Carolina Planning

*towards
the next
50 years*

Carolina Planning
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Carolina Planning

From the Editors

Features

From the Editors

2007 marks the 50th anniversary of the North Carolina chapter of the American Planning Association (NCA-PA). As such, it marks an appropriate occasion to reflect upon the achievements of the past and to look ahead to the challenges facing current and future planners over the next 50 years. In this special issue of Carolina Planning, our authors take up this task.

Continuing our ongoing series of contributions from NCAPA members, our first article highlights the eight planners chosen by NCAPA members as those most responsible for shaping the practice of professional planning in North Carolina over the past 50 years. Compiled by Denise Boswell, Shanelle Bullock, and Kimberly Leight, AICP from the submissions of NCAPA members, our second article pivots the thematic arc of this issue from the past to the future by highlighting those planning issues identified by NCAPA members as the emerging challenges of the next 50 years. These issues, which will run throughout the remaining articles in this edition, include managing population growth, addressing hazard mitigation and environmental quality, and ensuring adequate transportation infrastructure throughout the state.

In a wide-ranging interview, NCAPA President Michelle Nance reinforces the opportunities presented by these emerging issues, providing an excellent introduction for our featured articles, each of which examines an emerging issue in greater depth. Written by Dr. David Brower and Anna Schwab, our first feature provides a detailed analysis of the impact of the rising sea levels on coastal management and development in North Carolina. Another rising tide sweeping through North Carolina involves the dramatic surge in the Hispanic immigrant population, a subject of increasing controversy at the local levels. As part of her work with the Institute for Emerging Issues at North Carolina State University, Dr. Mai Nguyen has studied the impact of these controversies on local anti-immigrant ordinances throughout the state, and her article discusses the central arguments for and against many of these local efforts. While most of Dr. Nguyen's article focuses on small and medium-sized towns, the central businesses districts of the state's larger cities will also see significant attention from planners over the next fifty years, as people continue to flock to revitalizing urban centers. In this vein, and in keeping with Carolina Planning tradition, we are proud to feature the UNC Department of City & Regional Planning's Best Master's Project from 2006, in which Mary Donegan (MRP '06) outlines ways to minimize economic inequalities arising from the Creative Class urban revitalization strategy proposed by Richard Florida.

This issue also provides a book review of *Planning and Urban Design Standard*s, the leading reference for planning professionals.

50 Years of Influential North Carolina Planners

Denise Boswell, Ph.D., NCAPA Outreach Coordinator
Michelle E. Nance, AICP, Deputy Director of Planning, Gastonia, and NCAPA President

In 2007, the North Carolina chapter of the American Planning Association (NCAPA) marks its 50th Anniversary, providing NCAPA with an excellent opportunity to celebrate and honor the accomplishments of the professionals who have most shaped planning practice in North Carolina over the past half century. Inspired by the Top Ten Planning Events in North Carolina article published in the Summer 2006 issue of this journal, members of the North Carolina Chapter of the American Planning Association (NCAPA) were asked to nominate their selections for the most influential planners in the state during the last 50 years. More than 70 planners participated in this process, submitting an impressive list of 104 nominations. These nominations were, in turn, narrowed down by the selection committee to the eight most influential planners, who are listed in alphabetical order below.

Choosing the most influential planners in the state was a difficult process, in recognition of the fact that planning as a profession has existed in North Carolina since the turn of the 20th century, and, as a result, there is a correspondingly huge pool of planners from which to draw. Many planners have contributed significantly to the well-being and quality of life of the communities where they have worked, but their impact goes well beyond the local level; many have also had regional, state, and even national influence. It can certainly be considered an honor in the profession to have been included in the 104 planners who were nominated, and to be among the eight who received the greatest number of votes is a major career achievement.

Warren L. Burgess
1948-2005

For 21 years, Warren L. Burgess worked as the Principal Urban Designer for the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Planning Commission, managing many large projects across the city. He deeply influenced the way places and spaces are designed, by emphasizing pedestrian-oriented site planning, and by creating Charlotte's first urban-oriented zoning district. He also directed many urban design initiatives in the city, including the Third Ward Land Use and Urban Design Plan and Gateway Village, the Central Avenue streetscape plan, and the North Davidson area plan (NODA). In 2000, gess moved to Davidson where he served as the town's Planning Director for the next
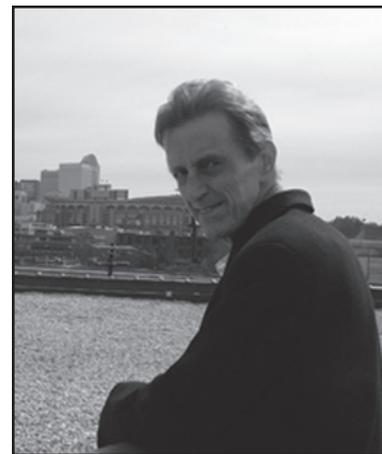
Mr. Burgess planned for transportation efforts that would integrate pedestrians, cyclists, and automobiles in an effort to save the existing character of Davidson's neighborhoods. In retirement, Mr. Burgess continued his work by taking a position with Neighboring Concepts, a Charlotte-based architecture and planning firm.

A tireless advocate of neighborhood planning and good urban design, Mr. Burgess was passionate about creating infrastructure that would connect people and celebrate the human spirit. People responded instinctively to his kindness, generosity, vision, and integrity. He understood that a city is defined by its people and, in this spirit, would talk to property owners on their own terms, in their own spaces, and on their own time schedules in order to better incorporate their ideas into his neighborhood designs. Mr. Burgess' dedication and unwillingness to buckle under political pressure allowed numerous neighborhood plans to be completed that emphasized neighborhood preservation and exceptional urban/landscape design instead of more standard designs.

In addition to completing numerous projects throughout his career, Mr. Burgess was also a well-regarded artist, whose renderings gave vision to his planning ideas and design concepts. He used his artistic talents to translate his visions for a neighborhood's future into simple, understandable images, which proved invaluable for residents, colleagues, and elected officials. His passion for the planning profession, generosity with his time, and his desire to share his knowledge made him a gifted teacher, mentor, and an inspiration for many young and prospective planners.

F. Stuart Chapin Jr., FAICP

F. Stuart Chapin Jr. was born in Northampton, MA in 1916. After earning his B.A. from the University of Minnesota and two degrees in city planning from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mr. Chapin worked as a regional planner with the Tennessee Valley Authority and then as the Director of Planning for the city of Greensboro. In 1949, Mr. Chapin became the second faculty member hired by the newly established Department of City & Regional Planning (DCRP) at UNC-Chapel Hill. While at UNC, Mr. Chapin conducted many studies for the federal government, and served as a member of the President's Task Force on Cities. He served as Chair of the Department from 1957 until 1962, when he founded the Department's Center for Urban and Regional Studies, where he worked as the center's research director until his retirement in 1978.

As a pioneer in the Department of City and Regional Planning, Mr. Chapin spent nearly four decades establishing and improving the Department's urban studies curriculum. His countless hours of hard work and dedication helped make DCRP one of the most recognized planning programs in the country. Along with designing much of the classroom curricula, he is also the author of the first two editions of the seminal text Urban Land Use Planning—the most widely used land use planning textbook in graduate planning programs in the United States—and is an expert in the areas of urban growth, land development, human uses of city space, and citizen participation in the planning process. Shorly before he was named an Alumni Distinguished Professor in City and Regional Planning in 1969, he received the Distinguished Service Award from the American Institute of Planners, which later also presented him with its Historic Planning Pioneer Award. In 1992, Mr. Chapin and his wife, the former Mildred L. Canfield, established the F. Stuart Chapin Jr. and Mildred L. Chapin Endowment Fund to support the library in the Department of City and Regional Planning.

George Chapman, FAICP

After receiving his Masters degree in City and Regional Planning in 1963, George Chapman served for two years as the city planning director in West Palm Beach, Florida, and the Metropolitan Washington, DC Council of Governments for 11 years, including five years as the director of planning coordination. After taking the job as Raleigh's planning director in 1981, Mr. Chapman spent 24 years engaging residents in the planning process, revamping the city's Comprehensive Plan, and working on many of the city's economic development, environmental, and growth issues. Along with his years of service in the Raleigh Planning Department, Mr. Chapman has also been an influential voice in statewide planning affairs, including serving as an AICP Commissioner, an American Planning Association Board member, and President of two different APA chapters.

One of Mr. Chapman's greatest achievements has been shepherding the city of Raleigh through one of its most dramatic growth periods, as he has guided the development of the city during its transformation from a small state capital into the thriving, attractive regional hub it is today. He has initiated many progressive, city-wide initiatives, many of which have been later used by other jurisdictions in their own planning efforts. During his tenure as planning director, he developed a new and modern planning framework that greatly assisted Raleigh in making the transition from moderate growth levels and traditional economies into higher growth and higher technology economies. Mr. Chapman particularly stands out for strengthening the role of the planning profession in one of North Carolina's largest cities for more than two decades. In 2005, upon his retirement as the Raleigh planning director, Mr. Chapman said that he was proudest of developing Raleigh's comprehensive planning process, reintroducing an emphasis on urban design, and developing the small-area planning process, which has become a strategic element in developing and protecting what he calls "Raleigh's greatest asset"—its

neighborhoods. He was also particularly influential in establishing regional partnerships throughout the Triangle region. In recognition of his numerous professional contributions to the city of Raleigh, the Triangle region, and the state of North Carolina, Mr. Chapman was inducted into the AICP College of Fellows in 2002.

Richard D. Ducker, AICP

An Associate Professor of Public Law and Government at the School of Government at UNC-Chapel Hill, Richard D. Ducker specializes in the legal aspects of land use, zoning, land development regulation, and code enforcement. Mr. Ducker has taught land use law and state and governmental law to many students in the
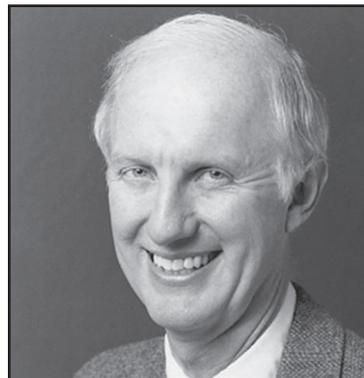
planning, law, and public administration programs on the Carolina campus. In addition to teaching his students at UNC, Mr. Ducker has also tirelessly traveled the state to present a variety of workshops and programs to attorneys, planners, zoning officials, engineers, members of governing boards, planning boards, zoning boards of adjustment, and various other groups throughout North Carolina. Indeed, Mr. Ducker has become synonymous with planning in North Carolina, serving as a trusted and respected resource for planning-related information for thousands of planners over the years. As if contributing to the educations of thousands of North Carolina planners were not enough, Mr. Ducker has also helped educate much of the planning world at large; he is the author of a number of publications and articles on land use, zoning, land subdivision regulation, and transportation planning, and is presently working on a guidebook for zoning board of adjustment members.

Aside from teaching planners and lawyers, Mr. Ducker has also provided valuable planning advice and input to a number of local governments and state agencies. He has served as a legislative advisor to several North Carolina General Assembly Legislative Research Commission committees, including those on Outdoor Advertising; Urban Transportation; and Developer Exactions and Property Issues; and he has drafted legislation for each of these. Additionally, he has been a member of the NC Attorney General's Committee on Historic Preservation Legislation; the N.C. Right-of-Way Protection Task Force; the Governor's Task Force on Solar Law, and the N.C. Disaster Response Task Force.

When he is not educating and advising public officials, Mr. Ducker gives freely of himself to non-profit and local organizations. For example, he was the past chair of both the Chapel Hill Township Planning Advisory Council and the Orange County Zoning Board of Adjustment. He has also been the co-chair of the N.C. Planning Conference since 1998. Indeed, over the years, Mr. Ducker has donated countless numbers of hours to NCAPA and its members and is the recipient of Distinguished Service Awards from both NCAPA and the N.C. Association of Zoning Officials. In addition, Mr. Ducker is currently the vice-chair of the N.C. Code Officials Qualification Board and is a member of the board of directors of Housing Alternatives, a nonprofit housing corporation in Chapel Hill. By touching and educating generations of North Carolina planners and providing valuable input and advice to North Carolina government at every level, Mr. Ducker is leaving an indelible and long-lasting legacy in this state.

David Godschalk, FAICP

In addition to being an active professional planner, David Godschalk is the Stephen Baxter Professor Emeritus in the Department of City and Regional Planning (DCRP) and Adjunct Professor in the MBA real estate program at the Kenan-Flagler Business School at UNC-

Chapel Hill. In his long-held role as an educator at the local, regional, state, and national levels, Mr. Godschalk has enlightened and mentored many Master's and Ph.D. students, who have gone on to successful planning careers in North Carolina and across the nation. As a recognized researcher and author, Mr. Godschalk has spanned three planning fields: growth management and land use planning; hazard mitigation and coastal management; and dispute resolution and public participation. He has been principal investigator on 17 funded research projects, has written numerous journal articles, and has published ten books, several of which are used as textbooks and references throughout the United States.
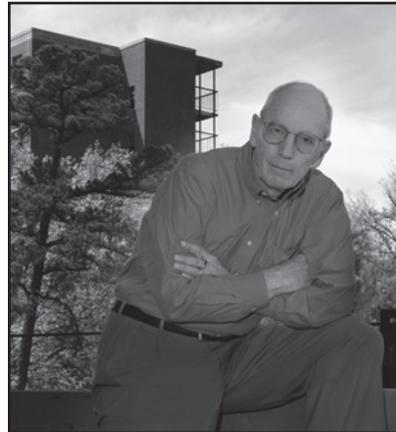
Aside from his academic work, Mr. Godschalk has also served as an elected member of the Chapel Hill Town Council from 1985-1989 and as the Governor's appointee on the N.C. Smart Growth Commission from 2000-2001. He has been editor of the AIP Journal, the vice-president of a Tampa planning consulting firm, planning director of Gainesville, FL, a planning faculty member at Florida State University, and an expert witness in a number of planning and growth management cases. He is a registered architect in Florida and a retired Commander in the US Naval Reserve.

In recognition of his lifetime of achievements in the field of planning education, research, and practice, Mr. Godschalk has received numerous honors and awards from his professional colleagues: AICP Fellow; ACSP Distinguished Educator Award; Department of City and Regional Planning Distinguished Alumnus Award, and

NCAPA Elected Official Award and Distinguished Professional Achievement Medal. More than a legend in the UNC DCRP, Mr. Godschalk is truly a model for all planning professionals and educators to emulate.

Philip Green, Jr.
1922-2003

During a career that spanned almost 40 years, Philip Green wrote some of the definitive works on North Carolina's zoning law, organized some of the state's first short courses for planners, and drafted a good portion of the General Assembly's planning and zoning enabling legislation still in force today. Many people have referred to Mr. Green as the "father of North Carolina zoning." Mr. Green graduated from Princeton College and Harvard Law School. He served in the Army during WWII and retired from the Army Reserve as a lieutenant colonel. In his professional career, Mr. Green was the Albert Coates Professor of Public Law and Government for many years at the Institute of Government at UNC-Chapel Hill, a post from which he retired in 1988. During his 38 years there, Mr. Green became known as a prolific writer, and an outstanding teacher and lecturer.

Perhaps Mr. Green's greatest contribution to North Carolina, however, was the counsel and support that he provided to thousands of planners, local government attorneys, planning and governing boards members, and code-enforcement officers. In the days before listservs, e-mail, or even computers, a telephone call or letter to Mr. Green was a surefire way to get the definitive information one needed. Indeed, Mr. Green once said that the most satisfying part of his work was helping the people whose jobs were the most difficult because they appreciated it the most.

In recognition of his many career achievements, Mr. Green received the NCAPA Distinguished Service Award, which is now named in his honor. Similar honors were bestowed upon him by the N.C. Association of Zoning Officials, the N.C. Municipal Attorneys' Association, and the N.C. Building Inspectors' Association. Upon his retirement from UNC, Mr. Green was lauded as the state's pre-eminent expert in planning and zoning law and as one of the true planning legends in North Carolina.

Wes Hankins, FAICP

In a career spanning almost four decades, Wes Hankins, FIACP, has held a wide variety of both academic and professional roles—planner, professor, administrator, leader, mentor, researcher, board member, and head tennis coach for the East Carolina University (ECU) men's team. It is in his capacity as professor of planning, however, that Mr. Hankins has most deeply shaped the state of North Carolina.

In 1968, Mr. Hankins moved to North Carolina from Florida to fill a faculty position in the Department of Geography and Planning at ECU, a position he held until his retirement in 2005. Currently, Mr. Hankins serves as Associate Professor Emeritus in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at ECU. Throughout his career, in addition to teaching countless geography and planning courses, he was also involved in many aspects

of campus and community life, and has authored and co-authored many articles and documents, mostly relating to planning education. Additionally, Mr. Hankins has recieved many awards, including recent recognition as an Outstanding Planning Faculty Member in the spring of 2004.

Perhaps his most important achievement involves his work in developing the Bachelor of Science in Urban and Regional Planning at ECU—a program that has trained dozens of the state's planning professionals. Additionally, he has served as an effective advocate for undergraduate planning education at the state and national level through the use of his numerous leadership positions in local, state, and national planning organizations. He has served NCAPA continuously for over 30 years in many capacities—as Vice President in 1978, President in 1979, Co-Chair of the Awards Committee, and as Chapter Historian since 1986. Moreover, he has been instrumental in hosting the NCAPA Summer Planning Institute—an event that has been held at ECU eight times over his career—and has taught a component of the AICP Review Course for the past ten years. In honor of his accomplishments and commitment to the field, Mr. Hankins was inducted into the AICP College of Fellows in 2004.

While Mr. Hankins has consistently placed a high priority on developing and maintaining relationships with national planning associations, his greatest influence is ultimately best measured by the success of the approximately 1,000 ECU planning alumni currently hard at work shaping the future of North Carolina.

David Owens

Throughout his career, David Owens has proven to be a tremendous influence on the state of North Carolina—as planner, policy maker, and educator. A North Carolina native, Mr. Owens graduated from both the planning school and the law school at UNC-Chapel Hill.

After a stint as an attorney and senior planner for the Wisconsin State Planning Office, he returned to the Tar Heel State in 1978, and began his planning career at the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (NCDENR). During his decade of work at the agency, Mr. Owens helped move the state to the front lines of addressing coastal management issues. Along with writing nationally-recognized oceanfront development policies, Mr. Owens added a mandatory hazard mitigation component in local and state plans, created new beach access and natural area acquisition programs, and conducted early work on the use of planning and land use tools for protecting water quality and habitats.

Mr. Owens left NCDENR in 1989 to begin a career in Public Law and Government at the UNC-Chapel Hill
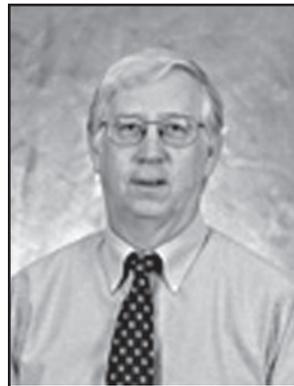
School of Government, where in his 18-year tenure at the School of Government, he has become one of the most respected experts on various aspects of planning and has served as a trusted resource/consultant for thousands of planners and government officials. Additionally, Mr. Owens has written a number of the books on which practicing planners and government officials rely daily. Though the publications Mr. Owens has authored are too numerous to list here, three are now regarded as standard references for planners in North Carolina: Introduction to Zoning, Land Use Law in North Carolina, and Planning Legislation in North Carolina. Moreover, the course he teaches along with Rich Ducker, Introduction to Planning Practice in North Carolina, has been taken by most practicing planners in the state.

Finally, his expansive knowledge and dedication to the planning profession have been manifested in his service to the NCAPA, offering both legal and legislative

guidance to the organization and its members, helping to plan and organize the annual N.C. Planning Conference, and educating practicing planners and citizens through workshops in all corners of the state. Without question, Mr. Owens' contributions to the planning profession have greatly shaped this state.

Other nominations

In addition to these eight individuals, several other planners received a substantial number of votes from NCAPA members, recognizing their contributions to both the planning profession and to the state of North Carolina. Given the tremendous amount of support, it is appropriate to name these individuals and to recognize them for their outstanding careers.

Martin Crampton

Robert E. Reiman, FAICP

Stephen E. Davenport, AICP

Sue Schwartz, FAICP

Ben Hitchings, AICP

Pearson H. Stewart, AICP

Edward J. Kaiser, FAICP

Robert E. Stipe

David H. Moreau

Roger S. Waldon, FAICP

John A. "Jack" Parker

W. Jake Wicker

Conclusion

Each of these outstanding individuals has greatly influenced the practice of planning in North Carolina, whether as educators, planners, or policy makers. Their careers are worthy of celebration at this special anniversary, for North Carolina would be a very different place without their commitment and expertise.

Top Five Issues Facing North Carolina Planners in the Future

Denise Boswell, Ph. D., NCAPA Outreach Coordinator
Shanelle Bullock, Planner, City of Jacksonville
Kimberly S. Leight, AICP, Senior Environmental Planner, URS Corporation

As we look back to celebrate the most influential planners of the past 50 years, it is also important to look ahead to the issues, challenges, and dilemmas that will face North Carolina's next generation of planners over the coming 50 years. In this vein, members of the North Carolina chapter of the American Planning Association submitted their nominations for these emerging issues in 11 broad categories, including environment/sustainability, coastal issues, transportation, quality of life/sense of place, open space/agricultural land protection, economic development, affordable housing, population growth/age/diversity, hazard mitigation, sprawl/redevelopment, and others. After receiving dozens of entries, the three authors condensed the impressive number of nominations into the Top Five Emerging Issues listed below.

#5 Population Growth

In the last decade, North Carolina has become one of the fastest growing states in the country, experiencing a surge in population of over 2.2 million people since 1990. With another two million people expected in the state by 2015 and 3.5 million more expected by 2030, it is almost certain that population dynamics will present some of the most dominant challenges facing planners in the next fifty years.

Migratory population trends throughout the state are one such dynamic. While many areas of the state are experiencing positive population and economic growth, many counties, especially in the eastern part of the state, are experiencing a population decrease and a subsequent loss of economic activity. Recent statistics have shown the following trends:

- A large number of older adults with higher incomes are moving to and retiring in some western and coastal counties that have attractions to specific groups of older adults.
- Rural counties are continuing to lose young adults on account of rural-to-urban migration.
- Large metropolitan counties are experiencing the largest population growth—both a result of in-migration from the rural counties, as well as migration from outside the state.
- Metropolitan counties across the state are experiencing greater growth among younger adults than they are among older adults.

A second dynamic at work is the significant demographic change occurring as the state's 2.3 million baby boomers—people born between 1946 and 1964—begin to enter retirement. Today, the proportion of the state's population aged 65 and older is roughly 12%.

By 2030, it is projected that approximately 17.7% of all North Carolina residents will be over 65 years old. This demographic shift will significantly impact the age structure of the state and will force planners across the state to develop relevant planning strategies to meet this emerging need. Planners are in an influential position to be able to create communities that are more livable, senior-friendly, and better able to accommodate populations with particular needs.

Third, the existing and growing disparities among North Carolina's many different population groups present another dynamic for planners. The state has a large, economically and ethnically diverse population, which provides the state with many special assets, but which can also present planners with a number of unique challenges. Some important differences among the state's population relate to gender, marital status, ethnicity/ race, residence, disability, health status, and rural and urban residency. As North Carolina becomes increasingly diverse, planners will be constantly challenged to find ways to create communities that can cultivate and encourage diversity, while still maintaining a unique identity and sense of place.

Though these dynamics will create increased challenges for local communities, planners are in a unique position to be able to positively affect quality of life for all North Carolina residents by becoming informed about these demographic trends and ensuring that local governments address these dynamics in their future plans, decisions, and actions.

4 Transportation Funding

Locally, many communities in the state are feeling the negative effects of transportation choices made in previous eras, and with the state's increasing population, transportation needs are increasing exponentially. Building roads is extremely expensive, however, and locating sources of funding for transportation options in the future will present long-term challengers for planners throughout the state. Indeed, effective long-range transportation planning requires a significant amount of time and dedicated financial resources, and as a result, creativity and continued commitment will be vital for securing the necessary funding to translate these plans into reality.

Aside from dealing with transportation funding issues, planners will also be challenged to thoughtfully and creatively address mass transit and regional transportation issues. With respect to mass transit, Charlotte is the only city in North Carolina that has been able to pull together a viable mass transit plan. Though a similar mass transit program is not appropriate for every city, the state's current growth and development trends make it imperative that cities across the state begin to address regional transit issues. There is an increasingly significant need for cities and counties to form regional transit systems that operate beyond geographic and jurisdictional lines. Regional policies can help manage the effects of these trends by creating pools of funds for larger projects and helping protect the state's natural resources.

Given the economic and spatial realities of transportation options, planners will continue to face the difficult challenge of promoting and providing multi-modal transportation options in their respective localities. Though each local community faces its own unique challenges, it is clear that transportation will remain one of the top issues facing every municipality in the state in the next 50 years.

3 Hazard Mitigation

With 17 coastal counties along an extensive coastline, North Carolina is continually faced with a number of unique coastal challenges. Frequent coastal storms and natural disasters, as well as rising sea levels, present the state and its residents with a number of environmental

concerns. North Carolina planners must continually balance these environmental concerns with the state's need for port accessibility and with the burdens placed on coastal areas by increased development. As changing demographics and increased populations in the metropolitan and coastal areas of the state create complex problems, planners are increasingly acknowledging the need for a sustainable hazard mitigation plan as a critical component of every comprehensive land use plan.

Properly planning for and enacting sustainable hazard mitigation measures presents numerous economic and political obstacles, costing communities a tremendous amount of money and time, which many local governments are unwilling or are unable to spend as budgets become tighter. Though the day-to-day benefits may not be readily apparent, planning for hazard mitigation is vitally important. For even though most disasters are unexpected and damage estimates even more unpredictable, planning ahead for the unexpected lessens the negative economic consequences of natural disasters when they occur.

By enacting proper hazard mitigation policies—for preparedness, response, recovery, and overall mitigation—planners have the ability to make a substantial impact. Indeed, land use policies are some of the oldest tools that local governments can use to mitigate hazards. In the absence of dedicated emergency management professionals, planners need to step into this vacuum and ensure that sustainable hazard mitigation practices, such as land acquisition and mandated standards relating to the elevation of structures or limited construction in hazard prone areas, are included in local comprehensive plans.

2 Growth and Development

North Carolina is faced with two new realities—an expanding population and an increasingly globalized economy—and it must adapt its planning strategies to face them. Globalization involves more than just economic integration; it also includes the transfer of labor, the increase of technology, and, most importantly, the increase of knowledge. Planning professionals across the state are key resources in thinking ahead and preparing for the effects of globalization, and they have the responsibility to raise awareness of the future impacts of growth and development in the state's communities. Therefore, it is vitally important that planning professionals instill a sense of urgency among the development community, elected officials, and the general public about the critical impacts of present decisions on future land use and for future generations.

Secondly, planners will continue to grapple with the challenges of finding and enacting sustainable development practices—long-range practices that meet current needs without jeopardizing those of future generations. As urban fringes diminish, growth management tools, such as urban growth boundaries and public private partnerships, will become increasingly critical for helping communities shape where development may or may not occur, preclude sprawl, and encourage infill and compact development by converting vacant and underutilized properties into ones that can be utilized for newer development.

Finally, since development often extends beyond the corporate and county boundaries in an area, grappling with the regional implications of growth will prove to be an additional challenge for many municipalities. Local growth and development decisions of cities can impose substantial, and often unintended, impacts upon the neighboring municipalities. And, because local economies and resources are often intertwined, and jurisdictional lines indirectly crossed, the provision of separate services can be inefficient at a local level. Despite the regional impacts of many local decisions, however, cooperation among local governments and the establishment of regional solutions have proven historically difficult. In the next 50 years, planners will need

to find ways to resolve this lack of cooperation in order to address the negative regional impacts and allow for a sharing of financial burdens in order to ensure a more efficient delivery of services through capital improvements and shared services like sewer and water infrastructure, public safety, and refuse collection.

1 Environmental Quality

The number one issue facing future planners in the state is the challenge associated with ensuring environmental quality in the face of growth. North Carolina is gifted with diverse ecosystems, including world famous beaches, the majestic Blue Ridge Mountains, and all of the beautiful places in between. Protecting these places is important to the state for several reasons. First, much of the state's economic growth is based on tourism and the dollars received from visitors attracted by North Carolina's natural amenities. Degradation or overall loss of these features could translate into fewer visitors and a subsequent decline in the tourism economy. Of special concern to North Carolina is its vulnerable coastline. The state boasts more than 300 miles of coastline, which are being threatened by global warming trends and the associated rise in sea level. Many of the state's coastal counties are among the fastest growing in the state. More development means there are fewer natural buffers against the climatic changes and that more of the population is residing in increasingly vulnerable areas, making the long term impacts of a rise in sea level increasingly devastative to North Carolina.

Secondly, maintaining the environment is also important for the health and diversity of North Carolina's citizens. Air quality and water quality are already being compromised due to increased populations and the resulting development pressure and infrastructure burdens. Effects of these factors include the increasing numbers of air quality non-attainment areas, periodic fish kills, and frequent drinking water warnings that are becoming more commonplace as development patterns

are left largely unchecked and the human environment infringes on the natural environment.

As a state, North Carolina is blessed with the "best of both worlds"— a growing population and economic base, as well as an abundance of unique natural features. Finding ways to balance the needs of the state's citizens and subsequent development with the need to ensure that fragile ecosystems thrive is a considerable challenge facing planners in the upcoming decades.

Conclusion

As every planner knows, planning is not easily split into separate issue areas—so many issues are tied to each other, and many are outgrowths of the same underlying concerns. There are many different issues that North Carolina planners could have mentioned as critical to the future of a healthy state, but those discussed above represent what planners feel are the five most important. Throughout NCAPA planners' discussion of these issues was an important and oft-repeated theme—responsibility. NCAPA planners who submitted nominations to this top 5 issues article emphasized the responsibility of state and local governments to address these issues, the responsibility of planners to assist decision-makers in providing wisely for citizens in the future, and the responsibility of the development community to assist in creating a sustainable future for the state. In order for best planning practices to prevail in the issue areas outlined above, economic resources and political savvy must be combined with the responsibilities of each of these actors, so that the best planning decisions can be made to assure a positive future for every North Carolina community.

Planning Ahead:

An Interview with Michelle Nance, AICP

Michelle Nance currently serves as the President of the North Chapter of the American Planning Association. Carolina Planning (CP) interviewed Ms. Nance about her role as NCAPA president, her views on the present-day and future challenges facing planners in North Carolina, and how NCAPA can help address them.

CP: What present-day planning issue are you the most excited about, interested in, or challenged by?

Although not an original idea, new mixed-use developments are now making their way into smaller, less urban North Carolina communities. While not a cure-all, these types of developments are offering an alternative to the single-use residential subdivisions that have been the dominant model for many years. The benefits of mixed-use developments are many, but mostly I appreciate their ability to create a sense of place through increased emphasis on building form, rather than use. These developments provide services near people's homes, something that is especially important to our aging population. They also encourage alternate modes of transportation—other than the private automobile—through extensive sidewalk and trail systems that connect destinations within the community. If services are provided less than a half mile from residential development, some residents will choose to walk instead of drive, giving them an opportunity to stretch their legs and meet their neighbors along the way.

CP: Looking into the future, what do you see as the

most important issue facing practicing planners in the next fifty years?

As North Carolina becomes more urban and as highway construction fails to meet the transportation demands of our growing population, I believe the transportation/land use connection will become more important than ever. Future transit corridors need to be identified, even though transit implementation may be 30 years in the future. Higher density, mixed-use, residential development along these corridors will be crucial to providing a sufficient population base to make future transit financially feasible. In order to make this happen, planners and the development community must work together to reduce the negative connotation of "density" by demanding and building better design. This may require substantial changes to our zoning codes, including a

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move towards a form-based code rather than the classic Euclidian zoning that most communities have today. Even if a community never implements high speed bus or rail, this type of development form takes advantage of existing infrastructure and creates a compact, mixed-use environment and a sense of place.

CP: What are the current emerging technologies that will help planners throughout the state?

I love technology and the improvements it has made to our lives, both at home and at work. In the coming years, I predict that more agencies will provide information on the Internet, which will aid in decision making; Geographic Information Systems (GIS) will progress to allow detailed analyses of land use scenarios; and citizen participation will be enhanced through online dialogues and real time polling. No matter how much technology advances, however, the central tenant of planning will always stay the same. The answer to the question, "what is best for the public interest?" will require planners to understand their communities, engage citizens in the planning process, provide guidance to the development community, and present innovative alternatives to planning and governing boards. These tasks can be aided—but not replaced—by emerging technologies.

CP: The Chapter recently completed a process of developing a new legislative agenda. What are the most pressing legislative issues facing the planning profession?

In the long term, I believe that the lack of a statewide program for growth management will be detrimental to our communities. Currently, we do not have clear state authorization for many of the land use management tools that communities need to address local growth issues. All North Carolina communities are not the same. We desperately need a "growth strategies toolbox" that will provide both fast- and slow-growing communities the options they need to implement local strategies to address local land use issues.

CP: On what planning-related issue in North Carolina do you think NCAPA can have the biggest impact?

City planning has roots in public health, and we are seeing that it is time once again to focus our attention on healthy communities. Alarming trends in obesity, childhood onset of type-II diabetes, heart disease, and other stress-related diseases are well documented and affect every citizen directly or indirectly through medical and insurance costs. This broad impact provides opportunities for collaboration with many partners in the public health and medical communities, hopefully creating a larger groundswell of support for action. Planners have a direct impact on the built environment and can create communities that support healthier choices. By working with our partners and educating city and county officials and the public about the connections between health and local planning decisions, I believe we can successfully promote active living and make a difference in people's lives.

CP: What do you see as the biggest challenge for NCAPA in the next fifty years? How would you like NCAPA to address it?

Looking inward, the biggest challenge for NCAPA in the next several decades will be developing leadership, both for the Chapter and the profession. We have had a great tradition of leaders, such as Jack Kiser, AICP, Dick Hails, AICP, Sue Schwartz, FAICP, Carol Rhea, AICP, and others that have served as NCAPA leaders and served on national APA boards and commissions, developing policies, and impacting the growth and direction of the profession. We have also had long-time planning directors that have shaped North Carolina's communities into what they are today. With many planners reaching retirement age in the next five to ten years, it is important for the mid-career planners to rise to the

challenges facing us and begin fostering leadership in young planners. To keep the Chapter strong, we have to make it easier and more enticing to be involved in Chapter activities, by doing a better job of advertising where volunteers are needed and allowing AICP planners to count a small portion of their volunteer work towards Certification Maintenance credits.

Externally, our profession needs to have a bigger voice. People in communities all across the state face challenges of increased growth, lagging infrastructure, and the loss of open space. People are pretty familiar with these issues, but they do not necessarily see them as related to the planning profession. We need to do a better job of explaining who we are and how we can help communities make decisions about their future.

CP: During your tenure as the Chapter President, what NCAPA accomplishments have you been most proud of or excited about?

There are several initiatives that I am particularly excited about, including the work of the Ethnic and Cultural Diversity Committee and the NCAPA mentor program. Both of these initiatives have underlying goals of growing and diversifying the profession.

The Ethnic and Cultural Diversity Committee was created in 2006 to increase diversity in the planning profession and to raise awareness about minority issues. This group held a Diversity Summit during the NC Planning Conference, hosted a national APA Planner in the Black Community conference in Greenville, NC, hosted a diversity breakfast at North Carolina Central University, received funding from APA for a Chapter brochure to be used in student recruitment, and is in the process of creating a minority scholarship fund.

The NCAPA mentoring program began under the leadership of Bill Duston, AICP, and has been implemented during my term as president. Over the past two years,

over 40 practicing planners participated in five panel sessions that took place at UNC-Chapel Hill, Appalachian State University, and East Carolina University. Partnering with the universities and providing outreach to students is an important Chapter activity that will hopefully continue in the future.

During my tenure, the Executive Committee made a commitment to bring the organization into the twenty-first century by updating its bylaws and election process, revamping the Chapter's webpage, developing a new NCAPA logo, creating the NCAPA sections, and moving towards an electronic newsletter. While these activities are ongoing, I believe they will have a positive impact on the organization for years to come.

CP: Michelle, thank you for your time and leadership.

Directions in Planning:

Addressing Global Climate Change and Sea Level Rise at the Community Level

Anna K. Schwab and David J. Brower

Climate change—along with the associated rise in sea level and changes in weather/storm patterns—is an issue that planners are going to confront head on, and soon. This article lays out the issue of climate change and the challenges ahead for planners, and offers three main tactics for planning ahead for climate change.

The planning profession is constantly evolving. Planners are adept at generating novel and inventive practices in response to changing socioeconomic, political, legal, and ecological conditions in the communities they serve. In the early days of the profession, planners experimented with city form to create healthy and aesthetically appealing neighborhoods. Throughout the progressive era, planners expanded their repertoire to facilitate new modes of transportation, to accommodate the forces of industrialization, and to attend to larger public health issues. In the mid-twentieth century, innovations such as planned unit developments, cluster zoning, subdivision exactions, and incentive zoning emerged to deal with fast-expanding suburbs and diminishing open space. In recent years, historic preservation and habitat protection arose to combat threats to cultural and natural resources, while hazard mitigation, disaster management, and sophisticated flood-risk mapping have helped reduce vulnerability to natural hazards. Regionalism, public-private partnerships, and special area management programs have formed to deal with multiple cross-jurisdictional concerns, such as air and water quality; affordable housing; economic development; biodiversity; shifting demographics; mass transit; and other issues that transcend local political boundaries. Additionally, the advent and increasing reliance on Geographic Information Systems has revolutionized planning in many ways, so that the visual display and analysis of spatial data can provide support for policy formation and decision-making. Today, the emphasis on new urbanism, smart growth, and green development are contemporary planning approaches for enhancing quality of life. These modern advances in planning are helping to create more sustainable communities—communities with strong and stable economies, diverse and equitable social networks, and environmentally sensitive and resilient hardscapes.

Along with these advances, planners have stood at the forefront of many of the social changes that have shaped the evolution of community development and land management. By remaining flexible and adaptable,

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planners have consistently kept abreast of emerging so-cial issues. The planning profession's strong tradition of adaptation and creativity in response to changing conditions uniquely positions and equips planners to take on the most critical and far-reaching challenge to date—climate change.

One of the most alarming effects of climate change is the rising sea level, a phenomenon that is already impacting some of our low-lying coastal communities and, in the next few decades, will certainly affect many towns in and around Eastern North Carolina. Very soon, previ-ously appropriate methods for managing development will no longer be viable in these communities. Our tra-ditional zoning, subdivision, and regulatory approaches to dealing with land use and growth are simply insuffi-cient to handle the encroaching sea. Although scientists continue to disagree about the amount of sea level rise that is expected, there is no doubt that the process of sea level rise itself is real, is irreversible in the short term, and has unpredictable repercussions.

The incidence of sea level rise will certainly affect those communities located on North Carolina's shore-line, but will also affect communities located far inland. The coastal zone of North Carolina is an integral part of the state, both geographically and economically. There are 301 miles of coastline, and 3,375 miles of tidal shoreline.[1] According to the 2000 US Census, 876,789 people—10% of the state's total population—reside in the 20 counties that comprise the coastal zone. In addi-tion, the combined property value of real estate in these counties is approximately $105.3 billion.[2] Along with generating tax revenues, the North Carolina coast is also a leading contributor to the state's economy and is key to one of its largest industries—tourism. In 2005 alone, travelers spent more than $2 billion in North Carolina's coastal communities.[3] Of further significance are North Carolina's two primary ports: the Port of Wilmington in New Hanover County and Carteret County's Port in Morehead City. Together, they support nearly 85,000

jobs and contribute almost $300 million in state and lo-cal tax revenue. These ports also play a vital role in in-ternational commerce, managing over 5.4 million tons of cargo each year.[4]

As more and more people move to the state's coastal areas, a larger share of property, economic security, and natural resources are at risk as the ocean rises. It is imperative that coming generations of planners educate themselves about the physical processes at work in the rising sea. The scientific data and research on global warming and sea level rise must serve as the basis for new directions in planning, directions that forge the necessary linkages between hard science and policy to effect change at the community level.

Sea Level Rise is Gradual, but Accelerating
According to the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Cli-mate Change (IPCC), there is direct and unequivocal evidence that global warming and climate change are occurring, that this warming effect is causing seawa-ter to expand and glaciers and polar caps to melt, and that these effects are contributing directly to sea level rise.[5] In comparison to other disasters that affect the coastal zone, such as nor'easters, hurricanes, and tropi-cal storms, the time horizon of sea level rise is much more gradual. The impacts of a hurricane are experi-enced immediately, whereas the effects of sea level rise are realized only over the course of many years, even decades. Eventually, however, climate-change induced sea level rise will certainly impact all low-lying coastal areas in the nation and the world. Even if sea level in the future rises at only the present rate—rather than at the accelerating rate that the IPCC and other scientists have documented[6]—the world's coastal areas will face severe and devastating costs, especially in light of the rapid economic development and population expansion occurring in these regions. Although these social and climatic trends were set in motion long ago, the mo-mentum leading to a collision between these factors is

quickly building.

The Impacts of Climate Change and Sea Level Rise
While all areas of the earth are progressively affected by global warming, coastal zones are particularly vulnerable to climate variability. One key concern associated with a rising sea level involves the loss of land as wetlands and other low-lying areas are inundated. Specifically, a two foot rise in sea level would eliminate approximately 10,000 square miles of land in the United States, an area roughly equal to the combined size of Massachusetts and Delaware.[7] In North Carolina alone, approximately 4.8% of the state's land (about 2,356 square miles) lies less than five feet above sea level,[8] a dramatically low elevation considering the anticipated rate of sea level rise. An additional concern for many coastal communities is erosion of beaches and dunes. Sea level rise will accelerate erosion rates precipitously, resulting in increased levels of property damage along ocean and estuarine shorelines.

In addition to the immediate concerns of inundation and erosion, sea level rise is expected to produce other effects in coastal locations, including the following: changing offshore currents; greater wave velocity; salt-water intrusion into aquifers and surface waters; higher water tables; and intensification of flooding. These physical effects could result in a wide range of negative impacts, such as increased salinity and sedimentation in rivers, bays, and estuaries; loss of habitat for a variety of estuarine and coastal species; more frequent barrier island wash-over; and the collapse of some barrier island segments. These ecological and environmental conditions have severe implications for human settlements, including impairment of drinking water supplies; loss of agricultural land; and exacerbated property losses due to flooding and storm damage.

Sea level rise will also negatively impact many types of urban infrastructure and facilities, such as buried utility lines; municipal storm and sanitary sewers; water and sewage treatment plants; landfills and hazardous waste facilities; transportation systems; and coastal navigation and harbor improvements. Additionally, issues involving private property ownership and public access to beaches and waterways will arise as the land itself changes in form, irrespective of jurisdictional boundaries or property lines. Collectively, these direct impacts of sea level rise will generate a multitude of associated economic and social problems.

Coastal Storms and Related Hazards
Local communities will experience many of the consequences of climate change and rising sea levels over an extended length of time. One of the most devastating impacts, however, may occur episodically in the form of increased vulnerability to coastal storms. Observational evidence indicates that tropical cyclonic storms are increasing in both number and intensity, subjecting coastal areas to more frequent and damaging hurricanes and other coastal hazards.[9]

As the intensity of tropical storms increases, the dangers related to these storms will also increase, including the potential for higher wind speeds and elevated flood levels. Among the most destructive perils associated with hurricanes and other cylonic activity is storm surge, described as a rise in the water surface above normal water levels on the open coast due to the action of wind stress and atmospheric pressure. With sea level rise, the storm surge will generate from an elevated base of water, causing even stronger wave action when storms make landfall. The increased rates of coastal erosion caused by sea level rise will further exacerbate vulnerability to storms, as natural barriers formed by beaches and dunes are weakened and removed.

It is worth noting that not all of the devastating effects of these storms are attributable solely to climate change; increased development has also served to intensify social and economic vulnerability to tropical storms. The Sixth International Workshop on Tropical Cyclones

of the World Meteorological Organization (November 2006) points out that the recent increase in societal impact from tropical cyclones is due to the fact that more people and more infrastructure are located in coastal regions than ever before.[10] It is this increased exposure that has lead to mounting disaster losses worldwide, particularly in the United States. Furthermore, it has long been recognized that hurricanes and tropical storms occur in multi-decadal patterns of frequency, and that we are currently in a more "active" phase of such a cycle. Based on historical records alone, the high levels of hurricane activity and US landfalls will remain for the next decade and beyond, since the previous active period (1945-1970) lasted at least 25 years. Warming trends suggest more intense hurricanes, as increasing surface temperatures provide the necessary supply of energy for storm intensification, and although there is not clear consensus, many meteorologists predict that the current active period of hurricanes will persist into the future.[11]

These predictions have dire implications for North Carolina, which has a long and compelling history of storm damage. The last hurricane to hit North Carolina directly was Isabel, a Category 2 hurricane that made landfall along North Carolina's Outer Banks on September 18, 2003. Isabel's fierce winds and 8-foot storm surge caused 17 deaths and over $3 billion in damage, in one of the most significant hurricanes to affect North Carolina and Virginia since Hurricane Hazel in 1954.[12] In 1999, Hurricane Floyd—a Category 2 hurricane—hit Cape Fear, driving a 10-foot storm surge, killing a total of 56 people, and causing more than $6 billion in damage.[13] Most of the deaths and property loss were due to severe flooding from rain, much of it in areas far inland from the coast. As these historical accounts attest, the North Carolina coastal region is extremely vulnerable to hurricane damage, and as growth in the region continues unabated, greater numbers of people and property will be exposed to future coastal storms and their effects.

A Call to Action

It is clear that global climate change and rising sea levels are a reality. While debate continues over particular aspects—the rate of change, the percentage of change that can be conclusively attributed to anthropogenic factors, the mitigating effects of concurrent natural processes, and other points of disputation—few people suggest that the world should refrain from taking action as these changes take place. As emphasized in consecutive IPCC reports, the projected rise in sea level warrants urgent policy responses in most coastal regions.[14] It is imperative that such actions focus on human safety and on sustainable development of coastal resources. Even though sea level rise is predicted to be a relatively gradual phenomenon, adaptive strategies may require significant lead time to tailor them to the unique physical, social, economic, environmental, and cultural circumstances of a particular coastal area. Property owners and federal, state, and local governments are already starting to take measures to prepare for the consequences of the rising sea level, but it is essential that we not hesitate in our response to the changing conditions ahead while debating the minutia of the phenomenon itself.

Responses to Sea Level Rise

Broadly speaking, the policy responses required to protect human life and property from sea level rise fall into three categories: retreat, accommodation, and protection. Within each of these general types of approach, various methods to deal with the hazards associated with sea level rise are available, each with its attendant merits and drawbacks. The appropriate mechanism for implementation depends on the particular response chosen and the conditions of the area at risk.

Response 1: Retreat

The first policy response to sea level rise—retreat—involves no effort to protect the land from the sea. Instead, the coastal zone is abandoned and human settlement and other ecosystems shift landward. In an extreme case,

an entire area may be deserted. As a practical strategy, wholesale retreat is unlikely to be chosen in American communities, especially in coastal areas that have been intensely developed and where significant investment has been made. This method may, however, be appropriate for individual islands or undeveloped or sparsely developed stretches of coastline that are are experiencing sea level rise. Less dramatic versions of the retreat method may hold some promise for coastal communities that wish to remain intact and have adequate "growing room" to expand.

In the case of barrier islands, retreat may be more politically feasible if accompanied by the creation of new land through filling the bay side as the ocean side erodes. This response would essentially imitate the natural "overwash" process by which undeveloped barrier islands migrate landward as sea level rises. Regardless of whether new land is being created, retreat can be implemented by deliberate policy approaches, including: physically moving structures back in anticipation of erosion; not building in areas likely to erode; and not rebuilding if a storm destroys a structure. Land use planning measures such as these, rather than technological innovations, tend to be the primary tools of communities attempting to facilitate a retreat.

Several states have adopted policies to ensure that beaches, dunes, and wetlands are able to migrate inland as sea level rises. Under the North Carolina Coastal Area Management Act (CAMA), regulations prohibit the construction of new buildings in areas likely to be eroded in the next 30 to 60 years. For most single-family homes, regardless of size, the minimum setback is 60 feet. While these setback rules keep new development away from areas currently identified as erosion hazard zones, the methodology used to establish setback lines is inadequate to manage land uses in areas vulnerable to accelerated sea level rise. Few setback regulations are based on predictions of future erosion; rather, setback lines are established based on average

rates of past shoreline change using data compiled over the last 50 years or so. Although erosion maps in North Carolina are updated every five years, rising sea levels may cause the maps to become out of date much more rapidly, putting oceanfront structures at risk before the lifespan of the buildings expires. Furthermore, as the sea continues to rise, the shoreline will eventually retreat back to the point where any setback is established, unless the setback lines were moved extremely far, beyond the land currently at risk or that will be at risk in the foreseeable future.

The most effective method of achieving a retreat policy to deal with sea level rise is the public acquisition of coastal lands in danger of inundation. Acquisition—the purchase of private property and transfer of ownership to a unit of government or a nonprofit conservation organization—is used widely for hazard mitigation purposes, especially as a means to remove people and property from repetitive flood loss areas. These instances of acquisition as a mitigation tactic, however, focus on individual structures or groups of structures located in known flood risk areas. The scale required to protect the amount of land predicted to be inundated by rising sea level is immense, and extends well beyond the acquisition of individual structures. It would be prohibitively expensive and politically very difficult to purchase a land area the size of Massachusetts, especially considering the high property value of land located in prime coastal locations. Smaller purchases, however, may allow selected areas to retreat from the sea, and may be effective if such acquisitions target especially vulnerable or ecologically significant habitats and ecosystem areas at imminent risk of flooding.

Response 2: Accommodation
The second type of response to sea level change is accommodation, in which people continue to use the land at risk, but do not attempt to prevent the land from being flooded. In developed areas, this option includes modifying existing structures to withstand expected flood

levels, but prohibiting new construction. In rural areas, accommodation may involve converting traditional farming practices to aquaculture, or growing flood or salt tolerant crops.

Many coastal communities require that structures built in known flood hazard areas be elevated above the expected flood heights. This technique and other flood mitigation construction methods can help prevent most or some of the damage associated with rising water levels; it is most applicable to existing structures that cannot easily be relocated or when alternative sites for relocation are not available. Drawbacks associated with property modification include the fact that there is a technical limit to what a structure can withstand. Even with the most rigorous construction standards and latest building materials and techniques, structures built in the coastal zone cannot tolerate the impacts of coastal erosion, flooding, wind, and storms over extended lengths of time. Eventually the land beneath the structures will be deep under water, and no amount of first floor elevation can lift the building high enough for human habitation. There may also be challenges related to providing the critical infrastructure required to maintain habitability: water, sewer, and power lines are often affected by flooding before a structure itself is damaged to the point it must be vacated.

The accommodation tactic requires substantial precautions to ensure public safety and prevent excessive property damage during the time the land is occupied. Building codes must incorporate high standards for construction that reflect the hazard perils anticipated in the area. Insurance or other fiscal mechanisms must be available to consistently and adequately compensate property owners for losses from flooding and storm damage, so residents can relocate elsewhere when the time comes. Emergency shelters and effective evacuation plans must be in place to protect residents and visitors from hurricanes and other coastal storms. These precautions must be accompanied by well-crafted an-

ticipatory land use regulations that effectively prevent new development when structures are damaged beyond repair by storms or erosion.

Some coastal states have implemented "rolling easements" as a method of accommodating sea level rise while protecting private property rights. Rolling easements allow property owners to develop their land, but only on the condition that they will remove the structure if and when it is threatened by an advancing shoreline; in effect, this prohibits owners from holding back the advance of the sea, and requires them to respect the ocean's progression inland. Eventually, the area will return to its natural state.

In contrast to setbacks, rolling easements do not involve drawing an exact line in the sand along the shore. Instead, the landowner may use the property up to the time the land succumbs to erosion. Enforcement of rolling easements, however, can be problematic, and there may be complex legal ramifications involving shifting ownership patterns, changing property values, and questions of compensation owed to "dispossessed" landowners whose property is effectively confiscated by the sea. A program of management that combines implementation of rolling easements along with density regulations and setback requirements may increase the feasibility of an accommodation approach to sea level rise.

Response 3: Protection
The third response to encroaching sea levels—protection—employs hard mitigation structures that are designed and constructed by engineers, along with soft solutions such as dunes and vegetation to protect the land from the sea so that existing land uses can continue. Hard mitigation structures, including dikes, seawalls, and bulkheads, protect the shore by forming an artificial barrier between water and land. Although the presence of the structures leaves the dry upland relatively unaffected, the constant action of wind, waves and currents eventually eliminates the intervening beach, wetlands,

and other inter-tidal zones. Under the hard protection option, a significant proportion of coastal and estuarine ecosystems would be lost, especially if the structures block their landward migration as the sea advances. While temporarily holding back the sea, hard structures may have other unintended consequences, as they disturb natural sand-water cycles and can influence banks, channels, beach profiles, sediment deposits and morphology of the coastal zone. Changes wrought in the ecosystem may be experienced locally, or the structures may impact coastal areas at some distance from the structure itself. In recognition of the serious drawbacks associated with hard erosion control structures, some states, including North Carolina, prohibit their erection on oceanfront beaches.

When used at all, protective structures should be designed to avoid adverse environmental impacts to the greatest degree possible. For instance, artificial reefs can create new habitats for marine species, and dams can avert saltwater intrusion, though sometimes at the cost of negative environmental impacts elsewhere. When hard structures are built along the bayshore, there are ways to minimize some of the adverse impacts, such as the "living shorelines" approach. "Living shorelines" use the strategic placement of plants, stone, sand fill, and other structural and organic materials, allowing natural coastal processes to remain intact and active. This mitigation method can be effective in protecting property from erosion when designed and built to address the site's specific issues and dynamics. The concept was developed and embraced in the Chesapeake Bay area, and is now used in other coastal states including North Carolina and Virginia.

In addition to the construction of hard structures to block the progression of sea level rise, the protection approach also includes "soft solutions" designed to shield existing land uses from higher water elevations. Such tactics include the planting of vegetation, the erection of sand fences, and the construction of sand dunes along the shoreline to serve as a defense against waves and tidal movement of the ocean. Soft protection measures also encompass beach nourishment projects, where sand is delivered to replenish sand that is lost due to seasonal erosion. Along the ocean coastline, most coastal states work with the US Army Corps of Engineers to place sand on their beaches to counteract shore erosion. Less common is nourishment of bayside beaches, although it has been in practice in New Jersey, Delaware, and Mississippi for some time. By periodically pumping sand onto beaches, communities can stop the shore from eroding and can continue to enjoy their recreational beaches. There are serious limitations to ongoing beach nourishment, however, not the least of which is the large expense involved in continuously replenishing sand in areas experiencing large-scale erosion. In addition, nourished beaches tend to erode more quickly than natural beaches, and the process of sand mining for supplies of fill sand can disrupt the dynamics of other natural sand cycles while simultaneously changing the morphology of offshore sand banks.

Along with raising beaches through sand nourishment programs, it is also possible to elevate wetlands by enhancing the natural accretion process, or, if this fails, simply rebuilding the wetlands in locations where they have been lost. The technology for elevating wetlands is complex and expensive, however, and past experience indicates that engineered wetlands function less effectively than natural ones.

The Planner's Toolbox
The vast majority of tools and techniques listed under each of the retreat, accommodation, and protection approaches to sea level rise are not new to planners and coastal managers. These strategies have been in place for some time to combat coastal hazards and to minimize the effects of erosion on ocean and estuarine shorelines. Though the federal government uses many of these tools to protect existing property and shield future land uses from the effects of sea level rise, a large

share of the responsibility also falls to state and local governments.

The local government can play an especially critical role in preventing development in areas vulnerable to accelerated rates of erosion, and in requiring that structures are designed to withstand the impacts of coastal hazards. Retreat can be put in motion through anticipatory land use regulations, building codes, and economic incentives. Accommodation may evolve without government intervention, but could be facilitated by strengthening flood prevention, emergency preparedness capabilities, and public awareness and education programs. Protection can be implemented by enhancing the natural mitigation functions of coastal resources while safeguarding the built environment. Many of the available solutions are appropriately put in place by professional planners at the community level. The local planner's task is most effectively undertaken through partnerships with others involved in coastal land use and development, including resource managers; insurance providers; regulators; engineers and builders; emergency managers; property owners; and state and federal agencies. Each of these partners brings a different perspective and plays a different role in dealing with rising sea levels, and together, these partners can create a holistic approach to meet the community's unique mitigation needs.

Choosing the Right Tool
There is no one-size-fits-all planning method for addressing sea level rise. A uniform approach is impractical because of numerous factors, including disparities in coastal topography; development patterns; economic status; community capabilities; percentage of private land ownership; growth pressures; extent of build-out; locally-distinct climatic features; and other variables. Not only will individual localities experience sea level rise in different ways, the process will eventually impact vast areas of land, causing changes to entire regions along the ocean shoreline and even further inland

to areas not generally considered part of the "coastal zone." The far-reaching scope of sea level rise warrants a broad approach to dealing with its consequence—an approach that encompasses the gamut of possible impacts while recognizing the significance of site-specific distinctions.

The extent of this challenge is best met by management undertaken on a regional scale. To be truly effective, the boundaries of the region must not be set according to the arbitrary borders of political jurisdictions, but instead should be aligned with the dominant ecological and biological processes that shape the environment. These environmental components are appropriately delineated by river basin, a unit of hydrology that encompasses the natural ecosystems within it and accounts for the interrelatedness of water movement through the earth's hydrological cycle. By managing land use and development at the river basin scale, planners can focus on many of the factors associated with sea level rise while addressing the region's overall sustainability.

Choosing the Time to Act
As we have noted, the approaches described here for combating the impacts of sea level rise are familiar to those already involved in resource management and coastal protection. What is new is the increased sense of urgency surrounding the issue of shoreline depletion as sea level rise accelerates and exacerbates many of the hazards currently experienced in coastal communities. It is vital for coastal communities to begin adapting to sea level rise—not because there is an impending catastrophe, but because there are opportunities to avoid adverse impacts by acting now, opportunities that may be lost if the process is delayed. Uncertainties regarding future climate change do not imply that waiting for better predictions is the most prudent strategy. There is no guarantee that accurate climate projections will be possible when they are needed. Moreover, some measures may have potential benefits so far in excess of their costs as to be warranted in spite of current uncertainties.

These measures are also consistent with good coastal zone management practices irrespective of whether or not climate change occurs.

The consequences of sea level rise are far too grave for us to surrender without action. Until now, it has been presumed that risks from storms and beach erosion will remain static and that government responses to the risks will continue unchanged. Yet, as sea level rise becomes ever more imminent, this supposition becomes less legitimate. It is important to recognize that today's decisions on planning for coastal development will greatly influence the costs of later adaptation to impacts of sea level rise. Venice, Shanghai, New Orleans, and Lagos—cities that are already experiencing dramatic subsidence and flooding—are all vulnerable because of decisions made 200 to 2,000 years ago. It is therefore necessary to establish some immediate priorities for the planning and management of coastal resources, keeping the increasing heights of the ocean at the forefront of the planning process.

As the sea progresses landward, local governments will be faced with tough decisions regarding existing land uses and the future state of their oceanfront and estuarine shorelines; when the sea creeps inward and laps at the door, it will be too late. If sea level rise is not adequately addressed, erosion may rob coastal communities of their recreational beaches, mounting storm waves will demolish oceanfront homes, flooding will engulf wetlands and coastal marshes, saltwater will contaminate aquifers and surface waters, and a whole host of economic, social, and environmental problems will prevail. We are now at the juncture where we must follow new directions, or our coastal communities may drown.

Endnotes

[1] Coastline refers to the general outline of a state's sea coast; tidal shoreline refers to the coastline, as well as islands,

sounds, bays, rivers, and creeks measured to the head of tidewaters or to a point where tidal waters narrow to a width of 100 feet.

[2] National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. (March 2005). Population Trends Along the Coastal United States: 1980-2008.

[3] TEIM Travel Industry Association. (2005). "Impact of Domestic Travel on North Carolina Counties 2004."

[4] North Carolina Ports: Driving Prosperity Statewide. Retrieved from www.ncports.com on February 12, 2007.

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Park, Richard A., et al. (1989). "The Effects of Sea Level Rise on U.S. Coastal Wetlands." In The Potential Effects of Global Climate Change on the United States. Report to Congress. Appendix B: Sea Level Rise. 1989. Washington, D.C.: US Environmental Protection Agency. EPA 230-05-89-052.

[8] US Environmental Protection Agency. Maps of Lands Vulnerable to Sea Level Rise. Retrieved from www.epa.gov on February 13, 2007.

[9] The 2007 IPCC report summarizes data showing an increase of intense tropical cyclone activity in the North Atlantic since about 1970, correlated with increases of tropical sea surface temperatures. United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, supra, note 5.

[10] World Meteorological Organization. (Nov. 2006). Proceedings of the Sixth International Workshop on Tropical Cyclones of the World Meteorological Organization, Nov. 21-30, 2006. San Jose, Costa Rica: IWTC-VI.

[11] The IPCC report indicates that it is likely this trend will continue, and that increased warming of sea surface temperatures will result in increases in storm activity. *Ibid*.

[12] National Hurricane Center, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Retrieved from www.nhc.noaa.gov on February 12, 2007.

[13] *Ibid*.

[14] In 1990, the IPCC issued the first survey on a global scale of the physical science basis of climate change and set forth recommendations for adaptive options for coastal areas. Since that time, the IPCC has issued several more

reports, each building on the work of scientists and analysts before, and each reporting with a growing sense of certainty on the evidence of significant climatic changes taking place around the world. See, e.g., United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Response Strategies Working Group. (1990). Report of the Coastal Zone Management Subgroup: Strategies for Adaptation to Sea Level Rise. Geneva, Switzerland: IPCC.

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Due to rising costs, this issue of Carolina Planning is the last to be published on a twice-annual schedule. Beginning with the Spring 2008 issue (vol. 33, no.1), Carolina Planning will publish a single issue every year. Despite this transition, Carolina Planning will still provide relevant, informative articles written by the planning professionals and planning academics in the field.

Inequality in the Creative City

Mary Donegan, MRP 2006

In keeping with tradition, Carolina Planning is proud to present here an adaptation of the Department of City & Regional Planning's 2006 Best Master's Project, written by Ph.D. student Mary Donegan. In her award-winning article, Donegan critiques Richard Florida's popular "Creative Class" theory for central city revitalization, the trendy notion that cities need to attract highly educated, young, white-collar workers for information-age, "creative" professions by catering specifically to the needs of these up-scale professionals. Despite some notable successes in urban revitalization, the creative class approach inherently produces a sharp increase in income inequality. Donegan's article explains the reasons behind such inequality and proposes several city-level policies to address this problem. These proposals include the following: living wage campaigns; unionization efforts among service workers; and the use of immigrant work centers to better integrate immigrants into a city's legal labor market.

Richard Florida's book, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, has captured the imaginations of economic developers, businessmen, and urban dwellers alike. Florida's thesis is that the role of place is changing as the American economy transitions from traditional industry to high-tech, advanced services. Whereas people once followed jobs in traditional industries, jobs now follow mobile, creative people—people who increasingly base their locational decisions not on job opportunities, but on the urban amenities and cultural environment of a city. Florida argues that the economic prosperity of a city is not based solely on traditional economic development strategies, but is, instead, based largely on the city's success in attracting and retaining creative people, who in turn drive the economy (Florida, 2002).

Florida's idea has proven to be infectious: chasing the creative class has replaced cluster theory as today's ubiquitous economic development strategy. Cities across the globe have latched onto his creative roadmap, trans-forming old factories into swanky loft spaces, opening trendy coffee shops, and promoting local art galleries, all in an effort to please the fickle creative class.

Yet with all the hype surrounding the creative class strategy, a potentially troubling side effect has emerged: inequality. Florida himself acknowledges this as an unfortunate, yet seemingly unavoidable side-effect of the creative class. According to Florida and his collaborator, Kevin Stolarick, a strong correlation exists between the presence of the creative class in metropolitan areas and income inequality. Cities that rank high on Florida's "Creativity Index" also rank high on the "Inequality Index," a measure of occupational income premiums created by Stolarick (Florida 2002, 2005; Stolarick, 2003).

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This correlation between the creative class and income inequality presents a dilemma for cities seeking to follow Florida's strategies—is it possible to follow a creative class strategy of development without accepting inequality as an unavoidable side-effect? In this paper, I argue that, while inequality is undoubtedly a complex phenomenon—one that is increasingly garnering attention in the national media—there are very real policies that local governments can and should enact in an effort to reduce inequality. Furthermore, I argue that these policies can be adopted without abandoning Florida's core economic development strategies.[1]

INEQUALITY AND THE CREATIVE CLASS

Just one year after the release of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Kevin Stolarick created the Inequality Index to measure the relationship between inequality and the creative class by capturing the occupational pay ratio between the creative class and the noncreative classes. In a piece released by Florida's consulting arm, Stolarick announced that this Index reveals a relationship between being a creative city and having an unequal workforce, proclaiming that, "inequality goes hand and hand with being a cutting-edge, technologically innovative, creative region" (Stolarick, 2003). The higher the creative class percentage of the workforce (the creative class being the "economic base" of Florida's new creative economy), the more the creative class earns per year relative to the noncreative classes.

According to Florida and Stolarick, this correlation reflects the fact that the creative class "outsources" much of the low-skill service activity, generating a creative-noncreative division of labor (Florida, 2002; Stolarick, 2003). Florida and Stolarick maintain that the strong relationship between the creative class and inequality is due to the hectic lifestyle of the creative class, which is comprised of busy people who have neither the time nor the inclination to perform life's daily chores. Instead, the creative class relies on an "army of 'servants'" to cater to their everyday needs (Stolarick, 2003). Both Stolarick and Florida reason that it is this "massive functional division of human labor [that produces] the bulk of our income divide" (Stolarick, 2003).

Yet a simple division of labor does little to explain exactly why the two groups are earning such unequal wages—that is, it does little to explain the actual roots of inequality in the creative city. Labor economists and sociologists have pointed to a myriad of explanations that could help answer the question of what causes inequality. These factors include: skill-biased technical change in the workplace; differing levels of human capital; de-industrialization and the resultant decline in manufacturing employment; rising levels of immigration; de-unionization; and a declining minimum wage. Levy and Murnane (1992) provide a thorough overview of many of these factors; Acemoglu (2001), Borjas, Katz, and Freeman (1997), Card (2001), Cline (2001), Dinardo, Fortin and Lemieux (1996), Fortin and Lemieux (1997), Osterman (1999), Reed (2001), Sassen-Koob, (1984), Topel (1994), and Wood (1995) provide additional background information in these areas and were instrumental in the development of my theoretical approach.

Yet while Florida has paid increasing attention to the issue of inequality (Florida 2005, 2006), he provides few workable policy solutions to the issue, short of suggesting that the creative class should, "…[offer] those in the other classes a tangible vision of ways to improve their own positions, either by becoming part of the Creative Economy or coexisting with it…" (Florida, 2002). More recently, Florida has suggested looking to companies like Whole Foods and Best Buy as models for high-wage service jobs, but he again does little to suggest exactly how other low-skill service companies can learn from them (Florida 2006).

In the remaining sections of this paper, I will focus on two policies that can be used to limit inequality in the

creative city. The first is to push for higher statewide minimum wages, through coalitions built around local living wage campaigns. The second is to work with immigrant "work centers" and organized labor unions towards the goal of integrating immigrants into local labor market institutions.[2]

Policy: Higher State Minimum Wages and well-structured "Living Wages"

Based on the statistical findings presented by Donegan (2006), it is clear that metropolitan areas in states with a minimum wage higher than the federal minimum have lower levels of creative-noncreative inequality, suggesting that regions should pursue a policy of higher state minimum wages to decrease inequality. Unfortunately, outside of pushing state representatives for higher minimum wages, this might give the impression that local actors—the very people promoting Florida's strategies—have few policy avenues to pursue in this area.

The opposite is true, however: a living wage campaign may represent an alternative policy route, one that is complementary to pushing for higher state minimum wages. A living wage is a wage rate, established by local legislation, which is set above the prevailing minimum wage in an area. Living wages differ from state minimum wages in that state minimum wages typically apply to all companies, whereas local living wages are usually limited to either government contractors, businesses seeking public assistance, and/or social service providers. Relative to either state or federal minimum wages, therefore, living wages reach far fewer low-wage workers; Brenner estimates that living wages reach less than one percent of workers in cities that have implemented them (Brenner, 2004). While many economists point to the potentially damaging effects of living wages on the local economy and workers—examples include reduced employment, firm relocation, and decreased city bids—case studies of living wage laws have not in fact found these adverse consequences.[3]

Two aspects of the living wage ordinance are critical in the development of an eventual statewide minimum wage that can successfully meet the goal of reducing inequality.[4] The first is the structure of the living wage legislation, which determines both the scale of the coverage and the enforcement for violators. The second is the makeup and involvement of the coalition that pushes for the living wage. This is critical for the success of the ordinance's passage, the ability to withstand intense anti-living wage pressure, the success of compliance and enforcement, and the likelihood of any possible future expansion in coverage.

Legislation
In terms of legislation, the broader the number of affected industries, the more workers that will benefit from the living wage, and the greater its overall benefit. City or county governments are often large and disjointed, and mandating that workers across all departments and divisions are covered is essential, not only because it will ensure that as many workers as possible are covered, but because it will limit the amount of cross-departmental shifting that can occur in order to avoid the living wage.

It is important to note, however, that the living wage will never reach these workers if the municipality does not enforce it, making enforcement a critical piece of the legislation. The legislation must include budgets for city oversight of the living wage ordinance, and clear punishments for companies who do not follow it (Luce, 2005). Successful living wage legislation should also include provisions for educating workers about their rights under the new living wage law, and protections for whistleblowers who report companies that are not paying the living wage, so that workers who are getting paid below the wage are willing and able to report these violations. (Zabin and Martin, 1999).

Coalition
The coalition that works towards living wage legisla-

tion is critical to determining its ultimate success, since a living wage that has been developed with input from a broad-based, strong coalition is more likely to have a broader scope, and is more likely to include legislation for enforcement (Luce, 2005). Ideally, a living wage campaign coalition would involve the participation of labor, religious, community, and political groups (Bernstein, 2005; Zabin and Martin, 1999). This broad coalition would be able to achieve a hegemonic critical mass that would be better able to rally the support of voters or officials to pass the living wage legislation.

Ultimately, the ability to influence inequality rests on the ability to implement a state-wide minimum wage. It is here that the coalition involved in building support for the living wage is crucial. A good example of how living wage campaigns have the potential to flow upwards from the local level to exact state-level change is in Michigan, which recently passed a statewide minimum wage that will reach $7.40 an hour by 2008. Michigan has some of the oldest living wage laws in the country, initially beginning in cities and gradually expanding to include counties. More recently, a statewide minimum wage increase proved enormously successful, overwhelming initial opposition by the Republican-led state legislature after a petition drive to put the minimum wage on the November ballot collected over 150,000 signatures in the state, and appeared poised to roll to victory at the polls that November (ACORN, 2006). In the face of imminent defeat at the polls, the Republican-led legislature relented from their opposition and passed a minimum wage law in the month before the election.

The successful petition drive to put the issue on the ballot was led by the Association for Community Organization for Reform Now (ACORN),[5] the Michigan Democratic Party, labor organizations, and community and faith-based organizations. An economic justice organization was also instrumental in the campaign, as living wages are fast becoming contested terrain, and

increasingly require legal assistance to both write laws and hold off anti-living wage legal assaults (ACORN, 2006). To my knowledge, no formal case study of Michigan's recent successful effort to increase the minimum wage exists; the strategies used in Michigan and similar states around the country—from Arkansas to Maine— are clearly areas that need further research. Moreover, the momentum built over the prior decade through local organizing and victorious living wage campaigns proved instrumental in leading to the increase in the state minimum wage; this provides a clear example of the power of local action.

To some, implementing a living wage may seem like a small step in reducing inequality, since it reaches so few workers. For example, San Jose, California currently has one of the highest living wages, but occupies the highest position on Florida's inequality index, demonstrating all too clearly that living wages are not a panacea. Yet, as the Michigan example shows, the passage of a living wage supported by a grassroots coalition is more than just a living wage: it is a step towards forming effective coalitions that can work towards achieving larger, state-wide goals that also address issues of inequality.

In addition to focusing on increasing state (or even federal) minimum wages, successful coalitions can turn their attention to the future by focusing on expanding the local living wage to more sectors. In doing so, they can direct their attention to workplaces or sectors that are strategic targets for unionization (Zabin and Martin, 1999). Additionally, the living wage coalitions can be critical in uniting immigrants with non-immigrant groups, a strategy that is critical for our second policy. The passage of local living wages, in conjunction with labor and immigrant movements, may indirectly lead to large-scale reductions in local inequality.

Policy: Integrate Immigrants into Community Groups, Educational Programs

A second set of results from the regression models in Donegan (2006) reveals that MSAs with higher numbers of immigrants have higher inequality between creative and noncreative workers, pointing to another policy issue. While some may interpret this result as a call to expel immigrants from the country, this would be misguided; it is the structure of the economy, with its emphasis on low-cost and often informal subcontracting under poorly-enforced labor laws that links immigrant labor to inequality. The answer then is not to expel immigrants, but to further pull them into the formal American economy.

It can be tricky to involve immigrants in the formal labor market—especially if they are undocumented—but it is not impossible. Janice Fine has documented the emergence of a new form of immigrant labor market institution: the worker center, which is a "community-based mediating institution that provide[s] support to low-wage workers," and where "…advocacy and organizing activities are the priority" (Fine, 2006). Though originally formed by blacks in the American South to combat institutionalized racism, worker centers are now identified more with immigrant labor, which fill almost 80% of worker center organizations.

Along side these efforts, organized labor unions also have a significant contributing role to play in integrating immigrants in the mainstream labor market, especially in linking with immigrant work centers. This is not the case, however. Mirroring the negligible levels of union engagement with this issue in North Carolina, very few immigrant work centers throughout the country have strong, ongoing relationships with unions. Of the working centers researched by Fine, only 15% had a strong, working relationship with unions. An impressive 82% percent had only "occasional partnerships," while 3% had no partnerships at all with unions (Fine, 2006). Fine relates that immigrant work centers complained of having workplaces that wanted to organize, but that they failed to find a union to help them do so

(Fine, 2006). When workplaces and unions did work together, they were not always successful at unionizing a firm—or of even getting to that late stage in the unionization process.

The lack of interaction between unions and immigrant work centers is a serious, but not an entirely surprising, concern. Unions and immigrants have had a volatile past; unions have traditionally viewed immigrants as threatening (since immigrants often work in the same sectors as unionized workers, though through informal arrangements and for very low wages), even though in the long-term immigrants could grow the ranks of union members (Briggs, 1998). This tension between the short-term and the long-term roles of immigrants has led to strains between immigrant groups and unions.

By not working with immigrant centers, however, unions may be limiting their long-term ability to protect the economic well being of the less-educated and less-skilled American worker. In an era when union membership is declining, this is a troubling sign that unions are still unable to work effectively with immigrants, but one that is not entirely surprising. Fine relates that there is a "dramatic culture clash" that occurs between unions and immigrant activists at the worker centers. Immigrants at work centers claim that unions are "top-down, undemocratic, and disconnected from the community;" unions claim that immigrants are unfamiliar with unionization laws, and are unrealistic about the time and efforts that are required to win a union drive (Fine, 2006). If the immigrant worker centers and labor organizations are involved as part of a broader coalition in a living wage campaign, however, these cultural "clashes" can be avoided: the living wage campaign could act as a "getting to know you" period, where the unions and immigrant work centers could learn each other's norms and cultures.

There are working models that show how success can be accomplished. In Lowell, Massachussetts, the com-

munity group Coalition for a Better Acre (CBA), comprised of immigrants and minorities from one of Lowell's poorest and oldest immigrant neighborhoods (the Acre, with a poverty rate of over 40%), acted in conjunction with local unions, the University of Massachusetts-Lowell (UMASS-Lowell), the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association, and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to integrate their residents into Lowell's process of redeveloping local brownfields. This was no small task; Lowell, the birthplace of America's textile industry, has one of the highest concentrations of brownfields in the United States, and most of these brownfields are in financially poor, ethnic, and minority communities.

One of the first and most ambitious steps in Lowell's redevelopment was the construction of a ballpark and a hockey arena to house the city's minor league baseball and hockey teams (among other projects, including building new housing and grocery stores on brownfields in the low-income neighborhoods). Rather than simply hire outside contractors or rely on cheap, unskilled labor in facilitating redevelopment, the CBA and the EPA worked together with local Boston unions and UMASS-Lowell to train Acre residents in high-paying, high-skill environmental testing and construction jobs. Workers in the program were placed in apprenticeship programs with the local unions, ensuring that they would have a good chance of receiving long-term union jobs after the program's completion. In the end, Lowell's program brought good-quality jobs to some of Lowell's poorest residents, and integrated a long-standing immigrant community into the city redevelopment process (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2002; National Institute of Environmental Health Services, 2000).

In terms of policy solutions, it is important to note that the local government in Lowell acted as the facilitator between the union and immigrant workers, bringing the two together with EPA funding. In fact, the City of Lowell mandates that 30% of workers on brown-

field remediation sites be local, further emphasizing the leading role of local labor in ensuring local economic development from redevelopment strategies (United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2002). The relevant players in Lowell recognized similar advantages to working together: the city recognized long-term economic development opportunities in the immigrant neighborhoods; the unions gained future well-trained members; and the immigrants were given the opportunity to further integrate into the unions and city development process, resulting in greater economic opportunities.

The Lowell case is underscored by the fact that the city has been following a creative class strategy, actively luring artists and bohemians away from overpriced lofts and apartments in Cambridge and Boston to lofts, apartments, restaurants, galleries, and shops that fill the city's newly renovated mills along its canals and river (City of Lowell, 2006; Galvin, 2006). Indeed, it is the creative class strategy that has led Lowell to clean up its brownfields and redevelop its mills (Galvin, 2006). Clearly, creative redevelopment can involve both unions and immigrant communities while achieving joint benefits for all; as this case evidences, it is clearly possible to have "creative class trickle down" through the active leadership of community, immigrant, and labor organizations.

Conclusion

Whether economic developers and academics approve of the creative class strategy or not, it is here to stay—at least until the next hot development strategy comes along. Considering the popularity of this theory, the striking overlap between being a creative city and being an unequal city is troubling—not only for ethical and political concerns, but also because it could have severe implications for the long-term sustainability of the economy.

Policymakers and activists in regions following a creative class strategy can and should take steps to ensure that the inequality associated with Florida's creative class is kept at bay. As cities adopt ever-popular creative class strategies, the adverse consequence of inequality must be considered and addressed. Local policymakers must remove their blinders and confront the side-effects of inequality head on.

Through the policies proposed above, I have sought to answer the question: is it possible to become a creative center while staving off the adverse consequence of inequality? The answer, I propose, is yes. Broad-based coalitions comprised of faith-based, immigrant, labor, and political groups must work together—and with policymakers—to push for local living wages and the integration of immigrant groups into the labor market. While the actual policies implemented in each city may be different, city officials must consider creative strategies to reduce inequality as they work to implement "creative class" strategies to spur the economy.

Acknowledgements

Endnotes

[1] In this paper, I will not address the efficacy of Florida's creative class strategy in generating economic growth or development; see Rausch and Negrey (2006) for a recent assessment.

[2] These policies are an outgrowth of earlier regression models in Donegan (2006) that tested the relationship between both Florida's Creative Class Index and traditional causal variables of inequality, and a dependent variable

of Stolarick's Inequality Index, in US metropolitan areas (MSAs). While the models are cross-sectional and cannot fully address causality, they provide a series of insights, several of which I considered useful for potential policies. First, there is a significant positive relationship between the creative class and inequality. Second, MSAs in states with higher minimum wages and high unionization levels have significantly lower levels of inequality, while MSAs with a high immigrant population had significantly higher levels of inequality. Third, there is a significant, positive relationship between skill-biased technical change and inequality. This could indicate that the benefits of the "new economy" may not be reaching all levels of employment—a suggestion that has been made by numerous economists (see, for example, Dew-Becker and Gordon, 2005). Policies must therefore focus on reducing the impact of technical change on less-skilled workers. Each of the policies presented in this paper seeks to accomplish this by improving the economic position of less-skilled workers, and each, therefore, indirectly addresses the role of skill-biased technical change in inequality.

[3] See Benner (2004) for a discussion of this.

[4] To date, very few robust statistical studies have been conducted on the effects of living wages on raising the economic position of low-wage workers (and thus reducing inequality) in part because national data sets have limitations that preclude their use in living wage models. See Bernstein (2005) and Brenner (2004) for discussion about these methodological constraints.

[5] ACORN is an international group of community organizations that is at the forefront of living wage organizing.

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Anti-Immigration Ordinances in NC: Ramifications for Local Governance and Planning

Mai Thi Nguyen, Ph.D.

Over the past five years, Hispanic immigration has hit a critical mass in North Carolina as a result of explosive population growth among immigrant populations. This is especially true in the State's smaller towns, many of which had a minimal number of immigrants until recently. In an effort to address the perceived social ills associated with large numbers of undocumented, foreign immigrants, several of North Carolina's towns and counties have passed explicitly anti-immigrant ordinances, including the following: requiring English to be used when public employees are conducting business and governmental duties; denying benefits and services to undocumented immigrants; imposing sanctions and fines on employers and landlords; and training local law enforcement officials to become "immigration agents."

Introduction

According to many local officials in North Carolina, Hispanic population growth has hit a "critical mass"— critical enough for local jurisdictions to take an anti-immigration stance and adopt ordinances that create a hostile living and working environment for immigrants. These ordinances aim to force undocumented immigrants to move out and to stem the tide of future immigrant settlement. Historically, the responsibility of adopting and enforcing immigration policies was primarily left to the federal government. In the last few years, however, local governments have grown increasingly resentful about shouldering the day-to-day burdens of supplying and financing public and social services to a rapidly growing undocumented immigrant population, which has spurred local officials to take matters in their own hands. This has resulted in a spate of local anti-immigration ordinance proposals all over North Carolina. From small towns like Landis, to rapidly growing metropolitan areas like Charlotte-Meck- lenburg, there appears to be an anti-immigration current rippling throughout the state.

Along with Pennsylvania, North Carolina was among the states with the highest total number of anti-immigration ordinances proposed between 2005 and 2006. This was, in large part, a reaction to the rapid growth in the Hispanic population throughout the state. The US Census estimated that the Hispanic population in North Carolina increased from 76,726 in 1990, to 378,963 in 2000—a 393% increase and the largest of any state in the nation. Moreover, some estimates in 2004 put the North Carolina Hispanic population at over 600,000, half of which are believed to be undocumented.[1] This

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rapid and unpredictable Hispanic population growth has caught local officials and communities off-guard and unprepared to deal with the pressures and demands associated with this unique population. Some local jurisdictions are embracing their growing immigrant population and are adjusting their day-to-day operations to accommodate the needs of this group. Other places are adopting anti-immigrant ordinances and policies, which they believe are the solution to their immigration problems. In light of these emerging conditions, this article discusses the pressures that local governments are facing as they seek to address the rapid growth of the Hispanic—and largely undocumented—immigrant population. Additionally, it examines local policies that have been proposed or adopted to address undocumented immigration and outlines the arguments for and against these policies. Finally, it examines the affect these ordinances have on local governance and planning.

Much of the debate surrounding the issue of undocumented immigration centers on the distribution of costs and benefits. In terms of benefits, undocumented immigrants contribute directly to the local coffers in the form of sales tax and property tax (if they own their own homes), and indirectly by boosting business revenues and the local economy. Many also pay income taxes, albeit often with borrowed social security numbers that allow them to work, but are unable to collect any Social Security or Medicare benefits. In terms of costs, on the other hand, the argument proffered by local communities is that returns from taxes paid by undocumented immigrants and the economic stimulus of their labor do not compensate for the service demands created by this population. Local communities proposing anti-immigration ordinances attribute the rising costs of providing K-12 education, health care, police and fire protection, and a host of other services to the growing undocumented immigrant population. Many local communities also argue that there is a gap between what undocumented immigrants contribute in taxes (or the returns that local communities receive from their taxes)

and the costs they impose. Furthermore, local communities blame undocumented immigrants for social ills, including increased crime and a deteriorating quality of life. In short, these local communities claim that the major beneficiaries of undocumented immigration are businesses, which benefit from access to a cheap labor pool, and the federal government, which receives at least $7 billion annually from contributions to Social Security and Medicare, while they are the losers.[2]

To address the issue of unwanted immigration, local municipalities have adopted a variety of "anti-immigration ordinances." These ordinances range from the merely symbolic—requiring the enforcement of federal laws already on the books—to the more heavy-handed—for example, requiring public employees to identify and sometimes deport undocumented immigrants. Some of the most common ordinances being considered or adopted in North Carolina include:

- requiring English to be used when public employees are conducting business and governmental duties;
- denying benefits and services to undocumented immigrants;
- imposing sanctions and fines on employers and landlords, and;
- training local law enforcement officials to become "immigration agents."

The next section of this article examines the different types of ordinances and policies that are being considered or have been adopted in cities and counties in North Carolina.

Policy 1: English-Only Ordinances

Several examples of local English-only ordinances can be found in the City of Landis (in Rowan County), Davidson County, Cabarrus County, and Beaufort County—all of which saw breathtaking explosions in their Hispanic population in recent years. To begin with, in August of 2006, the Landis City Council passed an

ordinance that made English the official language of business, specifying that all government business, written or spoken, must be conducted in English. Landis is a small town with a rapidly growing Hispanic population. According to the US Census Bureau, Landis's total population was 2,996 in 2000, of which only 249 were Hispanics. While the city's total population grew by 28.4% from 1990 to 2000, Landis saw its Hispanic population expand by 1,975%, magnified, in large part, by the small number of Hispanics living in Landis in 1990.

Similarly, on November 14, 2006, the Board of Commissioners in Davidson County passed, by a unanimous 7-0 vote, a resolution that makes English the official language of government. According to the resolution, "meetings must be conducted in English, official acts and records must be printed and maintained in English."[3] Davidson County's population in 2000 was 147,246, of which only 3.2% were Hispanic, yet, by 2006, the Hispanic population had increased to the point where the County Commission felt it necessary to intervene. Similar English-only ordinances were overwhelmingly approved by county commissioners in Cabarrus and Beaufort Counties. Although both of these counties have small proportions of Hispanics relative to the total population, 5.0% and 3.2%, respectively, the rate of growth in the Hispanic population in both of these counties has far out-

stripped the counties' total rates of population growth. In Cabarrus County, the Hispanic population was 438 in 1990 and it grew 1,411.4% in the next ten years. Beaufort County's Hispanic population grew 638.6% throughout the 1990s and was estimated at 1,455 in 2000 by the US Census Bureau. Similarly, the town of Mint Hill has proposed to make English its official language of government, but is awaiting review from their attorneys as to the legality of the ordinance.

Table 1 presents the major arguments made for and

Proponents	Opponents
• English is a common bond that makes a community and the nation, as a whole, more cohesive. English as the official language preserves American culture and promotes unity. Having different languages spoken "promotes a sense of separation among residents." [4]	• English-only ordinances are largely symbolic measures that create a hostile environment for living and working. These ordinances promote more separation between English and non-English speaking residents. • These ordinances disproportionately affect Hispanics because they are the largest non-English speaking group in North Carolina. • These ordinances are discriminatory towards any person who is not fluent in English, not just undocumented immigrants. This might include citizens as well.
• Multiple versions of government documents and translation services can create misunderstanding and mistranslation.	• Local agencies that receive federal funding are required to provide interpreters if there is a significant number of people utilizing their services who do not speak English.
• Providing translation and interpretation services is costly to the taxpayer and is an inefficient use of taxpayer monies.	• These ordinances inhibit the ability of public and social service employees to promote better public health, safety, and welfare for all residents within the community. This may end up being more costly to taxpayers in the long run.

Table 1: Viewpoints on English-only ordinances

against English-only ordinances in these and other local areas.

Impacts on Local Governance and Planning

How is this relevant for planners? First, enforcing these English-only ordinances conflicts with planning principles and responsibility to the public as outlined in the AICP Planning Code of Ethics, which states, "We shall seek social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration. We shall urge the alteration of policies, institutions, and decisions that oppose such needs."[5] By providing services solely in English, a growing population in North Carolina will be excluded from services provided by planners.

Second, the field of planning has, for a number of years, recognized the importance of public participation, particularly from disadvantaged groups or communities of color. Conducting public meetings and providing documentation exclusively in English will discourage non-English speakers or those who have limited English ability from participating in the planning process. In general, individuals who have limited English ability are disproportionately low-income and racial/ethnic minorities. If there is no public participation from these disadvantaged groups, their concerns will not be represented in the planning process nor be considered in planning outcomes, thereby increasing the likelihood of discrimination against this population.

Finally, English-only ordinances confer privileges to English speakers and penalize those who are not fluent in English, thereby enhancing the inequitable distribution of resources and services along lines of race, ethnicity, citizenship, as well as English-language ability. This will inevitably reinforce the socioeconomic disparities that already exist in our local communities. Furthermore, many local jurisdictions have already invested time and resources in building an infrastructure

to serve non-English-speaking populations. These efforts will be wasted and taxpayer monies will have been inefficiently used if English-only ordinances are passed in those jurisdictions.

Denying Services and Benefits to Undocumented Immigrants

A second strategy used by several local governments to crack down on immigrant populations involves the denial of services and benefits to those immigrants without proper or sufficient documentation. Hazleton, Pennsylvania's passage of the "Illegal Alien Relief Act" on July 13, 2006, provided a template for other local jurisdictions around the country to pass aggressive measures to reduce the number of undocumented immigrants. Using this template, Gaston County, North Carolina passed an anti-immigration resolution on November 9, 2006 that directed the county staff to stop providing services to undocumented immigrants. The Gaston County Board of Commissioners—composed entirely of Republicans—voted 5-1 to approve a resolution that would accomplish the following:

- cease funding to local services provided to undocumented immigrants;
- discontinue state and federal non-mandated programs that serve undocumented immigrants, and;
- stop contracting with businesses that employ undocumented immigrants.[6]

As discussed in Table 2, the Gaston County resolution also addressed other county procedures related to law enforcement and housing ordinances. A similar resolution was proposed to verify the citizenship status of persons receiving public services, benefits, and jobs in Cabarrus County. This resolution did not pass, but a split county commissioner's vote of 2-2 prompted a motion to create a task force to study the immigration issue in more detail.[7] In Table 2, the arguments for and against this type of ordinance can be found.

Impacts on Local Governance and Planning

Proponents	**Opponents**
• Undocumented immigrants use limited local tax funds. Undocumented immigrants do not pay taxes or their fair share of taxes, so they should not receive the benefits that are paid for by taxpayer dollars.	• Being a citizen is not synonymous with being a taxpayer, and being an undocumented immigrant is not equivalent to being a tax evader. Non-citizens who are permanent residents are also obligated to pay taxes and there are citizens who shirk their responsibility to pay their share of taxes. Many undocumented immigrants do pay income taxes. • Until 2006, undocumented immigrants in North Carolina were able to obtain a driver's license without a social security number, but with an income tax identification number (ITIN). The ability to receive a driver's license was a huge incentive for undocumented immigrants to file their income taxes.
• The health and welfare of "legal" citizens " takes precedence over the health and welfare of undocumented immigrants. Given the limited resources, services, and benefits local governments are able to provide, "legal citizens" should receive priority. • Undocumented immigrants should be penalized for violating immigration laws instead of being conferred the rights and privileges of a legal resident by receiving benefits and services.	• Under federal law, undocumented immigrants are not eligible to receive many types of services and benefits. They cannot receive food stamps, TANF, housing assistance, social security benefits, or Medicare, although they often pay taxes that contribute to these programs. • They are eligible to attend school from grades K-12 and receive emergency medical care, services which do exact a cost on local jurisdictions. Denying undocumented immigrants these services, however, could potentially cost localities more in the long run. Creating an uneducated class by denying education to a large group of people could be detrimental to the American economy and society. Also, if undocumented immigrants prolong their medical care until an illness becomes severe, the cost of treatment may be greater than if the undocumented immigrant had received care at an earlier stage of the illness.
• Denying benefits and services to undocumented immigrants will discourage illegal immigration and will encourage lawful immigration.	• Denying undocumented immigrants services and benefits will not discourage illegal immigration from abroad, but will, instead, force immigrants to migrate to other places within the US. Undocumented immigrants who lived in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, for example, did not return to their home country, but instead moved to more receptive states, such as North Carolina. Within North Carolina, aggressive local anti-immigration legislation will most likely push immigrants to other local jurisdictions, rather than addressing the illegal immigration problem.

Table 2: Viewpoints on Ordinances Denying Services and Benefits to Undocumented Immigrants

Although proponents of these measures believe that denying benefits and services to undocumented immigrants will make their communities better off and will discourage future illegal immigration, this may not be the case at all. As of March 2006, there are an estimated 11.5 to 12 million undocumented immigrants in this country.[8] Denying an entire class of people certain key social and public services will likely create an underclass composed largely of the uneducated, poor, and disenfranchised. An uneducated and impoverished minority group will place additional burdens on local budgets and local planning agencies as these agencies seek to address one of the most enduring and problematic planning issues of our times—the persistent concentration of poverty of racial/ethnic groups.

Denying these individuals the opportunity for educational and socioeconomic mobility can only contribute to the concentration of the underclass in geographic space. Furthermore, it will result in the formation of a second-class citizenry that is disconnected from all public and civic activities, in turn spawning divided cities that are breeding grounds for racial/ethnic tensions and violence. A recent example of violence stemming from disenfranchised ethnic groups comes from the Paris suburb of Clichy-sous-Bois. An altercation between two youths, Malian and Tunisian, and the police on October 25, 2005 spurred many second-generation immigrant youths to riot against the feelings of social and economic exclusion and experiences with racial discrimination imposed by the state. Closer to home, the United States does not have to look very far back into history to be reminded of its own experience with divided cities. The largest race riot in American history swept through Los Angeles in 1992, after a predominantly white jury acquitted four white police officers of a brutal beating, caught on videotape, of an African-American man named Rodney King. The resulting explosion exposed the simmering racial/ethnic resentment between African-Americans, Koreans, and whites.

Similarly, excluding undocumented immigrants from society and forcing them underground may have some unexpected and detrimental consequences to local communities. Instead of creating policies that continue current trends, planners should seek policies that lift the underclass out of the ghettos and barrios, including universal access to essential services such as education and healthcare.

Employer and Landlord Sanctions

Local ordinances that target businesses and landlords who employ or lease to undocumented immigrants is a third critical issue. Federal laws already impose civil and criminal penalties on employers for hiring undocumented workers. For each undocumented individual hired, employers can face a fine of up to $2,000. If the employer repeatedly hires undocumented individuals, the fines become increasingly stiffer. Local anti-immigrant ordinances proposed in towns such as Mint Hill, NC are an attempt to enforce these pre-existing federal mandates. Another way local governments can penalize employers that hire undocumented workers is by not contracting with their companies on public projects. Gaston County passed an ordinance that states that the county will "discontinue contracting with any local or out-of-county businesses employing or using identifiable illegal residents where county tax dollars are being expended."[9] Other local ordinances, such as one approved in Forsythe County, NC on October 23, 2006, mandate that county agencies follow federal immigration law when hiring individuals or contracting jobs.

Along with employers, landlords are also facing sanctions for renting housing to undocumented immigrants or households that exceed a certain maximum household size as determined by new housing ordinances. Landlord sanctions were modeled on the Illegal Alien Relief Act passed first by Hazleton, Pennsylvania. In Hazleton, if landlords are caught renting or leasing to undocumented persons, they are fined $1,000 a day. The recent ordinances proposed in Mint Hill and passed

in Gaston County, however, were slightly different than the Hazleton ordinance in that they do not specify what the penalties are for landlords, nor do they specify what the minimum allowable household size is per unit. Table 3 presents the arguments for and against these kinds of sanctions.

Impacts on Local Governance and Planning
This strategy presents several challenges for planners in North Carolina. First, none of the proposed ordinances explicitly state which local agency is responsible for enforcement of employer and landlord sanctions. Will existing local agencies such as the housing authority be responsible for enforcing the new housing ordinance? Or will a new department be created instead? This also leaves open the question of how these enforcement agents will be adequately trained to check for fraudulent documentation. How will employers, for example,

Proponents	**Opponents**
• The hiring of undocumented immigrants takes away jobs from legal citizens, thereby contributing to higher unemployment rates. Cracking down on the employment of illegal immigrants ensures that Americans get the jobs they deserve.	• There are a number of industries in North Carolina that cannot find legal residents to fill the available jobs. The meat and poultry processing and agricultural industries often lament that their business could not survive without immigrant labor. They assert that there are not enough legal US residents interested in these types of jobs, therefore they must depend on immigrant labor.
• Much of the anti-immigration enforcement to date has focused on penalizing the undocumented immigrant population. This has seen to be largely ineffective. Instead, sanctioning the employer is a more effective way to discourage illegal immigration because it takes away employment opportunities that are the main draw for illegal immigration.	• It is not clear how effective these local ordinances will actually be in discouraging illegal immigration, since employers are already required to check documentation before hiring. Sometimes, undocumented immigrants use false identification (e.g., a borrowed social security card) and the employer has no way of knowing that that the documentation is false. If employers are fined or penalized for inadvertently hiring an undocumented immigrant based on false documents, they might be inclined to not hire any person that looks like an immigrant or foreigner for fear of being penalized. This may result in legal residents being discriminated against because of a certain appearance.
• Illegal immigrants often live in overcrowded rental units. Ordinances that place a maximum cap on number of tenants per unit will discourage undocumented immigrants from living in the jurisdiction. Fining landlords should also reduce the number of undocumented residents.	• Creating a maximum allowable household size for rental units is discriminatory against larger low-income families. It can also impact legal residents, not just undocumented immigrants. It is not clear whether fines for landlords will have the intended consequence of reducing the number of undocumented residents or whether landlords will charge undocumented residents a larger deposit or higher rents to cover the possibility of being fined.

Table 3: Viewpoints on employer and landlord sanctions

be able to check federal immigration databases and understand immigration law enough to judge validity of documents? Currently, only the Department of Homeland Security, a federal agency, has the authority to check immigration status through a federal immigration database. Employees of local agencies are currently not trained and do not have direct access to this database, except in a small number of cases.

Housing ordinances that place a cap on the maximum number of tenants may be discriminatory towards large families and may violate the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which "…prohibits discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of dwellings, and in other housing-related transactions, based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status (including children under the age of 18 living with parents of legal custodians, pregnant women, and people securing custody of children under the age of 18), and handicap (disability)."[10] These "overcrowding" ordinances may also disproportionately affect immigrant families, documented or undocumented, in North Carolina, since they tend to have larger families than the average American. Indeed, recent studies have concluded that discrimination against immigrants is already rampant in the housing market.[11] These ordinances may contribute to further discrimination by race, color, national origin, and familial status and may create additional burdens on local housing authorities charged with enforcing the Fair Housing Act.

Policy 2: 287(g) Partnership Program
The passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act in 1996 allowed state and local law enforcement agents to enforce federal immigration laws after completing a training program, commonly known as the 287(g) program. In North Carolina, the Mecklenburg County's Sheriff's Department became the state's first agency to coordinate with the federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers to receive the requisite training to become "immigration agents." With this training, Mecklenburg officials

can access federal databases to check the immigration status of individuals. Since twelve sheriffs received their 287(g) authorization in February 2006, an estimated 1,000 "criminal aliens" in Mecklenburg County have been identified as violating immigration laws.[12] Between May and September of 2006, Mecklenburg County sheriffs have started proceedings to deport 523 individuals.[13] Mecklenburg's apparent "success" story with the 287(g) program has encouraged other local jurisdictions, such as the city of Asheville, Gaston County, and Cabarrus County to consider adopting the 287(g) program. Arguments for and against the 287(g) program can be found in Table 4.

Impacts on Local Governance and Planning
The primary goal of the 287(g) program is to equip local law enforcement with the tools to fight crime, particularly among the undocumented immigrant population. Very few people would oppose the right of law enforcement officers to apprehend a suspected or known criminal using immigration law, if that tool can help them prevent crime. The potential problem with giving local law enforcement this authority is that they are then asked to scrutinize individuals based on their immigration status, a task that can lead to difficult judgment calls, and occasional racial profiling. The question becomes: will local law enforcement/immigration agents in North Carolina be able to see a Hispanic person walking down the street without suspecting that person of illegal immigration status? If the answer is no, then roughly 50% of Hispanics in North Carolina, those who are legal residents, will likely suffer unjust scrutiny based solely on the way they look.

One major criticism of the 287(g) program is that it undermines the authority of local law enforcement because undocumented immigrants will be less cooperative and forthright for fear of deportation. Even legal residents may lose trust in local law enforcement if they experience discrimination, racial profiling, or heavy scrutiny based on the way they look. Losing the trust and co-

Proponents	Opponents
• Federal government is failing to adequately address illegal immigration problem; it is time for local authorities to do so.	• Local anti-immigration ordinances may be inconsistent with and violate federal immigration law and constitutional rights.
• Undocumented immigrants are contributing to increased local crime. Public safety in local communities is threatened by dangerous criminals and potential terrorists crossing the border illegally.	• Although increasing crime in local jurisdictions adopting the 287(g) program has been attributed to increasing illegal immigration, no study to date in any North Carolina jurisdiction has linked increasing crime to undocumented immigrants. In fact, the municipalities that are considering training local law enforcement through the 287(g) program (the city of Asheville, Gaston County, and Cabarrus County), have not had significant increases in annual crime rates throughout the 1990s. The largest annual increase in crime—10.4%—occurred in Cabarrus County between 1995 and 1996. But Cabarrus County also experienced the largest annual drop in crime of these three places between 1999 and 2000, when total annual incidences of crime dropped by 20.6%.[14]
• The crime and deterioration in community quality of life due to criminal activity of undocumented immigrants is imposing high costs on local jurisdictions.	• Detaining undocumented immigrants in local prisons is costly to taxpayers and is exacerbating overcrowded prisons. In Mecklenburg County, the annual cost of housing undocumented immigrants in jail is roughly $4.8 million a year, at a cost of $110 per day per inmate.[15]
• Deporting undocumented immigrants will reduce criminal activity and discourage illegal immigration.	• It is not clear whether detaining and deporting undocumented immigrants actually reduces rates of illegal immigration. With a porous border, many undocumented immigrants who were able to cross the border once are able and willing to try to cross the border again after deportation.
• Without 287(g) training, local law enforcers are not allowed to detain individuals and check for immigration documentation, unless the individual is suspected of committing a crime. This renders local law enforcement agents powerless even if they know an undocumented immigrant has committed crimes in the past (e.g., he/she has been deported before on criminal charges) or is intending to commit a crime.	• Undocumented immigrants are already afraid to report crime. Designating local law enforcement as "immigration agents" will further discourage undocumented immigrants from reporting crimes, even the most heinous ones.
• Allowing local law enforcement to check immigration status and detain individuals who are violating immigration law will make local communities safer.	• Local law enforcers will lose the trust and cooperation of immigrant communities, making their task of protecting the health and safety of communities more difficult. • Criminals will increasingly prey on undocumented immigrants because they know that undocumented immigrants will not report crimes for fear of deportation. This will spark more crime and create unsafe communities.

Table 4: Viewpoints on the 287(g) Program

operation of immigrant communities will make it extremely difficult for local law enforcement to carry out their duties to protect and serve the community. Fear of local law enforcement may force both documented and undocumented immigrants underground, and they may become more invisible than they already are.

Not only will immigrants try to remain undetected by law enforcement, but they may also flee these jurisdictions in droves and move to communities that are more receptive to immigrants. This migration from one community to another does not address the overarching undocumented immigration problem, but rather may pit local communities against one another as they attempt to fight this spillover effect. The unevenness of local immigration policies throughout North Carolina may cause fragmentation and parochialism among local governments, resulting in benefits for some jurisdictions and costs to others. Rapid in-migration of undocumented immigrants from one locale to another will cause unsuspecting local jurisdictions to bear the brunt of growth pressures from a population that deserves special planning and attention.

Conclusions

The active involvement of local jurisdictions in immigration policy adoption and enforcement has tremendous implications for local governance and planning. This article highlights some of the most prominent anti-immigration ordinances proposed by local officials in 2006-2007 in North Carolina. Local anti-immigration ordinances are certainly an indicator of the growing concern that immigration—particularly undocumented immigration—is changing the face of North Carolina's local communities. The diffusion of these ordinances across the state also raises questions about the role that each level of government has or should have in developing and enforcing immigration policies. Moreover, these local anti-immigration ordinances challenge our understanding about the authority of local jurisdictions over immigration and whether local ordinances are an

effective strategy for dealing with a complex national immigration dilemma.

With a porous border, inadequate federal enforcement of immigration law, and uneven immigration enforcement between states and local jurisdictions, anti-immigration ordinances appear likely to merely push undocumented immigrants from one place to another. In Hazelton, Pennsylvania, for example, residents have reported a noticeable decline in the number of Hispanic undocumented and documents immigrants, as many of them flee the hostile environment created by the passage of the Illegal Alien Relief Act. They are not, however, returning to their home country, but rather are going to other states and localities in the United States that are more receptive towards immigrants. While some states and localities have tightened their reign on undocumented immigration, others are quietly and willingly adapting their policies and procedures to accommodate a growing immigrant population. These communities that have traditionally had more liberal procedures in dealing with undocumented immigrants may find that they can no longer be receptive if they are overwhelmed by a large influx of new immigrants fleeing from hostile environments.

It is not clear what the long-term ramifications of local anti-immigration ordinances will be. Will they truly discourage illegal immigration and relieve local communities of the fiscal and social burdens? Or, instead, will they only worsen these burdens in an unplanned, unpredictable way? While these questions can only be answered over time, it is certain now that the state of North Carolina does not yet have a coherent policy towards addressing undocumented immigration, leaving the door open for more local jurisdictions to deal with immigration on their own terms.

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Book Review:
Planning and Urban Design Standards

Bridget Venne

The book *Planning and Urban Design Standards* is a part of the well-recognized Graphic Standards series, which includes *Architectural Graphic Standards*, *Interior Graphic Standards*, and *Landscape Architectural Graphic Standards*. Urban designers, planners, and architects have long considered these books the go-to guides for everything from parking-lot spacing to proper restroom layouts. This particular installment in the series, *Planning and Urban Design Standards*, expands upon the existing model by including planning theory and planning process design alongside the traditional descriptions of environmental conditions, building types, utility layouts, and transportation patterns. This is a departure for the series, as previous books have confined their subjects to those physical elements of architecture and landscape design more easily represented in graphical form. Despite this thematic departure, *Planning and Urban Design Standards* does not stray too far from the traditional mode; everything that can possibly be represented graphically—from planning development processes to bundles of rights—is drawn in the traditional rounded corners and textbook-like font familiar to generations of designers. Indeed, the majority of the text could be used as introductory reading for a number of planning courses, including planning theory, planning law, and urban design theory, making it a great reference for students or anyone who wants to learn the fundamentals of planning practice. Additionally, the book is also a useful reference for practicing planners, especially those who need to brush up on designing planning processes and determining how to involve and communicate plans to the public, as well as

urban designers who want to know the sizes and layouts of typical building and landscape elements.

Despite these strengths, *Planning and Urban Design Standards* does contain a few flaws, the most noticeable being the tome's voluminous size. This is mostly mitigated by good organization and a well-detailed table of contents and index, but it still may take readers some time to become familiar with all the book has to offer. The book also concentrates on rational planning and has a distinct land use focus, although transportation planning is also fairly well represented. Some of this is due to the fact that—like most textbooks—*Planning and Urban Design Standards* draws from numerous different authors, making the book into a collection of agreed-upon best practices more than a summary of established planning doctrine—a style which suits the field of land use planning well. The fact that land use planning lends itself better to graphic explanation than other planning concentrations also contributes to this bias. While this is not the only book a student or practicing planner will need, its wide range and clear format will make it an invaluable addition to any planner's library.

Bridget Venne is a second-year student in UNC's joint MBA/MRP program. She has a bachelor's degree in architecture from the University of Oregon and expects to graduate in 2008 with a dual-degree in business and planning, with a focus on economic development and municipal consulting.