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Journal of the American Planning Association

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information: <u>http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rjpa20</u>

A Review of "Displacement by Development: Ethics, Rights and Responsibilities"

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To cite this article: L. Nicolas Ronderos (2013): A Review of "Displacement by Development: Ethics, Rights and Responsibilities", Journal of the American Planning Association, DOI:10.1080/01944363.2012.748399

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2012.748399

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decision making and implementation. The case studies also point to the influence of tiered governance structures with consistent directives, regulations, and incentives, ranging from high vehicle fuel taxes, to climate protection targets, and environmental standards and building energy codes. Other factors that emerge from the case studies are a high degree of public land ownership; a long tradition of strict land use controls; a history of compact, dense, mixed-use, pedestrian- and transit-friendly development patterns; and a culture of mobility that embraces walking, biking, and transit use.

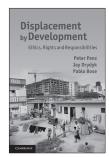
Are these conditions necessary for the advance of green urbanism in the United States? If so, to what extent are they present or likely to be in the future? In his introductory and concluding chapters, Beatley provides summary comments on the lessons these cases provide for U.S. urban planning and the obstacles to overcome. My work indicates that U.S. cities are making progress perhaps on par with European cities in two of the five types of green city initiatives addressed by these case studies (green infrastructure and pollution remediation) but lag behind in the other areas.

While progress has been made, the main obstacles in the United States are in the other areas, especially sustainable land use and mobility, include U.S. culture and tradition, the politics of private property versus public benefit, and the U.S. legacy of dispersed land development and auto dependence. These obstacles must be addressed if the American Dream (a suburban house on a large lot with a long auto commute) is to be shifted toward the European model (a smaller dwelling in a dense, mixed-use, walkable development with easy access to transit).

I guess the good news is that the American Dream does appear to be changing. Consumer preference surveys continue to indicate the growing appeal of compact, mixed-use, community-oriented neighborhoods, and this is reflected in higher appraised value for properties with these attributes. Pedestrian- and transit-oriented developments are becoming the norm of new developments in many areas of the country, while the latest U.S. census data show that central cities are growing faster than suburbs in many regions. More people are attracted to central cities in the U.S. as the cities have become cleaner and safer, and more willing and able to cater to residential living with extensive public spaces and cultural amenities. This migration is driven in part by demographic changes in age and household type, the improved quality of city life, and the higher time and money costs of distant commutes.

Beatley concludes the book with a commentary on political obstacles in the United States to many of the innovations for green cities. In this section, he argues for the need for education, advocacy, political leadership, technical capability, financial incentives, and emerging markets that offer consumers greater choices about where and how they wish to live.

Community Development and Neighborhood Planning



Peter Penz, Jay Drydyk, and Pablo Bose. (2011). *Displacement by Development: Ethics, Rights and Responsibilities.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 344 pages. \$32.99 (paperback).

Reviewed by L. Nicolas Ronderos, Regional Plan Association

Economic development projects seem to be inevitably stuck between project proponents and the communities displaced by them. *Displacement by Development: Ethics, Rights and Responsibilities* lays out this impasse between pro- and anti-development positions, and works diligently to frame a common ground to overcome it. As a first step, the book defines what the opposing positions argue. The pro-development or managerial perspective tends to adopt an interventionist conception of development "aiming to improve living conditions and ameliorate harmful consequences of economic processes" (p. 15). The antidevelopment or movementist perspective is "inclined to regard development as an invasive and harmful process that calls for all-out resistance" (pp. 15–16). As experience confirms, these diverging conceptions of development result in an all-too-common polarization between proponents and detractors of projects.

The book defines development and displacement in a way that is open to both camps in the debate, aiming to build a balanced foundation. The authors describe development as "enhanced production or distribution of perceived public or private goods [making this definition] unbiased with respect to invasive or interventionist conceptions of development" (p. 57). In other words, they treat development as a process that can lead to direct or indirect displacement and can be both invasive or interventionist, supporting anti-development as well as pro-development advocates, respectively.

The book carves a framework within these differing sides and advances a development ethics that allows pro- and anti-development claims to be resolved by identifying common rights and responsibilities. The basis of this development ethics framework is to identify and avoid wrongdoing in economic development through the following yardsticks: a) right of non-victimization or to be free from net losses, b) right of equitably sharing in benefits, c) right to good reason for displacement by a participatory and sound project, and d) right to equitable empowerment. Together with a set of values centered on non-maleficence or non-harm, these rights form the basis for responsible development, characterized by the pursuit of appropriate development goals, and by responsibility in the treatment of those potentially harmed by such projects.

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This inclusive gesture does not immediately resolve the contrasting views, as it appeals to a moral and philosophical higher ground to address issues that are political and more partisan in nature. Ultimately, rights need to become law in order to ensure they are followed and respected in any given locality or nation, and by international organizations. The authors contend that "turning moral rights and responsibilities into law is the only reliable way of ensuring the fair treatment of the actually and potentially displaced" (p. 242).

The authors further contend that short of enshrining these rights into law, pro-development agents should follow these moral reasons to achieve responsible development, the practical reasons for doing so including "smoother project implementation for managers, legitimating of individual projects or development visions, and the securing of support for politicians and their parties" (p. 303). Similarly, anti-development agents will need to advance their agendas, aiming for recognition of their perspective, and, therefore, need to engage with political actors and other stakeholders in the political process. "It is not good enough in our view simply to resist, but for the displaced and their advocates to engage with or to become power-holders themselves in order to overcome the contrary resistance of current power-holders in maintaining existing practices" (p. 304).

What are the implications of this discussion for practicing planners? Although this framework will be difficult to pursue with ongoing development projects given the often entrenched positions of warring sides, it can work as a guide for finding common ground. The book's recognition of the importance of local and national legal systems adds to the difficulties of advancing this strategy, since each locality has its historic system of rights and responsibilities. Given that the ultimate basis for this framework is the law, more attention to comparative legal contexts and legal traditions is needed, to propose strategies that advance responsible development. Practitioners can build on the ethical debate advanced by this book and continue exploring concrete ways to mediate in development conflicts.

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Transportation



Eva Kassens-Noor. (2012). *Planning Olympic Legacies: Transport Dreams and Urban Realities.* New York, NY: Routledge. 160 pages. \$39.95 (paperback).

Reviewed by Tuna Batuhan, Florida State University

s described early on in *Planning Olympic Legacies: Transport Dreams and Urban Realities*, the intent of this volume is to tell "the untold secrets of applying and planning for the Olympics, the transport dreams with all the public hype, and the urban realities with broken or partially fulfilled promises" (p. xviii). Given this, author Kassens-Noor details efforts in several cities to align Olympic transport requirements with the metropolitan transport and urban development strategies in the host cities.

The book is organized into eight chapters. In the first chapter, the author outlines the structure of the book and in chapter two explores and details the influence of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on city planning efforts in host cites. The following four chapters are devoted to the detailed case studies of four previous Olympic host cities (Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, and Athens), while chapter seven looks at planning efforts in two future host cities at the time the book was written (London and Rio de Janeiro). The cases are meticulously researched and well documented, and include maps of transportation opportunities and challenges. A strength of the book is in the depth of its cases, as the author tells the unofficial story of the Olympic legacy by using a variety of primary sources, including interviews with key policy actors, archival analysis, and site visits.

A central thesis of the book is that the IOC has the vision, power, and necessary tools to influence the host cities' urban planning process. In terms of Olympic transportation planning, the IOC's main focus is to ensure that the host city's transport system is functioning well and operates smoothly. In the case studies of Barcelona (Olympic host city in 1992) and Athens (2004), Kassens-Noor illustrates that the Olympics were successfully used as a catalyst for urban change as these cities aligned the Olympics with their urban vision and transportation system goals and investments. In contrast, in Atlanta (1996), the primary focus was on road transport and the public transport improvements were minor. The Atlanta Games are described as "the chaos Games" (p. 44) due to transport-related problems, and the IOC learned lessons from Atlanta's transport fiasco. In Sydney (2000), the event organizers had a shortsighted view for transportation. The primary legacy was the successfully transformed Homebush, a heavily polluted brownfield into an urban village.