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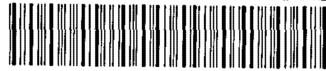
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The Just and Beautiful City:

Concepts of Aesthetics and Justice in Contemporary American Urbanism

by

Anne Tyler Feldmann

Honors Thesis

in

Jepson School of Leadership Studies
University of Richmond
Richmond, VA

April 29, 2011

Advisor: Dr. Thad Williamson

Abstract

The Just and Beautiful City:
Concepts of Aesthetics and Justice in Contemporary American Urbanism

Anne Tyler Feldmann

Committee members: *Dr. Thad Williamson, Dr. Doug Hicks, Professor Noah Sachs*

This project investigates methods for addressing social injustices by reconciling equity planning with aesthetic design. The paper includes an analysis of Susan Fainstein's criteria for the "just city," a review of environmental aesthetics theories, and an overview of theories that have reconciled justice and aesthetics previously. The project utilizes two case studies—Atlanta, Georgia's BeltLine and Norfolk, Virginia's waterfront redevelopment—to gauge the relevancy of these theories in current planning practices. Based on the findings, this paper argues that the "just city" should encompass equity, diversity, democracy, and beauty, which ought to be maximized in current and future plans for American cities.

Signature Page for Leadership Studies Honors Thesis

The Just and Beautiful City:
Concepts of Aesthetics and Justice in Contemporary American Urbanism

Thesis presented

by

Anne Tyler Feldmann

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by *Student Name* has been approved by his/her committee as satisfactory completion of the thesis requirement to earn honors in leadership studies.

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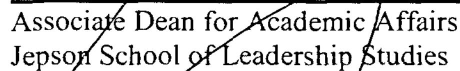


Associate Dean for Academic Affairs
Jepson School of Leadership Studies

Chapter 1: Theories of Aesthetics and Justice in Contemporary American Urban Planning

Cities are a creation of humanity and they should exist to serve human needs and aspirations. Today, Americans are accustomed to meaningless buildings and cities that no longer serve the needs of their community and do little to inspire thought or appreciation. These conditions cannot be fixed quickly, nor can they be addressed by a few. This reinvention of the American urban landscape will require a long-term vision and the leadership of politicians, planners, philosophers, and most importantly, the citizens of our communities. To rectify this situation, we must together ask what our urban landscape ought to look like and what ideals it should reflect.

Urban planning is a complex field that is often discussed in terms of its separate aspects. The task of planning becomes further complicated when investigating how to plan for a more just city. Most commonly, planning scholars sharply distinguish between equity planning, or planning aimed at achieving social welfare, and the artistic or aesthetic planning of beautiful urban forms. Many social progressives have criticized the aesthetic component of planning as frivolous and secondary to ambitions of addressing the social and political issues involved in planning. While some modernist planners have attempted to address social aims through the calculated design of physical forms, this has largely failed, often creating a ripple effect of unexpected consequences. These failures have led many urban planning theorists to suggest that social justice can only be promoted by focusing on the social and political practices and procedures of the city rather than by looking at the design of urban forms. This focus however, has come at the cost of nearly entirely excluding issues of spatial form and aesthetics from the discourse of the good city (Mattila 2003, 131).

While artistic or aesthetic design theory alone cannot address the multitude of issues associated with social justice that occur in the modern city, beauty is certainly an integral component in shaping the human relationship with the environment and society. Since the time of ancient Greece, philosophers have connected the aesthetic quality of cities and its relationship to fairness, justice and equity for the population. Beginning in the eight century B.C.E., the goal of designing the "kalli-polis," or the beautiful city, has been an ideal for political theorists and architects (Murphy 2001, 19). By placing an emphasis on openness in public spaces and an orderly arrangement of collective goods, justice was thought to flourish by enabling humans to gather and assemble and by nurturing mutual exchanges, which in turn promoted sociability and geniality (Chytry 2004, 85). They believed that the city must be the site of openness in which human graces such as reasoning, art, philosophy, music, and athletics could proliferate. As author Peter Murphy explains, "the city formed the citizen through the ethos of, and the participation in, the public festivals, drama, music and dance, philosophizing, rhetoric, and the athletics of the city" (Murphy 2001, 281). This conclusion indicates that when these human graces existed, justice, fairness, and equity would not only flourish but were even seen to receive their origins and character.

Of course, the concept of justice has changed dramatically since the conception of the "kalli-polis" in ancient Greece. With an increasingly diverse society and a widening distribution of equity across genders, races, and classes, contemporary society has not yet achieved the ideal of the "kalli-polis" for this new context. In the United States, there were two major planning movements that initiated the public discourse on the ideal city form and what values a locale should embody and promote. In the late nineteenth century, Daniel Burnham and other wealthy social progressives developed the City Beautiful movement, which was meant to address the

social ills of the inner cities and instill civic loyalty by creating beautiful civic centers. As a later account would describe, "Important as beauty was for itself, its role in environmental conditioning was never far from the minds of civic center advocates. The civic center's beauty would reflect the souls of the city's inhabitants, inducing order, calm, and propriety therein. Second, the citizen's presence in the center, together with other citizens, would strengthen pride in the city and awaken a sense of community with fellow urban dwellers" (Wilson 1989, 92).

During the same period, London native Ebenezer Howard developed the concept of the "Garden City" after examining the American urban and rural ways of life. In his 1898 book, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform,* which later became known as *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, Howard proposed the creation of new towns that combined the best aspects of town and country living. His plans featured designated spheres for commercial, industrial, and residential use as well as large public parks and private lawns and a greenbelt of agricultural land to limit outward growth. Howard's design grew from his belief that "human society and the beauty of nature are meant to be enjoyed together" (Howard 1965, 48). Both the City Beautiful and Garden City movements had limitations in scope, however, and were met with heavy criticism, which ultimately led to their decline. As American cities continued to dramatically grow during the early and mid-twentieth century, planners and developers turned their attention to designing and building a new mode of living that would encompass middle-class Americans' redefined sense of independence and prosperity. The physical manifestation of the new American dream in suburban development, however, led to the destruction of tightly woven urban communities and a dismissal of what made the central city beautiful.

Today, as planners attempt to remedy the enormous social problems that stem from the suburban development of the twentieth century, many have turned their back on goals of creating

beautiful and appealing urban environments. Despite this, the artistic element of urban planning continues to survive, but it plays a small and often secondary role in new projects. With an urban landscape that has been classified as a reflection of a "cult of ugliness" (Porteous 1996, xvii), and has resulted in a nation of "unrooted cities" (Hester 2006, 3), it is now time to reconcile the policy and design elements of planning in order to more comprehensively address injustices that exist in American cities today and to create more just and beautiful cities for the future.

Purpose of Research

While this project is not an attempt to argue that social justice can be solely achieved through a greater emphasis on aesthetics in urban design or that beauty is of greater value than social justice, the intended purpose is to reconcile procedural and design theories of urban planning and to demonstrate that these two approaches can in fact complement one another. I argue that by having a concern for both justice and beauty, urban planners create more meaningful places, which in turn can have effects on social, political, and economic problems of contemporary American cities.

In the following sections, I will review Susan Fainstein's recent work, *The Just City,* which I will utilize as a foundation to build upon for integrating the two camps of planning theory: equity planning and aesthetic design. This will be followed by an overview of a selection of the theoretical advancements in the study of aesthetics, particularly in its attempts to apply the traditional study of beauty and the senses to the built environment. These theories will explain how considerations for aesthetics in planning can have larger social impacts beyond creating a visually beautiful space. I will also review previous attempts at reconciling aesthetics and justice in order to demonstrate that these concepts can be combined, and I will indicate their strengths and applicability to current cases of planning. Finally, I will introduce the methodology for

analyzing the selected case studies—Atlanta, Georgia and Norfolk, Virginia—and explain how I plan to assess the degree to which these examples of planning utilize policy and design mechanisms for creating more just and beautiful cities.

The "Just City"

Over the years, there have been numerous attempts at developing an urban theory of justice, a tremendous aim considering the complexity of defining what is meant by the term "justice" and how to apply it to a diverse setting like a city. Professor of urban planning Susan Fainstein provides one of the most recent attempts at defining these terms in her effort to formulate an urban theory of justice for the twenty-first century metropolis. Her work consists of suggested public policy solutions for addressing urban injustices. In her book *The Just City*, Fainstein puts forth a clear and compelling central argument that society should strive towards creating more just cities by maximizing three critical values: *equity*, *diversity*, and *democracy* (Fainstein 2010, 166). She believes that urban planners and city officials should be upholding these three values by applying them to current policy choices and by altering those policies that currently do not maximize these values (Fainstein 2010, 86). According to Fainstein, current metropolitan policies tend to focus mostly on growth-promoting policies—those that accentuate economic advantages and enhance competitiveness. In the opening pages of her book, she argues, "Except in wealthy enclaves, the desirability of growth is usually assumed, while the consequences for social equity are rarely mentioned" (Fainstein 2010, 2). While economic development and competitiveness can aid in increasing the welfare of cities' residents, Fainstein's argument calls for a shift in thinking towards larger social questions.

Before more fully developing her thesis, Fainstein first provides definitions for some of the largest and most important concepts of her argument. She begins by clarifying what she

understands to be a "just city." Although it is admittedly a loose definition, she describes a just city as one in which "public investment and regulation would produce equitable outcomes rather than support those already well off" (Fainstein 2010, 3). However, even this term requires further examination. There are a wide variety of conceptions of justice as it pertains to the city-level. While acknowledging the danger of generalizing, Fainstein chooses to "name" justice as encompassing *equity*, *diversity*, and *democracy* as they factor into all public decisions (Fainstein 2010, 5). To apply previous theories of justice to her discussion of cities, Fainstein repeatedly cites the work of Martha Nussbaum and her argument for protecting human capabilities as a means of promoting a more just society. The list of capabilities that are integral to Nussbaum's theory are: life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination, and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; other species; play; and control over one's environment (Nussbaum 2000, 78-80). These capabilities are not intended to be basic human functions, but rather what all humans have the opportunity to do, regardless of their status in society (Fainstein 2010, 55). Fainstein favors Nussbaum's approach to justice particularly because it is translated "into a communal rather than individual ethic," which in practice at the city-level would, "protect urban residents from having to sacrifice quality of life for financial gain" (Fainstein 2010, 55).

Using Nussbaum's capabilities approach as inspiration and three in-depth case studies as models of current policy choices, Fainstein strives to provide a list of criteria by which to evaluate current policy and formulate future policy. Although she is not able to prescribe specific programs, this list provides valuable and practical guidelines that follow Fainstein's belief that reform must come about through "nonreformist" measures. By this, Fainstein means that policies should be put forth under current social frameworks, but that they would 'set in motion a

trajectory of change in which more radical reforms become practicable over time' (Fainstein 2010, 18).

Fainstein's argument for creating and promoting justice is further complicated by the criteria—*equity*, *diversity*, and *democracy*—which she has chosen as her guiding values. While volumes have been devoted to these concepts individually, Fainstein provides appropriate definitions for these terms as they pertain to her conception of the just city. In defining *equity*, Fainstein makes the delineation between equity and equality because she wishes for her standard for evaluating policy to refer to "a distribution of both material and nonmaterial benefits derived from public policy that does not favor those who are already better off at the beginning," and that "it does not require that each person be treated the same but rather that treatment be appropriate" (Fainstein 2010, 36). Programs that advocate for greater equity should be measured in terms of who benefits from these programs and to what extent (Fainstein 2010, 36).

Using the term *diversity* raises its own issues as well. Not only has advocating for greater diversity been in tension with other goals in the past, it can also be seen as forced or strategic, which does not support the vision of a just city. While she could have chosen other terms such as "recognition" or "tolerance," Fainstein selects diversity for its ability to be applied to both the physical environment and social relationships (Fainstein 2010, 67). Fainstein cites famous urban advocate, Jane Jacobs to bolster her argument. During her life, Jacobs promoted mixed-use design in cities, which she believed would promote both economic and social diversity. Contemporary urban theorist Richard Florida furthers this argument by claiming that urban diversity stimulates creativity, which is an integral component of economic development (Fainstein 2010, 69). While these arguments indicate the significant role that diversity can play in reforming problems in the city, planning for diversity can destroy community ties built on

similar demographics or experiences (Fainstein 2010, 75). This tension between the aims of heterogeneity and community can make it especially difficult to design policy for this admirable goal.

Fainstein's final value, *democracy*, generally refers to providing a democratic process of participation for citizens that will be affected by policies or programs. In her description, Fainstein cites a popular argument put forth by Sherry Arnstein, who believes that by strengthening the role of disadvantaged groups in formulating and implementing policy, there will be greater redistributional outcomes (Fainstein 2010, 64). Although Arnstein understands the problems of solely depending upon this, she believes that until there is a redistribution of decisional power, there cannot be a redistribution of benefits (Fainstein 2010, 64). Arnstein made these arguments in 1964 and Fainstein points out that since then, highly organized protests have waned, leading to a decrease in pressure for citizen participation (Fainstein 2010, 64). In light of this, she believes that planners ought to emphasize citizen participation to the greatest extent possible in order to provide policymakers with local knowledge and to make their decisions more democratic (Fainstein 2010, 67).

After reviewing these major components of her larger argument, it is clear that these three values can often come in tension with one another within urban policy debates, especially when considering the specific context of different cities and communities. Despite these challenges, Fainstein advocates that these three values be upheld to their fullest extent and concludes with a list of guidelines that can be considered a basis for judgment for policymakers concerned with creating more just cities. This set of criteria, which Fainstein aligns with Nussbaum's list of capabilities, is a primary example of the scholarly discourse on how to strive towards defining and creating a just city through policy mechanisms and is the most recent major

effort to stipulate a new urban theory of justice. The following table summarizes Fainstein's set of criteria for planning just urban policies.

Table 1.1

In furtherance of equity	In furtherance of diversity	In furtherance of democracy
1. All new housing development should provide units for households with incomes below the median, either on-site or elsewhere, with the goal of providing a decent home and suitable living environment for everyone. 2. Housing units developed to be affordable should remain in perpetuity in the affordable housing pool or be subject to one-for-one replacement. 3. Households or businesses should not be involuntarily relocated for the purpose of obtaining economic development or community balance except in exceptional circumstances. 4. Economic development programs should give priority to the interests of employees and, where feasible, small businesses, which generally are more locally rooted than large corporations. 5. Megaprojects should be subject to heightened scrutiny, be required to provide direct benefits to low-income people in the form of employment provisions, public amenities, and a living wage, and, if public subsidy is involved, should include public participation in the profits. 6. Fares for intracity transit (but not commuter rail) should be kept very low. 7. Planners should take an active role in deliberative settings in pressing for egalitarian solutions and blocking ones that disproportionately benefit the already well-off.	1. Households should not be required to move for the purpose of obtaining diversity, but neither should new communities be built that further segregation. 2. Zoning should not be used for discriminatory ends but rather should foster inclusion. 3. Boundaries between districts should be porous. 4. Ample public spaces should be widely accessible and varied; where public spaces are provided by private entities, political speech should not be prohibited within the property. At the same time, groups with clashing lifestyles should not have to occupy the same location. 5. To the extent practical and desired by affected populations, land uses should be mixed. 6. Public authorities should assist groups who have historically suffered from discrimination in achieving access to opportunity in housing, education, and employment.	1. Groups that are not able to participate directly in decision-making processes should be represented by advocates. 2. Plans should be developed in consultation with the target population if the area is already developed. The existing population, however, should not be the sole arbiter of the future of an area. Citywide consideration must also apply. 3. In planning for as yet uninhabited or sparsely occupied areas, there should be broad consultation that includes representatives of groups currently living outside the affected areas.
Fainstein 2010, 172-175.		

Fainstein's account, however, neglects a critical component of urban planning. When addressing the city, the aesthetic quality of an urban form can also play a critical role in upholding the social values that define a just city. While Fainstein does not acknowledge the role that design and aesthetics can have in city planning in *The Just City*, she has explored this issue

in an article written prior to the publication of her book. In this 2006 paper, entitled "Planning the Just City," Fainstein explores the value of beauty as an example of a collective good of a city. Citing an online urban sociology discussion panel on whether beautiful city amenities are only appreciated by affluent residents, Fainstein points out, "there seems to be an underlying assumption that low-income people do not care for amenities. In other words, it is implied that city beautification matters only to urban elites and that working class people care only for material benefits" (Fainstein 2006, 17). However, this myth can be dispelled when talking to city dwellers about their preferences. In the same paper, Fainstein provides the narrative of a personal conversation with a minister in central New Brunswick, New Jersey:

> I asked a local minister, who was lecturing to my class, whether his congregation, which mainly resided in public housing, resented the transformation of downtown by brick sidewalks and street furniture. Did he feel that their space was being taken away from them for the benefit of young urban professionals. 'Are you serious?' he replied. 'Do you think my people don't like to be somewhere that looks nice?' (Fainstein 2006, 17)

This conversation certainly highlights that beauty is not a good that is exclusive for any class or group. It provoked Fainstein to declare, "The right to the city ought to refer to more than mere inclusion—it needs to encompass access to an appealing city. Reaction against exclusionary practices seems to have devolved into regarding an association between low income people and ugly surroundings as desirable" (Fainstein 2006, 17).

Despite this important recognition, Fainstein does little to address how to create a more appealing city that is accessible to all residents in the remainder of this paper. What is more, she has chosen to exclude this question entirely in her major book publication, stating that her analysis is limited to values of urban justice rather than investigating other considerations such as, "good city form or environmental sustainability," which she believes to be elements of a more expansive investigation (Fainstein 2010, 58).

A just city should encompass equal access to a beautiful and meaningful city. Attention to the aesthetic quality of design in addressing the problems of cities can partner with public policy in order to transform American cities. In the following sections, I will attempt to reconcile the procedural component of planning, as exemplified by the work of Fainstein, with the design goals of an aesthetic urban environment. In doing so, I will argue that a fourth value should be added to Fainstein's conception of the just city—beauty—and that it ought to be maximized to the furthest extent possible in current and future plans for American cities. I will outline several theories of aesthetics as they pertain to the urban environment and will demonstrate the linkage that exists between normative theories of aesthetics and justice in hopes of showing that design mechanisms can complement policy initiatives aimed at creating more just cities.

Theories of Environmental Aesthetics

Although the term 'aesthetics' is often considered synonymous with external beauty, the philosophical study of aesthetics in fact encompasses the study of all sensory knowledge and has evolved to include the study of factors such as meaning, memory, metaphor, symbol, and history (Berleant 2005, 3). During the twentieth century in particular, the study of aesthetics became relegated to frivolity and was considered an elite term that could only be applied to forms of high art. Consequently, discussions on aesthetics became nearly obsolete in the debate on representations of culture and ideals and were instead replaced with the political and economic concepts of 'progress' and 'industry.' Nowhere was this truer than in the United States, where some have argued that we have developed a "cult of ugliness" (Porteous 1996, xvii). In 1927, social commentator H.L. Mencken criticized the state of American society, exclaiming, "Here is something that the psychologists have so far neglected: the love of ugliness for its own sake, the lust to make the world intolerable. Its habitat is the United States. Out of the melting pot emerges

a race that hates beauty as it hates truth" (Porteous 1996, xvii). Despite its harsh and sweeping nature, this statement encompasses a commonly held perception of the American built environment of the post-industrial age. Buildings and planned communities have devalued aesthetics and replaced it with functionality and economy.

As the credibility of the study of aesthetics has increased over the past several years, theories of aesthetics have been extrapolated to encompass the aesthetic qualities of the built environment and have been applied to debates on how to address the ailments of the American urban landscape. Although it remains a relatively small field of study, environmental aesthetics has been given considerable attention by a number of contemporary philosophers who are concerned with the social and ecological status of the built environment in the twenty-first century.

There have been a number of interpretations of the theories' purpose and scope. Finnish philosopher Arto Haapala has written that the study of aesthetics most applies to the built environment when attempting to define a 'sense of place,' or the spirit of a place. According to Haapala, this can be defined in terms of cultural history, geological and ecological specifics, or feelings of strangeness versus familiarity (Haapala 2005 42-43). Interpretation of place requires acknowledging its existence in terms of its influence on an individual's personal identity. He argues that the aesthetics of familiar places affect humans differently than the aesthetics of strange places. When surrounded by the familiar, individuals do not possess the same critical distance and level of appreciation as they would if they were in a strange place. He concludes that individuals should stop looking at their familiar surroundings in purely functional terms and ought to cultivate a greater level of appreciation for their everyday environment by openly participating and engaging in the space that they inhabit (Haapala 2005, 50-51).

Allen Carlson furthers the conversation on environmental aesthetics by posing the question of how to precisely appreciate human environments and how environmental aesthetics is a more sufficient tool than previous models of design assessment. He asserts that the most popular method of answering the question of how to appreciate the human environment had been to use the "designer landscape" approach, which entails applying the theories of the aesthetics of art to the built environment. This presents problems, however, because it too closely associates the study of the human environment with the study of the aesthetics of architecture, which in itself is hard to assess. The concept of a 'work of architecture' is too abstract and hard to define because buildings are more often judged on their functionality and purpose than their appreciative value. When describing art, the cultural context serves as the principal mode for appreciation. In the human environment, however, the surrounding ecology must also be taken into account (Carlson 2007, 47-49).

To better understand and appreciate human environments, Carlson argues that we ought to replace the aesthetics of art approach with the 'aesthetics of environments' approach. Based on the study of landscape ecology, the aesthetics of environments approach combines the views of culture and ecology in order to create a clearer picture of what makes up the human environment (Carlson 2007, 50-51). A critical value when utilizing the aesthetics of environments approach is what Carlson terms "functional fit," meaning the assessment of how the environment ought to look as a whole. This requires giving proper weight to every building and structure in a given area in order to view how they interact and relate to one another (Carlson 2007, 59). Another consequence of functional fit is that human environments must be appreciated in terms of the functions that they perform. Functional descriptions of buildings and environments help viewers in imagining the effect that these spaces can have on individual

emotions and senses (Carlson 2007, 61). Although Carlson's arguments provide further information on how environmental aesthetics can be applied to the study of the built environment, questions still arise concerning what the relationship between humans and the built environment ought to be and how humans can interact and participate within their surroundings.

Arnold Berleant perhaps provides the most comprehensive and applicable perspective on environmental aesthetics for planning the just city. He argues that it is important to understand and appreciate the built environment because it is the "medium in which we live" and it shapes the identity that we imbue and act upon (Berleant 2005, 13). According to Berleant, today's society is suffering from, "an estrangement from the living context of human life" as well as the disequilibrium between human society and nature (Berleant 2005, 17). This is reflected in our antipathy towards our buildings and cities and the wastefulness that we exhibit through the depletion of natural resources and the excessive creation of waste and pollution. Berleant considers this a social disorder that is not only detrimental to the environment but also society as a whole (Berleant 2005, 17).

It is important, therefore, for communities to build and create meaningful spaces that reflect their distinctive identity and to find harmony with the environment. His many works on the subject suggest that we take on a participatory model of aesthetics when discussing how to rethink the environment. A participatory model of environmental aesthetics maintains that the environment ought to be seen, "as a field of forces continuous with the organism, a field in which there is a reciprocal action of organism on environment and environment on organism, and in which there is no sharp demarcation between them" (Berleant 2005, 9). Because the built environment concurrently shapes our lives and is shaped by human action, it is important that

every member of society acknowledge the space that they occupy and work towards its betterment.

In order to apply the participatory model to the built environment, Berleant provides his readers with design concepts that foster participation and engagement such as the creation of distinct pathways and a variety of public spaces. Paths, as well as roadways, can act upon a viewer's senses based on its curve, incline, texture, and changing attractions and can elicit a multitude of reactions. Rather than constantly using straight paths that do not contain intrigue, designers and planners should vary the paths throughout an environment in order to stimulate an individual's senses and promote appreciation for his or her surroundings. Similarly, public spaces such as plazas, parks, and gardens can invite entry into the public realm and foster interaction with the surroundings and other members of a community. Buildings can invite participation as well through the design of their doors, entryways, and stairs. Ideal building entries should be built on a human scale and are not inhibited by visual barriers. While paths, public spaces and entryways are some of the building blocks of city planning and architectural design, Berleant argues that we should not view them in their primary function, but rather in their secondary function as objects that excite the senses and require engagement (Berleant 2005, 13).

A common topic within environmental aesthetic philosophy is how mass and space can be arranged to elicit individual and citizen participation. As Berleant indicates, the built environment can be shaped to promote human participation or it can be designed to "intimidate, control, or oppress" people (Berleant 2005, 14). In order to avoid these negative arrangements, mass and space of a city or community should be arranged with the pedestrian's perspective in mind. This appeal to the pedestrian, "takes the form of an attraction to the moving body, enticing one to following along a street in relaxed rhythms of stopping and starting and wandering along"

(Berleant 2005, 26). Keeping this attraction in mind is a valuable tool when designing inviting spaces and buildings. Another tactic for inviting participation within a space is to minimize any and all obstructions to the furthest extent possible. Obstructions would include any visual barrier, such as a wall or fence that would deter entrance into a space or building.

With the goal of creating a more just and beautiful city, it is important to understand how the theories of aesthetics and justice can interact and work towards common goals of inclusion and equal opportunity to collective goods. Berleant's work along with that of his contemporaries in the field of environmental aesthetics provide an excellent framework for the assessment of design and planning theories in their attempt to invigorate citizen participation in the built environment. Many of the values that aesthetic philosophers champion relate closely to the values and criterion that Fainstein and others concerned with the state of justice in American cities have put forth. Some theorists have chosen to investigate the relationship between these overlapping themes, indicating that theories of justice and aesthetics can not only coexist, but also work in tandem in order to influence the planning of just and beautiful cities for the future. In the following section, I will provide a brief overview of three significant contributions to the reconciliation of aesthetics and justice as a means of providing examples of how these fields of study can complement one another and to indicate their shortcomings.

Aesthetics and Social Justice

The connections between aesthetics and justice as applied to reforming the city can be interpreted in at least two major ways. The first places an emphasis on how the aesthetics of urban design can produce just living and social arrangements. This is primarily concerned with the organization of space to produce beautiful public spaces that are inclusive and accessible. The second method of integrating concepts of aesthetics and justice is to have a greater

distribution of aesthetic objects or cultural experiences in order to increase accessibility to beauty. While beauty has been a value associated with justice since ancient Greece, in recent decades, there have been several meaningful investigations into this complex relationship between aesthetics and justice. As in the case of Fainstein's prescriptive measures for addressing urban policy for greater social justice, many of the theories that combine aesthetics and justice have found it difficult to indicate specific programs that can be applied to a wide range of urban contexts. Nevertheless, an examination of some of their work provides keen insight into how aesthetics can play a greater role in planning for the just city.

Elaine Scarry's diminutive, yet powerful work, *On Beauty and Being Just,* is a well-regarded example of contemporary explorations into how beauty can work towards creating a more just society. Her work principally pertains to the humanities, however, and does not deal with the city or built environment. In this two-part book, Scarry defends the concept of beauty against the common political arguments that have dismissed beauty as a distraction from more important issues and have treated beautiful objects as objects of privilege (Scarry 1999, 58). Instead, Scarry believes that experiencing beauty can push us towards a greater sense of justice by first leading an observer to a love of conviction, or a "wordless certainty" (Scarry 1999, 29). This love of conviction can in turn lead to a love of the search for truth, which she believes is a necessary condition of justice. Written in her eloquent prose, Scarry states, "The beautiful, almost without any effort of our own, acquaints us with the mental event of conviction, and so pleasurable a mental state is this that ever afterwards one is willing to labor, struggle, wrestle with the world to locate enduring sources of conviction—to locate what is true" (Scarry 1999, 31).

The second half of her book is dedicated to better establishing the many linkages between beauty and justice. Although her argument becomes rather elusive (Diessner et al. 2009, 249),

she makes the connection between these two concepts in three major ways. The first linkage that Scarry creates between beauty and justice comes through the terms' etymological relationship. For example, she takes the word "fairness," and describes how while today we often associate the term with an ethical requirement, the term's European roots reveal that it originally referred to being "beautiful" or "fit" (Scarry 1999, 91). Scarry uses the term fairness again to bolster her argument for her next linkage between beauty and justice—symmetry. She states that, "beautiful things give rise to the notion of distribution, to a lifesaving reciprocity, to fairness not just in the sense of loveliness of aspect but in the sense of 'a symmetry of everyone's relation to one another'" (Scarry 1999, 95). The latter portion of this argument is based on John Rawls' well-regarded definition of "justice as fairness," in which he describes fairness as the 'symmetry of everyone's relations to each other' (Scarry 1999, 97). Finally, Scarry also explores how both of these concepts pertain to distribution. She argues that perceptions of beauty push the viewers to find beauty as it is distributed across the world, which lays the foundation for a greater concern for distributional justice (Scarry 1999, 95-97). Her book concludes that despite beauty's rejection in modern discussions of societal values, humans have intuitively continued to show their concern for maintaining beauty and that it is now time to remove the term from relegation. While this book has been a hymnal for those who believe in preserving beauty in the world, many of Scarry's arguments are convoluted and difficult to extrapolate for physical application.

While Scarry's arguments provide a thorough account of the linkages between beauty and justice, others have developed similar theories that can be applied to urban planning. In her book, *Root Shock: How tearing up city neighborhoods hurts America and what we can do about it*, Dr. Mindy Fullilove provides an in-depth evaluation of the works of French urbanist, Michel Cantal-Dupart. Cantal has developed a theory, termed by Fullilove as the "aesthetics of equity." He

argues that beauty, when equally shared, can create a more just society for all. Fullilove has translated Cantal's work to highlight four major principles that describe the ways in which he views ecology, human rights, and beauty within the scope of urban landscapes. Cantal's four principles as articulated by Fullilove are: respect the common life the way you would an individual life, treasure the buildings history has given us, break the cycle of disinvestment, and ensure freedom of movement (Fullilove 2004, 198-222). Cantal's theory is not based in academia and is mostly rooted in his personal observations from projects he has been involved in around the world. His guiding principles are similar to Fainstein's suggested criteria for assessing policy decisions and are instructive for defining criteria for beauty as the fourth value of a just city.

The second major method of linking aesthetics and justice rather than focusing on urban design involves the just distribution of aesthetic objects. Philosopher of art Monroe Beardsley provides one of the most comprehensive theories of "aesthetic justice" in this manner. According to Beardsley, "aesthetic justice" should be considered a distinct field of justice that pertains to the distribution of goods with an aesthetic quality. He argues that experiencing aesthetic objects is a necessary part of the "good life" and public policy should be concerned with creating greater access to these objects and experiences. Beardsley defines an individual's "aesthetic wealth" as the "totality of aesthetically valuable objects," which is to be differentiated from "aesthetic welfare," or the actualization of this potential wealth (Beardsley 1982, 113). The most difficult element of this argument is defining the aesthetic value of an object and distributing these objects, which are subjectively viewed. While Beardsley defines the aesthetic value as "the *capacity* of objects, situations, events and so forth...[to] raise the aesthetic level of experience significantly," he understands that no one object will be aesthetically pleasing to everyone based

on diverse tastes and backgrounds (Beardsley 1982, 112). He therefore stresses maximizing access to places where objects or experiences can be pondered for their aesthetic value as well as allowing for artistic freedom to create more aesthetic objects.

Beardsley's theory places great responsibility on artists and creators in order to promote aesthetic justice, which can make it difficult to apply it to urban planning, a field which creates human environments that humans not only have to see, but also have to live in. After a review of Beardsley's arguments along with other theories that link aesthetics with justice, it is clear that this research would benefit from the assessment of the current conditions of a selection of examples that would highlight the interaction of these abstract theories in American cities.

Research Methods

Because of the abstract nature of these theories of justice and aesthetics, I have elected to complete two in-depth case studies in order to illuminate some of the current processes being used in urban redevelopment projects that provide lessons of what works and what can be improved upon for future projects. While there are a multitude of examples of redevelopment projects in the United States that could provide insight into the role of policy planning and aesthetic design in urban transformations, these examples were chosen for their localities' potential for real change and lasting effects on metropolitan identity. Whereas other cities have distinct identities and have taken on major projects in the past, both of these cities are known to have a history of urban problems and conflicts and both are now looking for innovative solutions for these conditions. Currently, both of these projects are incomplete; thus, the focus of the studies will be on the intended goals and the rhetoric surrounding the prospects for the projects.

The guiding questions for investigating these cases are:

- Are the planners involved in these cases concerned about concepts of aesthetics and justice? If not, what are their goals in putting forth these plans?
- What are the design and policy techniques used in these redevelopment projects?
- How do the proposed plans compare to proposed policy and aesthetic design elements said to help foster the development of a more just city?

The first case study I have chosen to investigate is the Atlanta BeltLine, a mega-project that plans to provide a 22-mile network of public parks, transportation nodes, and multiuse greenway trails that follow the historic loop of railroad tracks surrounding the central city. This project is an attempt to reign in the city's sprawling outward growth by attracting more individuals back towards the central city and by connecting over 45 older neighborhoods that were previously isolated. It serves as a representative of many American cities who are also dealing with the negative effects of sprawling development on the central city and its residents. The BeltLine has committed itself to enhancing community engagement, providing affordable housing options, and heavily investing in the economic development of Atlanta. The planners of the BeltLine have even put forth an Equitable Development Plan, which they intend to follow in order to promote healthy growth while attempting to break down social and cultural barriers. These stated goals align closely with Fainstein's recommendations for the just city. Further, with an emphasis on parks and greenspace, public art, and historic preservation, many other facets of the plan indicate a level of attention to aesthetic elements. While this innovative project seemingly ties together aesthetics and justice, a further investigation into the motivations and anticipated outcomes of the project is required.

The second case study traces the redevelopment process of Norfolk, Virginia's downtown waterfront properties. In particular, I will be investigating the plans for renovating Norfolk's Waterside Festival Marketplace and Town Point Park, icons of early revitalization efforts, which

were intended to provide citizens of Norfolk and tourists with public spaces dedicated to culture and the arts. This case provides an example of a central city's attempt at providing aesthetic experiences for its residents, making it an ideal case for exploring Monroe Beardsley's theory of "aesthetic justice." Like the Atlanta case, this project is also a response to urban sprawl and is an attempt to draw investment back into the central city and provide high quality amenities and can represent many American cities that have a central waterfront district.

For both cases, I analyze the stated goals of the redevelopment plans to discover if and how they intend to address seeded social tensions and urban design problems. In order to do so, I collected information from the following sources: redevelopment plans and proposed recommendations, project websites, privately commissioned assessments, media reports, and personal interviews with local officials and planners. By analyzing the rhetoric and stated goals of these of these sources, I provide a critical assessment of the degree in which these plans align with the recommendations put forth by Susan Fainstein as well as how concepts of aesthetic are integrated. Where the plans fall short of these goals, I suggest areas for improvement. Later, I utilize the information from these case studies to assess the degree in which concepts of justice and aesthetics are present in contemporary urban planning projects and how these projects can teach future planners how to design the just city.

Chapter 2: The Atlanta BeltLine

With its grassroots origins and its long-term vision for a new united Atlanta, the Atlanta BeltLine has been touted as one of the most innovative urban redevelopment projects in the 21st century in America. It provides a fascinating case for studying the interplay of justice and aesthetics in urban planning. The overarching project, which is projected to cost approximately $2.8 billion and be completed over a twenty-five year period, will encompass a wide range of services including: trails and public transit, parks and greenspace, affordable workforce housing, environmental clean-up, as well as public art and historic preservation. This project is also meant to invigorate economic development and define a unique identity for Atlanta. While this project has only begun to be implemented, the stated goals, professional assessments, and public reception of the plans reveal a great deal about its vision for a reformed American metropolis.

Establishing the Identity of the BeltLine

In 1999, Ryan Gravel, a graduate student of architecture and urban planning at Georgia Tech University, was determined to develop an infrastructure solution for Atlanta's sprawling outward growth, which led to the conception of the BeltLine as his Master's thesis. Concerned with how the design of transit systems can influence urban development and growth, Gravel began to focus on the old railroad corridors of Atlanta (Wilkinson 2007). From its founding by a railroad surveyor in 1843 up until the early twentieth century, Atlanta was an epicenter for locomotive travel. The 22-mile BeltLine that these railroad corridors created provided an interesting opportunity in the eyes of Gravel, who believed that these vacant corridors could support a sophisticated mass transportation and trail system that would connect 45 neighborhoods and provide over 1,300 acres of park and green spaces for area inhabitants to share and use (Wilkinson 2007). In creating an integrated approach to issues of land use,

transportation, public spaces, and economic development, Gravel hoped to effectively limit the sprawling growth of Atlanta and address its many harmful side effects such as unequal distribution of goods and resources, an unhealthy dependency on the automobile, and the social isolation of neighborhoods and communities.

Soon, Gravel's thesis project began to gain attention from city officials and planning professionals in the Atlanta area. In 2001, Gravel sent his proposal and maps to a number of influential members of Atlanta society, including the presiding City Council President, Cathy Woolard. Following her assessment of Gravel's comprehensive plan, she began to campaign for political and public support for the BeltLine. Gravel indicated that Woolard expressed deep interest in this project because 'it offered an alternative to the way transportation systems had been approached in Atlanta for the last 50 years,' and she believed that Atlanta's neighborhoods could become 'active places where you can work, live, and play without ever getting into a car' (Wilkinson 2007). In 2002, Gravel and Woolard partnered together to form Friends of the BeltLine in order to build grassroots support for this fledgling concept (BeltLine Timeline).

Two years later, the BeltLine took a major step forward towards actuality. Realizing the unique opportunity that the BeltLine provided, the Trust for Public Land, a national non-profit land conservation organization, privately commissioned Yale University professor Alex Garvin to write a report based on a complete land assessment that would educate the citizens of Atlanta on the design of the BeltLine and highlight the positive impacts that it would have on their city and region. In December 2004, Garvin released his report entitled, "The BeltLine Emerald Necklace: Atlanta's New Public Realm," which became the first fully envisioned plan of how the BeltLine could be implemented. Using the metaphor of the 'emerald necklace,' which was first coined by the famous landscape architect Frank Law Olmstead for his 1878 design of Boston's

five-mile long system of six parks, Garvin argues the BeltLine would allow for a new public realm that would promote healthy growth and a high quality of life for Atlanta. The analogy of the 'emerald necklace' encapsulates the transit and trails system that connects 13 'jewels,' or major parks and greenspaces along with over 40 neighborhoods and up to five existing public transit access points already established by Atlanta's mass transit system, MARTA (Garvin 2004, 3-4).

The "Emerald Necklace" report combines several of the assertions put forth by environmental aestheticians such as Berleant. In his executive summary, Garvin states that the primary purpose of the BeltLine is "to create a city-wide system of parks and transit, to create stronger, more attractive communities, and to actively shape a new and improved public realm framework that will positively impact residents' quality of life for generations to come" (Garvin 2004). Much like Berleant's suggestions on how to invigorate participation with the built environment, Garvin places his emphasis on creating a new public realm by focusing on the quality of "its streets and squares, its transportation systems and public buildings, and its parks" (Garvin 2004, 1). Currently, Atlanta sorely lacks these public spaces for its growing population. At this time of the report, the City of Atlanta only offered 7.8 acres of parkland per thousand residents, which fell dramatically short of the national average of 16.2 acres (Garvin 2004, 1). According to Garvin, the BeltLine would add an additional 3.4 acres per thousand residents. While this still falls short to the national average, it would be a tremendous increase for a central city area (Garvin 2004, 16).

In subsequent sections, he refers to the need for creating attractive communities as part of his argument for endorsing the BeltLine and promoting citizen enthusiasm for the future BeltLine. For example, Garvin argues that the new parks established by the BeltLine must

"provide active, attractive, and varied destinations to lure Atlantans from their private homes to exercise, gather, and explore among a wider community" (Garvin 2004, 3). Again, Garvin's concept of the twenty-first century park supports Berleant's arguments that public spaces ought to invite entry and interaction with other members of the community.

While Garvin shows a tremendous concern for creating an "attractive," or aesthetically pleasing public realm, he does little to explore how this project could address social injustices in Atlanta. He alludes to improving the quality of life of Atlanta residents throughout his report; however, he does not make it clear how this project would help the most disadvantaged residents of Atlanta. At one point, he does seem to try to address how to grant equal access to the BeltLine. In his considerations for the overall design of the plan, he advocates creating a continuous loop that would unite as many inner city neighborhoods as possible. He warns, "an incomplete Beltline would become an unequal asset for communities in different sections of the city. Those near the break would not experience the same benefit as those communities on the opposite side of the loop" (Garvin 2004, 50). While this would seem to demonstrate some consideration for the distribution of goods and services, his reasoning instead indicates a greater concern for building constituency support than it does for social welfare: "support for the Beltline must grow from various constituencies, and creating a single, continuous loop is the first and most critical element of creating that parity" (Garvin 2004, 50). It is important to remember, however, that Garvin's report was directed at local politicians to convince them to fund and support this project. It does not take into account or represent the voiced concerns of local Atlantans.

Garvin's "Emerald Necklace" report became instrumental in establishing the dialogue for the BeltLine project and creating the vision for a new identity for Atlanta. Although this initial

report described a plan centered on creating an attractive and inviting public realm, Garvin's silence on topics concerning justice makes it an incomplete plan for a just and beautiful city.

Fortunately, Atlanta officials were able to utilize Garvin's well-designed vision for the BeltLine *and* begin to address citizen concerns by developing the BeltLine Redevelopment Plan in 2005. Through collaborative efforts between the Atlanta Development Authority, a new BeltLine Partnership organization, City Departments, and private consultants, the planning team gathered significant community input in order to draft the BeltLine Redevelopment Plan. Between April 2004 and the fall of 2005, the planning team opened up the planning process to Atlantans by hosting neighborhood workshops, information sessions, and BeltLine orientation classes. The planners utilized the information provided by citizen attendees and created a series of draft diagrams and maps that would reflect these opinions. These became the basis for establishing the guidelines for the development of major infrastructure projects and funding mechanisms (EDAW Inc. 2005, 12-13).

Funding was another monumental topic for the Redevelopment Plan. Citizens showed a great concern for how this mega-project would be paid for and how they may be affected by its tremendous costs. The plan suggests setting the boundaries of the BeltLine as a Tax Allocation District. The Tax Allocation District (TAD) is a local planning tool that serves as a catalyst for development and investment in and underdeveloped or blighted district of the city. The cost of redeveloping such an area is financed through a pledge of future incremental increases in property taxes that will be generated through the new development (Atlanta Development Authority). With this, the City of Atlanta, Fulton County, and the Atlanta School System continue to collect property taxes based on levels set at the time of development along with incremental tax revenue on all new development and on increased property values (EDAW Inc.

2005, 24). A TAD feasibility study predicted that a TAD designation would cover sixty percent of the costs of the project and that the City's tax base could increase by $20.2 billion over the 25-year life of the TAD designation (EDAW et al., 4). At the end of 2005, City Council approved the Redevelopment Plan along with the TAD designation (History of the BeltLine).

Since these milestone approvals, members of the planning team have created several detailed project plans for ten subareas that are comprised within the BeltLine. In July 2006, the Atlanta Development Authority released a Five Year Work Plan, which outlined the prioritized projects to be completed between 2006 and 2010. The Atlanta Development Authority also set up Atlanta BeltLine Inc., to plan and execute the implementation of the specific areas of focus as well as how they may be achieved on the twenty-five year timeline. The major goals and projects have been established as such:

- Affordable Workforce Housing
- BeltLine Arboretum
- Economic Development
- Environmental Cleanup and Reuse
- Parks and Greenspace
- Public Art and Historic Preservation
- Trails and Transit
- Workforce Development and Community Benefits

While some of these goals have garnered more attention than others as the project has progressed, the planners of the BeltLine have committed themselves to integrating these major goals into the final product.

Map 2.1: BeltLine Concept Map, 2005

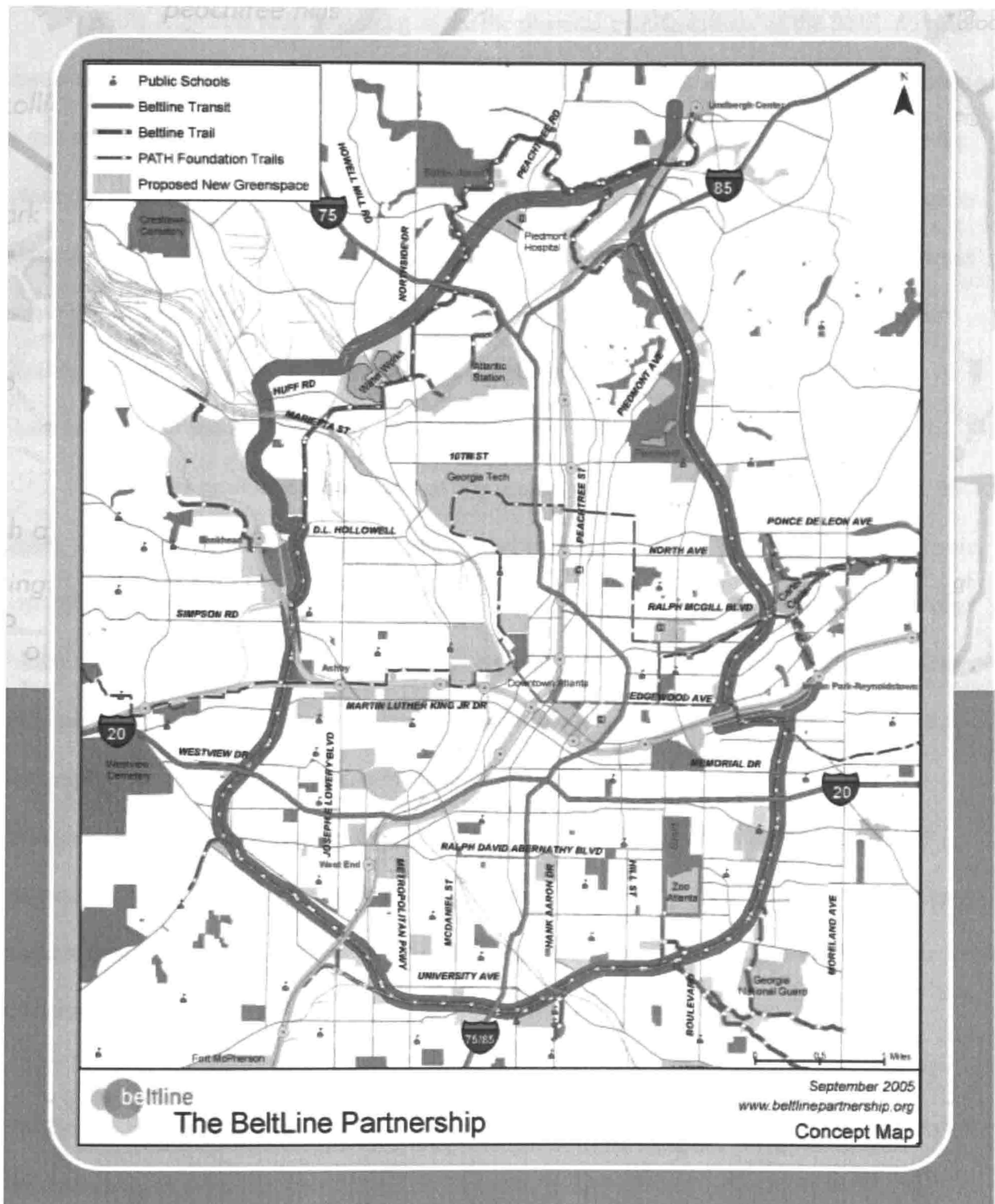


Image courtesy of Atlanta BeltLine, Inc.

The BeltLine: Just & Beautiful?

While Atlanta is only beginning to see the physical manifestations of the BeltLine plans, based on the rhetoric and intentions of these plans, does this project show a concern for creating a just and beautiful city? Certainly Atlanta is on the right path with the BeltLine. Although the plans are complex in their variety and breadth and the project has faced many setbacks since its inception, it has the potential of creating a beautiful public realm that would allow for a greater sense of justice to flourish. Although early plans such as Garvin's did not provide tactics for dealing with social injustices and disparities, the planners have listened to the concerns of Atlanta residents and developed innovative and diverse methods for addressing this issue.

One of the most unique elements of this project is the Equitable Development Plan. In 2009, the Atlanta BeltLine, Inc. developed and approved this plan to "achieve lasting economic, environmental, and social improvements" within the neighborhoods encompassed in the project (Atlanta BeltLine Inc., 1). In its introduction, the plan states: "This project has the potential to not only achieve physical connectivity among Atlanta's neighborhoods, which is a significant accomplishment in itself, but to also breakdown economic and cultural barriers" (Atlanta BeltLine Inc., 1). Acknowledging that the BeltLine can be a "holistic solution" for some of Atlanta's largest challenges, rather than simply being an "amenity" for wealthy residents, the planning team has developed a proper plan for creating the BeltLine in an equitable manner (Atlanta BeltLine Inc., 1).

This plan is based on a working definition of "equitable development" conceived by PolicyLink, a national organization committed to advancing economic and social equity (Atlanta BeltLine Inc., 1).

The BeltLine planners have adapted PolicyLink's guiding principles for this project, which are:

1. Integration of people and place strategies.
2. Reduction of local and regional disparities.
3. Promotion of triple bottom line investments (financial/social/environmental objectives).
4. Inclusion of meaningful community voice, participation, leadership and ownership.

In this context, equitable development goes beyond striving for equal treatment and "focuses on effectively meeting the needs of diverse groups of individuals and communities that share the BeltLine, enabling all areas to experience healthy growth" (Atlanta BeltLine Inc., 1-2). While this is lofty language, the Plan also details its expected implementation, which will consist of four progress reports to be completed every six years by the Atlanta BeltLine, Inc. The plan also outlines a series of objectives that uphold the four guiding principles of equitable development. These are outlined in the table below.

Table 2.1

P1: Integration of People and Place Strategies	P2: Reduction of Local and Regional Disparities	P3: Triple Bottom Line	P4: Inclusion of Meaningful Community Voice, Participation, Leadership, and Ownership
1. Enhance quality of life of residents through BeltLine projects. 2. Create job opportunities for existing and new residents. 3. Preserve existing single-family neighborhoods. 4. Minimize involuntary economic displacement. 5. Preserve and enhance cultural and historical qualities around the BeltLine. 6. Retain and develop local small businesses. 7. Utilization of joint use agreements (sharing of facilities).	1. Implement Five Year Work Plan to achieve geographic balance. 2. Overcome obstacles to growth in underinvested areas. 3. Stimulate growth and development in underinvested areas. 4. Prioritize funding allocation to create and preserve diverse housing options along the BeltLine measured over time against a five-year work plan timeframe. 5. Promote opportunities for needed retail and other services to underserved areas. 6. Advance affordable mobility options throughout the BeltLine to provide enhanced access to services and jobs. 7. Encourage community based economic development support.	1. Emphasize the economic/financial objectives, while also placing emphasis on achievement of a social mission and sustainable development. 2. Establishing a strong private/public partnership. 3. Establish a Community Benefits framework to ensure that private sector investment is accompanied by additional public benefits. 4. Establish measurable goals for the Triple Bottom Line. 5. Establish sustainability goals for the Triple Bottom Line.	1. Ensure a Community Engagement Framework is fully instituted and functioning regularly to ensure that the community's voice is heard and incorporated into implementation strategies. 2. When appropriate, provide additional, more focused opportunities to raise community capacity and education. 3. Continue an active commitment to productive partnerships with stakeholder advisory groups. 4. Develop strong, trusting relationships with community leadership to create a healthy channel for direct input related to challenges and opportunities, for improvements in community engagement process, and for ways the community can take more direct ownership of projects.

Atlanta BeltLine Inc., "Equitable Development Plan." 2009, 3-20.

These objectives align remarkably well with Susan Fainstein's policy recommendations for building a just city. The Equitable Development Plans not only upholds Fainstein's recommendations for building a greater sense of equity within a city, but also how to pursue the goals of diversity and democracy as well. The table below demonstrates the many parallels in themes and rhetoric between Fainstein's "just city" policy recommendations at the Equitable Development Plan's objectives.

Table 2.2

Fainstein's "Just City"	BeltLine Equitable Development Plan Objectives
1. Households or businesses should not be involuntarily relocated for the purpose of obtaining economic development or community balance except in exceptional circumstances.	1. Minimize involuntary economic displacement. • "Proactive effort is required to ensure that existing residents are not displaced by redevelopment or rising taxes" (16). • "Minimizing displacement is essential to ensure that existing residents… are not uprooted and instead have the opportunity to benefit from the economic rewards and improvements" (16). • Creation of Affordable Housing Trust Fund and Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative.
2. Economic development programs should give priority to the interests of employees and, where feasible, small businesses, which generally are more locally rooted than large corporations.	2. Retain and develop local small businesses. • "Promoting and developing local small businesses around the BeltLine can help to create and sustain local financial opportunity while providing tailored, unique services that benefit and strengthen the sense of community" (17). • "…steps should be taken to help nurture and cultivate local small business expertise" (17).
3. Megaprojects should be subject to heightened scrutiny, be required to provide direct benefits to low-income people in the form of employment provisions, public amenities, and a living wage, and, if public subsidy is involved, should include public participation in the profits.	3. Establish a Community Benefits framework to ensure that private sector investment is accompanied by additional public benefits. • "Community Benefits principles, as outlined in the BeltLine TAD enabling legislation approved by City Council in November, 2005, are to be established to ensure that private sector investment that receives TAD funding is accompanied by additional public benefits in the form of prevailing wages for workers, "first source" hiring for residents in impacted low income neighborhoods, apprenticeship programs, support of local, small businesses, etc." (11).
4. To the extent practical and desired by affected populations, land uses should be mixed.	4. Implement Five Year Work Plan to achieve geographic balance. • "The Five Year Work Plan prioritizes projects to strategically address the diverse needs of the various geographic areas; not all geographies should receive the same types of amenities, since different quadrants have different qualities" (8).
5. Plans should be developed in consultation with the target population if the area is already developed.	5. "Develop strong, trusting relationships with community leadership in all areas in order to create a healthy channel for direct input and feedback related to challenges and opportunities, for improvements in the community engagement process, and for ways in which the community can take more direct ownership of projects" (12).

There are still some areas of the Plan that are lacking in comparison to Fainstein's policy recommendations. For example, the Plan does not explicitly address the issues of maintaining a healthy level of diversity in the neighborhoods within the BeltLine. Although there are efforts to maintain closely-knit community bonds, the Plan does not provide provisions for assisting groups who have historically suffered from discrimination. It also does not address the potential negative side effects of creating a public space that may be shared by groups with "clashing lifestyles" (Fainstein 2010, 174). Further, while this plan shows a strong commitment to equitable development for the BeltLine, the plan's implementation needs to be followed closely in order to judge the degree to which this becomes a reality. Between political power shifts and battles for funding, this Plan could certainly find itself playing a secondary role to the desires of politicians and developers. For Atlanta to become a just city, this plan must be taken seriously. Despite its shortcomings and the uncertainty of its effectiveness, the Equitable Development Plan and other associated policies are an admirable effort for the planners of the BeltLine in creating a more just city for Atlanta. This is certainly a model that could be followed by other cities and communities as they tackle the social issues of urban redevelopment.

The BeltLine not only features innovative policy solutions for tackling issues of social justice, but it also demonstrates how the design of a development project can create a more just space. Leo Alvarez, Design Principle of the urban planning firm Perkins + Will in their Atlanta office, is one of the members of the design team chosen by Atlanta BeltLine, Inc. to design the layout and amenities of the BeltLine. In a phone interview, he described the many goals and themes taken into consideration with the overall design of the project. In numerous statements, Alvarez referred to the "inherent sense of diversity" found in the plan. First, he explained their initial challenges in designing a public space for diverse groups and interests while still

developing a space that has a distinct identity and sense of integrity. He believes that they were able to achieve this balance by utilizing what was already present in the urban landscape and amplifying its current character. Alvarez emphatically pointed out their designs are not to simply to beautify these passageways, but rather to express the meaning and history of the place. He points to efforts such as the BeltLine's public art program, which features works by local artists pertaining to local themes that will be embedded into the current post industrial character of the landscape. This project creates a sense of unity for the BeltLine while still providing room for diverse perspectives and interpretations (Alvarez 2011)

Another issue that the designers of the BeltLine faced was its physical and visual accessibility. With trails and transit as major amenities of the BeltLine, the designers had to ensure that the loop was accessible to everyone that wants to use and participate in the space. This is made particularly more difficult by the diverse topography of the area. Alvarez explained how they addressed this challenge by designing ramps and other points of entry to work within the current landscape. He also described the process of making the space visually accessible, or "legible," by designing elements of continuity such as the trail, lighting, bridges, and retaining walls. Throughout the loop, all of these elements were treated in the same detailed manner, and are comprised of "raw, honest materials" that do not stick out against the scenery, but also make the space legible to visitors (Alvarez 2011).

Map 2.2: Development Nodes of the BeltLine

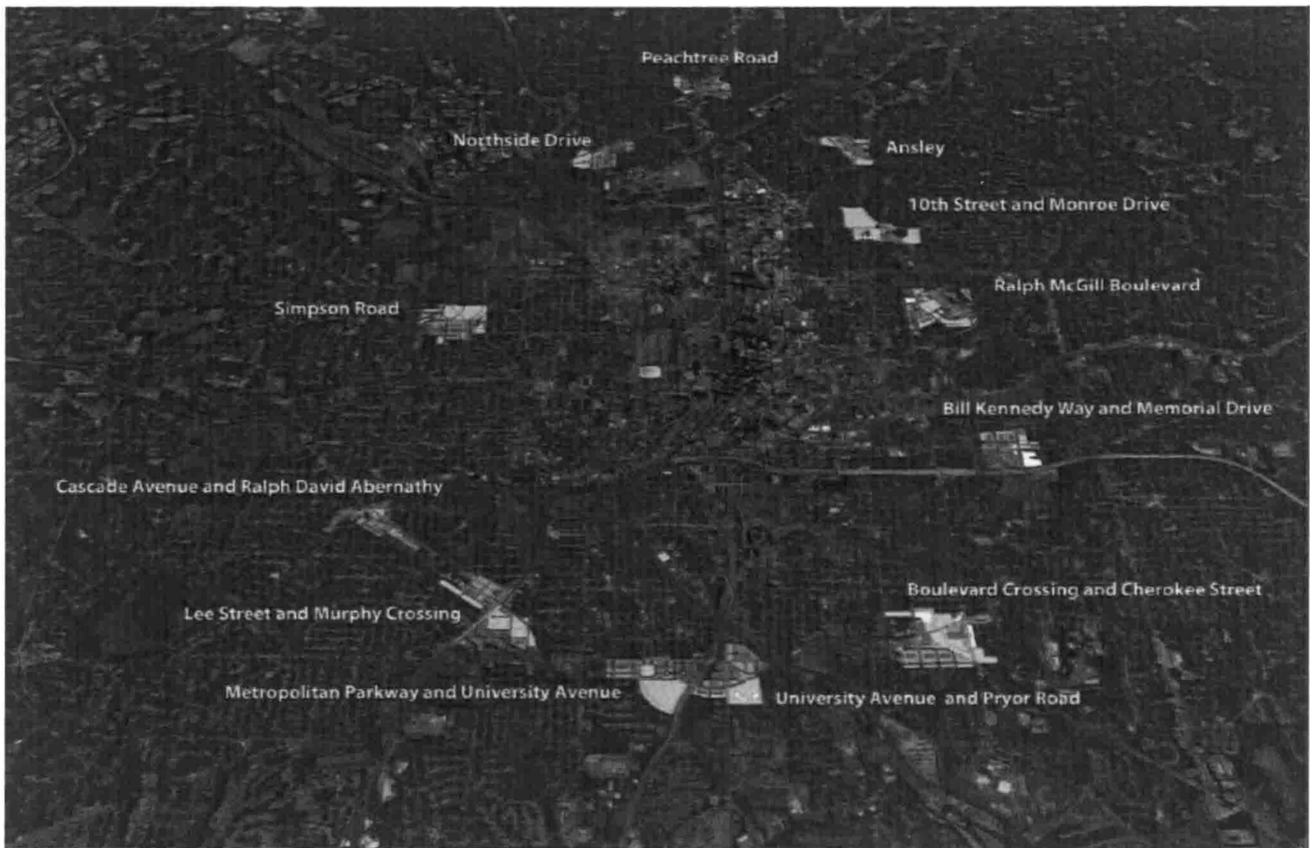


Image courtesy of Atlanta BeltLine, Inc.

Finally, Alvarez pointed out how the design of the BeltLine was "egalitarian in nature." To him, the fact that the BeltLine is a circle symbolizes the sense of equity that the designers hoped to achieve with this project. By creating a continuous loop, there is no demarcation between uptown and downtown and it becomes a means for circulating the wealth that the project will attract throughout the area. The designers also ensured that the plan would be phased in in an equitable manner so that residents would see the impacts across the board rather than being concentrated to wealthy neighborhoods (Alvarez 2011).

Based on the Alvarez's commentary and the features of the design, it seems that Michel Cantal-Dupart would find the Atlanta BeltLine as an interesting example for his theory of the

"aesthetics of equity." With a great emphasis on creating an accessible common space that uses what already exists in the landscape, distributing investment throughout the city's neighborhoods, and allowing for free movement between neighborhoods, Cantal would likely agree that the design of the BeltLine reflects his image of a creating a just and beautiful urban space.

Some of the areas that were targeted for immediate action have already begun to feel these effects. Atlanta's Old Fourth Ward was one of the first neighborhoods to be tackled by the BeltLine plan. In the past, this area has suffered from industrial and residential abandonment, illegal dumping sites that have created waste fields, and a torn urban community. Despite constant reminders of "blight's tenacity," local residents love this "jumble" of a community and wish to maintain its heterogeneous culture (Lerner 2011). With that in mind, developers for the BeltLine sought to endow this community with an inspiring and purposeful park that also serves as a connecting point to other areas of the city. Historic Fourth Ward Park opened in February 2011 to a community of hopeful, but skeptical individuals. It did not seem to disappoint.

Journalist and Fourth Ward resident Jonathan Lerner provides an insightful look into his first experience with the BeltLine in his community. Lerner watched as the land transformed from cracked asphalt and fields of weeds to a series of landscaped walking paths and a curved central lake, which also serves as a storm water detention device. Lerner's first experience on the new BeltLine node had the transformational effect that Cantal and others who tout the beauty of

Concept for Historic Fourth Ward Park

urban forms expect. Lerner explains, "you find yourself in positions you have never occupied. Perspectives shift. The familiar is reordered. Buildings you thought you knew reveal hidden facades. The elements of the skyline rearrange themselves" (Lerner 2011). He continues by describing his journey down the winding seamlessly where I am going." He concludes that "the BeltLine is removed from the bustle [of the traffic] but inextricably part of the city," providing "an opening but not a tear in the fabric of the city" (Lerner 2011). The BeltLine hopes to continue to facilitate experiences like Lerner's throughout the city by continuing to connect communities that have become isolated within the urban form of Atlanta.

Based on the rhetoric of the BeltLine plans as well as commentary from Leo Alvarez, the Atlanta BeltLine has a promising future to create a more just and beautiful Atlanta. The table below summarizes the many areas that the plans intend to address the values of equity, diversity, democracy, and beauty.

Table 2.3

In furtherance of equity	In furtherance of diversity	In furtherance of democracy	In furtherance of beauty
1. Minimize local business and residential economic displacement. 2. Give priority to local and small businesses. 3. Provide housing options that can remain perpetually in the affordable housing market. 4. Provide community benefits that directly address the needs of low-income residents. 5. Design a loop around the city with equitable access to public amenities. 6. Strategically implement design to ensure that the plan does not unequally benefit the wealthy.	1. Land uses will be mixed. 2. Boundaries between neighborhoods and districts will be porous. 3. Public spaces will be widely accessible and varied.	1. Develop plans in consultation with target population in areas already developed.	1. Preserve historic neighborhoods and greenspace. 2. Provide unobstructed pathways that allow for free movement between neighborhoods. 3. Create a legible space with unifying design elements. 4. Provide diverse artistic elements (such as public art program). 5. Design with the pedestrian's perspective in mind. 6. Amplify the current character of the surrounding environment.

Problems in Implementing the BeltLine

Implementing both these policy plans for the BeltLine and design concepts have their own challenges. The overall success of creating a just BeltLine hinges on whether these guiding principles remain at the forefront of the plan. Alvarez sees that the twenty-five year timeline can be hard to support when the residents of this area will not be able to feel the tangible effects for decades. Atlanta's Mayor Kasim Reed has made statements to this effect beginning during his campaign in 2009. In an interview about the BeltLine, Reed responded, "I think that we have to get the stakeholders around the table and figure out how we move the Beltline faster. I believe the vision will take hold in a more muscular way if it's an eight- to 12-year vision [rather than] a 20- to 25-year vision. I think that is very tough for people to hold on to" (Wheatley 2009). There is also added pressure from private donors who want to see the projects that they have donated to become a reality (Saporta 2010). Accelerating the timeline would certainly compromise the quality and character of the plans. Alvarez and the other designers have advised politicians and developers to maintain the long-term vision and phase in the components of the plan as funding becomes available; however, this may be difficult to sustain.

The plan's timeline is not the only issue that has been controversial for the BeltLine. Funding and the TAD designation have continually been challenged. In 2008, a state Supreme Court case temporarily disbanded the TAD designation, slashing the project's funding by sixty percent. Fortunately, the TAD was reinstated a few months later when the Georgia General Assembly passed an amendment that allowed for TAD projects to be funded with school taxes (Williams 2008). Also in 2008, many began to question how tax dollars were being allocated after a controversial payout to a developer occurred, which led many to wonder whose interests this project was serving (Wheatley 2009).

Residents living in the area also worry that despite efforts to avoid economic displacement, they may eventually be pushed out of their homes with rising property taxes and developers pressuring them to sell. During the early frenzy for acquiring land around the BeltLine, some residents saw their property taxes increase by 200 percent over a three year period (Wheatley 2009). Although the BeltLine promises to provide 5,600 units of new affordable housing units, these will not be built for several years and until then, many residents see themselves being forced away from the BeltLine. This problem, however, is currently being addressed with the introduction of the Atlanta Land Trust Collaborative, in 2010. The Collaborative will provide affordable housing options by installing land trusts where the land would be owned by the Collaborative, and thus the individual homes continuously remain at a lower price. The Collaborative has already set up a land trust in the Pittsburgh neighborhood located along the BeltLine and hopes to continue the trend in many other similar neighborhoods (Saporta 2010).

Assessing the Future of the BeltLine

The many hurdles that the BeltLine has faced since its inception have forced the planners to reassess their intentions and adapt to the reality of the circumstances. The project is likely to face many more challenges as it moves forward towards its eventual completion. For the BeltLine to become the new public realm for Atlanta, however, the planners must hold strong to their devotion to creating an accessible, diverse, and equitable space that reflects the needs of Atlanta's residents. Fred Yalouris, the BeltLine's director of design, reiterated these sentiments in an interview, stating, "The bigger challenge is to get people to embrace the whole project. The BeltLine's biggest asset is its totality. We need to get people thinking about the collective good" (Fox 2010). This is perhaps the biggest obstacle that the BeltLine faces in helping to create a

more just and beautiful city for Atlanta. While the rhetoric of the plans and the themes of its design certainly demonstrate an expressed interest in creating a just and beautiful public space for the city of Atlanta, the process of their implementation will determine its overall success. As Yalouris indicated, the City and the developers must keep the overarching vision of the BeltLine in mind during every step of the development process.

Chapter 3: Norfolk Waterfront Redevelopment

The city of Norfolk, Virginia presents another instructive case for analyzing current urban planning techniques being used to address social and design issues. Although it differs greatly in size and geography from Atlanta, Norfolk is another example of a city looking for a transformative redevelopment plan that will create an impressive new civic identity for the future. Like Atlanta, Norfolk also hopes to utilize its current assets in an innovative manner to reinvigorate interest in the central city and create an accessible public realm for residents and visitors. The majority of these efforts have been focused on its waterfront district along the Elizabeth River.

Since its founding as a colonial holding, Norfolk has thrived from its strategic location along the water and has become one of the largest ports in the United States. Today, however, Norfolk is struggling to maintain its importance in the region. As World War II escalated, open land surrounding this naval base developed rapidly and with little planning. This sprawling outward growth and the formation of new wealthy suburban developments caused Norfolk to experience tremendous decline and social upheaval. With a population of 238,832, the City of Norfolk has the highest rates of poverty and unemployment, and the lowest median household income of the five cities that make up the Hampton Roads region (Harnick and Gentles 2008, 5).

For the past thirty years, Norfolk has tried to address these serious issues by investing in its urban core. After an early attempt at revitalization in the 1980s, Norfolk is now hoping to develop a new vision that can project the city's image forwards for decades to come. Norfolk's process of redefining itself, particularly its waterfront district, is an excellent example of the struggles of creating a public space that not only serves the diverse interests of residents and visitors, but also facilitates aesthetic experiences with arts and cultural offerings. These efforts

highlight the arguments Monroe Beardsley' theory of "aesthetic justice" and provide a case of how policies and design can work together or compete in a redevelopment project.

First Revitalization Efforts of the Waterfront

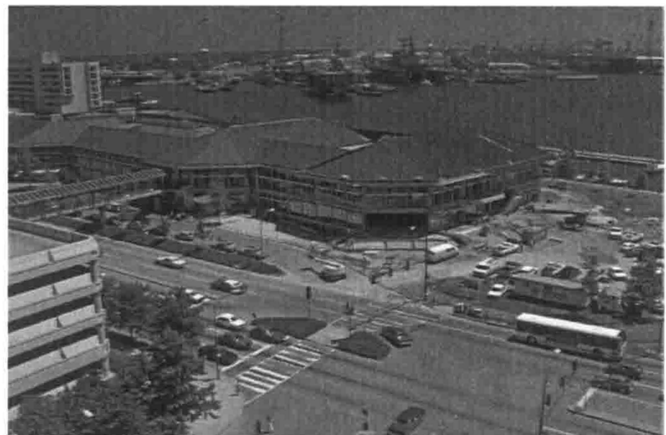
Throughout its long history, the City of Norfolk has always prospered from its strategic location along the Elizabeth River and has been a site of industry, business, and naval activity. During the twentieth century, however, Norfolk became a victim of its own attempts at redefining its urban identity. Urban renewal projects of the 1960s and 1970s left massive tracts of land in downtown Norfolk blank as highway construction diverted businesses and visitors away from the central city and out to the suburbs. Desperate to attract visitors back to downtown Norfolk, the city asked prominent developer James Rouse, known for major projects such as Baltimore's Harborplace and Boston's Faneuil Hall Marketplace, to come to Norfolk with a vision for revitalizing the urban waterfront. His suggestion: to create a festival marketplace (Olsen 2003).

Rouse developed the concept of the festival marketplace as a form of competition for the suburban shopping mall. Unlike its suburban counterpart, however, festival marketplaces were meant to be an entertainment destination rather than a convenient shopping location. As Rouse explained, 'People don't come to a festival marketplace for the purpose of shopping or eating...they come for the delight...There are very few places in a city that people can go with no purpose. They can go not knowing why they are going...This is terribly important to people' (Olsen 2003, 270). Targeted at attracting tourists and middle class residents back to downtown, many criticized Rouse's concept as a "Walt Disney concoction," that only mimicked a real urban quality (Olsen 2003, 270). Despite these harsh accusations, Rouse's designs for Baltimore and Boston had become vastly popular and soon, supporters began to spin these criticisms into

arguments that a Rouse design could serve as 'a halfway house for people from the car culture who are trying to love cities again' (Olsen 2003, 270). Rouse took his critics less seriously, maintaining that 'the marketplace is a democratic place. In a very real sense, it comes to belong to the people in a way that is unique among buildings and places.... It is meant to serve people, to make them feel at home and comfortable' (Olsen 2003, 271).

After witnessing the success of projects such as Faneuil Hall Marketplace, cities across the country hoped to replicate this model of city revitalization, including Norfolk. In 1979, the city hired Rouse's company to conduct a feasibility study for such a project. Despite its best efforts to highlight the potential positive effects, the study found that because Norfolk was a much smaller footprint than Boston or Baltimore, sales potential were low and rent rates would have to be set low. The study concluded that the only way that a festival marketplace would survive in Norfolk was with the backing of the municipal government (Olsen 2003, 300).

Although this report raised several red flags, Rouse continued to believe that a specialty retail center could be successful in Norfolk. At the time, Norfolk was Virginia's most populous city and was one of the largest shipping ports in the country. The waterfront had also become a site for recreation, playing host to Norfolk's annual Harborfest, a major summer festival that then drew crowds of

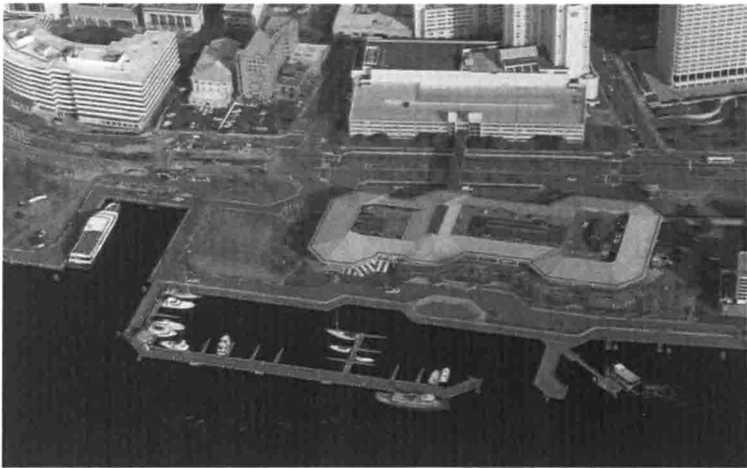


Construction of Waterside Festival Marketplace

30,000 and today sees as many as 200,000 visitors. It also hosts many popular events at the Naval Base, which is home to over 130 naval vessels. Rouse saw this potential and formed a new

development group, the Enterprise Development Company, in 1981 to construct his vision (Olsen 2003, 300-301).

Rouse's vision was to cost the City of Norfolk $14 million; a price they were willing to pay to have one of Rouse's innovative designs reestablish the vitality of their waterfront. Despite risks of investment losses, construction began in December 1981. Rouse recruited a local design team to help select the style of the future marketplace, although most of their inspiration came from Rouse's previous projects. Like Baltimore's Harborplace, the resulting structure was a glass and concrete pavilion featuring outdoor balconies and a green roof. The development gained the name "Waterside," which came from the former name of the wharf where the new building sat. Waterside officially opened June 1, 1983, housing 122 retail outlets selling everything from fresh produce to fast food (Parramore 1994, 398). At the opening festivities, Norfolk Mayor Vincent J. Thomas described with optimism that Waterside would, "reestablish Norfolk's historic connection with its waterfront, build a tax base, produce jobs, strengthen Norfolk's role as the hub of Hampton Roads, and create spinoff development" (Parramore 1994, 398). The opening event also celebrated the opening of several other amenities along the waterfront including an eight acre public park and festival arena called Town Point Park, meant to host large festivals and small community celebrations. They also welcomed the development of a mile-long walking path along the waterfront called the Esplanade, a public marina, and improved the docks for larger cruise ships and vessels (Festevents).



Aerial View of Waterside Festival Marketplace, Esplanade, and marina

Despite skeptical prospects, Waterside became an enormous success during its first years of operation. Between 1983 and 1984, it had over 6 million visitors and did $24 million in sales, allowing the city to collect nearly $500,000 in tax revenue (Olsen 2003, 327). In the beginning, Waterside appeared to be the answer to Norfolk's revitalization prayers. By 1986, however, the novelty of the marketplace had already begun to diminish. The Enterprise Development Company and Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority attempted to reinvigorate the three-year-old complex by building a 31,000 square foot addition to the original structure, but residents were already beginning to understand that Waterside had promised more than it could deliver for Norfolk's urban revitalization (Olsen 2003, 327-328).

In the years following this addition, the marketplace shifted its focus from a unique shopping experience to more traditional mall composition with national based retail and dining vendors. It also introduced night clubs, which attracted a different demographic than originally targeted and led to many safety issues. The adjacent Town Point Park and Esplanade continued to thrive, but suffered from only seasonal use. In 1993, the city had to step in and begin subsidizing Waterside due to sagging business. In 1999, the MacArthur Center, an upscale mall built on 17 acres of urban land cleared during urban renewal, opened a few blocks away from Waterside. This development led to a steeper decline in business at Waterside (Frantz et al. 2010). In the same year, the Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority assumed full ownership of the property. Since then, the City of Norfolk has had a hand in managing the property, which has raised many questions about the local government's role in running a for-profit business venture.

Current Efforts at Revitalization

After a decade of continued decline and government support, local officials and residents of Norfolk have varying perspectives on how to transform this early icon of revitalization into a viable space for the twenty-first century. Signs of progress began in 2008 with the $11.5 million renovation of Town Point Park. During its twenty-five year life, Town Point Park had become an integral public space for residents and tourists alike. The park averages nearly 500,000 visitors annually, who come to the waterfront site to participate in festivals and attend concert series. In renovating the park, the City and the park's managing group, Festevents, hoped to make a more attractive space that could handle a heavier festival concert schedule. Norfolk hired the local design firm, MMM Design Group, to complete the process. On their company website, the firm stated that their design for Town Point Park "promote[s] the cultural enrichment of City residents and visitors alike through a state-of-the-art and environmentally-conscious downtown urban park with generous green space for community gatherings and events" (MMM Design Group). The renovation efforts included: a complete redesign of the main stage, the addition of an outdoor café and interactive water fountain, further landscaping, artful fencing that depicts "Norfolk Memories," as well as the introduction of a series of promenades and terraced areas (Messina 2009).

Renovated Town Point Park

Many Norfolk residents saw the cost of these renovations as an acceptable investment based on its role as a 'memory-making place' that had become a significant component of their

community (Messina 2009). Festevents describes the park in a similar manner in their online portrayal of the park's identity. They describe it as the "People's Park," that is more than a greenspace for "peace and tranquility," but also a "social place" to enjoy leisurely with others. By providing events and festivals, the park "transforms into an epicenter of activity, celebrating the joy of life," and providing "culturally enriched experiences for the public" (Festevents). The stated goal of the park is to "serve the public and enhance its neighborhoods by providing green space and cultural enrichment to all who visit" (Festevents).

The city recognizes that this park plays an important role in community building and providing a higher quality of life for Norfolk residents; however, they also see the economic incentives for these renovations. In a survey completed by Festevents, the group found that on average, visitors to Town Point Park annually spend between $7 and $27 million in the area when visiting for festivals and special events. The survey also found that 75 percent of visitors live outside of Norfolk, which would indicate that there would be a greater concern in creating a attractive space for tourists rather than investing into the well-being of Norfolk residents. Based on the new design of the park, Festevents was able to double the number of days for events at the park from 100 to 200 with hopes of generating greater economic profits from the park (Messina 2009).

The design of the renovated Town Point Park not only creates an aesthetically-pleasing environment along the Norfolk waterfront, but it also facilitates aesthetic experiences for its visitors by hosting cultural events. Can the renovation of Town Point Park support Monroe Beardsley's argument for greater "aesthetic justice" if the intentions are framed in terms of economic competitiveness? Beardsley considered access to aesthetic experiences a necessary component of the good life, but the distribution of these experiences should be taken as a distinct

concern of public policy. In this case, providing aesthetic experiences through cultural events such as festivals and concerts seems to be a byproduct of a larger goal of generating revenue. According to Fainstein, these arguments are an example of the dominant discourse on urban planning, where economic growth is the essential goal rather than social welfare.

Whereas the City of Norfolk has taken significant steps forward in transforming Town Point Park into a more attractive and welcoming space, many questions still remain as to how to revitalize Waterside Festival Marketplace. Recently, the local media has been highly critical of the city's role in managing the property, the growing number of stores closures, and the lagging patronage at Waterside. In response to these criticisms, the City organized an online public survey as well as an advisory panel to make suggestions on the future use of the site. The advisory panel evaluated and compiled the input collected from over 3,000 Norfolk residents who completed the survey. The panel also used their backgrounds in architecture, city planning, waterfront management and development to develop a formal report for the city to use in developing future plans.

In December 2010, the Advisory Panel released their report with its recommendations. In its overall recommendations, the panel envisioned that the waterfront should be "vibrant, welcoming, accessible, visible and overwhelmingly public—a source of pride for Norfolk designed to attract both residents and visitors" (Benn et al., 2010, 13). They emphasized the need to strengthen public access to the waterfront and to allow for stronger pedestrian connections between Waterside and the central city district. This requires making alterations to the current road patterns and making special changes to Waterside Drive, which is currently a busy thoroughfare that runs parallel to the waterfront and connects the city to the highway.

Faced with the question of whether to keep Rouse's original structure or to tear it down, the panel recommended maintaining the current structure and repurposing it to accommodate new vendors and attractions. They describe that this approach is most practical because it is "sustainable, economical and retains a facility that has a great deal of emotional attachment in the community" (Benn et al., 2010, 2). When renovating the structure, developers should maintain visual transparency out to the waterfront in order to capitalize on the unique site of the building. The panel also recommended reducing the size of the common areas on the ground floor. This would seem to run counter to its goal of serving a greater public, but upon further examination, a reduction in the size of interior common spaces would create a more intimate environment that is less intimidating for visitors. Waterside should become a mixed-use development with diverse shopping options such as a large-scale public market and an upscale seafood restaurant. Finally, the panel recommended that Waterside should be under the management of a "master developer" rather than the City. The City should undergo a rigorous selection process in order to find a competent manager who will maintain the vision of Waterside.

In conjunction with organizing an advisory panel, Norfolk welcomed the local architecture and engineering firm Clark Nexsen to conduct an evaluative study of Waterside and report their recommendations in a detailed publication. In this, student interns and members of the firm assessed the potential assets of Waterside in terms of infrastructure, users and programs, and "placemaking" techniques, or how it can be made into a unique and attractive destination for visitors. Although this report was written from an artistic design perspective, the researchers from Clark Nexson emphasized several themes also cited in the technical advisory panel report. These include addressing the adjacent roadways to make the waterfront more pedestrian-friendly

and accessible, providing a variety of unique retail options, and ensuring a cooperative relationship between the public and private sector in Waterside. What sets this report apart from the other is the emphasis that it places on collaboration between the political, economic *and* design disciplines (Frantz et al., 2010). In this study, the researchers found that the Waterside case presents deep complexities for developers based on the various actors involved and the diverse opinions on its intended results. They advocate that the design perspective compliment the political and economic motivations for the project in order to more fully address the intended civic impact. This can be accomplished by setting the goal of creating a "place" rather than a "design" for the Norfolk waterfront. According to the publication, "placemaking" is encompasses more expansive goals of realizing a community's shared vision rather than developing a functional design. The resulting place then becomes a reflection of the character of the community (Frantz et al., 2010).

While both the advisory panel report and the design recommendations provided keen insight into the possibilities for Waterside's future usage, the City of Norfolk has not released a formal redevelopment plan to outline their intended plans. Much of the delay has occurred due to a transition in City Manager. In February 2011, Marcus Jones inherited this project along with a multitude of others, which he wishes to assess and prioritize before releasing any concrete plans (Minium 2011). Meanwhile, Rick Henn of the city's economic development department was named interim manager of the property. In a personal interview with him, Henn explained the intermediate measures that he has taken to make the facility more attractive and inviting for the public. Citing the 'broken window theory,' Henn stressed that maintaining the appearance of the building and portraying a sincere attempt at addressing immediate problems will demonstrate that the City of Norfolk is invested in the property and wishes to create a better public space for

its residents and visitors. His efforts have included painting the interior, removing shrubbery that obstructed the view to the water, cleaning the entrance area to make it more inviting, installing colorful public art sculptures, and uncovering more windows to make the space more transparent (Henn 2011). These aesthetic improvements seem superficial, however, when there is no connection to social planning efforts to make it an equitable, diverse, and democratic public realm. Without these plans to address the social impacts of its redevelopment, these design efforts are not currently creating a more just space.

Norfolk Waterfront: Just and Beautiful?

Norfolk's current efforts at revitalizing the waterfront district show an apparent effort at creating a beautiful and attractive space for residents and visitors. In Town Point Park, the designers have utilized many of Berleant's suggestions for creating an aesthetic urban environment by creating an open public space with visually interesting paths and participatory art and water installations. The renovated space also facilitates more of what Beardsley considers to be "aesthetic experiences" by hosting an increased number of cultural events of diverse themes. The plans for Waterside also emphasize creating a beautiful space with visual transparency to the waterfront and open and inviting entrances into the space. The advisory panel's proposal for reusing the building, which is now a significant component of the fabric of Norfolk, supports Cantal's argument for preservation in his theory, "aesthetics of equity."

What is generally lacking from the proposed plans for Norfolk's waterfront is how this will specifically address current issues of social justice. Currently, the dialogue has centered on economic development and regional competitiveness. This likely stems from Rouse's original intentions for the site, which emphasized tourism and consumerism as the major drivers of urban revitalization. While economic development is an integral component of urban planning, the

plans must also consider how this will effect social relations and serve disadvantaged members of the community. In his interview, Mr. Henn stressed that because the city currently owns and operates the building, it is a public space to be shared by all Norfolk residents and visitors. However, by the nature of being a retail space, low-income and disadvantaged residents may be excluded or restricted from visiting the space. Should there be no provisions for attracting lower-class residents, planners must ask how the predicted economic benefits can be distributed equitably to these residents as well so that they also gain from the project.

In returning to Fainstein's recommended policy suggestions, the Norfolk case currently only upholds a few of these just policy choices. Improvements to the area are meant to make the boundaries between the waterfront and the central city more porous with the goal of attracting diverse visitors. The project also features mixed land use, which creates a more diverse and viable public space. Further, the representatives from the city and planners have attempted to promote citizen participation in the planning process and listen to their input. The table below demonstrates these few points of comparison between Fainstein's guidelines and the Waterside Advisory Panel's recommendations.

Table 3.1

Fainstein's "Just City"	Report of the Waterside Advisory Panel
1. Boundaries between districts should be porous.	• Stronger pedestrian connections from the waterfront back to the center city should be established • Extend and enhance the Esplanade to create seamless connections to and from the uses along the entire length of the waterfront.
2. To the extent practical and desired by affected populations, land uses should be mixed.	• Consider adding active ground floor space (preferably retail space) along the north side of Waterside Drive, particularly in the Waterside parking deck… to further enliven the street and draw people to the Waterfront area. Lining both sides of Waterside Drive with mixed use buildings would enhance this as a boulevard and bring the downtown to the waterfront.
3. Plans should be developed in consultation with the target population if the area is already developed.	• Utilized the results of online public survey of more than 3,000 Norfolk residents.

Norfolk's current preliminary plans have vague allusions to upholding the values of equity, diversity, democracy, and beauty. Based on professional recommendations and the comments of city officials, there is a clear preference for creating a beautiful space; but in this case, if comes at the cost of social goals of equity, diversity and democracy. The following table provides a summary of the current intended vision for the Norfolk waterfront in terms of these values, highlighting a lack in specific social implications.

Table 3.2

In furtherance of equity	In furtherance of diversity	In furtherance of democracy	In furtherance of beauty
1. Publicly owned space meant for use by all.	1. Land use will be mixed. 2. Boundaries between waterfront amenities as well as between the waterfront and the central city will be porous.	1. Develop plans in consultation with target population in areas already developed.	1. Preserve the established character of the space, including the Waterside building. 2. Create unobstructed visual pathways to the water and open entrances to the space. 3. Design with the pedestrian's perspective in mind. 4. Provide visually interesting paths. 5. Include participatory public art installations. 6. Provide greater access to "aesthetic experiences" in the form of concerts and cultural festivals.

With an expressed interest in generating revenue, Norfolk's plans more closely mirror Fainstein's description of growth-promoting policies rather than plans for the just city. Therefore, the city officials need to have a major shift in thinking in order to ensure that access to the waterfront is equitable and that the space serves diverse groups and needs. This requires a more rigorous examination at the desired social benefits of the plan, especially in how it will provide a public realm with equal access to all residents as well as how it will attract diverse

users and facilitate interaction between different groups. Further, in moving forward with developing a formal redevelopment plan, planners need to make more room for consultation with area residents in order to allow for a democratic planning process.

Assessing the Future of the Norfolk Waterfront

While the outcome of Waterside is still unclear and the results of the Town Point Park renovations are still being assessed, there are several steps that the City of Norfolk can take to reframe their actions into creating a more just public space for its residents. In moving forward with the project, planners must identify whether this project is meant for diverse visitors or if it is targeted at middle-class residents and tourists, as in the case of Rouse's original design. None of the proposed suggestions clarify this point. One can infer, however, that this project is meant to drive consumer spending and therefore serves the desires of individuals with disposable incomes. If Norfolk wishes for Waterside and Town Point Park to be attractive public spaces available to individuals of all income levels, then they must ensure that private management firms do not instate restrictive ordinances and regulations on the spaces that would make them exclusive or restrictive. They must also ensure that these redevelopment efforts are linked to public transportation projects that would allow for wider access to the new amenities of the waterfront area. While connectivity and pedestrian access are stated goals in the advisory panel report and the designer recommendation report, the City needs to integrate their plans for larger scale mass transit with this development site so that it does not exclude residents that do not own cars.

Norfolk's waterfront area has vast potential for becoming a just and beautiful space for residents and visitors alike. With hopes of creating a new civic identity by transforming the previously developed waterfront, Norfolk ought to capitalize on their distinct assets while further integrating in greater social benefits into their plans. This is not an easy task and it is further

complicated by conflicting political views and citizen pressure to complete many other projects simultaneously. In moving forward, Norfolk should take the time to devise a meaningful redevelopment plan that integrates the apparent desire for an aesthetic environment with policies that take into consideration the social impacts of transforming the heart of Norfolk so that it reflects the character of the entire community.

Chapter 4: Conclusions: What is the Future of Planning the Just and Beautiful City?

Lessons Learned from Atlanta & Norfolk

Both the Atlanta BeltLine and Norfolk waterfront redevelopment projects provide valuable lessons about the opportunities and challenges of linking social justice planning with aesthetic urban design in contemporary American urban planning practices. The two cases are difficult to compare because of the distinct assets that each city possesses and the different political processes that these projects have followed; however, these two cities face similar problems in maintaining a long-term vision for the goals of their redevelopment projects and in providing ample opportunities to incorporate the input from citizens and community leaders. They also have difficulties in reconciling the recommendations of planning professionals who are concerned with the aesthetic quality of the space with the realities of local politics, budget concerns, and a diverse set of citizen needs. The questions that guided the studies were:

- Are the planners involved in these cases concerned about concepts of aesthetics and justice? If not, what are their goals in putting forth these plans?
- What are the design and policy techniques used in these redevelopment projects?
- How do the proposed plans compare to proposed policy and aesthetic design elements said to help foster the development of a more just city?

Atlanta has taken a strategic approach to integrating concepts of justice and aesthetics. Beginning only as a concept in a graduate Master's thesis, the BeltLine project is now composed of a series of detailed plans that cover every component of the mega-redevelopment plan from affordable housing to mass transit to public art. They have also developed ten subarea development plans that ensure that each neighborhood encompassed within the project area is dealt with specifically in a manner that reflects its unique needs as well as a five year work plan to maintain the project timeline. Perhaps the most compelling component of the BeltLine plan is the Equitable Development Plan put forth by Atlanta BeltLine, Inc. This is a policy tool that

Atlanta adapted from the concepts designed by PolicyLink, a national research institute dedicated to advancing economic and social equity in American communities. This plan outlines how a redevelopment project can address some of the major social issues associated with its overall design such as minimizing economic displacement, providing access to affordable housing options, and ensuring that the community's voice is heard in the planning process.

The BeltLine's Equitable Development Plan upholds many of the policy recommendations that Susan Fainstein designated to further justice in American metropolises. Although the equity plan does not explicitly refer to Fainstein's other principles of diversity and democracy, it does incorporate her recommendations for these under the umbrella of equitable development. This is perhaps one of the most comprehensive examples of how Fainstein's recommendations can become sanctioned policies and ought to be a model for other cities considering major urban redevelopment projects. While Atlanta's Equitable Development Plan has been tailored to address the specific needs of Atlanta and the voiced concerns from Atlanta residents, other municipal governments can use the resources available from research organizations such as PolicyLink, which has developed an Equitable Development Toolkit to begin the process of designing their own equitable development plan. Cities seeking to implement such a plan, however, must ensure that the resulting plan is specifically tailored to the needs of the city and its citizens. This requires significant citizen input so that the plan is a reflection of the unique character of its community rather than a generic and inconsequential attempt at addressing social issues.

An equitable development plan becomes more valuable and constructive when paired with conscious design practices. In Atlanta, there is an expressed interest in not only cleaning up an underused and dilapidated area of the city, but also creating a beautiful multi-use public realm

for Atlanta residents. With a master vision of a continuous loop around the central city that connects neighborhoods and access to valuable amenities such as transit, parks and public art, the BeltLine design plan has successfully incorporated the social and physical goals of Atlanta's transforming its civic identity. While urban designers involved in the process understand how their design concepts contribute to a greater sense of equity, diversity, and democracy, there needs to be wider communication of their intentions to the general public so that they understand how the design will affect their everyday lives. This will help in further involving the community and making certain that the resulting BeltLine reflects the true needs of the city.

While the plans for the BeltLine currently demonstrate that aesthetics and justice can be complimentary goals in urban planning, there are several areas where this relationship could deteriorate or fall short in implementation. First, if the planners of the BeltLine compromise on their long-term vision in order to shorten the timeline and cut the budget, there is potential for several of the joint social and design goals to fall to the wayside. While restrictions on time and funding are certainly likely, the planners of the BeltLine must continue to uphold their dedication to uniting the city with a common space and not excluding citizens who have less political leverage than others. The concept of a loop designed to distribute goods and services and create porous boundaries between neighborhoods is a strong and symbolic design concept that should not be deafened by political pressure and scrutiny. Secondly, while the rhetoric of these plans adheres to the academic theories of aesthetics and justice, the implementation of these plans will be immensely difficult. The planners not only have transfer these lofty goals to the physical landscape, but also be maintain a human scale that is relatable and appreciated by the citizens. The promises of these plans will ultimately be insignificant if the citizens cannot understand how to use the space or cannot gain access to it. The planners of the Atlanta BeltLine understand that

this project is a once in a generation opportunity for transforming the identity and quality of life of Atlanta. Based on an analysis of the plans, reports, media coverage, and professional perspectives, Atlanta could become a primary example of a just and beautiful city in the United States should they translate these goals to the urban environment successfully.

Whereas Atlanta has begun to pave the path towards creating a more just and beautiful city, Norfolk's waterfront redevelopment project could benefit from a more thorough understanding of how to reconcile the goals of creating an attractive public space with the larger social aims of equity, diversity, and democracy. The City's plans to transform the waterfront district, specifically Waterside Festival Marketplace and Town Point Park, currently suffer from a lack of a cohesive vision. While connectivity along the waterfront is a major stated goal of the recommended plans, the two projects are currently in competition with one another for funding and attention. As seen in the Atlanta case, a unified vision for the redevelopment project would allow for the waterfront district to become the heart of the city once again and be its central gathering place.

Currently, the recommendations and redevelopment actions have emphasized revitalizing Waterside and Town Point Park to be attractive retail and cultural spaces that can be destinations for mostly tourists and suburban visitors. This has led planners to design aesthetically-pleasing spaces that are meant to lure in visitors and drive spending. These aesthetic elements, however, would contribute to a more meaningful space if they were linked to larger social welfare goals. In moving forward with creating a cohesive redevelopment plan, Norfolk planners must consider how their plans will affect the general public and what it can offer low-income residents and disadvantaged social groups who likely cannot afford to visit these spaces. Norfolk's plans are more difficult to relate to Fainstein's policy recommendations because this project does not

contain provisions for housing or residential development, which makes up a large portion of her list of recommended criteria. However, Norfolk's future waterfront redevelopment plan ought to incorporate other suggested policy choices such as: giving priority to local businesses over national chains, ensuring that private management entities do not restrict access or political speech within these public areas, and continuing to include citizen participation in the planning process.

Fortunately, the City of Norfolk has chosen to be deliberate in their planning process for the remainder of the waterfront redevelopment project, especially in addressing Waterside. Although the City has come under scrutiny for dragging its feet on the project, taking more time to fully assess the needs of the area will allow for the opportunity to incorporate these social policies and address questions of access for low-income citizens. Although this project is much smaller in scale than Atlanta's BeltLine project, Norfolk could integrate an equitable development plan, or a social policy plan, within their impending master redevelopment plan for the waterfront district. This would complement the existing measures for creating a beautiful public realm and further the city's potential of becoming a more just and beautiful city.

A Theory for the Just and Beautiful City

Based on the assessment of Atlanta and Norfolk, the theories of justice and aesthetics are relevant in current planning projects. In analyzing how these case studies align with Fainstein's theory of urban justice and the theories of environmental aesthetics, I have developed a list of criteria to complement Fainstein's policy recommendations that would push her theory to encompass beauty in the just city. Below is a list for guidelines for the furtherance of beauty. These suggestions are based on the arguments of aesthetic theorists, as well as lessons learned from the case studies on ways in which beauty could be better framed in the plans.

In furtherance of beauty:

1. Preserve what already exists that is loved by the community, including greenspace.
2. Provide unobstructed and stimulating pathways (both physical and visual) to public spaces.
3. Provide public spaces that connect different groups and area that have accessible and attractive amenities.
4. Make the space legible with unifying design elements.
5. Provide diverse artistic elements when adding public art or cultural activities.
6. Consider design choices in terms of the character of the surrounding environment.
7. Keep the pedestrian's perspective in mind.

This set of criteria, in conjunction with the criteria for equity, diversity, and democracy, creates a more comprehensive vision of the just city. As American cities continue to reframe their debate on the optimal urban form, planners and city officials ought to ensure that these four values are upheld and maximized to the fullest extent possible.

Future Opportunities for the Just & Beautiful City: Sustainable Urbanism

Although these projects vary greatly in their proposed plans and current status, both cities view their redevelopment projects as long-term investments into their central city by making conscious design decisions and preserving the unique physical assets of urban greenspace and the waterfront. These projects are in response to the sprawling outward growth of suburban development and the degradation of undeveloped land. This form of development has had enormous negative consequences on the metropolitan region of many American cities, including the loss of agricultural land, loss of biodiversity, and increased water and air pollution (Williamson 2010, 249). Urban theorists such as Randolph Hester believe that unsustainable development has further social implications beyond these environmental concerns. He argues

that American metropolises suffer from, "community anomie"—a diseaselike state of confusion that has developed within our society that has corrupted individuals' thoughts on in how they ought to act towards others within their community and towards the landscape (Hester 2006, 3). Both Atlanta and Norfolk have suffered from this effect and are searching for a solution by way of these major redevelopment projects.

Discovering that this environmental argument was present in both of these redevelopment projects inspired a second take at the theories of aesthetics and social justice used in this analysis. Upon further examination, these theories share a common language in their concern for environmental sustainability. For example, Berleant integrates this argument into his work by declaring that our antipathy towards creating a harmonious built environment has led to disequilibrium between human society and nature (Berleant 2005, 17). He argues, "There needs to be an incentive to create a harmonious human environment consciously and intentionally… We need to have a conception of the harmonious balance of human needs with environmental conditions that the planner, architect, and designer can embody in material form and living experience" (Berleant 2005, 18). Cantal has the similar argument that environmental and ecological concerns ought to be integrated into our understanding of what a just and beautiful city should look like. Similarly, Fainstein's theory of the "just city" acknowledges the importance of integrating sustainable practices into just urban planning; however, she admits that she is unable to delve into this subject, requiring "a more expansive investigation" (Fainstein 2010, 58).

This heightened concern for the environment in contemporary urban planning is a common thread that runs throughout this analysis of how to reconcile planning theories, which points to an exciting new realm for combining social justice and environmental aesthetics in the

sustainable urbanism movement. Although the term sustainability has been applied to a wide spectrum of projects and plans, sustainable urbanism refers to the movement that has grown out of late twentieth century reform movements that have overcome antisocial environmental platforms and have integrated the planning of human and natural systems. It is a view on design that not only promotes a healthier and more sustainable American lifestyle, but also a higher quality of life (Farr 2010, 28). Sustainable urbanism thus provides an enormous opportunity to further discuss the interplay of justice and aesthetics in urban planning and reconcile them in practice.

Leading the Change

This project has shown how cities and communities are attempting to create meaningful places for their citizens. In moving towards creating "the good city" of the twenty-first century, planners need to create spaces that serve the greater welfare of its residents that are beautiful and expressive as well. The sustainable urbanism movement provides a future avenue for these two separate goals to be reconciled and allowing cities to reach a just and beautiful form. After an analysis of planning literature and two examples of planning practices, it is clear that urban planners have the knowledge and tools to lead the change that American cities need to become more just and beautiful places. In order to do so, planners must take a leadership role in educating the general public in how to look beyond the status quo of their living conditions and believe in a vision for a better future. The planning process must be transparent and open in order to ensure that public opinions are heard and considered in creating higher standards for quality of life and social welfare. This is not only important for building a constituency, but also for stimulating the moral imagination of the citizens. In order to create the just and beautiful city, planners must also transcend the limited perspectives of local politicians, who, as the case studies

point out, are typically concerned with generating revenue rather than addressing embedded social issues.

The current conditions of the American city are grave and require a transformative vision for the future. By understanding how to unite equity planning with aesthetic urban design, planners can establish a proper dialogue for addressing the current social injustices that are rooted in meaningless and exclusionary spaces. Through the study of planning theories and by gathering lessons from current development projects, American cities can gather the tools necessary for building the just and beautiful city. Whether cities are willing to take on this immense challenge is a key leadership question for the twenty-first century and it will require a serious understanding of both the problems cities face, as well as the potential for a radically new city form to develop.

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