



FAINSTEIN

FRAGMENTED STATES AND PRAGMATIC IMPROVEMENTS

**Susan Fainstein in conversation
with Cuz Potter and Sai Balakrishnan**

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PREFACE

FAINSTEIN

FRAGMENTED STATES AND PRAGMATIC IMPROVEMENTS

Susan Fainstein in conversation with Cuz Potter and Sai Balakrishnan



Cuz Potter (Columbia University, MSUP, MIA, PhD) is currently associate professor of international development and cooperation at Korea University's Division of International Studies. Current research focuses on the role of the Korean construction industry in the uneven spatial development of developing countries, especially Myanmar and Vietnam. Past research has focused on social justice in developing and implementing infrastructure services, particularly in regard to how technological change in the logistics industry has undermined the territorial foundation of port policy in the US. He has also coauthored work on Nairobi's slums for the World Bank, on US urban revitalization for the Korean government, urban entrepreneurialism in China, and on industrial districts. He is a co-editor of and contributor to *Searching for the Just City*, an interrogation of Susan Fainstein's concept of the Just City. He has consulted for a number of firms and organizations in New York City and Seoul. And he spent three years editing and translating for the Korean Ministries of Environment and Labor.



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CONVERSATIONS IN PLANNING: EDITORIAL

With the booklet on Susan Fainstein, from the editorial board and Young Academics network, we are restructuring the booklet project. In the last five years, the series has published five booklets. The project started with a structure of three series or themes, such as, the use of philosophical theories in planning (Exploring foundations for Planning Theory), planning theories (Exploring the abstractions in the Planning Debate) and planning practices (Exploring place matters in planning practice). However, based on feedback from both senior and young academic authors, it was noted that the boundaries between such series or themes are to some extent blurred. After reflecting on the aim of the booklets, we are merging the series into one comprehensive project. Initiated as a dream by the then AESOP president, the aim was to have young academics and senior scholars work together and push the debate in the Urban Planning discipline further through an intergenerational learning process.

The uniqueness of the project from a pedagogical perspective is learning through conversations. The booklets aim to provide an introduction to the theories and ideas of senior scholars: what and how they contributed to the field of planning; what and who influenced the development of these theories; and how this implicated/reflected on planning debate in theory and/or practice. Accordingly, it focuses on their contribution to academic literature. At the same time, it considers significant people and events that have influenced the evolution of the planners' ideas and themes. The young academic authors, who are in the early stage of their career, not only learn from the senior scholars about their work, but also often make the senior scholars think about how they would have done things differently. The young academic authors approached the issues or challenges senior academics dealt with from a different chronology and many a time a different context.

Since Urban Planning is a practice-oriented discipline, many raise questions about the role of theories in the discipline. Most of our published booklets have addressed the debate and interdependency between theory and practice in planning. Previous booklets also demonstrated various ways of understanding planning theory, urban theory, or critical theory. The booklets show how the academic discipline of urban planning evolved over time, in different times and contexts, often cross pollinating with other disciplines, and creating new branches.

The booklets are, in a way, open peer-reviewed which improves its rigor. We would encourage both the young academic community as well as the senior scholars to use the booklets in their teaching. Being open-access, they can be easily circulated. We extend our heartfelt gratitude to all the senior scholars of present and forthcoming booklets who have not only enthusiastically agreed to take part in the project but have also relentlessly supported our YA authors in spite of their very busy schedule.

With thanks and regards,
"Conversations in Planning" Booklet Team

FOREWORD

Susan Fainstein's Video

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j0upCBukFvs&t=15s>



CONTENTS

Conversations in Planning Theory and Practice booklet project	1
Fainstein: Fragmented states and pragmatic improvements	1
Fainstein	3
Fragmented states and pragmatic improvements	3
Abbreviations	9
1. Introduction	9
2. Introduction of political science to urban planning	9
3. The most “liberal” of Marxists	14
4. Process versus outcome	19
5. Feminism and poststructuralism	21
6. Elitism	22
7. The Just City: Revisionism Redux	25
8. New Perspectives	34
9. Conclusion	34
References	38
Works by Fainstein not elsewhere cited	43
Fainstein: Fragmented states and pragmatic improvements	56

1. INTRODUCTION

Susan Fainstein's theoretical stance was forged in the late 1960s and 1970s when urban political movements were inspiring young urbanist intellectuals. Her concern for inequality and social justice and her use of a political economic framework for analyzing them have remained consistent to this day. The evolution of her thought has been driven by her empirical work, which has led her to misgivings about the potential of community empowerment to achieve progressive change for two reasons: neighborhoods themselves can be dominated by self-serving agendas; and when neighborhood agendas are progressive, they are unlikely to prevail unless backed by influential leaders. Although she does not consider planners as able to bring about major changes by themselves, she does think they can refocus agendas, oppose harmful policies, and press for greater equity. Despite skepticism that powerful elites will yield to the force of persuasion, Fainstein's understanding of the state and capital as fragmented inspire a view that planners can work strategically with broad-based social movements and reformist politicians to build more Just Cities.

2. INTRODUCTION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE TO URBAN PLANNING

Within the academic disciplines of planning and urban politics, Susan Fainstein was a pioneer in bridging the gap between the two fields. Fainstein's later colleagues at Rutgers and Columbia – Ann Markusen and Peter Marcuse – credit her with making politics a key inflection point within planning scholarship. Markusen sees Fainstein's "emphasis on politics as a counterbalance to design and process foci in planning which disembled planners conceptually from the political economy in which they are operating" (Personal correspondence, Ann Markusen). Marcuse views Fainstein as enlarging and redefining the scope of planning by re-envisioning "planning as a form of urban governance" (Personal correspondence, Peter Marcuse).

Peter Marcuse

I would single out three major contributions Susan Fainstein has made to the theory and practice of urban planning, during her long and fruitful work in the field. And they are major.

First, planning as a form of urban governance. She has broadened our concept of what planning itself is, what it includes, what disciplines and bodies of knowledge it relies on and interacts with and to which it contributes, what its own special contributions are, and what the successes and limits of those contributions are in the real world. She has enlarged the scope of the field, and has consistently presented it as part of the field of urban governance, without whose analysis little of real substance can be understood.

Second, planning as inherently value-laden and committed to social justice. Susan Fainstein's work has focused on the values planning in theory and practice needs to be aware of and deal with, its ultimate goals and values, both those of planning itself and those whom planning serves. And within that frame, she had focused on the place of justice as an ultimate value, with the somewhat arbitrary hierarchy of equity, diversity, and democracy, somewhat arbitrarily chosen. But her scheme leaves some big questions open: What of beauty? Environmental sustainability? Peace? Community solidarity? Which values are instrumental to others, e.g., diversity or democracy, and which are ultimate, e.g., equity? But it's good to leave some such questions still open, as they have been for centuries.

Third, exemplifying how cities may be tested against their social values. Essentially, this links the other two contributions: it examines urban planning as seen in practice as part of urban governance and then tested empirically against the values of social justice. Her work examines how values are affected in the real world of urban planning and city development in solid case studies, with research techniques thought out, permitting the extraction of specific planning proposals out of the application of theoretically-derived and formulated values to the opportunities and constraints of real life urban planning practice.



By breaking down the category “Justice,” a key but ungainly term, into three subcategories (equity, diversity, and democracy) and carefully defining them so that each can be empirically measured, she has kept a focus on social justice but also made comparative evaluation of different cities based on hard data possible, where earlier most comparisons had to rely on opinions, generalizations, and abstractions. By making such testing against social values feasible and permitting their empirical application in very diverse settings Fainstein has been able to make both substantively and methodologically, important contributions through a trove of case studies, from early on in New York City to most recently in Singapore, that she has undertaken over the course of her long career, many with Norman Fainstein, her long-time collaborator plus.

Finally, Fainstein has not shied away from spelling out the conclusions for day-to-day practice to be drawn from her work. Her approach, suggesting what can be done today without neglecting what further needs doing tomorrow, is a good compromise on a question with which planners often struggle: when to settle for half-way measures without neglecting efforts to keep alive hope for deeper-going measures that would be transformative, leading to eliminating all sources of the given problem. Her last chapter in *The Just City* is a model for what could become a widely adopted pattern of ending critical reviews with concrete suggestions for dealing with what remains to be done.

During the tumultuous end of the 1960s, Fainstein was researching her doctoral dissertation on the movement for community control of schools in New York within MIT’s political science department. Her supervisor was Alan Altshuler, who challenged the political neutrality of technical planning in *The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis* in 1965. Though she considered herself a political scientist, Fainstein’s association with Altshuler and her collaboration with Marcia Marker Feld at Marilyn Gittell’s Queens College urban research center, led Feld to invite her to join the urban planning faculty at Rutgers University, where Feld was a faculty member. Fainstein joined the department in 1970 and would stay for roughly thirty years. At Rutgers she worked to conceptualize urban planning as operating within a field of power and made political economy the organizing theme of her teaching. This approach has also framed her publications, including the four editions of her widely used textbook, originally edited with Scott Campbell and most recently with James de Filippis, *Readings in Planning Theory* (1996, 2003, 2011, 2016).

Alex Schwartz

Susan Fainstein has made innumerable contributions to planning scholarship and practice. While many say they combine theory and practice, Susan is one of few planning scholars who have really succeeded in doing so. Throughout her career she has approached critical issues of urban development from the perspectives of political science, political economy, and, more recently, philosophy. She is conversant with essential debates in these related fields and brings them to bear in concrete ways to studies of, among other topics, citizens movements, urban redevelopment, and real estate investment. In *The Just City*, she combines a close reading of various conceptions of justice with three international case studies of urban transformation—examining the ways by which these cities do and do not embrace different aspects of justice in their redevelopment. Her writing about theoretical issues is always clear and cogent and accessible to an interdisciplinary audience. Most important, she shows how these concerns matter for planners and citizens alike.



Susan's work stands out for another reason: For decades, she has studied urban planning and urban development from an international comparative perspective, focusing in particular on cities in North America, Europe, and Asia (Singapore especially). Her international research underscores the fact that the patterns of urban development and in the United States are not a natural or inevitable outcome of a capitalist economy, but that different political institutions and cultures in capitalist countries can shape the way cities develop—and allow for different qualities of life for their residents.

In her first academic paper co-authored with her husband Norman Fainstein, the authors establish parallels between theories in urban planning and in political thought that established fundamental categories of planning theory still employed today. Drawing on American empirical practice, they develop a non-exhaustive planning typology broken down into traditional, user-oriented, advocacy, and incremental planning and associate them with four political theories: technocratic, democratic, socialist, and liberal. In traditional planning, the planner represents a technocrat whose expertise entitles (typically) him to prescribe both the goals and means of planning. As in the technocratic political theories of Comte and Saint-Simone, the traditional planner's deep faith in the power of science and expertise to build a rational society leads to a paternalistic imposition of planning on citizens. Though this faith in science creates the impression of political neutrality, the Fainsteins aligned their critique with that of Herbert Gans (1968), who argued that traditional planners "tended to embody values that were particularly those of the upper-middle class" (Fainstein and Fainstein 1971, 343). They associate user-oriented planning, in which the planner develops means to address clients' ends, with democratic theory. Starting from the democratic standpoint that each individual is equal and that individuals are the source of public values, this fundamentally majoritarian approach strives to meet the needs of the greatest number, which are considered to be the "public interest". The planner then acts as a representative of the citizenry and reflects their views in the plans she devises. The primary flaw they identify in this approach is that it necessarily ignores or even suppresses minority values.

Deike Peters

Susan's contributions to planning theory always remained firmly grounded in and informed by actual, real life planning practice and her life-long focus on the political economy of urban redevelopment. This meant that she was especially well poised to speak to both planners and planning theorists about complex matters of equity, diversity and democracy.

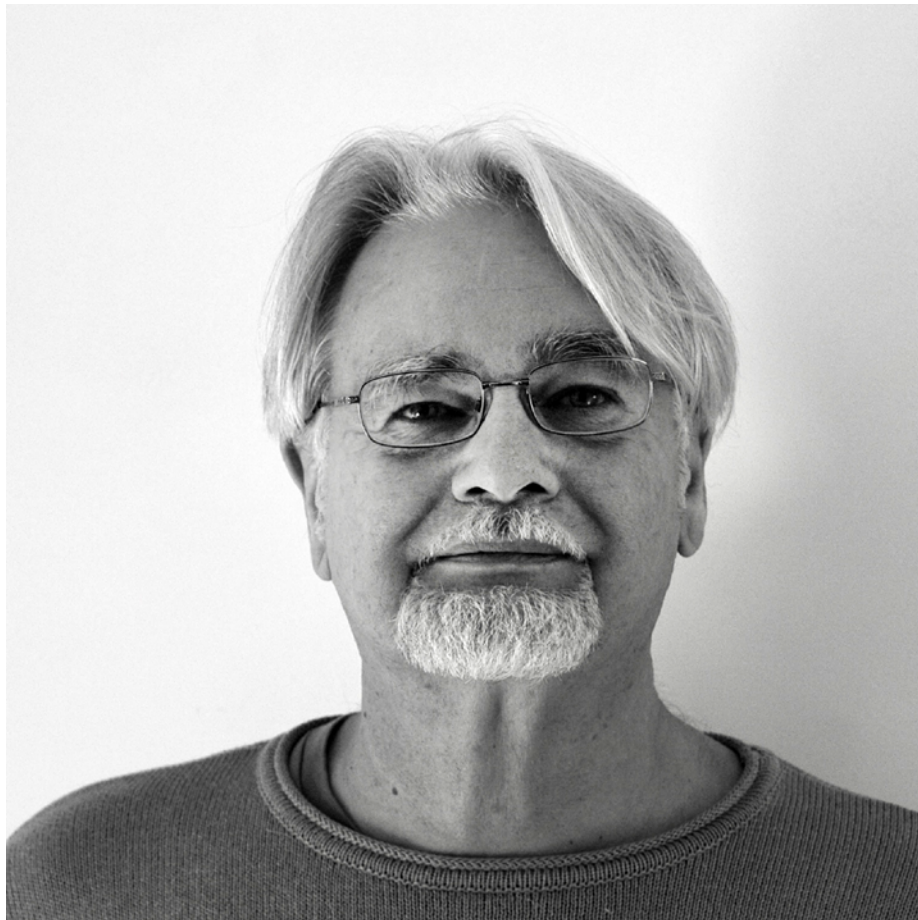
It is the third association that forms the foundation of Fainstein's practical approach to planning. Advocacy planning embraces an understanding of US political decision making as pluralistic, with stakeholders struggling to assert their often conflicting and sometimes irreconcilable social interests in the political arena (Davidoff 1965). Rather than positioning him or herself as a neutral arbiter of the public interest above the political fray, advocacy planners understand planning to be political, actively affiliate themselves with client groups, and work in collaboration with them to meet the goals they have established. The Fainsteins assert that this approach to planning parallels socialist theory's postulate that the objective conditions of people's lives define their interests. Under capitalist production these interests are inherently and irrevocably in conflict, and no unified public interest exists to be identified. In line with this interpretation of society, the advocate planner works on behalf of the most disadvantaged in a divided society.

The final association they draw is between incrementalism and liberal theory. Liberal theory pushes democratic theory's emphasis on the sanctity of individuals and their interests to posit citizens as individual rational actors whose actions should not be controlled through plans or commands (Klosterman 2003). Rather, following Hayek (1944), liberal governments need only establish and enforce the rule of law to ensure that power does not become concentrated. The result is that decision-making is distributed across actors and across spheres of activity. Lindblom (1959) employs these notions to argue for incremental decision-making through "partisan mutual adjustment" that takes place as different agencies, when actors make marginal procedural changes to pursue short-term goals in response to changing environmental conditions. The model is, of course, the price system in which Adam Smith's invisible hand determines the allocation of scarce resources as consumers and producers incrementally alter their purchasing decisions in response to changing prices (Smith 1863). As Fainstein and Fainstein point out, incrementalism is not a theory of planning per se but rather an anti-planning theory.

3. THE MOST "LIBERAL" OF MARXISTS

During the 1970s, urbanists, including Fainstein, actively developed frameworks for applying structural analysis to cities and the people inside them. Two highlights of this period were David Harvey's *Social Justice and the City* and Manuel Castells' *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. Described by former Rutgers PhD student Alan Peters as "the most 'liberal' of Marxists", Fainstein contributed to this discussion by challenging orthodox Marxism's depiction of the state under capitalism, asserting that planners, as agents of the state, could achieve more socially just outcomes. To develop her thesis, Fainstein weighed in on the deeper question within Marxism concerning state autonomy. In this respect, she was operating within the Weberian tradition developed by, inter alia, Theda Skocpol (Evans, Rueschmeyer and Skocpol 1985) and Anthony Giddens (1981).

Alan Peters



I first met Susan in the early 1980s; in South Africa, and during the last bad old days of apartheid. Back then Susan was known mainly for her work on Marxism and planning. Susan was the most “liberal” of Marxists; more than anything else her work then, as now, was motivated by a concern with inequality. To us in the enforced and intellectually regimented hothouse of the South African university left, her work was liberating. That initial concern with inequality and social movements through the lens of economic structure led to Susan’s work on global cities and, in particular, the role of money and development in making these places what they were and are. *The City Builders* was the landmark book here, characterizing global cities as the very point they were being invented, designed and built.

Hard-line Marxist thinkers regard the state as a simple appendage of the elite, an institution reduced to deterministic implementation of the wishes of the capitalist class. The implication of this view for planning is damning: planners are members of the executive committee of the bourgeoisie. That is, planning as a state function shapes and manages the built environment to facilitate capital accumulation (Marcuse 1978; O'Connor 2002). Therefore, planning and planners inherently work against the interests of the working class, and any efforts to involve the disadvantaged in the planning process is a disingenuous form of cooptation (Cloward and Piven 1975; Foglesong 1986). Fainstein, however, rejects this economic determinism and sees possibilities for active intervention by planners and communities (Fainstein and Fainstein 1982). We suggest that Fainstein is working in the revisionist tradition of social democracy promoted by Bernstein (1993) in opposition to hard-line thinkers like Luxemburg (2008). Bernstein's argument was that enfranchisement of the working classes in Germany had opened democratic avenues through which the working class could take control of the state and use it to build a more just society without the need for violent revolution. Rather than a historical determinism that foresees an inevitable socialist revolution, Bernstein argued that democracy opened up so many possibilities that the evolution of capitalism was capable of moving in any number of directions (Berman 2003).

Fainstein's understanding of the state situates this under-determination in fragmentation. For her, divisions among capitalists and within the state create opportunities for social movements to apply pressure and initiate change. First, unlike the orthodox Marxist view of capital as a unitary interest, Fainstein argues that, like the notion of a fragmented public interest discussed above, capital itself is fragmented into sometimes conflicting interests. For example, oil companies have an interest in suppressing renewable energy producers, and manufacturers may compete with real estate developers over uses of a waterfront. Or finance capitalists may refuse to provide public infrastructure that might benefit industrial capitalists. Such conflict among fractions of capital can result in suboptimal outcomes for capital as a whole. Therefore, to maximize accumulation for capital as a whole, the state must maintain a degree of autonomy in order to act as a referee among capitalists (Fainstein and Fainstein 1979). When the state has a degree of autonomy, it may also meet the demands of community-based groups for housing assistance or better public facilities. While the motive may be to co-opt dissent, the outcome can be an improvement in social welfare.

In this regard, Fainstein considers US city governments to lack autonomy vis-à-vis capital in comparison to most European city governments, which have greater control over planning and more resources at their disposal. Her identification of progressive agendas by capitalist European city governments informs her career-long interest in London and Amsterdam (Fainstein and Fainstein 1978, Fainstein 1999, 2001). Her goal in studying European cities was to ascertain the extent of variation in redistributive policies occurring within capitalist urban political economies and thereby delineating the extent of the possible under existing circumstances. Underlying this perspective was her commitment to assisting planners, who have the practical task of urban improvement and are not in a position to act as revolutionaries.

The second form of fragmentation that creates opportunities (and challenges) for advocates of equitable distribution is within the state. Fainstein distinguishes between vertical and horizontal fragmentation of the state. Vertical fragmentation refers to the distribution of powers among different levels of government, while horizontal fragmentation indicates the jurisdictional independence of municipalities across space. While the former limits local control over some aspects of spatial planning, like affordable housing construction, the latter fosters uneven spatial development as municipalities compete for jobs and tax revenues. The outcome is uneven development as wealthy jurisdictions exclude poor people and develop higher quality amenities while other jurisdictions suffer from disinvestment and heightened demand for social services. Fragmented states are open to contestation by various regimes (Stone 1993). On the one hand, fragmentation brings control of local resources closer to local residents and creates opportunities for community empowerment. On the other hand, however, fragmentation facilitates elite capture of local governments and planning. Fainstein identifies real estate interests as the elite group that most affects urban planning; her interest in their strategies later drives her study of *The City Builders*.

Fainstein's work during the 1970s—often in collaboration with her husband, Norman Fainstein—resonates with an optimism that the planning process can be reformed in ways that will produce more just outcomes (Fainstein and Fainstein 1974; Fainstein and Fainstein 1976). In particular, she argues that decentralizing power from central planning bodies to local communities will provide a number of benefits for local, often disenfranchised, communities. First, it provides more direct and complete information about conditions in local communities that is typically unavailable to planners working in a centralized office remote from actual neighborhoods. Most importantly, however, decentralization of planning recognizes the inherent political bias of all planners and widens the arena of contestation to more direct democratic participation by “outsiders” from local communities. In turn, this gives local communities an opportunity to develop policy alternatives and for planners to promote those alternatives within a city's bureaucracy, which they term “bureaucratic enfranchisement” (Fainstein 1983a; Fainstein and Fainstein 1982; Fainstein, Fainstein, and Armistead 1983; Needleman and Needleman 1974). Decentralization through neighborhood-based planning districts with out-stationed planners can thus foster community building through their work with local leaders to build a sense of community ownership.

In the late 1970s, Fainstein and her husband joined a US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) sponsored study on the effectiveness of participation in Community Block Redevelopment Grant (CDBG) redevelopment strategies in nine cities. Ultimately no official report was made because those in charge of the grant at the University of Pennsylvania refused to allow the release of findings that would offend the mayors of the cities studied.

Instead, the Fainsteins published their analysis in the book *Restructuring the City: The Political Economy of Urban Development*, in collaboration with Michael Peter Smith, Dennis Judd, and Richard Child Hill. Their central finding is that the local state had little control over development, although there was some variation among the five city cases presented. They conclude that local states are constrained on one hand by national urban policy, which affects levels of funding and targeting of aid, and on the other by both powerful local actors and the competitive advantage or disadvantage of the local economy. They identify stages of urban development policy that were more or less synchronous among the cities studied, regardless of local regime differences. They labeled these stages as directive (1950-64), characterized by top-down planning; concessionary (1965-74), when communities attained greater influence and received a larger share of public benefits; and conserving (1975-81), when some of the concessions from the earlier period were maintained but were not enlarged. While they suggest that popular movements in some cities did somewhat enhance economic redistribution, social integration, and political democratization, they note that the absence of a broad social force in the US capable of meaningfully pressing for these goals restricted potential gains (Fainstein and Fainstein 1986).

In summary, for Fainstein the state is an arena of contestation; it is not an administrative tool to be captured by a single interest. Though local planners must work within the constraints of national policy and a fragmented state (Fainstein and Fainstein 1978, 1979), progress can best be made by constructively engaging with the planning process. Planners, she argues, should ally themselves with the less well-off and push for planning in three ways. First, planning should improve the material conditions of the disadvantaged rather than resist such improvements as cooptation, since these have meaningful impacts on people's lives. Second, planning should be increased since it fosters the state's autonomy from capital, which can lead to further concessions to social movements. Finally, the planning and welfare state should be expanded since it increases opportunities to direct benefits toward lower income groups and may facilitate the social democratic transformation of the state. There is, however, a consistent dark note that most attempts at community control had not resulted in more equitable outcomes (Fainstein and Fainstein 1976, 1979). This recognition has engendered a degree of pessimism during the course of subsequent empirical research.

4. PROCESS VERSUS OUTCOME

Fainstein's growing pessimism about the potential for economically disadvantaged groups to successfully take advantage of state and capital fragmentation arose from the triumph of neoliberal ideology in framing local planning, resulting in a singular focus on growth rather than equity among policy makers. This pessimism has manifested itself in a concern about some planners' focus on processes rather than outcomes.

Fainstein also became ambivalent about the effect of locally based community planning when she conducted a study of the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP) in the early 1990s for the McKnight Foundation. This program allocated funds to all of Minneapolis's neighborhoods and gave neighborhood groups budgetary and planning authority over their expenditure. Although some neighborhoods produced and executed progressive programs, others either proved unable to organize successfully or formulated exclusionary policies. She watched as one community developed an enlightened plan incorporating affordable housing that was then overturned when a large number of homeowners took over the planning body and overwhelmed the other participants. She concluded that homeowners are usually the most active community participants and that their concerns over maintaining housing values and neighborhood homogeneity impede socially just outcomes (Fainstein and Hirst 1995).

In sum, Fainstein has come to view the local state as relatively limited in a capitalist society. She sees fundamental conflicts between the interests of profit-making businesses, homeowners, and those disadvantaged by race and poverty. Because popular movements are weak and capitalists possess many resources, capital faces little difficulty in blocking community efforts to achieve progressive outcomes. "Even the election of 'people's candidates' cannot change the dependence of public officials on private financial power—consequently the 'governing coalition' differs in composition from the electoral coalition" (Fainstein 1986a, 22). The consequence is a disjuncture between process and outcome. This disjuncture in capitalist societies drives her provocative critique of communicative planning theory (cf. Machler and Milz 2015 in this series). Though Fainstein has no quarrel with the goals of communicative planning, she argues that its "proponents seem to forget the economic and social forces that produce endemic social conflict and domination by the powerful. There is the assumption that if only people were reasonable, deep structural conflict would melt away" (Fainstein 2000a, 455). For Fainstein consensus through reasoning together is trumped by fundamental structural conflict.

Martin A. Bierbaum

I first met Susan Fainstein when I joined Rutgers University J.D.-Ph.D. program. The turmoil of the 1970s had me wrestling with issues of political sociology and political economy. Professor Fainstein has written that her MIT oral Ph.D. examination taught her how mainstream political science was obsessed with the “mechanics of governance” rather than concerned “with its outcomes and the deep causes of those outcomes.” It was not an obsession that she could abide, nor could I. Professor Fainstein’s multi-disciplinary perspective overcame the challenges posed by traditional academic walls. Her students were exposed to an appetizing menu of social, political and economic thought that drew upon diverse disciplines only recently squeezed under a planning umbrella in response to the social turmoil outside academia. We read Marx and Engels (1978), Weber (2004), Mannheim (1954), Hartz (1955), Dahl (1957), Lindblom (1959), Hirschman (1970), Altshuler (1965), Olson (1971), Etzioni (1973), Davidoff (1965), Marcuse (1978) and Wildavsky (1973) among others. What an eclectic crew! Students wondered what Louis Hartz had to do with zoning? Was I the only one interested in politics and markets; the logic of collective action (Olson 1971); exit and voice (Hirschman)? In class, Professor Fainstein linked those concepts to current events. Community organizing and social equity were recurrent themes.

Once working for government, I struggled with these theoretical insights and what might be their practical applications. They were rarely an easy fit. As a government bureaucrat, eventually, I built upon and extended from this theoretical base drawing from others as well who placed planning ideas in a modern context of political power, organizational development and reflective practice. Yet I saw these as extensions of what I first gleaned from Susan Fainstein’s seminar.

One article co-authored by Susan Fainstein seemed especially relevant to my state bureaucratic career. It pointed to the fact that the public’s perceptions of public agencies often varied depending upon whether the agency’s predominant function facilitated or impeded the accumulation of private capital. As Assistant Director of the Office of State Planning and subsequently as the state’s Director of Environmental Planning and Deputy Director of the Governor’s Policy Office, I often thought of the value of that single insight. It provided a perspective I needed while addressing what could be unfriendly or even openly hostile audiences when introducing a novel planning initiative.

5. FEMINISM AND POSTSTRUCTURALISM

The preceding experience with exclusive communities also shapes Fainstein's approach to feminist theory. She recognizes that feminist theory introduces ideas that challenge conventional planning practice and promise to make it more humane (Fainstein 1993, 2005). Feminist theory builds on the notion of difference and communal relations to promote consensus building over adversarial politics, to protect weaker actors, and to acknowledge and incorporate other forms of knowledge, like sentiment (Cott 1987; Sandercock and Forsyth 1992). But Fainstein cautions that poststructural feminist approaches risk at least three forms of blindness. The first is that establishing identity on the basis of difference can go—and has all too frequently gone—wrong and contravened just outcomes. Racism and nationalism, for instance, are rooted in such ascribed differences and have been used to disempower minority populations. Her second concern is that efforts to break down gendered binaries can easily slip into new dualisms, like feminine and masculine or rational and irrational (e.g., Chodorow 1978, Gilligan 1982, Wilson 1991), with rationality regarded as male. And it is precisely this resistance to rationality as an inherently patriarchal form of discrimination that concerns her the most. The postmodern critique considers Enlightenment rationality to be a totalizing discourse that ignores difference and is therefore exclusionary. The risk she identifies is that of undermining the Enlightenment values that enabled and informed women's movements in the first place. The "radically democratic" Enlightenment claim that each individual possesses inalienable rights regardless of their differences (Nussbaum 2011) is based upon logical abstractions of natural law and provided the foundation for women's initial claims to equal treatment. Thus, for Fainstein, the poststructuralist rejection of universal norms of justice and right eliminates an important and powerful tool for empowering women and other minorities.

In working to resolve her concerns about the postmodern critique of Enlightenment rationality, Fainstein has increasingly come to rely on the ideas of the capabilities approach, particularly as it is formulated by Nussbaum (2000, 2011). The capabilities approach argues that humans recognize an effectively universal set of capabilities that are necessary for leading a life of dignity, such as bodily health, practical reason, and affiliation. This approach strives to harmonize universal rights with individual difference through its recognition that every individual requires different resources to achieve the capabilities and that they may choose to realize some capabilities more fully than others. For Fainstein (2005), this empathy in conformity with universalistic principles offers a normative basis for just outcomes and identifies "universal norms against which achievements can be measured".

6. ELITISM

Looking back, Fainstein finds that her early reading of elite theorists has become more relevant to her view of planning. Thinkers like Pareto (1955) and Michels (2001) argue that elites will always rule and that social transformation only produces a change in the dominant elite. This view naturally emerged from her empirical observations of how real estate developers' investment decisions defined redevelopment programs and inspired her first sole-authored book. In Fainstein (1994, 2001), she turns her attention to the role that real estate developers play in redeveloping New York and London.

In *The City Builders*, Fainstein is explicit about adopting a “realist” methodology in which the point

Nick Smith

Susan is rightly recognized for her contributions to just city theory, but I think her most important contribution comes in *The City Builders*. In that book, Susan reduces the often monolithic process of market-driven urbanization to a sociological process, deconstructing the specific incentives that shape the actions of real estate developers, policy makers, and planners. This sociological approach, by which normative principles such as the “market” or “science” are brought back down to earth, has been extremely influential in my own work. Susan is not the only scholar to have taken this approach, but she was one of those responsible for bringing it to the field of planning.



is not to delineate a general process that occurs at all times and in all places. Rather, the objective is to understand the mix of general and specific factors” that shape particular, concrete outcomes at particular times (2001, p. 26). This approach has influenced many of Fainstein’s students by providing them with a strategy “by which normative principles such as ‘the market’ or ‘science’ are brought back down to earth” (Personal communication, Nick Smith). It represents a further move away from the rigid mechanical view of socioeconomic transformation held by orthodox Marxists (cf. Sayer 1992).

The *City Builders* moves in this realist direction through its treatment of “interests”. As shown

Lisa Chamberlain

After completing Columbia University’s journalism program, I quoted her in a few articles that I wrote for *Metropolis* magazine and *The New York Times*, where I covered real estate from 2004-2008—a time when many of the issues I studied in her classes were highly relevant. Large-scale redevelopment projects were underway in nearly every city during this real estate boom time, and Susan’s work and her point of view gave me a framework from which to evaluate these developments. For example, I wrote an article about an enormous redevelopment project in the Midtown area of Atlanta that was built on the site of an old steel mill. While others criticized the architectural and design sterility of this enormous new “city within a city”—which pioneered walkability in a very auto-dependent city—Susan pointed out that urban character is only achieved with time, but when it comes to large-scale redevelopment sites like this, success or failure happens very quickly: “It’s hard to create texture when everything is brand new,” Professor Fainstein said. “But given these kinds of sites, like old steel mills, you can’t develop them incrementally. You need a whole new address.”



above, from her earliest work Fainstein has challenged the traditional view of a unified public interest that is enshrined in the rational planning approach. In this phase of her work, she reinforces and expands her efforts to fragment the notion of interest in urban development to include not just objective economic interest but also values, traditions, and personality. Her study of individual real estate developers and local community groups in London and New York reveals that the strategies and designs shaping real estate developments reflect individual personalities at one end and broad global processes at the other and are formed through exploration rather than being given a priori. “In other words, perceived interest is neither an automatic response to economic position nor a wholly voluntaristic option among possible stances. It rather represents a structured position derived from the interaction between economic, communal, and ideological forces at a particular historical moment” (Fainstein 2001, 15).

The specific factors of personality and localized ideology interact with global trends. Perhaps the central contribution of *The City Builders* was its recognition of the role of property elites in the emergence and shaping of global cities. Fainstein shifted her analysis away from the political decisions that were the central focus of *Restructuring the City* and instead looked at the reasoning and strategies of developers. Thus, she examined the forces producing agglomeration in global cities, which created immensely profitable opportunities for real-estate speculators and resulted in the construction of megaprojects within the nodes of global capitalism (cf. Marcuse and van Kempen 2000; Sassen 2001). As former Rutgers doctoral student Alan Peters suggests, “*The City Builders* was the landmark book, characterizing global cities at the very point they were being invented, designed and built”.

Fainstein noted that in the 1980s and 1990s the ideal of a comprehensive process of rational planning had broken down within urban governments. Instead, planners adopted approaches that reflected corporate strategy in their “emphasis on short-term accomplishments” and focus on growth (Fainstein 2001, 98). In her analysis, this reassessment of the planning function results from the nature of real estate development. She likens property development to entertainment production. In both cases industries produce essentially speculative, unique projects through an ad hoc production process tailored to the needs of each project. Additionally, both have significant cultural impacts. In their search for investment, urban governments respond to the initiatives of private developers rather than prescribing the content of development. They are typically permissive in establishing development guidelines and bargain with developers to achieve community benefits. As a result, planners must abandon their more traditional, social science and design based skills for those of business deal negotiators (100). Still, Fainstein argues that planners can affect the equity outcomes of mega-developments. Because *The City Builders* compares similar projects in different ideological and political contexts that have different impacts, Fainstein is able to argue that incentives to investors can be employed to make development more or less equitable and that planners have a role in promoting more just outcomes.

Fainstein’s interest in the factors driving urban development also led her to become a founder of the urban tourism research group, along with Dennis Judd and Lily Hoffman. The premise of this group, which produced two edited volumes—*The Tourist City* (Judd and Fainstein 1999) and *Cities and Visitors* (Hoffman, Fainstein, and Judd 2003)—was that the tourism industry was understudied by urban scholars. In the editors’ view, existing tourism research tended to focus on vacation travel to the neglect of urban areas. They saw travel as shaping cities, as motivated by many other factors than escapism, especially business reasons, and as offering employment to unskilled workers displaced by the decline of manufacturing. The two books contained both general theoretical discussions of the pros and cons of urban tourism and individual case studies of places. The editors developed a typology of tourist cities (resort cities, tourist-historic cities, and converted cities) and placed policies within the context of regulation theory. They identified four types of regulatory framework structuring the tourist milieu: protection of the city; protection of visitors; regulation of labor markets; and regulation of the industry (2003, p. 7). As in all Fainstein’s work, the aim was to investigate how and whether the industry produced a more equitable city.

Larry Bennett

Susan Fainstein has been a pioneer importer and developer of ideas that have become fundamental components of planning analysis: early in her career as an analyst/advocate of more sustained professional/constituent dialogue; in the 1970s as one of the first North American planning scholars to engage with the Neo-Marxian approach to interpreting urban phenomena; by the 1990s, again as one of the first North American urbanists to impose analytical rigor on discussions of tourism and urban development; and in her summative volume 'The Just City' drawing on a wide variety of sources to systematically investigate the normative grounding and distributional consequences of planning processes in Amsterdam, London, and New York City.



7. THE JUST CITY: REVISIONISM REDUX

Fainstein was spurred to address the question of social justice directly after attending a conference to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of Harvey's *Social Justice and the City*. This effort resulted in several articles including "Justice, Politics, and the Creation of Urban Space" (1996), "Can We Make the Cities We Want?" (1999), and especially "New Directions in Planning Theory" (2000a). The last of these inspired a group of doctoral students at Columbia University, where she had moved after Rutgers in 2001, to organize a conference in 2006 to explore her notion of a Just City and which produced an edited volume (Marcuse et al., 2009). She subsequently enrolled in a class on theories of justice with Rainer Forst at the New School and used this material to develop her ideas of the Just City into a book.

Jeffrey Lowe

Most might say Susan Fainstein's greatest contribution to planning scholarship is her theory of the just city. I contend Susan's most important contributions to planning scholarship extend beyond theorizing about the just city. Her work is better placed within a body of scholarship that illuminates praxis or practical application of normative theories seeking to address questions of how and how much planning processes produce outcomes resulting in eliminating inequities, expanding democracy, and the inclusion of a society's marginalized groups. Susan accomplished much of this through cross-national comparisons of the distributional effects of urban redevelopment policies and practices between major US cities, and other places within the capitalist industrialized world such as Amsterdam, London, and Singapore. She brings attention to who benefits and loses from the uneven use of public resources, often through the guise of public-private partnerships, for private means. Ultimately, this gets to issues of power. Her ideas have had a significant influence on the use of critical theory in assessment of planning.



The *Just City* (2010), which won the Davidoff Award of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP), was published after her 2006 move to the Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD). In it Fainstein integrates realism in method, process, and outcome. She positions the Just City as a realistic utopia that relates politics to vision and policy to justice. By offering a pragmatic vision of a more equitable distribution of resources, a more democratic process of decision making, and a more tolerant view of diversity, Fainstein hopes to inspire social movements and planners to push for incremental changes that will improve the lives of urban residents in developed capitalist countries of the West.

Drawing on a wide range of thinkers, including Fraser and Honneth (2003), Nussbaum (2000), Rawls (1999), Sen (1999), and Young (2000, 1990), Fainstein "names" urban justice as incorporating equity, democracy, and diversity (Fainstein 2010, 5) and calls for their maximization (166). However, equity takes priority, while democracy and diversity play supporting roles. From the beginning of the book, she situates equity as the core component of a just city, suggesting that

Deike Peters

Without doubt, her monograph on the Just City will survive as a classic work in planning. She developed a bold normative framework of urban justice that triggered passionate debates.

decades of scholarly critique of urban policy have implied a model of the just city as “a city in which public investment and regulation would produce equitable outcomes rather than support those already well off” (3). Meanwhile, democracy is subordinated to equitable outcomes in her continuing critique of deliberative democracy’s faith that good processes produce good outcomes (24---35). Further, Fainstein (2010, 76) identifies diversity as an “aspirational goal” and emphasizes its conceptual distinction from equity, but she acknowledges the term’s “instrumentality when equality of access is really meant” in the United States (68), and this instrumentality informs most of her recommendations in the final chapter. In sum, in the Just City model, equity defines justice, while democracy facilitates equity and diversity results from it. She also argues that the three principles contain elements that are in tension with each other.

As in previous work—particularly that of the 1970s—Fainstein adopts a realistic revisionism. Accepting that her “analysis is limited to what appears feasible within the present context of capitalist urbanization in wealthy, formally democratic, Western countries” (5), Fainstein follows Rawls (1999) in advocating for improved conditions for the least advantaged. She states that her objective is “to lay out principles that can move cities closer to justice” (Fainstein 2010, 171) and offers lists of policies “in furtherance of” equity, democracy, and diversity (172-175). But, perhaps following Harvey’s warning that utopias of spatial form often lead to non-democratic, totalitarian implementation processes (Harvey 2000), she does not attempt to precisely define what a just city would be, except, as mentioned above, a place of equitable outcomes. Instead, she expects that an

Alan Altshuler

Alan Altshuler, author of *The City Planning Process* (1965) and *Megaprojects* (2004), served as Susan Fainstein's dissertation chair at MIT. He focuses on two major contributions of Susan's work. First, she produced terrific work in the early 1970s with her husband on the politics of redevelopment and civil rights. Though he did not fully appreciate their contribution at the time, he came increasingly to do so in subsequent years. In particular they made the extraordinarily insightful observation that business interests, resistant to virtually all peaceful forms of equity protest, proved willing to make substantial concessions when faced in the late 1960s with the reality and prospect of violent riots. They did not foresee the power of the conservative reaction that would follow (cf. Hacker and Pierson, 2010), but no one else did at the time, either.



Fainstein's second major contribution that Altshuler highlighted was the Just City, which had a huge impact. His critique is rooted in his more traditional political science perspective as a "political analyst of planning" and in his practical experience in government. He thinks that the Just City would have been even stronger if it had addressed a wider audience than urban planners, who are relatively weak participants in urban politics. He hopes for follow-on work, whether by Fainstein or others, extending the Just City analysis to include a much wider variety of urban policy makers and constituencies, thereby more effectively positioning Fainstein's recommendations within the actuality of urban politics. This will, he recognizes, be an enormous challenge, and takes nothing away from Fainstein's pioneering contribution.

increased pressure for urban justice "would add to overall pressure for restructuring capitalism into a more humane system" (Fainstein 2010, 6). She offers the really existing city of Amsterdam as a concrete model for the Just City, as she has for many years, although recent, neoliberal developments there have given her some pause (Fainstein 1997; 1999).

These practical outcomes are tied to an equally practical process. Outcome and process coincide in her choice of the term “equity” over “equality” (35-37). She rejects equality as a goal because it is “too complex, demanding, and unrealistic to be an objective in the context of capitalist cities. It acts as a magnet for all the objections based on rewards to the most deserving, on questions of the obliteration of incentives, on the trade-off between growth and equality, and on the unfairness of penalizing everyone above the median in the name of the greater good” (36). In doing so, “equality” obstructs the real need for a broad-based coalition to press for reform. In Fainstein’s view, social change requires the “widespread mobilization” not only of disadvantaged populations but also of the middle class (Fainstein 2000a, 66, 468-469). She thus turns away from “equality” in favor of the politically strategic term “equity”, which she claims implies fairness and avoids explicit targeting of the better off. Her strategy, then, is to develop a discourse that incorporates both the lower classes and the middle classes into a cohesive political movement for reform (Fainstein 2009, 35).

Elizabeth Currid- Halkett

Without question, Susan’s concept of the “Just City” changed the way we ought to think about economic development. Challenging capitalist measures of success, Susan pushed urbanists to see development objectives as intertwined with other softer forces – diversity, democracy and equity – to accomplish end goals far greater than those quantified by real estate values. In today’s unequal and stratified globalized cities, the theory of a ‘just city’ resonates even more. Susan’s argument to see development from a more holistic perspective is so urgent for planners and policymakers today.



This broad mobilization is expected to ratchet up pressure for incremental, progressive change through a strategy of “nonreformist reforms”. The term originally comes from André Gorz’s *Strategy for Labor* (1967), but is adopted by Fainstein from Nancy Fraser (Fraser and Honneth 2003, 108). Writing in the late 1960s, Gorz—like Fainstein—sees little immediate hope of transforming the social and economic organization of the capitalist states of Europe and North America. Instead, he develops a third approach, a simple core strategy he calls “non-reformist reforms”: by struggling together for carefully selected reforms that increase the power of labor, workers will build their strength and hence ability to achieve subsequent reforms. Abstracting from Gorz’s focus on labor to incorporate all socially disadvantaged groups, Fainstein defines nonreformist reforms as strategically selected reforms that will not only improve social conditions immediately but also build a foundation for further reforms in the future. These reforms are intended to redistribute material and nonmaterial benefits derived from public policy to society’s disadvantaged populations (Fainstein 2010, 36). Though she does not specify the mechanism, in accordance with her definition of nonreformist reforms, increased resources will presumably enhance these groups’ ability to push for additional reforms and perpetuate the virtuous circle.

Though widely and enthusiastically embraced in planning, Fainstein's Just City approach has been subject to criticism. The first (minor) critique is Altshuler's argument, made in a forum on the book at the GSD, that *The Just City* is not practical enough. His main concern is that it focuses too narrowly on planners and planning rather than the broader array of actors that would be involved in achieving her goals. In his view, planning is relatively weak vis-à-vis other constituencies, and therefore her focus on planning does not produce a formula for transformative change.

A second critique hinges on the planning debate over process and outcome (described above) that had spurred Fainstein's *The Just City* in the first place. In his critique of *The Just City*, Robert Lake commends Fainstein for "offering a compelling argument on behalf of justice 'as the governing norm for evaluating urban policy'...particularly against competing rationalities such as the sustainable or resilient city, the smart city, the creative city, the entrepreneurial city" (Lake, 2017: 1206-7). However, Lake questions Fainstein's ex ante evaluation of planning outcomes according to the justice standards of equity, diversity, and democracy. Instead of these justice standards being "legislated by theorists in advance," Lake instead calls for a more "democratically inclusive planning practice" within which the questions of "whether these values comprise a fully adequate standard of justice and how such a standard is to be deployed in specific cases...can be adjudicated" (1207-8). Lake argues that at stake here is a shift away from "expert-driven" modes of planning practice to more inclusive democratic deliberation.

Stacey Sutton

A major but perhaps unintended contribution of Susan Fainstein’s compendium of empirically grounded scholarship is that it forges new ground for radical discourse and progressive planning. From *Restructuring the City* to *The City Builders* and then *The Just City*, Fainstein’s critical examinations of urban redevelopment policies, politics, and economic relations foreground the tendency of development to exacerbate conflict and engender disparate effects within and across cities, neighborhoods, and social groups. Fainstein’s earlier work explicitly articulates racial and class inequality as the structural foundation upon which political and economic interests and market forces reproduce geographies of injustice. As such, Fainstein unsettles conventional planning theory by revealing its inadequacy for addressing what she describes in *New Directions in Planning Theory* as “the possibility of consciously achieving widespread improvement in the quality of human life within the context of a global capitalist political economy.” In Fainstein’s later work, however, persistent and pernicious structural inequities – racism, classism, patriarchy, homophobia, among others – are collapsed and presumably responded to through the overarching values of a Just City: democracy, diversity, and equity. Consequently, many of the concrete planning and policy guidelines Fainstein derives from these values are necessary but insufficient. They are not visionary enough.



As a student of Susan Fainstein’s I learned that as a planning scholar in this future oriented discipline, we are compelled not to plan around perennial societal ills but rather to identify the liminal spaces of each historical moment and offer social actions for leveraging and moving forward. I understand Fainstein’s contributions as playing a crucial role in expanding planning vocabularies and advancing the starting line from which we debate and thereby creating space for radical imaginaries that refuse to plan around racism, global capitalism, and other structural inequities. For urban scholars and activists working toward Just Cities, Freedom Cities, Sanctuary Cities, and Rights to the City, Fainstein offers baseline policy prescriptions and illustrative institutional insights upon which radical planning can begin.

A third source of critique arises from Fainstein's willingness to accept a "more humane capitalism" (5-6). Harvey and Potter (2009) argue that the Just City approach is limited to mitigating the worst outcomes of capitalist processes instead of actually creating a socially just society. They argue that because the Just City approach accepts the perpetuation of the exploitation of labor by capital, it suppresses fundamental class differences and thereby avoids conflict and struggle. Fainstein counters that she anticipates struggle and conflict in the fight for nonreformist reforms, although she cannot deny that capitalism itself may be an inherently inhumane system. Elaborating on this theme, Potter contends that the "realistic utopianism" of the Just City may work against the success of the nonreformist reforms strategy (Potter 2013). Potter points out that Gorz developed the nonreformist reforms strategy to achieve an explicitly socialist transformation of society. Gorz argues that capitalist forces have been able to arrest the dynamism of the socialist movement, forestalling more substantive change, by adeptly absorbing workers' straightforward quantitative demands, like higher wages and fewer hours (Gorz 1968, 116). To counter this tendency, Gorz argues that socialism must thus be presented as a desirable goal in and of itself, as a "global alternative" to capitalism (125). Thus, for Gorz, demands like Fainstein's for a "more humane capitalism" or for "better" outcomes are insufficient. He provides at least two reasons for this. First, these limited and unimaginative relative improvements are unlikely to help workers to develop a deeper understanding of their social situation or to inspire them to accept the sacrifices that must be made to achieve deeper social transformation (123-24). Second, as mentioned above, these quantitative demands can be readily reabsorbed by capitalism by, for example, passing on the cost of higher wages back to the workers in the form of higher prices. Worse, these gains can be "whittled down, denatured, absorbed, and emptied of all or part of their content" if the disruptive momentum of social movements is not sustained (120). Potter thus argues that by "realistically" accepting capitalism as a constraint and pushing for a better distribution of the material and nonmaterial benefits of public policy under a more humane capitalism rather than offering a global and qualitative alternative, Fainstein reduces the Just City's long-term political appeal and hence its capacity for transforming society. Simply put, Fainstein's "realistic utopia" is not utopian enough to be realistic.

Despite such concerns, it is imperative that Fainstein's normative planning principles of equity, diversity and democracy are carried forward into contemporary times. Markusen (Personal correspondence) argues that "the diversity norm has exploded into broad public consciousness with the struggles over racism in urban and rural societies," and that "after the Trump election, maybe we need to revisit the democracy norm as well since recent events reveal important design features that could be improved upon."

Ann Markusen

I admire and have learned from Fainstein's emphasis on politics—a great counterbalance to design and process foci in planning that disembed planners conceptually from the political economy in which they are operating. Susan was one of dozens of social scientists whose incorporation into planning schools and scholarship greatly broadened the relevance of the planning academy and, I believe, the quality and impact of real world urban and regional planning. For instance, Fainstein's research on the real estate and development industries in New York and London reveal how essential it is to understanding money, finance, and their influence on city government decisions. Her



book, *The City Builders*, is a formidable characterization of the way that property interests, developers and politicians interact to remake inner cities.

Fainstein consistently goes where others disdain to tread. She was a pioneer in the American planning academy for working across continents. Early on in her career, she linked up with the European planning academics, from whom she learned a lot and sometime collaborated. Her work on the unfashionable (among academics) phenomenon of tourism, which she tackled at an international scale, demonstrated the significance and political economy of this sector. Her edited book *The Tourist City* and a series of journal articles on the subject synthesize the economic, political and environmental aspects of tourism, showing brilliantly how planning does and does not cope with these particular forces of development.

Urban inequality and social movements have long been subjects of Fainstein's work. Many of Fainstein's articles report pathbreaking research on inequality in global cities, urban immigration, and neighborhood development. Her first book, *Urban Political Movements*, pays particularly close attention to African-American efforts to participate in the life and making of the city. Fainstein's career-crowning work is her book, *The Just City*, which Urban inequality and social movements have long been subjects of Fainstein's work. Her first book, *Urban Political Movements*, pays particularly close attention to African-American efforts to participate in the life and making of the city. Many of her articles report pathbreaking research on inequality in global cities, urban immigration, and neighborhood development. Definitely, *The Just City* sparked debate. It deepened the antagonism between the process people in planning and those who work both within explicit normative frameworks and political economy. Her posing of three normative planning principles—democracy, diversity, equity—as competing normative postures is powerful. She demands that planners position their ideas, designs and implementation within this nexus—that they pay attention to each. She also comes down strongly for a priority on equity. These days I think she might be rethinking this, as the diversity norm has exploded into broad public consciousness with the struggles over racism in urban and rural societies. And, after the Trump election, maybe we need to revisit the democracy norm as well, since recent events reveal important design features that could be improved upon.

8. NEW PERSPECTIVES

After her retirement from Harvard in 2011, Fainstein worked as a visiting professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy of the National University of Singapore. While there she also worked as a consultant to a government think tank within the Urban Renewal Authority. The experience has led her to incorporate Singapore's planning and housing policies into lectures and papers on the potential for planning a Just City by identifying both the potential and limits of state-led development. In forthcoming work, she contrasts Singapore, where the government rather than private developers determines land development, to the Western cities she had previously studied. She argues that Singapore has succeeded in ensuring good housing, ethnic integration, and an ecologically desirable landscape for its citizens, but at the cost of repressing popular initiatives and isolating its large foreign population. It demonstrates the capacity of a meritocratic elite to produce desired outcomes but at the expense of democratic processes, which casts further doubt on the belief in a direct relationship between process and outcome. It also demonstrates the importance of government land ownership for allowing the public to capture increases in land value due to development (Fainstein, 2012).

9. CONCLUSION

Over a span of almost fifty years, Susan Fainstein has influenced and inspired planning

Tracy Metz

Susan Fainstein's work has had an impact that reaches far beyond the planning field—no mean accomplishment for an academic. Through the years she has had an eye for issues in the field that go beyond the usual pale of planning. And she has an eye for new developments, something that I as a journalist share with her. She was one of the first to delve into the significance of tourism for cities, for instance, and her longstanding devotion to social justice has been very influential in getting this issue onto a broader political and social agenda.

Not only are her subjects compelling, but she also knows how to present her findings and her observations in an accessible manner. This is a talent that in the academic world is all too often seen as 'dumbing down' – but that is a deeply flawed way of thinking. As a journalist who is fascinated by the way we use our built and natural environment—I do this in written media such as newspapers, magazines and books, but also on the radio, in my talkshow and as of recently in my video blog—I am interested in new stories and in new forms of storytelling. And I think academics should be too! In that sense Susan is a role model for me.

scholarship. She was instrumental in bringing the perspective of political science to bear on urban planning in the late 1960s and 1970s when the field was widening its view. While the empirical subject of her work has covered concrete issues ranging from community empowerment in education to urban restructuring, real estate development, tourism, gender, and the Just City, her work has always concerned itself with achieving socially just outcomes.

During her long career Fainstein taught full-time at Rutgers, Columbia, and Harvard, as well as serving seven terms as a visiting professor in the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. In addition to her contributions to the masters' programs in these places, she was very involved in their PhD programs. In her view, perhaps her greatest influence on planning scholarship has been through her supervision of her many doctoral students. Most of them went on to significant careers as academics and as practitioners around the world. Those who went on to join the bureaucracy carried with them Fainstein's approach of connecting social theories to the actual world of practice and of "placing planning ideas in the context of political power, organizational development and reflective practice" (Personal correspondence, Martin Bierbaum). Those who entered the academy have consistently concerned themselves with the social impacts of planning in varied scholarship on topics ranging from redevelopment to the effects of tourism to urban and regional economic development in both the global North and South. Fainstein's doctoral advisees recall her meticulous commitment to their work, as a "rare mentor who can intellectually engage in the big ideas while taking the time to edit line by line, each comma, gerund and improperly used semicolon" (Personal communication, Elizabeth Currid-Halkett). Fainstein remains a role model for many of her women doctoral advisees. She is part of one of the oldest Marxist-Feminist study/reading groups in the US (based in New York). She has made important contributions to planning institutions in the US as one of the founding members of the Faculty Women's Interest Group (FWIG) at the ACSP and has been recognized by the ACSP for her lifetime career achievements as the recipient of its Distinguished Educator Award.

This paper has argued that Fainstein began her career with an optimism characteristic of progressives in the late 1960s that community empowerment would lead to substantial social change and improvements for disadvantaged populations. As her empirical work developed and political-economic transformations took place, this optimism gave way to a skepticism about local movements' potential due to the narrowness of local community interests, the domination of large economic interests in urban development, and widespread acquiescence to the rubrics of neoliberal ideology. Because she sees fundamental conflicts of interest among social groupings, she is cautious about relying too much on democratic process and communicative approaches to achieve socially just outcomes. Despite this skepticism, her view of the state and capital as fragmented means there are openings that allow middle- and low-income populations to mobilize around the demand for justice. Although she does not consider that planners by themselves can have a transformative effect, she nevertheless believes that they can block retrogressive policies and use their strategic position to press for equitable outcomes.

SUSAN FAINSTEIN AS A MENTOR AND TEACHER

Martin A. Bierbaum

I suspect that I was one of Susan Fainstein's initial Ph.D. students. She was helpful, insightful and even at times protective. My dissertation tried to synthesize normative and empirical analyses of a housing revitalization case study in Hoboken, New Jersey in the 1970s. Professor Fainstein not only provided the guidance and encouragement that I needed, she also assisted me in defending my thesis from attack by her colleagues from both the right and the left. Those were turbulent times!

Elizabeth McKenzie

She was the most inspiring professor I had ever had or have had since, raising our collective consciousness as to the externalities of planning decisions (and non-decisions) and the implications of those externalities on economic, racial and social justice. When Susan lectures, her passion for her field lights up the room. She becomes radiant, and her audience is captivated. Susan was a strong mentor to me as a student, and today she remains a dear and valued friend. As a professional planner, I came to view everything I do through the lens of "who gets and who pays", and that has made all the difference.

Marla Nelson

Susan has demonstrated an unwavering commitment to training the next generation of urban planning and policy scholars. She is an outstanding teacher and has been a generous mentor to scores of students, taking interest in and supporting their work throughout their careers. One of my most memorable illustrations of Susan's commitment to her students was when she called me unexpectedly in the morning on New Year's Day 2000. I was still sleeping and Susan wanted to discuss my research questions for my NSF dissertation proposal. She was leaving to go overseas on sabbatical that day and wanted to make sure we had an opportunity to talk before she left. Her feedback was invaluable and I wound up securing the grant.

Alex Schwartz

She was a brilliant teacher. I still remember how she could quote from memory Weber, Durkheim, and Marx in her course on planning and social theory.

Deike Peters

Susan has always remained fiercely supportive of and loyal to her mentees long after they graduate.

Nick Smith

When I neared the end of the generals reading list Susan had given me, she memorably noted, “You’ll never be as well read as you are now.” That’s definitely true, but the instincts and insight I built during the process have stuck with me—and I owe that to Susan.

Lisa Chamberlain

My short but fruitful time taking urban planning classes at Columbia was infinitely enhanced by my relationship with Susan Fainstein. I was not a planning student, but in fact a mid-career master’s student at the journalism school. The program was designed for experienced journalists who wanted to develop an expertise in a particular subject matter and for me that was getting an intellectual foundation in planning and a deeper understanding of how cities work. I was fortunate enough to get to know Susan quickly and took three classes with her in one year, which were the highlight of my time at Columbia. I spent considerably more time on my final paper for her class than I did on my official “master’s thesis” for the journalism school!

Of course Susan’s intellectual gravitas, body of work, extensive travels and encyclopedic knowledge form the foundation of her illustrious career, but what I most appreciated—particularly as a journalist with a deep interest in politics and economic development as they relate to planning—was her pragmatic and balanced presentation of ideological camps and battles that have engulfed the planning profession over the decades. Her presentation of the literature was always fair, and her criticisms were always based in fact, and often delivered with a wry sense of humor.

Jeffrey Lowe

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Elizabeth Currid-Halkett

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Contributors' Introduction

Alan Altshuler

Alan Altshuler is Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus in Harvard University's Kennedy School and Graduate School of Design. He has variously served during the course of his career as Dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Design, Academic Dean of the Kennedy School, dean of NYU's Graduate School of Public Administration (now Wagner School of Public Service), chair of MIT's Political Science Department, and Massachusetts Secretary of Transportation. His books include *The City Planning Process: a Political Analysis* (Cornell U. Press), *The Urban Transportation System* (MIT Press), *Regulation for Revenue* (with Jose Gomez-Ibanez; Brookings Institution Press), and *Mega-Projects: The Changing Politics of Urban Public Investment* (with David Luberoff; Brookings Press).

Alan Peters

Alan Peters is Dean of the School of Architecture and Built Environment at the University of Adelaide. He is an Honorary Professor at the Bartlett School of Planning, University College London and an Adjunct Professor in the Faculty of Art and Design at UNSW. Alan has also been Head of the School of Built Environment and Director of the Australian Graduate School of urbanism at UNSW in Sydney, Professor of Urban Planning and Director of the Planning Research Centre at the University of Sydney, and Professor and Chair of the Graduate School of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Iowa.

Alan's work has been focused on three broad areas: (1) the micro-climatography of the built environment and the design and regulatory consequences of this; (2) the impact of state and local incentive policy on investment and urban form; and (2) the use of GIS/DSS in developing models for complex spatial issues in urban policy making. He has written a number of books, and numerous monographs, governmental reports and articles. His research has been supported by the NSF, the US Federal Reserve, federal, state and local governments in the US, various American private foundations, provincial government in Canada. In Australia, he has been supported by the Australian Research Council and various other government agencies and research organization. In South Africa, he has had the support of the Human Sciences Research Council and various other agencies.

Alex Schwartz

Alex Schwartz is Professor of Urban Policy at the New School. His research focuses primarily on housing and community development. He is the author of *Housing Policy in the United States* (3rd Edition, Routledge) and is the Managing Editor for North America for the international journal *Housing Studies*. He completed his Ph.D. in Urban Planning and Policy Development at Rutgers University, where he was privileged to have Susan Fainstein as the chair of his dissertation committee.

Ann Markusen

Ann Markusen is Professor Emerita and Director of the Project on Regional and Industrial Economics, University of Minnesota, USA, and Principal of Markusen Economic Research (annmarkusen.com). Markusen's research and practice has encompassed energy boomtowns, manufacturing industry restructuring, military industrial conversion, business incentives, living wage job creation and artists and culture as creative placemaking. Markusen earned an Economics PhD, Michigan State University, and served as Professor at Rutgers, Northwestern, California Berkeley, and Colorado Universities; Fulbright Lecturer, Brazil; UK Fulbright Distinguished Chair, Glasgow School of Art; and Visiting Professor, Korea University and Seoul National University.

Elizabeth C. McKenzie

Elizabeth C. McKenzie (Betsy) is a professional planner and president of Elizabeth C. McKenzie, PP, PA, a planning consulting firm based in Flemington, since 1980. She is an alumna of Rutgers University's Graduate School (now the Bloustein School), where she was an Eagleton Fellow. In 1999, she was named the Bloustein School's Alumnus of the Year. In 2013, she was entered into the Bloustein School's Alumni Hall of Fame.

Betsy is a member of the American Institute of Certified Planners and the American Planning Association. In 2011, she was awarded the NJAPA Chavoosian Award for Outstanding Professional Planner. She currently serves on both the New Jersey Site Improvement Advisory Board and the Board of Counselors of New Jersey Planning Officials.

In the past 38 years, her firm has provided a wide range of planning services to over three dozen municipal clients as well as countless developers, non-profit entities and private property owners, appearing in more than 200 different municipalities located primarily but not exclusively in northern and central New Jersey (in many of these communities, she has appeared on a recurring basis for different matters). She regularly testifies before planning boards, zoning boards of adjustment and governing bodies as well as before the Superior Courts, as an expert witness in her field. She reviews development applications and prepares master plans and master plan elements (including housing elements and fair share plans) and writes land use ordinances and periodic reexamination reports for her municipal clients and she prepares planning reports and contributes to environmental and community impact statements for her developer clients.

Much of Betsy's work has focused on the area of affordable housing planning and compliance. Not only has she appeared in several of the State's Superior Courts as an expert witness on behalf of municipalities and developers involved in affordable housing litigation, but also she has been appointed by various Superior Court Judges over the years to serve as the Special Master in more than two dozen Mount Laurel lawsuits. Since 2015, she has been appointed as the Special Master in approximately 60 Declaratory Judgment actions and has settled the majority of those cases.

She has also served as a Court-appointed Mediator and Master in other land use related lawsuits.

Currid-Halkett, Elizabeth

Elizabeth Currid-Halkett is the James Irvine Chair in Urban and Regional Planning and professor of public policy at the Price School of Public Policy at the University of Southern California. Her research focuses on the arts and culture and most recently, the American consumer economy.

She is the author of three books *The Warhol Economy: How Fashion, Art and Music Drive New York City* (Princeton University Press 2007), *Starstruck: The Business of Celebrity* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010) and *The Sum of Small Things: A Theory of the Aspirational Class* (Princeton University Press 2017).

Her work has been featured in numerous national and international media outlets including the *New York Times*, *the Financial Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Salon*, *the Economist*, *the New Yorker*, and *the Times Literary Supplement*.

She has contributed to a variety of academic publications including the *Journal of Economic Geography*, *Economic Development Quarterly*, and *the Journal of the American Planning Association*.

Jeffrey S. Lowe, Ph.D. (Bio)

Jeffrey Lowe is an Associate Professor in the Department of Urban Planning and Environmental Policy at Texas Southern University. Prior to joining the Department of Urban Planning and Environmental Policy faculty, Lowe was a Visiting Associate Professor of Urban Planning in the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation at Columbia University; and Associate Director / Visiting Associate Professor of the Mid-Sized Cities Policy Research Institute, Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning at The University of Memphis, respectively. Also, he held tenure-track faculty positions in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at both Florida State University and Jackson State University.

Lowe's research focuses on social justice and racial equity concerns within the context of community development. His scholarship advances understanding and policy recommendations for Gulf Coast revitalization post-Hurricane Katrina; innovations in community-based planning; and philanthropy. He is the author of *Rebuilding Communities the Public Trust Way: Community Foundation Assistance to CDCs, 1980-2000* (Lexington Press) and other publications including those in *Planning, Practice and Research*, *Housing Policy Debate*, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, and *Urban Geography*. In addition to his research and scholarship, Lowe's service to the planning profession includes founding member and past co-chair of the Planners of Color Interest Group (POCIG) of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP), and chair of the Planning and the Black Community Division of the American Planning Association. At present, Lowe is a member of the National Community Land Trust Network's Community Land Trust Research Collaborative, and chair of ACSP's Committee on Diversity.

Lowe earned a Bachelor of Business Administration from Howard University; a Master of City and Regional Planning from Morgan State University; and a Ph.D. in Urban Planning and Policy Development from Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.

Larry Bennett is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at DePaul University. His most recent books are the co-edited *Neoliberal Chicago* (University of Illinois Press, 2017) and *The Third City: Chicago and American Urbanism* (University of Chicago Press, 2010). Larry is currently Executive Director of North Branch Works, a neighborhood economic development organization in Chicago and a co-editor of Temple University Press' book series, Urban Life, Landscapes, and Policy. Larry was among Susan Fainstein's first cohort of Ph.D. students at Rutgers University.

Lisa Chamberlain

Lisa Chamberlain is a communications and business development strategist with an emphasis on the built environment. She works with clients involved in architecture, urban planning and design, preservation, and placemaking. Lisa's diverse background includes reporting on real estate for *The New York Times*; leading the Forum for Urban Design, a multi-disciplinary non-profit organization; and working as a legislative aide for a Member of Congress on policies related to the urban environment. She has an MS from the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, and studied urban planning at Columbia GSAPP.

Martin A. Bierbaum, M.A., M.C.R.P., Ph.D., J.D.

Martin A. Bierbaum's academic background includes masters degrees in political science, city and regional planning, a J.D. degree and a Ph.D. in Planning and Public Policy.

In 1987, Dr. Bierbaum was enlisted to serve as Assistant Director of the Office of State Planning, as a member of the State's Senior Executive Service (SES). In that capacity, he supervised 25 professionals and was a major contributor to the New Jersey State Development and Redevelopment Plan (NJ SDRP) engaged in research, writing, and managing the State Plan's legislatively-mandated "cross-acceptance" process.

In 1991, Dr. Bierbaum was named the State's first Environmental Planning Director within the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection (NJ DEP). In that capacity, he was also responsible for Coastal Resource Planning under New Jersey's NOAA Coastal Grant. Dr. Bierbaum supervised 40 professionals in achieving the following: mediation of a major environmental dispute with respect to the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge; re-established watershed-based planning through a N.J. APA award-winning pilot program on the Whippany River; supervised the development of the Long Branch Sector Permit; purchased Sedge Island in Barnegat Bay on behalf of the State of New Jersey; established a Barnegat Bay research and educational fund in cooperation with the Trust for Public Lands (TPL); and successfully petitioned the U.S. EPA to attain designation of that Bay to be a part of the U.S. EPA's National Estuary Program (NEP). While at NJ DEP, he also served as the NJ DEP Commissioner's designee on the New Jersey Redevelopment Authority (NJRA) and the New Jersey Urban Coordinating Council (NJ UCC).

In 1999, Dr. Bierbaum moved to the Department of Community Affairs (NJ DCA) as Special Assistant to the Commissioner charged with the responsibility for the implementation of the NJ SDRP. In that capacity, he led a team employing change management techniques to implement the NJ SDRP within and across six State departments represented on the State Planning Commission. During that period, Dr. Bierbaum also served as the NJ DCA Commissioner's designee on the New Jersey State Planning Commission, on the New Jersey State Lakes Commission and on the Lake Hopatcong Regional Planning Commission.

In 2002, Dr. Bierbaum was called upon to advise the Governor-elect McGreevey's Transition Team on New Jersey State Plan- and Smart Growth-related issues. In March 2002, he joined the Governor's Policy Office as Deputy Director responsible for Smart Growth/Sustainability. In that capacity, Dr. Bierbaum produced a Smart Growth Summit, introduced selected Smart Growth project initiatives and managed the Governor's Smart Growth Policy Council (SGPC).

In 2004, Dr. Bierbaum left State government to assume the post of founding director of a newly established, federally-funded Municipal Land Use Center at The College of New Jersey (MLUC @ TCNJ). The Center served as an information clearinghouse and provider of technical assistance to New Jersey's local jurisdictions, encouraging smart growth and sustainable development. Among Dr. Bierbaum's special projects at the Center was the re-write of the third iteration of the NJ SDRP. He also presided over the launch of "Sustainable Jersey," a web-based sustainable municipal certification program. In recognition of those efforts, in November 2007, Dr. Bierbaum received a "distinguished leadership" award from the New Jersey Chapter of the American Planning Association. He also won a similar award from the New Jersey Planning Officials in April 2010.

Dr. Bierbaum became Associate Director of the National Center for Smart Growth at the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland in July 2009. In that capacity, he taught courses in growth management; supervised graduate students in conducting smart growth-related research; formulated policy recommendations for consideration with respect to Chesapeake Bay; assisted in bringing "Sustainable Maryland," to the University of Maryland; and consulted with the Maryland Department of Planning (MDP) and the Maryland Sustainable Growth Commission in the development and implementation of Maryland's State Plan, "PlanMaryland."

Dr. Bierbaum is currently writing on public policy issues related to his extensive experiences in New Jersey State government and working as a planning consultant in New Jersey. He is also an Adjunct Professor at the Bloustein School Rutgers University, teaching courses related to the N.J. State Plan, housing and community development; and has continued to maintain relationships with the National Center for Smart Growth (NCSG) (Senior Fellow) and the Maryland China Initiative (MCI) (Visiting Lecturer) at the University of Maryland. (June 2016)

Nick Smith

Nick R. Smith is Assistant Professor of Urban Studies at Yale-NUS College. He holds a PhD in Urban Planning from Harvard University. Combining ethnography, spatial analysis, and archival research, his work explores urban transformation, planning, and policy in China and Southeast Asia, with a focus on villages' institutional responses to rapid socio-spatial change.

Stacey Sutton

Stacey Sutton is Assistant Professor of Urban Planning and Policy in the College of Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Her research interests include equitable development, economic democracy, neighborhood change, and disparate effects of place-based policy. Recent projects include an analysis of municipal support for worker-owned cooperatives, racial transition in gentrifying neighborhoods, and neighborhood retail dynamics in Chicago and New York City.

Conversations in Planning Theory and Practice

Fainstein: Fragmented States and Pragmatic Improvements

Cuz Potter

Sai Balakrishnan

Susan Fainstein

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Susan S. Fainstein is a Senior Research Fellow in the Harvard Graduate School of Design. Her book *The Just City* was published in 2010 by Cornell University Press and won the Davidoff Award of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP). Among her other authored books are *The City Builders: Property, Politics, and Planning in London and New York*; *Restructuring the City*; and *Urban Political Movements*. She has edited books on planning theory, urban theory, urban tourism, and gender and planning. Her research interests focus on theories of justice, urban redevelopment, and comparative urban policy. She has received the Distinguished Educator Award of the ACSP, which recognizes lifetime career achievement.

Dr. Fainstein has been a professor of planning at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation at Columbia University, and the Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University and a visiting professor at, among others, the University of Amsterdam and the National University of Singapore. She was an editor of the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* and of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* and a consultant to various public organizations.

She received her A.B. from Harvard University in government, her M.A. from Boston University in African Studies, and her Ph.D. in political science from MIT.

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