 2009; Day 2003; Botchwey and Umemoto 2020, 335)."

4.6.3 Capital extractive planning and racial capitalism

"Without the availability of cheap labor from a racial underclass, Atlanta's development may have played out differently." – Student reflection on *Where Peachtree Meets Sweet Auburn*

The existing paradigm of planning student education is capital extractive to local and graduate students, neighborhoods, and long-time residents in particular. This is reflective and indicative of a political economy based on racial capitalism. Race is a key measurement in discussions of equitable development, alongside of household income, rent burden, and property values. An understanding of Collins' (1971) conflict theory of stratification would suggest that the urban is a terrain, as any other, where dominant social groups can retrench their dominance. In contrast, discourses in urban development and planning theory feature students and professors discussing strategies and techniques that purportedly address race as a social determinant of health through design, policy, or economic development.

These industrial complexes are driven by neoclassical economics which orient the market, producers, and consumers to export-based economic growth. The current neoliberal context retrenches this dynamic by encouraging privatization of government services and the use of "fast policy" recommendations driven by data and resources from the corporate sector (Peck and Theodore 2015). Students are called to participate in data analysis, design and development, and policy making for regime led planning discourses and strategies through coursework, internships, and professional development opportunities. They are often disconnected from local, long-term resident led priorities and information networks. The process of urban development is informed by layers of academic policies and data analysis that guide material resource distribution and support particular actors in their contestation for spaces. These policies and practices of the institution, like providing technical assistance, student interns, and data dashboards help

urban actors negotiate the meanings and contradictions inherent to and created by the system.

McGovern's (2019) framework for racial capitalism offers insight into the counter and resistance efforts of some groups and why they fail. The catalytic trends that impact societal context include settler colonialism and imperialism, similarly enslavement and genocide. McGovern (2019) goes on to note the cyclical way that race and the market constitute themselves. This applies particularly to property and the ability of dominant status groups to completely cast aside other groups from the economy (Harris 1993). This impacts the political consciousness and organizational capacity of various groups and their ability to mobilize effectively into governance, policy making and implementation. Jobs, housing, transit and education are key markets where race plays out through processes and mechanisms for social control through racialization (McGovern 2019). Racial capitalism is also embedded in the institutional infrastructure and the role of the planner in those processes.

Whereas the underlying neoclassical model of capitalism promotes reliance on the market to regulate production and consumption of self-interested individuals and firms (Molotch 1976; Stone 1993; Logan et al. 1999); there are alternative systems that promote various forms of state and/or collective control, ownership, and regulation of production and consumption (Gordon Nembhard 2008; Haynes and Nembhard 1999; Tauheed 2008). Producing alternative outcomes has historically required innovative planning and radical planning acts of social mobilization and transformation (Friedman 1987); however, the rich history of politically and economically marginalized populations' use of these institutions

has been obscured by the violently repressive tactics used to destroy and subvert them (Gordon Nembhard 2014).

Jessica Gordon Nembhard (2008) argues that the economics curriculum in high schools leaves students of color at a disadvantage with insufficient, inappropriate, or inaccurate language and tools to contend with the realities of the labor market and political economy that governs it. Similarly, planning students with the best of intentions for equitable development find that in coursework and in studio classes, microeconomics principles and quantitative methods are presumed to be the norm. Nevertheless, students want to grapple seriously with planning and development mechanisms that facilitate wealth generation racial equity; and enable long time residents to stay in place, and to participate in economic development.

Furthermore, because power occurs along overt, covert, and hidden dimensions and impacts, the political consciousness and organization capacity of marginalized groups, instructors and students must constantly be aware of how collaborative planning serves as a key mechanism of regime power (McGovern 2019). Adaptations to the system can reproduce the equilibrium required to maintain power and secure domination through shared meanings, new heuristics, innovation, share identities created by initiatives, institutes, research dollars, and philanthropy.

4.6.4 Communicative action framework in planning

"A planning capacity that can be increased is the capacity of planners and the city to protect and respect significant community gathering places and history." – Student reflection on *Where Peachtree Meets Sweet Auburn*

In Innes and Booher's (2010) model of collaborative planning, diverse and interdependent actors come together in authentic dialogue that fosters reciprocity, creativity, relationships, and learnings. The results of the dialogue are innovative adaptations to the system which are realized as shared identities, shared meanings, and new ways of operating (Innes and Booher 2003; 2010). Student contributions to such efforts are ultimately dependent on the level of understanding that they have over economics and public policy prior to attending planning school.

Therefore, while the studio is an experiential learning experience for students, it fails to be an engaged learning experience when it focuses on significant learning in only a few areas. The development and application of design and project management skills is a primary focus (physical planning, communicative and collaborative planning). Furthermore, planning studio courses tend to be client driven, design focused, and capitalist economic growth centered. The clients tend to be state, regional (ARC) and local governments, agencies, civic and financial organizations (i.e., Central Atlanta Progress), real estate developers, consulting firms, and occasionally community organizations (see Appendix B). The legal framework for planning relies on collaborative rationality. If the studios include a community engagement component, the need for more time and resources to do it effectively is named.

Otherwise, community engagement is either student prompted, or the sole focus of the course - somewhat removed from larger economic development processes that are relevant to residents.[4] Moreover, because the dominant paradigm of regime led planning is

[4] Clarkston Speaks, 2016

not challenged, student's foundational knowledge of capitalist development pedagogy (for example, planning for economic growth through tax incentives for export based industrial development, providing creative class amenities and services, and facilitating green gentrification) is reinforced. While various forces challenge displacement in urban contexts, the dynamic persists because urban regimes allow market actors to coalesce around a unified vision of growth through informal decision making in collaboratively rational processes. By expanding the framework of collaborative rationality to include a power analysis of the authentic dialogue that occurs within it, we can use it as a lens to analyze actual events, relationships, and policies for how they contribute to particular outcomes.

Still, the question remains of how to teach planners how to facilitate these spaces and navigate the contradictions inherent?

Beyond considering whether the relationships between various actors facilitate regime-led urban development or resident-led development, we can ask: which relationships can be considered reciprocal, creative, and didactic (or educational)? And, did the coordination of these relationships lead to system changes that were innovative, created shared meanings and identities, or provided new ways of being? Most usefully, the framework allows us to examine the disparate and contradictory landscape of development to cull useful information about the nature of the collaboration and the potential for alternative development pathways.

The communicative action framework of "feel, know, do" is used to encourage students to be reflective practitioners. Used in writing and strategic communications, "feel, know, do" helps users of the framework to be diligent about how their work leads to desired

actions. Similarly, as an instructor the framework can help students get clear on how they feel about the information they receiving, evaluate what they know to see where more information needs to be gathered, and final plan and execute appropriate actions that are in line with how they feel and what they know. This pedagogy encourages reflective practices so that students continue to explore how they can bring their actions into greater alignment with equitable development.

4.6.5 Planning for social transformation

"The injustices of geographically concentrated poverty, which has been brought on in large part due to planning practices like zoning, redlining, defunding of public services and the location of hazardous sites in low income, minority communities has created an environment of harmful conditions, economic desperation and limited opportunity. It is easy to point to the criminal justice system and blame it for harming those in poverty, but planning been an accomplice in that process, and planners need to recognize that and take actions to combat it moving forward." – Student reflection on *Just Mercy*

The field of planning is concerned with supporting social, economic and spatial forces of development. As part of government, planning as social guidance is associated with top-down state and institutional activities that maintain the status quo of the "corporate economy" through management and administration of public affairs, political process, and practices (Friedmann 1987). For example, allocative planning includes program budgeting, land use planning, economic development planning, and various forms of sectoral planning (Friedmann 1987, 34)." It is primarily "concerned with the central disposition of scarce

resources (financial, land, labor) among competing claimants or uses (Friedmann 1987, 34).” The framework of capitalism and the circuits of capital already provide much of the boundaries around allocation of resources; hence the term social guidance.

Social transformation is a theory in planning that is typically contrasted with the planning theory of social guidance (Friedmann 1987; Beard 2003). Social transformation is concerned with changing societal structures by fostering alternative or oppositional activities, processes, and institutions that operate outside of the dominant economy’s planning paradigm (Beard 2003). Developing new institutions for economic democracy (i.e., credit unions, timebanks, land trusts, cooperatives, participatory budgeting) requires real-time attention to identity and values in the context of political and economic strategizing. Furthermore, planning education must contend with the subjective value of planning actions including writing policy platforms and memos; hosting community meetings; developing charrettes; making public comments at city council meetings; coalition building; conducting market research and asset mapping; program design and project management. These activities are all valuable to the regime, as well as local, legacy, and indigenous residents. However, the regime maintains its dominance by its ability to finance or fund the efforts.

Botchwey and Umemoto (2020) define a capacity-building approach as “planning that engages groups and individuals in processes that strengthen individual and collective abilities (such as skills, understanding, networks, systems, and well-being) to plan and shape their shared futures toward greater equality, sustainability, livability, and democratic governance. Thus, a goal of service- learning projects is to leave the community or agency not simply with a plan but also with greater capabilities to move that plan forward into

implementation (Botchwey and Umemoto 2020, 333).” Settler colonialism and imperialism have bred the prison industrial complex, non-profit industrial complex (human services, education and health); and military industrial complex, among other systems of industrial job creation and financial infrastructure that is supported by multiple layers of government.

A capacity building approach builds social capital for social learning. Botchwey and Umemoto (2020) note: “Our bent toward a capacity-building approach arises from seeing too many community-based planning projects languish after the students and faculty move on to the next activity. To the extent that engaged learning projects leave community participants and colleagues with knowledge, skills, relationships, and problem-solving abilities similar to those of our students, the more impactful these endeavors can be.” However, this approach can still miss the opportunity to support residents who are grappling with racial capitalism in real world, real time contexts.

Building upon the capabilities approach would be a capital building approach to analyzes, aggregates and translate social, intellectual, cultural capital, and other non-financial forms of capital into financial, political, and built environment capital. While the capacity building approach focuses on skills and abilities, a capital building approach focuses on concrete outcomes and plan implementation. Service learning and experiential learning must be intentionally designed so that there is integration between the approaches.

4.7 Conclusion - course recommendations

The course as presented was designed with key pedagogical features for significant learning in planning theory and practice: *Feel – Know – Do*. *Feel* captures the human

dimension and the caring by providing an experiential simulation at the start of the workshop. *Know* dives into the foundational knowledge and learning how to learn from multiple, indigenous, and uncredentialed sources of knowledge. *Do* offers pathways to application and integration of planning practice. To modify the course, collaborative and communicative planning can be highlighted as the planning frameworks in which students will gain significant learning.

In a future course, Umemoto and Botchwey (2020)'s "facilitating learning by doing" framework can be applied to the activities, and special attention can be paid to analyzing bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Cooperative rationality and economic democracy can be highlighted as research directions to address the democratic deficits in neoliberal planning practice. Social, intellectual, and cultural capital in the form of social learning for social transformation can be deployed to support residents in collaboratively rational contexts of regime power and racial capitalism.

The short course is presented as a series of activities and learning outcomes that supports participants to identify how they feel, both evaluate and build on what they know, and reflect on what they will do to contribute to equitable development outcomes. The course can be redesigned to concretely address the democratic deficits of collaborative rationality/planning/ liberal democracies. Gunder (2010) and Purcell (2009) describe democratic deficits as the challenges embedded into planning due to the promotion of political equality despite a lack of social and economic equality. The main features are corporate control over land use decision making, lack of resident oversight over development, implementation; constrained options and limited solution space despite

resident preferences, and dominant narratives and coopted strategies in progressive dialogue.

To address the lack of resident oversight and transparency of the development process, students can provide technical assistance, analysis, and information sharing for monitoring and evaluation. Similarly, students can hone their planning skills to address the constrained options of corporate driven development though mutual gains negotiations, reflective practice, and facilitation. Students can also address the constrained dialogue, dominant narratives, and coopted strategies present in regime led planning and development by supporting coalition building, and community narratives through visual communications such as mapping, infographics, curriculum development towards the development of bridging social capital.

Using the intellectual capital accumulated and concentrated in universities, students can evaluate the power of the regime and conduct equity assessments for neighborhood actors and organizations. Other intellectual and ideological, capital building products include policy memos, mappings, infographics, and additional forms of technical assistance. Botchwey and Umemoto (2020) argue, "Community-engaged pedagogy is designed to meet critical learning objectives for students while addressing needs of a community, organization, or agency. Students are challenged to apply theories and concepts to complex and uncertain real-world problems while reinforcing an ethos of reflective practice and the public good (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell 2000; Sletto 2010; Botchwey and Umemoto 2020, 332)."

This paper presents a socially engaged learning pedagogy for a community planning course focused on student involvement in economic democracy projects. It applies engaged learning pedagogy in community planning to a grounded theory of social learning for social transformation. The result is a capital-capacity building approach to neighborhood development through action learning and community partnership. The course is presented as a series of activities and learning outcomes that supports participants to identify how they feel, both evaluate and build on what they know, and reflect on what they will do to contribute to equitable development outcomes. The pedagogical structure emphasizes the necessary individual and collective capacities of students to participate in resident-led neighborhood economic development processes, while incorporating the use of tools to analyze, assess, and map capital assets useful for generating equity, power, and wealth.

Student feedback confirmed participants' limited ability to consume a large amount of information in a short amount of time, but high ability to glean multiple concepts from limited information. Therefore, instructors should select just one or two specific passages, audio clips, and media content to study in depth with students. Choosing just 2 pieces of media per session and implementing a multimedia close reading strategy. Instructors can pull specific quotes, clips, music, articles, relevant examples and ask students to do the same to ensure that there are multiple examples for each framework element. A longer course can require participants to reference specific examples in history in their final presentations to better evaluate their understanding of the links between the capitalist institutions of enslavement and racial terror, and prospects for equitable development. The book reflection can be shared with small group participants as long as students are notified

ahead of time that that is part of the assignment. Alternatively, students can be asked to select 3-5 quotes to share with the class from their book of choice.

The book selection process was driven by the course learning outcomes and the limited time frame. Additional books and articles could inform the course in the future such as *Collective Courage: A History of African-American Cooperative Economic Thought and Practice* (Gordon Nembhard 2014), *Development Arrested: The Blues and Plantation Power in the Mississippi Delta* (Woods 1998), *The Legend of the Black Mecca: Politics and Class in the Making of Modern Atlanta* (Hobson 2019), *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Kruse 2005), *People before Highways: Boston Activists, Urban Planners, and a New Movement for City Making* (Crockett, 2018).

For example, in *Development Arrested* Woods (1998) offers a supporting account of the plantation regimes which maintained control of the land and economy in the South through racial terrorism, civic associations, and institutional formations that privileged whiteness. Woods (1998) argues that the development trajectory engendered by plantation power leads to urban regimes and neoliberalism by focusing on technological development, large infrastructure investments, and North-South manufacturing connection based on race. These dynamics are seen in development patterns to this day (Gunder 2010; Purcell 2009; Roy 2015).

These deficits can be addressed by planners with intentional strategies and forethought. For example, in *People before Highways*, Crockett (2018) presents a compelling case for multi-racial, cross jurisdictional coalition building to advance a grassroots equitable development strategy. Highlighting the roles of planners and

organizers in providing bridging social capital, oversight, technical assistance, and narrative framing support to impacted residents across race and class barriers; the book is also a study of regime power (patronage politics) and racial capitalism in Boston (Crockett 2018, 89).

To address corporate control, the focus can be on research on economic democracy projects, regime politics and political economy, economic democracy, particularly democratic community economics cooperative/shared equity strategies. Gordon Nembhard (2006; 2008) suggests specific topics to include in an economic democracy curriculum (See Table 4.1).

Table 4-1: Action Learning topics for Economic Democracy Curriculum

Political Economy (771)	"Political economy recognizes and studies the interactions between and among economic activity as well as the institutions and sociopolitical relations surrounding that activity." "Political economic analysis helps us to examine and understand the complex of forces that impact commerce, production, and employment." Political economic analysis "also provides an alternative analysis to neoclassical economics that focuses more on theories of scarcity, supply, and demand, with the individual as the unit of analysis (p. 1)." This approach challenges the adequacy of neoclassical mainstream economic analysis as a useful paradigm in explaining the persistence of racial inequality; hence it also challenges the validity of the neoclassical paradigm for explaining the general distribution of income and wealth, the operation of labor and capital markets, and the competitive process.
Community economic development (772)	"Community economic development activities range from attracting multinational subsidiaries and franchises into the neighborhood; to growing, designing, and supporting enterprise development and other economic activities from the bottom up, with local control and ownership; to microenterprise development." "Community economic development also involves the formation of new institutions that fundamentally rupture patterns of external

	market and [sic] minority domination over the economic life of inner-city residents of color. In this context, community economic development involves a process leading to resident controlled neighborhood development institutions."
Democratic community economics (773)	"Democratic community economics is a subcategory of community economic development. It focuses on the study of people-centered local economic development that is community based and controlled, collaborative, democratically or at least broadly owned, and governed through a variety of structures. These structures include worker, producer, and consumer cooperatives; community land trusts; and democratic employee stock ownership programs and other forms of worker ownership and self-management." Also: "collective not-for-profit organizations, municipally owned enterprises, community development financial institutions and credit unions, community-controlled community development corporations, and community-controlled development planning. "includes the theoretical and applied study of how and why such alternative structures are economically viable, public policies that are supportive of such development, and ways to document and measure their traditional and nontraditional economic, social, and political outcomes and impacts (see Gordon Nembhard, 2008)."
Cooperative development (774)	"Cooperative enterprises, workplace democracy, collective ownership, and collaborative asset building are growing practices around the world." "Organizers and members believe in continuous education and training, both about cooperative ownership and the particulars of the business. In addition to the successes, there have also been failures. Some ventures lack adequate resources, particularly capitalization. Others lack specific management experience and training and/or business planning. At the same time, however, there are many examples of sabotage: Rents were increased; insurance coverage, bank loans, or credit lines and other support services were withdrawn; and businesses were burned and destroyed by racial violence. Even when short lived, however, these cooperative experiences were positive for the members and their communities—who were usually better off because of these efforts."

Derived from *Alternative Economics: Definitions and Concepts* (Gordon Nembhard 2008, 770-775)

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS A COOPERATIVE RATIONALITY

This project has attempted to highlights how the theory and emergence of cooperative rationality from communicative and collaborative planning approaches can serve grassroots communities. In particular, economic democracy, endogenous growth approaches, and coalition building offer strong mechanisms to challenge the democratic deficits of neoliberal urban development.

As mentioned earlier, there are calls for an alternative paradigm to capitalist industrial development, profit motivation, private accumulation, and market interventions in designing community development programs (Rothschild 2009; Haynes and Nembhard 1999; Carter 2015; Sutton 2019). Economic democracy theorists argue that an alternative focus, human development and well-being, for example, could constitute a different political economy approach to economic development, which could address the challenges of poverty, unemployment, and displacement which are endemic to the current development paradigm (Casper Futterman 2019; Casper Futterman and DeFilippis 2017). Cooperative rationality demonstrates the potential for neighborhood residents to resist displacement regimes by intentionally organizing coordinating capacity to address the democratic deficits and spatialize capital according to their own preferences.

While many city and regional planning theorists present robust analyses of both the benefits and challenges of the complex network of relationships between local, state, regional, and international actors, policies, and institutions (Peck and Tickell 1995; Stone

1998; Innes and Booher 2003; Lester and Reckhow 2013), few provide useful frameworks or strategies for alternative or oppositional economic development strategies for community residents to pursue in neoliberal contexts. While Community Development Corporations spring from a legacy of community organizing, they are currently regarded as alternatively incapable against the regime or complicit in the neoliberal agenda due to their overreliance on foundation funding and low-income tax credits for development (Imbroscio 2006; Foyt 2018; Elmedni 2018; Laskey and Nicholls 2019).

The COVID-19 crisis has brought into focus one of the myriad ways racial inequities plague the U.S. healthcare (healthcaste) system. Given the historical and contemporary barriers to jobs, housing, and transit facing politically and economically marginalized populations, there should be no surprise. According to noted journalist, lead author and editor of the *1619 Project*, and founder of the Ida B. Wells Society for Investigative Journalism, Nikole Hannah-Jones, "When COVID-19 first hit America hard last month, the narrative was that it was the great equalizer, that in such a divided nation, our shared humanity meant that we would be equal in our suffering. But those of us who understand racial caste in America knew this could never be true (Ida Bae Wells @nhannahjones, April 6, 2020; Simone 2020)."

5.1.1 Addressing racist health outcomes

According to Sewell (2016) "racism is a tool used by colonizing subjects to maintain a status hierarchy that allows the colonizer to reap the rewards of colonialism, including health and quality of life (410)." Sewell (2016) describes a racism-race reification process that codifies the social norms and political maneuverings around race

into institutional processes that reproduce inequalities at various scales. While Goodman (1973) points to the education system, more than just segregated schools contributes to the health disparities. In the Geography of Opportunity, Souza-Briggs (2005) argues that place plays a key role in people's life outcomes. Place dictates access to schools and representation; as well as proximity to highways, parks, environmental hazards, and jobs. There is extensive research that connects hazardous places, and the identities associated with those places, to a range of disparate health outcomes (Sewell, 2016). This uneven access suggests that caste lines show themselves in health disparities experienced by people in different racial categories.

The impacts of the U.S. caste system on health are severe. Hannah-Jones, continues the Twitter thread quoted earlier and provides links to local news sources which indicate that:

> "While the face of coronavirus in the media has been disproportionately white, race data trickling out shows that the victims, particularly those dying from it, are disportionately black…. In Chicago, a city where black people account for less than 30 percent of the population 70 percent of the people who have died from Covid-19 are black. In Michigan, black people account for about 14 percent of the population, but are 35 percent of confirmed Covid-19 cases and 40% of the deaths. In Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, black people account for 26 percent of the population, nearly half of its coronavirus cases and 81 percent of its deaths (Ida Bae Wells @nhannahjones, April 6, 2020)."

Hannah-Jones completes her series of tweets by naming the reasons why Black people are facing such high rates of infection and mortality for COVID-19:

> "a host of issues ensured black people would contract and die from coronavirus at the highest rates, including housing, employment and hea[l]th. Black Americans are far more likely to work in service sector jobs than white Americans, meaning they were far more likely to work jobs where they come in contact with a lot of strangers and where they could not social distance and work from home (Ida Bae Wells @nhannahjones, April 6, 2020)."

> "Black Americans are the least likely to own a car, the[y] travel the furthest distance to get to work, and are the most likely to take public transit, again, meaning they were mostly likely to be exposed to large numbers of strangers in cramped quarters (Ida Bae Wells @nhannahjones, April 6, 2020)."

> "Black Americans have the lowest homeownership rates, meaning that even in the places they are sheltering in place, they are coming in contact with far more people than those who live in single-family homes. Now, even as black Americans risked higher exposure, they already disproportionately suffer the comorbidities that make Covid-19 so deadly. Black Americans are 40% more likely to have hypertension than white, twice as likely to have diabetes, up to 3x asthma hospitalization (Ida Bae Wells @nhannahjones, April 6, 2020)."

> "Now, let's talk about insurance and whether black people can get access to Covid-19 tests, or see a doctor with early symptoms. Black Americans are almost twice as likely to be uninsured as white Americans and pay a greater share of their income on premiums (Ida Bae Wells @nhannahjones, April 6, 2020)."

Given that we are in the midst of a global pandemic and economic shutdown, COVID-19 is just a particularly salient contemporary health example of the disparate outcomes that Black American's have suffered. Since Africa was colonized and captured Africans were brought to North Americans as chattel slave labor, disease, neglect, enforced poverty, and non-consensual experimentation have contributed to genocidal outcomes for indigenous and enslaved populations. While great strides have been made to confront these challenges by organizers and leaders of oppressed groups and their allies, throughout history as well as in the past 60 years, the poor health outcomes persist. The morbidity statistics that Hannah Jones cites are attributed to causes as variable as poor food choices/options; lack of access to places for physical activity; the stress of poverty and policing; unemployment; as well as lack of trust in the healthcare system (Sewell 2016).

5.1.2 Social, political, and economic determinants of health

Health intervention frameworks have typically focused on clinical treatments and individual behavioral changes as solutions for these health inequities. Many federal research dollars have been allocated to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the National Institute of Health, and the National Science Foundation to provide evidence of the disparate health outcomes, as well as of the impact of various interventions on African American people (Dawes 2020). More recently, due to a focus on the social determinants

of health in public health, the necessary policy, systems, and environmental changes for health equity have been the focus of attention. For example, Botchwey, et al (2019) focus on youth advocacy around physical activity and food access as ways to combat obesity and nutrition challenges. Access to parks, healthy food, and active transportation options are emphasized throughout the process.

The social determinants of health framework takes a step back from individual behaviors and considers the infrastructure and environmental context in which an individual makes decisions. In doing so, the impact of jobs, transit, economic stability, education, as well as access to health care become lenses through which to view health outcomes. Community health needs assessments, which are conducted by hospitals; and health impact assessments, which are conducted about plans, programs, or projects, are examples of this multi-pronged approach (Botchwey and Ross 2014). Nevertheless, the material impact of the social determinants of health framework appears to be limited. While transportation, housing, and employment issues are documented and discussed, rarely is anything done about the underlying structural causes of these issues.

A political determinants of health framework offered by Dawes (2020) and a political economy of racial health disparities framework provided by Sewell (2016) provide a necessary bridge between identifying challenges through the social determinants of health framework and implementing policy, systems, and environmental approaches to improving outcomes. Dawes (2020) identifies policies, governmental structures, and voting as the primary political mechanisms that shape the social and economic contexts of health outcomes. He contends that while the outcomes of decisions around transportation and housing are normally attributed to social inequalities; they are undergirded by structural

and institutional mechanisms such as the redistricting process, the court system's action or inaction on particular laws, and money in politics.

Sewell (2016) picks up this notion of institutions as mediating mechanisms between micro (individual, interpersonal, household), meso (neighborhood, community, regions), and macro (national, international) forces (Dawes, 2020; Sewell, 2016; Lester and Rickhow, 2013). These policies and institutions are often a manifestation of the social reproduction of power and ideology (Zanotto, 2020). According to Sewell (2016) the abstract concept of race is concretized by the "transformation of racist ideologies (i.e., ideologies of worth based on racial classification schemes) into tractable sources of racial inequality. Tractability is codified in institutional practices, rules, and norms (405)." Sewell (2016) goes on to classify these institutional forms as racist relational structures, harmful ecological environments, and isolating social structures.

Harvey (1987) offers the theory of a cyclical process for the accumulation and spacialization of capital in capitalist urban environments which can be overlaid onto Sewell's (2016) framework. In the first circuit of capital, the spaces for production are identified and delineated. Racist relational structures are codified here in who has access to the means of production, who has access to the job market, and whether there is access to transit. Harmful ecological environments are created in the second circuit of capital. Spaces for consumption and recreation are determined and segregated land use becomes the norm. The creation of the residential real estate market leaves some neighborhoods and communities without access to basic goods and services such as food, safety, and recreation. Finally, in the third cycle of capital, research, technology, education, and policing, are invested in as means to reproduce the dynamics of the first two circuits.

Policing and incarceration serve to reinforce the isolation of stigmatized and marginalized people; while research, technology, and the media justify their treatment.

Intervention in all circuits of capital is critical to improving health outcomes; however, the complex social, political, and economic construction of capitalism makes determining the most effective mechanisms for intervention difficult. Critical race theorists Omi and Winant (2014) describe mass incarceration as one of many "racial formation projects" which consolidate the social and structural forces of racism and capitalism at a macro scale. While African Americans typically have the worst health outcomes, health outcomes are poor across low-income populations and even among wealthy white classes when mental health and addiction is included. Omi and Winant (2014) argue that both 'racial lumping' and 'color-blind' policies are part of the "hegemonic racial project at this time." The ideologies, contradictions, and unique histories of people in power and the social classes operating at various micro, macro, and intermediate scales requires thoughtful intention to strategic interventions and alliances.

While, DuBois locates the "Black radical tradition" and the collective action of the black proletariat, as key spaces (Robinson 2000) for disrupting what Omi and Winant (2014) call the "racial dictatorship" of U.S. politics, no is not a real roadmap for cohesive action. This gap provides theoretical space for designing policy interventions that align at various scales to address the deeply entrenched issues in U.S. society. Because social reproduction is undergirded by the forces of production and consumption in the first and second circuits of capital, it makes sense that the entire system would warrant transformation.

5.1.3 Planning paradigms: social guidance versus social transformation

The field of planning is concerned with supporting social, economic and spatial forces of development. As part of government, planning as social guidance is associated with top-down state and institutional activities that maintain the status quo of the "corporate economy" through management and administration of public affairs, political process, and practices (Friedmann 1987). As described above, social transformation is a theory in planning that is typically contrasted with the planning theory of social guidance (Friedmann 1987; Beard 2003). Social transformation is concerned with changing societal structures by fostering alternative or oppositional activities, processes, and institutions that operate outside of the dominant economy's planning paradigm (Beard 2003).

While radical, insurgent, decolonial, and abolitionist planning strategies fit within the social transformation paradigm, radical planning programs and projects will often face difficulties in translating their localized and/or micro level interventions in productive or consumer capacities into full system transformation for maximum impacts. Friedmann (1987) discusses innovative planning as a paradigm that is concerned with "institutional changes in the system of social guidance." Innovative planning, therefore, can serve as a bridge between more radical social transformation planning activities and allocative social guidance activities, through advocacy and organizing.

Planning scholars such as Beard (2003), Eleanor (2003) and Innes and Booher (2010) offer collaborative planning as a planning framework that produces innovative institutions. For example, Beard (2003) writes: "as part of its normative agenda of

institutional capacity building, collaborative planning seeks to revise governance mechanisms to create a sustainable balance of power between the state and its citizens…[by] fashioning effective partnerships between local civic organizations and the state for the purpose of achieving desired planning outcomes (17)." In Innes and Booher's (2010) model of collaborative planning, diverse and interdependent actors come together in authentic dialogue that fosters reciprocity, creativity, relationships, and learnings. The results of the dialogue are innovative adaptations to the system which are realized as shared identities, shared meanings, and new ways of operating (Innes and Booher 2003; 2010).

Planners identify social learning as a mechanism through which the "knowledge and skills that would result in the transformation of group behavior toward achieving mutually agreed upon goals" are acquired (Ndubisi 1991, 61). Social learning, therefore, is a critical planning framework for social transformation. Social learning requires iterative dialogue and exchanges between diverse and interdependent interests and actors (Ndubisi, 1991; Innes and Booher 2010). Social learning is associated with developing the innovative and radical social and political practices that overcome resistance to action and result in changed behavior (Beard, 2003; Ndubisi 1991). Social learning can occur between different groups as well as within groups; it can therefore contribute to building the infrastructure and institutions for alternative distribution and decision making models.

5.1.4 Power, learning, and knowledge for social transformation

While planning theorists differ on the primacy they place on power to facilitate or constrain actions taken by those with resources who are conducting top down planning versus those "planning from below;" the social learning framework links knowledge to

power and action (Tore 1995). According to Forrester, power operates by limiting the range of decisions, shaping the agenda setting process, and constraining the felt needs of the people involved in planning (Forrester, 1980). The learning process must contend with these distortions in order for social transformation to occur. Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014) provide a useful framework that connects the different levels of power, which Forrester (1980) describes, to different levels or types of learning. The power and learning levels loosely correspond to the cycles of capital.

In the Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014) framework, power level 1 is overt and involves the ability to facilitate concrete decisions that benefit certain groups of people over others. Power level 2 is manipulative and involves misinformation and agenda setting in ways that disguise or obscure what interests are actually at stake. Power level 3 is structural, and domination is secured by shaping the felt needs of one group so that their ability to act in their own best interests is not even considered as an option. In the cases where overt power [power level 1] and manipulative power [power level 2] are difficult to deal with and resist in planning processes, structural power [power level 3] is often at play. In this dimension, some framing that is taken for granted clearly works against some actors' real interests by keeping certain issues out of debate (Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo 2014, 128).

Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014) contend that: "single-loop learning [learning level 1] occurs when there is a clear causal link created between plans and observed phenomenon and mismatches between anticipated outcomes and actions are rectified. For example, if a planning decision benefits a particular population and steps are taken to redistribute those benefits, single-loop learning has occurred. Double-loop

learning [learning level 2] occurs when mismatches are corrected by examining and altering the 'governing variables', or prevailing contextual assumptions determining the approach to the planning problem, and then altering the planning actions. For example, using double-loop learning [learning level 2] to address power level 2 would require recognizing when manipulation is taking place and adjusting the process or another aspect of the plan or context to address the misinformation (i.e., creating a participatory process, or engaging stakeholders in agenda setting).

The power-learning framework goes on to describe a 'double bind' situation [power level 3] whereby "altering the 'governing variables' or prevailing contextual assumptions of a situation, which might contend with power level 2, proves to be not possible, or insufficient to achieving better outcomes (2014, 129)." Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014) argue that this double bind situation is a feature of economic development planning that, for example, facilitates the development of megaprojects through public-private partnerships; writing: "In such governance cultures, we find symptomatic and recurring failures of budgeting in megaprojects, and confusions concerning the role of a publicly owned company with public service duties in public–private partnerships. Attempting to resolve these failures on a case basis would not prohibit their emergence in the next case, if learning would not extend to address the level of governance culture itself (2014, 129)."

The "governance culture" identified by Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014) is more descriptively characterized as a political economic system of regime-based capitalism undergirded by white supremacy. The allocative planning that occurs within these constraints presents a double bind situation to non-regime actors through the proliferation of social and political institutions and infrastructure that maintain the status quo of

corporate control over resources in urban development. Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014) contend that "the ability [to make] satisfactory choices can be regained through redefinition of the context (Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo 2014, 128)." Producing alternative outcomes has historically required innovative planning and radical planning acts of social mobilization and transformation. The ability to redefine the context of corporate control over resources and export-based economic development is constitutive of learning level 3.

Regime theorists document the failure of export-based growth strategies such as public-private-partnerships to produce outcomes of material benefit to local communities (Molotch, 1976; Stone, 1993; Logan et al, 1999). Haynes and Nembhard (1999) assert that a key reason why is the inability (and unwillingness) of policy makers and planners to confront urbanization's underlying neoclassical political economy framework. To address this double bind situation it is therefore critical that planners, policy makers, and community members explore and institutionalize alternative political economy infrastructure. As Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014) note, the joint capacity, or 'power to' bring about satisfactory outcomes, can be gained or restored when actors learn to deal with the contradictions and double-binds they have confronted (131)."

5.1.5 Educational approaches to economic democracy

Alternative political economy frameworks include forms of socialism, communism, and economic democracy. Whereas the underlying neoclassical model of capitalism promotes reliance on the market to regulate production and consumption of self-interested individuals and firms; these alternative systems promote various forms of state

and/or collective control, ownership, and regulation of production and consumption. Unfortunately, the policies, institutions, and social practices required of these forms of political economy are not well understood. Social learning is therefore required in order to bridge between the radical practices used by residents to meet their needs, and the allocative planning practices that would require collaboration and innovation to redirect resources at scale.

Planning educators who are interested in fostering social transformation through economic democracy, can apply key principles of learning and instruction to the concept of social learning in order to improve the ability of radical planning practices to become innovative planning institutions. In planning, social learning is a concept akin to constructionism as a theory of education whereby learning takes place in the context of public or group engagement, dialogue, and action with others (Hjorth 2014). In education, the concept comes out of the theory of constructivism which holds that people build knowledge systems out of their experiences.

Experiential and service learning components in education can bridge the knowledge of and desire for implementation of economic democracy policies, practices, and institutions from students with the knowledge and desires of community residents who are fighting for power in the allocative planning arena (Baldwin & Rosier 2017; Baum 1997; Beard 2003). These residents are often busy leading campaigns to resist inequitable development projects, advocating for minimum policy protections, and participating actively in neighborhood level decision making. Structuring learning experiences with the goal of mastering economic democracy requires community members, organizers, and

students to rely on each other's capacities; and therefore for social learning to be a measured outcome of the interactions and engagements.

A key principle of learning and instruction is that prior knowledge can help or hinder learning (Ambrose et al, 2010). Prior knowledge can help facilitate learning when it is appropriate, sufficient, activated, and accurate (Ambrose et al, 2010). Conversely, prior knowledge hinders learning when it is inappropriate, insufficient, inactive, and/or inaccurate. Another evidence based learning and instructional principle is: to develop mastery, students must acquire component skills, practice integrating them, and know when to apply what they have learned (Ambrose et al, 2010). Operationalizing the principle of prior knowledge requires first gauging the extent and nature of prior knowledge. The goal of the following analysis, therefore, is to clarify what common beliefs and notions help facilitate social and political practices oriented towards economic democracy and social transformation; and what knowledge bases and understandings hinder social transformation.

5.1.6 Prior knowledge and economic democracy

A number of resident training programs exist to increase the capacity of neighborhood leadership - ranging topically from racial equity, to neighborhood revitalization, and civic leadership (See Table 5-1). These programs use a combination of lectures, project based group work, as well as group reflection and discussion to facilitate group learning; however these programs fail to confront the double bind situation described by Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014).

Table 5-1: Local resident learning programs and opportunities

Program	Funding/Institutional Sponsor	Participant focus
Transformation Academy	Transformation Alliance/ Partnership for Southern Equity	Neighborhood development equitable transit oriented development
Resident Leaders for Equity	Annie E. Casey Foundation	Racial Equity
Community Wealth Building Accelerator	Transform Finance, The Guild, Invest Atlanta	Business development; #cooperatives
Just Growth Circle **Just Opportunity Circle** **Just Energy Circle** **Just Health Circle**	Partnership for Southern Equity	Coalition building; learning exchange
Policy Institute for Civic Leadership	GA Stand Up	Policy and advocacy
Transform Westside Summit	Westside Future Fund	Community building
Community of Practice	Atlanta Wealth Building Initiative, Annie E Casey Foundation, Kendeda Fund, Prosperity Now	Learning exchange; social entrepreneurship
Cohorts	Village Micro Fund	Social enterprise; social entrepreneurship; cooperative finance
Fellowship for Civic Innovation	Center for Civic Innovation	Social enterprise; social entrepreneurship

Therefore, the learning experiences will build the power of community members to plan and develop their neighborhoods according to their own priorities by working with students to assess an economic democracy institution's ability to contend with the challenges they are facing. The mastery of economic democracy requires all learners to assess and reflect on prior experiences in the economy, students and neighborhoods to identify knowledge and skill gaps in economic democracy infrastructure building, and the

instructor to design scaffolded experiences that allow people to develop the knowledge structures for economic democracy building that they can continuously apply and innovate upon.

The first step would be to gauge the extent and nature of students' prior knowledge of economic institutes and to activate the relevant information in order to facilitate learning. Economic democracy institutions such as land trust, worker cooperatives, and credit unions are marginal subjects in the field of planning. Furthermore, the rich history of political and economical marginalized populations' use of these institutions has been obscured by the violently repressive tactics used to destroy and subvert them. Nevertheless, brainstorming exercises can reveal students' prior knowledge of these types of institutions and lay the foundation for moving from unconscious incompetence to conscious incompetence.

When the knowledge that people hold about how to participate in cooperative, creative, or informal economic activities is inactive, discussing individual and collective experiences in the economy through brainstorming can help activate it. The seemingly trivial practices of resource sharing and decision making with family, friends, and kinship networks can be useful analogies and examples of radical planning and economic democracy. Furthermore, the ways our patterns and experiences with money, savings, and wealth are connected to our feelings of self-worth, self-esteem and self-efficacy may seem isolated until they are shared. Isolation hinders social learning.

When knowledge is inaccurate it also hinders learning. According to Ambrose et al. (2010), "Some kinds of inaccurate prior knowledge — called misconceptions — are remarkably resistant to correction. Misconceptions are models or theories that are deeply

embedded" in how people think. The idea that capitalism is based on the functioning of "free" markets is a misconception that belies the role of government in constructing and shaping market activity. The neoclassical economic theories that justify capitalism, however, have tremendous power in how people understand and relate to the economy as workers, consumers, and entrepreneurs (Gordon Nembhard 2008; Tauheed 2008). Whereas policies set the prices, not the market, as long as understanding of the economy centers around misconceptions of the theories versus the reality, learning is hindered.

Similarly, inappropriate knowledge is detrimental to learning because knowledge that may not be wrong in one context is applied improperly in another context. For example, while phenomena such as unemployment, lack of access to capital, and credit shortages are market failures with structural and political causes, often personal responsibility is ascribed to their impact on people of color (Tauheed 2014). Unfortunately, there is also insufficient knowledge of the history of African-American cooperative development and the impact of regime politics in the U.S. South. Insufficient knowledge hinders learning because "knowing what (declarative knowledge) is a very different kind of knowledge than knowing how or knowing when (procedural knowledge) (Ambrose et al, 2010)." If there is not enough contextual or descriptive elements in the prior knowledge of history, then it is difficult to compare the choices, institutions, and processes that led to the creation of economic democracy institutions in the past to the present. According to Gorden Nembhard (2008), "when economics is included in the curriculum, we tend to teach African American Studies students only about poverty and unemployment and occasionally about underdevelopment. If we give them theories, it is about scarcity,

competition, and discrimination, not about group economics, game theory, or alternative economic institutions (Gordon Nembhard 2008, 759)."

For example, historically, land, worker, and credit cooperatives and mutual aid societies have been used by politically and economically marginalized populations to circumvent the failures of the political economy to meet their needs (Gordon Nembhard 2014; Woods 1998). However in the period of time following the Civil War, these collective wealth building strategies faced severe repression in the form of racial terror (lynching) and enforced poverty through regime facilitated land monopolization (sharecropping, tenant farming, policing and incarceration) (Woods 1998).

The export-based imperial economic development that drove the establishment of the original colonies, persisted through the founding of the United States. Furthermore, the alternative economic systems such as socialism and communism which accompanied the international political revolutions in the 20th century were delegitimized and repressed in the U.S. as well. Concessions to and by white led labor unions and white agricultural cooperatives for farming subsidies and large scale infrastructure projects were used to secure the loyalty of the white majority to regime politics (Woods 1998). Black Americans were forced off of the land and are now more likely to use capitalist tools (i.e., entrepreneurship, consumerism, corporate success) to gain individual wealth (Gordon Nembhard 2008).

The role of policing and incarceration in subduing and repressing alternative political economy formation cannot be overstated. While Black state legislators after the Civil War were the first representations to ensure free public education for all, the

dismantling of the Civil War Amendments through a coalition of plantation owners and northern industrialists denied Black people access to the very institutions they created. The Jim Crow laws that restricted where and how Blacks could live, work, and recreate involved punishments that often placed them back on plantations and/or providing free labor to public works projects (Woods, 1998). By limiting access to quality education, the regime maintains a consistent pool of low wage workers to exploit.

More historically accurate information is critical to helping students and residents connect the dots around present day manifestations of the same regime led impulses. Even further, a more sufficient understanding of the nature of the export-base economy is required. There is a notion of gradual economic progression from subsistence based agriculture, to industrialization and a market based economy; based on European history (North, 1955). However, urban and regional development theorist D. North (1955) offers that the United States, "was exploited in large part as a capitalist venture. Settlement in new regions and their subsequent growth were shaped by the search for and exploitation of goods in demand on world markets (245)." North goes on to outline an "export base theory" of the economy. The "base" refers to "those activities of a metropolitan community that export goods and services to other areas (247)."

North (1955) observes that trial and error established what good(s) would be exported from a particular area. Settlers in the U.S. were ultimately searching for goods which would provide them with a comparative advantage when produced in the U.S. versus in European countries or other colonial territories. North writes: "The development of an exportable commodity reflected a comparative advantage in relative costs of production, including transfer costs (North 1955, 248)." North (1955) does not discuss the free labor

costs wrought by chattel slavery, which also provided U.S. capitalists with significantly lower production costs.

North (1955) does includes the "ceaseless efforts of new regions to get federally subsidized internal improvements, state aid for canal construction, federal and state aid for railroads, and river and harbor improvement" in export base theory; as these "were a part of the continuous effort of each region to reduce transfer costs to better the competitive position of its exports (48)." Furthermore, the non-basic firms which arose to provide "specialized marketing, improved credit and transport facilities, a trained labor force" etc., "improved the competitive cost position of the exportable commodities (North 1955, 248)."

These efforts, including technological advancement, "tend to reinforce a region's dependence on its existing staples rather than promote changes in the export base (North 1955, 248)." As settlers engaged in "extractive industries," their "external suppliers of capital tend to invest primarily in existing export industry rather than in new, untried enterprises (North 1955, 249)." Indigenous populations, therefore, are left reliant on the economic formations of settlers and newcomers. The current land use patterns, particularly of agricultural land is based on the U.S. role as an imperial power. Trade relationships are established on the basis of agricultural production that is negotiated at the federal level by regional commissions and the USDA. Incarceration handles surplus population and keeps the prices of agricultural goods low.

North (1955) argues that "the importance of the export base is a result of its primary role in determining the level of absolute and per capita income in a region, and therefore the amount of residentiary secondary and tertiary [cycle] activity that will develop (257)."

These economic activities include “manufactured materials oriented industries,” “service industries to the export industry,” “residentiary industry producing for local consumption, and “footloose industries (North 1955, 253).” However, in distinguishing between “residentiary industries” and export industries” North (1955) maintains the assertion that “since residentiary industry depends entirely on demand within the region, it has historically been dependent on the fate of the export base (250).”

This type of knowledge of economic development theory and practice can help students and residents better understand the limits and potential leverage points of their interventions. For example, as noted in base theory, the attraction of basic firms to a location then attracts households to provide labor in exchange for wages. Firms spring up to serve the households, as well as the other businesses in the area. These are called non basic firms. The presence of non-basic firms is supposed to create a multiplier effect, wherein this non-basic sector is three times the size of the basic sector.

Cities can expect to receive taxes from the basic firms, non-basic firms, and the households who live in the area. Furthermore, because cities rely on export base economic development methods to grow, cities compete with each other locally to attract companies. Cities, states and the federal therefore often offer their disinvested areas of low land values, as well as tax incentives and tax breaks to firms in order to incentivize them to become the base of their economy. Therefore, despite the financial gains, there are still service gaps for many low-income residents. With sufficient knowledge of the development context, residents can use this knowledge to design interventions that better address their needs for services, amenities, and employment through economic democracy infrastructure and institutions.

5.1.7 Facilitating mastery of economic democracy policies and strategies

In the U.S. capitalism is a political economic system premised upon white supremacy. While neoclassical models of the economy obscure the reality of capitalism as a political economic system, the social, political, and economic dynamics results in policies, institutions, and processes that create educational stratification and poor health outcomes. Ultimately, social transformation requires reconstituting the multiple, interlocking systems of land use planning, education, poverty and incarceration that are rooted in the economy.

The research paper explores social learning as a framework for the development of the policies, principles, and practices required to develop alternative and oppositional infrastructure for land and human development. Applying an evidence-based learning principles of prior knowledge the previous portions of this paper explores the misconceptions and knowledge deficiencies in our historical and present day understandings of the economy. Based on this analysis, service and experiential learning is ordered as a methodology for social learning between students and community organizers. Thoughtful and intentional design can activate the appropriate knowledge bases for social transformation, particularly at the neighborhood scale.

According to a number of planning scholars, social learning is necessary because it allows for good planning practice (Tore, 1995; Friedman, 1987). Good planning practice should allow for more informed decision-making processes; serve as instructions on how to develop the community or the society at large; provide social critique; link knowledge to action; and further emancipation (Tore, 1995 on Friedman, 1987: p169-170). This

understanding comes from the evolution of planning as a field; starting with the backlash against rational, synoptic, and incrementalist planning which led to advocacy planning and equity planning theories. The current state of planning theory integrates a range of approaches including communicative and collaborative planning, radical planning, and insurgent planning. Each of these theories has something to offer residents and communities that are not only resisting displacement and dispossession, but also planning "from below" using indigenous, people-centered lenses.

Professional planners are taught planning theories, but the approaches and concepts taught by various professors and instructors, while tending towards constructivist in pedagogy, often embody a particular perspective that is not well interrogated in terms of "good planning practice". This leaves students confused and disappointed by the field, at best; or eager to disguise a lack of theoretical sophistication about how to solve key planning problems with the technical physical design skills they have learned, at worst. Community organizers and leaders, on the other hand, typically take on actions like coalition building, policy making, program development, as advocacy around jobs, investment, and housing without deep understanding of the structural barriers to implementing the radical shifts they are demanding.

Social learning, however, can be used to deconstruct the apparatus of regime power. Collaborative rationality describes a/the process of social learning in complex systems. The results of the collaborative process include relationships, reciprocity, learning, and creativity as well as adaptations to the entire system in a double loop learning process (Innes and Booher 2003). The adaptations to the system are realized as shared identities, shared meanings, new ways of operating, and innovations (Innes and Booher 2003; 2010).

What is needed are adaptations to the system - policies and institutions - that rather than being reproductive of the system, are alternative, or oppositional to the power in the system.

This requires a different level of relationships, reciprocity, creativity, and learning through authentic dialogue. Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo (2014) describe cases, where overt power [power level 1] and manipulative power [power level 2] are difficult to deal with and resist, as places where structural power [power level 3] is at play. As described by the preceding analysis of urban regimes, in this dimension, "power is synonymous with securing compliance to domination. [Moreover], some taken-for-granted framing keeps certain issues out of debate at the same time as this framing clearly works against some actors' real interests (Schmidt-Thomé and Mäntysalo 2014, 128)."

In order to create innovative shared equity structures of shared identities and meanings like worker cooperatives and land trusts, authentic dialogue that results in reciprocal relationship building, learning, and creativity needs to occur. This process can also be seen as experimentation, project based, or experiential learning. Historically, the development of theory has arisen from real-life conditions from which theorists cull premises that they then test and apply to new conditions. The urban and regional development theory described above is a key example. The need for European nations to justify their imperial and colonial impositions resulted in theories of comparative advantage which positioned their productive capacity in terms of the productive capacities of conquered nations.

In How Learning Works seven "evidence-based" principles of learning and instruction are presented based on the science of learning and science of instruction. Their

principles "come from a perspective that is developmental and holistic (Ambrose 2010, 4)." Meaning, they "begin with the recognition that (a) learning is a developmental process that intersects with other developmental processes in a student's life, and (b) students enter our classrooms not only with skills, knowledge, and abilities, but also with social and emotional experiences that influence what they value, how they perceive themselves and others, and how they will engage in the learning process. (Ambrose 2010, 4). While the principles are most easily applied to students and instructors in college settings, the authors note their applicability in various learning contexts.

The bulk of work for instructors will be in designing robust and meaningful learning experiences that enhance the collective knowledge organizations of students and residents, so that they can move from conscious incompetence where they acquire the component skills, to conscious competence where they practice integrating the skills in various contexts. Instructors will have to develop new learning materials including case studies, handouts, and scenarios that help students identify the features of economic democracy institutions and identify the differences between economic democracy, capitalist, and other political economy models.

Experiential and action learning opportunities can help facilitate students' transfer of knowledge to different contexts by helping them to synthesize and apply the knowledge they gained from completing isolated tasks and skills (Baldwin and Rosier, 2017; Baum, 1997; Larsen et al, 2014; Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000; Cantor, 1995). This will help students move from conscious competence to unconscious competence, which is a sign of mastery (Ambrose et al, 2010). Ample time will be given for self and group reflection so

that students can generalize what they've learned to larger principles, which is also a sign of mastery.

Extremely important will be to identify the component skills of economic democracy practices, paying particular attention to how they differ from the skills learned through socialization in dominant economic practices. Here it is important to realize that many of us have been socialized to have mastery over competition, coercion, and scarcity. This means we have rich and meaningful knowledge structures that make these practices readily accessible to apply in daily practice. Nevertheless, part of the assumption of economic democracy is that people's negative experiences with the dominant economy gives them the expertise required to design new economic structures that better meet their needs.

The instructor can use the classroom and community encounters as a microcosm of larger societal structures and work with students to develop facility around the skills like consensus building and reflection, which can be isolated and practiced in a variety of contexts. The development of practices for the social reproduction of economic democracy requires acknowledgment of conscious incompetence around practices of accountability, reflection, cooperation, collaboration, solidarity, teamwork, consensus and abundance which are required for economically democratic institutions to be built and sustained. In depth discussions and reflections that interrogate commonly held assumptions will facilitate student's and resident's application of their relevant prior knowledge from experience to economic democracy practices and principles.

APPENDIX A. 3-CIRCLES STRATEGY CHART

THREE CIRCLES STRATEGY CHART

Source: Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project, www.movementgeneration.org
Developed by Gopal Dayaneni, Dave Henson, Michelle Mascarenhas-Swan, Jason Negrón-Gonzales, Mateo Nube, Carla Perez.

This tool illustrates a theory of how change happens to help us draw out our visions and align our strategies. Given the current state of ecological crises, it can be used to help our organizations, alliances, and movements identify what we believe is materially and culturally necessary (top circle), assess what is currently politically realistic (middle circle), and identify the false solutions that are being put forth by forces with an interest in maintaining the current system (bottom circle). The arrows indicate strategies for impacting the state of affairs – winning space to advance our agenda, pushing false solutions off the table, etc.

Using the tool:

1. We must identify what is materially and culturally necessary to ensure climate justice. If social movements don't define our visions, we will be stuck in a defensive/reactive posture. Our vision should not be limited by what is politically realistic even if we can't yet win the totality of that vision. Still, some components of what is materially and culturally necessary do overlap with what is politically realistic.

2. The location of the politically realistic circle is fluid. It is influenced by the political climate which is influenced by social movements, the power of corporations, the current state of the world, etc. It is the role of social movements to move more of what is materially and culturally necessary down into the politically realistic circle. And to push the false solutions out of what is politically realistic.

3. Just because there is overlap between politically realistic and what we really need doesn't mean that we will get it. And if we only focus on that narrow space, we don't inherently extend our influence to bring in more of our agenda into that space. We have to engage in a variety of spaces to advance that agenda. If we don't say what we really want, we will never get it. So, for example, a total moratorium on all new fossil fuels exploration and exploitation is not at all politically realistic in 2012, but we don't want to wait until material conditions become so bad that it becomes viable (because at that point, the false solutions will have colonized all the space for what is politically realistic). We have to find ways to advance that agenda now, so that it can become politically realistic. For example, employing strategies that target Tar Sands as a vulnerable link in the fossil fuels chain; or fighting for protection of pristine ecosystems from new exploration.

4. What we really need and false solutions do not every overlap. What goes in each circle depends on your worldview, what you believe and the groups you are aligned with.

5. The top and bottom circles do not occupy the same amount of space and do not employ the same strategies. Aligning the circles is an important part of the exercise. It allows for a snapshot of the state of play. Then we can talk about what we might move from the top circle into the overlapping space.

When we use this tool as a group, we can use hula-hoops and large strips of paper to brainstorm necessities and false solutions; then arrange them and discuss strategies to move the agenda forward.

THREE CIRCLES STRATEGY CHART

Source: Movement Generation Justice & Ecology Project, www.movementgeneration.org
Developed by Gopal Dayaneni, Dave Henson, Michelle Mascarenhas-Swan, Jason Negrón-Gonzales, Mateo Nube, Carla Perez.

APPENDIX B. GEORGIA TECH STUDIO COURSE ANALYSIS

Studio report title	Date	International	Neighborhood	City	Corridor	County/Regional	Other
Tide to Town: Rapid Health Impact Assessment of Savannah's Tide to Town Urban Trail System	2020			1			
Making Cataño Count	2020	1					
Tokyo Smart City Design at Shinagawa	2020	1					
Little Five Points Studio	2019		1				
Lindbergh Studio	2019		1				
International Urban Design Studio 2019, Kyojima	2019	1					
Puerto Rico Disaster Mitigation and Recovery Studio	2019	1					
Sustainable Cities Studio Final Report (2018)	2018			1			
International Urban Design Studio 2018, Kyojima-Sumida District, Tokyo	2018	1					
Powder Springs: Corridor and Connectivity Plan	2018			1			
Cultivating Connections: A Housing & Economic Development Implementation Strategy for the Mechanicsville Neighborhood of Atlanta	2018		1				
Chapala Climate Action Plan: Capstone Studio	2018	1					
International Urban Design Studio 2017, Urawa-Misono District, Tokyo	2017	1					
Linking Buford Highway Redevelopment with the Peachtree Greenway, Brookhaven, GA	2017				1		

Gateway 85 Community Improvement District, Jimmy Carter Blvd, GA	2017				1		
Gateway 85 Gwinnett Community Improvement District	2017				1		
City of Brookhaven Implementation Plan for Linking Buford Highway Redevelopment with the Peachtree Creek Greenway	2017			1			
2017 Urban Design Studio (Urawa Misono)	2017	1					
TEP/Westside Studio	2016		1				
Discovering Development and Conservation Opportunities in North Central Florida	2016						1
Smyrna Crossroads: A vision for the Spring Road Corridor	2016			1			
InternaUonal Urban Design Studio 2016: Shanghai – Disney	2016	1					
Activate Atlanta: Reignite East Point	2015			1			
Atlanta University Center: Neighborhood Study	2015		1				
Imagine Memorial	2015				1		
Eco-city 2.0: Chongming International Studio 2015	2015	1					
University - Community Partnerships for Workforce Development	2015		1				
Imagine Our Norcross: Planning for immigrant Integration	2015			1			
Mission Zero Corridor Project	2014				1		
School Siting & Design Study	2014			1			
RETREAT. ADAPT. DEFEND. Designing Community Response to Sea Level Rise in Five Coastal Georgia Communities	2013						1

The Economic Impact of Sea Level Rise on Port of Savannah's Garden City Terminal & City of Darien	2013			1				
Strategic Planning for Kaohsiung's Free Economic Zone (FEZ) and New Asian Bay Area: A Report of Waterfront Revitalization Studio 2013	2013	1						
Stormwater and Urban Design: Urban Design Strategies for Four Sites on the Atlanta BeltLine	2012				1			
Tracking the Effects of Sea Level Rise in Georgia's Coastal Communities	2012						1	
City of Atlanta Brownfields Area-Wide Planning Program	2012			1				
Northside Drive as a Multimodal Developmental Corridor: Transformation from Utilitarian Auto Route to Grand Transit Boulevard	2012				1			
Thaltej Village: An Incremental Approach to Urban Encroachment	2012	1						
Ashram Road Corridor Plan	2012	1						
Planning and Development Strategies for Holy Trinity, Alabama	2011			1				
A Web Application Approach to Street Sign Inventory Development	2011							1
Action Plan for the Fort McPherson Community	2011		1					
Atlanta NPU-G Community Master Plan - A Live-Work-Play Approach to Upward Mobility	2010		1					
Atlanta Braves Baseball Stadium Redevelopment: Stadium Neighborhoods TAD	2010		1					
Strategies for Neighborhood Recovery: High Point, Joyland and Chosewood Park, Atlanta	2009		1					

Newton County Land Conservation Plan	2009					1	
Chattanooga Downtown Westside 2009	2009			1			
A Plan for Industrial Land and Sustainable Industry in the City of Atlanta	2009			1			
Lindbergh-LaVista Corridor Coalition	2008				1		
English Avenue Redevelopment Plan	2008		1				
Friendship Village Final Studio Presentation	2008					1	
Blueprints for Successful Communities: Westside Studio	2007		1				
Blueprint: Piedmont Heights	2007		1				
City ReAssembly: When the Auto Plant Closes: Redevelopment Opportunities for Hapeville, Georgia	2006			1			
City ReAssembly: When the Auto Plant Closes: Redevelopment Opportunities for Doraville, Georgia	2006			1			
Atlanta Neighborhood Change Report (1980-2000)	2002		1				
Fort Valley - Making Connections	2002			1			
Hahira Town Plan	1994	1					
		14	14	16	8	5	1

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