A World of Difference

Stories of planning for diversity from South Africa to Salem

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Monique Ching

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Adviser: Julian Agyeman

Reader: Ann Rappaport

Abstract

Fear of the other is nothing new, but a surge in protectionist and isolationist rhetoric has captured the attention of people around the world. Scholars contend that this sense of prejudice and inequality can be reproduced through policy and urban planning. Through projects in Limpopo, South Africa; California; and Massachusetts, practitioners are striving to be culturally competent in their daily work. While an intercultural society may be a lofty aspiration, I propose a set of recommendations drawn from these cases and a rich body of literature that can be molded to fit our endlessly changing communities.

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Contents

Introduction

At a time when fear of the other seems high on the list of public concerns, there is a pressing need to understand those we consider "different" and why we fear them. From fear of international terrorism and the Brexit vote to the recent U.S., Dutch, and French top governmental election campaigns, it seems every which way we turn someone is talking about why we should be afraid of a monolithic, faceless "them."

But this surge in protectionist and isolationist rhetoric is nothing new. Reading Sandercock's introduction to her book about "Mongrel Cities" feels like a rundown of top news headlines about the French election, the Australian refugee islands, and the rise of European right-wing, anti-immigrant parties (2003, 4). It seems little has changed in a decade and a half. Looking further back, Allport and Kramer found in a 1946 survey of university students that those who felt "we do not have enough discipline in our American way of life" tended to show more prejudice in responses to other questions in the survey about race, nationality, and religion. This sentiment seems to bear a striking similarity to President Donald Trump's "America First" narrative that has received much support.

While changing individual hearts and minds may be impossible, many have pointed to policies and spatial relations as ways to bridge differences (Fenster 1998; Bollens 2002; Allport 1954). The challenge can seem insurmountable, with divergent voices all fighting to be recognized and have their needs met. Waves of protests around the world (from #BlackLivesMatter and #feesmustfall to the Umbrella Revolution) point to a sentiment that the establishment is not listening to traditionally excluded groups. So how can planners and community developers navigate what seems like an increasingly complex world where "difference" can be sliced in infinite ways? In this thesis, I hope to build off the influential work that others have done on this issue, to explore some innovative examples in practice, and to make recommendations for planners who strive to engage voices of difference.

In learning from three different projects in vastly different contexts, my hope is to add to a body of work that can point us toward the vision of an intercultural city as Wood and Landry wrote about (2008). It is important to note that I approach each of these cases as an outsider, and while I have made every attempt at objectivity and accurate representation, personal biases likely affect the study in ways I may not currently be fully aware of. As an individual who spent her formative years in Hong Kong during the end of its time as a British colony and who received higher education at U.S. liberal arts institutions, the myriad ways society chooses to divide itself has struck me as one catalyst for inequity. While demarcating difference is not negative – at times it can be necessary – we need not look much further than a school playground to see that difference is often used as a justification to marginalize. With that in mind, I ask in this study *how can planners and community development practitioners foster cultural humility in their work?* By exploring this question, it is my hope that practitioners can move toward strategies for a truly intercultural city, where faces and voices of difference are truly equal.

In the first case, a participatory development planning program run by a South African university, some found that the university's role as a neutral third-party facilitator often was beneficial to breaking down the many ethnic and hierarchical barriers in rural South Africa. Community ownership also was key to the project's success.

The second case covers multiple police departments in California that have recently begun targeted engagement efforts with the Chinese speaking community, particularly through an online microblog Weibo. In this case, the language barrier seemed simple to overcome in comparison to the barriers created through police department organizational culture and through lack of resources.

The final case falls into a more traditional urban planning mold and began when the City of Salem, Massachusetts decided to create a vision plan for a largely immigrant neighborhood. The planning department used several platforms to diversify participant voices in the visioning process.

While two of the cases may not fall into the typical conception of planning, I have chosen to consider planning from a broader sense in terms of how communities function at large. Government departments and rooted institutions to not operate in isolation and planning for more culturally competent processes in each of these entities should, in theory, spill over to other parts of community development.

Drawing on themes from the case examples and connecting them with the existing literature, I enumerated several recommendations for practitioners striving for an intercultural community. These are to: build trust; enter existing streams of conversation; take risks/be creative; commit resources; and engage in ongoing reflection and learning. The final recommendation captures the necessity for practitioners to continually reflect and question the assumptions behind accepted practices. While planners and policymakers are not responsible creating or rectifying inequalities (Beebeejaun 2006), they play a vital role in fostering intercultural relations and challenging normative practices. In contrast to the modernist idea of a universal value system, communities of difference can be fragmented and particularistic and attributing normative values to all society is paternalism and domination (Burayidi 2000).

It is my hope that this framework of recommendations can be applicable in an array of contexts and as cultures begin to change and blend.

Literature review

The following literature review introduces a range of related literatures that pertain to how communities do or can plan for difference. The review begins with an exploration of how scholars conceptualize culture and of the idea of cultural competence; it then delves into strategies and cases of communities planning for difference; next I look briefly at literature that asks what makes plans matters; then the literature review wraps up with an eye on the future for communities of difference — hybrid cultures, super-diversity, and the new diversity.

Conceptions of culture

Before discussing the array of definitions for cultural competence and its role in the field of urban planning, it is necessary to delve briefly into the various uses of the word "culture" and its use in this paper. In current popular usage, culture can signify everything from manifestations of the arts — cultural centers — to the differences between collective practices based on an individual's background or organizational affiliation — cultural diversity, work culture.

The term "culture" has been similarly used in myriad ways in urban planning and community development literature. Scholars have used the term frequently to describe collective practices among ethnic, racial, and national groups. Burayidi, for instance, defined culture with a relatively narrow scope, as the "beliefs, norms, values, customs as well as the material artifacts such as clothing, food and art that set one group apart from others" (2003, 262). Similarly, Ottaviano and Peri defined a community as culturally diverse when many of its residents were born in a different country, while acknowledging that ethnicity and ancestry were other conventional ways of demarcating culture (2004). In this conception, culture is instilled through upbringing, affiliation, or ethnicity (Burayidi, 2003, 262).

Some argue, however, that culture is a broader idea than one that is limited to the characteristics described above. In their seminal book, *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage*, Wood and Landry argued that ethnicity is just one of many aspects of culture, adding age, gender, wealth, lifestyle, and class to the list (2008, 10). By Wood and Landry's account, culture can be any characteristic by which we choose to divide our society, or "the sum of those things that define us as individuals and as members of our group and, therefore, that which distinguishes us from others" (2008, 39). Their sentiments are echoed by Agyeman and Erickson, who argued for a broader conception of culture and noted that it is "predicated on difference and on otherness and is a complex, dynamic, and embodied set of realities in which people (re)create identities, meanings, and values" (2013, 359). The definition Agyeman and Erickson put forth is indeed broad, but leaves room for a world that is ever-changing and societies in flux. Central to this definition is the acknowledgment that culture is not a static phenomenon — it is often self-contradictory and mutable on both the individual and community levels, as many other scholars also note (Phillips 2006; Pinderhughes 2010).

Arthurson and Baum pose a similar argument that culture is not as clear-cut a term as it is often presented as (2013). The authors found the different components of an individual's

cultural identity often are interconnected and that clear distinctions are not always straightforward (Arthurson and Baum 2013). In their study of African-Americans after Hurricane Katrina, the authors found African-Americans bore a disproportionate burden of the disaster's effects, but they also discovered in their study that being African-American strongly correlated with being low income and the two characteristics were difficult to disentangle (Arthurson and Baum 2013). Betancourt et al., by contrast, draw a distinction between social and cultural characteristics (2003). Like Arthurson and Baum, however, the authors note it is difficult to separate these characteristics and, as a result, addressing social context is often a component of cultural competence training in public health (Betancourt et al. 2003). In their study of health outcomes, the authors used the term "sociocultural barriers" to signify the social or cultural quality, characteristic, or experience of a racial or ethnic group or individual that leads to differential treatment and varying quality of care (Betancourt et al. 2003, 295). Doucerain et al. also argued for a multi-faceted and complex view of culture, adding migration channel, immigration status, and level of transnationalism as potential cultural differences (2013). Further, the authors note that in the current age of "super-diversity" practitioners should be mindful of hybrid cultures and local forms of cultural syncretism (2013).

Is cultural competence a realistic goal?

Having considered the varied uses of the term "culture," a look at the concept of "cultural competence" can be even muddier. To begin with, there is some disagreement the term "cultural competence" itself and whether the language problematizes the very idea it attempts to convey. Tervalon and Murray-García argued that "competence" implies an individual or an entity can achieve mastery of a finite and static body of knowledge (1998, 118). Further, they noted this term suggests practitioners quantitatively demonstrate their attainment of "cultural competence" (Tervalon and Murray-García 1998). The authors, who wrote about this idea from the context of public and clinical health, instead proposed the term "cultural humility" to capture a life-long commitment to reflection, self-critique, as well as engaging and learning with clients, communities, colleagues, themselves, and others (1998, 118). They added that individuals need humility to mitigate power imbalances and to cultivate mutually respectful relationships with others (1998). Wood and Landry similarly framed cultural awareness as a starting point for empathy and positive relationships: "We may never fully know what it means to be someone other than ourselves, but if we can understand what factors and influences have made them see the world in the way they do, and we can also reflect upon how our own personal and group behaviours have been formed, we have the basis of a form of empathy upon which relationships can be built" (2008, 39-40).

Regrettably, searches for literature on the semantics of "cultural competence" in the context of urban planning and community development yielded few results. Much of the literature that discusses the language of that term comes primarily from the fields of clinical health, social studies, psychology, and disaster relief, perhaps because practitioners in these fields tend to experience a great deal of direct contact with individuals from an array of circumstances. The idea of cultural competence and its many cousins have long been prevalent in these fields, according to Betancourt et al. (2003). The authors noted that health practitioners use a swath of terms including cultural sensitivity, cultural responsiveness, cultural

effectiveness, cultural humility, and others, but each term has a unique definition (2003). "Cultural competence" is perhaps a more widely recognized term and the authors described it as when sociocultural differences are fully accepted, appreciated, explored, and understood (2003). Scholars who ascribe to Tervalon's and Murray-García's argument would likely contend that cultural difference *cannot* be fully appreciated, explored, and understood. Despite these fine linguistic distinctions it seems Betancourt et al. were generally in agreement with Tervalon and Murray-García, as they described culturally competent health care as an individual or system that understands the importance of social and cultural influences on behavior, beliefs, and outcomes at all levels of care; is vigilant about the dynamics that stem from cultural differences; works to expand cultural knowledge; and adapts services to meet culturally unique needs (2003, 118, 297).

Speaking from a sociological standpoint, Wenche Ommundsen noted that, in an attempt to deal with cultural differences, cities have developed complex and frequently contradictory policies and practices (2003). Non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, and other such entities like the European Union have, in some ways, stepped in to fill in spaces of "imagined communities," which can offer competing claims for cultural allegiance (Ommundsen 2003, 183). All the same, Ommundsen argues that formal citizenship remains one of the strongest mechanisms for shaping cultural belonging (2003). Some sociologists have explored the idea of cultural citizenship, noting that while this is primarily shaped by formally belonging to a nation-state, cultural conceptions outside of that also play a part (Pakulski 1997). Ommundsen, citing Nick Stevenson (1997, 42) added that cultural agency is a vital dimension of cultural citizenship and involves the availability of semiotic and material cultures necessary for meaningful social living, for critique of practices of domination, and for the space to recognize difference in an environment of tolerance and mutual respect (Ommundsen 2003, 183).

As noted previously, cultural competence is not widely discussed in urban planning literature. Wood and Landry defined cultural competence as: "to think and behave with cultural awareness is to establish a means of understanding and interacting with others that may transcend perceived barriers" (2008, 39). But unlike Wood and Landry's broad views of culture and cultural awareness, planners tend to think about cultural competence in terms of race, racial justice, immigration, and inclusion.

One explanation for this gap in planning literature comes from Tovi Fenster. She argued that practitioners from a Western, procedural planning background tend to assume assimilation is natural and desirable both for the host communities and for immigrants (Fenster 1998). This top-down model tends to "pay attention to difference among those for whom plans are made only in terms of their 'deviation' from the norm. In other words, procedural planning emphasises formal equality and civil rights above other concerns, notably those of cultural difference" (Fenster 1998, 178). Fenster wrote specifically about Israel's 1980s plans for "absorption" of diaspora Jews, such as the Ethiopian immigrants studied in her paper (1998). Absorption could, in theory, suggest immigrants adapt to Israel's way of life while preserving some of the unique identities. In practice, however, Fenster argued that policies and development projects tend to ignore "minority" ethnicities and promote Westernised lifestyles as normative models to which immigrants should assimilate (1998). Similarly, Burayidi wrote (2000) that the tensions between technocrat-based planning and culture were more evident in

developing countries during the 1960s, but Western countries expected cultural minority groups to assimilate to mainstream culture. Any indications that cultural minorities had different values was simply attributed to the assumption that "the assimilation process had not occurred fast enough" (Burayidi 2000, 3). Echoing Fenster's statement, he wrote that there is an assumption of "sameness" in planning where it pays attention to difference only in terms of it as a deviation from the norm (2003).

Speaking from the context of the United States, Charles Hoch made a similar argument to Fenster's, that planners tend to abide by formal standards of equality and rights rather than the navigate the more complex road to embracing cultural difference (1994). Equal opportunity and affirmative action have largely been accepted, Hoch wrote in his research about planners in the U.S., while racial inclusion and multicultural identity have not (1994). Hoch posited that this is because distributive justice, the concept upon which equal opportunity and affirmative action relies, is relatively simple to grasp. By contrast, racial inclusion deals with more complicated ideas about community, cultural membership, and identity that planners may not want to grapple with (1994). Further, Hoch noted that few planners think about racism in a substantive way and attributed this in part to the racial composition of the profession (1994). While some may argue that the American Institute of Certified Planners has included principles of racial fairness and consideration of different cultural views since the 1960s, Hoch argued that the additions serve less to stimulate and inspire — as was intended — but rather as rhetorical defenses to show the field is doing something about racial issues.

Planning for difference

Before diving into a discussion of planning for difference and examples of it in practice, it is necessary to touch briefly on the terms "multiculturalism" and "interculturalism," both of which have been used in the study of difference and diversity and are subject to some debate. Charles Taylor sums up much of the debate surrounding the use of the two terms and the historical and political contexts that drive them (2012). Taylor framed this discussion with the debate between Quebec, where the term interculturalism is preferred, and "English" Canada, which touts multiculturalism (2012). While the details of this debate are far beyond the scope of this paper, Taylor noted the idea of multiculturalism has been bedeviled by Europeans and Quebeckers alike as a ghetto-inducing recognition of difference with no concern for integration (2012). While Taylor said this argument is based on a misunderstanding of immigrant communities, he acknowledged the term interculturalism places more emphasis on integration of different and incoming communities (2012). With the concept of interculturalism, however, comes fears that newcomers can change the values of the host society, with critics often citing gender inequality as one example (2012). "The notion that 'they' can be equal collaborators in remaking our common culture rings alarm bells in all who share this anxiety. It seems safer and more sensible to insist that they conform first to what we consider the basics, before we let them become co-deciders. But this easily slides in practice towards imposing assimilation as a condition of integration," Taylor wrote (2012, 420). The solution to these fears, Taylor wrote, is to highlight successful examples of interculturalism and more familiarity with the immigrant story (2012). It seems "interculturalism" is more of an aspiration in the current societal context and — while I do not particularly oppose the term multiculturalism — interculturalism will be

the prevailing term in this thesis. The remainder of this section will explore how some practitioners approach intercultural development and some examples from the literature.

Many scholars have been critical of planners' reluctance to get involved in issues of race, ethnicity, and other cultural differences (Bollens 2002; Hartman 1994; Baum 2000; Beauregard 2000). Bollens noted that planners often retreat to professional coping skills when faced with cultural issues that fracture the public interest and often view themselves as objective, advice-givers and observers (Bollens 2002). This has been partially attributed to the planning field's roots in Enlightenment, which elevates scientific method, neutrality, and objectivity above less measurable values (Burayidi 2000).

Bollens argues race has, in fact, played a significant role in shaping the current urban environment — racial prejudice has contributed to city decline and race has largely shaped the basis of urban policy (2002, 23). Perhaps their reliance on policies to handle racial and ethnic issues stems from the assumption that, in the U.S., governance is capable of representing minority voices and producing fair outcomes (Bollens 2002). Burayidi noted (2000) that postmodern scholars argued against the modernist idea of a universal value systems, but assert that societies are fragmented and particularistic. One cannot attribute normative values to all societies, Burayidi wrote, and added that doing so is paternalism and domination (2000).

But is it the planner's job to intervene in issues of difference and conflict?

In his much-cited work (Pettigrew et al. 2011), *The Nature of Prejudice*, Gordon W. Allport asserts that intergroup contact can, in some cases, foster better intercultural relations (1954). In a preceding work with Bernard Kramer, Allport grappled with the question of whether contact with minority groups enhances or diminishes prejudice, noting that frequent intergroup contact can result in antagonism (1946). "Sheer proximity does not produce neighborliness," the authors wrote. "On the other hand, certain types of contacts clearly make for a reduction of prejudice. World travelers, students of other cultures, international societies of scientists, democratic organizations of all types, demonstrate that close association with members of other ethnic groups may engender understanding and fellow-feeling" (1946, 23). In further interpreting their findings Allport and Kramer pointed out that respondents who indicated they have a suspicious outlook on life tended to be more prejudiced against racial, ethnic, and religious difference (1946, 34). Finally, they found that respondents who disapproved of "legislative attempts to improve the opportunities of minority groups" tended to be more prejudiced (1946, 34). "This last finding points a finger at those who say they oppose meliorative legislation because 'you can't legislate against prejudice,' because 'laws won't change human nature,' or because 'you only make things worse by passing laws that won't be enforced.' The fact is that those who oppose legal remedies almost certainly do so because they themselves are bigots" (1946, 34). Allport argues that if many agree legislation can be discriminative the converse ought also be true, that legislation can reduce prejudice by equalizing advantages and lessening discrimination (1954). Allport noted that contact does not always result in amicable relations, particularly in contexts of significant power differentials or where individuals perceive each other as threats (1954). Further, Allport noted the effect of programs that try to foster mutually respectful contact can also be dampened when they are artificial and lack a common goal or project of mutual concern (1954, 488). "They merely meet to talk about the problem," Allport wrote, which can lead to frustration or antagonism (1954, 488-489). It is worth noting

that some scholars have since pointed out that Allport's description of prejudice was somewhat heavy-handed and did not account for more subtle types of bias and control, such as affectionate paternalism (Davidio, Glick, and Rudman 2005). Scholars point to Allport's glossing over of gender bias as one example of this blindspot (2005).

In his study of planning in Belfast, a city of polarized sectarian and religious groups, Bollens found that planners tended to take a "color-blind" approach to their work (2002). This approach, where planners channeled ethnic conflict toward procedural and service delivery issues, is commonly taken in liberal democratic settings (2002). Bollens contended the neutral, hands-off approach to ethnicity sacrificed strategic plans and drove projects to be more ad-hoc and reactive (2002). One of his interviewees in this case study argued that planners should not act as "social engineers," rather the government's role is to passively reflect the wishes of the people (2002, 28). Another interviewee added that government cannot change people's minds and that change must come from the community. In the context of Belfast, planners contended that government's efforts to bring people together are viewed as stoking the flames (2002). This dilemma appears to be inevitable in a field that straddles the line between technocrat and politician; between procedural and pluralist planning; between scientist and advocate. In Hoch's study (1994) of American planners, he found that many struggled with the distinction between planning as a design activity and as a political activity.

Burayidi argued that a plurality of plans is necessary to meet the diverse needs of communities (2000). He lamented that, even through the built environment, there seems to be little evidence of influence from minority, or non-dominant, cultural groups. "That implies that either planners have done a good job in creating a consensus among the diverse ethno-cultural groups in the country or that through coercion, lack of representation, or the muzzling of the voices of nondominant socio-cultural groups, the urban landscape failed to articulate their culture and needs" (Burayidi 2000, 1). He attributed this in part to the postwar emergence of Modernist planning, which helped eliminate many imprints of non-dominant cultures in the urban form (2000).

Why plan for difference?

Regardless of where one falls on the debate about whether planners and community developers have a role in negotiating cities of difference, countries like America are becoming and will likely continue to become more diverse. For some, planning for difference is simply a matter of practicality and economic prudence.

With the increasing prominence of cultural diversity in cities, those opposed to protectionist policies have touted that diversity yields economic benefits. Ottaviano and Peri, for instance, found in an empirical study of 160 metropolitan areas that U.S.-born workers living in more culturally diverse cities (where their measure for cultural diversity was based on the number of foreign born residents) receive higher wages and pay higher rents, on average, than those in less culturally diverse cities (2004). The authors concluded their findings showed that "*a more multicultural urban environment makes US-born citizens more productive*" (2004, 39), but they added that their findings could also be attributed to the traits of U.S.-born residents in more "tolerant" cities rather than to the environment produced by a diverse

environment (2004). Richard Florida proposed the "bohemian index," to explore the concentration of bohemia in a Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) based on the theory that bohemians create a milieu attractive to other skilled populations (2002). Florida found a strong relationship between bohemia and human capital and noted that examples of top bohemian cities like New York City, San Francisco, Washington D.C., and Austin also were among the top MSAs for human capital (2002). The inverse, also was true for cities like Tampa, Dayton, Pittsburgh, and San Antonio (2002). "The presence of a large concentration of bohemians may indicate an underlying openness to diversity," Florida wrote (2002, 64). The findings corroborate the theory Florida put forth in another article, that diversity in cities is key to attracting talented people (Florida and Gates, 2002). Florida and Gates found that gay and lesbian populations were an indicator of a metropolitan area's high-technology success and found a strong relationship between the number of foreign-born residents and high-tech workforce (2002). "Tolerance and diversity clearly matter to high-tech concentration and growth," Florida and Gates wrote. "Having large representations of gays or bohemians or immigrants in a population does not, of course, directly cause a technology industry to spring up. Instead, people in technology businesses appear to be drawn to places characterized by inclusiveness, open-mindedness, and cultural creativity — attributes whose presence is often signaled by, and therefore strongly correlate with, a cosmopolitan and diverse local population" (2002, 36). This phenomenon is no secret and some local government leaders are beginning to recognize they can harness broader economic benefits by attracting more diversity (Wu 2017; Wood and Landry 2008, 35-39; Rose 2015).

The economic arguments may be a good pitch for convincing community development leaders to foster positive intercultural relations, but it begs the question: is it wrong to be motivated by reasons that are not necessarily altruistic? The literature on answering this question appears sparse. Burayidi noted, however, that the spread of capitalism around the globe has created a veneer of tolerance (2003). By his account, perhaps a solely economic motivation to plan for difference can only produce surface-level interventions. Agyeman noted that while the economic argument for diversity helps motivate communities to attract difference, it inevitably creates partiality for the "New Diversity" — those who are well-educated, professional, and economically "productive" (Agyeman pers. comm. 2017). By contrast, newcomers who are working class, low income, or seen as less economically productive may simply be tolerated (2017). This idea may be difficult to analyze empirically, Agyeman noted, possibly explaining the gap in the literature (2017). Agyeman's contention is echoed in a recent account by Nayeri, an Iranian refugee, of her experiences migrating and navigating her new identities in the England and the U.S. (2017). "Even those on the left talk about how immigrants make America great. They point to photographs of happy refugees turned good citizens, listing their contributions, as if that is the price of existing in the same country, on the same earth," Nayeri wrote. "Friends often use me as an example. They say in posts or conversations: 'Look at Dina. She lived as a refugee and look how much stuff she's done.' As if that's proof that letting in refugees has a good, healthy return on investment," (2017). Nayeri wrote that the tendency to glorify refugees who do well by western standards ignores their complex humanity and denies the same options — which include "happy mediocrity" — offered to native-born citizens (2017).

Burayidi offered a reason to plan for diversity that is both pragmatic and centered on the role of planner as public servant (2003). Recent shifts in immigration have brought remote

ethnic needs, demands, and claims into urban life, raising both moral and practical questions about legitimacy and about cities' abilities to cope with the consequences (2003, 259). Wood and Landry pushed back on such a mindset, however, and argued that planners and local government leaders tend to frame diversity as a problem or challenge that needs to be managed or tolerated (2008). Instead, the authors wrote, diversity is an advantage and community leaders ought to plan for it from an asset-based perspective (2008). They contended that framing the problem in such a way is powerful and will set the tone for the times of plans and projects that arise (2008). Further Beebeejaun warned against cultural generalizations and noted that, when engaging different ethnic groups, planners perceive many difficulties as being inherent to the cultural group when they might in fact be challenges from the planning structure itself (2006). Problems that can appear inherent to a particular group can instead be the result of complex social phenomena (Beebeejaun 2006).

In contrast to all the previous justifications, Goonewardena et al. argued that the motivation to foster cultural cross-pollination is, quite simply, genuine democracy. The goal should not be to provide the tools to measure or increase "desirable" kinds of diversity, they wrote, but to explore how substantively engaging diversity increases "ways of knowing" and transforms institutions (Goonewardena 1994, 3). Quoting Young (1990), the authors noted that democratic deliberation depends on the development of "subaltern counterpublics" and enclaves of resistance (Goonewardena 1994, 7-8).

Power and politics of difference

The terms difference and diversity may sound relatively benign and neutral, but difference is intimately connected with power and politics. Spatial relations can represent and reproduce social relations (Fenster 1998) and, as noted previously (Fenster 1998; Hoch 1994; Burayidi 2003), the planning tradition has been driven by and perpetuated the dominance of western, neoliberal ideologies.

In his study of Appalachian mountain communities, John Gaventa noted that reproduction of power dynamics goes far beyond institutional barriers and spatial cues (1982). Implicit power relationships are most insidious when they maintain a "culture of silence," in other words non-challenge by the powerless, even after the powerful have fallen (1982, 82). "In situations of highly unequal power relationships ... the powerless are highly dependent. They are prevented from either self-determined action or reflection upon their actions. Denied this dialectic process, and denied the democratic experience out of which the 'critical consciousness' grows, they develop a 'culture of silence'" (1982, 18). Further, such a culture of silence can lend the dominant order an air of legitimacy and encourage those of subordinated groups to internalize their roles or build a false sense of consensus to accept their lot (1982, 11, 17, 18). Power, Gaventa wrote, "serves to maintain prevailing order of inequality not only through institutional barriers but also through the shaping of beliefs about the order's legitimacy or immutability" (1982, 42).

In some instances, Gaventa appears to imply that the Appalachian mountain people in his case study have no agency. However, his case study offers insight into the power dynamics of an entrenched, unequal system and highlights the necessity of contrasting voices and challenge

to existing systems and institutional models.

Approaches to planning for difference

While the actual concept of cultural competence, cultural humility, and their other variations may not be that complex, many cases show how difficult they are in practice. Burayidi noted that the biggest hurdle to planning for difference is that current approaches tend to be "knee jerk reactions that may solve ad hoc problems" rather than policies and processes designed with difference in mind (2003, 270). Agyeman went further with a challenge to find any examples of cultural competence in planning that arose through an effort to be proactive, and contended that most city leaders are not compelled to plan for difference until external occurrences create pressure to design such policies (2016).

In his study of three ethnically polarized cities around the world, Bollens drew four strategies that planners might use when working in politically and ethnically polarized communities: *neutral*, or "color-blind" and responsive to individual-level needs; *partisan*, which furthers an empowered group's values and authorities; *equity*, which strives to balance intergroup inequalities by giving non-dominant groups primacy; and *resolver*, which aims to address root causes of urban polarization and attempts to transform the system (2002). In Johannesburg, South Africa, Bollens noted that development planning was devised as a way to bring the resolver strategy, however imperfectly, to a community marred by inequity and a history of racist urban practices (2002). Development planners are typically Black Africans, not trained through the traditional avenues of planners, and are called to be mediators between community needs and government resources (2002). Some of the "development planners" – crosses between community organizers and planners – Bollens interviewed in Johannesburg said, however, that traditional town planners often became defensive and resistant to change, but some town planners asserted that it is easy to target traditional planning and marginalize them for being rigid amid changes in practice (2002). One town planner also noted that development planners assumed they knew how to handle planning issues but they did not, in fact, understand certain aspect of development or see the bigger picture as traditional planners are trained to see (2002).

In some cases, intercultural projects have arisen simply because non-dominant communities have made an existing system their own. At Los Angeles' MacArthur Park, informal street vendors, outdoor sporting activities, and hybrid festivals gave many park-goers reminders of their homelands (Main and Sandoval 2015). Immigrant park-goers saw MacArthur Park as emotionally significant both because of these reminders of home and because it was the space where many first connected with other immigrants through soccer matches or festivals (2015). The park's function as a site for mass political rallies and informal daily activities also gave it significance as space for resistance and for park-goers to exercise their agency (2015). Main and Sandoval wrote that, "Groups seek out and remake spaces to reflect significant places of the past, places through which their identity was formed" (2015, 83). Main and Sandoval noted that with the rise of "translocal cities" – where there are local-to-local socioeconomic and cultural links between receiving and sending communities – immigrants are increasingly forging spaces of identity as a form of agency (2015). The notion of translocalism, noted Rios and Watkins, acknowledges that placemaking is not isolated to the locale where it is manifested, but

are amalgamations of the community's myriad social, economic, cultural, and political practices (2015). The struggle to legitimize spaces of identity through everyday activities serves as an act of resistance, Main and Sandoval wrote (2015). They added that previous studies have shown stronger neighborhood ties and a more intimate sense of community can lead to more political action (2015). In this way, the users of MacArthur Park are building their own sense of belonging and empowering their own civic engagement. Rios and Watkins found similar sentiments expressed by Hmong farmers, who said they viewed farming in the U.S. and selling their produce at a local Asian market as a link to their past (2015). Planners need to learn from translocal placemaking practices to develop creative approaches that challenge normative notions of "order" and good form and allow a new "sense of place," wrote Rios and Watkins (2015).

Similarly, Kerrigan et al. asserted that community-based solutions often are most effective (2015). In a study of HIV prevention programs for sex workers in the global south, the researchers found those programs that contained a community empowerment strategy were most effective at reducing the risk of HIV (2015). These programs also recognized the legitimacy and agency of sex workers rather than treated them as victims, which the authors argued contributed to their success (2015). Even from a public health and disaster management perspective, responders to the 2014 Ebola outbreak in West Africa found that because the region is so diverse, strategies that worked in one community didn't necessarily work in another. Yamanis et al. found that residents in Sierra Leone were wary of using national reporting hotlines or accepting the chlorine spray from health workers because historical and past experiences fostered mistrust toward the disaster response system and residents were worried they would not return alive or that the chlorine was harmful to them (2016). Other cases showed there was a disconnect between community needs and responders' understanding of the situation on the ground. In one case in Liberia, health workers were baffled that their outreach seemed to be having little effect on the spread of Ebola (Abramowitz et al. 2015). Community leaders told health workers most residents knew what Ebola and knew enough to be afraid, but they did not know how to respond effectively (Abramowitz et al. 2015). The community wanted to know, for instance, how to triage a patient when the health system refused or was unresponsive, or how to report deaths when calls went unanswered — both of which were frequent occurrences (2015). Community members proposed community-based surveillance programs, to ensure potential cases were reported in a timely manner, which they said should involve mostly women because they were best able to monitor the wellbeing of their families and because mobilization of many young men is typically associated with militarization (2015).

Scholars tend to encourage self-actualization and agency when it comes to developing culturally relevant outcomes. Again, looking at clinical health approaches, Hamilton-Mason wrote that scholars in that field encourage practitioners to focus on helping clients to understand themselves in relation to cultural and contextual influences (2004). Practitioners should be cautious about drawing meanings from or applying generalizations to a client's social status without fully understanding the contexts of his or her social situation (Hamilton-Mason 2004). The author also stressed the importance of self-reflection and critical self-examination by practitioners of the cultural aspects of their own worldviews, their racial attitudes, and identities (2004). The point Hamilton-Mason raised is an important one even for planners and community developers. Often, in working cross-culturally, practitioners do not perceive the

effects their own assumptions have on outcomes and presume themselves neutral or objective (Burayidi 2003; Hoch 1994; Bollens 2002).

Bollens' case study about planners in Jerusalem highlights the importance of this. In his interviews he found Israeli planners typically were aware of the bias of their practice and were relatively forthcoming about the disparate impacts their work had on different communities (Bollens 2002). Planners acknowledged they could not be objective on the issue of planning in Jerusalem and they were acting first as agents of the government (2002). Interviewees contended that professional planning techniques had a moderating effect on their partisan work and that they tried to make their political decisions sensible and humane: "You can try to be scientific, you cannot be objective," one interviewee said (2002, 31). Some planners expressed both frustration and intrigue over the constant politicization of their work, but one interviewee noted that their work is about practicality and how groups can live together for the next decade rather than about root causes (2002, 32). In this case, planners are aware and even open about their attitudes and the effect this has on their work, but it seems to have little effect on creating culturally competent practices. Rather, it seems planners have simply accepted the way of doing things and do not feel they are in a position to change that. Bollens' case study (2002) indicates that while self-reflection and awareness of individual biases is important (Hamilton-Mason 2004), it may be inadequate if it does not match with the culture of the organization. Burayidi noted that while cultural competence on a personal level is key, it is largely ineffectual without broader systems change (2003).

While addressing root causes may be the goal practitioners aspire to, as Bollens' interviewee said: the issue of living together for the next several years is perhaps more pressing (2002, 32). Disagreement is inevitable in cities of difference where groups can have competing claims and contrasting agendas. Leonie Sandercock stressed the benefits of a dialogic approach that brings antagonistic parties to work through problems with those directly affected (Sandercock 2000). This "therapeutic" approach undoubtedly requires many resources and patience from all parties involved. Sandercock described one case in Sydney, Australia where there were competing interests between an Aboriginal group and the local council over the development of an old factory site that had been part of a government to grant urban Aboriginal land rights (2000). The groups were in a deadlock and the council eventually hired an expert who conducted a nine-month consultation process initially with each of the stakeholder groups separately, then with the groups together. Through this process, which Sandercock noted had a cathartic effect, the different groups aired the "real issues" of resentment from a long history of white domination (2000). Initially some participants express frustration with the lengthy process and that there was too much talking about emotions, but Sandercock noted that the intent was to create a space where parties could air their grievances without being dismissed and where there could be public learning (2000). While some may balk at such a lengthy process, Sandercock noted that this kind of model may be increasingly relevant in the current complexity of societies and in contexts with histories (2000). Doucerain et al. noted that most scholars who study acculturation issues focus on the "macro-context" (such as colonial legacies, diasporic communities, and socio-political orientations of mainstream culture) on the multicultural mind (2013, 688). The authors argue scholars need also to consider the "micro-context" of such issues, "namely the immediate, concrete, local conditions of daily life" (2013, 688). The macro-context is experienced and enacted through the micro-contexts, they wrote, and

In cities with such highly charged public policy issues, while sound expert analysis will always be important, Sandercock noted that the traditional toolkit may be less helpful than innovative approaches. "Fear in the city is not a problem to be solved, at least not along the lines of the modernist dreams of control, order and transparency. Rather, we face the eternal, impossible question of how 'we', all strangers to each other, can live together in the city," Sandercock wrote (2000, 23). Methods such as digital media tools, drama, storytelling, and other forms may confound traditional functionalist planners, but can help address unfinished business from complex histories and offer recognition to marginalized groups (2000). In one instance, a theater company in Brooklyn, New York, organized a 10-week rehearsal to a show performed by a group of civilians and officers from the Brooklyn Police Department (Lunden 2016). By gathering for meals, sharing stories, and conducting role-reversal scenarios, the program's purpose was to build understanding on both sides of a volatile relationship between police and marginalized communities (2016). In another example, German nonprofit Querstadtein uses storytelling and walking tours to attempt to foster empathy for people of difference (Dagan 2016). The organization initially held walking tours of Berlin led by homeless guides, but currently employs refugees, particularly from the Middle East, to lead walking tours for others to understand the journeys refugees go through in the city (Dagan 2016).

Burayidi draws a similar conclusion that traditional toolkits may not be so effective when developing communities of difference (2003). Sandercock's assertion (2000) that stories and communication are important to planning and community development suggest that recognition is a key value when working in diverse communities. Instead of looking solely at "objective" facts, Burayidi contended that planners need to look at value (2003). In housing studies, some scholars found that overcrowding did not diminish interest even among Asian families in higher income brackets. This suggests affordability may not be a factor in what is perceived as "overcrowding" to traditional planners, but rather that some Asian families may prefer to live intergenerationally and in close quarters (2003, 267). Similarly, in some cases where Native American communities were fighting development, financial compensation often was inadequate because they valued preservation and spirituality more (2003).

On a related point, Burayidi contended that current issues, such as those pertaining to African American and Native American communities, cannot be understood independently of their historical contexts (2000). Inner city poverty and unemployment, for instance, cannot be understood outside of the context of slavery and segregation laws and land-use laws cannot be understood without the context of Treaty Rights signs by the federal government and Native American tribes (2000). "Planning can become one means for righting past injustices," Burayidi wrote (2000, 2).

Planning that matters

Scholars have long written about planning and developing communities effectively and meaningfully. It seems opinions about how to do this is less straightforward.

Planning is organizing citizens' attention toward the possibility of public action and of implementation, according to John Forester (1993). When issues lack publics who appreciate the problems addressed, Burby wrote, they tend to be dominated by technical experts and

government officials (2003). These plans tend to be ineffective, he wrote (2003). Residents possess "ordinary knowledge" that helps ensure plans are relevant, Burby wrote (2003), but he acknowledged that some scholars argue there is little empirical evidence to show plans benefit from public involvement (Innes 1998, Hanna 2000).

Planning, therefore, is about deciding whose voice is heard when making decisions "and, ultimately, whose voice should count" (Rydin 2011). Democracy, then, is central to planning issues, Rydin wrote (2011). Increasingly, community development practitioner are organizing the public and building capacity to broaden stakeholder outreach and address diverse needs and demands (Hoch 1994; Burayidi 2003; Rydin 2011).

But there are limitations to consensus building activities, Rydin wrote (2011). While community development practitioners strive to involve as many stakeholders as possible, such engagement tends to involve a relatively small subset of the community (2011). "If the aim is to include as much of the community as possible within a debate, some of these deliberative forums may backfire by appearing rather exclusionary" (2011, 99). Further, Rydin noted, practitioners often hold deliberative sessions without clear links to follow-up action, which can make them appear tokenistic or as ways to appease public opposition (2011).

Despite the criticism that public deliberation may not have a substantive effect on community development, Burby argued that stakeholder involvement can build relationships between otherwise antagonistic groups as well as build support for projects (2003). This echoes some of the issues discussed by Sandercock (2000) and Burayidi (2003) from the context of cultural competence: bridging divides of difference may not give the measurable results that some would like, but are no less important.

Administrative efficiency and representative government have long been arguments against extensive citizen involvement (Burby 2003). Further, government leaders fear that consensus building techniques can undermine their expertise (Hoch 1994). "If people can figure out the want and how to get it on their own, who needs professional planners?" Hoch wrote (1994, 2). He highlights a common dilemma in the "liberal paradox" for planners between exercising technical expertise and listening to the public (1994, 7). Hoch noted that it is ultimately about the way one views planning. The functional approach tends to view power as an instrument rather than a relationship and views planners as experts who advise governing bodies (1994). On the other hand, he wrote, some planners shy away from using consensus-building or persuasive techniques because this means they are manipulating stakeholders or they fear compromises will diminish the quality of planning outcomes (1994).

The next frontiers

As social scientists become more aware of the different dimensions of an individual's identity, scholars are expressing diversity in terms of hybridity, super-diversity and like terms. Doucerain, Dere, and Ryder noted traditional methods of acculturation research are inadequate for measuring the hyper-diversity of modern day cities (2013). The authors gave examples of a migrant with a Chinese mother and Spanish father who grew up in the Philippines or a multilingual Tunisian Jewish immigrant who was educated in Australia (2013). Identities are

becoming more complex and, while the authors were not suggesting simply adding more sub-categories to standard instruments, they argued that scholars need a more nuanced view of diversity and acculturation research. Doucerain, Dere, and Ryder wrote from the context of Toronto and Montreal, but their observations (2013) echo those made by Cheng in her ethnographic study of hybrid communities in West San Gabriel Valley (2013). In one example, Cheng describes the friendship between teenagers Mike Murashige, a Japanese American, and Kiko Chavez, a Mexican American (2013). Mike and Kiko were close despite having separate social circles at school — Mike was in honors classes while Kiko was part of a local gang (2013, 51). Cheng noted their friendship and awareness of their cultural identities as contextualized performances was "unlikely outside the permissive and relatively heterogeneous social space of the neighborhood" (2013, 51).

In her work about "mongrel cities," Sandercock touches on the countless faces the multicultural city has including those of ethnic "minorities" and gay and lesbians who all struggle for recognition and a claim to their own space (2003). Sandercock noted the politics of identity seeks the elimination, conformity, and invisibility of "the Other," while the politics of difference seeks recognition and inclusion (2003, 97-98). "If one dimension of such a cultural pluralism is a concern with reconciling old and new identities by accepting the inevitability of 'hybridity', or 'mongrelization', then another is the commitment to actively contest what is to be valued across diverse cultures," Sandercock wrote (2003, 98). Negotiating new identities then becomes vital to everyday social and spatial practices, Sandercock added, as individuals of difference assert their rights to the city (2003, 98). Citing Ash Amin, Sandercock noted that for all citizens to become equal in a society and be able to contribute to an evolving national identity, the foundations of national belonging need to be transparent and not tied to the dominant cultural ideology (2003, 100).

The idea that planners and community developers should strive for cultural competence in their practice has been extensively explored, as indicated just by the small cross section sampled in this literature review. Scholars have discussed and proposed myriad strategies for working across difference. In subsequent sections, I endeavor to add to this vibrant body of work by drawing from the insights of practitioners who work on projects specifically aimed at bridging and harnessing difference.

Methodology

In this study, I primarily focused on a few case examples, which are case studies examined in somewhat less depth than a traditional case study. I chose to use multiple case examples rather than one case study in hopes of illustrating a range of approaches in different contexts. My goal is to explore the different ways in which planners and community developers are working across difference in various contexts.

As noted by Yin (2014), the case study is an empirical study of a phenomenon using multiple sources of evidence and within a real-life context. This study of cultural competence in urban planning and community development fits that description. In each of these case examples the context is integral to the case (2014).

Each of these cases was selected for a variety of reasons including practicality — accessibility, interviewees' command of English — and the opportunity to learn from them (Stake 1998). In exploring options for case examples, my goal was to select cases that used different approaches and had contrasting community compositions. Further, my hope was to identify cases that used cultural competence practices that are innovative or that go beyond what is typical among practitioners today.

While it is possible to devise ways of quantitatively measuring cultural humility and perceived "levels" of cultural humility, this thesis will focus on the phenomenon primarily through semi-structured interviews with 3 or more key informants. Interviews for each case example were based on the same guiding questions, but were adjusted to fit the context of each case. Prepared interview questions for each case contains various levels of questions (Yin 2014), including those specific to the case or the interviewee and normative questions about cultural humility. Some of the guiding questions for the study include:

- What does cultural humility mean in planning and community development?
- How are planners and community developers innovatively including cultural humility in their practice?
- How sustainable are practices of cultural humility?
- How can we ensure such practices are substantive?
- What is the level of responsiveness among rooted (anchor) institutions compared to the responsiveness of municipalities?
- Can cultural humility be codified?
- Why should planners and community developers strive to engage difference? Why do we need difference?
- How can communities be proactive rather than reactive?
- Who drives cultural engagement programs and policies? What effects do they have?

Triangulation, or the use of different sources, can improve the quality of a study (Yin 2014) and this thesis triangulated both by informants (theory triangulation) — interviewing people involved in different aspects of the program or holding different positions — and also relied on extant evidence on each case (data triangulation) — such as news articles, print

materials, policy documents, academic studies, and others.

Regarding recruitment of interviewees, I recruited key informants either through existing points of contact or through cold-calls and e-mails. Because the interview questions focus on interviewees' opinions and expertise, I have chosen not to anonymize the interviews. This, however, raises concerns for protecting the identities of any interviewees who wish to be de-identified. With such a small sample, it would likely be difficult to give assurances of anonymity. In such cases, I will describe their comments in generalized terms rather than attributing them to an interviewee. Further, to ensure interviewees have the opportunity to indicate any comments they have concerns about, I included a review of the consent protocol at the end of each interview and a chance for them to note any comments they do not want directly attributed to them (Kaiser 2009).

Once the data were collected, I attempted to build an explanation of cultural competence by examining the different communities (Yin 2014, 148-149). Further, I attempted to draw some common themes from the cases through qualitative coding and tabulation. These themes formed the basis of my recommendations. I did not, however, choose to draw comparisons between the cases or generalizations from them. Each of these cases has intrinsic interest (Stake 1998) and the goal is to learn from each of these case studies in their unique contexts rather than to analyze their representativeness of the phenomenon. This thesis can be viewed as a pilot for a process evaluation – one that can guide the design for a more comprehensive process evaluation of each of the projects described in the case examples.

Further, each of the programs in these cases tackles a different facet of culture (for which the definition used in this paper is explained in the Literature Review). It likely would not be productive to compare case studies with such different contexts and such different areas of focus.

Case examples

Amplifying Community Voices - University of Venda, South Africa

In a region of immense diversity, where the history of apartheid left an indelible mark on the physical and social landscapes, a university program is working to empower South African communities by creating a platform for residents to work across difference. In 2006, faculty members at the University of Venda created Amplifying Community Voices (ACV) in response to poor civic participation and lack of community ownership of development projects (Francis and Kabiti 2017, 60).

The apartheid system of segregation, while South Africa was under white minority rule, spatially confined the Black population to areas known as the Bantustans (Francis and Kabiti 2017). Under the 1950 Group Areas Act, races were divided with buffers of natural formations or infrastructure, from railroads to ridges (Bollens 2002). Since the 1994 national democratic elections brought the Black African National Congress party and Nelson Mandela to power, equity-based planning systems have attempted — with mixed success — to mend the physical divisions the apartheid worked to maintain (2002). But the apartheid system's insidious legacy runs deep; some attribute government dependency to this system and note the attempts to legislate a culture where the "people shall govern" have not necessarily been embraced or yielded results (Francis and Kabiti 2017). Poverty, underemployment, and other social issues continue to mar the region, particularly rural communities (2017).

The Amplifying Community Voices program is designed to facilitate collective decision-making, particularly in rural communities, and makes a concerted effort to take an age- and gender-sensitive approach (Francis and Kabiti 2017, 61). Community members aged seven and older are invited to the ACV workshops (2017). The theory of change is that empowering more groups of "difference" to engage in community development will produce decisions that are more relevant to residents' lives and improve social cohesion (2017). Workshops can address an array of issues such as poverty, water shortages, crime, teenage pregnancy, immigration, and local heritage.

For this case example, I conducted semi-structured interviews with Hlekani Kabiti, Chief Samuel Njhakanjhaka, and Rosemary Mufamadi. Some of the content from those interviews is included below.

On the ground

The main steps for Amplifying Community Voices work in a community are preparation, deliberative workshops, then follow up on next steps. Despite the relatively simple overall model, the process at the ground level is more intricate.

Before conducting workshops, program representatives spend considerable time on "social preparation" (Francis and Kabiti 2017). This involves securing buy-in and permission from different levels of leadership — including traditional leaders and elected officials — identifying issues, and developing implementation plans with those leaders (2017). The program representatives then recruit several "foot soldiers" from the community who are trained in facilitating collective decision-making, community engagement issues, protocols for development in their communities, and appreciation of local culture (2017). Program representatives then conduct outreach over a range of platforms — notices at community water collection points, announcements at meetings, letters to key community members, posts on social media, and so on — to mobilize as many people to these meetings as possible (2017).

ACV representatives only bring workshops to communities where they have received permission to go. While this may preclude some communities where leaders are less amenable to the practice and perhaps need it, Kabiti said it may not be prudent to circumvent this requirement. "It's unfortunate, but there's no way you can get in (a community) without the
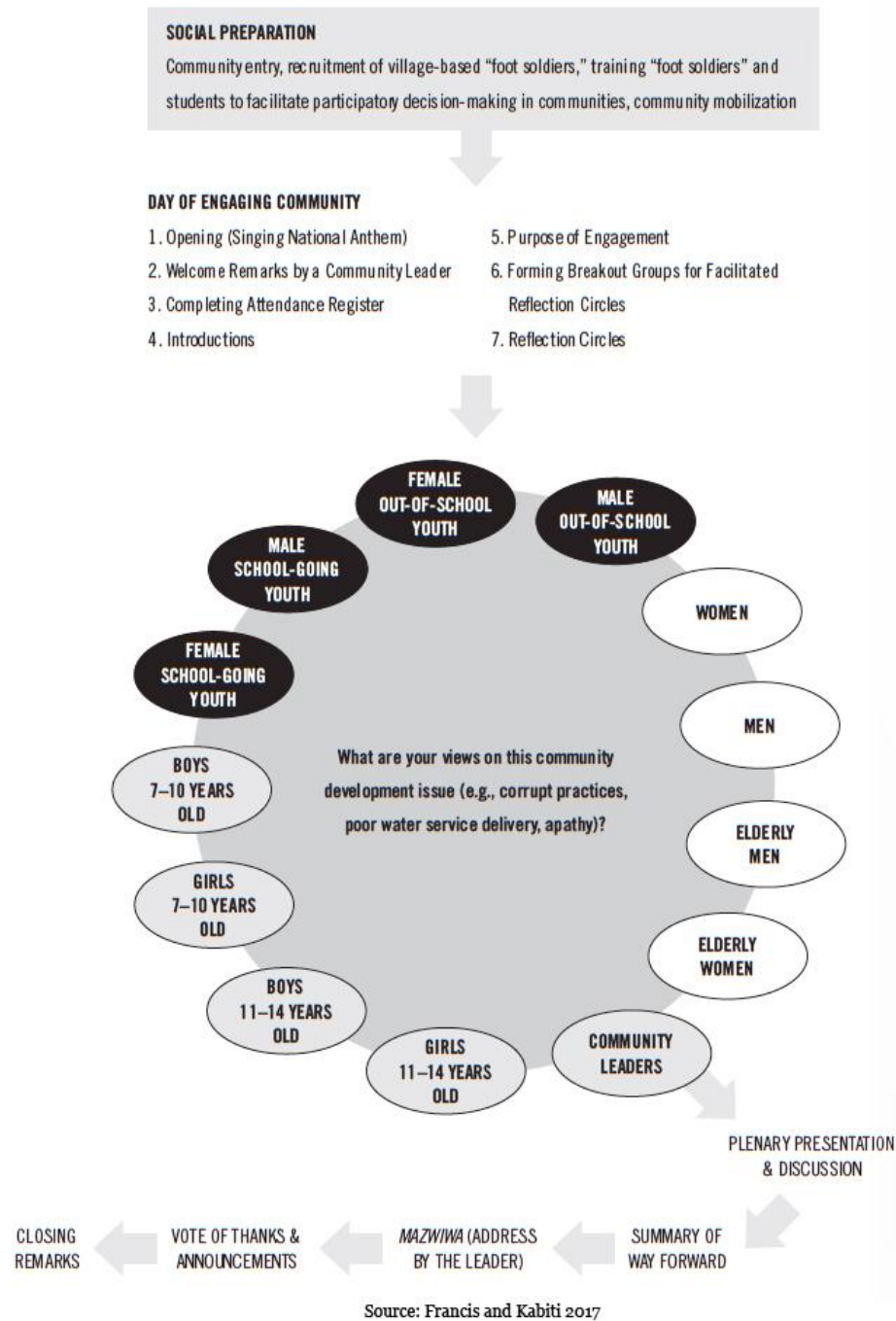
leaders' approval," she said. Some leaders have declined for ACV representatives to conduct workshops at their communities, Kabiti said, but buy-in from different communities has increased as word of the methodology has spread. "You must go to the community leaders," Chief Njhakanjhaka said. In failing to do so, "even if it's something good, you might develop negative relationships." He added that community leaders can help encourage their subjects to participate in programs they are in favor of.

Intergenerational deliberation is key to Amplifying Community Voices (Francis and Kabiti 2017). Deliberation occurs through workshops, debates, and "reflection circles" — a modified focus group where facilitators are trained to mitigate power imbalances (2017, 64). Typically, program leaders will break out small reflection circles by gender, age, or position to discuss the issue at hand (2017). For instance, there can be groups of elderly women, of boys aged 7 to 10, of female out-of-school youth, or of community leaders (2017, 62). Dividing people into smaller break-out groups ensures individual voices are not lost in a large group discussion, Kabiti said. Grouping people by gender, age, and education level helps focus the discussion on common perspectives. "People view development differently," Kabiti said, noting that a child may define development as more parks and playgrounds, while the youth may say it is graduating and finding employment, and a senior might say healthcare is a priority in development. "We make sure (individual) views and voices are pulled out," she said.

Each reflection circle typically has a scribe and a reporter, who will help summarize the discussion to the larger group of participants, said Kabiti, who served as chairperson and deputy chairperson of the Amplifying Community Voices Students Association on different years. The facilitators, typically students, help explain the process and balance the discussion so it is not dominated by only a few. Facilitators tend to have some guiding questions, Kabiti said, but try to allow participants to drive the conversation. Participants are encouraged to speak freely and express themselves in whatever languages they feel comfortable in and the university team arranges for translators if necessary.

"(The facilitators) are balancing between neglecting and overemphasizing their presence," she said. Findings from these deliberations are typically aggregated by the students, who bring results back during subsequent meetings for the community to affirm or disagree with the findings and, later, to devise next steps and identify responsibilities for community members. While the process appears simple, one issue can be deliberated over months of meetings. Depending on the topic of discussion, workshops can look different than the typically prescribed model. Mufamadi said that at times facilitators will lead games or encourage participants to draw maps of their communities. In some instances, Kabiti said, where the topic is the celebration of a community holiday, there are not necessarily formal "next steps" because the event itself is the goal — to create social cohesion and share traditions and practices with the younger generation. Typically, however, workshops can tackle issues from poverty and water shortages, to crime, immigration, and teenage pregnancy. Participants are encouraged to dig into what they think are the causes of problems and who they think is responsible for carrying out solutions.

Figure 1. Reflection Circles Depicting Various Interest Groups

SOCIAL PREPARATION

Community entry, recruitment of village-based "foot soldiers," training "foot soldiers" and students to facilitate participatory decision-making in communities, community mobilization

DAY OF ENGAGING COMMUNITY

1. Opening (Singing National Anthem)
2. Welcome Remarks by a Community Leader
3. Completing Attendance Register
4. Introductions
5. Purpose of Engagement
6. Forming Breakout Groups for Facilitated Reflection Circles
7. Reflection Circles

FEMALE OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

MALE OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

MALE SCHOOL-GOING YOUTH

WOMEN

FEMALE SCHOOL-GOING YOUTH

MEN

BOYS 7–10 YEARS OLD

What are your views on this community development issue (e.g., corrupt practices, poor water service delivery, apathy)?

ELDERLY MEN

GIRLS 7–10 YEARS OLD

ELDERLY WOMEN

BOYS 11–14 YEARS OLD

GIRLS 11–14 YEARS OLD

COMMUNITY LEADERS

PLENARY PRESENTATION & DISCUSSION

CLOSING REMARKS ← VOTE OF THANKS & ANNOUNCEMENTS ← *MAZWIWA* (ADDRESS BY THE LEADER) ← SUMMARY OF WAY FORWARD

Source: Francis and Kabiti 2017

"We dig down into the needs of the community ... we get the needs of different groups," said Mufamadi. "Then we come and consolidate. From there, we come up with projects to solve their needs. ... We come up with a way how the project can be funded and how we can do it at a community level." Mufamadi was a councillor of Ward 29, or Tshakhuma, in Makhado Municipality while she was involved in the program from around 2007 to 2011. Tshakhuma, a

community of 22,000 to 23,000, is largely rural and surrounded by farmland, but many community members are professionals employed as teachers, nurses, or doctors, said Mufamadi who is herself a retired teacher.

She recalls a project that emerged after the youth at an ACV meeting said they needed a place to play soccer. The participants devised a project and identified people to lay out the playing field. From this simple project, the community devised further ideas to involve different groups in the community. "We come up with things like soccer and cultural events. We involved boys, girls, grannies," Mufamadi said. The "grannies" soccer team helped meet a need to increase activity among senior women in the community. Eventually, the soccer events expanded to a competition between wards, which boosted "socializing and social cohesion," Mufamadi said. "We were meeting other wards and sharing different problems ... and take ideas from others."

Because the ideas spring from the community and residents are charged with carrying out next steps, it creates a sense of collective ownership of these decisions and projects, said Chief Njhakanjhaka. "It's the will of the people," he said, "It's better than if (outsiders) impose their will on the community."

In its early stages, the program began in several wards of the Makhado Municipality. It has since grown, after receiving requests to expand the program, to more than 90 villages in the Makhado, Mutale, and Thulamela municipalities (Francis and Kabiti 2017).

Expanding to so many communities is no small feat, Kabiti said, in a country with 11 officially recognized languages. Even after almost 10 years working with the program Kabiti, who is originally from an urban community in Zimbabwe, will still encounter cultural blunders occasionally. "You can never grasp the final level (of understanding)," Kabiti said, "It takes living with the community to fully understand."

On one occasion, Kabiti was involved in celebrations for Heritage Day at a community. She had a key role at the event and was asked to greet leaders in the traditional way — by lying on the ground. "When I did, they said, 'This is insulting because you're wearing pants," Kabiti said. She apologized and community members understood she meant no offense by it.

But not all cultural gaffes result in such amicable terms. In a written account, Kabiti recalled an occasion when students were threatened by community members and driven out of the community during what was intended to be a public feedback session after four months of workshops (Francis and Kabiti 2017). A group of young men argued that the university students, who did not speak the local language, hijacked the workshop and demanded they erase their photographs and put their cameras away, despite the community's previous consent to them. "I whispered to my colleagues that we had to hold our peace and leave with our sanity and dignity intact. We quietly walked away, our proverbial tails tucked between our legs" (2017, 58). To this day, Kabiti said, she is unsure what provoked such a response.

Institution as catalyst

While many South African are accustomed to managing difference, the interviewees agreed that the university's leadership of this project helped galvanize action in the community. After her term as ward councillor ended in 2011, Mufamadi said the new batch of councillors were not interested in the ACV methodology and the program was dropped in Tshakhuma. "People ask me, 'When is the university going to come back to us?'" Mufamadi said. Without the university, and without buy-in from the leadership, this program cannot operate in a community, she said.

Chief Njhakanjhaka noted similarly that the university brought the approach and the facilitation methodology, which would likely not have arisen from within his namesake community, Njhakanjhaka, on its own. Bringing community members together and encouraging dialogue has been very helpful, Chief Njhakanjhaka said. "The university has an important role in gathering the community," Kabiti said. "The communities themselves need to play a more active role." Kabiti noted that one way for communities to sustain such practices even after the university team leaves is by identifying leaders who are passionate about development and about inclusive decision-making processes who can "spread their fire." The main challenge to that, she said, is creating incentives for people to take up that mantle.

Mufamadi noted that while many residents lament that the university program is no longer operating in their community, she has noticed a change in the way residents respond to development and community issues. "Before the program, people couldn't understand the way community (works)," she said. "They mostly blame the municipality for not doing anything. Every time, complaining. ... After they engaged (using the ACV approach) they started to realize the way of doing things. They debate. It's changed the mindset of community members." Instead of blaming, Mufamadi said residents will now talk to their ward councillors and they understand the process a development has to undergo. "Now they know it's not only the municipality, they can do something for themselves," she said.

Further, the university-led program has helped some participants build their confidence. At the workshops, representatives from each break-out group — youth, elderly women, and others — were asked to share their ideas with the entire gathering. Some have gone on to start their own businesses, Mufamadi said. "We opened up their minds," she said. Often, the ACV programs help reveal hidden talents and ideas from people who never had the opportunity to express themselves, Chief Njhakanjhaka said. In essence, the program has empowered some in the community to effect change on their own, "You cannot develop people. People can develop themselves," said Chief Njhakanjhaka. "They empower our people with understanding of our surroundings ... Change is in their hands."

Bridging divides

Difference cuts many ways in a region as diverse as South Africa. The two dominant ethnic groups and languages in the communities ACV reaches are Venda and Tsonga, Kabiti said. In Njhakanjhaka, a community of 17 villages and about 28,000 residents, the differences between the majority Tsonga and minority Venda ethnic groups are just one way to look at it, said Chief Njhakanjhaka. The community is an urban-rural community with both educated

professionals and agrarian workers, he said. "Naturally, there are differences. We're able to manage those differences," Chief Njhakanjhaka said.

The Amplifying Community Voices program also helped break down some of the institutional divides that existed in the community before, Mufamadi said. The Municipal Structure Act of 1998 enabled the establishment of municipalities in South Africa, which provide services to communities. Many communities have retained their traditional forms of leadership, who are charged with protecting their communities from exploitation and overseeing any issues that affect their kingdom, said Chief Njhakanjhaka, who is an ex officio member of the municipal council. The title of chief is passed through generations and, while the roles of elected leaders and traditional leaders are not necessarily the same, there can be an inevitable butting of heads. The roles of South African municipal and traditional leaders are not well defined, Kabiti said, so leaders often end up fighting over development decisions. "Before (ACV), when you see a king or a chief … a commoner cannot approach them," Mufamadi said, regarding Tshakhuma traditional leaders. "Now we're used to sitting with them and discussing issues. We broke the barrier."

Interviewees seem to concur that Amplifying Community Voices bridges difference primarily through dialogue and fostering respect among participants. "On one side, it's easy to work with people of different cultural backgrounds," Kabiti said, "But it's about tolerating (differences) … each and every person is important and treated with respect." ACV helped develop those principles of tolerance and mutual respect among communities through simple gestures like allowing participants to express themselves in their own languages and ensuring minority or marginalized voices are heard. "Conflicts are there by nature," Chief Njhakanjhaka said. "But the issue is how to deal with it."

Amplifying Community Voices establishes the principle that development should be responsive — or at least acceptable — to all people it touches, Kabiti said. It should be immaterial how someone is born or raised, Chief Njhakanjhaka said. "When I see a white person, I see a sister," he said. "We are brought up differently, but we're bound to live together." As a leader, Mufamadi said working with people different than herself means trying to understand things from their unique perspectives. "As an individual, I'm not on this earth on my own," she said. "I can lead if I listen to the people around me."

Results

Table 1: What are strategies does ACV use to work across difference? (Open coding)

Issue	Comments
Empowerment/community ownership	36
Collaboration	10
University as facilitator/catalyst	22
Managing power	6
Inclusion	6
Recognition/exposure to difference	31
Tolerance	8
Common ground/unification	14

Above is a summary of tabulated results from qualitative coding of interviews for this case example. The full table of results is included in the appendix. I used an open coding of the raw interview transcripts and tabulated all the statements made in reference to the above question: What strategies does ACV use to work across difference?

The tabulated results are discussed in more detail in the discussion section of this thesis. Some themes seem to immediately stand out just by glancing at a summary of the results, but it is important to note the small sample size and that further study would be required to analyze the sentiments of ACV stakeholders.

Weibo and multilingual outreach - California, United States

The face of American cities and suburbs are undergoing and unmistakable transformation. As noted previously, globalization and the increase of international movement have drawn the spotlight on translocal communities (Main and Sandoval 2015). Main and Sandoval describe translocalism as a nuanced way of analyzing current forms of global mobility, which offers a lens for thinking about socioeconomic relationships between "sending" and "receiving" communities (2015, 73). "Translocal placemaking is a process of immigrants' exerting agency on their locality (via conflict, difference, negotiation)" Main and Sandoval wrote, and use placemaking as a form of cross-cultural learning, creating meaning, and building identities (2015, 73). In a comparative study of Sydney and Brisbane, Australia, Dunn and Ip observed that transnationalism of a migrant group can be augmented or tempered by the place, but they also asserted "migrants are not prisoners of these contexts — they are active fashioners of these transnational nodes" (2008, 96).

Many California communities have their own unique stories of transformation since the 1960s. Immigration seems to occur in pockets. Irvine, for instance, has seen an increase in Asians since the 1960s but not the same increase of Latinas/os, unlike other communities in Orange County (Piggot 2012). "The varying levels of cultural and economic capital that different immigrant groups have brought with them to the United States have melded with pre-existing class distinctions," Piggot wrote, citing sociologist Kristen Maher (2012, 63). Piggot notes that while increased global movement has made the U.S. a more tolerant society, the trends also have created new spatial and class divisions (2012, 63).

While incoming groups may meld spatially with existing classes, learning to live alongside one another is a markedly different challenge and no two communities have the same experience. Lung-Amam writes about the tensions in Fremont over McMansions predominantly owned by elite Asian-American families who were drawn to the area by the Silicon Valley tech boom in the 1990s (2013). While some residents were concerned about preserving historically accepted aesthetics, Asian American families desired homes that accommodate intergenerational living and that could serve as investments for future generations (2013). In Irvine, Piggot wrote that increasing populations of Asian students influenced the Irvine Unified School District's decision to partner with the Orange County Japan Business Association to devise a curriculum about Japanese culture, economy, and its impact on Irvine's tech industry;

the creation of a Mandarin program; and a teachers' exchange trip to Hangzhou, China (2012). Cheng writes about the emergence of hybrid communities in West San Gabriel Valley, where different immigrant groups simultaneously experience friction and conviviality towards their fellow immigrants (2013, 60). The choice to remain in the area has developed in some a hybrid identity and produced a "new polyethnic majority" (2013, 60).

In this backdrop of shifting landscapes, it seems natural that public agencies in the region are beginning to recognize a need to make concerted efforts to work with the non-dominant cultures in their communities. In 2013 the Alhambra Police Department became the first U.S. law enforcement agency to create its own account on Weibo — a Chinese microblogging website — as one effort to connect with the Chinese-speaking members of its community (Vuong 2013). Since then, other police departments and some cities in the region began to launch their own accounts (Berenstein Rojas 2015).

For this case example, I conducted interviews with Mark Yokoyama, Scott Koll, and Cartier Lee.

Crossing linguistic and geographic divides

The impetus for the Alhambra Police Department (APD) to launch its Weibo account in 2013 was, quite simply, demographics and language, said City Manager Mark Yokoyama, who was police chief at the the time of the launch. The police department recognized its communication with the Chinese community, which made up more than half the population, needed improvement, Yokoyama said. "There were a lot of reasons, but language was a big one," he said. The department decided to try Weibo, which was one piece of a bigger push for the department to increase efforts in social media and in multilingual outreach.

Police officers recognized some residents who did not speak English well could find law enforcement intimidating and decide not to call in even when they should, Yokoyama said. He added that some members of the older generations could also come from backgrounds where they were conditioned not to trust police or government and therefore limit their civic engagement. Koll was stunned when some focus group participants noted that Chinese residents often associate police with bribes and corruption, and noted that this could explain in part the mistrust some Chinese residents feel toward police. "10 to 15 years ago, China was pretty much a police state. The last generation (grew up in) a totally different climate than their kids will," said Cartier Lee, a police specialist at the San Leandro Police Department (SLPD), "But kids will hear what their parents tell them ... after a while they get scared of law enforcement." Lee, 55, who came from Hong Kong to the U.S. for high school, said the current generation of Hong Kongers seem much less wary of government than their forbears. "The new generation is very vocal. They have a cocoon life," Lee said, referring to the Occupy movements and the Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong. "They're not afraid to react or respond. It's not good."

After the APD's Weibo efforts began to gain traction, the SLPD launched the first Weibo account for a Northern California law enforcement agency. Lee, who had been on the Chief's Advisory Board for about three years by then, volunteered to manage the account. Initially, Lee began by simply translating and re-posting what the police department had already posted on its other social media platforms. "It was more related to public notice ... police departments and

public agencies don't necessarily interact (with followers)," Lee said, "But Weibo is a blog. The best way to manage it is to respond if we see fit." Lee began responding and interacting with followers, unless they were being provocative. This direct interaction appeared to yield more followers — within weeks the account had 10,000 followers. "We were pretty well satisfied," Lee said, noting that the APD account has about 40,000 followers. But the numbers have continued to grow for the SLPD account, which now has more than 230,000 followers.

Since Lee's involvement with the SLPD Weibo project, the department has brought in an international college student from Beijing, and has received a $75,000 grant in 2015 from the U.S. Department of Justice to further explore the project and develop a toolbox that can contribute to best practices in community policing. The grant provided some compensation for Lee and the college intern and enabled the SLPD Weibo outreach team to invest more in the project. Scott Koll, police business manager, said he has also conducted several focus groups with audience members of the SLPD Weibo to gather insights on how they like to receive information and what they think are the best ways to connect with law enforcement. "We're trying to get better," Koll said.
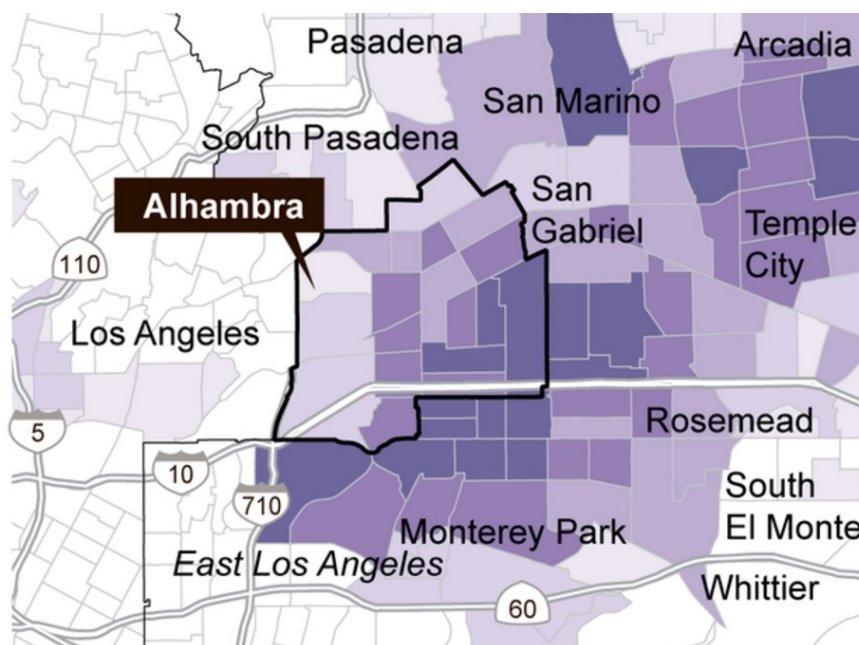

Alhambra's Chinese population

Chinese percent of population by census tract

- 0-10%
- 10-20%
- 20-30%
- 30-40%
- 40-50%
- More than 50%
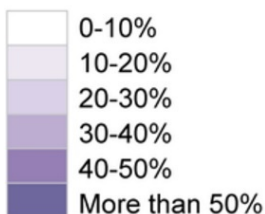
Based on 2010 census respondents who identified as Chinese or Chinese and another race/ethnicity.

Source: Census Bureau

Image source: Shyong 2014

Sandra Poindexter and Thomas Suh Lauder / @latimesgraphics

Yokoyama reported similar efforts at the Alhambra police department — which he estimates is about half Hispanic, about 13 to 15 percent Asian and the remainder white — and noted that Chinese speaking Weibo managers reproduce content from other social media platforms to Weibo and respond to questions or comments. While there is no direct evidence that this initiative has helped the department better ensure public safety, Yokoyama said, it seems to have expanded their reach. "In many instances, people reported tips and crimes who are not on Facebook and we wouldn't have gotten it otherwise," Yokoyama said. Chinese speaking residents also now have a platform to express concerns about traffic calming measures in neighborhoods and ask questions about public safety when they would not have known who to ask previously, he said. "Their questions might be dumb or not important to us, but it's

important to them," Lee said, noting that this role requires patience in dealing with both the public safety institutional culture and the diverse cultures of different Chinese speaking communities.

While the motivation for this project was to expand engagement locally, the platform has expanded broadened connections far beyond the local community. Both agencies acknowledged the large numbers of followers likely only capture a segment of their residents and many followers are living in China or other places. Alhambra currently is estimated to have about 85,500 people, 53 percent of which are Asian alone, while San Leandro has an estimated population of about 90,700, with 30 percent Asian alone (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). Lee said these figures likely don't account for transient populations, such as students. Further, he said, many who interact with them are international residents or law enforcement agencies. "It's attractive to me that we've opened the channel of communication with overseas (entities)," Lee said. "At first, no (Chinese) police agency would follow us," perhaps because they were wary of interacting with an American government entity. That was until a couple of years ago, when Lee learned from a follower that a traffic officer in China was dying of cancer. "I went to (our) police department and had a lot of well-wishers sign a 'Get well soon' messages and sent them to her on Weibo," Lee said. The story struck a chord: local police chiefs shared it on their personal Twitter and Facebook accounts; other U.S. public safety agencies sent good wishes and pictures to the SLPD team; Lee even heard from police departments in England and Canada. "The lady ended up passing away, but she got international well-wishes," Lee said. Similarly, when local police Captain Edward Tracey was diagnosed with cancer, the story gained a lot of traction internationally, Koll said. "We were like sister cities trading stories of hope, sharing emotions (over) the life of someone you adore and respect," he said. These experiences brought about very real connections between entities and people who live across the world from each other and have never met, Koll said.

While international connections are positive, Lee noted the primary goal still is to reach the Chinese speaking residents of San Leandro. Should there be an attack or a large scale emergency, Lee said, the Chinese community will not likely receive Nixle alerts or notifications. "They probably don't even sign up," he said. He estimated Weibo probably reaches about 60 to 70 percent of the local Chinese speaking community, but Lee's goal is 100 percent participation. A downside of using Weibo as a platform, Koll noted, is its poor analytics. "It doesn't track anything," Koll said. The SLPD team did pay the $9,000 per year fee for Weibo's analytics and discovered the information was not useful, bringing department leadership to ask why they paid for such a service. Koll added that, for most local governments without designated grant funds, $9,000 per year for analytics is a deal-breaker. Since then, the team hired a firm to help it analyze where its followers are based, but this is an inefficient process where the firm has to analyze users one-by-one, Koll said. "It's a design flaw of the platform," he said. "Without (those analytics), you lose the ability to understand who you're talking to, what times of the day (they log in)." Platforms such as Facebook provide a lot of useful analytics on these questions, Koll said, but Weibo's data is largely unhelpful. "We're limited in our ability to hone our strategy," he said. "They told us they're working on it, but we've been doing this for three years and they've been saying this for three years," he said. It is not Weibo's fault, Koll said, but he warned other government entities to be mindful of such issues when they begin using new media platforms.

Yokoyama echoed the sentiments from the San Leandro team and noted that the Alhambra team must use other measures to assess reach. "I'd like to say we're reach all elements of the Chinese community, but that's not accurate," he said. Anecdotally, Yokoyama said, it seems the Weibo audience is usually in the 25-year-old range or older and many of the account's audience appears to be middle-aged, while platforms like WeChat are used by younger audiences. Yokoyama has been able to see some of the results outside of the platform, however, noting that since the department began using Weibo attendance at open houses have increased. About 4,000 people attended a recent open house event, Yokoyama said, compared to the 200 people who showed up at the first open house after the launch of Alhambra's Weibo and WeChat accounts. Again, anecdotally, Yokoyama said this was thanks in part to Weibo followers informing older generation family members, the increased engagement was encouraging. "In our talks, most people were saying, 'We got the message to come,'" Yokoyama said. Many attendees, who had never set foot in a police department before, had the opportunity to meet officers and tour the department. During a time of police mistrust, "this (effort) was not primarily to overcome the language barrier; we wanted to have the Chinese community have trust in the police department," Yokoyama said. "That's our largest population. We want to get our story (across). Open the lines of communication."

The platform has also opened doors for education on different sides. Interviewees from both communities said the cities have begun to include traditional Chinese celebrations such as Chinese New Year and Mid-Autumn Festival in their slate of community events. Some newly immigrated Chinese residents also use Weibo as a platform to ask questions about public safety in the U.S. "If I get a ticket, what do I do? They have no idea. If I don't agree with the ticket, what do I do?" Lee said. "There were a couple times I actually when to the police department with a Weibo follower and the police officer would go through and help them understand what they've done and what the laws say." In one case a follower violated a traffic law unknowingly and, following a conversation at the police department, the officer changed the citation to a warning, Lee said.

But not all the Weibo project experiences were victories. With increased outreach via Weibo comes all the same potential challenges and blunders that occur with other social media platforms. Koll recalled one instance when the college intern took things a step too far when she shared a tabloid-style story about a celebrity from China would got in trouble. "It was like TMZ on San Leandro Police Department," Koll said with a laugh. "We had to hit the brakes." The department, including staff who were not involved with the Weibo project, received a lot of negative feedback, Koll said. The team treated it as a learning opportunity, Koll said, "When you approach an issue with humility, people forgive you very quickly." Some other city staff were very upset over this incident, Koll said, but he noted that all government-related social media outreach is a learning process and media managers need to take risks to learn. All interviewees noted the traditional government agency approach to social media outreach is simply to put out messages and not to interact with their audience. "On Facebook, when someone comment, even if it's a positive comment, they won't even hit 'Like.' It's department policy," Lee said. Interviewees also agreed that a more interactive, "three-dimensional" approach appears to yield more engagement and better relationships with community members, but it's a balancing act. "My responses are typically very neutral with a hint of law enforcement on the side. ... I'm not a

worn officer, but I'm speaking for all the sworn officers," Lee said. "There's a method to the madness. Be brave, be bold," Koll said. "We're going to get criticism no matter what we do."

Challenging institutional culture

While the goal of the Weibo initiative was to bridge the linguistic and sociocultural differences between the police agencies and their Chinese community members, the interviewees all seemed to find the institutional culture was the more challenging difference to resolve.

Lee admitted he is afforded more flexibility than most people who manage a government agency's social media account. "I was yielded more freedom than even the police department's Public Information Officer," Lee said. Initially, Lee was constantly checking in with department leadership before he posted anything. Now that he trusts his own instincts more, Lee said he is grateful for the trust he has gained from the department. "Sometimes I have to be in complete disagreement and (in an) argument with the police chief," Lee said. He often will butt heads with department leadership over an approach he thinks is culturally correct and will help the department in the long term, while the chief is concerned about the department's image. "They're trained as a unit that follows orders," Lee said, and noted that this iterative and interactive approach is outside of law enforcement's comfort zone. "To manage (social media) is not hard, but to manage it the way we think it should be managed is very challenging," Lee said. Koll echoed these sentiments and noted that this risk averse culture could contribute to public perception that government is not transparent. "The minute they smell even a hint of controversy … They really want to sanitize it," Koll said. "It comes off as insincere. It turns into apathy." Koll added that in this age of digital media and information saturation, government agencies also need to get past the traditional mindset that they can just put information out and assume audiences will see it. "That's egocentric … It's an inherent flaw: you expect people to come to you," Koll said. "You can put out the word, but it doesn't mean anyone cares." Lee is doubtful that other law enforcement social media managers are given as much flexibility as he is by SLPD. "As a blogger, I often need to think outside the box. The law enforcement box is very small. Personally, I think it needs to be changed, but it's not for me to decide," he said. "In all of the U.S. there's only one lucky Cartier Lee."

In addition to the risk averse culture of government agencies, Koll noted that it is also a challenge for government to recognize the importance of dedicating resources to outreach. Koll, who also manages budgets for the department, said he recognizes local governments have myriad competing priorities for funds and it is more challenging to justify funding social media outreach over aging infrastructure. However, Koll found it problematic that local governments tend to view outreach as an ancillary assignment for each individual departments. "It's not very effective. What sort of message does that leave you with? It looks disjointed and haphazard," Koll said. "A single resident is going to get six different messages. We assume they'll put the whole thing together." Further, Koll noted that agencies tend not to recognize that without a staff member dedicated entirely to managing social media, they are likely to lose their audience. "You literally need another me: a volunteer who's willing to invest the time to create a community," Lee said.

The DOJ grant has enabled the SLPD to see what is possible with dedicated funds towards a social media outreach project, but the grant will end in the summer of 2017. Because of limited funds, Koll is unsure whether the project will be able to sustain itself beyond the conclusion of the grant. "My real concern is that I don't have a sustainable model," Koll said. True sustainability in cross-cultural outreach is difficult, Yokoyama said, and noted that it needs to be a top-down vision. "It starts with the police chief as the leader of the organization and sets the tone below," he said. The culture of embracing difference and open communication should ideally flow through the organization and through hiring practices, he said, but "you can't change the culture in the police department overnight. You need the right people in the right place."

Interviewees agreed that social media is just one piece of engagement and that the goal should be to listen and strive for mutual understanding. "Engagement is more than the language you speak," Koll said. If people feel they are heard by their governments, "all these protests wouldn't happen," Lee said. During waves of Black Lives Matter protests in neighboring Oakland, Lee said San Leandro had none despite its relative racial and ethnic diversity and its proximity to the Oakland protests. "I'd like to believe the reason, in part, is the San Leandro Police Department is (making) the effort to reach out to minorities and answering questions," Lee said.

When Lee heard that the SLPD was receiving a grant from the DOJ to expand its Weibo efforts, he was surprised. This move indicates law enforcement's growing priority to connect with communities through current platforms, Lee said, and he hopes the SLPD Weibo project can offer other agencies a toolbox in social media outreach that is replicable for other platforms and other contexts as well. "We really did tackle San Leandro and the Chinese community. We can teach something valuable," Koll said. In a time of rapid change, "people are a lot more mobile. As a public agency ... you need to serve certain needs," Lee said. "You need to understand differences and diversities. (Your community members) are like customers. If you fail to hear your consumer, it does not matter how good your product is." Similarly, Yokoyama noted that while the focus has been on outreach through Weibo, the platform is just a medium for engagement. Los Angeles County is undergoing rapid gentrification, Yokoyama said, and in 20 or 30 years the demographic could look completely different and the goal may be to engage an entirely different cultural community. "We have to be flexible," Yokoyama said. With growing diversity, Koll worries that this could present a further problem for government agencies with limited resources. "If you find someone who speaks English, Cantonese, and Spanish and you hire them, then you're in luck. But the chances of that are low. You need three people — therein lies the problem," Koll said. Dedicating more resources to engage just one cultural group raises questions about equity, but governments are unlikely to have the resources to cover all groups. Lee hopes to expand SLPD's reach to Chinese social media platform WeChat and is helping the department translate its website to Chinese. While it would be beneficial to translate it to Spanish, Lee said, that would require additional time and resources. Lee's focus is on the Chinese population and his skillsets allow him to reach them. "The rest of the people are out of my reach. I don't know what their needs are," he said, but he hopes the department can find the resources to engage with other cultural communities in San Leandro. "The moral of the story is ... engagement means being present, and frequently, but there's a cost," Koll said.

Results

*Table 2: What issues were addressed that made this approach effective? (Open coding)*

Issue	Comments
Language	15
Education	9
Managing difference/tolerance	13
Engagement	53
Generational awareness	11
Trust	16
Organizational culture	52
Mirroring/understanding community	19
Resources	25
Adaptability	5
Difference as asset	2

The above is a summary of tabulated results from qualitative coding of the interviews from this case study. The full table of results can be found in the appendix. The results clearly echo some of the most emphatic comments made and described earlier in this paper, regarding the importance of engagement and organizational culture.

The question listed above, what issues were addressed that made this approach effective, is slightly different than the one in the previous case. Through qualitative coding, it appeared many statements were made in reference to organizational culture and some regarding resources. These issues did not necessarily contribute to the Weibo project teams' work and effectiveness, but they were a key component to the effectiveness of the projects.

Salem Point Neighborhood Vision and Action Plan - Salem, Massachusetts, United States

The Point neighborhood sits on the north of the waterfront in Salem, Massachusetts, a popular city among visitors. The Point is unique, however, in several aspects. The neighborhood is the densest in Salem, with about 33 people per acre compared to the city average of 8 people per acre (Metropolitan Area Planning Council 2013). Further, residents of the Point tend to be younger and more ethnically diverse than the remainder of Salem. At the time of the vision plan 32 percent of Point residents were 19 and younger compared to the 23 percent who were 19 and younger in all of Salem; 63 percent of the Point residents were non-white while the city overall was 75 percent white (2013). The Point also had large immigrant communities, particularly from the Dominican Republic, Central and South America, Africa, and Asia. Almost double the percentage of households meeting federal poverty guidelines than the city overall — 20 percent compared to Salem's 11 percent (2013).
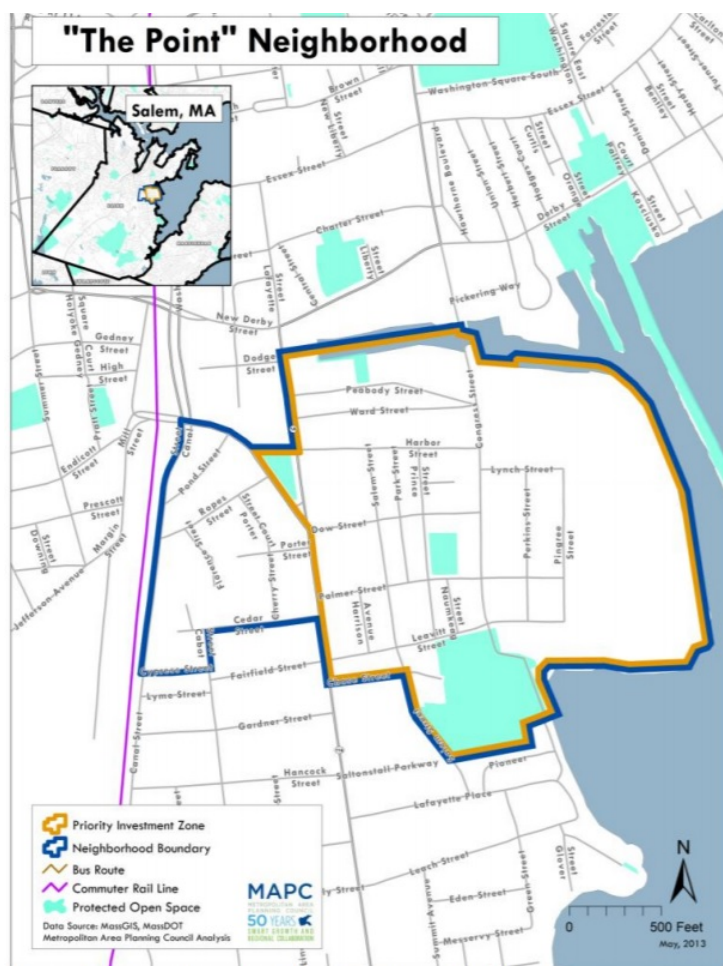
Source: Metropolitan Area Planning Council 2013

A gateway city, Salem is no stranger to difference and recently approved a "Sanctuary for Peace" ordinance protecting undocumented immigrants from unwarranted detention and deportation (Niezgoda 2017). "There are no illegal people, there are undocumented residents and they need to be treated with respect and dignity just like any other person in Salem," said Councilor David Eppley in a news article (MacNeill 2016). The recent change in the United States federal administration has sparked concerns of discrimination and fears that undocumented immigrants may be less likely to report crimes or seek help from public safety agencies for fear of deportation (Cameron 2017). In response some cities and counties have declared themselves "sanctuary cities" to assure immigrants their officials will not unnecessarily question them about immigration status or make efforts to assist federal agents in detention of undocumented residents, despite threats from the Trump administration to cut funding to such cities (2017). Supporters of the Salem ordinance say the city will not lose federal funding because it will comply with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials (Niezgoda 2017).

The Salem Point Neighborhood Vision and Action Plan was initiated by the city to improve quality of life at the Point (Metropolitan Area Planning Council 2013). The priority investment zone defined in the plan includes a smaller section of the neighborhood, focusing on 17 streets (2013). The development of the vision plan involved a significant community engagement process, including focus groups, planning workshops that used participatory approaches such as World Café, and a "Community PlanIt Game" to collect community input through an interactive social media game (2013). More than 300 community members weighed in on the final plan (2013).
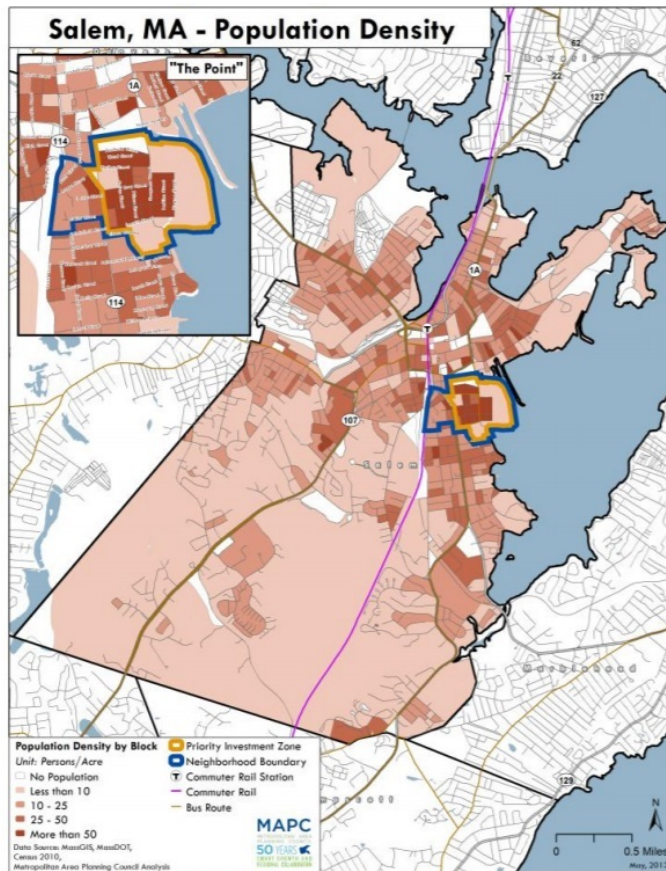
To gather insight about the Point planning project, I conducted interviews with Andrew Shapiro and Lucy Corchado.

Breaking down barriers to participation

Many characteristics that set the Point apart also have drawn negative perceptions of the neighborhood from other parts of Salem. The Salem Point Neighborhood Vision and Action Plan was initiated in part to start conversations about potential investment and development in the neighborhood as well as to get a better sense of what the neighborhood was like. The city wanted to invest in the neighborhood but also respond to residents' fears of gentrification and concerns with preserving the Point's character, said Lucy Corchado, president of the Point Neighborhood Association.

Source: Metropolitan Area Planning Council 2013

Corchado, who was born and raised in the Point, said she recalls it being primarily French-Canadian while she was growing up. Her family, one of the first Latino/a families to move to the Point, came from Puerto Rico in the 1960s. In her early years most of Corchado's day-to-day activities — school, church, and others — were within the Point neighborhood. The Latino/a community in the Point has since grown and in the 1980s the area saw an influx of new residents from the Dominican Republic. "It's always been an immigrant community," Corchado said. While the rest of Salem also has a healthy dose of immigrant communities, there seems to be a particular concentration in the Point, said Andrew Shapiro, economic development planner for the City of Salem. Shapiro posited that this is because the Point has typically had the largest stock of affordable housing in the city and that new immigrants have tended to follow their family and friends who have gone before them. Corchado echoed this, saying her father followed her uncle to Salem and noted many residents from the Dominican Republic hail from the same town and had connections prior to entering the U.S.

The Point, a neighborhood of more than 4,100 residents, was recently added to Salem's historic district and developers are beginning to show more interest in investing in the area, Corchado said, but it continues to suffer from many misperceptions from the rest of the city. Outsiders see it as a neighborhood riddled with drugs, crime, and poverty (Roman 2011). The community has long been a "black sheep" of the city, Corchado said, but visitors are beginning to rediscover the neighborhood. From Shetland Park and a renowned chocolate factory at Harbor Sweets to its many bodegas, the Point has a lot to offer, Corchado said, and visitors can take walking tours to see the area. Latino/a families also feel a sense of attachment to an area with such diverse offerings where they can buy foods that remind them of their ancestral homes,

she said. But the threat of gentrification is ever close at hand — being so close to the waterfront, developers have been eyeing properties at the Point and existing residents were concerned that some developers wanted to convert existing buildings into condominiums, Corchado said. The North Shore Community Development Coalition, the largest property owner in the neighborhood, has done a good job of maintaining affordable housing in the area, she said, but many residents who fall in the low income bracket under federal guidelines still cannot afford the rents. "Their rents are considered more market rate than affordable," despite them being more affordable than elsewhere in Salem, Corchado said.

During the planning and community input portion of the Point vision and action plan, Corchado was on the Salem City Council and the first Point resident to elected to that body. The web-based interactive game drew many youth to participate in the process, she said, although a blizzard on the day it kicked off may have dampened interest slightly. The PlanIt Game, based on a platform developed by Emerson Engagement Game Lab, ran for about three weeks to allow Salem residents to weigh in by playing online (Metropolitan Area Planning Council 2013). The web platform allowed residents to offer input remotely and offered a more accessible way to explain planning concepts (2013). Players had to complete three "missions" of: exploring the Point; living, working, and studying in the Point; and playing in the Point. Each mission had 14 questions and players earn "coins" for each question they answer and some questions prompted players to share opinions and stories. Players could pledge coins to real projects and causes within the Point neighborhood and the top three projects earned $500 donations from Point neighborhood businesses and organizations (2013, 14). Throughout the game "empathy characters" modeled after real Point residents made appearances (2013). The structure of the game was informed by preceding focus groups and much of the input received during the game was included in community input for the plan. "It was fun and interactive," Corchado said. "It was a great way to get people to participate. As a person born at the Point, it tested my knowledge of the neighborhood." The idea behind the interactive web platform was to involve youth, who tend not to participate as actively in development planning, Shapiro said.

In addition to the interactive game, the city used more traditional development planning methods such as focus groups, workshops, and advisory committees. Planners used the "World Café" approach, a participatory method, for some of the workshops (2013). To mitigate some of the barriers to engagement, Shapiro said, the city provided Spanish interpreters and on-site childcare at meetings. At some events, the city also offered that were familiar to neighborhood residents, Shapiro said, such as food from local Dominican restaurants. "We wanted people to be comfortable," he said.

The North Shore CDC, in particular, tried to bring as many people to participate as possible, Corchado said, from making announcements during Spanish mass to convening residents at their offices. Despite these efforts to engage residents, Corchado said, there are myriad reasons people cannot attend public meetings. "It's tough generally to get people to show up, they're working two to three jobs, they need childcare," she said, and long meetings can be off-putting after a day of work. "You have to try three or four times to get people there," Corchado said, but the tight timeline for the city to get the plan drafted made that challenging. Further, Corchado noted there are many transient families and renters in the Point community and do not feel their voice matters, particularly regarding development issues. "They feel that,
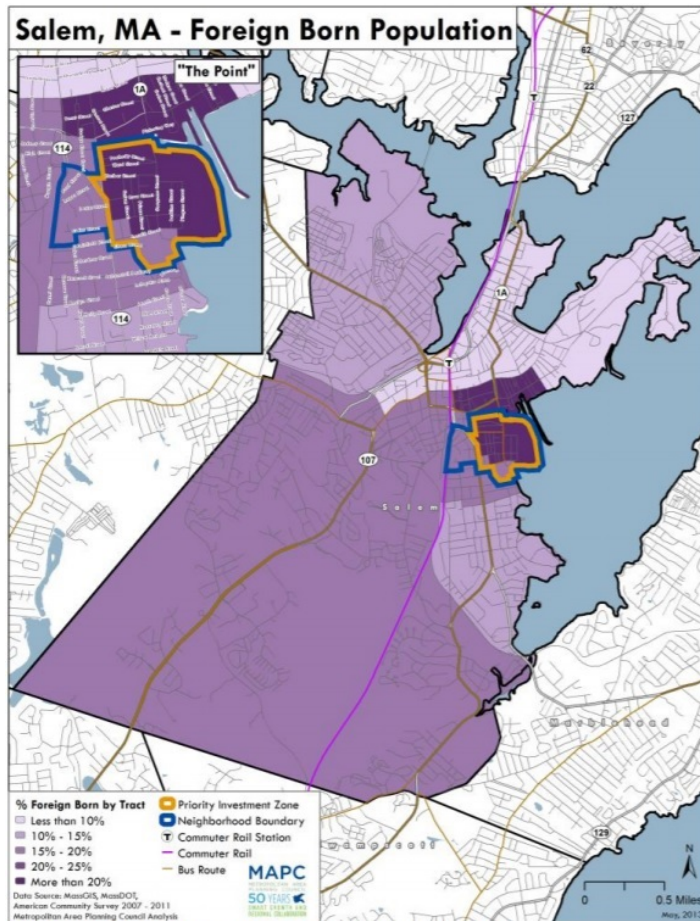
regardless of what I say, are they really going to take my opinion seriously?" she said, and are less inclined to participate.

The city and its consultants aggregated the community input into six visions: Safety and Security; Neighborhood Pride and Civic Engagement; Job Training, Job Placement, and Education and Career Pathways; Environment, Open Space, and Recreation; Housing and Economic Development; and Infrastructure (Metropolitan Area Planning Council 2013). Each of these had lists of action items with associated partners that could help the city in attaining those visions. A committee of city and community representatives, including Corchado, continues to meet monthly to check in on the status of action items from the Point vision plan and keep the city accountable, Shapiro said. "Relatively speaking, we are on track. There's been a lot of effort and planning investment recently," he said. "The Point has gotten a lot of attention over the past few years, since I've been (at the city)." Since 2013, Shapiro estimated $2.1 million has been invested in the neighborhood through activities directly related to the plan. Shapiro estimated that is a low figure that doesn't account for a housing project in the neighborhood. Some projects that stemmed from the plan include major renovations to Mary Jane Lee park, near the center of the neighborhood, including a new splash pad that will be open this summer, Shapiro said, which can contribute to the open space and recreation vision. A 50-unit all-affordable housing development at 135 Lafayette Street with ground floor retail and community space also is helping the community move toward its vision for housing and economic development, he said. But there are other subtler transformations in addition to these projects, Shapiro said, "It takes time." While both the planning process and its resultant projects have been a step in the right direction, Corchado said, it can be frustrating to have a plan of great project ideas that may not come to fruition because of resource limitations. "I think (the plan) was a great tool to learn more about the neighborhood and its needs. I wish it would have come with money," she said. "You involve people in an active way and they give up their time to participate in the planning. People get a false sense that this is happening. I don't think they fully understand (the limitations). The think the improvements to the park are going to happen." She expressed concern that residents will then feel disinclined to participate in the future.

Shapiro acknowledged that, in practice, the city has run into challenges with some items and others have not played out as it anticipated in the plan. The plan is expected to wrap up by 2020, but Shapiro sees no reason to cease the monthly meetings with stakeholders or end development efforts at the Point. "Overall, this plan was sort of a launching pad for long term engagement," Shapiro said. The committee can continue to meet and discuss issues not addressed by the plan or initiate an updated plan using the same practices to engage diverse voices from the community. "You can codify (cultural competence)," he said. "This plan establishes a standard operating procedure." The city's "Sanctuary for Peace" ordinance is one example, Shapiro said. The city also can establish a language access policy to require translation services and public information in both English and Spanish, he said.

Moving past perceptions

While there seems to be more interest in investing in the Point, Corchado said, some long held perceptions are hard to shake. "There's a feeling we're not part of the city as a whole," she said. "We feel segregated." Corchado's comments echoed the feeling some youth expressed

Salem, MA - Foreign Born Population

"The Point"

% Foreign Born by Tract
- Less than 10%
- 10% - 15%
- 15% - 20%
- 20% - 25%
- More than 20%

Data Source: MassGIS, MassDOT, American Community Survey 2007 - 2011 Metropolitan Area Planning Council Analysis

- Priority Investment Zone
- Neighborhood Boundary
- Commuter Rail Station
- Commuter Rail
- Bus Route

MAPC

Source: Metropolitan Area Planning Council 2013

in a 2011 news story that Salem and the Point seem like two different cities (Roman 2011). "Yeah, there are issues (at the Point)," Shapiro said, "But that doesn't mean they should be shunned." Point neighborhood residents are defensive of their community and feel protective of it despite its density, graffiti (2011), and the lack of investment in the neighborhood. "There's still that pride as well," Corchado said.

Corchado offered the 135 Lafayette Apartments as an example. St. Joseph's Parish, the church Corchado grew up in, once stood in the same location. When the church closed, there was a lot of talk about what the community should develop there and many Salem residents outside the Point expressed concern about crime and vandalism affecting the proposed development. "But it was never an issue (at the property) as a church or school," Corchado said. The city had proposed a council on aging on the property that could serve as a community center in the evening, but groups from outside the Point lobbied against that idea, contending seniors will not want to go to a center in that area, Corchado said. With the current commercial space on the ground level of the apartment building, Corchado said, one space is still vacant and she feels that was a missed opportunity because outsiders could not look beyond the stereotypes of the neighborhood. "Racism and discrimination still exists," Corchado said.

Corchado believes the unspoken divide between the Point residents and the rest of the city is, in part, the reason for lack of engagement from Point residents. During her own campaign before she was elected in 2003, Corchado said she was more than 6 months pregnant and had no interest in running for public office but, after some persuasion from other residents, felt it was her duty to represent her community. "It was not an easy task," Corchado said. "I was not known outside the Point." Corchado added that Ward 1, where the Point is located, is very diverse and also includes middle-class neighborhoods, as well as large institutions like the North Shore Medical Center and the Peabody Essex Museum. Even then, Corchado had to work against stereotypes. "People asked (campaign staffers) if I spoke English," she said, and others "asked if I would only speak for 'my people.'" Perceptions from "old school" Salem residents that a lot of Latino/a families are living on welfare persist or whispered comments that they are

"dirtying up the neighborhood" still persist, Corchado said. "The divide is incredible," she said. "They won't speak about it publicly, but it exists."

The city's efforts to diversify community input during the Point vision and action planning process are a piece in battling some of that discrimination, Corchado said, but progress is moving at a snail's pace. Even now she said the entire City Council, that represents a city with 17 percent Latino/a residents, is occupied by white men. Corchado wants more people of difference at the table and hopes if immigrants or people of color see faces in leadership like their own they will be more inclined to participate and more likely to trust government officials. "I'd like to say equal (representation), but I don't think we can have equal," she said with a laugh.
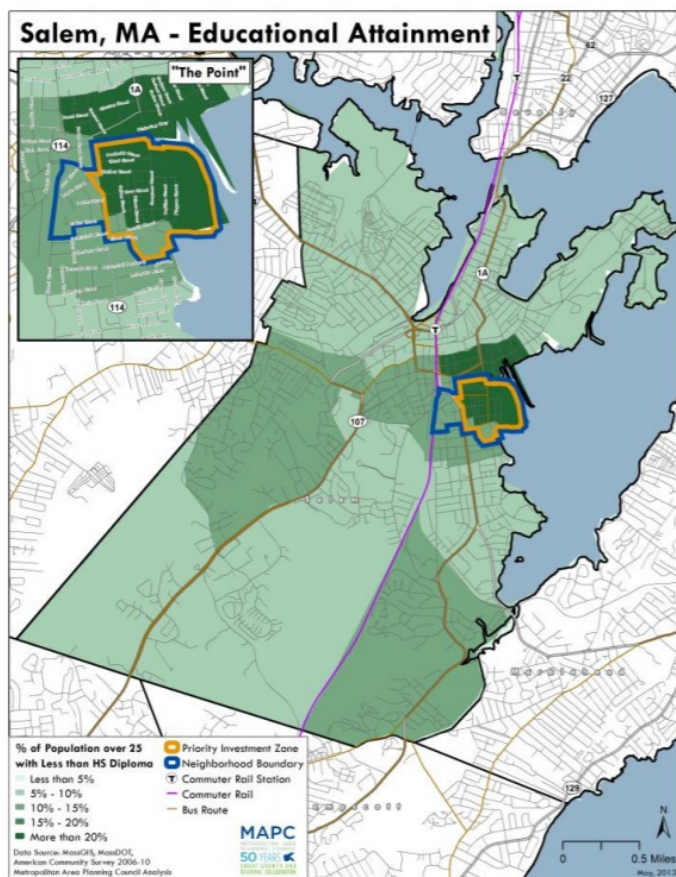
Source: Metropolitan Area Planning Council 2013

Openness to trying new things is key, Corchado said. In a similar case, school officials often complained that parents were not involved in parent-teacher meetings, but meetings were held at 3 p.m. on weekdays in English and without childcare offerings. "It was difficult to get people to participate," she said. The school has since begun changing these aspects of the meetings and it has gone so far as to conduct meetings entirely in Spanish and provide headsets for translation to English. This shift is a tacit way of flipping power dynamics. "It's like, now how does it feel?" Corchado said with a laugh. Attendance at meetings has since increased. "Going forward, that's how to do it," she said.

But why go to the extra trouble? Shapiro acknowledged that striving to understand and work across difference requires a lot of energy and, at times, resources. Sometimes these efforts require some hand-holding, Shapiro said, such as a project pertaining to the Working Cities Challenge to get 18 residents from the Point certified as nurse aids. The project has required a lot of follow-up and ensuring residents have access to information, transportation, and that they understand the process, Shapiro said. "Sometimes we take for granted that people know what to do," he said. "(We think) just put it out there and they will come to you. Sometimes it requires a little more dedication on the public sector's part." Planners need to take these extra steps not just because they are codified in policy, but because they are good practice, Shapiro said. "It's what our country was founded on — folks coming to see refuge," Shapiro said. For governments to earn the trust of different cultural groups can take time, consistency, and creative solutions, Corchado said, but communities that truly value their residents would make the effort. "You

need to know where people are at and step out of the norm. Meet them where they're at," Corchado said. "If that means going to their house, you should.

Results

Table 3: Which components of the project were effective? (Open coding)

Issue	Comments
Engagement	11
Unusual approaches	8
Mitigating barriers	5
Key entities	7
Accountability	7
Diverse voices	10
Efforts to understand community	11
Trust	2
Valuing difference	9
Investment	7

The above is a summary of tabulated results from qualitative coding of the interviews. The full table of results can be found in the appendix and discussion of the results can be found in the subsequent section.

This particular set of results may not show as clear a set of trends as the previous two cases, partially because there were only two interviewees. The interviewees in this case, however, appeared to echo some of the sentiments as those in the Weibo outreach case regarding the importance of engagement and efforts to understand the community.

Discussion

Amplifying Community Voices - University of Venda, South Africa

A glance at tabulations of the qualitative coding from interviews indicate most comments made regarding to the success of the program pertained to community empowerment or ownership and recognition of or exposure to difference. Following these issues, interviewees commented most on the university's role as facilitator and on finding common ground.

It is unsurprising that community empowerment and ownership were cited most often as a reason for the program's success, because that is the stated goal of ACV. Program leaders emphasize community ownership throughout the program and stress that the university is not bringing services to the community, but rather creating a space for residents to effect change collectively. It is equally unsurprising that interviewees highlighted the role of the university as an important piece of ACV's effectiveness in bridging difference. While community leaders could in theory employ these methods, the approach is not typical of municipal development processes and — as both Mufamadi and Chief Njhakanjhaka indicated — the role of the university as a third party facilitator can help provide resources, gather residents, and create a neutral space. As Mufamadi noted, the program helped bring together municipal and traditional leadership who were unlikely to collaborate before the program.

Notably absent from the coding of the interviews is comments on sustainability. Most interviewees noted that sustainability of such a program is difficult without the university's involvement. This program is contingent upon a relationship between the university and local leadership, which inevitably subjects the program's work in a community to the mercurial fluctuations of politics. As in the case of Tshakhuma, the program has not continued because new councillors do not feel it necessary. By Mufamadi's account, some residents seem to disagree and would like the program to return to the community. Both Kabiti and Chief Njhakanjhaka said one way to sustain such a program is for one or two passionate leaders in the community to champion this approach. Chief Njhakanjhaka acknowledged that would require a significant commitment for an individual or a few individuals and it appears, so far, that has been a challenge for the communities. The challenge may further be exacerbated by the complex political contexts in which many of these residents and local leaders work — for this reason, perhaps the university's role as neutral facilitator is key to the program's effectiveness. That the ACV program itself has continued in an area with such tumultuous politics for more than 10 years is a feat. The program has been largely spearheaded by faculty members at the University of Venda, but it remains to be seen whether others at the institution will take up that mantle in the future.

Returning to the issue of buy-in from local leaders, Kabiti acknowledged that this requirement could preclude communities that perhaps are in great need of the ACV's method from receiving such deliberative practices. It is inevitable, as Chief Njhakanjhaka also noted that alienating local leaders from such a program, no matter how effective, is counterproductive.

It is also worth noting that in many of the interviewees' comments about recognition of difference, they noted that separating participants into groups based on gender, age, education-level, and institution was beneficial in drawing out separate voices. Interviewees noted this helps group together common needs or common views of development. Some may shy away from such groupings and criticize them as essentialist. Scholars such as Beebeejaun also warn policymakers from viewing participants in deliberative approaches as representative voices for their cultural groups or erroneously attributing experiences to their cultural backgrounds (2006). In the context of ACV, however, this method is presently the most effective way to divide up the attendees based on common experiences and ensure individuals have opportunities to express themselves. Separating participants by age, gender, and institution, and so forth also is a method for managing power imbalances among community members. Moyo, Francis, and Ndlovu found through surveys in this area, for instance, that while many agreed women possess the knowledge and ability to develop their communities, they mostly are not financially independent (2012). The authors, who were specifically studying community perceptions of women's empowerment, noted the perceptions show significant inroads in women's empowerment in this area, but efforts need to continue to address some of the challenges rural women face (2012). The motivation in separating participants by common experiences is to mitigate any pressure for participants to stifle or express certain ideas because of others in their group. In knowing their comments will be aggregated and reported as a group, participants may be more frank in their responses. The question of how to elevate minority voices and ensure participation is one that ACV leaders will likely need to continue exploring as cultural and political dynamics continue to change in the region.

The ACV approach is hardly novel or without flaw, but its growth in the region and continued operation for more than a decade are notable. While it would be tempting to wholly replicate the ACV model, which has appeared somewhat effective, Umemoto and Igarashi note that the challenges of deliberative planning are heavily contextual (2009). As noted in Bollens' case study (2002), South Africa has a unique sociopolitical context that likely is not mirrored in other regions. As noted by Francis and Kabiti (2017) as well as some of the interviewees, marginalized groups in the region often feel a sense of dependence on government and the primary goal of this program is to empower community members to effecting change on their own.

Weibo and multilingual outreach - California, United States

The tabulations of qualitative coding from Weibo and multilingual outreach efforts by California police agencies indicate that engagement and organizational culture were two of the top issues necessary for this program to be effective. Interviewees also mentioned resources and trust as important issues.

In entering this research, I anticipated engagement would be an important issue but did not expect organizational culture to be as vital an issue as it appeared to be for interviewees. Surprisingly, the institutional culture was cited more frequently as a challenge than the linguistic and ethnic or sociocultural differences. Koll and Lee, who are managing their department's program, were particularly cognizant that their relative freedom is not typical of a

police department or government entity social media manager. Both interviewees were aware that the federal grant may have helped validate their efforts somewhat among the department's leadership. Further, the grant helped the SLPD Weibo team explore the possibilities of the platform with resources.

With the grant drawing to a close, however, both Koll and Lee were unsure of the future of the Weibo program. While Koll noted the city would like to expand it and use a similar approach at City Hall, it is unclear — perhaps unlikely — the program will receive the same level of resources as it did from the grant. While Lee expressed a continued willingness to volunteer his time toward outreach even without pay, the SLPD may not continue to fund a paid internship and lack of resources can stunt continued growth in outreach. As Lee pointed out, it is rare for a government entity to be able to find someone with the necessary skills to volunteer the amount of time required to manage social media outreach.

Lee's own identity reflects the intersectionality of many San Leandro Chinese residents, which perhaps is one aspect of this program's effectiveness. Lee, who has been in the United States since his teenage years, identifies as a Hongkonger or Hong Kong Chinese — notably distinct from those from Mainland China. "There's a certain pride in Hong Kong," Lee said, a city that remained a British colony until 1997. Lee also expressed an awareness of the difference between how he self-identifies and how others identify him. Having spent so long in the U.S., Lee noted others would likely identify him as Chinese-American. Further, Lee recognized the generational differences between himself, as a person who grew up in Hong Kong in the 70s, and those of the same generation as the Weibo program intern. Many of Lee's audience members likely inhabit complex sociocultural identities like he does. While occupying a similar sociocultural space does not necessarily mean Lee understands his audience, it equips him with a level of understanding few others at the SLPD are likely to have. In personal interactions with followers, such as those occasions when Lee assisted followers on traffic ticket enquiries at the police station, his ability to relate with them is likely beneficial. Lee alluded to a tendency for those of the dominant culture to become impatient when working with people they do not fully empathize with, when he noted that others' questions may seem "dumb" but are important to the asker and should be handled with patience.

Both San Leandro and Alhambra appear to be examples of what Main and Sandoval called "translocal cities" (2015). But at a time when many spend a significant portion of their lives on social media, it seems these police department Weibo accounts are also translocal spaces, with local-to-local links between sending and receiving communities (2015). The creation of the accounts alone are a step towards legitimizing this space of intersectional identity, which is taken further by both cities in the form of cultural celebrations and outreach events. By creating a designated space for Chinese Alhambra residents, the department recognizes community members inhabiting this space and offers them a local-to-local social media platform to connect with users in China, who are unable to connect with U.S. residents using Facebook. Further, local Chinese residents can exercise agency through reporting crimes, submitting tips, asking questions, and discussing public safety issues where they did not have a platform to do so before.

All three interviewees noted that while they are working on a platform geared towards a specific cultural group, many of the lessons and principles are translatable to other forms of outreach and other cultural groups. Interviewees said there is a need to engage the Latina/o communities, particularly the primarily Spanish-speaking residents. Some agencies have tried to connect with local Latinas/os, but Koll noted such efforts in San Leandro using Facebook were not particularly effective. As reflected in the coding, interviewees concurred that dedicated efforts to engage the community — which requires a shift in the mindset of agency leadership — is key to effective outreach. Regardless of the mode of outreach or the community in question, interviewees said being responsive and actively engaging community members is key. Other key issues cited include efforts to mirror or understand the community; trust and transparency; and language. These principles appear applicable to other contexts: a city with a large Arab community like Dearborn, Michigan, or one with a large Somali community like Minneapolis, Minnesota, could apply the same principles for both social media and in-person outreach.

In addition Koll alluded to the idea that, unlike the traditional approach of putting out messages and expecting community members to find them, the Weibo program attempts to enter streams of existing communication where their community members already are engaging. While small, this distinction shows an awareness that government entities who wish to connect with their communities in an age of information oversaturation need to play a more active role to remain relevant; the government is no longer the assumed authority on public issues. Koll's comments also address current political tensions and the sentiment that trust in government is not necessarily a given and needs to be built over time.

Salem Point Neighborhood Vision and Action Plan - Salem, Massachusetts, United States

In tabulating the interviews conducted with those involved in the Salem Point planning project, it seems interviewees found the most effective components of the project were in efforts to understand the community, engagement, and inclusion of diverse voices. Interviewees also considered unusual approaches fairly important.

It is interesting to note that Shapiro made many comments about valuing difference as an effective part of the program, but Corchado did not. Corchado, in fact, made several statements to the contrary and expressed frustration at the entrenched negative perceptions from Salem residents outside the Point. Corchado said that while there is progress, such as the strategies used in this project, fighting historic prejudices and injustices is a slow process. Interestingly, the differences between Shapiro's experience of Salem (as a city that embraces outsiders) and Corchado's (as a city where stark racial and ethnic divides persist) echoes the disconnect between Modernist planners and the community that Burayidi (2000), Hoch (1994), Fenster (1998), and Sandercock (2000) described. This highlights the importance for community development practitioners to integrate community-level leadership in planning and policy processes and to engage with stories on the ground.

The above is further illustrated by Point residents' protectiveness over their community when they feel outsiders have a skewed view of it. In a news story about youth work at the Point, Jesse Roman (2011) noted the youth felt defensive when other city residents criticized the neighborhood for its overpopulation, graffiti, and poor neighborhood aesthetics. One young Point resident noted that city officials tend to view graffiti as "tagging," while those who express themselves through graffiti see it as art (2011). This youth's comment highlights the normative values behind policies and widely accepted standards on issues such as affordability, overpopulation, and neighborhood aesthetics. Similarly, Burayidi (2003, 267) noted that "overcrowding" in housing is determined by cultural normative values that may not match what some Asian households view as "overcrowding" when they prefer to live intergenerationally. This highlights the necessity for practitioners to continually question normative values, seemingly "objective" standards, and dominant ways of knowing.

In addressing sustainability of the Point Vision and Action Plan project, it remains to be seen whether the practices will continue beyond the plan's official scope. Shapiro noted there is no reason to cease the monthly meetings and that work can continue beyond the plan's scope. While it is beneficial that stakeholders, such as Corchado and members of the North Shore CDC, can continue to offer their input and help keep the city accountable, it likely holds less value to empower and recognize individual residents than the participatory methods used in the planning process. Participatory approaches, however, are expensive and time-consuming, Shapiro said, and the city will have to determine how frequently and on what level resident involvement is in its processes. This illustrates the common dilemma of using representative government versus participatory approaches. In communities of difference, representative government can not only be criticized for being undemocratic, but also for being essentialist. Corchado, for instance, could be viewed on the committee as a token or spokesperson for Latin American residents, while her experience is likely very different from a new immigrant from Guatemala, for instance. For some of the critiques, however, a benefit of this committee is the sharing of ownership and accountability for the project. While the Point planning and action plan project was primarily led by the city, the project does not appear to be driven by one or just a few individuals. By sharing the responsibility, theoretically, if Shapiro leaves the City of Salem the committee can assume the charge and bring in another representative of the City.

Like the police department Weibo outreach projects, the analytics of the participants in the PlanIt game lack some detail. While one of the game's questions asked for participants' affiliation, which can give an idea of participants' ages, the results reported do not seem to establish exact ages of participants or where they reside. To replicate this particular part of the project, it may be useful for the game developers to include more detailed analytics to give city officials a more accurate picture of who is engaged in this process. Further, if the city sells this as a platform that engages youth in government planning, it ought to demonstrate more youth participated in this platform than through traditional planning approaches. It may also have been useful to collect data on where participants resided. While the game was open to all Salem residents, the city's purported goal was to solicit input from Point neighborhood residents on how they want their own neighborhood developed. If the analytics show very few Point residents engaged through the PlanIt game, that would indicate this approach or the way it was marketed

was not relevant to its target audience. Like the Weibo outreach project, entities hoping to replicate the project will benefit from more accurate analytics.

It is also important to note that this game was administered in English and residents who did not have a good command likely did not participate. While the project made strides in creating an environment where those of non-dominant cultures feel comfortable, the project was largely driven through the lens of the dominant culture. While no single person is responsible, it is illustrative of many cultural competence initiatives, where entities will primarily add on inclusionary practices — such as translation services, meetings or outreach at popular community spots — to their existing approaches. Corchado pointed out that the school district's simple gesture of conducting meetings in Spanish and providing English translation is a simple, yet powerful, way to flip the power dynamics. This change could be an inconvenience to those who have historically occupied positions of power and control, but Corchado's comment, "how does it feel?" shows non-dominant cultural groups have long been subjected to such inconvenience and that those of the dominant cultures will hopefully gain understanding from the experience. Such a mindset, that those in a historically subordinated culture should drive the agenda, can expand to all aspects of community development and can boost the credibility of efforts toward cultural competence.

Taking a bird's eye view

As noted, the intent of exploring these case studies was not to draw comparisons or to generalize them. My interest was in each case's intrinsic value and it can be artificial to attempt at drawing generalizations when the conditions of each case are so context specific. It is possible, however, to consider some of the emerging themes from the three case examples and possible lessons from those.

Engagement was a strong theme for all three cases, despite their different manifestations in each project. In Amplifying Community Voices engagement was carried out through vigorous outreach and in-person workshops, while both the Weibo project and the Point planning project used online platforms and government platforms to initiate community engagement. Closely related to engagement, although not listed in the qualitative coding, is the idea of entering existing streams of conversation or going where the community already gathers. Both Koll and Corchado noted that this contrasts with the conventional assumption that community members should look to the government to direct the conversation on development and attend public meetings to be heard.

Increasingly, planners are recognizing barriers to participation (Beebeejaun 2006), which points to another common theme among cases, to recognize and include diverse voices. Scholars have noted the importance of recognition (Agyeman and Erickson 2012, Kerrigan et al. 2015) and this seems arguably to be a goal of each of these projects, whether it is through creating a platform to speak about a development project or through official government recognition of some residents' native language or preferred method of communication. As noted by Sandercock (2000), there are occasions where tensions can be relieved significantly simply

through a gesture of sincere recognition. While it is tempting for pragmatists to tackle only the issue on the table, scholars and the interviewees seem to agree that recognition can help improve cross-cultural relations, which can hopefully benefit the development process.

It also may be useful to review some of the guiding questions listed earlier in this thesis. While it is not necessarily feasible to answer each one definitively, particularly not through a single study, considering the case examples in the context of the wider literature can offer some insights.

One of my guiding questions, "How sustainable are practices of cultural competence?" was motivated by my search for effective examples of cultural competence in planning and community development. On several occasions, projects on diversity or cultural inclusion were defunct or had concluded and no one made efforts to continue the work. In other instances, those "cultural planners" or other practitioners dedicated to cultural competence policies had moved on without being replaced. It seemed that intercultural work was rarely sustained beyond a single initiative, grant, or the term of an individual dedicated to the cause. This was confirmed somewhat in my interviews with those in the Amplifying Community Voices and Weibo multilingual outreach cases. By contrast, it seems the Salem Point planning project has commendably continued through the monthly committee meetings, but Corchado noted that insufficient funds have been designated to specific projects in the plan. Koll, who manages the Weibo program at the San Leandro Police Department, was especially emphatic about the necessity of committing resources to culturally responsive work for them to continue. With the impending conclusion of the grant, Koll was concerned that these learnings and best practices would simply be put on a shelf. The irony in that case seems to be that Koll was able to seek funding from the federal government for intercultural outreach but not from his own municipality, which he acknowledged is under many competing priorities and financial constraints. As noted previously in the discussion of ACV, the program has continued in various communities with the help of the university as a driver, but the program's founders and lead faculty members remain active. The staying power of this program has yet to be tested and likely will be once its current leaders move on from the university. A possible reason for the poor sustainability of such programs is that cultural competence is not a priority for many institutions or individuals, as Koll alluded to. Much of the work pertaining to interculturalism requires much time and resources (Sandercock 2000; Francis and Kabiti 2017) and keeping up with this kind of work requires dedicated leaders, according to Kabiti, Chief Njhakanjhaka, and Lee, but not all have the resources or willingness for it. As a result, projects fall by the wayside and leaders are not replaced. It is surprising that, in light of the many comments about the challenges of sustaining intercultural work, the issue of sustainability and resources is hardly addressed in academic literature. The community of practice would likely benefit from more study on the sustainability of cultural competence policies and projects.

Another guiding question that was used as a model for interview questions is, "Can cultural humility be codified?" Some interviewees, such as Yokoyama and Shapiro, affirmed that it could. Entities can require "cultural competence training" or pass laws requiring translation of official materials, "sanctuary city" laws, or form policies to ensure diverse voices are heard during planning processes. It is unclear, however, whether such policies will simply be more hoops to jump through for those who do not feel cultural humility is a priority. Will such

individuals simply commit to the minimum required by law and take approaches that lack substance? Our instincts say they will, but this is a question that likely requires further investigation and is beyond the scope of this study. Yokoyama noted that building a team that is committed to culturally inclusive practices, but the commitment must come from leadership. Bollens' case study of planners in Jerusalem and South Africa (2002) seem to indicate that if planning can segregate and marginalize cultural groups then it seems the reverse could also be true. Some scholars (Fenster 1998; Kumar and Martin 2004; Gaventa 1982) seem to agree that planning and policies can reproduce or exacerbate social relations. Further, as Koll and Lee alluded to, policymakers can send a clear message of where their priorities lie through where they dedicate resources. Responding to the initial guiding question, Allport contends that you can legislate positive cultural relations (1954). But, to reiterate an earlier question, should planners try to socially engineer positive cross-cultural relations? The answer to this question is beyond the scope of this paper and views likely run the gamut. It seems somewhat clearer, however, that policies are not objective and failure to recognize the values that shaped policies can further entrench dominant normative ideologies. "The challenge is for policy-makers to be aware of the specific as well as the broader impacts of their actions," wrote Beebeejaun. "Policy-makers are not responsible for creating inequality, although they may challenge or reinforce it to some degree" (2006, 15).

The literature has extensively address the guiding question: "Why is difference important? Why do we need difference?" often through economic arguments (Florida 2002; Florida and Gates 2002; Ottaviano and Peri 2004). This question was also used in every informant interview, however, and interviewees mostly appealed to the ethical reasons for cultural humility. As noted previously, it is interesting to note that some interviewees spoke of difference as something to be managed while only Koll spoke about harnessing the assets of difference. Wood and Landry stressed the importance of viewing difference from an asset-based perspective (2008), which can likely be a challenging ideological leap for many and perhaps largely aspirational. In considering the thoughts of interviewees, it seems there is an attainable balance. Difference will inevitably cause frictions or misunderstandings and many of the interviewees for the Amplifying Community Voices case highlight the practical necessity of tolerance in such circumstances.

A final guiding question, that has been more elusive in this study, asks whether communities can be proactive in work across difference rather than reactive. It is tempting to say that they cannot, for many reasons including resource constraints and competing priorities. The question itself may be too simplistic, because cultural differences have always existed in different forms for different communities. As Yokoyama pointed out, while the "target" group of difference currently is Chinese speakers, this may not be the case in a few decades. It is likely impossible to cater to every form of difference that exists even in a small community. The idea of being "proactive," then, points to the ability to be adaptable, open, and reflective — essentially cultural humility (Tervalon and Murray-García 1998). Based on the literature and on interviewees' experiences, proactive individuals and entities build in opportunities to work toward cultural humility.

Limitations

The topic of culturally competent practices in urban planning and community development needs additional and ongoing exploration. The issue can benefit from a range of research approaches including quantitative and mixed-methods research to broaden understanding of the phenomenon.

This particular thesis encountered multiple practical limitations. Additional methods of qualitative data collection, such as focus groups and field observations, would have helped enrich findings, but the many locations of the case examples made these methods logistically impractical with the time and resources available. In particular, my initial goal was to obtain at least three interviews for each case. Scheduling proved to be more challenging than anticipated and, as shown in the results, interviews for the Salem Point planning case were particularly difficult to schedule in time. It would have been beneficial to add more depth to that case with an additional perspective, but the picture painted by the two interviewees currently in the case is no less rich as it stands.

The study was further limited by its sampling methods and likely suffers from selection bias, because of the consent required to conduct interviews. Further, recruitment was conducted through cold calling and referrals from existing contacts. The pool was further limited because the only interviewees accessible to me were those fluent in English and who had access to telephone or online calling platforms. Despite this, I made efforts to ensure I could triangulate my findings by seeking key informants who held different perspectives of the project or initiative. Moyo, Francis, and Ndlovu used group surveys in their study of the Amplifying Community Voices program (2012) to help include participants who could not read, write, or speak English. While individual interviews are often used so participants will not feel pressured to respond a certain way in the presence of others, these researchers found that group surveys helped mitigate some of other practical challenges (2012).

As noted in the methodology, my initial goal was for some geographic balance among case examples. For practical reasons I reduced the overall number of cases and only was able to study one example outside the U.S. Additionally, this is the only case where a project is being led by a higher education institution and therefore made it more challenging to answer the guiding question of whether rooted institutions are more responsive to cultural competence issues than government entities. While the question was included in most informant interviews, many expressed uncertainty and the few cases did not appear to lend any considerable insight into the question.

It is also important to note that this study does not evaluate the effectiveness (or how innovative) a program is at fostering cultural competence through particularly objective measures. While the objectivity of any measure can likely be contested, this study looks only at the perceived effectiveness of the three projects using very small samples. Further study of these programs can deepen the understanding of their effectiveness and longitudinal studies of them can enhance understanding of sustainability in culturally competent practices.

Each of the programs discussed has many limitations from resources to their own practitioners' cultural blinders. It is interesting to note that interviewees in each case note the program limitations in not being able to meet all community members where they are as they aspire to do. This is an inevitability of any such program, but one that is important to point out.

Regarding the interviews themselves, there are many potential topics that could have been covered that were not. While I did prepare questions regarding sustainability of culturally competent practices, there were no specific questions regarding resources and support. These specific issues were raised many times in the California Weibo projects, but interviewees in other cases spoke about this in relatively general terms. This was somewhat of a missed opportunity, because the sustainability of many such initiatives is predicated on resources and capacity.

In the qualitative coding of the interviews, there may have been benefits to coding for multiple questions. Regarding the Salem Point planning project, for instance, interviewees made several comments about aspects of the project that needed improvement. It may have been useful to code and tabulate for this, but I did not do so in part because of time constraints and because my thesis was primarily interested in strategies perceived to be useful to the community of practice.

Finally, this study also suffers from several biases and does not discuss some key issues. For instance, this thesis builds on the assumption that interculturalism is beneficial and does not discuss the merits of and challenges to cities of increasing difference. I also do not address the arguments for and against deliberative, consensus-building models like the one Amplifying Community Voices uses. The debate is beyond the scope of this study. Umemoto and Igarashi (2009) have explored scholarly literature around deliberative planning as well as its merits and challenges. It is also important to note that, as an individual who grew up in a British colony and received higher education in the United States, I am approaching this topic from a relatively Euro-centric perspective. While I have attempted to temper my cultural biases, they inevitably color my analyses in ways I may not fully be aware of.

Conclusions and recommendations

In this final section, I have drawn on emerging themes from the three case examples and the rich body of literature to propose a series of recommendations I hope can be molded to different contexts and to fit the ever-changing face of our communities.

Several recommendations emerged through common themes from the case examples. The non-exhaustive list in Table 1 below includes some examples of recommendations for planners, community developers, and entities working across difference.

Table 4: Strategies for planning and developing in communities of difference

Recommendation	Potential strategies	Rationale
Build trust.	● Create transparent processes; engage in ongoing dialogue with community; admit failures, flaws, or gaffes; be human and treat others like humans. ● Strive for decisionmaking bodies that mirror the community; be sensitive to constraints. ● Acknowledge historical contexts and their effects on people today; allow communities to articulate affronts and past pains. ● Ensure follow-through and accountability. ● Be willing to endure some inconvenience or subject those of the dominant culture to inconvenience. ● Enable and empower residents through policy and regulation rather than constrain.	● Trust often cited as a key obstacle to communication and positive community and police relations. ● Giving community members a seat at the table potentially yields outcomes more relevant to their lives. Communities may be more likely to trust institutions that give them equal footing. ● Subjecting those historically in power to some inconvenience is one way to change power dynamics and recognize the historic subordination of non-dominant groups. Such measures can lend credibility to cultural competence efforts. ● Based on comments from Kabiti, Mufamadi, Njhakanjhaka, Koll, Lee, Shapiro, and Corchado. ● Drawn from Kerrigan et al. (2015); Nayeri (2017); Sandercock (2000); Lunden (2016); Rios and Watkins (2015).
Enter existing streams of conversation.	● Diversify methods of in-person and media outreach. ● Allow the community to drive the agenda. ● Engage in ongoing dialogue through the development process rather than just in the planning stages.	● Tacitly inverts the power structure between community and institution by going to their "turf" instead of the institution's. Contrasts the traditional assumption that the technocrat or the institution is the authority. ● Participants may feel more comfortable in an environment they are accustomed to. ● Diverse methods are necessary in increasingly diverse communities. ● Consistent with comments and approaches noted by interviewees Kabiti, Njhakanjhaka, Mufamadi, Koll, Shapiro, and Corchado. ● Drawn from Francis and Kabiti (2017); Kerrigan et al. (2015); Abramowitz et al.

Take risks/be creative.	● Be open to alternative approaches, from new forms of communication and different ways of knowing to questions about traditional normative values. ● Experiment with new approaches; work with unfamiliar cultural communities; solicit new ideas. ● Create an iterative and adaptable process.	● Traditional toolkits may be less helpful when faced with difference. ● Traditional ways of knowing are limiting. ● Adaptable processes enable practitioners to respond nimbly to changing needs or correct course when an approach is not working. ● Based on comments from Njhakanjhaka, Mufamadi, Koll, Lee, and Corchado. ● Consistent with Sandercock (2000) and Burayidi (2003).
Commit resources.	● Dedicate staff members to intercultural programs and policies. ● Build community capacity and empower residents to lead the cause. ● Build in long term funding for such programs and policies. ● Build in mechanisms for accountability and evaluation.	● Intercultural work should go beyond "initiatives" or short-term programs that are contingent on one individual. ● Such work should not be viewed as ancillary assignments. Leaders should recognize the necessity of dedicating resources to such work, which in turn indicates how they prioritize the issue. ● Based on comments by Kabiti, Njhakanjhaka, Lee, Koll, Yokoyama, and Corchado.
Measure what "works" and what does not.	● Use quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods measures to assess community demands as well as program effectiveness or perceived effectiveness. ● Use participatory research methods and/or involve community in research design to ensure research design is culturally relevant. ● Use stories to humanize, provide a platform for community members to share experiences, and to form relationships.	● Preceding recommendation, regarding resources, is likely dependent on evidence the programs are beneficial. ● Using a mixture of methods provides a range of evidence to different audiences. ● Involving the community in research design mitigates potential cultural biases. ● Based on comments from Koll. ● Consistent with Nayeri (2017); Sandercock (2000).
Engage in ongoing reflection and learning.	● Foster an organizational culture of open-mindedness, learning, and self-evaluation; build a team committed to interculturalism. ● Attempt to understand the motivation behind responses, questions, and actions from others that may seem perplexing or frivolous. ● Strive to view diversity as advantage, even amidst challenges. ● Create opportunities for co-learning and for candid discussions about culture, worldviews, and biases. ● Expose yourself to new people and contrasting perspectives; challenge your and others' normative values.	● Cultures and identities ebb and flow over time. Periodic learning and discussions can help practitioners understand the nuance and dynamics of other cultures as well as their own. ● Viewing difference from an advantage lens can set the tone for how practitioners interact with the community and how they leverage its assets. ● Reflection can help practitioners better understand how they may be perceived and how culture affects their decisions. ● Consistent with comments from Kabiti, Koll, and Lee. ● Based on Hamilton-Mason (2004); Tervalon and Murray-Garcia (1998);

| ● Never presume mastery of a culture or of working with difference. | Wood and Landry (2008); Pettigrew et al. (2011). |

As with many of the ideas discussed in this thesis, the recommendations above are largely aspirational and perhaps never fully attainable in one's lifetime or by a particular entity. As long as society continues to exist, it will likely find myriad ways to divide itself up and continue to draw lines between "us" and "them," whether it is among hybrid cultures, or to distinguish the "New Diversity." A truly intercultural society requires genuine shifts in hearts and minds. "Prejudiced responses are not dissociated from the total pattern of personal life. The person who views the world as a jungle, where the traveler must choose to become 'the diner or else the dinner,' who is especially prone to fear swindlers as a menace to his safety, who is authoritarian in his outlook, who has no disposition to sympathize with the underdog, who rejects legislative attempts to protect minority groups, who feels no shame at his own prejudices,— such a person includes prejudices in his style of life," wrote Allport and Kramer (1946, 34).

With current political polarization and renewed interest around isolationist and protectionist ideas, the road to an intercultural community seems like a long one. In another decade or two, perhaps the same narratives will still ring true. Despite this rather bleak outlook, it is heartening to look at examples from Limpopo, South Africa to San Leandro, California where entities and individuals are willing to commit to this uncertain and often messy journey toward an intercultural society.

Appendix
Results

Case 1: Amplifying Community Voices - what are strategies for working across difference ACV uses? (Open coding)

	Empowerment/ Community ownership	Collaboration	University as facilitator/ catalyst	Managing power	Inclusion	Recognition/ exposure to difference	Tolerance	Common ground/ unification
1	Topic identified by leaders. Community decides what outputs and who is responsible. Each breakout group presents their discussions. Group selects reporter (community member) to summarize findings. Community agrees/disagrees with findings and decides on next steps. Participants share thoughts on problems, who they think is responsible for fixing them. "Foot soldiers", community members, help spread the word. Community leaders come up with the program. Community takes primary role in implementation. Community leaders must buy in to project.	Students of different backgrounds solve problems with community. Now people can talk to local councillors. Link between traditional leaders and municipal councillors. Now people understand and listen to each other.	Provides transportation, refreshments, identify program director. Students of different backgrounds solve problems with community. Prepares guiding questions. Facilitation. Planning meeting for students. Provides training. Shares meeting purpose, answers questions. Facilitators & students explain process. Merges community findings and brings them back. Merges discussion and brings back to community. Sums up solutions and follows up.	Community leaders must buy in to project. Facilitators look out for people who dominate conversation. Facilitators balance between neglecting and overemphasizing their presence. Separate group for municipal officials, might influence responses.	University has important role in gathering community. Development should be responsive/acceptable to all people in the area.	ACV gave me exposure to rural life. Creating awareness, allowing people to interact. People share in dominant language. Commemorating national holidays. Holiday celebrations, help people understand their area. Tracked immigrants and began to realize who they were; embraced them. Each breakout group presents their discussions. Scribe in group can write in any language. Participants share thoughts on problems, who they think is responsible for fixing them. Everyone is important in the process. Treat them with respect.	People share in dominant language. Scribe can write in any language. Now people understand and listen to each other. Look past tensions about language, Venda and Tsonga. ACV developed that tolerance. It helped to avoid conflicts through understanding and tolerating each other.	Holiday celebrations help social cohesion. Link between traditional leaders and municipal councillors.

			Important role in gathering the community. Facilitators look out for people who dominate conversation. Facilitators balance between neglecting and overemphasizing their presence.			Participants broken into groups, gender and age specific. People view development differently. Individual voices are pulled out. We try to include minority groups by dividing people up.		
2	There's collective ownership of the project. What comes is collective thinking, the will of the people. Better than if they impose their will on the community. People are encouraged to give their thoughts. We give one another tasks. We expect reports on (progress) in the future. People are empowering one another. Ordinary people on the ground get to exchange views. They put what they learnt into practice. It empowers our people with understanding of our surroundings. They realize they can make a change. Change is in their hands. They are able to defend themselves. Not good to look to government.	Meeting at the Njhakanjhaka offices with people from different villages. They went back to respective communities to gather more information. We can teach one another many aspects about life. People are empowering one another. They're not here to assist the community, but to work with us.	They advise you. Not here to assist the community, but to work with us. You can advise people on how they can best achieve their goals. The university's role is to advise you. The approach brings people together.	You must go to community leaders, otherwise even something good might develop negative relationships.	All perspectives can contribute to their work. The approach brings people together.	We're honest with one another. We think of others and find where (interests intersect). All perspectives can contribute to their work. We can teach one another many aspects about life. People are encouraged to give their thoughts. Make sure to divide into groups. Helps people express themselves. We're thinking of each and every member. Workshops include every grouping of people. Youth, people from developed villages, married women, single women, different ages, all sectors.	One cannot live alone. We live together, we need to understand one another. Conflicts are there by nature, but the issue is how to deal with it. A person is sometimes compromising, sacrificing. We should try to think with empathy.	Whether you're from Africa, Europe, or Asia, it doesn't matter. We're all human beings. We need to join together. It's immaterial (how you were born). When I see a white person, I see a sister. I want to see somebody in need of help. We're honest with one another. We think of others and find where (interests intersect). Common solution for a common problem.

	If we ever need to make a decision we can (use the program) and make sure people get on the ground and do work. Start owning the program. Would love to start doing this for myself and for generations to come. You cannot develop people. People can develop themselves. If you want the program to be sustainable, they need ownership of their own product. We discovered people with talent in my community. Gave them a platform to display their positions. Nobody is going to develop you until you develop yourself. People have to be empowered to understand change.							
3	As a community we need to dig down and look at our needs. We consolidate our ideas. From there, we come up with projects to solve our needs. Let's say the kids need a place for soccer. We come up with a project, and (funding mechanism). We can do it at the community level.	Socializing. Social cohesion. Meeting wards and sharing thoughts about different problems. (Leaders) should work hand in hand with the community.	The professor asked us to draw a map of the area and an 8-year-old said I need (the following). Prof. Francis came, we engaged in games and different activities. If there was no university (involvement) this program wouldn't be here.	We broke the barrier between municipal and traditional leaders.	Development is not about the individual. It cannot be only myself making the decision. (Leaders) should work hand in hand with the community.	Socializing. Social cohesion. Meeting wards and sharing thoughts about different problems. We separated in groups so people could say whatever they think. We separated in groups so people could say whatever they think. We (split) people in age groups, then gender groups.		We started youth activities at the ward level then joined with other wards as competition. We complete projects at the ward level then look outside. Socializing. Social cohesion. Meeting wards and sharing thoughts about

We use the youth, grannies to report on what they've found. They develop a sense of confidence. The youth become confident. Some have gone on to start businesses. We opened up their minds. Since ACV, if people need something they'll talk it through with ward councillors. It helped people understand the process. They can do something for themselves and take (issues) to the municipality. The professor asked us to draw a map of the area and an 8-year-old said I need (the following). After engaging, people realized how things get done. It changed the mindset of community members (from one of blame). The person that should be in charge is the community itself.					If ACV expanded, it would minimize the riots. People who talking about development are not involving (everyone). My voice was heard. I'm still speaking at presentations for ACV. The university heard my voice. They listen. If you're put in leadership you're not there to lead yourself. You lead people. People have got ideas. If you're not involving them, then you're an autocratic somebody. I can lead if I listen to the people around me. Working with different people, like youth and old people, you have to (view things) on their level.		different problems. (Soccer project) fulfilled youth needs and need for seniors to exercise. When we go out we find a common place to share ideas and take ideas from other wards. We broke the barrier between municipal and traditional leaders. Soccer project involved the boys, girls, grannies. If leaders work together they can unify people.
36	10	22	6	6	31	8	14

Case 2: Weibo and multilingual outreach - what issues were addressed that made this approach effective? (Open coding)

	Language	Education	Managing difference/ tolerance	Engagement	Generational awareness	Trust	Organizational culture	Mirroring/ understanding community	Resources	Adaptability	Difference as asset
1	Our communications with	In California, mandatory	In California, mandatory cultural	One of the challenges is outreach and	We have a large segment of first generation	Their English skills are	Starts with police chief as leader of organization to set	Easier if we have a Chinese city council member.	A lot of it comes down to resources.	We have to be flexible.	

the Chinese community wasn't well. Language was a big one, we thought let's give it a try. Pamphlets in different languages. Their English skills are not well. It can be intimidating; they decide not to call in. Most people at PD don't speak Chinese. Core group that does. We saw that when somebody calls 911, if they don't speak English, we can transfer it to a Chinese person. After Weibo, more calls to Chinese interpreter.	cultural competence training for PD. Talk about how to deal with differences. Cultural humility is where people are accepting of differences. Food, language, customs, traditions. Both cultures make an effort to understand each other. Get our story (out), open lines of communication. PD been educated on the importance of cultural sensitivity. PD policies do talk about the importance of diversity and respect. Law in California for sensitivity training.	competence training for PD. Talk about how to deal with differences. Cultural humility is where people are accepting of differences. Food, language, customs, traditions. Accepting and tolerant of each other. It's always been an interest in local government to look at issues of cultural barriers as an impediment to good relations.	being involved with Chinese community. Don't see the civic engagement. We took the time for that engagement. It's continual. Now when we have open houses we get about 4,000 people coming. Many instances people reported tips and crimes on Weibo. Through conversations, something as simple as traffic calming, in the past wouldn't have known who to contact. First open house around 200 people. Last year's open house, several thousand - almost half the Chinese community. Most attendees got message to come. Got to meet and talk to police officers and tour department for the first time.	Chinese. Older generations may not trust police and government. Large segment of Chinese seniors. A lot of senior housing. Now getting to the second generation. Chinese kids going through high school. Lots of Asian or Chinese youth. Not getting those younger than 25. End up targeting middle-aged folks. WeChat can target younger people. Younger generation and middle-aged people inform older generation of open houses.	not well. It can be intimidating; they decide not to call in. Not trusting of police and government In the past wouldn't have known who to contact. Fear of contacting PD. Intimidated. Increased level of confidence. We wanted to have the Chinese community trust the PD. Trust was an issue, no different here. Benefited PD - developed positive relationships. Across America, the issue of transparency, open	the tone. Starting as police chief in 2011, took a lot of time, energy, influence to get community to understand importance of cultural competence. Starts at the top with vision and has to trickle down. Have to know the people you promote or hire are driving that vision. Can't change culture in PD overnight. Need the right people in the right place. People look to the city government to do things and to be fair. Traditional outreach - mailers, invite Chinese community to city hall, mobile command post. Nobody ever came. It can't be driven by one or two people. Needs a larger vision. Managers and departments have to buy into it. Have to see successes. (Most of the time)	Most people at PD don't speak Chinese. Core group that does. PD at least half Hispanic, 13-15% Asian, rest white American.	We need to market and target local communities, find different types of platforms. It can't be driven by one or two people.		

				Through face to face (encounters) we break down barriers. Get our story (out), open lines of communication. After Weibo, more calls to Chinese interpreter. Connected with our efforts.		government, equal access to government - in a small part this project has allowed those things to occur.	not a lot of strategic and critical thought. PD policies do talk about the importance of diversity and respect.				
2	Translated outreach efforts as attempt (to bridge difference). 51% of our community speaks a first language other than English. Do you communicate in their language? But are you (also) connecting in a way they understand?		Each community has its own nuance. (In focus groups) the Asian, Hispanic group in San Leandro, they're reticent. Giving them permission to criticize me so I can learn. Focus groups - community has a very old-school mindset of police. Cop translates to bribe. Impression is they expect bribes.	Weibo allows PD to engage with Chinese community in particular. The best way is to open up PD doors. If don't have staff to dedicate essentially full time, you lose your community. Engagement means being present and frequently. Do they care? Do you find the subject interesting? Engagement is about how you're saying	Focus groups - community has a very old-school mindset of police.	We've made mistakes. Our intern took a story a step too far. You're going to get criticism no matter what we do. The lesson learned is to be humble when you approach an issue. People forgive you very quickly. Be transparent. Because information travels	Around four years ago council took on a new tenor. We're trying to establish (an outreach) process. A toolkit. If don't have staff to dedicate essentially full time, you lose your community. Engagement means being present and frequently. There's a cost. We cannot break (outreach) apart in different departments and give as an ancillary assignment. You have a bunch of PIOs, disjointed outreach efforts. It's not very	Middle-class community, not affluent. We know clearly we're not just talking to San Leandro. Without analytics, we lose that ability to understand who engages at what times of the day. A police captain came down with cancer, we shared the story and a lot of people in China found it interesting. Echoed their experience. Sharing of emotions. We tried to standardize a Chinese character	Procurement approach shifted. From translation services 24/7 to recruitment of different ethnic groups. DOJ grant exclusively for public safety outreach in the Chinese community. We're finding we have the resources, we just aren't deploying them in the best way. Weibo does not have good	The goal is to move me to city hall. City of San Leandro is exploring fluid boundaries (in outreach). There's a method to the madness. Be brave be bold. The lesson learned is to be humble when you approach an issue. People forgive you very quickly. If you don't try you never know.	In the California Bay Area, seeing communities thriving. Diverse thinking. People are bringing different thought processes. A lot of cities realize if we can harness that raw talent, maybe we have the next Mark Zuckerberg.

				something. How you're packaging it. We curate stories. A different approach. I engaged the DOJ and said I'm going to explore this and push the boundaries. General interest stories, not always SLPD related. Humanize the experience. A police captain came down with cancer, we shared the story and a lot of people in China found it interesting. Echoed their experience. Sharing of emotions. We feel connected to our international followers we've never met. If you're not engaging people our going to ignore you. It feels obvious, but PDs and cities don't have		quickly (the old model) comes off insincere. People need to engage with "realness". Be willing to open yourself up to critical feedback. Being vulnerable. Our overwhelming success was because we're open to taking punches.	effective. The goal is to move me to city hall. City of San Leandro is exploring fluid boundaries (in outreach). Outreach falls in line with all political priorities. I engaged the DOJ and said I'm going to explore this and push the boundaries. Social media in law enforcement is very cookie cutter. The only reason you engage (with traditional outreach) is because you're interested in public safety PSAs. If you're not engaging people our going to ignore you. It feels obvious, but PDs and cities don't have that mindset. You have an inherent obstacle. The mindset is you only talk about stuff germane to the department. PDs expect people to come to you. That's egocentric. Just put it out and	name for San Leandro. What does it mean to engage with a particular community? What does it mean when we move to different communities? When we thought "what should we look into?" We picked our highest foreign-born community and used Weibo. Moon Festival, radio interviews on Kung Pao Radio, put our names out there. Focus groups - you realize what your community thinks. The way they saw themselves in the world. We were wholly unaware of the foreign born population's mindset of us. In the California Bay Area, seeing communities thriving. Diverse thinking. People are bringing different thought processes. They want and	analytics process. It doesn't track anything. $9,000 per year for analytics. For a local government that's a dealbreaker. DOJ microgrant of $75,000. The city wouldn't have otherwise funded (the project). Grant allowed focus groups. Would never have had that extra insight. The grant gives us the money to implement (these efforts). I don't have a sustainable model. Inherent weakness - the city doesn't have funding for the long term. It pains me these lessons		

| | | | | that mindset.

PDs expect people to come to you. That's egocentric. Just put it out and expect people to come. They're not going to engage.

You can put out the word but it doesn't mean anyone cares.

If you don't connect issues to people's lives you're going to lose people.

What does it mean to engage with a particular community? What does it mean when we move to different communities?

Because information travels quickly (the old model) comes off insincere. It turns into apathy.

Moon Festival, radio interviews on Kung Pao Radio, put our names out there.

Focus groups - | | | expect people to come.

Local governments are very cautious about the way they approach things.

Don't use your old model, then say we want to increase engagement.

(Government is) risk averse. The minute they smell even a hint of controversy (they avoid it),

They really want to sanitize it.

A lot of police officers don't know how to analytically (evaluate programs).

If you want zero resistance your engagement will plummet.

You can't do more of what you've always done. It has to be measurable and meaningful.

They have an entrenched mindset. It's (organizational) culture.

We are applying the old tools. If you just translate the information into | expect more (in engagement). | are going to be put in a binder on a shelf.

Government entities have a leaky bucket. Tradeoff (on priorities).

All (issues) are competing as number 1 priorities.

It will forever be challenge. Can you sustain this stuff? Should you make this part of your forever funding?

How can we sustain the great strides we've made?

The eternal challenge in every city is: how can we stretch that dollar further?

Lack of resources raises the question of equity. Which group do you pick (to target)? | | |

| | | | | you realize what your community thinks.

If you want zero resistance your engagement will plummet.

I try to make (outreach) as informal as I can and that worked.

You have to be open to what the community is saying.

They notice our change and say thank you for listening to my feedback.

Engagement means people want their voice heard. There needs to be an environment where it's free-flowing and they feel like they're talking to their friend.

Do you communicate in their language? But are you (also) connecting in a way they understand?

The way to go about fixing (apathy) is | | | Cantonese are people going to care?

The innovation isn't there out of fear.

New way of policing and public safety (was a motivator). | | The grant mechanism was helpful (in evaluating the approach). | | |

				reaching out. Engagement is more than the language you speak. It's how you connect with other people.							
3	Some brand new immigrants don't speak a word of English. Little understanding. The Chinese community won't get emergency notifications. They probably don't even sign up. We have a lot of foreign language residents. They need different forms of communication and to be more connected. In dealing with non-English speakers, you need to	(We get questions like) If I get a ticket, what do I do? If I don't agree with it, what do I do? Couple of times went to PD and met with Weibo follower to help them understand the laws and procedures. You need to spend more time understanding other cultures. As a public agency, you need to understand the differences and diversities of what you	In dealing with non-English speakers, you need to allow time, allow patience. Their questions might be dumb or not important to us, but it's important to them. We need to understand that. (DOJ grant indicates) there must be a need for police agencies in dealing with foreign language residents. A lot of our community events started focusing more on (reaching Chinese community).	Ongoing outreach programs, events with Chinese community. (Our interaction) gained a lot of followers. I'm trying to bring a level of interaction that's more lively (through video). We have a lot of foreign language residents. They need different forms of communication and to be more connected. PD has a tent at the local farmers market. Information in Chinese, Weibo logo. They know somebody at the PD speaks Chinese.	Last generation, totally different climate (among police) than their kids. Scared of law enforcement. New generation is very vocal. Not afraid to react or respond - occupy this or that. The cultural different nowadays change very quickly. People are a lot more mobile.		Police and public agencies don't necessarily interact with (followers). I want the culture of interaction between residents and police to change. Where (some immigrants) come from, there's mistrust and lack of communication between law enforcement and communities. U.S. law enforcement don't respond on social media. Even if it's positive, they won't even hit "Like." I made it clear to the chief, if you want me to start a blog, I am by all tokens a blogger. The previous chief was very understanding. She understood this was a try.	I always would like to be identified as Chinese. As a Hongkonger. Not sure if others view me as Chinese-American. PD has a tent at the local farmers market. Information in Chinese, Weibo logo. They know somebody at the PD speaks Chinese. A lot of sites share common ideas or challenges. What they have to go through that's the same as us. Now we celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival, Chinese New Year.	DOJ grant, made me a part-time worker and helped us hire an intern. Helped us out a lot. The grant serves a purpose and, in return, they want a toolbox. They literally need another me. A volunteer who's willing to invest the time in better communication between community and public agency. As long as every city has a person like me, who's willing to spend the time, the end is gratifying.		

allow time, allow patience. (DOJ grant indicates) there must be a need for police agencies in dealing with foreign language residents. We're looking to translate the whole PD department website.	have. They're like customers.	I'm happy that SLPD had the tolerance and allowance for this project.	They use Weibo as a tool to report non-emergencies. We have a lot of users in Chinese, a lot of police agencies. We opened a channel of communication with overseas community. Traffic officer in China was dying of cancer. Obtained local well-wishes and sent to her on Weibo. Got international well-wishes. A lot of sites share common ideas or challenges. What they have to go through that's the same as us. If you respond and interact, that's how you connect (with people). I spend a lot of time on Weibo answering questions. Would like to expand to WeChat. WeChat is good to talk, Weibo is			I was yielded more freedom than even the PD PIO. A lot of our community events started focusing more on (reaching Chinese community). I'm happy that SLPD had the tolerance and allowance for this project. I've been yielded so much freedom, I've been very happy. As a public agency, you need to understand the differences and diversities of what you have. They're like customers. It's hard for law enforcement to think or work outside the box. They fear disaster would happen. (The organizational culture) needs to be changed. They're trained as a unit to follow order. Public agencies are very closed. At times I don't think the police officers know what the chief is thinking about.			

				good to read things. Lot of the Chinese community use WeChat. Outreach cannot be all social media. It needs to be physical interactions. To manage it is not hard, but to manage it the way we think it should be managed is very challenging. PDs just put information out. To truly reach out requires a lot of mechanics. Like to believe we had no protests because the SLPD reached out to minorities. They were heard.			I hope there's a change. That social media will be a public forum. The only reason PDs get negative media is they don't spend enough effort reaching out. They just put information out.				
	15	9	13	53	11	16	52	19	25	5	2

Case 3: Salem Point planning project - which components of the project were effective? (Open coding)

	Engagement	Unusual approaches	Mitigating barriers	Key entities	Accountability	Diverse voices	Efforts to understand community	Trust	Valuing difference	Investment
1	The process was an	(The project) was innovative	The community being majority	The mayor's office had a	Under each item, listed with	People who do	Try to understand	Make sure people are	The community embraces	$2.1 million has been invested (in the

attempt to engage residents. Get their thoughts on what the city could do. The public meetings were designed to collect feedback. (PlanIt) Game, great to engage younger people living in the community. People who do participate tend not to be the younger (members of community). This was engaging the younger population. Consistent dialogue with stakeholders. You should reach out to people, as well as the people who are not as enthusiastic (about development projects). Do your best to reach out. We reached	insofar as the game is not a typical method of engagement. World Café method for one of the workshops. On-site childcare.	Spanish-speaking. We had interpreters, translation services. A lot of families have challenges in finding childcare. On-site childcare. We offered meals at some. Dominican food. Wanted people to be comfortable. Try to understand what their limitations are, like childcare. How can you solve that problem? The language piece is a major (barrier). Access. Should be standard in a community where English is not the first language.	big influence. She thought (this project) was valuable. North Shore CDC, Neighborhood Association, continue to (participate) in decision making even now. We had input from folks at different departments. The assessor's office, council on aging, police department. Better sense of their needs. The CDC gave lots of input, neighborhoods, lots of residents. (During planning) someone represented Harbor Sweets, other businesses, workforce development, Salem CyberSpace (now LEAP for Education, Inc.), Chamber of Commerce, Peabody Essex	associated partners. There is accountability. Standing monthly meeting. Consistent dialogue with stakeholders. Standing meeting. I don't see a reason to end that. The plan establishes a pattern for a standard operating procedure.	participate tend not to be the younger (members of community). This was engaging the younger population. Better sense of their needs. The CDC gave lots of input, neighborhoods, lots of residents. (During planning) someone represented Harbor Sweets, other businesses, workforce development, Salem CyberSpace (now LEAP for Education, Inc.), Chamber of Commerce, Peabody Essex Museum.	what their limitations are, like childcare. How can you solve that problem? The language piece is a major (barrier). Access. Should be standard in a community where English is not the first language. (The planning processes) gave us a good base of knowledge. The planning process allowed us to understand the (situation on the ground).	comfortable (to help build trust).	cultural diversity. There's an ordinance before the City Council to declare Salem a sanctuary city We're accepting of immigrants and all people. Salem (previously) passed a nondiscrimination ordinance. Salem as a whole is accepting and inclusive of people. Diverse communities are healthy. Our country was founded on folks coming to seek refuge. We should do things not because they're in the plan, but because they are good practice. There's more and more attention being paid to acceptance issues.	neighborhood) since 2013. 50-unit all-affordable building with ground floor retail and community space. Mary Jane Lee park. Major renovation and splash pad to open in summer.

	out to as many as we possibly can, especially the more reticent to participate.			Museum. Now we also have the Latino Leadership Coalition.		Now we also have the Latino Leadership Coalition. We did a good job of reaching out to as many folks as possible. We reached out to as many as we possibly can, especially the more reticent to participate. We wouldn't ordinarily get a high youth response.				
2	It was very useful and was a fun and great way to get people to participate. There were a number of meetings at the Point Neighborhood Association to get input from	They created an interactive, web-based games. Folks could log on and say what they knew and what they wanted to see developed. It was fun and interactive.		The city is the main lead. Representatives from stakeholders like the CDC, Point Neighborhood Association, university, Chamber of Commerce, local workforce	There's still a small group of stakeholders that meets monthly. The city is the main lead. Representatives from stakeholders like the CDC, Point Neighborhood Association, university,	The (game) was open to everyone in the city. Lots of youth participated. Point neighborh	(The game) had specific questions about what you knew about neighborhood assets, how you describe it, what there is to see in the neighborhood. There were a number of	There's a push for people to come learn and meet city official.		$1 million splash pad to open in Mary Jane Lee Park. Bigger park used for baseball, formerly used by Salem High School. Now used for evening games. Underutilized. There's become a renewed interest in investment (in the

surrounding neighborhoods as well.

Point neighborhood meetings, the CDC tried to convene their residents, announced at Spanish masses to get folks to participate.

It's a great opening tool to try to engage people. But it's not the only way. | Every correct response, you receive coins.

It was very useful and was a fun and great way to get people to participate.

They're more open now to trying different things. We're moving in the right direction, but at a snail's pace. | | agency. | Chamber of Commerce, local workforce agency. | ood meetings, the CDC tried to convene their residents, announced at Spanish masses to get folks to participate. | meetings at the Point Neighborhood Association to get input from surrounding neighborhoods as well.

It's always been an immigrant community.

The CDC has tried to invite people from around the city to the Point.

(Through the CDC's organization) kids get together and do clean-ups, paint murals.

The community tries to bring businesses and residents on walking tours of the neighborhood.

I think it's a great tool to learn more about the neighborhood and their needs. I wish it would've come with money. | | | Point).

Now we're seeing some investment. |
| 11 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 11 | 2 | 9 | 7 |

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