Cultivating regional cultural competency: Exploring the presence of place-based exclusion and representation in urban planning research

A thesis

submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

August, 2013

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Abstract

This thesis explores geographic patterns of representation in scholarly and professional planning literature within the conceptual framework of cultural competency. Literature counts were collected with a systematic review of eleven years of articles published by *The Journal of the American Planning Association, Planning* magazine, and *The Journal of Urban History;* using ArcGIS, counts were then mapped against demographic variables selected as cultural proxies to establish visual correlations between levels of representation and certain types of communities. Based on the foregoing methods the thesis concludes that the South, and the Deep South in particular are under-represented regions in the planning literature. The implications of this under-representation are discussed using examples from Alabama. The conclusion offers concrete recommendations for the planning establishment to sponsor more effective and communicative planning in under-represented regions.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The primary research question for the subsequent thesis is as follows: Does a systematic review of the American Planning Association's literature, both scholarly and professional, reveal a geographically based underrepresentation? If so, how does this underrepresentation hamper cultural competency in the urban planning profession? I hypothesize that there are underrepresented geographical regions of the United States in both the scholarly and professional planning literature. While I do not purport to explain this regional editorial omission, I will attempt to demonstrate and describe its existence using qualitative and quantitative methodologies familiar to planners; furthermore, I have made a tentative attempt to explain the significance of this placed-based blind spot for the professional planning practice. Explaining the wherefore of regional bias or underrepresentation is a task germane to future inter-disciplinary research.

The research framework posits that place-based research bias, or discursive exclusion, can perpetuate insufficient cultural competency. "Cultural competency" is defined by Agyeman and Erickson (2012) as "the range of awareness, beliefs, knowledge, skills, and behaviors, and professional practice that will assist in planning in, for, and with multiple publics" (p. 359). Similarly, Vazquez (2009a) defines it as "a set of knowledge and skills to help individuals engage more effectively in culturally diverse environments." Cultural competency is almost universally

recognized as a critical and necessary skill for planners, as much as "urban design, economic development, or transportation analysis," though it may be a more challenging skill to implement than those from the traditional toolbox (Vazquez 2009b).

The planning profession has long focused on paradigmatic cities like San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, and New York City for regional and urban planning. Implicitly, these are the touchstones to which all other cities tend to be measured. This professional and scholarly preoccupation with paradigmatic cities can be demonstrated by the frequency with which they appear in the planning literature. This preoccupation with paradigmatic cities is not problematic *per se,* except insofar as the obverse side — inattention and therefore inaction — marginalizes other regions of the United States, such as the Midwest and Deep South. It might be hazarded that this place-based discursive exclusion, or blind spot, which is not intended to imply a systematic conspiracy, demonstrates a lack of cultural competency and is thus an area for improvement to be addressed by the planning profession at large.

The final thesis product will address, in a non-reductive way, regional and national narratives and identities and how these have historically contributed to a potential place-based bias in the literature. Throughout I will reference cases and examples from Alabama only because that is the state with which I am most acquainted.

The hypothesis concerning regional-specific, place-based research exclusion was the result of an iterative process; originally, I intended to compare post-Katrina case studies of Biloxi, Mississippi, and Mobile, Alabama, to present a best-practices-type document, but this proved impossible by the dearth of available literature. One article on cultural food systems in Biloxi appeared in an Internet search, but it was not published or peer-reviewed in the scholarly literature. While literature addressing forestry and watershed management in Mobile was available, the only urban planning sources were conference proceedings —"Emerging Issues Along Urban/Rural Interface III: Linking Science and Society" — sponsored by the Auburn University Center for Forest Sustainability in August 2010. These lacunae in the scholarly peer-reviewed planning literature provoked reflection on the representation of the Deep South in the scholarly literature in general. After a cursory literature search it was surmised that the Deep South as a region suffered elision from the scholarly planning literature, which might be symptomatic of a cultural blind spot or groupthink in the planning profession's collective consciousness, a phenomenon articulated by sociologist Emile Durkheim as the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to a society (Elwell 2012).

Neither is this discursive exclusion confined to urban planning. The underrepresentation extant in the planning literature, as identified in our preliminary research, is partner to a more extensive media bias against

the Deep South, whether perpetuated in Hollywood movies or by news media where representations of the South often degenerate into caricature, ridicule, parody and fantasy. Both of these are arguably symptoms or effects of a national historical narrative and identity formation, which planning and other disciplines then unwittingly proliferate.

Every academic discipline labors under an ethical imperative to reflect critically and intelligently upon its own praxis in an iterative elaboration of its predispositions and biases. Intellectual rigor demands it. Other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences have developed heterodox schools of thought that tend to counteract the more reactionary propensities of an academic discipline: Critical Theory and the Frankfurt School, Post-Structuralism, Queer Theory, and Women's Studies, to name only a few. Philosophy has produced gadflies like Richard Rorty, Slavoj Zizek, Jacques Derrida, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Roland Barthes, Theodor Adorno, et al. Planning has its armchair critics and theorists as well, such as the much celebrated Jane Jacobs, who bemoaned Urban Renewal and autocentric planning, and James Howard Kunstler, who takes cheap shots at a dystopian vision of suburbia derived from Richard Yates' *Revolutionary Road* or *The Stepford Wives.* The straw men of urban planning abound. Although *ad hominem* armchair theorizing and animadversion have their place, and critics like Jacobs and Kunstler have reached a popular audience, it is also helpful to vet the empirical situation of a discipline while critiquing it.

But, as the literature review reveals, to the best of the author's knowledge no one has turned the tools and methodologies of urban planning against itself in a self-reflexive exercise to inform the general public that the emperor is not wearing clothes, at least in terms of reflecting diverse regional cultures. This thesis was conceived as an initiatory and exploratory foray into holding a mirror up before professional and academic planning, and to facilitate self-reflection and critical appraisal of the planning profession's geographic and spatial biases.

The myriad and protean causes of this place-based bias cannot be addressed within the scope of this mapping analysis, but it might be conjectured that the state legislative environments in the Deep South are influential. For example, Oregon and California may receive inordinate coverage for best practices and case studies in part because the state legislatures mandate planning efforts. Moreover, public process in states like Oregon is more rigorous than in most Deep South states and data access is influenced by both public demand and federal and state funding. As this thesis will attempt to demonstrate, planners in Deep South states have fewer resources available in the scholarly and professional literature to inform their professional development. In a needs-based assessment apropos of urban planning, Deep South states would necessitate more coverage, professional attention and funding than they currently receive. Other states and municipalities nationwide with similar government structures and general concerns lack the resources to be effective

planners. Ultimately, coverage begets more attention from both the literature and government in an iterative process that is functionally a self-fulfilling prophecy that can proliferate the present urban conditions in the Deep South.

Definitions of the South are numerous, but a singular, coherent definition of the Deep South is difficult to come by. Numerous criteria have been proposed for defining both the South and the Deep South: states that permitted slavery, states that seceded from the Union, states that had segregation legislation, states with a SEC football team, etc. But for the purposes of this study the Deep South is defined as Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina.

Although operationalizing "cultural competency" — articulating the theoretical paradigm as an implementable praxis — is ultimately beyond the scope of this thesis, I do, however, propose to address the expediency of an important first step. The first step in this case is recognition of the discipline's inhibitory and rigid cultural perceptions.
Ensuant to recognition is increased understanding of what the specific cultural needs are of various regions. Only after these two steps occur can planners begin to discuss the specific ways to address cultural needs and differences, and the subsequent operationalization of cultural competency.

More concretely, planners are neglecting or omitting already disempowered and disenfranchised populations. In the Deep South, these populations include two classic examples of "diversity:" race and

socioeconomic status. Also in the paradigm of cultural competency, planners are exhorted to give the Deep South more "recognition" and attention in the literature because, in addition to the size of the region's population, there is a qualitative rationale as well: difference and otherness "should lead not to equality of treatment but to different treatment of groups or individuals based on the extent of their cultural and group marginalization and lack of privilege and power" (Agyeman and Erickson, 2012).

Chapter 2: Literature Review I — Geographically-Based

Representation in Research

A literature review revealed that no similar such analyses of place-based representation in the South have been conducted. This literature review summarizes studies and analyses with methods similar to those in the present study. Upon performing a Google Scholar search for "mapping journal geography" I was led to an article titled "Mapping the Geography of Science: distribution patterns and networks of relations among cities and institutes," (Leydesdorff & Persson, 2010) a study that uses social networking analysis and other bibliometric research methods to visualize patterns of international collaboration projected over a global map. Each city is represented by a dot, the size of which is correlated with a coefficient of that city's significance in the hierarchical international collaborative network. While the authors do not use ArcGIS, they do employ Google Earth, Google Maps and network visualization programs; unfortunately, the maps are quite amateurish, even by the standards of an introductory course in GIS. Using aggregated citation data, sociograms and social network diagrams, the researchers determined which cities and institutions are most represented in the geography of science.

Secondly, in the same journal I found an article titled "Which Cities Produce More Excellent Papers Than Can Be Expected? A New Mapping Approach, Using Google Maps, Based on Statistical Significance Testing" (Bornmann & Leydesdorff, 2011). Again, this article uses dot density maps

and range graded proportional circle maps to reveal spatial patterns of citation and "centers of excellence." Their methods allow the researchers to assess the number of articles actually observed in a given city versus expected numbers of citations in scientific journals. The highest performing cities are those where authors publish a statistically significant higher number of cited papers than can be expected for those cities. However, it is not always true that the address reported on the publication is the same as the address where the research was conducted. Similarly, based on demographic profiles, and the presence of various planning institutions, I might be able ascertain the number of expected versus the number of observed place-based citations in the professional and scholarly planning literature.

"Mapping Authors in Intellectual Space: A Technical Overview" (McCain, 1990) delineates the steps in the average analysis of citations. Author co-citation analysis can be used to produce empirical maps of the geographic distribution of various prominent authors and scholars. Methodologies include profile analysis, cluster analysis, multi-dimensional scaling, factor analysis and software can be used to identify latent patterns of association in matrices of co-occurrence data. A flow chart illustrates the steps thus: first, a researcher selects the set of authors for the study (this is analogous to this thesis' systematic review of scholarly and professional planning literature); retrieval of co-citation frequencies; compilation of raw matrix; conversion to correlation matrix; multi-variate

analysis of matrix; and finally, data interpretation. This article's methods were relevant as a precedent for mapping the geographic distribution of article counts instead of co-citations.

Catherine D'Ignazio's (2013) "Mapping The Globe: Initial Research Into Regional Media Attention in Massachusetts" is perhaps the best precedent for the analysis in this thesis. D'Ignazio cartographically investigates whether the *Boston Globe's* media attention is evenly distributed across the Boston Metro. Every article published by *The Globe* is geotagged by location, and with this API geodata the researcher was able to ascertain both the spatial distribution of the newspaper's coverage, but also how those articles are framed (Over 40% of Mattapan's articles were about crime, for instance). Demographic measures of diversity were correlated with media attention, and her data points mapped against a national basemap as both color-coded graduate symbols and county polygons on a color ramp according to which counties received the most coverage on a per capita basis.

While none of these articles are concerned with the same problems of representation in professional and scholarly planning literature, they do have similar statistical and cartographic methodologies, even if they tend to be strong on statistical methods, and weak on cartographic methods (many of the maps produced in Google Earth and Google Maps lack a scale, compass, legend, visual and aesthetic coherence, aside from just being sinfully ugly). Despite these shortcomings, all of the aforementioned

articles had some heuristic value as models or emulative prototypes informing this thesis project. Conceptually, they were formative in fomenting the *idea* of mapping literature.

Literature Review II — Theoretical Framework of Cultural Competency

The omission of a densely populated region of the country from the scholarly and professional planning literature indicates a lack of cultural competency that results in a disparity of representation based on geographical region. Whereas Agyeman and Erickson (2012), among others, discuss the importance of cultural competency at the municipal level, I argue for a scaling up of the concept to the inter-regional level within the discipline of urban planning.

The American Institute of Certified Planners' (AICP) Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct, as Agyeman and Erickson (2012) note, enjoins planners to promote "social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration." Working from this, Agyeman and Erickson argue that planners, then, "need *cultural competency* skills in order to recognize, understand, and engage this difference, diversity, and cultural heterogeneity in creative and productive ways" (p. 358).

Ideally, planners should recognize that their "cultural awareness, beliefs, knowledge, skills, behaviors, and professional practice can and do

influence everything from the level and tone of outreach and representation at planning meetings to the interpretation of codes and the content of reports" (p. 358), according to Agyeman and Erickson (2012). For the present study I will focus on "the content of reports," particularly in the form of scholarly and professional planning literature. As noted previously, cultural competency is defined by Agyeman and Erickson as "the range of awareness, beliefs, knowledge, skills, and behaviors, and professional practice that will assist in planning in, for, and with multiple publics" (p. 359). Their clarion call to action to achieve this cultural competency as part of the "professional planner's praxis" (p. 359) is for planners to become more aware of intercultural dynamics and "how their own conscious and unconscious assumptions, beliefs, knowledge, and desires affect their ability to listen well and understand other cultures" (p. 359). Based on the results of the subsequent analyses, I expand upon the definition of cultural competency to include inter-regional difference.

In the cultural competency paradigm, planning is defined as "an inherently cross-cultural experience, where the prevailing planning culture interacts with, involves, and changes through its constant interaction with different cultures" (Agyeman & Erickson, 2012, p. 359). In this case, the geographical locations that are heavily represented in the literature serve as the "prevailing planning culture" identified by Agyeman and Erickson. I argue that as a result of discursive exclusion from the scholarly and professional literature, planning as a discipline fails to "interact" with

certain regions of the United States. Consequently, the discipline does not integrate the cultural differences of all regions in the nation. This is problematic not only because AICP ethical precepts are not satisfied, but also because the planning profession is perpetuating a cultural blind spot. This blind spot creates the conditions for planning to miss out on potentials for enrichment of the profession by not recognizing and incorporating the complexities presented by all regions, while also disadvantaging planners in underrepresented regions.

If, as the cultural competency argument presents, societies are intercultural rather than multicultural, then planners would arguably pay more attention to the currently under-represented regions of the country. Intercultural planning requires the continual reconstitution of cultural boundaries, which are perpetually in flux. But the planning establishment should not capitulate before cynicism and fatalism. This hypothesized regional bias must be envisioned not as an impasse but as an opportunity for maximizing awareness, promoting dialogue and synergy between disparate regional cultures and professions.

From a heuristic perspective, cultural competency exists on a continuum: cultural destructiveness, cultural incapacity, cultural blindness, cultural pre-competence, cultural competency, and cultural proficiency (Cross, et al. 1989). At the national scale, I argue that planning as a profession is at the "cultural blindness" stage on this continuum. Cultural blindness has potentially damaging consequences, insofar as it

perpetuates a cycle of discursive exclusion. Establishing the existence of

this geographically based discursive exclusion is the first step towards

remedying it.

Chapter 3: Methods

Systematic Review of the Scholarly and Professional Planning Literature

To answer the primary research question, in partnership with Jaclyn Devore I first conducted a systematic review of the scholarly and professional planning literature. The principal research variable of interest was geographic location, recorded in terms of city and state. The geographic unit of analysis is set at the mainland national level, though disparities at the regional scale will be investigated as well. Of especial interest were those metropolitan areas and states that are arguably heavily represented and underrepresented in the literature.

In order to create a cross-section overview of the geographical representation within the professional and scholarly planning literature, eleven years of articles (approximately 350 issues and over 1,100 individual articles) published between 2002-2012 in the following quarterly, peer-reviewed journals were systematically reviewed: *Journal of American Planning Association*, *The Journal of Planning History* and *Planning* magazine, also published by the American Planning Association. *JAPA* and *Planning* magazine were selected because they ostensibly represent the contemporary professional planning community, and *The Journal of Planning History* was selected for its historical approach to planning. I theorized that the halcyon period of the South's urban environment is mostly historical, dating to the pre-interstate streetcar period, and

predating the infamous Urban Renewal Era that decimated most urban cores, and would therefore be more likely to appear in a journal devoted to planning history.

For the purposes of this analysis all mentions of international locations were elided. Data management was conducted according to a coding system, inputting a binary or dichotomous data type on which statistical analysis can be performed: "yes/no" for inclusion of Deep South locations in the publication. In the coding scheme, 1=yes and 2=no. The primary research variable of interest is geographic location, recorded in terms of city and state. Secondarily, I'm also particularly interested in metropolitan areas such as San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York City, as well as states such as Oregon and California that are arguably over-represented in the literature.

GIS mapping analysis.

Place-based exclusion of the Deep South in urban planning can be extrapolated from the gaps and omissions cogently visualized in the GIS maps below. The goal of this mapping exercise was to visually evaluate whether or not there is a regional bias by way of excluding the Deep South in urban planning's scholarly literature. Specific methodologies include a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to increase robustness, reliability, and external validity.

Data layers for this analysis include a national basemap with state boundaries and the locations of major cities, as well as demographic data

from the 2010 U.S. Census; county polygons and Census designated places were derived from the US Census. The mapping analysis relied on the following protocol: first, I created a city-state address locator to geocode the tabular data collected in the Excel worksheets for each systematically reviewed journal. After the worksheets were geocoded with the customized address locator, they were joined to a geographic reference layer (spatial join to relate the data points to a city point or state centroid points in each state polygon). This allowed me to sum the number of studies or articles per city or state, and enabled me to attach demographic data to each city point.

Using graduated symbols, the thesis deliverable includes the following maps: national level city data map, national level state data map, selected regional geography based on U.S. Census Regions and Divisions. For simplicity, Alaska and Hawaii were omitted from the mapping. The graduated symbols are overlayed on 2010 U.S. Census demographic data by county and census tract to visualize how population density and other demographic criteria of diversity are represented in scholarly and professional planning literature.

The maps herein were generated by aggregating the data points for all of the systematically reviewed journals. It should be clarified here that "case studies by city" refers to any case studies in which the city or metropolitan area was the geographic unit of interest for the researcher, whereas "case studies by state" refers to case studies in which the state

as a whole was the geographic unit of interest for the researcher.

The research also necessitated a method to quantitatively establish which cities were omitted from the literature for comparison. In order to accomplish this, the median population was calculated for the cities mentioned in the systematic review of the planning literature – this median value was 72,000. Next, all cities in the contiguous 48 states with a population of 72,000 or greater were identified on the assumption that these are populous cities comparable to those mentioned in planning literature. I then mapped all unmentioned cities satisfying this criterion against both mentioned cities and the demographic data.

The final project includes the following maps: Number of Place-Based Articles by State and City, 2012 US Presidential Election Results, White Population by Census Tract, Black Population by Census Tract, Population Density, Mainline Protestant by County, Total Population 25+ With a Bachelor's Degree, Roman Catholic by County, Baptist by County, Evangelical Protestant by County, and smaller scale details of New England, the Deep South and the West Coast with unmentioned cities. The graduated symbols were overlaid on 2010 US Census demographic data and data from Social Explorer by county and census tract to visualize how variables other than population density and race are represented in scholarly and professional planning literature.
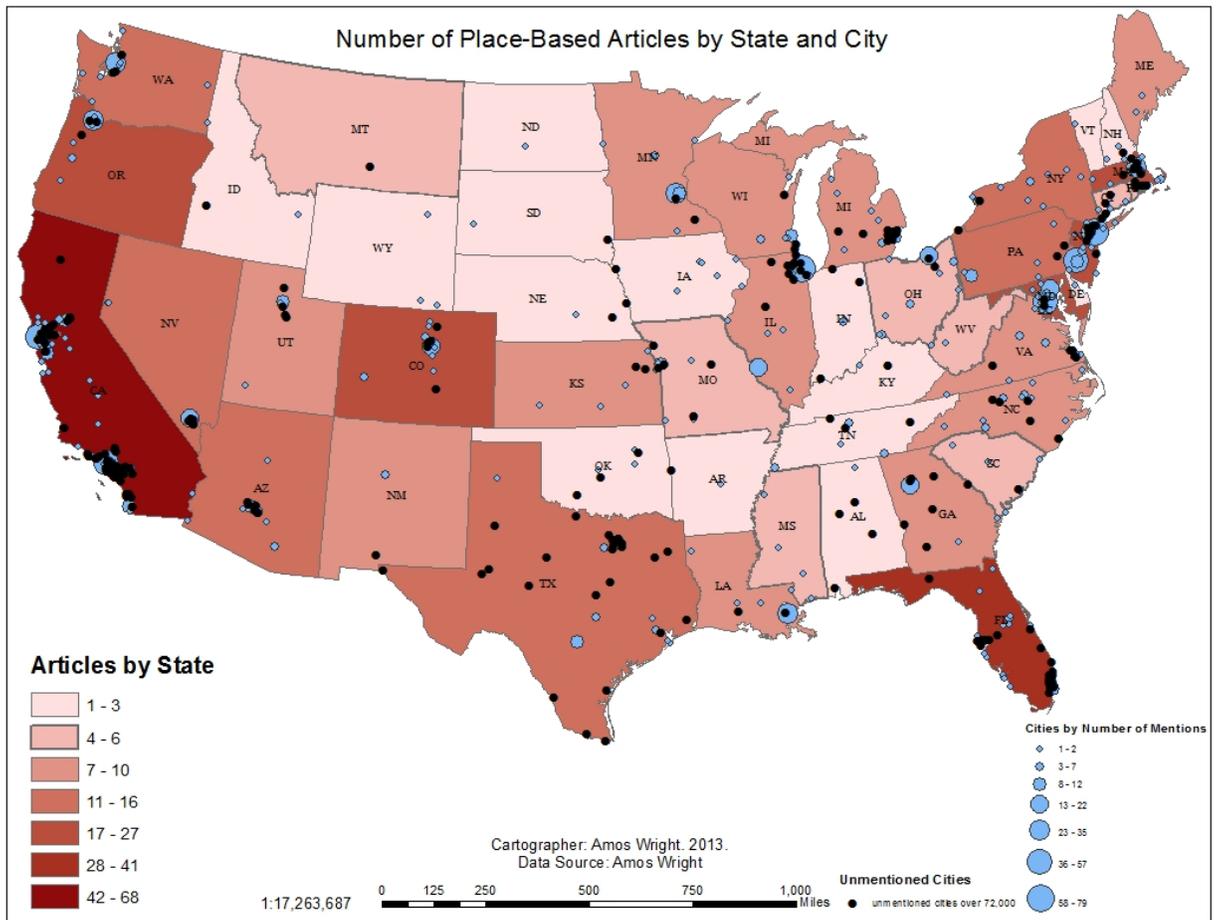
Note on Data

All data on religious affiliation by county were derived from Social Explorer's website. Religious data were collected and published by InfoGroup, organized by the ARDA, and then tabulated and processed by Social Explorer. The Huffington Post provided the presidential election results by state. Data on educational attainment were derived from the American Community Survey, 2006-2010. Race data were derived from the 2010 US Census, and the population density variable was created by normalizing the total US population (2010 US Census) against the total land area in square miles.

The selection tool in ArcGIS was used to select demographic data pertaining to my chosen research variables of race, population density, educational attainment, political affiliation and religion. Data were selected by the five most mentioned cities in the sample, unmentioned Deep South cities with a population greater than 72,000, mentioned Deep South cities with a population greater than 72,000, and the nine Census Divisions. The total number of articles per city and state, total population, population density and land area in square miles were selected as the variables for the Census Divisions. Data tables were then created tabulating all demographic data and cross-referencing them against the appropriate Census Division.

Chapter 4: Findings

The following maps and data tables visualize, empirically corroborate, and narrate the theorized place-based discursive exclusion in the scholarly and professional planning literature. The sample of literature counts was on a national level basemap to visualize the geographic distribution of literature counts, allowing us to discern geographic patterns of representation. The graduate blue dots represent cities by the number of article counts, and black dots represent unmentioned cities with a population greater than 72,000. While maps create a two-dimensional and static image, it is important to remember the temporal element behind dynamic data that were sampled longitudinally. Once those patterns have been established in the maps below, the data tables can be referenced to further articulate and narrate the details of those patterns. Each of the demographic variables below will have implications for professional and academic planning's cultural competency.

Number of Place-Based Articles by State and City

Articles by State

	1 - 3
	4 - 6
	7 - 10
	11 - 16
	17 - 27
	28 - 41
	42 - 68

1:17,263,687

Cartographer: Amos Wright. 2013.
Data Source: Amos Wright

0   125   250   500   750   1,000
Miles

Cities by Number of Mentions

1 - 2
3 - 7
8 - 12
13 - 22
23 - 35
36 - 57
58 - 79

Unmentioned Cities
unmentioned cities over 72,000

Map 1 illustrates the geographic distribution of case studies by city and by state as recorded in the planning journals between 2002 and 2012. With a few exceptions in the Midwest, Rust Belt and the Southeastern United States, the distribution of case studies in the scholarly and professional planning literature is delimited to the East and West Coasts. An appreciable area of "flyover country" between the Coasts is strewn with black dots representing unmentioned cities with a population greater than 72,000. California is symbolized in a saturated red because it received the highest number of literature counts in the sample.
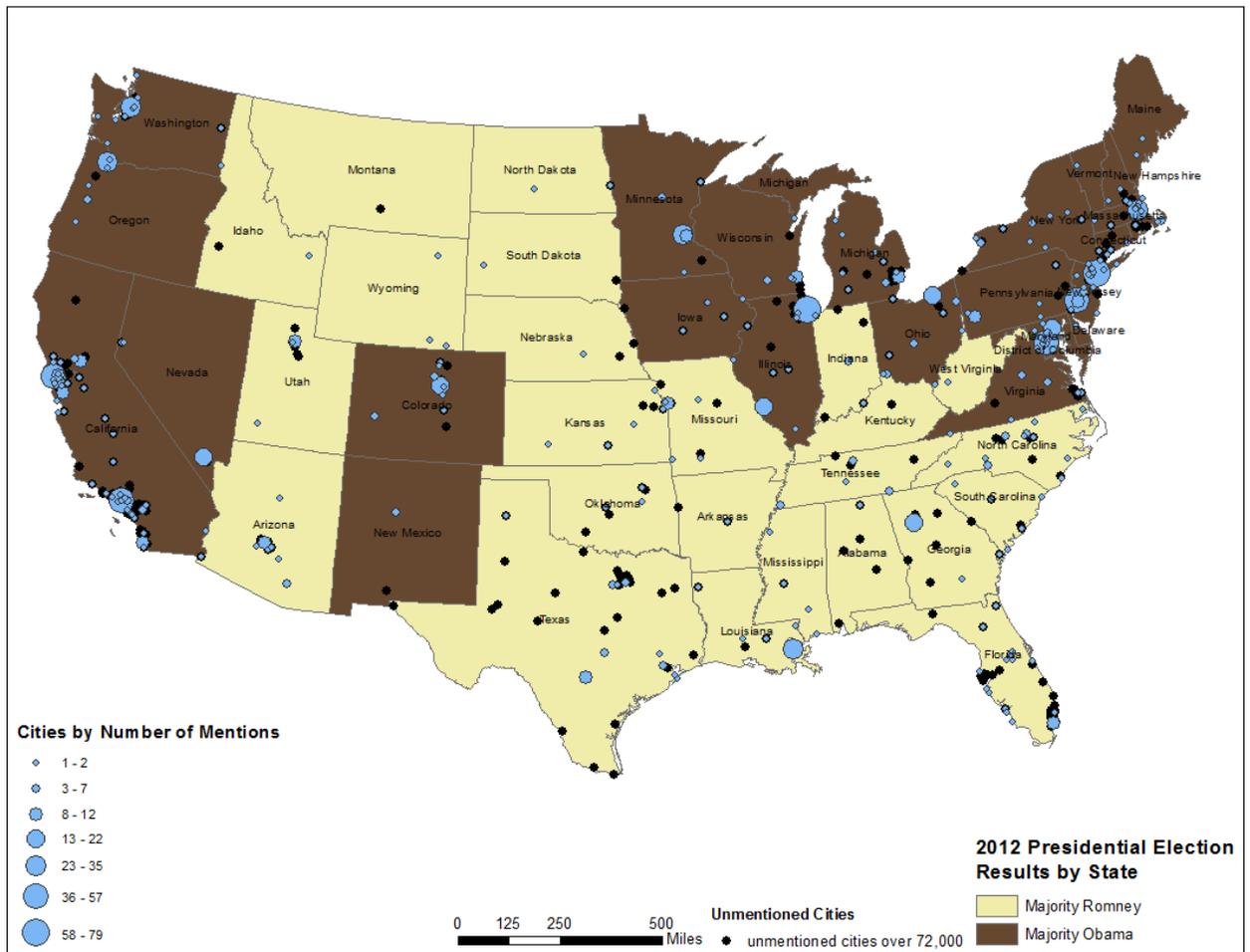
Map 2: 2012 Presidential Election Results by State. (Data Source: ESRI Data Maps, ArcGIS 2010, & The Huffington Post. Retrieved from: http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/2012/results.) Map 2 illustrates the geographic distribution of case studies against 2012 US Presidential election results. Generally, the largest graduated symbols, representing a high literature count per city, are in states with a majority vote for Obama. Notable exceptions are Atlanta, Georgia, New Orleans, Louisiana, both of which are located in counties with a majority vote for Obama.
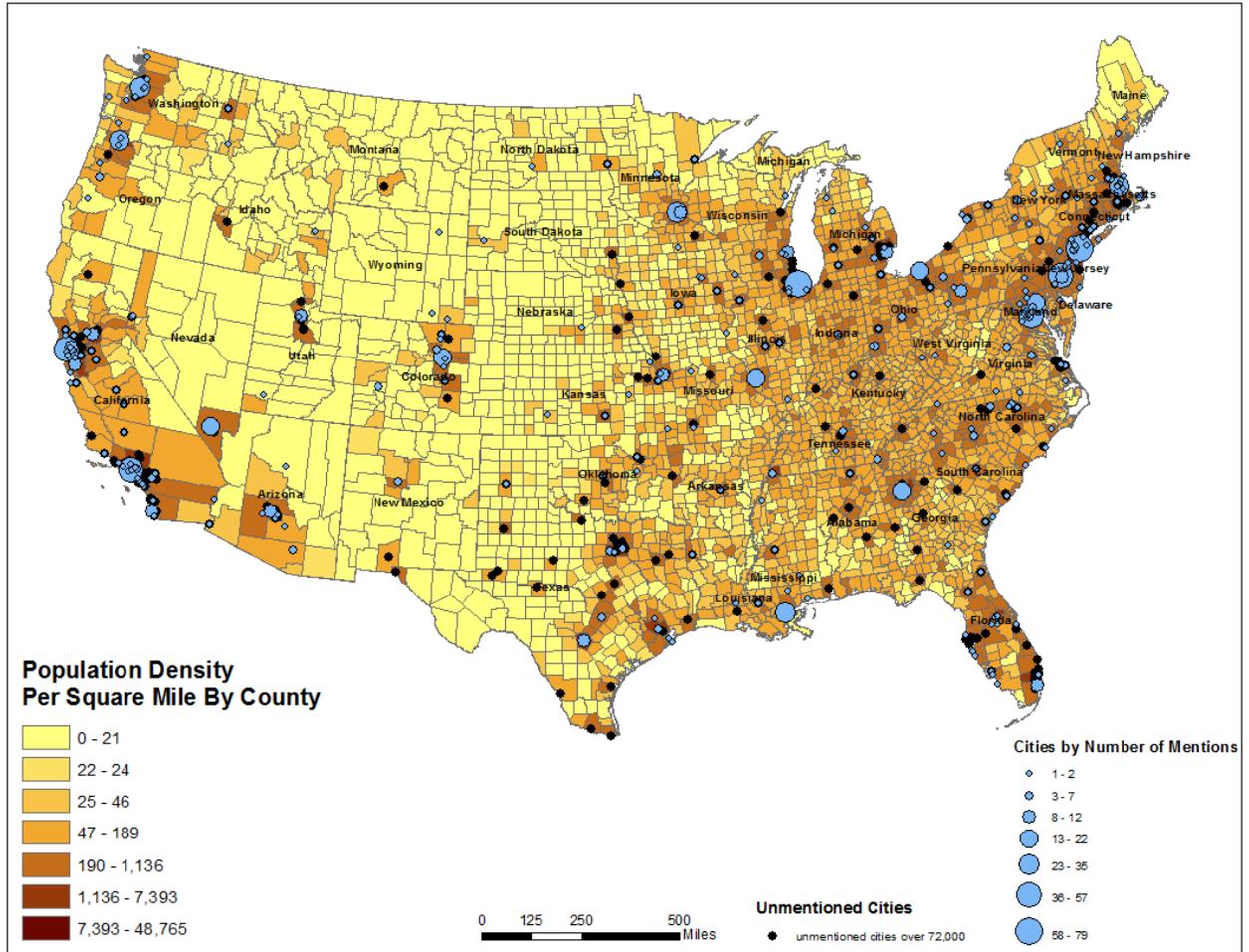
Map 3: Population Density Per Square Mile by County. (Data Source: ESRI Data Maps, ArcGIS 2010, & 2010 US Census. Retrieved from: http://www.census.gov/2010census/). Map 3 illustrates the geographic distribution of case studies by city overlaid against population density by county. Even the unmentioned cities with a population greater than 72,000 are almost uniformly located in counties with a high population density. Regions with a lower population density, such as the Midwest and the Mountain West, receive considerably less coverage. But the Deep South is not the only region to suffer underrepresentation: southern Florida,

coastal California, Chicago, Detroit, New England and a swath starting in

South Dakota and stretching south into Texas all possess unmentioned

cities in areas of high population density.
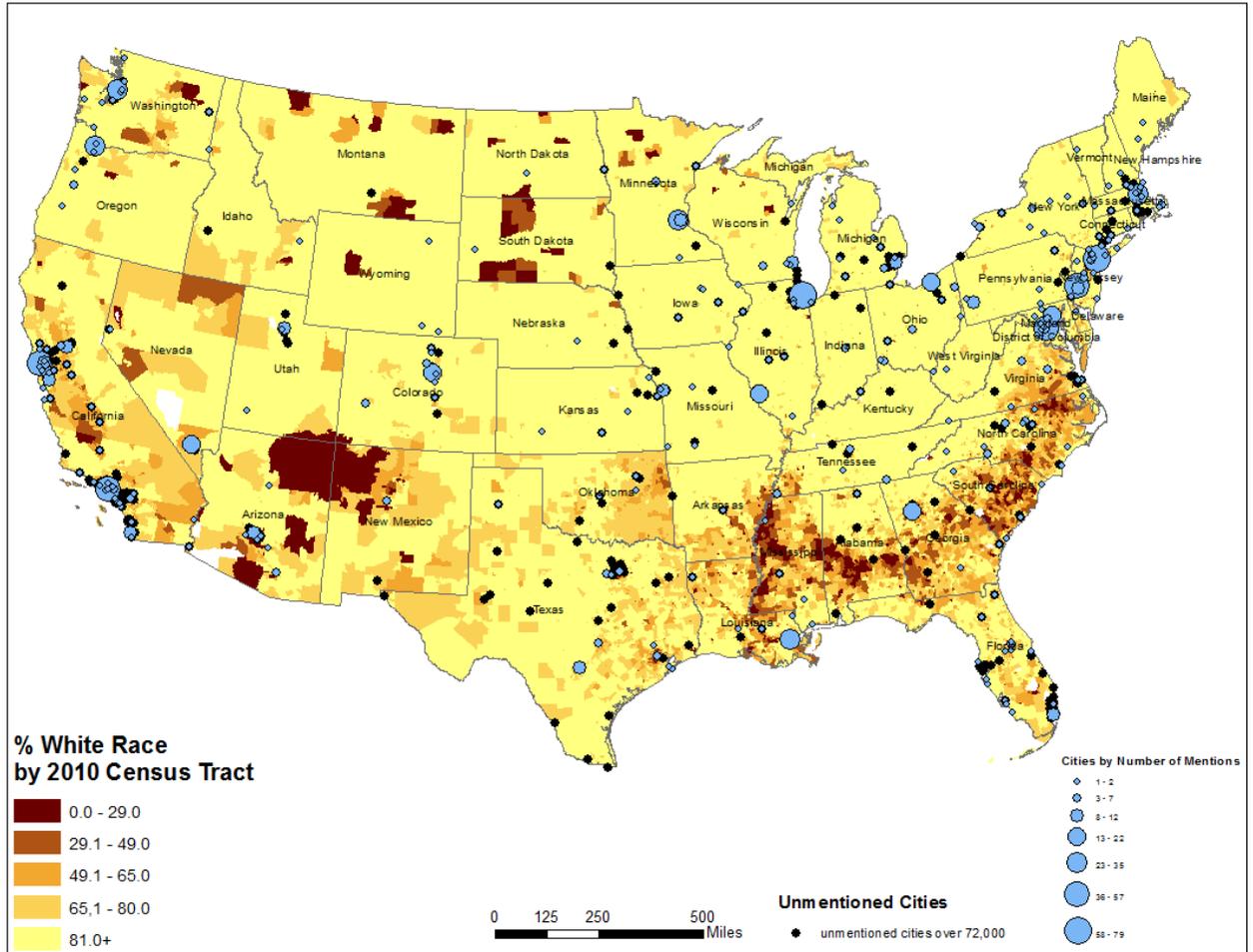
Map 4: Percent of White Race by 2010 Census Tract. (Data Source:

ESRI Data Maps, ArcGIS 2010, & 2010 US Census. Retrieved from:

http://www.census.gov/2010census/). Map 4 illustrates the geographic

distribution of case studies by city overlaid against the percent of white

population by census tract. At the national scale, case studies tend to be

performed in majority white regions, although the "whitest" regions of the

country are also the least populous.

25
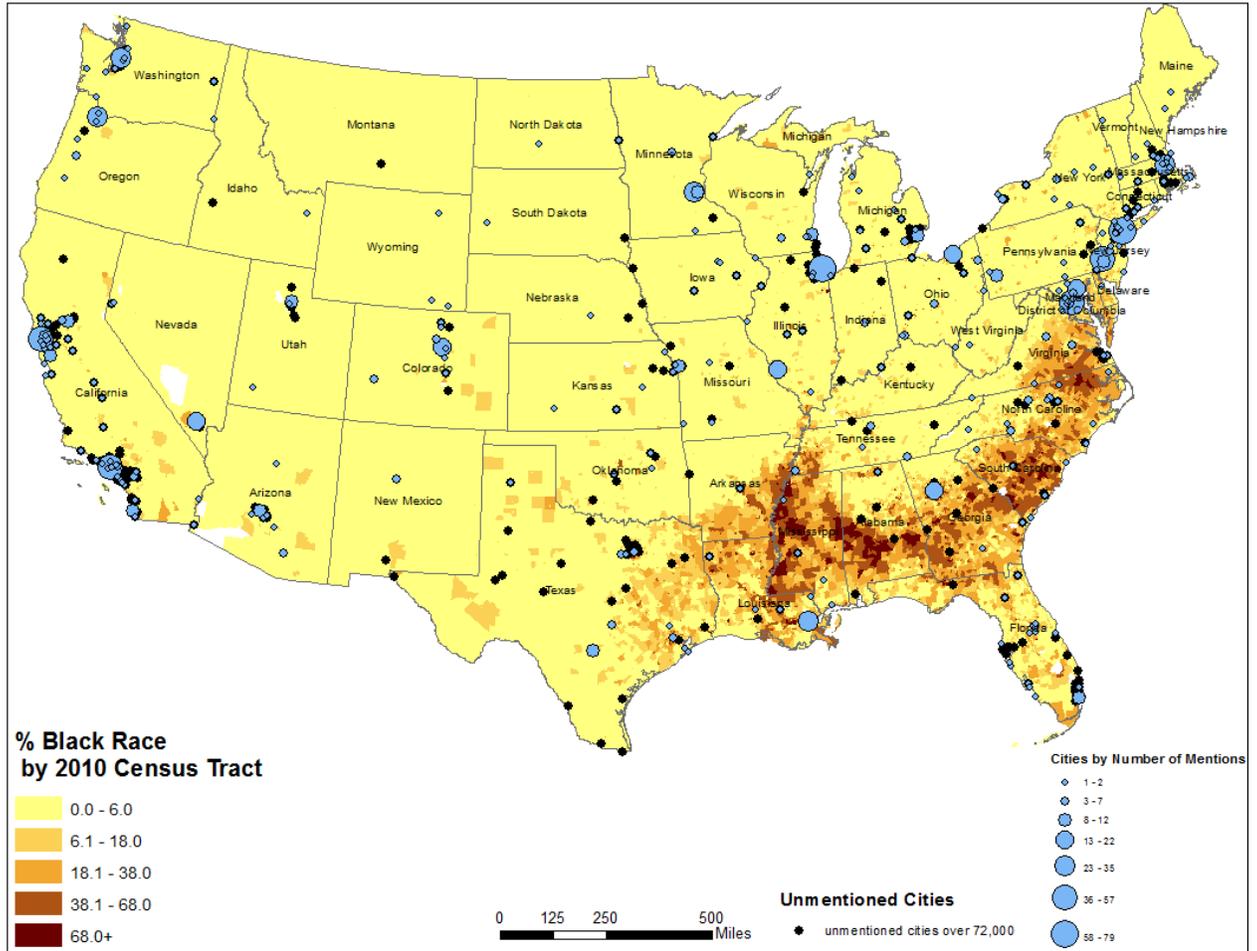
Map 5: Percent of Black Race by 2010 Census Tract. (Data Source:

ESRI Data Maps, ArcGIS 2010, & 2010 US Census. Retrieved from:

http://www.census.gov/2010census/) Map 5 illustrates the geographic

distribution of case studies by city overlaid against the percent of black

population by census tract. As above, case studies tend to be performed

in non-black regions. The Black Belt Region of the United States, from

Louisiana to South Carolina and north into Virginia, describes a high

concentration of unrepresented African-American populations in cities with

a population over 72,000.

26
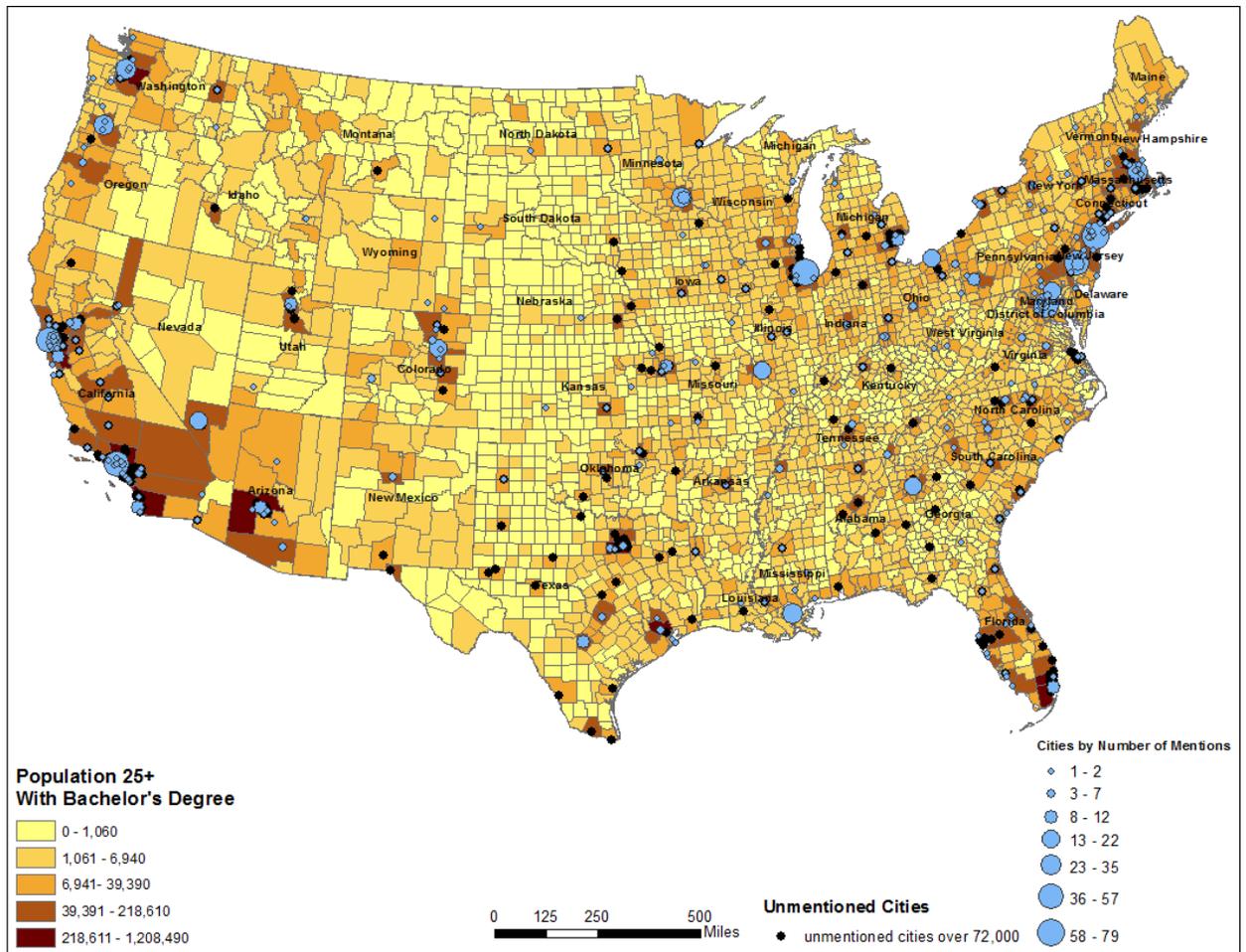
Map 6: Population 25+ With a Bachelor's Degree. (Data Source:

American Community Survey, 2006-2010. Retrieved from:

http://www.census.gov/acs/www/.) Map 6 illustrates the geographic

distribution of case studies against the total population twenty-five years

and older with a bachelor's degree. Map 7 describes a propensity in the

planning literature to cover highly educated populations which are

generally coextensive with the urbanized areas along the East and West

Coasts. Secondarily, this map reveals another common tendency of

society: that highly educated people live in cities.

27
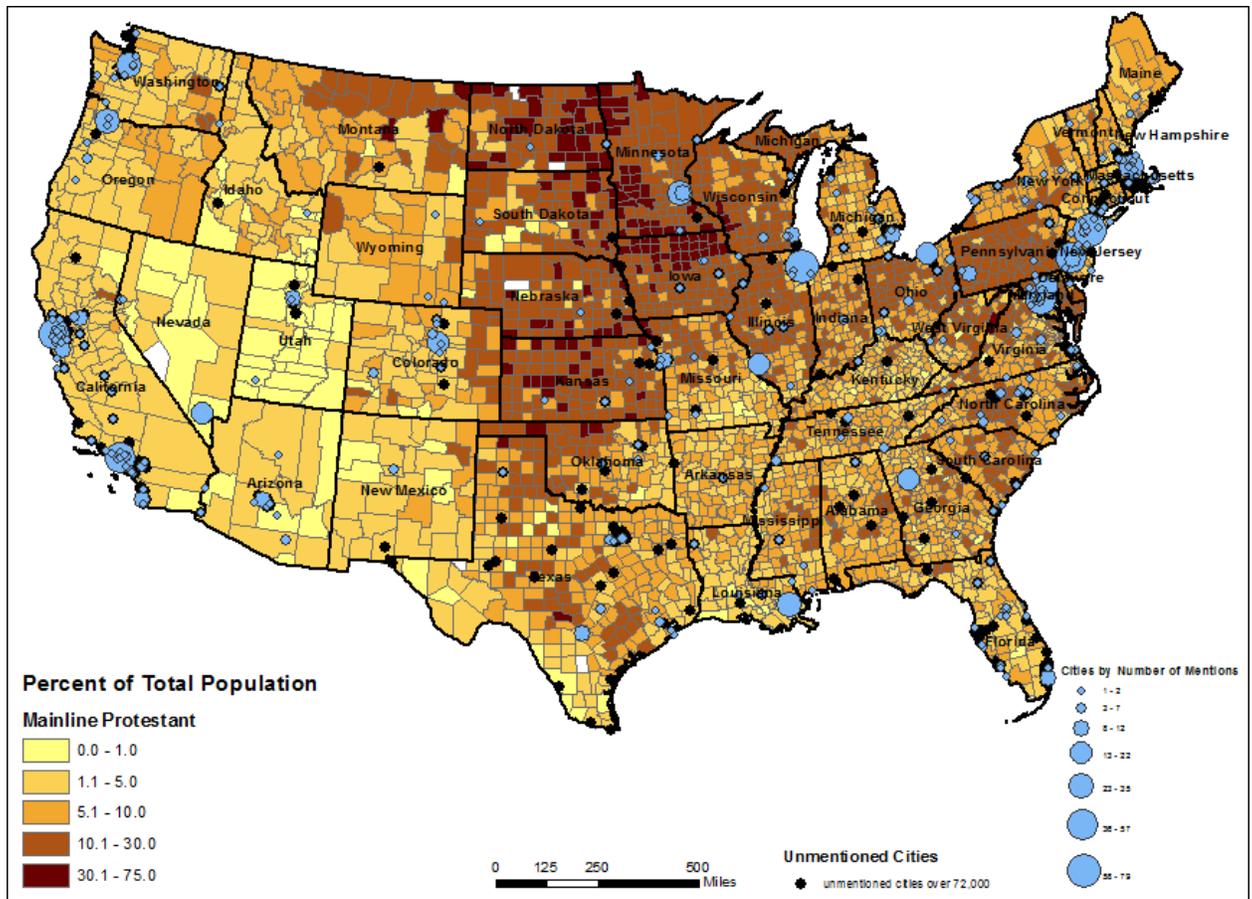
Map 7: Mainline Protestant as Percentage of Total Population by County. (Data Source: www.socialexplorer.com. New York City, NY: Social Explorer 2013. Retrieved from:

http://www.socialexplorer.com/pub/reportdata/HtmlResults.aspx?reportid=R1051 7096). Map 7 illustrates the geographic distribution of case studies against Mainline Protestant by county. A high concentration of Mainline Protestants by county is observed to spatially correlate with the Midwest and Great Plains states and across Ohio and Pennsylvania to the Mid-Atlantic and Northeast. Mainline Protestant is defined by Social Explorer in the following terms: "Mainline denominations typically emphasize a

proactive view on issues of social and economic justice and a tolerance of

varied individual beliefs. While mainline Protestantism is usually seen as

more theologically and socially liberal than evangelical Protestantism,

there is obviously variation among mainline denominations, congregations,

and individuals." Note that a number of cities in the Great Plains and

Midwest have a modicum of coverage, as do cities in the "Rust Belt"

region and Mid-Atlantic. Visually, we observe some correlation between

coverage in the planning literature and Mainline Protestant dominance.
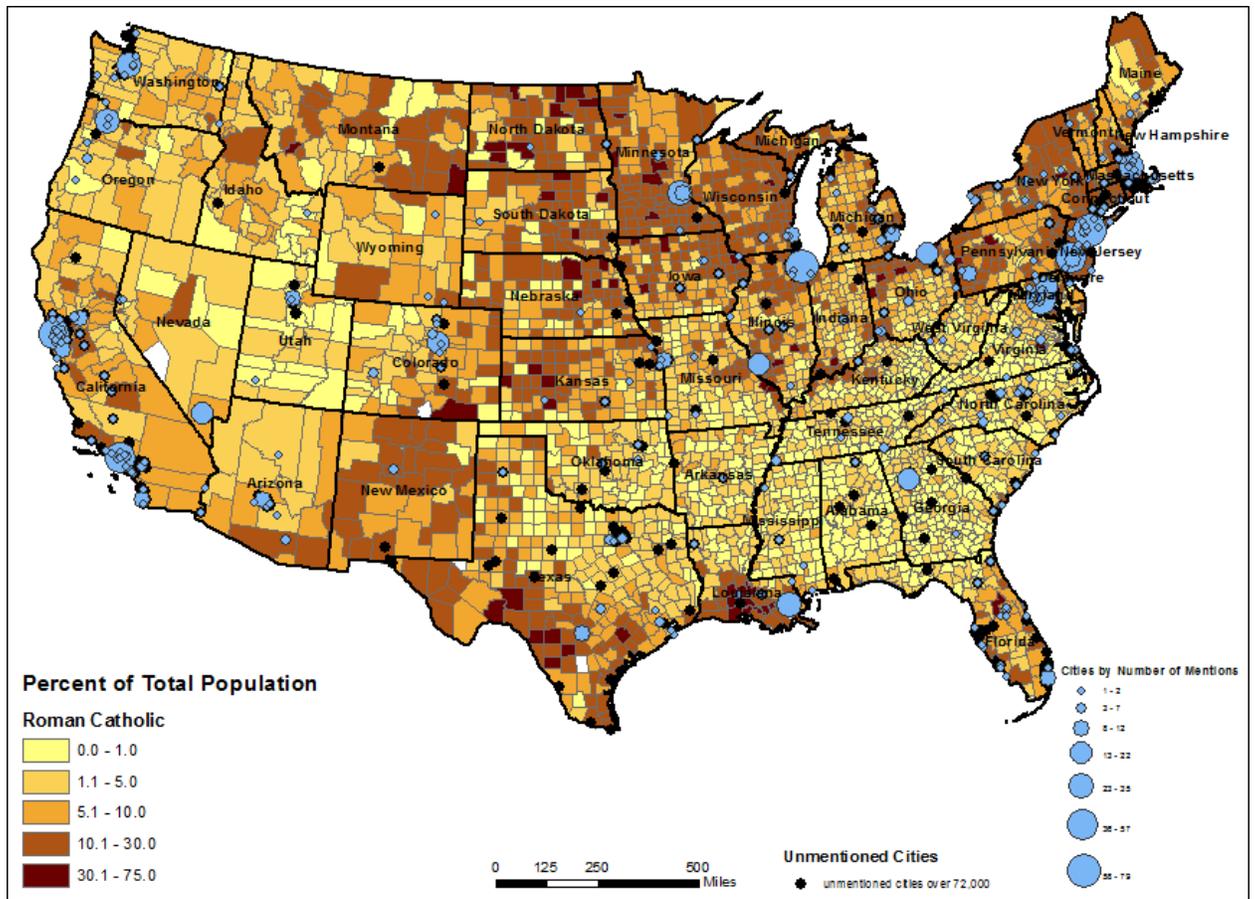
Map 8: Roman Catholic as Percentage of Total Population by County.

(Data Source: www.socialexplorer.com. New York City, NY: Social Explorer

2013. Retrieved from:

http://www.socialexplorer.com/pub/reportdata/HtmlResults.aspx?reportid=R1051

7096). Map 8 illustrates the geographic distribution of case studies against

the percentage of the population by county that self-identifies as Roman

Catholic. Roman Catholics are most concentrated in the Northeast, upper

Midwest and Great Plains states, the Southwest and southern Louisiana.
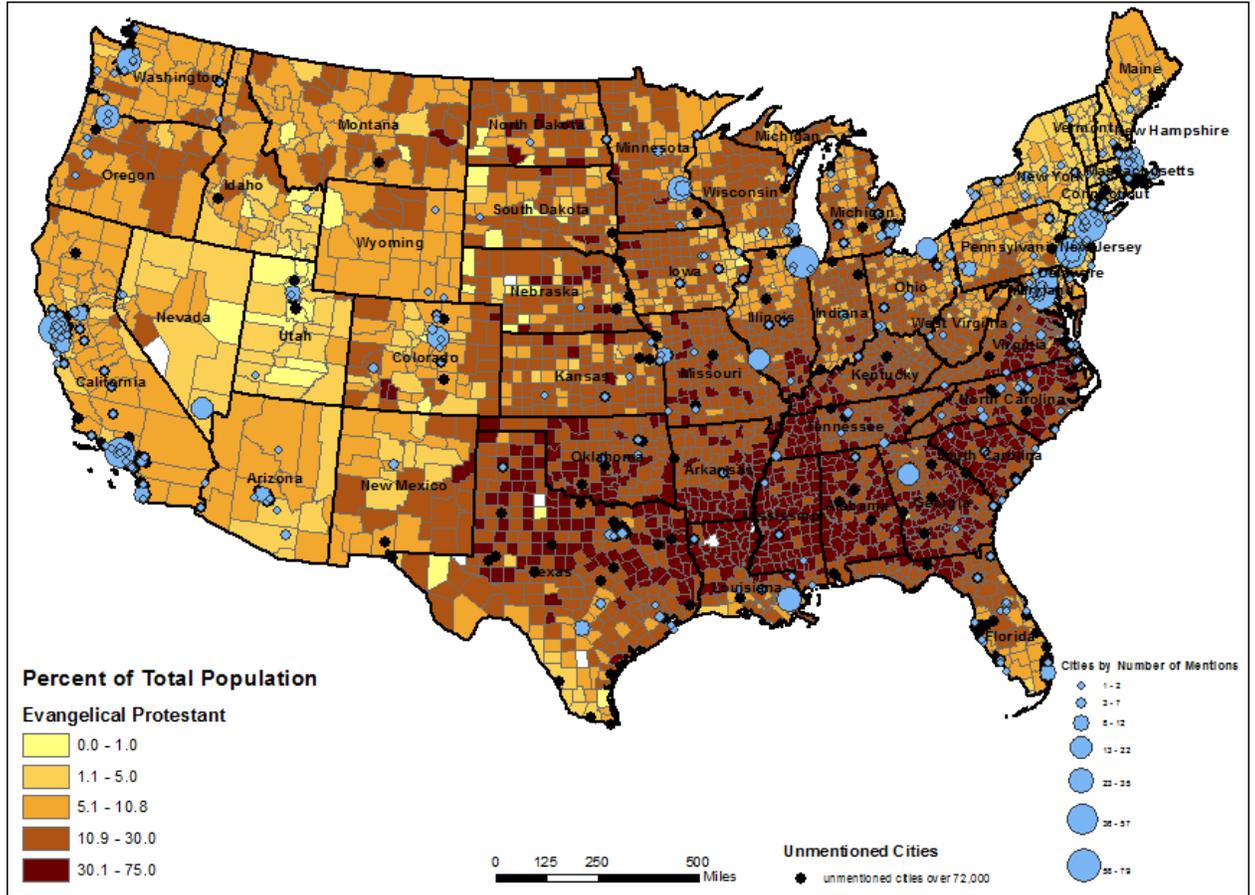
Map 9: Evangelical Protestant as Percentage of Total Population by

County. (Data Source: www.socialexplorer.com. New York City, NY: Social

Explorer 2013. Retrieved from:

http://www.socialexplorer.com/pub/reportdata/HtmlResults.aspx?reportid=R1051

7096). Map 9 illustrates that communities self-identifying as Evangelical

Protestant are largely under-represented in the literature. Social Explorer

defines Evangelical Protestants in the following way: "Evangelical

Protestant denominations and churches emphasize conversion and

evangelism, hold biblical authority in high regard, and tend to seek more

separation from the broader culture. Evangelical Protestantism is usually

seen as more theologically and socially conservative than mainline

Protestantism, although there is obviously variation among evangelical

denominations, congregations, and individuals."
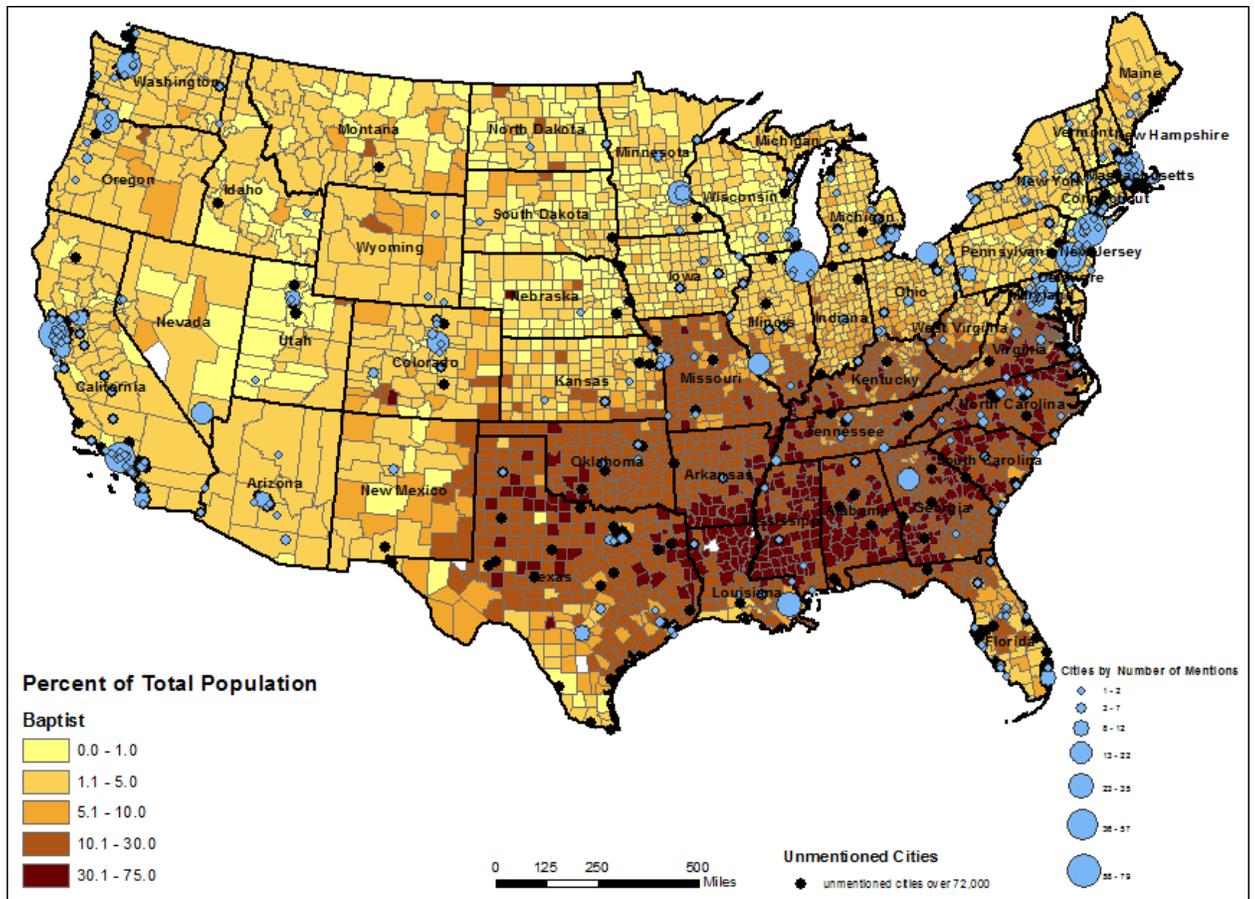
Map 10: Baptist as Percentage of Total Population by County. (Data

Source: www.socialexplorer.com. New York City, NY: Social Explorer 2013.

Retrieved from:

http://www.socialexplorer.com/pub/reportdata/HtmlResults.aspx?reportid=R1051

7096). With the exception of New Orleans and Atlanta, which tend to be

less religiously zealous, this map demonstrates that a majority of Baptists

are located in a highly under-represented region. The Baptist

denomination, except for the American Baptist Church is considered a

subset of Evangelical Protestants by Social Explorer.

Detail of Deep South Study Area
Cartographer: Amos Wright. 2013. 1:5,144,678

Unmentioned Cities
• unmentioned cities over 72,000

Cities by Number of Mentions
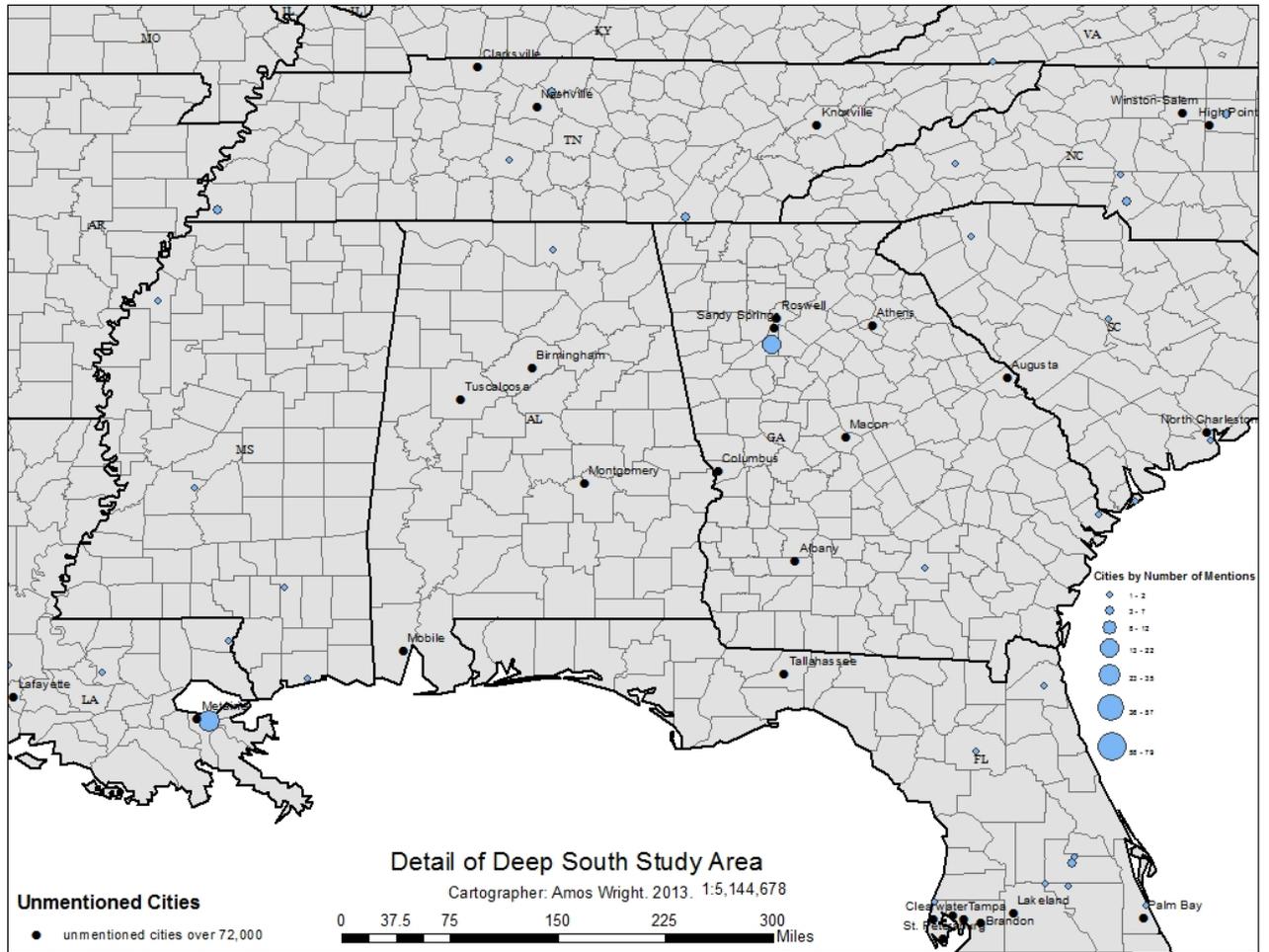
Map 11 is a smaller scale detail of the Deep South mapping unmentioned cities over 72,000 with the region's literature count represented by graduated symbols. Alabama and Georgia have the highest concentration of unmentioned cities in the Deep South.

34

Everett

WA

Kent

Federal Way

Beaverton Gresham

Salem

OR

Boise City

ID

MT

Redding

Roseville

Arden-Arcade

Vacaville

Vallejo
Antioch

Alameda
Hayward

San Leandro
Daly City Sunnyvale

Santa Clara

NV

UT

CA

Henderson Paradise
Spring Valley

Santa Maria

Lancaster Palmdale

Santa Clarita

Ventura Oxnard

Simi Valley

Pomona Rialto

Corona

Moreno Valley

Norwalk

Costa Mesa

Carlsbad Vista

Escondido El Cajon

AZ

Cities by Number of Mentions

· 1 - 2

• 3 - 7

● 8 - 12

● 13 - 22

● 23 - 35

● 36 - 57

● 58 - 79

Detail of West Coast

1:7,249,541 Cartographer: Amos Wright. 2013.

0   55   110   220   330   440
                                              Miles

Unmentioned Cities

● unmentioned cities over 72,000

Map 12 is a smaller scale detail of the West Coast mapping unmentioned

cities over 72,000 with the region's literature count represented by

graduated symbols. The Los Angeles and San Francisco metro areas are both circumscribed by unmentioned cities.
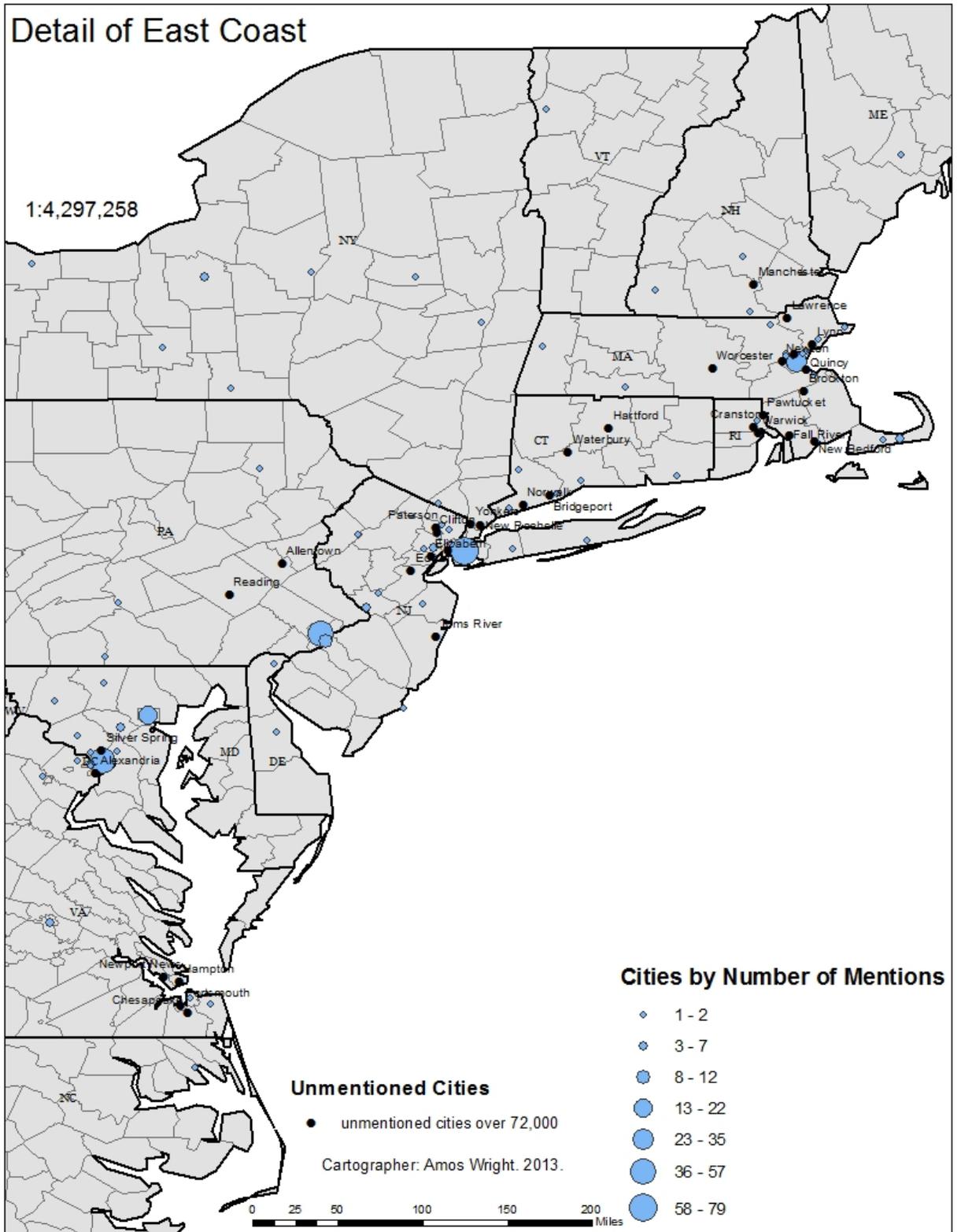
Map 13 is a smaller scale detail of the upper East Coast mapping

unmentioned cities over 72,000 with the region's literature count

represented by graduated symbols. Outside of New York City, Philadelphia, Washington DC, and Boston the upper East Coast has relatively exiguous coverage.

Now that we have visually established the geographic distribution of case studies against demographic variables of interest and have visualized a geographic pattern of discursive exclusion that can be indexed by region it will be profitable to go to the data in tabular form to explore characteristics of cities that are covered and those that were omitted from the literature.

Tables

The following tables of descriptive statistics are intended to supplement the cartographic section above and provide a more detailed description of the over- and under-represented regions in the sample. These tables will aid readers in understanding the demographic complexity of the regions studied by planners and how that complexity relates to levels of representation. Table 4 in particular, which tabulates articles by Census Division will be especially instrumental in establishing the existence of discursive exclusion in the Deep South and throughout the country.

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics of Five Most Mentioned Cities. Statistics for the five most represented cities in the sample are tabulated according to total number of mentions, population, city population density, population density for the city's county, race, educational attainment, and political and religious affiliation. This table itemizes data to create a demographic profile for the sample's outliers. Data Sources: American FactFinder, Social Explorer, The Huffington Post, American Community Survey 2006-2010.

City	County	Article Counts	Population	Population Density by City (people per sq. mile)	Population Density by County (people per sq. mile)	Race (county)	% of Pop. 25+ with a Bachelor's or Higher	2012 Presidential Election Results (County)	% Roman Catholic	% Southern Baptist
New York City	New York	77	8,175,000	27,550	69,771	44% white, 25.5% black	30%	84% Obama	6%	<1%
Chicago	Cook	66	2,696,000	11,864	5,530	45% white, 32.9% black	21%	74% Obama	15%	<1%
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	56	3,793,000	8,225	2,100	50.3% white, 8.7% black	19%	69% Obama	9%	1%
Philadelphia	Philadelphia	52	1,526,000	11,457	11,292	41% white, 43.4% black	13%	85% Obama	13%	<1%
Washington, DC	District of Columbia	44	601,723	10,298	10,298	50.7% black, 38.5% white	22%	91.4% Obama	10%	<1%

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics by County of Unmentioned Deep South Cities With a Population Greater Than 72,000.

Statistics are tabulated below for unmentioned cities selected from the sample's Deep South locations. This table creates a demographic profile for the Deep South's largest unmentioned cities, which are of chief interest in the present study.

Source: American Factfinder, Social Explorer, The Huffington Post, American Community Survey, 2006-2010.

City	Population	County	City Population Density (people per sq. mile)	County Population Density (people per sq. mile)	Race (County)	% of Pop. 25+ with a Bachelor's or Higher	2012 Presidential Election Results	% Southern Baptist	% Roman Catholic
Birmingham, AL	234,000	Jefferson	1,416	592	53% white, 42% black	18%	53% Obama	17%	4%
Montgomery, AL	200,000	Montgomery	1,327	290	55% black, 40% white	19%	62% Obama	12%	4%
Mobile, AL	195,000	Mobile	1,687	337	60% white, 35% black,	20%	54% Romney	25%	6%
Augusta, GA	195,000	Richmond	816	92	54% black, 40% white	13%	67% Obama	9%	6%
Columbus, GA	186,000	Muscogee	861	841	46% black, 46% white	14%	60% Obama	17%	3%
Knoxville, TN	178,00	Knox	1,816	751	86% white, 9% black	22%	64% Romney	16%	4%
Tallahassee, FL	150,000	Leon	1,809	413	63% white, 30% black	25%	61% Obama	5%	3%
Clarksville, TN	133,000	Montgomery	1,409	320	71% white, 19% black	16%	54% Romney	11%	4%
Lafayette, LA	122,00	Lafayette Parish	2,482	706	69% white, 26% black	27%	70% Romney	6%	18%
Athens, GA	112,000	Clarke	852	840	62% white, 27% black	21%	63% Obama	5%	2%
Sandy Springs, GA	97,000	Fulton	2,597	1,741	48% white, 45% black	30%	64% Obama	2%	4%
Macon, GA	95,000	Bibb	1,743	616	52% black, 43% white	15%	60% Obama	10%	2%
Roswell, GA	79,000	Fulton	2,087	1,741	48% white, 45% black	30%	64% Obama	2%	4%
Tuscaloosa, AL	78,000	Tuscaloosa	1,551	147	66% white, 30% black	15.5%	58% Romney	17%	2%
Albany, GA	77,000	Dougherty	1,386	292	67% black, 30% white	11%	69% Obama	13%	3%

Table 3 Descriptive Statistics of Mentioned Deep South Cities With a Population Greater Than 72,000. These cities, contra those in the above table, were tabulated with total population as of the 2010 US Census and the total number of mentions. Source: 2010 US Census. Data source: American Factfinder. Retrieved from:

http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml

City	Population (2010)	Article Counts
Memphis, TN	646,889	3
Nashville, TN	601,222	4
Atlanta, GA	420,003	22
New Orleans, LA	343,829	33
Baton Rouge, LA	229,553	1
Jackson, MS	173,514	1
Huntsville, AL	180,105	2
Chattanooga	167,674	5
Savannah, GA	136,286	2
Charleston, SC	120,083	1

Table 4 Literature Counts By Census Division. The Census Division geography provides a demographic profile at a higher order of data aggregation than the individual cities tabulated above. Statistics are tabulated according to total literature counts, the states comprising the Division, population, population density, land area and indexed by articles per million people. Data Source: Population, Land Area and Population Density calculated from ESRI Data Maps 2010.

Census Division	Articles about cities	Articles about states	Total articles	States in Division	Population	Population Density (people per square mile)	Land Area (square mile)	Articles per million people
East South Central	20	10	30	Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee	18,438,179	100.53	183,403	**1.63**
West South Central	75	25	100	Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas,	36,420,035	82.12	443,508	**2.75**
Deep South Study Area (defined by author)	111	30	141	Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee	33,269,837	116.21	286,282	**4.24**
South Atlantic	170	97	267	Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia,	60,166,524	207.14	290,461	**4.44**
East North Central	156	57	213	Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin	47,020,813	178.33	263,678	**4.53**
West North Central	93	27	120	Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota,	20,549,764	39.50	520,253	**5.84**
Middle Atlantic	199	57	256	New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania,	40,940,511	387.63	105618	**6.25**
Mountain	106	66	172	Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming	22,621,196	26.20	863,559	**7.60**
Pacific	277	103	380	California, Oregon, Washington	48,605,937	145.72	333,568	**7.82**
New England	69	48	117	Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont	14,444,573	191.09	75,591	**8.10**

Table 4 clearly shows that the South in terms of the two southern Census

Divisions and in our own definition of the "Deep South" lacks the

representation enjoyed by other regions in the planning literature. The

maps suggest the planning literature represents highly educated, dense,

relatively white, and politically liberal cities. But these demographic

characteristics may not be representative of the cultural experience

elsewhere in the country, particularly in the Deep South. As the above

data tables show, the South is less homogenous than our national

narrative would lead us to believe, and may even have some erstwhile

invisible affinities with the highly represented regions of the country; for

example, many of the unrepresented counties in the table above had a

majority vote for Obama in the 2010 Presidential Election, even though

they are located in a region of the country that is generally accepted to be

the bastion of conservative politics. The subsequent chapter will discuss

and analyze the foregoing data visualizations and tables as they pertain to

this thesis' study area: the Deep South.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Analysis

This chapter will attempt to describe affinities and disparities between represented and underrepresented cities, particularly as they relate to the Deep South and Alabama. Although the population density and race variables may vary widely between the county and municipal levels (Birmingham, for example, is 73% black even though Jefferson County is only 42% black), the most salient divergence between represented and underrepresented cities seems to be population density and race. Georgia has seven smaller sized cities that were unrepresented in the sample, possibly overshadowed by Atlanta. Memphis Tennessee, which has a population of 647,000 people, had a mere 3 literature counts in the sample. Despite the high levels of representation on the West Coast, the sample also has an abundance of unmentioned cities with a population higher than the sample's median population. It may be that the West Coast has so many unmentioned cities with a population of 72,000 or greater because the cities unmentioned are part of the Los Angeles or San Francisco metro areas, and therefore more likely to be overshadowed, whereas cities like Tuscaloosa, Alabama and Mobile, Alabama are the foci of their own metro areas.

Alabama is significantly underrepresented in the literature: Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, and Mobile were all absent from the sample. The omission of Birmingham – the largest city between Atlanta and New Orleans – from the contemporary planning literature is especially acute

when considered in the context of the city's recent development and public-private partnership investments: the opening of Railroad Park, a new downtown minor league baseball field, the revitalization of historic streetcar neighborhoods like Avondale, an influx of micro-breweries, capital expansion projects associated with the University of Alabama at Birmingham and Children's Hospital, a burgeoning downtown loft market, the consolidation of Operation New Birmingham and Main Street Birmingham into one umbrella community development organization called REV, and the publication of Birmingham's first comprehensive plan (Boston's own Goody Clancy was the principal) in over 50 years. Thus, the omission of Birmingham might be extenuated were there no development in the city, but this is patently not the case, and the omission must be accounted for by other factors.

The only case studies that focused on Alabama were two scholarly articles about urban renewal and highway building in Huntsville, which were published in *The Journal of Planning History* and authored by an undergraduate at the University of Alabama, Birmingham; effectively, not a single contemporary case study was performed in the professional planning literature that addressed Alabama; states such as Arkansas and South Carolina suffered similarly. While it is true that Mountain states such as Montana and Idaho were also under-represented in the literature, those states also do not have the population density of Deep South states. Texas is arguably under-represented in the literature, given its land area,

population and overall economic value in the GDP; the city of Austin, Texas – often compared to the much covered Portland, Oregon – had surprisingly few article counts given its popularity.

Despite the representation levels of cities such as New Orleans and Atlanta, the Deep South Study Area remains among the most under-represented geographies in the sample, after East South Central and West South Central. The article counts for West South Central the South Atlantic were inflated by the presence of New Orleans and Atlanta, respectively. I posit that both of these cities might be considered outliers because attention received by New Orleans was precipitated by and predicated upon the disaster and recovery efforts presented by Hurricane Katrina, and Atlanta is, in many ways, only quasi-Southern in its built environment, even though it is one of the country's premiere cities for African-American culture. While such comparisons are somewhat arbitrary, Atlanta is a large metropolitan area, and can be more easily compared to places such as Denver, Colorado, or Dallas, Texas, than it can be likened to other quintessentially Southern cities such as Savannah or Memphis. Anecdotally, many Southerners seem to concur that the phenomenological experience of Atlanta isn't quintessentially "Southern," just as southern Florida is often referred to as non-Southern, or more akin to Cuba than the United States.

Ever since the 1960's, when Delta Airlines headquartered in Atlanta, the city has been developing on a trajectory sometimes antithetical to the

traditional Southern urban experience. Secondly, the 1996 Olympic Games were also an important watershed in Atlanta's development, accompanied by substantial capital investments in infrastructure improvements, transit, and public spaces. Lastly, unlike other Southern cities, Atlanta has the MARTA – a rapid transit service with 48 miles of rail track and 91 bus routes. Most Southern cities don't have the population density to support mass transit at the scale observed elsewhere, but Atlanta was the only Deep South city to invest in mass transit

Thus, New Orleans and Atlanta might be considered outliers in that they are not representative of the urban experience in the Deep South as a whole. Likewise, in Mississippi, the majority of case studies were pre-eminently concerned with post-Katrina community planning. The East South Central Census Division has a low number of articles counts; presumably, were it not for Katrina, the article count for the East South Central Division would be even lower. Were it not for the post-Katrina case studies, Mississippi would have received little to zero coverage, and New Orleans would not have figured as prominently; to wit, Gulfport, Mississippi and Baton Rouge, Louisiana were both represented by one case study in the sample, a study addressing post-Katrina disaster recovery efforts. Atlanta received eleven fewer mentions than New Orleans, even though Atlanta is clearly the more populous city. Popular topics apropos of Atlanta were the regional water wars and the generally abysmal state of regional transit and transportation in the Atlanta metro

area.

The subsequent variables were selected as proxies for culture; if planners are not culturally competent or conversant with conservative politics, smaller cities, or conservative Protestant religions then the profession and those communities are both disadvantaged when trying to communicate with each other and jointly plan for their futures.

Population Density

Obviously, the most densely settled regions of the country do and should receive the most attention from the urban planning profession. However, the Deep South stands out saliently as a region that is elided from the literature despite its relatively high population density. The omission of a densely populated region of the country from the scholarly and professional planning literature is a form of regional bias that denies a region representation. While the Midwest and Mountain West are also under-represented in the literature, those regions do not have population densities comparable to the Deep South. East South Central and West South Central both have larger total populations than New England, which received 8.10 articles per million people, while East South Central and East West Central received 1.63 and 2.75 articles per million people respectively.

Population density is a critical factor in the development and finance of viable mass transit – the absence of mass transit in many of the underrepresented cities might also partially account for their omission,

because of transit's documented synergistic impact on land use and local economic development. Naturally, many of the planning articles in this sample focused on mass transit or transit-related issues, the result of which is *de facto* under-representation of regions like East South Central and West South Central where mass transit, when it exists at all, serves mostly transit-dependent populations and is grotesquely underfunded.

Planners exhibit a pronounced predilection for scale, accounting for the inordinate attention given to megacities: New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, etc. California – the most heavily represented state by far – also has the 12th highest GDP per capita and the highest in total value; however, if GDP is our criterion for representation in the literature, then Texas, which ranks as the second highest GDP in total value, is woefully underrepresented. One ramification of the profession's affinity for gigantism is that smaller cities and towns, as visualized in the maps, are neglected. Particularly, small towns and cities throughout the Deep South receive no coverage whatsoever; the South simply doesn't exhibit the same scalar profile as other parts of the country.

Religion

The maps convey a strong negative correlation between Evangelical Protestant and Baptist, which predominate in the Deep South, and representation in the literature. In the Deep South, most of the counties identified as Southern Baptist, although a few exceptions such as Lafayette Parish are notable where a higher percentage of the population

adheres to Roman Catholicism. Although Southern Baptists predominate in the Deep South, they are not a supermajority, nor is it a necessary corollary of political conservatism - many of the unmentioned cities in the Deep South have a fortuitous correlation between Democratic party affiliation and adherence to the Southern Baptist faith. In other words, if the planning community is researching cities in counties with a Democratic majority, it is also researching Democratic counties with a particular religious affiliation.

The five cities with the highest number of literature counts had an insignificant Southern Baptist population, indicating a parallax cultural gap between planning and communities with a certain religious affiliation. Roman Catholicism is less geographically concentrated than the Protestant denominations, but is saliently represented in the Mountain Census Division and West North Central Division, both of which are more substantially represented than either East South Central or West South Central. The major cities of the East and West Coasts, where Roman Catholicism has a significant presence, also received disproportionate literature counts. Mainline Protestants are prevalent in the Upper Midwest and Great Plains States of North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, and Illinois, partially coinciding with the West North Central Census Division which received 5.84 articles per million people.

In terms of planning's cultural competency, religion seems to be an acutely relevant variable. In order for the planning community to

meaningfully engage under-represented counties in the Deep South it will have to become competent or conversant in the Evangelical and Baptist faiths, both of which frequently pervade every facet of private and public life.

Race

By census tract, the Deep South has the highest percentage of African-Americans. The mapped census tract data describes an arc stretching from Virginia through North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and into east Texas and southern Arkansas. This visualization posits a strong positive correlation between white race and high levels of representation in the sample. Based on the mapping results, there appears to be a qualitative correlation between the number of case studies and race, which might be expressed in a sort of axiomatic summary: "With the exception of Atlanta and New Orleans, the whiter the region, the more likely it is to be studied by scholars and professional planners." The entire Black Belt region of the Deep South - settled predominantly by African-Americans in small cities such as Montgomery, AL, Selma, AL, Tuskegee, AL, Mobile, AL, and Vicksburg, MS and historically the most impoverished and disenfranchised region - is wholly ignored. Certainly, the Black Belt is not densely settled, but this marginalization of an already under-represented minority population only exacerbates pre-existing structural inequalities. Although the planning literature often does address minority communities in cities like New York

and Los Angeles, "blackness" is not a homogeneous category or singular experience any more than "whiteness" is: it might also be conjectured that the African-American experience in small cities like Montgomery, Alabama or Jackson, Mississippi is very different from the African-American experience in places like Roxbury or Harlem, just as white experience will vary across the regional and racial continua. Becoming competent and conversant with a variety of African-American communities will also be critical for the planning profession's cultural competency.

Political Affiliation

Unsurprisingly, the data evince a marked correlation between Democratic Party affiliation and higher levels of representation in the literature. Almost universally, states that had a majority vote for Romney in the 2012 US Presidential election also received lower levels of representation in the sample. However, in contrast to the national trend, the county-level political affiliation data in the Deep South reveals a different narrative. As demonstrated by the above data tables, nearly all of the unmentioned Deep South cities with a population of 72,000 or greater had a majority vote for Obama; not accidentally, many of them have significant African-American populations. Even Montgomery, Alabama – the state capital of the Heart of Dixie, and the city that gave us Jefferson Davis and George Wallace – voted overwhelmingly for Obama. Because even these "liberal" counties were excluded from the sample, the planning profession is not uniformly representing Democratic counties in majority

Republican states.

   In defense of the planning establishment it must be acknowledged that many of the states that were under-represented in the sample are not always hospitable to the planning profession. Conservative states tend to demonize or antagonize land use planning, championing the primacy of individual property rights, and relying more on the so-called invisible hand of the market and various neo-classical theories. Alabama, for instance, now has the dubious distinction of being the first state to have legislatively rendered UN Agenda 21 verboten (UN Agenda 21 is a non-binding and voluntary agreement between the United Nations concerning sustainable land use); Oklahoma and Missouri quickly followed suit, whereas Arizona rejected a similar bill and at the time of this writing Maine and Kansas are considering a ban on Agenda 21 (Altman, 2012). Ironically, UN Agenda 21 is a non-binding and voluntary agreement or action plan pertaining to sustainability and which is not enforceable in the United States, so the gesture by the Alabama State Legislature is symbolic at best, and the Yellowhammer State continues its venerable tradition of tilting at windmills. However, although the state-level political environment might be hostile to planning, the county-level political environment, at least among those counties with a majority vote for Obama in the 2010 Presidential election should, at least in theory, be more receptive to planning efforts. To summarize: there exists a strong positive correlation between states that voted for Obama in the 2012 presidential election and high levels of

representation in the scholarly and professional planning literature.

Education

Predictably, as illustrated by Map 7, placed-based planning research tends to be conducted in locales with a very erudite population. Planners also tend to be highly educated; therefore, it is unsurprising that planners, *qua* professional group, evince a propensity to study populations and locations that are equally educated. It is a truism that highly educated populations have access to resources, social capital and assets that are unavailable to less educated populations. While, on average, the educational attainment levels of the Deep South are definitely lower, they don't appear to be significantly lower than the most represented cities in the sample. Tuscaloosa County, Alabama has a surprisingly low educational attainment level, despite being home to the University of Alabama. Coverage, as it relates to this variable, might be more readily explained by the proximity of prestigious or elite academic institutions, rather than the overall erudition of the population.

Census Divisions

The data table of literature counts by Census Divisions reveals a similarly subtle pattern of underrepresentation, depending on which variables are chosen as the criteria for being underrepresented. The Pacific Division had the most literature counts overall, even though its total population is significantly lower than the South Atlantic, which has 267 total literature counts, compared with the Pacific's 380; similarly, the

Pacific Census Division had 7.82 articles per million people to the South Atlantic's 4.44 articles per million people. The two Census Divisions with the least representation per population were in the South – East Southn Central and West South Central. The East South Central Division (Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi and Tennessee) had only 30 literature counts total, and was by far the most underrepresented Division in absolute numbers, and by the Census Division's paltry index of 1.63 articles per million people. However, East South Central has a total population of about 18,500,000 – about four million more than New England, which received 117 total literature counts. By land area, the East South Central Division is over twice the size of New England.

The Deep South Study area, as it was defined for the purposes of this thesis, has a total of 141 literature counts, and 4.24 articles per million people, placing it as the third lowest in this framing of representation. The Deep South is split between the East South Central Division and the West South Central Division. Thus, by several different metrics this data table describes the planning profession's propensity to under-represent the South.

Alabama

This section will describe significant urban and rural developments in Alabama which might have been covered by the literature but were not. Alabama was chosen as a case study for two reasons: it was under-represented in the sample, and it is the state with which the author is most

familiar. A mix of urban and rural development was chosen because it would be disingenuous and misrepresentative to omit the rural experience from an assessment of Alabama's development. It is hoped that the subsequent examples of successful development in Alabama will foreground what is being discursively excluded in Deep South states.

All of the South's major cities – Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans, Birmingham, Memphis, Savannah – were heavily planned cities. Indeed, Savannah's Oglethrope Plan is a nonpareil of colonial town planning and design. While what passes for planning in Southern states today tends to be autocentric, and Southern states' land use patterns have been historically agrarian, it cannot be said that Southern cities were either unplanned or that a tradition of urban planning never existed in the region. The Elyton Land Company platted Birmingham's street network according to a highly rationalized grid similar to those in many Northern cities. Later, Frederick Law Olmsted (1925), the same landscape architect who designed Boston's Emerald Necklace and Central Park in New York City was commissioned to produce "A Park System For Birmingham," although it was regrettably never implemented. Although more examples could be cited, these two cases are a reminder that a tradition of urban planning exists in Birmingham, Alabama.

Birmingham's tradition of providing public greenspace continues today; as cited by Dan Stiel (2012) the city was recently recognized as having the most greenspace per capita with 17.9 acres of public

greenspace per 1,000 people. Granted, this is a purely quantitative metric that says nothing about the quality, accessibility and safety of said greenspace, but the city has essayed to modernize its portfolio of greenspace. Railroad Park, according to that public-private partnership's foundation website (Railroad Park Foundation, 2013), is a $22 million project designed by Tom Leader that redeveloped 19 acres of disused industrial space in downtown Birmingham. Railroad Park opened in the autumn of 2010 and won the Urban Land Institute's Open Space Award for 2012, even prevailing over New York City's High Line. Financed by a public-private partnership, the advent of Railroad Park was one of the most momentous in the history of the city's urban development, and validated the community's sense that the public and private sectors can collaborate successfully to provide a public good. Birmingham has received some coverage in popular media sources, but despite accolades and awards Birmingham was totally estranged from the contemporary planning literature. *Planning* Magazine is supposed to cover contemporary developments like those itemized above; if *Planning* were an annual academic journal, with a longer headway between publication cycles, then the omission might be more excusable. To be fair, Railroad Park may have been mentioned in the landscape design literature, but these sources were not included in the sample. To reiterate, the only coverage of Birmingham in the sample was one historical article in *The Journal of Planning History.* Outside of Birmingham, Montgomery's Riverwalk

Stadium and the accompanying revitalization of the Alabama River's

riverfront were milestones in the city's downtown revitalization efforts.

Neither is the South's development limited solely to urbanized areas.

Even the Black Belt region of the Deep South, grossly underrepresented

in the sample, has its share of entrepreneurs and pioneers. Greensboro is

known as the front porch of Alabama's Black Belt and The Catfish Capital.

Sere winds whip through the downtown of this front porch, which has seen

more halcyon days and often resembles a post-apocalyptic ghost town.

The total absence of building code enforcement has made it the best-kept

secret of experimental architectural studios and designers. The Black Belt

has seen very little modernization or new development. Previously, the

New Deal and the Farm Security Administration were designed to mitigate

rural poverty during the Great Depression. But during President Johnson's

Great Society Campaign and the Urban Renewal era, interest shifted to

the cities, in part because in the intervening years America became a less

agricultural society. Consequently, the poorest of the poor were left behind

in rural communities like Hale County and elsewhere; rural America fell

into desuetude and suffered from disinvestment reflected in the region's

landscape. Unlike in the cities during Urban Renewal, there was little if

any demolition of housing in Hale County; rather, the housing stock was

simply abandoned and as the population shrank it was more or less

returned to a state of nature in some places. This very neglect, besides

becoming a backdrop for nostalgic Instagram photos, allowed

organizations such as HERO to tackle community development in innovative and sometimes heterodox ways that might not be permissible to similar organizations in large urban areas.

HERO (Hale Empowerment and Revitalization Organization), located in Greensboro, Alabama, approximately 100 miles southwest of Birmingham is a 501c3 non-profit housing resource center. Per the non-profit's website (HERO, 2013), HERO was founded in 1991, and operates with a staff of fifteen, including Executive Director Pam Dorr, and serves the entirety of Hale County's diffused population. Their mission is unequivocal and laudable: to end rural poverty. No other organization has contributed equally to the revitalization of downtown Greensboro and its environs. HERO has brought a variety of mixed-use, and market rate and affordable housing projects to fruition and transformed Greensboro's Main Street from a nostalgic ghost town into a quaint, charming iteration of the Southern small town with a bike shop and coffee shop. Perhaps such accomplishments are covered in the community planning literature, but HERO's considerable and tangible progress in Greensboro is nowhere mentioned in the sample. HERO's exemplary success in Greensboro might be a reminder for planning to consider America's small, rural towns.

The ensuing chapter will conclude with remarks about what is at stake for the planning establishment in underrepresenting a region and proffer concrete recommendations for how the planning establishment can counteract the tendencies described above. Representation is not a

panacea, but it is the first in an order of operations to ameliorate underrepresentation and its material consequences.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

The South is rich in history by turns tragic and inspiring. Confronting the South not only as an individual but as a society requires confronting the restive ghosts and unsavory legacies of slavery, Jim Crow, segregation; more relevant to planning are the ways in which segregation determined the evolution of the built environment (redlining, residential housing discrimination, environmental racism, the siting of interstates through minority neighborhoods, etc.). Segregation, redlining and residential housing discriminating were national problems that were practiced at an acute and draconian level in the Deep South and which had lasting consequences for local communities. The planning profession can only reverse these conditions by addressing the gaps in its cultural competency as suggested by this thesis. Through a narrative of scapegoating and discursive exclusion the South has become condemned to its own history without necessarily having the resources or wherewithal to squarely resist that history.

But urban planning was also partly complicit with the race regimes of the 1960's. Charles Connerly's "The Most Segregated City in America" chronicles how urban planning was used in Birmingham to enforce segregation even after it was declared unconstitutional (Connerly, 2005). The use of urban planning for dubious and lawless purposes was not

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unique to Birmingham, but it exacerbated a regime of racial segregation that was the prototype and model of South Africa's apartheid. Thus, the South was the recipient of a double-whammy that adversely impacted the social order and the built environment: not only was racial segregation at a pitch through the regime of Bull Connor, but the urban environment was contrived such as to materially exclude certain populations, a process which might be structurally if not substantially analogized with the discursive exclusion explored in this study.

In order to disentangle this Gordian knot, I suggest that two things must co-occur: the South must indigenously re-author a coherent regional narrative that allows it to co-exist with diverse regions of the country while also maintaining its cultural identity, and urban planning must face the realities which it helped create in cities like Birmingham and throughout the country. I make no pretenses about this being a facile task; it is much easier (and probably more pragmatic) to plan in cities where history is less onerous and where success stories are glibly reported.

Much is at stake for the South and the planning profession in its representation in the planning literature. Although it may seems like an untenably normative claim, healthy and viable communities should not be a partisan issue subject to Balkanized politics. Conservative and minority communities need access to greenspace and other urban amenities just like liberal and "majority" communities do. Because of the built environment's influence on community health, and the acute relevance of

health issues in underrepresented regions, urban planning, although not a panacea, can contribute to the amelioration of the South's questions and substandard averages on fuzzy metrics like walkability, livability, and general measures of wellness and health.

Despite local planning successes like Birmingham's Railroad Park, which took over 20 years to finally bring to fruition, in parts of the South, particularly those locales excluded from representation, there prevails a cynical sense or premonition that many Southern cities are fixed in the past, a notion that is popularized and exploited in the national media. Charles Morgan Jr.'s "I Saw A City Die," published in *Look* magazine in 1963, chronicles the Birmingham's decline into racial bigotry, comprising an eloquent moral jeremiad against the city's status quo and those complacent and complicit members of the community who silently permitted segregation and atrocities such as the 16th Street Baptist Church Bombing (Morgan, 1963). Morgan was ultimately forced to flee Birmingham after credible threats were made on his life. If one gave Morgan's article a contemporary date, in many ways it would be difficult to distinguish between the Birmingham Morgan described in the 1960's and the Birmingham of the 21st Century. Ignoring these cities, already condemned in the popular perception to stasis if not regression, only more effectively fixates them in the past.

A planner might retort, "Why aren't planners in the South covering their own region?" The answer to this question is convoluted, but one must

interrogate the ways in which the South perceives itself, a perception the authorship of which is often localized outside the South.

Birmingham's 1960 Metropolitan Audit, commissioned by the city, describes an "inferiority complex" that stultifies progress and civic pride (City of Birmingham, 1960). In short, Birmingham's self-perception was its worst enemy. Even before the 1960 Metro Audit the City was being subjected to the contumely of outside critics. George R. Leighton's expose in a 1937 article published in *Harper's Magazine* describes Birmingham as the "the city of perpetual promise." Birmingham has always been overshadowed by Atlanta's exponential growth. This putative inferiority complex might be scaled up to describe much of the South, which is repeatedly berated in rankings of dubious metrics that it fails to live up to the rest of the country, a perhaps false standard that the South never wanted to live up to anyway. Discursive exclusion in the planning literature only vexes that inferiority complex, and so the vicious cycle continues.

Discursive exclusion also means that the planning profession as a whole is not fully participating or contributing to local planning efforts in underrepresented areas. When Tuscaloosa, Alabama was pummeled by a devastating system of tornadoes in 2011, the city was left almost with a *tabula rasa* in many areas. But the rebuilding process commenced with little in the way of rigorous long-range master planning, and FEMA monies were used to rebuild much of the city according to the form of urban sprawl that antedated the tornados. As reported by the Tuscaloosa

Forward's website, The Tuscaloosa Forward Generational Master Plan was endorsed by the City Council in 2012, and features the requisite dose of mumbo-jumbo and cant about sustainability, greenways, model villages, walkability, and so on (Tuscaloosa Forward, 2012). In all important aspects the Plan conforms to the homogenized template of so many fungible master plans – the "one-size-fits-all" approach to master planning. If places like Tuscaloosa were less disconnected from the planning establishment, they might be better equipped to deal with planning in the 21st Century. Even though the natural disaster that turned Tuscaloosa into a *tabula rasa* occurred towards the end of this study's timeline, it remains true that in this study's sample Tuscaloosa, which should be a prime market for planning work, did not have a single literature count.

The so-called exceptionalism of the South has been bandied about on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. Joel Garreau (1981), in his study "The Nine Nations of North America," propounds nine culturally distinct, semi-autonomous regions: New England, The Foundry (the Rust Belt), Dixie, The Breadbasket, The Islands, Mexamerica, Ecotopia (The Pacific Northwest), the Empty Quarter and Quebec. Note that Garrerau gerrymanders southern Florida out of Dixie and into The Islands (Caribbean). In Garreau's paradigm conventional political borders are arbitrary and passé, and the Unites States are really a patchwork or incomplete syncretism of heterogeneous regions that often have little to do with state boundaries. Garreau's nine nations have the added scalar

benefit of being more administratively manageable, a point which is similarly developed by Thomas Naylor in "Secession: How Vermont and All Other States Can Save Themselves from the Empire" (Naylor, 2008). If Garreau's nine nations more truly reflect cultural and ecological systems, there might be some heuristic value in adopting Garreau's model if it enables planners to approach the South on its own terms with less of a colonial or imperialistic mindset that the South must be homogenized or made to conform with exogenous ideas or ideals. Concurrently, the underrepresented parts of the South must also be more receptive to outside influence (Atlanta is an obvious exception to this).

Chuck Thompson (2012), in "Better Off Without' Em," contentiously and at times speciously argues that the South should be jettisoned from the rest of the country for political, cultural and environmental reasons. Short on empirical data, the polemic's central premise – the irredeemable and hopeless "otherness" of the South – leans heavily on *ad hominem* attacks based on anecdote, caricature, cherrypicking and straw man arguments. Not all of Thompson's breezy but trenchant criticisms should be dismissed as summarily as he makes them, and it's not entirely clear whether he means to be taken seriously, but they do often belie a xenophobic proclivity among those non-Southerners (Thompson is an unrepentant Alaskan turned rabid Oregonian) courageous enough to upbraid its contradictions. But three demographic variables, also used in the present study, were reserved for Thompson's misdirected scorn: race,

religion and education. According to Thompson, on issues of race, religion and education the South is hopelessly regressive and reactionary, and he makes many facile generalizations that contradict the demographic data used in this study; for example, Thompson's narrative encourages the reader to believe that the South is entirely rural and politically conservative, but as the foregoing analysis has demonstrated the South's Black Belt region had a majority vote for Obama in the 2010 presidential election. These variables have divided the South from the rest of the country since antebellum times, and authors like Thompson are intent on kowtowing to a narrative that prevents the demographic complexity of the South from emerging in a way that can be meaningfully engaged by the general public or the planning profession, thus perpetuating and exacerbating a cycle of cultural incompetency.

Like Garreau, albeit less "scientifically," Thompson also proposes a dissolution of the Union, relegating Florida to Dixie while saving the economic powerhouse of Texas for the Union. Thompson's quixotic scheme for the dissolution of the Union is symptomatic of the disintegration in dialogue between the South and "mainstream America." It may be that the planning establishment too has internalized this narrative of "Otherness" that facilitates discursive exclusion. Thompson, and authors like him, not only perpetuate and embody regional bias, but actually cheerlead the discursive exclusion of the South without any self-reflection about his own biases and methods, and the material conditions

that underlie the South's incapacity to meet many national standard for public health, public safety, and educational attainment. If the South is to remain a part of the United States, as it most certainly will for the foreseeable future, then it cannot be shanghaied into a Catch-22 that simultaneously demands that it conform to the Bell Curve and the national average *and* do so without also being incorporated into the dialogue, both planning and otherwise. Coverage of the Deep South is critical not only because underrepresentation discursively excludes minority populations, but also because the planning profession itself is not communicating with a region that has, for better or worse, relied upon outside succor from the Federal Government ever since the Reconstruction Era.

Recommendations

In this penultimate section I would like to make some positive recommendations for what the planning community can do to address underrepresentation in the South and elsewhere in the United States. Problems arising from underrepresentation will not be remedied overnight, but there are some piecemeal and incremental steps that can be pursued as policies to prepare the foundation for meaningful representation in the future. The cultural competency of planners might be enhanced by more academic planning programs and urban studies programs in the South. While the creation of academic planning programs at public institutions would presuppose legislative cooperation and approval from trustees, the planning profession and the South would both benefit by advocating for

more accredited planning programs in the Deep South. Birmingham is the most logical place for an urban planning program in Alabama, yet the state's two accredited planning programs at Alabama A&M and Auburn University are in rural college towns, and Auburn's community planning program is housed in the Architecture Department, which has a keen focus on construction and building science.

As the largest professional organization representing city and regional planning in the United States, the APA is behooved by its own codified professional standards to promote partnerships and dialogue between regions, and planners themselves work under an ethical or normative imperative to address the ostensible ills of the South's lackluster built environment instead of perpetuating those ills by ignoring them. First, the APA might incentivize planning research on under-represented cities and regions, partnering with planners and planning researchers the South. Secondly, the APA might consider convening its annual conference in more Southern cities, instead of selecting obvious locations like Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles. In 2013, the APA brought 5,500 planning professionals to Chicago. Even the Southern cities that have been selected as conference sites are the two outliers of this study's sample: the 2014 APA conference is scheduled for Atlanta, and the 2010 conference was convened in New Orleans. The only major *non sequitur* among the cities wherein the conference has historically convened was San Antonio, Texas in 2006. The APA can contribute to local economic

growth and the professional development of planners in underrepresented

cities and regions by convening the annual conference in cities like

Montgomery, Alabama or Jackson, Mississippi – cities most professional

planners have probably never visited. Even though such cities may have a

smaller convention center and hotel capacity, they could still be selected

on a rotating basis *vis-à-vis* cities with a larger hotel capacity. The APA

might also develop innovative ways to integrate subsidiary state and

regional chapters of the APA in underrepresented regions.

Chapter 7: Further Research

Due to the inherit limitations and imperfections of any study, parts of which are conjectural, and because any researcher must eventually contrive brackets circumscribing the research framework, there remains significant latitude for future research to improve upon the analyses and results presented herein. First, future research might increase the sample size and longitude of the qualitative analysis to include more scholarly and professional planning literature sources and expand the studies' temporal horizon – the current sample only analyzed eleven years of data, but research could be conducted on the planning literature as far back as it is available, thereby increasing robustness. The *Journal of the American Planning Association,* for example, has been published since 1935, and a more comprehensive longitudinal review of its literature might reveal an even more systemic discursive exclusion than previously thought; perhaps this discursive exclusion is part of a much larger temporal phenomenon with deep historical roots. If this discursive exclusion is broader and deeper than even this analysis suggests, then the planning profession most work even more diligently to overcome that bias. Because of the sheer audacity and grandiosity of this thesis' central claim – that urban planning as a profession discursively excludes an entire region and culture within the continental United States – a more comprehensive review, including journals with a smaller subscription and distribution capacities than *JAPA* might buttress the thesis' argument and make it more tenable

and palatable to the profession as a whole. It is not inconceivable that a larger sample would produce very different results and conclusions. Obviously, a certain amount of discretion and judgment are involved in the coding – a different researcher might produce slightly different results depending on the coding scheme. For example, a case study referencing multiple places, one of which is in the Deep South, might not be coded as "Deep South" because it is not a dedicated article about the South.

Publication bias is another hypothesis for the omission of select cities from the literature: it is possible that articles about locales under-represented in the sample are being submitted to academic journals but simply aren't being chosen for publication, although the result of under-representation is the same. Thus, a secondary question about discursive exclusion remains unanswered: is this discursive exclusion the result of researcher bias (research simply isn't being conducted in the South), or the result of publication bias (for whatever reason, publishers are not publishing research from or about the South)? The sample is also somewhat skewed by *Planning* magazines' special issues devoted to a single city, such as Chicago. It would also be instructive to map the sample's literature counts against a national dataset of building permits to ascertain whether cities with a large amount of permitted new construction are still being underrepresented.

An especially ambitious program of study might expand the scope to include representation in the popular media, drawing on the media

models propounded by theorists Noam Chomsky and Marshall McLuhan. Representations of the South in the popular media are both cause and effect of regional bias. Planners, like the general public, are no more immune to the subtle and sometimes insidious influences of the popular media than anyone else; therefore, if regional bias is generalized throughout the popular media, then it is almost inevitable that planners would absorb and recapitulate that regional bias in their own work, just as any other academic or professional discipline would. *Ad interim,* some research questions might include: how does regional bias in planning literature stack up against regional bias in the popular media? Is regional bias in some way unique to planning literature, or is it inflected by the popular media? Are studies on smaller Southern cities, or smaller cities in general, appearing with more regularity in smaller journals?

The present study surveyed only sources with a keen emphasis on traditional urban planning, but future research might expand the scope of this study to encompass the literature of the environmental side of planning. Montana, a predominantly rural state which is grossly under-represented in the literature, might appear with more regularity in a journal devoted to land management and environmental planning. The Deep South is also home to nonpareil ecologies and critical habitats, some of them endangered. Alabama's Black Warrior River was recently named by America's Rivers as one of the most endangered in the country (Al.com, 2013). At risk are not only water quality and the cost of negative

externalities, but also ten aquatic species categorized as endangered

species in the Black Warrior watershed, and more that are listed as

threatened. Louisiana's wetlands are equally unique and endangered.

It is also important to acknowledge the *art* of cartography and data

visualization, which are not exact sciences, and as any reader of Darrell

Huff and Irving Geis' "How To Lie With Statistics" (1993) and Mark

Monmonier's "How To Lie With Maps" (1996) knows, data can be

manhandled and finessed in a way to hoodwink an unwary reader. The

unit of measurement, whether census tract or county, for each variable

can generate profoundly disparate narratives. The dimensions of census

tracts tend to be smaller and more regulated than counties, and therefore

provided a more nuanced visualization of the data than the eccentric and

variegated geometries of counties. The sheer size of the counties in

southern California and the West in general can distort the visual narrative

in relation to the much smaller counties of the East Coast. Future research

might visualize data at a variety of geographic summary levels: block,

block group, census tract, counties, MSA's, state, census division, etc.

Nevertheless, I feel confident in asserting that the Deep South is

significantly underrepresented.

The political affiliation variable can be misleading. Based on state-

level 2012 presidential election results, an extraterrestrial would deduce

that the South is homogeneously conservative. But the South is not

monolithically conservative, just as New England is not monolithically

liberal. The urban centers – Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, New Orleans, etc. – tend to be more liberal than the outlying suburban and rural areas. County-level political election data would be advantageous in characterizing the nuances and gradations of political affiliation in the region.

The data collected for this study could be mapped and correlated with any number of demographic variables, not just those used in the current study: income, gun ownership statistics, excess mortality rates, obesity rates, etc. A statistical and cartographic analysis of the distribution of case studies along the urban-rural continuum with a density metric might be advantageous for revealing correlations between representation and the nature of the built environment. It would be instructive to map the literature survey data against less binary religious and race data: Judaism, Islam and Mormonism were excluded from the present analysis, and Hispanic and Asian populations also were not analyzed. The United States is demographically complex, with a plurality of publics and populations demanding cultural sensitivity from the planning profession, and it is not the author's intent to reinforce or perpetuate a specious and unrepresentative black-white binary. Correlations between other variables such as income and representation might be ascertained by individually vetting the demographic data of highly represented and under-represented cities. Additional demographic correlations not used in this study would create a more faithful and complex portrait of the South and indicate to

planners what other factors and variables must be considered when researching under-represented regions.

Due to the inherent shortcomings of GIS, future research might consider employing mixed methods; in addition to GIS, a more rigorous descriptive and inferential statistical analysis of the data generated from the systematic review and thereby a more subtle view of place-based bias in the literature. More rigorous statistics would control for confounding variables and spurious relationships. Because disaggregated data points will produce profoundly different visualizations, future maps might include geographic distributions of case studies per city and state for each journal individually, which will create a very different narrative. Proximity of accredited urban planning programs might be used as a predictive variable and proxy for access to planning pedagogical resources and data; logically, cities with accredited planning programs are more apt to be covered by the planning profession than those without accredited planning programs.

The current professional planning praxis can advance a more comprehensive and rigorous cultural competency by pursuing research on the Deep South in the form of case studies, data collection and analysis, and structured or unstructured interviews with planners in underrepresented regions and cities that can be used to ascertain how professional planners perceive their own work and what they think can be done to remedy the South's ostensible underrepresentation. Conversely,

there may be some heuristic value for Deep South cities in ascertaining

why states like California were so highly represented in the sample. A

content analysis of the literature on the Deep South might also reveal the

author's or publisher's rhetorical slant: when the South is mentioned, *how*

is it represented in the literature? Is the language rhetorically positive,

negative or neutral?

Another question for future research concerns the correlation

between representation and political affiliation: if so many counties in the

Black Belt had a majority vote for Obama, and planner's evince a

predilection for planning in regions with a Democratic majority, then why

aren't the small towns and cities in the Black Belt being covered? Finally,

correlating the sample's literature count data by region with data on

federal subsidies might be illuminating, because it seems plausible that

regions receiving more federal grant monies such as CDBG's for new

development projects or urban planning activities would also have a

higher number of literature counts (Boston's Big Dig being only the most

infamous of the infrastructure projects receiving federal subsidies).

Ironically, the Deep South is generally regarded in popular political

discourse as a welfare region that receives more in subsidies than it sends

to Washington in tax revenues. Thus, it might be illuminating to ascertain

how federal subsidies and grants like CDBG align with representation in

urban planning literature.

The currency of comprehensive plans and master plans can be

utilized as a proxy for local planning efforts; this could be operationalized

by ascertaining the currency of the plans for cities that are

underrepresented and heavily represented. If the plans have been drafted

and ratified by a vested authority within the last 10 years then the binary

variable can be coded accordingly. States generally create the legislative

environment in which planning occurs, but municipalities and regional

planning authorities do the lion's share of the planning and implementation.

This gap between state-level and local level planning is where the

planning establishment has the opportunity to intervene apropos of some

of the issues presented in this study.

Appendix: Example of Excel Sheet for Data Collection

Journal: Planning	Title	City1	State1	City2	State2	City3
Vol. 78 Issue 8	Texas Mall Converts to Tech Company HQ	San Antonio	TX			
	'Fresh Coast'Collaboration	Chicago	IL			
	Planning at the Ballot Box.		VA		ME	
	Detroit Squatters Occupy Vacant Houses	Detroit	MI			
	Rethinking LA's Arteiials.	Los Angeles	CA			
	Navigating New Orleans	New Orleans	LA			
	Lessons from Celebration	Celebration	FL			
	Tennessee to Conserve Former Pot Farm		TN			
Vol. 78 Issue 7	Colorado Counties Consider Drilling's Impacts to Roads		CO			
	More Smart Parking	Los Angeles	CA			
	Seattle Grows an Edible Urban Forest	Seattle	WA			
	Water War Southern Style	Atlanta	GA		FL	
	Pipeline Safety on Trial	Sandhills	NB			
	Fighting for Survival in Small Town America	Aurora	NB	Black Mountain	NC	Helena
	Happy in Ohio	Saint Clairsville	OH			

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