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Andrea Christina Wirsching

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**Insurgent Historiographies of Planning in Marginalized Communities:
Competing *Holly Street Power Plant* Narratives and
Implications for Participatory Planning in Austin, Texas**

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Report

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Abstract

Insurgent Historiographies of Planning in Marginalized Communities: Competing *Holly Street Power Plant* Narratives and Implications for Participatory Planning in Austin, Texas

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2011

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I am interested in investigating community perceptions of planning processes in marginalized communities. More specifically, through this project I will draw on the concept of insurgent historiography (Sandercock, 1998) to examine community members' perceptions of planning processes, in particular for environmental justice mitigation in diverse communities. I will explore this topic through the case of the Holly Street Neighborhood and Holly Street Plant Redevelopment in Austin, Texas. .

Constructed in the 1950's, the Holly Street Power Plant has served as a symbol of the trials and tribulations of marginalized communities in East Austin: institutionalized segregation, industrialization, and their disproportionate effects on minority communities in Austin. During its time in operation, the plant was reported to have had numerous spills and other detrimental events. The Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry lists 17 reported events related to the facility (2009). However, a Public Health

Assessment conducted by the Texas Department of Health concluded that there was “no apparent public health hazard” associated with the site (Agency for Toxic Substances and Diseases Registry, 2009). After years of protest, civil lawsuits and investigations, Austin City Council voted to close the Holly Plant in 1995. It was finally taken completely offline in 2007 after approval from the Electric Reliability Council of Texas, shifting the community discourse to that of justice and healing: site remediation, decommission and demolition, and redevelopment. By utilizing ethnography and other qualitative research methods, I will document subjugated types of knowledge and memories of this planning process, and, drawing on concepts of insurgent historiography and difference, construct an alternative, insurgent historiography of the Holly redevelopment. I will conclude by discussing the implications of revealing insurgent historiographies for planning in diverse, marginalized communities, and how unlocking such narratives have the potential to improve community participatory planning.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Constructed in the 1950's, the Holly Street Power Plant has long served as a symbol of institutionalized segregation and the disproportionate effects of industrialization on minority communities in Austin. The power plant, located between Holly Street and Lady Bird Lake in East Austin, was a natural gas/oil-fired steam plant that generated 22% of Austin Energy's total electricity generating capacity for its service area. It is the only power plant within the 69 kilovolt transmission lines system that services central Austin. Its purpose was to provide reliable source of energy to the main transmission lines, and serve as backup for any other plant failures, and thus the plant was important in the overall AE generation scheme for the area (Agency for Toxic Substances and Diseases Registry, 2009) (Fig. 1.1.).

However, although the power plant was providing electricity to a large portion of the city, it was located in the midst of a mostly single family residential, predominantly Hispanic and low-income neighborhood, in close proximity to churches, schools, parks and playgrounds. Metz Elementary School is within three blocks of the site; Metz Park is a block away. To many of the residents living in this neighborhood, the plant was a noisy and imposing reminder of the role this neighborhood had long played as a repository for unsightly and polluting industries in Austin. During its time in operation, the plant was reported to have had numerous spills and other detrimental events: the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry lists 17 reported events related to the facility (2009). However, a Public Health Assessment conducted by the Texas Department of Health concluded that there was "no apparent public health hazard" associated with the site (Agency for Toxic Substances and Diseases Registry, 2009).



Fig. 1.1. A view from the south shore of Lady Bird Lake, facing the Holly Power Plant.

Image Source:

<http://jciworldcorp.com/traveltourism/austinparks/hollybeach.html>

After years of protest, civil lawsuits and investigations, Austin City Council voted to close the Holly Plant in 1995. The resolution required that prior to the plant's retirement, the utility must make transmission line improvements and adjustments while minimizing the effects of these upgrades on nearby residents (City of Austin, 1997). The infrastructure work demanded careful coordination of major utility work through various neighborhoods in close proximity to Holly and East Cesar Chavez, thus requiring extensions of the transmission line work, which according to the City, ultimately delayed the closure of the plant (Mottola, 2007). The utility was able to shut down two of the four steam turbine units by 2004, much to the chagrin of neighborhood and environmental activists who expected the decommissioning process to be faster than it was actually unfolding (Mottola, 2007). It was finally taken completely offline in 2007 after approval from the Electric Reliability Council of Texas, the state's power grid operator, shifting

the community discourse to that of justice and healing: site remediation, decommission and demolition, and redevelopment.

In trying to uncover, understand, and represent the various memories and complementary narratives surrounding this contentious place within the Holly Street Neighborhood, I chose ethnography and archival document review for my investigation as they both provide means by which to reveal and construct alternative narratives. Through discourse analysis, I was able to identify archetypal language and thus reveal the perspectives of various actors in the community. These methods ultimately enabled me to construct a new historiography, shedding light on these memories and giving them new meaning within the greater context of the history of this place, and highlighting their importance to participatory planning practices in the area.

Thus as I examine the local, often conflicting narratives about the planning processes associated with the Holly Plant, I draw on the concept of “story” as both a catalyst for change and as critique and/or explanation, especially in terms of planning with and for diverse communities (Sandercock, 2003a). This research, and this conceptualization of storytelling, has been extremely important for me personally, as I have family ties to the neighborhood going back a couple of generations. This place has significant meaning to me, and I wish to convey the residents’ narratives using these methods.

This report will first begin by reviewing and discussing knowledge production in planning, in particular focusing on local knowledge and insurgent historiography and their contribution to contemporary planning practice. Next I will present my methodology and my supporting theoretical framework. I follow this with a review of my findings and analysis.

Chapter 2: Knowledge Production in Planning

In planning theory, conceptions of knowledge production have been shaped both by modern and postmodern thought emerging from different disciplines. Knowledge, it has been argued, cannot be separated from social context but is instead produced through the articulation of identity, narrative of people and places, experiences and interactions, institutions, inquiry and empirical processes. Power relationships inform what we think of as “knowledge,” adding layers of complexity to our understanding of knowledge production and representation. (Foucault, 1975, 1980; Healey, 1997; Irwin, 1995; Latour, 1986, 2004; Sletto, 2008).

In rational planning, knowledge is viewed in modernist terms as “objectively” produced by experts working in institutions and using processes that ensure such scientific objectivity (Irwin, 1995; Latour, 1999; Rydin, 2007; Wynne, 2002). However, postmodern, contemporary planning theorists argue that there are multiple types of knowledge from multiple publics, which in turn imply multiple forms of knowledge production, construction, and epistemologies (Healey, 1997; Rydin, 2007; Sandercock, 1998, 2003a).

In parsing a topology for the types of knowledge, Rydin defines knowledge within the context of planning theory and practice as different from information and data in that “the specification of a casual relationship is central to knowledge,” and posits a difference between professional and lay knowledge (2007). However, Alexander (2008), in his critique of her work, expands on her knowledge topology to include experiential and value-related knowledge. His topology of knowledge types specifically includes (1) systematic-scientific knowledge, which includes substantive and procedural theories, and systematic methods and skills; (2) performative knowledge, which includes judgment and

good sense, shown in communicative interaction and personal competencies; and (3) appreciative knowledge, which includes normative knowledge embracing understanding of values, needs and problems, and substantive-empirical knowledge based on personal experience, anecdotal observation and appreciative judgment (2008, p. 209). He suggests that this typology attempts to answer the question of what planners need to know to do their jobs effectively, and that by resolving competing knowledge claims, we can enable different types of knowledge to be used in planning (2008).

In this chapter, I will first discuss the types of knowledge formations that have been privileged in planning history and why these have been privileged. I will then briefly discuss the consequences of excluding other forms of knowledge in planning history, which will lead to a short discussion of the ways in which local knowledge is incorporated into contemporary planning strategies. I will conclude this chapter by discussing the implications of integrating local knowledge for planning in diverse communities.

PRIVILEGING KNOWLEDGE IN PLANNING HISTORY

Certain processes of knowledge production have been privileged in the history of planning, which in turn means that other types of knowledge have become marginalized. Privileged knowledge stems from privileged access to data, to technology, and to position (as scientist, expert, etc.), and to the means of dissemination of information. The difference between scientific and professional knowledge, and other forms of knowledge, therefore, is “characterized by (types) of collection methods, standards of evidence and analytic techniques” (Corburn, 2005). Therefore, types of knowledge that are privileged are typically those produced under controlled conditions, framed by the rules of science

instead of experience in the spaces in which we are planning. In this sense, the history of planning tends to be constructed as a history of the application of rational, scientific knowledge to solve urban problems as seen through the eyes of the expert planner (Sandercock, 1998).

I suggest that such rational, scientific knowledge is still privileged, even though contemporary planning is premised on the integration of multiple forms of knowledge. Communicative theory and deliberative planning today both recognize multiple knowledge formations, and promote processes of dialogue, deliberation and consensus-making to generate a plan or a process that is acceptable to the majority. However, the knowledge brought by residents and other non-experts to such participatory processes is eventually subjugated beneath scientific knowledge as the plan begins to take form. Although scientific knowledge is often at odds with community knowledge, it still guides planning efforts because it is the form of knowledge that is now deemed legitimate and hence acceptable. In addition, Coburn and many others challenge the degree to which communicative planning leads to manipulation in public participation instead of true deliberative democracy (Corburn, 2002, 2005; Forester, 1999, 2003). Flyvbjerg and Richardson further argue that communicative planning theory is devoid of power relations. Instead, they argue that power is interwoven in communicative planning processes; power leads to the privileging of scientific knowledge and thus rationality is shaped outside the participatory process (2002).

LOCAL KNOWLEDGE IN PLANNING

Although initially seen as culturally relevant and “unscientific,” local knowledge has become a powerful tool in planning and development, especially in developing

countries (Sillitoe, 1998; Sletto, 2008). Within the context of American planning, local knowledge has been key to the current collaborative planning paradigm that celebrates community action and diverse points of view melding into a sustainable community plan. However, the role of local knowledge in planning and development has been debated, conceptualized and reconceptualized over the last few decades, with writers drawing from different disciplinary positions in the humanities, anthropology and sociology.

Fischer (2000) defines local knowledge as knowledge about a specific place or context. Yanow describes local knowledge as “the expertise embedded in local knowledge, [which] resides in intimate familiarity with and understanding of the particulars of the local situation” (as quoted in Van Herzele & van Woerkum, 2008, p.451). Geertz, one of the most influential anthropologists on the topic, defines local knowledge as “practical, collective and strongly rooted in a particular place” that forms an “organized body of thought based on immediacy of the experience“ (1983, as quoted in Van Herzele & van Woerkum, 2008).

Although scientific and technical knowledge are important to problem solving in the city, they alone cannot be expected to ensure that science and its results will serve the larger society, especially the most disadvantaged (Corburn, 2005). People in the community are more often in a better position to make judgments over the democratic character of science because they experience it day after day, in its most practical of contexts. Therefore, to be technologically “literate”, as Corburn argues, is to not only be knowledgeable about technology, but to also understand how it influences democracy and social justice issues within the context of where it’s deployed (Nelkin, 1984, as quoted in Coburn, 2005). This makes sense in the planning profession, where we not only are planning and designing physical space, but are also responsible (and usually held

accountable, and not always fairly) for the results of our actions in the communities we are serving.

Corburn uses the “co-production” of expertise model (2005; Jasanoff, 1990; Jasanoff & Wynne, 1998; Weinberg, 1972) to illustrate the interdependence of scientific knowledge and sociopolitical order. This model problematizes notions of expertise and knowledge in a way that challenges hard distinctions between expert and lay knowledge (2005). This enables us to better and more explicitly recognize both professional information and local knowledge as necessary elements for the success of planning projects, which again necessitates “renewal, flexibility, and adjustment” by decision makers (Corburn, 2005). Corburn argues that local knowledge can improve planning, particularly environmental decision-making, in four crucial ways: (1) *epistemology*, adding to the knowledge base of environmental policy; (2) *procedural democracy*, including new and previously silenced voices; (3) *effectiveness*, providing low-cost policy solutions; and (4) *distributive justice*, highlighting inequitable distributions of environmental burdens (2005).

Because of these benefits of local knowledge, planners are seeking, as Sandercock (1998, 2000, 2003a, 2003b) and Healey (1996, 1997, 1998) have argued, to integrate multiple publics into planning discourse and practice, and in so doing integrate multiple ways of knowing. Such integration is typically attempted through various participatory strategies of deliberation and collaboration between community members and planners (Fainstein, 2000; Forester, 1999; Habermas, 1987; Innes, 1995, 1996, 1998). This is premised on the assumption that more democratic, inclusive approaches to planning that is cognizant of ethics, social structure and social benefits enhances the planning process (Fainstein, 2000; Healey, 1996). These communicative approaches to planning borrow in

part, from the German theorist Jurgen Habermas, who conceptualized the theory of communicative rationality as, according to

A communicative conception of rationality...replace[s] that of the self-conscious autonomous subject using principles of logic and scientifically formulated empirical knowledge to guide actions. This new conception of reasoning is arrived at by an intersubjective effort at mutual understanding (Healey, 1996b, p. 147)

Drawing on Habermas' concept of communicative action, the planner's primary objective then becomes to "listen to people's stories and assist in forging a consensus among differing view-points" (Fainstein, 2000; Habermas, 1987; Healey 1996a, 1996b). However, these participatory planning approaches premised on achieving consensus through communicative action do not adequately address issues related to diversity and conflict, and especially not in a way that explicitly acknowledges the previous struggles of marginalized communities. Consensus inherently does away with minority viewpoints, which has negative consequences when planning for the multiple publics in diverse cities.

The concept of planning in cities of difference (Fincher & Jacobs, 1998; Sandercock, 1998, 2000, 2003b; Umemoto, 2001; Umemoto & Igarashi, 2009; Watson, 2003, 2006) has been discussed in more recent critiques of communicative planning theory, practice and education. Traditional liberal rationalities are growing further from the everyday realities that planners face, which means that planning's traditional values guided by traditional rationalities do not adequately address "differing value systems [that] are a defining characteristic of ethically polarized cities and also appear to be an increasing attribute of planning and resource allocation debates" in North America and western European cities" (Bollens, 2004, p. 212).

Concepts of difference are intrinsically linked to power. The acceptance or use of new forms of rationality and justice is often contested and shaped in various ways by power (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Watson, 2006). Watson argues that this liberalism, which framed planning theory and practice for some time, is not neutral. She argues that market rationality, which dominates Western state politics, equates to neoliberalism and ultimately informs new spatial policies that reinforce social divides (2006). She feels that these all underscore the importance of a reconceptualization of deliberative planning guided by values, not just outcomes. Yet Flyvbjerg argues that there simply is no way to separate power and subjugation from such deliberative processes (1998, 2002; Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002; Watson, 2006).

This concept of difference in the larger context of understanding and serving the larger urban community is important as cities become increasingly urban, and various communities densify and co-mingle, inevitable turning strangers into neighbors (Sandercock, 2000, 2003b). Minority populations, typically marginalized and disenfranchised, are thus best served by integrating their subjugated voices into the local planning narrative, since “local knowledge” is often associated with the knowledge of marginalized populations. Especially important to the present case is local knowledge of past planning events; i.e. the local narratives of planning interventions in the past. These alternate narratives humanize the ‘other’ in a very personal way – they provide a narrative with which people can identify and empathize. This enables planners to see planning space as a cloth of many different threads that are woven into a beautiful fabric unique to place and the urban condition - ultimately what it means to plan for cities of difference. It therefore becomes increasingly important to consider the local memories of planning processes, what Sandercock calls “insurgent historiographies of planning”, and this is what I will discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Local Knowledge and Insurgent Historiographies of Planning

The power to construct and represent history has allowed the state and the professions to shape and reinforce understandings of past events that are deemed favorable, and to erase those events and their interpretations that do not favor their righteousness in the minds of the public they govern (or member of these professions) (Appleby, Hunt, & Jacob, 1994; Sandercock, 1998, 2003a). As the novelist Milan Kundera has stated, the struggle of a people against power is a struggle against memory to forget (as quoted in (Sandercock, 1998). Thus, inherent to the act of constructing history is the systematic exclusion of certain insurgent histories. This process of exclusion stems from ontological and epistemological positions “concerning the subject and object of planning, concerning the writing of history, concerning the relationship of planning to power and the power to the power of systems of thought” (Sandercock, 1998). This is why, as Sandercock simply puts it, stories have power and bestow power (1998).

However, there are many “insurgent histories” reflective of multiple subjugated voices, and this complexity is highly relevant to a revisionist planning history. In this chapter, I will discuss forms of local knowledge that has not been extensively explored in planning scholarship and their role as “insurgent historiographies” of planning, and examine their contributions to contemporary planning discourse and practice (Holston, 1998; Sandercock, 1998).

I begin with a brief review of the dominant history of rational and scientific knowledge in planning historiography, followed by a discussion of the postmodernist reaction to these modernist approaches to planning knowledge and practice. I then discuss the value of “insurgent historiographies” in the light of our increasingly

multicultural cities, and the efforts of planners to communicatively plan with members of these diverse communities in which we work. I will include examples of such insurgent historiographies, some more embedded in planning literature, and some still on the periphery of planning discourse, in an attempt to demonstrate the utility of exploring these stories in the context of scholarship and practice. I will close by discussing stories and storytelling in planning, and examine how stories can play a more prominent role in capturing local knowledge, representing previously subjugated voices, empowering previously silenced (or misrepresented) communities, and thus improving planning in culturally diverse cities.

Historiography is the writing of history, an unfolding of events that have transpired, through analysis, interpretation, and representation. It is more than a narrative, as it also is a way of understanding how social sciences effect history and how history effects them. It can be seen as both a critical way of writing history as well as a reflection of history (Andrews, 2008). His more detailed definition of historiography includes the following:

At one level, focused on specific historical accounts, historiography reflects on the theories and philosophies that inform and motivate them and how they both might influence the conclusions drawn. This reflection might involve, for example, critical reflection of the authenticity, subjectivity, and authority of various information sources. At another level, taking a broader perspective, historiography sheds light on the dominant or collective interpretations of groups of historians within particular time periods and how they reflect disciplinary progress and change (this reflection might be thought of as reflecting on the disciplinary history of studying history). Importantly, however, what particularly characterizes historiography is, crosscutting both these levels, an exploration of the various contexts that affect historical thinking in any one time and place. In this sense, historiography involves consideration of the broader cultural, social, economic, and political forces that shape historical writers and their writing. This scholarship acknowledges that there is no pure historical truth that can be

obtained totally impartially. Indeed, it is recognized that all historical accounts are produced by individuals who are products of their environments that affect their focus, what they include or leave out, and the conclusions they draw (Andrews, 2008, p. 399).

Postmodern perspectives have thus reshaped what it means to critically interpret and represent heterogeneous histories. I draw here, in particular, on Sandercock's (1998) "insurgent historiographies of planning," which is one powerful way to give life and meaning to narratives alternative to the hegemonic histories of planning. To be able to review and reinterpret planning history, she argues that the "official story" should be sought and questioned. These stories have had the tendency to be repeated: "the story of the modernist planning project, the representation of planning as the voice of reason in modern society, the carrier of the Enlightenment mission of material progress through scientific rationality", she argues (Sandercock, 1998, pp. 2, 27). These are the stories we wish to believe for ourselves. But is it a true story, or is it myth? In fact, there have always been city building narratives outside of the state, and sometimes in opposition to it. She argues that these "insurgent planning histories" are challenging what it means to do planning, and that in giving life to these alternative histories we are confronting many aspects of the "official story." This ultimately provides alternate avenues for "understanding the past and imagining a different future for planning" (Sandercock, 1998, p. 2).

Sandercock compares the "official story" in planning to that of a typical heroic narrative. Generally, this has been one of planner as savior, ridding the post-industrial city of urban blight, and returning order and peace. The role of planner as historian and vice versa, she explains, is one that problematizes how we represent what actually happened within our profession as we simply do not wish to hear the truth about what

planning interventions throughout our history, especially in more contemporary planning practice, have produced in terms of new urban inequities and injustices. She criticizes Scott (1969) for his espousing of planning history itself as being a linear, progressively building profession along a continuum that only improved over time (1998). She goes on to criticize Hall (1988) (and other early planning historians) for the way he describes the causes of urban poverty, and also the way he dismisses women as influential in planning history.

Sandercock explicitly states her overarching goal with this line of inquiry is to “demythologize” the heroic stature of planning history by interjecting critical themes, theories, and methodologies (1998). She presents the idea of noir, even black noir, as an example of the effect in which these dark fiction tales about urban life had a transformative effect on the way city life had been perceived and represented. She states that we should

Redefine planning to include the community-building tradition. [...] We create the possibly of a far more inclusive set of narratives, embracing not only the African American community but also the Latino and Asian American communities who have all, in response to their exclusion from mainstream planning, developed counter-planning traditions of self-help, community solidarity, and community organizing for social and economic development (Sandercock, 1998, pp. 9-10).

There are three reasons, she argues, why these more realistic, dark, and undesirable tales have been ignored: (1) racism was unmentionable up until the civil rights movement, and beyond (2) the dominant planning tradition focused on built environmental as planning, not so much social and economic concerns that drove ethnic minority communities, (3) the story of community building is not one that glorifies the

planning profession (Sandercock, 1998). This in effect demonstrates the capacity of ordinary people to plan on their own behalf, “in spite of or perhaps because of the forces of exclusion, discrimination, and marginalization that characterized professional planning practice and urban politics for most of this century” (Sandercock, 1998, p. 10), which negates the need for the heroic planner.

Ultimately, Sandercock proposes a new interpretation of planning history as regulatory activity “whose purpose has been the imposition of a particular kind of moral and social order with its attendant relations of power and whose origins were in part propelled by a pervasive fear of desire and ‘disorder’ in the city”, where resistance thus becomes an important part of the insurgent historiography (1998, p. 19). Building on Sandercock’s assertions that there is no single, all-encompassing planning history, Thomas (1998) draws on gender and race theory to inform critical perspectives on planning histories. Considering planning’s legacy and planner’s contributions to the profession, she argues that “planners’ record concerning minorities, women, and poor people [is] embarrassing” (Thomas, 1998, p. 198) at best.

Thus, using racial inequality as a theoretical construct is advantageous for the following reasons: (1) avoiding doing so shows naiveté at best, and ethnocentrism at worst; (2) full consideration of the role of racial inequality in contemporary planning enables history to be embraced and valued as a process of learning about the past to improve the future; (3) examining the linkages between racial inequality and planning history allows for reexamination and dispelling of erroneous perceptions about the connection between planning policy, racism, and the planners that made policy and society as a whole, all the while allowing for the encouragement of learning from and mitigating such racism for progress; and (4) inclusion of gender issues allows fresh perspectives when considering racial minorities in planning historiography (Thomas,

1998, pp.198-199). In this way, historiography becomes a transformative act, allowing for differing counter narratives, which in turn reflects the motivations for radical planning. This becomes even more important and influential, she argues, as planners continue to work in more diverse urban communities.

One of the most prominent additions to historical narratives in planning has been that of the early 20th century feminist historiographies. As previously mentioned, many scholars including Sandercock, Wirka, and Hayden, have countered the traditional planning narrative that Hall and others have written, in which women did not have any role in redefining planning practice or influencing planning history (Hall, 1988; Hayden, 1981; Sandercock, 1998; Wirka, 1989, 1994). From the chronicling of 'great women in planning' such as Jane Addams, Melusine Fay Peirce, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Catherine Bauer, and so on, to the documenting of the tradition of feminist home design and community planning (Hayden, 1981; Wirka, 1989, 1994), the feminist approaches to planning histories undertaken have ultimately redefined planning history and theory. Susan Wirka (1989) and Peter Marcuse (1980) argue, (Sandercock, 1998). For example, traditional historians only made passing mention of Jane Addams and the Hull House of Chicago, but through her work with poor immigrants, she pioneered social survey research and has since influenced the fields of social work and community planning.

Another example is sites designated for historical landmarks. These have long been chosen in a way that distorts and misrepresents the full historical narrative of a place (Dubrow, 1998). More recent literature in preservation planning suggests a turn towards a more democratic and inclusive activity that embraces the multifaceted community memory, presence, and importance of a place. Gail Lee Dubrow (1998) provides a few examples, one of which is described below, of how historical preservation efforts have in the past misrepresented aspects of place, and efforts to mitigate these misrepresentations.

One of the more recent events that stress the importance of preserving the nation's multicultural heritage is the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne in southeastern Montana, and Custer's "Last Stand". Even though this unit of the Seventh Cavalry lost this battle, the site, which is a part of the National Parks system, was named for General Custer and related interpretive programs have been unabashedly biased in his favor. However, this site has long been memorialized by these Native Americans, who fought with the U.S. Congress for 15 years to have it renamed, and ultimately more accurately portray both sides of the battle. In 1991, the site was renamed Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, and the National Park Service sponsored a competition to design a memorial in an effort to balance the site's interpretative programs (Dubrow, 1998; Linenthal, 1991; Pulley, 1990). Events such as these have proven beneficial towards granting many Native American tribes access to not only redirecting and representing historical events and places more fairly, but also access to resources that otherwise may have been unavailable to them.

As Sandercock and others have argued, there are multiple forms of knowledge we as planners should acknowledge and represent in our attempts to serve multiple publics (1998, 2000, 2003a, 2003b). Furthermore, such local knowledge is key to unpacking and shedding new light on past historical events which hegemonic historical narratives, including that of early 19th and 20th century planning history and theory, have purposely distorted, disenfranchised, or excluded. This provides fertile ground to reevaluate and propose new epistemologies for planning histories and futures.

As we reflect on racial inequality and empowerment as theoretical constructs for a new insurgent historiography, as Manning proposes, it becomes imperative to search for and expose new insurgent historiographies that can inform urban planning theory and practice. The knowledge of these multiple publics, as Sandercock calls them, become

vitaly important in making planning into a more participatory, equitable, and democratic field.

The question then becomes, what are appropriate methods for uncovering these insurgent historiographies of planning, especially among publics that have typically been marginalized in planning processes through the exclusion of their knowledge? In the next chapter I will discuss the role and potential of ethnography in insurgent historiographies, and in planning practice. The use of this tool in learning and understanding the diverse communities where planners work is critical to creating, enhancing and evaluating planning processes and products. This requires planners to not simply sharpen their qualitative interviewing skills, but to utilize ethnographic traditions from anthropology as a means of uncovering, understanding, and representing these communities via “on the ground” field investigations, producing insurgent historiographies, and reshaping multicultural planning theory and practice in light of these new community-based revelations.

Chapter 4: Methodology

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: STORYTELLING, PERFORMANCE, AND CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Holston suggests that an ethnographic approach to understanding and representing the community one is ‘planning’ for is essential to adequately serve the “insurgent citizen[ry],” i.e. members of the community that typically are ignored or forgotten (1998). Empowering through storytelling, i.e. by giving life to subjugated voices and experiences, is not typically employed as a method in communicative planning practice. Also, few scholars have explored the role of stories in planning (Eckstein & Throgmorton, 2003; Forester, 1999, 2003; Mandelbaum, 1991; Marris, 1997; Sandercock, 1998, 2003a; Throgmorton, 1996). However, the use of stories, performance, and storytelling in participatory planning practice, I argue, is essential to more democratic multicultural planning. In fact, Sandercock argues that stories help shape planning discourse, pedagogy, and practice, and that the very act of planning is performed through story (2003a).

Sandercock has proposed methods of analyzing and making sense of stories in the context of planning, especially in the context of multicultural planning. She defines the roles of stories in planning (and their frameworks for application and analysis) as the following: (1) *Story and Process*; (2) *Story as Foundation, Origin, Identity*; (3) *Stories as Catalyst for Change*; (4) *Story and Policy*; (5) *Story as Critique and/or Explanation*; and (6) *Story and Pedagogy* (2003a, p. 14). These archetypal frameworks will inform my analysis and representation of the various stories emerging from my ethnographic research.

Ethnography has its roots in anthropology and sociology, and can be seen as an intimate, comprehensive interpretation of a people's culture and values, relationship to place, human interaction, and ecology. Ethnography can also be seen as a qualitative social science research method of both academic and literary merit that aims to capture the essence of a culture and its various narratives (or "stories"), through immersion in a culture via lengthy and extensive fieldwork. Atkinson and Hammersley describe ethnography as forms of social research that generally share the following characteristics, drawing on methods that include participant and non-participant observations, archival and other document analysis, and qualitative interviews:

- A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them;
- A tendency to work primarily with "unstructured" data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories;
- Investigation of small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail;
- Analysis of data that involved explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most (1994, p. 248).

Ethnography has been criticized from various positions, including feminist, critical race, critical social, postcolonial, Marxist, and postmodernist perspectives. This has led to what Madison calls "critical ethnography, which is the "doing" of critical theory in which we rely on theory as method to interpret or illuminate social action, or "performance" (2005, p. 15). This would be performance of life as experienced within a certain culture, as interpreted and written by the ethnographer.

Cho and Trent (2009) argue that performance has the power to make the invisible visible, giving life to different, lesser known, ignored or purposely undocumented features, understandings, and interpretations of marginalized peoples. Denzin further substantiates this relationship to performance, ethnography and representation: “If performance is interpretation, then performance texts have the ability to criticize and deconstruct taken-for-granted understandings concerning how lived experience is to be represented” (1997, pp. 182-183). Therefore, inherently crucial to ethnography as performance, is the recognition and power of positionality, stemming from previous knowledge and biases, of the ethnographer.

As Madison states, positionality is important as it reveals our own power, privileges, and biases as “we denounce the power structures that surround our subjects”. This reflexivity is key to keeping the ethnographers accountable to their own research paradigms, authority, and moral responsibility relative to their representation and interpretation (2005, p.17). This is especially important for insurgent histories, since conducting any historiography is an exercise of power, even if it is an alternative narrative counter to the hegemonic narrative of a place. This responsibility to our representation still holds true, especially because of the nature of the insurgent, alternative historiographies, with which new epistemologies can be formed from these new representations. Therefore, it is important to realize that even within ethnography lies an inherent “objectivity” that is already subjective in “value-laden classification, meanings, and worldviews...employed and superimposed upon peoples who were different from them” (Madison, 2005, pp. 7-8).

The issue of positionality is especially important as the ethnographer negotiates her relationship to the “Other,” i.e. the persons who are being interviewed. In an effort to best represent these subjects of ethnography, it is ethically imperative to understand and

define one's own positionality. Minnich (1986) describes four overriding perceptions or conceptual errors that dominated Western epistemology relative to its erasure of difference and the Other (as quoted in Madison, 2005): faulty generalization, circularity, peculiar theoretical constructs and inadequate paradigms, and falsification of the status of knowledge. Awareness of these errors is key to structuring an ethics of ethnography that recognizes "the manner in which dominant regimes of knowledge marginalize, ignore, and devalue other ways of knowing and being that are outside that prevailing regime or culture" (2005, pp.123-124). Ultimately, these critical perspectives on positionality and conceptions of the *Other* informed my choice of methods and my approach to my ethnography, as I describe below.

ETHNOGRAPHY

I conducted an ethnographic study of the history of the relationship between the community and their neighborhood, as well as their perceptions of the planning processes for the Holly Street neighborhood and Power Plant redevelopment. With a list generated by community advocates, family, and friends who live or have lived in the Holly neighborhood, I selected current and former residents who identify themselves as part of the neighborhood, as well as individuals who have been intimately involved in the plant decommissioning and in neighborhood planning processes regarding the demolition and redevelopment of the power plant site.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with questions that enabled me discern the relationship these individuals have with the neighborhood, as well as their views on the planning process, planners, and their overall feelings on East Austin and disproportionate distribution of harmful land uses (such as industrial uses, like Holly Power Plant) and the

risks associated with them. I also interviewed a city official involved in East Austin environmental justice issues, to get a sense of the city administration's role in these processes, how these processes changed over time, and community perceptions of them.

For my semi-structured interviews with current and former neighborhood residents, I created an interview guide to ensure that I explored the following topics: (1) personal history in community, (2) history of community, (3) daily life of community, (4) assets of and challenges faced by the community, (5) real and/or perceived harm from proximity to the power plant, (6) perceptions of assessments, and (7) perceptions of planning processes and planners. In my semi-structured interviews with planning and other government officials, I explored the following topics: (1) position of individual and role of office/agency, (2) role/duties in environmental assessment, planning, site remediation and/or redevelopment processes, and (3) role of community in planning and development. These same questions were asked of other redevelopment project officials when applicable.

For interviews with members of social and environmental justice advocacy organizations, such as the People's Organization for the Defense of Earth and her Resources (PODER) community organization, I created an interview guide that would help me explore: (1) the overall purpose of agency or organization and relation to environmental suffering; (2) history and politics of disproportionate effects from industrial land uses and redeveloping contaminated lands on minority communities in Austin; (3) understandings and perceptions of environmental hazards and harms of those in close proximity to Holly; and (4) community responses to such environmental hazards and harms.

For each informant, I arranged a meeting at a place of their choosing, for the most part in East Austin. For each interview, I referred to a set of questions based on which

category the respondents fit into as described above. I determined this based in part on the self-identification of the informant, and in part on my own background knowledge of their role in the community.

During each interview, which lasted anywhere from one to three and a half hours, I selected a few questions that enabled me to gauge their knowledge base of the area and various planning processes. Then I proceeded to go through somewhere between seven and fifteen questions. The number varied depending on the kind of responses I would get compared to the kinds of responses I was seeking to receive. These interviews were digitally audio recorded, stored and backed-up both on my personal laptop and online university server space. The audio was then transcribed, word for word, and then reviewed for analysis.

Other activities included observations of community meetings and city events related to the neighborhood and HPP redevelopment process. Some informants also took me to dinner, which allowed us to discuss more informally the various planning-related issues of the neighborhood. I also walked through the neighborhood on a few occasions, led by residents who were interested in showing me around. On January 17, 2011, an informant walked me through the neighborhood from his house on the 1600 block of Canterbury to the baseball fields behind the Holly Street Power Plant and back. This, in combination with an interview, was approximately three hours in length. Also, on February 24, 2011, informants drove me around the East Cesar Chavez/Holly Street neighborhood, specifically through Haskell, Chalmers, East Cesar Chavez, Anthony, and Canterbury Streets. This drive, which included dinner at a restaurant on Anthony and East Cesar Chavez, lasted approximately one and a half hours.

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENT REVIEW.

I also reviewed a range of documents, from transcripts of oral histories stored at the Austin History Center (a branch of the city library system), to newspaper articles dating back to the 1950's, to neighborhood and city plans. I developed an extensive collection of news articles, both in print and online, regarding the Holly Street neighborhood and the Power Plant decommissioning and redevelopment to help understand and contextualize the emerging “stories” surround Holly. I also reviewed various official documents related to the Holly Power Plant environmental assessments from the City of Austin, EPA and TCEQ; the neighborhood plans of Holly Street and East Cesar Chavez planning areas; event logs from EPA on harmful activities reported during its operation; and more general city-written or endorsed versions of the Holly Power Plant “story” such as notices on transmission line construction and council member memoranda on the progress of the plant decommissioning. ¹

¹ For a complete list of articles and other information referenced but not cited in this report, refer to Appendix C.

Chapter 5: History of Holly Street Power Plant

HISTORY OF HOLLY PLANT

Early on, the northern shore of the Colorado River was seen as many things to the early settlers of Waterloo, Texas, which eventually become Austin: beautiful and rolling hills to the west, potentially viable property for water-side development, and also a physical barrier between the town and the various Native American groups that raided early settlements in the area (Kearl, n. d.). However, since the Colorado was prone to flooding, various flood control mechanisms and land use restrictions have been put in place as a response over time, thus cumulatively changing the landscape in both physical form and community composition (City of Austin, n. d.-a). Prior to the construction of the Holly Street Power Plant (Fig. 5.1 and 5.2), the Holly Street neighborhood had undergone transformation from being predominantly white in the early 1900's to predominantly Hispanic by 1949 (Smith, 2011).



Figure 5.1: Facing north, the view of the Holly Street Power Plant from the Austin Trail of Tejano Legends. Image source: The Austin Chronicle, http://www.austinchronicle.com/binary/5c0e/pols_naked1-2.jpg

There were many land use regulations that helped to shape the overall demographic composition and geographic location of various groups over time, especially the poor and minority populations. Examples of these were municipally institutionalized segregation of goods and services for non-Whites to East Austin through the 1928 City Plan, and residential segregation reinforced legally through deed restrictions until 1949 (City of Austin, 2009a). Even though these land use controls were deemed unconstitutional in 1950 (Sandercock, 1998), their effects can still be seen and felt today as they helped to define and foster the growth the unique social fabric of East Austin today.



Figure 5.2: Facing south, the view of the Holly Street Power Plant from above. Image source: Austin Energy Official Blog Site: <http://austinenergy.posterous.com/?tag=austinenergy>

The area south of Cesar Chavez, east of I-35, and west of Pleasant Valley is which has been, at least in the current narratives regarding east Austin, traditionally Hispanic is becoming less so. According to the City, this area has grown more White in composition from 2010, in comparison to 2000 (Robinson, 2011) (Fig. 5.3).

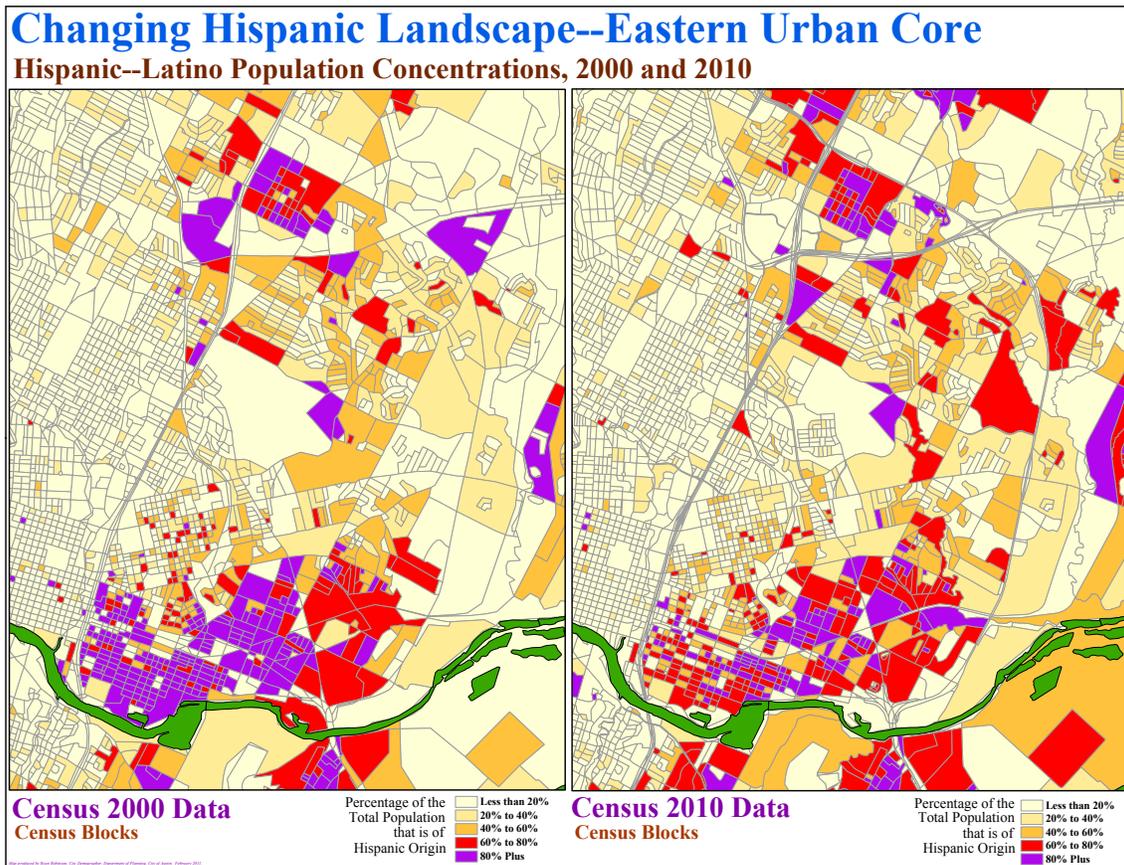


Figure 5. 3: Changing Hispanic Landscape – Eastern Urban Core, 2000-2010. This map, produced by the City of Austin Demographer Ryan Robinson, uses U.S. Census data from 2000-2010 to demonstrate the changing Hispanic population distributions in East Austin, per census block. Source: http://www.ci.austin.tx.us/demographics/downloads/hisp_change00_10_ eastern_core.pdf.

For the city of Austin overall, note that the ethnicity and race percentages of the population have been following national trends, with the White, non-Hispanic population decreasing from 61.7% in 1990, to 52.9% in 2000, to 49.5% in 2010. Hispanics are the leading minority population in Austin, with its population increasing from 22.8% in 1990, to 30.5% in 2000, to 35.1% in 2010 (Robinson, 2011).

Furthermore, property taxes have increased substantially in east Austin in comparison to the rest of the Austin area. The following map shows that people residing in the 78702 zip code have seen 100% increase in property taxes between 2000 and 2005 (Frank & Robinson, 2005) (Fig. 5.4). Compounded with the influx of newer, non-Hispanic residents, the overall change has been noticed, and many in the neighborhood have been organizing to counteract the undesirable socio-economic effects of gentrification. This has become the narrative of East Austin, one of gentrification and a people and their culture struggling to remain where they have lived for generations.

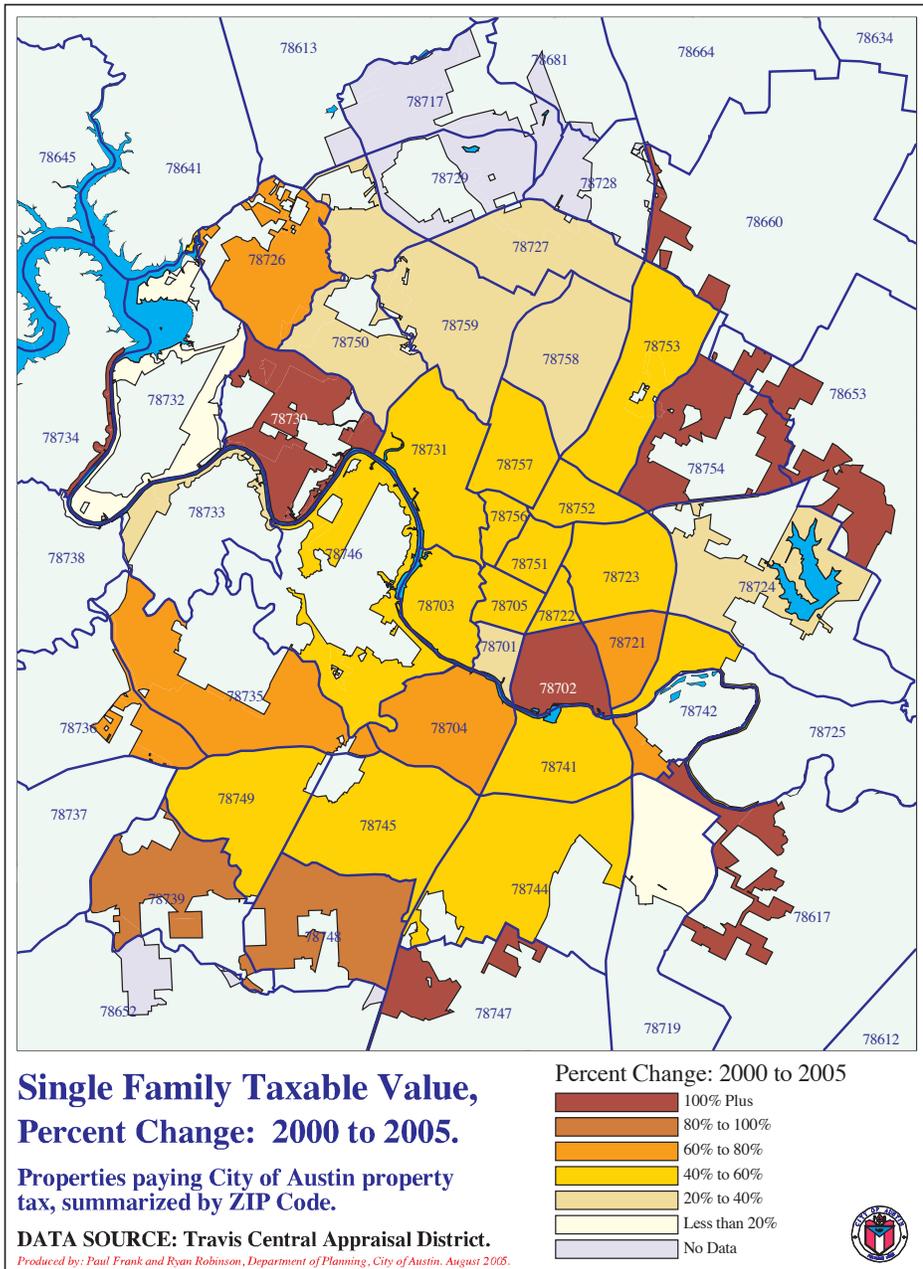


Figure 5.4: Single Family Taxable Value, Percent Change, 2000-2005. This map, produced by the City of Austin Demographer Ryan Robinson and Paul Frank, uses Travis County Appraisal District data from 2000-2005 to demonstrate the changing Hispanic population distributions in Austin. Source: http://www.ci.austin.tx.us/demographics/downloads/sf_tax_abs.pdf

Some will say that this gentrification was caused, in part, by the city's plans to shut down the Holly Power Plant, which itself has become a symbol of oppression for the neighborhood. As the city grew, demands on the power infrastructure, along with new technologies, required the construction of new power generation facilities. These included Seaholm Power Plant in 1955, Holly Street Power Plant in 1960, Decker Lane in 1986 (City of Austin, n. d.-c) which benefited from the construction of the Longhorn Dam in 1960 (which formed what is now Lady Bird Lake) (City of Austin, n. d.-c) (Fig. 5.5).

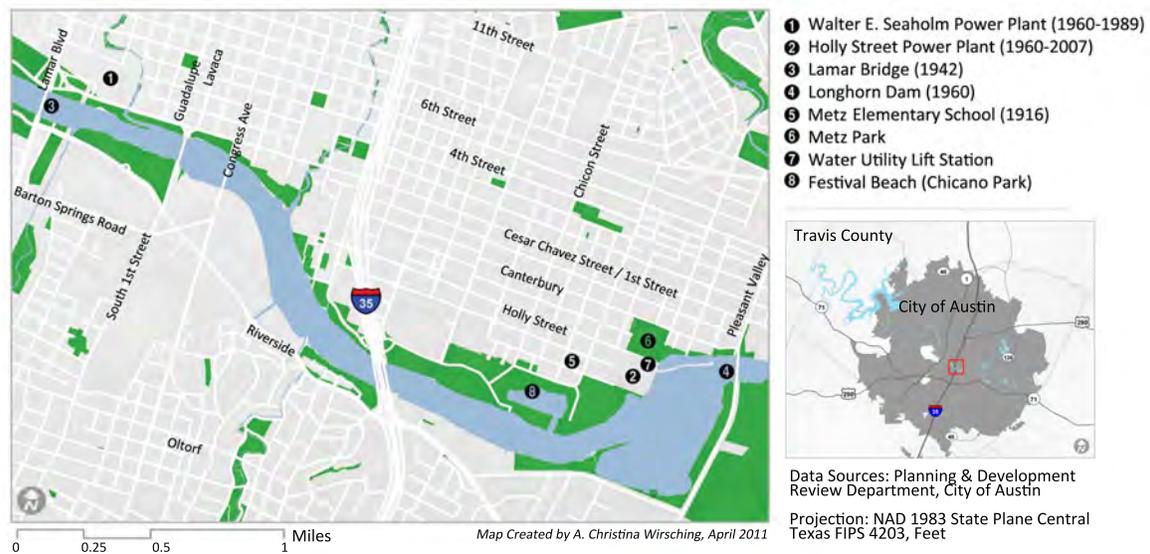


Figure 5. 5: Specific Locations in Central Austin, Texas. This map shows 9 sites that define the built environment along Lady Bird Lake in Central Austin.

The power plant generated a large percentage of the electricity that supported most of central Austin throughout its existence. The area surrounding the plant, located within the Holly Street Neighborhood planning boundaries, is mostly residential,

predominantly Hispanic, and low-income (See Figures 5.6 and 5.7) (City of Austin, n. d.-b).

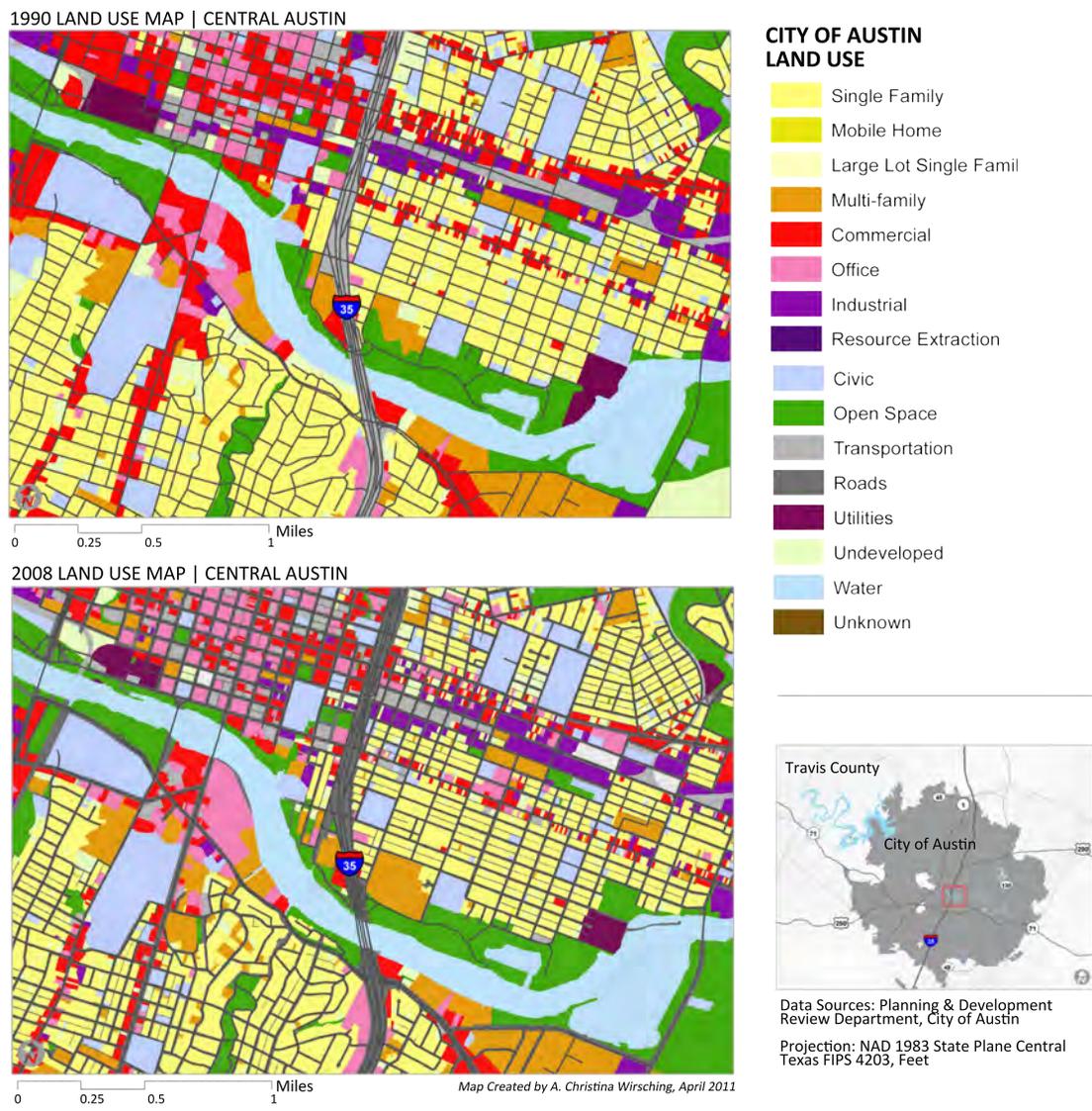


Figure 5. 6: 1990, 2008 Land Use for Central Austin

The power plant was a source of concern for many area residents given its notorious history of spills and other harmful events (Agency for Toxic Substances and

Diseases Registry, 2009). Austin City Council passed a resolution to close the Holly Plant in January 1995, citing safety and health concerns by the neighborhood residents, despite the government assessment deeming the location safe. The power plant was finally shut down in 2007; the City is currently reviewing bids to have the site decommissioned and remediated.

CURRENT PLANNING PROCESSES AND PLANNING FOR PLANT REMEDIATION

The City of Austin has gone through several comprehensive planning efforts, some successful and some in the process of being adopted, and is currently working towards generating a new comprehensive plan, the Imagine Austin Plan. The current working plan was adopted in 1979, with Neighborhood Plans filling the interim in the late 1990's since the comprehensive planning efforts ultimately failed.

Neighborhood planning was formally established in Austin in the late 1990's, which allowed for officially designated neighborhood planning areas to generate their own plan in accordance with the City's Austin Tomorrow Plan, approved in 1979. Generally speaking, neighborhood plans adopted by City Council give the neighborhood the authority to make amendments to the Austin Tomorrow Plan based on stakeholder generated and agreed vision and subsequent goals of the community for future growth and development. These plans typically focus on neighborhood issues such as transportation, future land use patterns, zoning, open space, environmental protection and other "community life issues" (City of Austin). Each neighborhood planning area can have a Neighborhood Planning Contact Team, which acts on behalf of the neighborhood in making amendments to and enacting the neighborhood plan. Specifically, the contact team is responsible for (1) attending city organized community meetings to review and

discuss proposed plan amendments, (2) writing a letter of recommendation for proposed plan amendments, and (3) initiating plan amendments for the planning area (City of Austin).

The Holly Neighborhood Planning Area is located in east central Austin (Fig. 5.8). The boundaries for the planning area as East 7th Street on the north, Pleasant Valley on the east, Lady Bird Lake on the south, and Chicon on the west. To the west of Chicon is the East Cesar Chavez Planning area, which is referenced by several members of the community during my research. However, the Holly Street Neighborhood Planning Area does not currently have a contact team, and the efforts to develop a planning team have been hotly contested by various actors in the community.

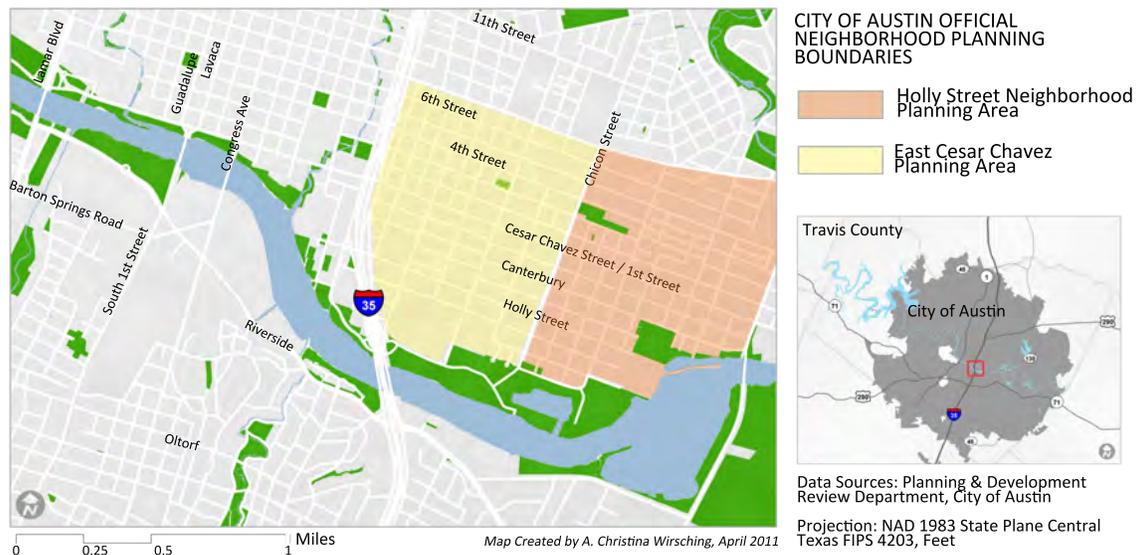


Figure 5.7. Current Holly and East Cesar Chavez Planning Areas. This map depicts the City of Austin’s defined planning areas of Holly and East Cesar Chavez.

The Holly Neighborhood Plan, along with its corresponding Plan Combining District for plan implementation, was adopted in December 2001 by City Council. The

Future Land Use Map for the planning area, also adopted in 2001, is shown below (Fig. 5.8).

The plan has a Top Ten list of Action Items in its Introduction, placing the closure of the Holly Street Power Plant at the top of the list. According to the plan's introductory statement,

The Holly Neighborhood has a long history of advocating for the betterment of their community. This Neighborhood Plan provides another forum for the neighborhood to express its concerns and opinions about the future of their neighborhood. One of the main concerns in Holly is closing the Holly Power Plant. Other key issues revolve around maintaining desirable, affordable housing, avoiding the prospects of gentrification, responding to the increasing encroachment of businesses into the residential areas, and traffic issues. This plan attempts to address some of these issues through creating future land use and transportation plans (City of Austin, 2001).

The Holly Power Plant property lies within the Town Lake Park Holly Shores/Festival Beach Master Plan, which is one of the Parks and Recreation Long Range Plan for the entire park system in Austin. This plan calls for the property to be reverted back to park space once it is fully decommissioned (City of Austin, 2009b)

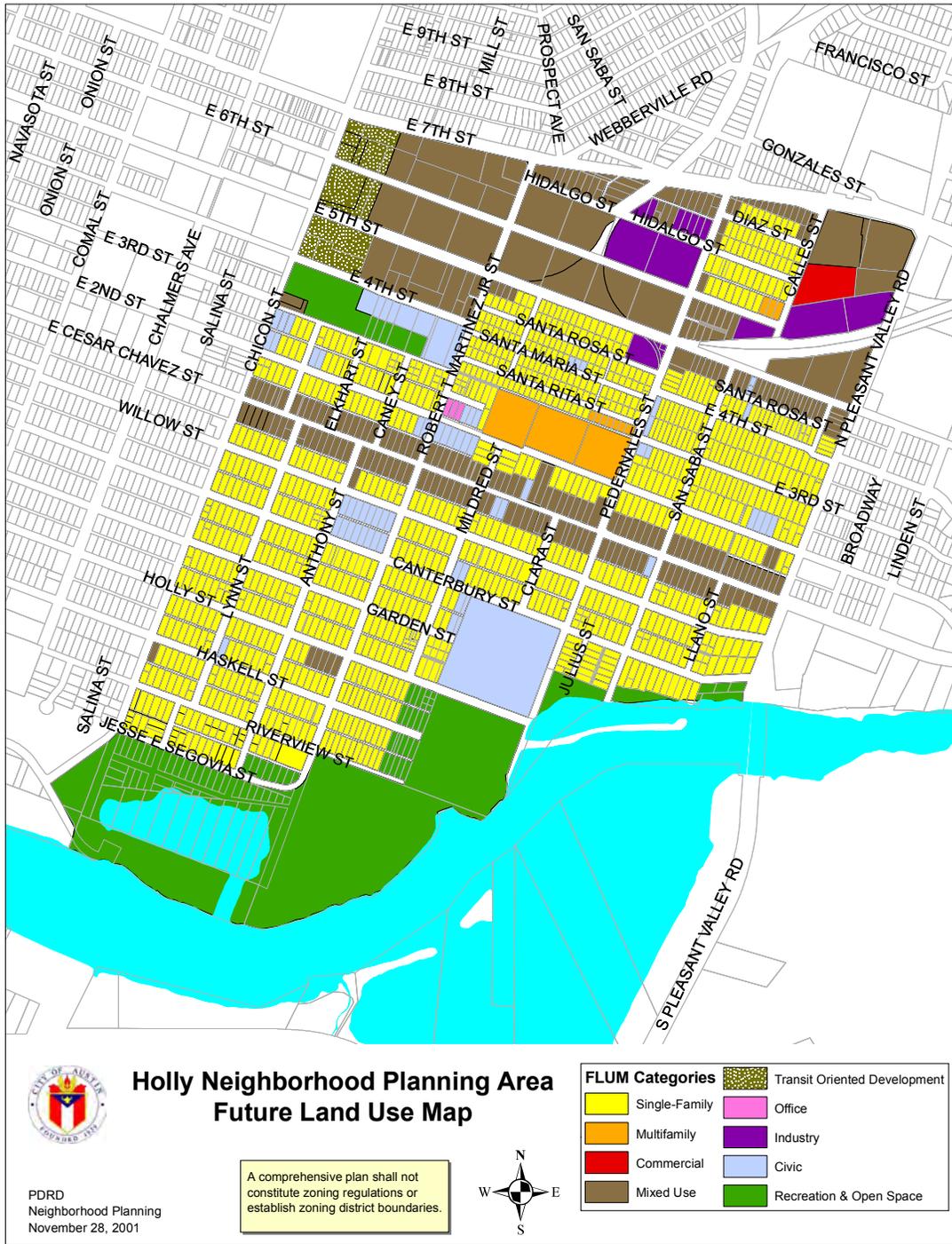


Figure 5. 8: Future Land Use Map for Holly Neighborhood, 2008. Map source: ftp://ftp.ci.austin.tx.us/npzd/flums/holly_flum.pdf

The City of Austin is currently evaluating and selecting bids for a demolition contract for the decommissioning and remediation of the Holly Street Power Plant. The vote was originally supposed to be in mid January 2011, but that has been postponed multiple times. The proposed demolition contract work will entail decommissioning of plant facilities, removal of equipment and other salvageable items, and demolition of structures (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Description of Work - Holly St. Power Plant Decommissioning Project

- Environmental Protections
- Utility abandonment and partial removal
- Proposed utility connections for water and wastewater services
- Deconstruction and decommissioning of various structures and substructures
- Removal of Interior functions but shell of building to remain
- Removal of mechanical equipment and construction bulkhead barriers at water intake
- Recycling, Salvaging, and Disposal of Materials
- Environmental Remediation and abatement
- General Site Restoration

(City of Austin, 2011a, 2011b)

In an effort to appease the demands by various members of the community for the city to make amends the injustices imposed on the members of the Holly Street neighborhood surrounding the power plant, Austin Energy in 2002 also set aside a multimillion dollar, an average of \$1M a year, remediation fund entitled Holly Good Neighbor Program. It has funded many different programs from mortgage tax assistance

to support an additional police beat in the neighborhood to noise mitigation home improvements to cultural program support. This program is set to expire in 2012 (Martinez, 2010).

The Holly Street Neighborhood has undergone significant change over the past century. As Austin grew in area and population, the City worked to accommodate this growth. Over the span of four generations, the area has experienced densification, diversification of resident demographics and income, and changes to the built and natural physical landscapes, which ultimately continues to contribute to the unique, dynamic character and culture of the neighborhood.

Chapter 6: Findings and Analysis

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will describe and discuss findings from my qualitative research on the Holly Street neighborhood, in particular the meaning of the power plant to residents. Through my analysis of over 15 hours of formal and informal conversations with 11 informants, as well as my archival document analysis, I was able to distinguish and define various actors, as well as themes and attitudes, which together form distinct narratives.

The chapter is structured to reflect the evolution of my analysis, starting with the discussion of categories of actors. I then present the discursive elements that constitute literary archetypes. These archetypes, in turn, allow me to use Sandercock's (2003a) model to identify themes, characters, and basic plot characteristics of Holly neighborhood narratives, which finally makes it possible to construct what I argue are alternative, insurgent narratives of the historical events surrounding the Holly power plant closure and decommissioning. The analysis and discussion following these narratives delves deeper into interpretation and meaning for the redevelopment process, remediation and community healing.

DEFINING ACTOR CATEGORIES

By prompting my informants to describe their relationship to East Austin, the following identifiers were prevalent in their responses: they typically responded that they were either (1) non-east side residents, from Austin; (2) from East Austin; or (3) from the Holly and/or East Cesar Chavez Street Neighborhood. As informants discussed their relationship to East Austin, it also became apparent that they defined their identity in part

through the length of time they or their families had lived in the neighborhood, and their ethnicity. The following quote is reflective of the strong association between place, ethnicity and longevity in the identity formation of Holly neighborhood residents:

One thing I have to say I like is that it is still Hispanic here, and I think that's what attracts some of the people here – the artists [and culture]... I think it's a unique place in that we are able to still keep our culture alive. I would say a few years ago my husband and I were trying to help the community with a new association a few years ago, and we went to a few meetings, but ... I know one of the persons that ran it was a white person and it was, I don't know, it didn't seem, for me it was, I didn't feel comfortable I guess. ... I don't want to sound negative but it just didn't seem, I guess, I don't know, [I felt like saying,] 'I was here first'!

In her statement, the respondent mentions “culture” several times, as well as ethnic identity, and her narrative reflects a strong sense of ownership of this place as a part of a multi-generation Hispanic community. This is complicated by a fear of losing this identity to non-Hispanics moving into East Austin, which has been happening alongside gentrification. In order to better understand how residents do or do not get involved in community activities to protect their sense of community, and to assess how their identity constructions inform their engagement, I asked them to describe activities and events that they themselves were either involved in, had witnessed, or learned:

There are the activist groups, really the difference is that they are well organized. They come with an agenda, they've done their research, they know what questions to ask, and they're a tough crowd, you better be ready because they know what they're talking about most of the time. That's one group and there [are] several organizations in East Austin that are like that and we talk to many of them. We meet with many of them. Then there's the neighborhood associations, sort of just loose citizen groups and you may find like a few folks that are within those groups, well actually both of those groups that they just have their own views and that's just the way they're going to see it.

The quote above, describing various actors in the process from the perspective of a city employee, exemplifies the identification of these groups through involvement and types of association. Here, this informant clearly identifies activist groups, neighborhood associations, and other “loose citizen groups” as the types of groups he sees in his position at the city. He also alludes to his own personal experiences, tinged with noticeable frustration, with members of these groups, referring to their unwillingness to be flexible and pragmatic when he says “they just have their own views and that’s just the way they’re going to see it.”

Ultimately, through my interviews with community members and my analysis of their self-categorization and group identification, I was able to construct three categories of respondents: (1) Actively Involved in the closure process such as activists, board or committee members, etc.; (2) Engaged in the process, not as much as those actively involved, but familiar with and attended various associated activities; and (3) Bystander where they are not really involved in Holly Power Plant or other neighborhood activities, but may be somewhat knowledgeable via experience.

DEFINING ARCHETYPES

As Sandercock explicates (Sandercock, 2003a), to be meaningful and useful in the planning process, stories should contain certain elements. One of these elements can be described as archetypes, or common character types, plot lines or themes, which transcend a particular place and time and can be seen in other stories. Through my analysis of the narratives of place surrounding Holly, I have identified the following

archetypes: (1) victim overcoming injustice/eliminating danger archetype; and (2) pragmatic innate wisdom versus educated naiveté.

Archetype 1: Victim Overcoming Injustice/Eliminating Danger.

The first archetype I have identified is the Victim Overcoming Injustice and/or Eliminating Danger, which is fairly common in various forms and iterations in both literature and contemporary media. Elements of this archetype are found in the struggle for a more balanced representation of the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne histories in southeastern Montana, as discussed in the previous chapter. More accurate representation and memorialization of their stories enables the struggles of their ancestors to be acknowledged, remembered and respected. For the purposes of this analysis, I will define this archetypal theme as the identification of a person or group of people who are victimized by a person or organization or other entity (tangible or not). As the protagonists, their struggle to overcome becomes the focus of the story, with the antagonist(s) typically portrayed unfavorably. In the following, I present three examples of statements from my interviews that reflect this archetype, and elaborate on how this archetype emerged through the stories told by the interviewees.

Things that you see that had been done for centuries of how they come and conquer but obviously we were in an urban reservation because that's what they did to the Native Americans. They put you on a reservation and once they find something good there, they got to move a little further. So that continues to be what we're doing today.

This long-time resident and activist is referring to the effects of the 1928 City of Austin Comprehensive Plan. When I asked for clarification after he gave his statement,

the informant explicitly stated that he saw the City Plan as institutionalized colonialism. The tone and choice of words such as “urban reservation,” where “they” are taking land and freedom and just about anything else of value for “their” own needs, contributes to the Victim archetype, while the use of “we” as victim and “they” as victimizer, putting “us” on an “urban reservation,” creates a strong sense of dehumanization of the non-white communities.

Such polarizing language was also evident in various conversations with people who have different perspectives on matters of victimization, justice, and fairness in Austin.

They were able to build a bigger and new, green, energy efficient house for \$74,000, and there was no profit in it. So for \$24,000 more, the family was getting a better house, so that was the policy, and they agreed to that policy. But they don't want to have to spend the \$50k on construction on a house - they just want it for reparations. You know, 'I suffered for so many years and breathed in the pollutants and I deserve \$50,000' - Ain't goin' to happen!

The same kind of language, particularly when referring to reparations for suffering, is being used mockingly in this particular example. Strong language signifying victimization and injustices used in this way implies that such language is used frequently. This particular individual finds it powerful enough to use it in arguing against the activists.

Archetype 2: Pragmatic, Innate Wisdom Versus Educated Naiveté

The second archetype evident in my research is that of pragmatic, innate wisdom versus educated naiveté. This pragmatic attitude seemed to be prevalent amongst some of

the longer term residents as a way to cope with ‘the way things are.’ The following is a representative example of a sense of wise, pragmatic acceptance that characterizes this archetype:

And we were all kind of misfits, so we understood each other. We were the only ones that could work with each other and it became a part of Holly. In a lot of ways we were closer than the other parts because we all came from different backgrounds and we were always the people that didn’t fit in anywhere else (within the Austin Energy power utility) and when I started there in ‘70, [there were] still a lot of white [people] that worked there. So, there were very few Hispanics and very few blacks, so we all wound up in Holly because they didn’t want us anywhere else. So we wound up there and we became really close. I think once I worked in Decker for 2 years and worked in the old plant for a couple of years straight but I always wound up back at Holly. Most of my career was at Holly, so I knew Holly. I knew Holly very well. I guess because I had seen it growing up as a kid I was always intrigued by it. I could see them build it and everything and I was like, I wonder what that is than I got a chance to see what it was, what it did. I really enjoyed it, I liked it and it’s just that I think that it took a toll on all the rest of us. Most of the guys at that time we could retire at 30 years and very few of them lived past 1 or 2 years after they retired, they died because it was too much. They all had problems and cancer was a big problem. That’s how I lost my arm, I lost it to cancer it was just your body was never given time to relax because you were constantly changing.

This is from a man who both grew up off of Holly Street and worked his entire career at Austin Energy, with most of it spent at the Holly Street Power Plant. This excerpt from his interview demonstrates both the accepting and pragmatic sentiments of many who lived and worked in the area, and even within the plant itself. They were very cognizant of their “place” within the social hierarchy of the utility workforce, and their presumed value from their place in this system that relegated the non-white, “misfits”, and others who “didn’t fit in” to the Holly Street Power Plant. They knew it was the plant that received the most work orders and that its workers were given the least amount

of respect amongst the utility's power plants. The workers of Holly Power Plant knew these things, and accepted them. Even instances of cancer, which they attributed to the plant, were still accepted as a part of the job. They were extremely proud of the work they did, including their community work, in fact. It is just the way things were.

Counter to this innate, pragmatic wisdom exists a sense of educated naiveté. Together these attitudes create unavoidable conflict. This conflict lies between the activists and the pragmatists of the community. The activists tend to advocate, for better or worse, on behalf of the "community" as the members of the community "do not know any better" (quoted from a neighborhood resident who has been living there for more than 30 years). The pragmatists are accepting of "the way things are" and espouse a more, in their eyes, well-rounded perspective.

EMERGING AND CONFLICTING NARRATIVES.

The archetypes above provide for the construction of alternative narratives of the Holly power plant and surrounding neighborhood. Using Sandercock's model for story composition, archetypes (1) provide temporal or sequential framework, which provide dramatic tension; (2) provide an element of explanation and coherence, not just a listing of one event after another; (3) provide a potential for generalizability; (4) provide a recognizable framework, such as protagonists and plot structure; and (5) provide good moral tension (2003a). In the case of Holly neighborhood residents, the archetypes described above elements allows to posit two conflicting community narratives: community activism and pragmatism.

The narrative of community activism is prevalent in Austin and finds its expression in neighborhood politics, environmental sustainability, or anti-development and growth.

One especially prominent cause in regard to East Austin has been to identify and remediate environmental injustices, and giving voice to those affected in some way by these injustices.

We've seen numerous of changes - we've seen how we used to be able to swim in Town Lake by Holly and now there's an ordinance that says you can't swim in it and if you do you could possibly die.

This quote, from an East Austin resident and advocate, illustrates the tenor of the activist narrative surrounding Holly. Many longtime residents have witnessed significant changes over the last fifty years, and many recognizing the importance of place to community health and identity. And for Holly, the plight of its neighborhood residents became synonymous with the injustices many in East Austin faced: a scary, unsafe place that should not be situated anywhere near the residential neighborhood in which it was in operation for more than 60 years.

An inevitable fate of any neighborhood, of any place, is that it will change over time. As previously mentioned in Chapter 5, the Holly Street neighborhood has seen changes in the urban landscape and in its demographic composition. As Austin grew from a small rural town to a capital city, this neighborhood once on the fringes was quickly engulfed by residential and industrial development. Some of the older current and former residents I spoke with witnessed this change, and had fond memories of pre-1950 East Austin.

The Holly Street and East Cesar Chavez neighborhoods in the 1930's and 40's, though lacking paved roads or other major amenities, were mostly quiet residential spaces where children would run around and play, and people felt safe enough to leave

their windows open for ventilation and doors unlocked for unexpected but welcome visitors. By this time, the area was predominantly Hispanic, with schools and parks scattered about, and industrial facilities not too far off in the distance.

And for the longest time, Austin when it was growing in the 50's and 40's, everything that had to do with industrial that was kind of a little on the dirty side wound up in East Austin. We had, where Capital Metro is now, a big slaughter house. I mean, this was a humongous slaughter house that would have [holding] pens and everything like that and the railroad tracks was right there. So they would slaughter and in the summertime, 'cause it was an old facility, no ventilation, no nothing, and it was pretty rank. And they had a lot of chemical plants built around there that got fertilized and all that stuff. And everything that was bad wound up in East Austin, that's how the Holly Power Plant wound up over there. They figured, at that time, 'cause I lived, I grew up maybe 2 blocks from the Holly Power Plant. We moved there in 1950, my parents moved up there we used to live close by Zavala and we moved over there, and that time that was whites owned it and they put up a stink when we tried to buy the house there, they didn't want us to move there because we were the first Hispanics to move on that side of 1st St. which was 1st St. then and they didn't want us there and my father was in the real estate and he wanted that house bad enough so he took and he had some friends that were in with judges and they basically told him you can't do that even though it was kind of like, it was written in the contracts and titles in the deeds that whites only. Only whites were allowed to live in that neighborhood but we did it anyway so we were the first ones and that kind of ran off everyone else and all the white people disappeared after that. But that's where we started to move on the inside."

This quote is from a long-time Holly neighborhood resident, remembering what it was like growing up in the neighborhood, living with the stench of the slaughter houses in the hot, steamy summers, to the political maneuvering his family had to do in order to be one of the first non-White, Hispanic families to live on Holly Street. This perspective was echoed in other interviews I conducted, where residents spoke of the political and

social climate in the 1950's when the socio-economic makeup of East Austin was changing.

Slowly, over time, perceptions of East Austin began to change as well. Whether it was true, or not, or fairly labeled as such, East Austin become known as a dangerous and scary place.

When I was growing up (in the 1970's), no one wanted to come to East Austin. It was one of those, "Oh no, you're from East Austin!" and "It's not a safe place!" ...I [had heard] that one of the teachers ... [had] heard that you don't come into this part of town. It's the scary part of town.

And even more so, the Holly Street Power Plant had also begun to assume the role as beacon of injustice with daily reminders of the suffering it was causing the nearby residents. One of the longtime residents illustrated this well in her description of Holly when she was growing up:

So back then, especially at night or in the winter when the steam would come up it looked REALLY scary, and when you would see it and it looked so scary, and the moon coming out sort of like you looked at the werewolf and the moon and the steam and Frankenstein and all of that! And then the noise cause it made this type "VRRRRROM" constant kind of [noise]! It just had this atmosphere when we were little that is a very scary little place so we always remember it as a very scary little place in our town that was always there. And at that time, I really didn't understand what it did or its function but, even had as a young child, it was scary to us. You know, and then when I grew up it was more scary because I knew all the stuff that it was doing so I think that we were right in recognizing that it was a very, very scary place, you know, when we were young.

An activist movement to close the power plant fully materialized in the early 1990's, and an activist narrative emerged with the movement. The personification and

demonization of the Holly Street Power Plant as illustrated in the quote above, along with the actions of these activist groups in an effort to prove an inequitable distribution of environmental harm to the community, and a general distrust of the government, contributed to this activist narrative. Even though the city council voted in 1995 to close the plant, it wasn't until 2007 that the plant was actually taken offline. One of the community activists summarizes this ongoing struggle best:

People always felt like they were being told the half-truths, they weren't being told the whole truth, because there was always an excuse or backpedaling on why they couldn't do this, why they couldn't close the plant and that or they would make a decision to close the plant and then they would rethink the decision and then you'd get a whole new group of people who'd be urging the city council not to close the power plant and so there was this constant change because council people are not there all the time so if someone would get elected out, it'd almost be like re-educating them and bringing them up to par as to what was happening and so sometimes you might have a real conscious council in office and other times you had a council who could care less and so you know, it was, it was ... a constant struggle in itself just to get things done or else we would've gotten it closed right away.

The use of words like “struggle”, “back peddling”, and “half-truths” in the quote above rhetorically create a sense being a victim who is fighting for what is right. It took residents years to “reeducate” leaders and fight “constant change”, hoping they had “real conscious” leadership on city council. The plant closure delays further substantiated the activist cause and narrative.

Yet, certain sentiments that ran counter to this narrative of activism and struggle also became evident through my interviews. During my investigation, a less discussed but prevalent sentiment surfaced that conflicts with a sense of community activism and its' place in Austin community discourse and action. An emerging sense of pragmatism

can be heard through the stories of people's relationship to this area, their interpretations of events in Austin's history, and their feelings on community voice and involvement in organizing and politics, which for some comes counter to this activist movement in Austin.

For many in the area, including those with family members who worked on the site, Holly was just a part of everyday life. While some recognized that it was not good environmentally for the community, specifically the noise which effected everyone, or that the city explicitly chose to site the plant on the east side because all of the non-white, poor people lived there, some residents saw the citing of the facility as practical and the construction of the plant as a necessity. This attitude was reflected in some of the comments I received from interviewees, and the quotes below highlight variations of this pragmatist response. The following quote is from a current resident whose family was one of the first Hispanic families to move onto the Holly Street area back in the 1950's. He was discussing his interpretation of community perceptions surrounding the power plant, especially its meaning to the community when he spoke of how the plant site was chosen:

Pre 1960, they had built the Lamar Bridge across the Colorado, and then there was the Congress Avenue bridge, with the construction of I-35, used to be East Avenue, they built that bridge. From that bridge to Montopolis were the only bridges across[...] There was no Pleasant Valley bridge or Longhorn Dam. The reason they built the dam and Town Lake was because [they were needed] for the Holly facility. The sewage lift station was at the edge of town. This was the best place to put it. It had nothing to do with – it's difficult for me sometimes with our community and with individuals saying they (the city) aren't thinking about you. You aren't on their map. You are invisible. They are not making this personal. They don't know who you are, they have no conception of you at all. They placed [the plant] here because that was the most strategic spot to have it.

Some may argue, as he suggests, that there were more insidious reasons for the city to place the power plant where it did. However, he provides a simple, pragmatic response which for the most part is true: many would go to work at Holly because the other plants did not want them:

A lot of them (fresh engineering graduates from UT) [worked at the Holly Power Plant] just to get a start. Once they got a little bit [of work experience] under their belt, they would move on. But like I said a lot of them were really good engineers. It just amazed me, the things they managed to do. But like I said, that was Holly, we had stuff that nobody else wanted and we got it so it was kind of like they'd (they being manufacturers) give [parts and other equipment] to the city and [they] was new but there was something that didn't exactly work the way it was supposed to work. We had to make it work, so we got really used to that - that was normal to us.

Despite the fact that some of their equipment wasn't up to par with equipment from the other two working plants (Decker and Seaholm), they had to make things work with what they had, because that was just the way things were. And, there was a sense of pride and admiration on the part of those who worked in the plant. As one man stated, speaking of young engineers working at the plant: "it just amazed me, the things they were able to do." And despite everything that seemed to go against their success as a power plant, they "had to make it work."

There are even more pragmatic interpretations of why the city took so long to actually close the plant. This is counter to the activist narrative where it was the people who eventually got the plant taken offline. For these individuals, it all boils down to something very real and very practical: money.

It was going to cost too much money. That was the deciding factor. It had nothing to do with all these years of protest, all this publicity, this very... -this is my perception- all these people in the neighborhood and the news, you know were trying to get something done and this is the way you do it. And to me, that had nothing to do with when they finally decided, "okay now for real, we are going to close it down. This time is for real." And you know, I believed them because they were coming up for review by the federal government ...so they were going to run it until the very last day the government was going to allow them to do it." And this is when I said, ok, I believe you now.... The federal government is going to shut you down. OK, now I understand. This is the whole motivating factor.

The reasons for such pragmatism can be many, but one of the prevailing attitudes seems to be that of concern for maintaining certain cultural aspects of neighborhood character. The problem of gentrification, which was brought up throughout many of my interviews, has become prevalent in recent years due to the redevelopment and revitalization efforts taking place in downtown Austin. For some, gentrification has become the new cause for the activist community in East Austin:

For a while, Holly was the major cause of these various activist groups, and now the focus is shifting to gentrification, zoning, as big causes to fight.

This was stated by a long-time community resident, who was explaining what he saw as the motivating factor behind activist groups in East Austin: having a cause to fight for. However, he spoke of the gentrification battle in pragmatic terms, as if these local activist groups were picking and choosing battles, moving from one hotly contested issue to another. He was not explicitly passing judgment on these groups, but merely providing a simple, pragmatic explanation for the groups' motivations. I sensed an allusion to unreasonable capriciousness in the decision-making processes that govern

these activist groups, which hints to deeper conflicts that exist between these two groups, and more broadly, between these two narratives.

CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICTING NARRATIVES: EFFECTS ON PLANNING PARTICIPATION

This conflict between the narratives of activism and pragmatism, I will argue, ultimately led to negative consequences for community participation in planning processes in the Holly neighborhood. This is because these two narratives are often reproduced through inflammatory rhetoric, which increases tensions in the community. When asked what the Holly Power Plant represents to the community, this particular neighborhood activist responded:

I think well you know, it's this big giant elephant in the room, and if people were to hear the words environmental racism, they would think of that first. But, [when thinking about] being taxed out of the neighborhood, do we really want to tear it down? I mean, you know, if its, the more amenities we get, then it's even more yuppies are going to come with their canoes and kayaks and all their little. [...] I believe, being [white], people have problems with this, but I think racial diversity is an asset, you know, I don't think that kids should grow up not knowing people who have different color skins. You know, I think that diversity is a strength, an asset. You know I don't like being taxed out, [and] I'm getting taxed out. But at the same time, we now have a nest egg, you know. And I don't think it's right to criticize people that wish to sell their house in the neighborhood. You know, it's investing in your home [that] has always been the number one retirement asset people have. Forever and ever. So, for anybody to criticize anybody for selling out and not chaining themselves to the pecan tree because they are ready to move is wrong, and I don't like it, and I don't think its fair, and I think that by raising these issues it's just making all the deals go underground, you know. And it'd be much better for families to try to figure out ways to keep the property in the hands of the family so that we can save the cultural diversity that, you know, when you go to other cities you have a China Town and a Mexico Town, and vibrant downtowns have ethnic enclaves that bring, you know, color to the tapestry. So, I hope that we can hold on to that, but I don't know that we will.

This tension, thus, prompts many to re-evaluate their positions on Holly, which tends to make pragmatism, and even indifference, a more practical response for some than organizing for this particular cause.

Without a doubt, there has been some community participation, both as individuals and as groups, in the planning processes surrounding the power plant closure. For some, it has been a steady involvement over the last few decades.

I think they've become more organized, more informed about the questions to ask, they've become more vocal, if you ever get a chance to actually attend a decommission committee meeting you'll see that there's a lot of activism from people who've been in the community for generations and there's a lot of activity and a lot of involvement. Each meeting I've gone to, all the representatives are there. I think there's an established good relationship with Austin Energy so they've also learned and I think Austin Energy has learned it's better to be more respectful and work with the community than to always be you know hiding each other and I think those are the kind of messages we try to give, how can we work together to bring these changes and for them to understand the conditions the people have lived in and know that we're going to the next phase to make sure that what gets put there is something that the community can live with and something that the community needs.

For others, as this city employee states, participation and involvement hinges on what is visible and tangible in terms of directly affecting a person to the point of action:

For example like I was saying, during the fire in the Holly power Plant that was a time when a very active group could mobilize people and get a big turn out because it's visible and its on everyone's mind. Obviously if you've got a bunch of smoke running through your house or in the neighborhood, that affects everybody.

However, one my informants (and I've heard others echo this sentiment) mentioned to me that the main reason why they did not participate in a lot of neighborhood planning activities, including the power plant closure, was because there simply was too much in-fighting and conflict. Some of the language and attitudes highlighted in the previous section are good examples of what she was talking about. Even in the passage below, this particular condescending attitude towards a certain group of anti-closure residents, can be heard and easily perceived negatively and can be damaging to the overall goal of community involvement in planning processes:

Well you know, they were grassroots groups, and it was surprising how many people did not want the plant to close. That was really surprising, but we just figured, they just don't know what's good for them – you know, “my son works there”, you know. A lot of people who work there were from the neighborhood.

This fervor can also be felt and seen in community meetings, and amongst various community groups representing different segments of the neighborhood, for better or worse. Here is an example:

They are all about kickbacks and bribes, and they have gotten away with it for 30 years.

As reflected in the statements above, the polarizing political rhetoric taken by some groups, accusing others of taking “kick-backs”, being “crooks”, and other language similar to that of victim and victimizer in the previous section, creates a combative environment that many simply try to avoid, whether they are new to the neighborhood or have been there for generations.

It doesn't matter what you do, they just feel you're the government and you're the bad guys, and that's just the way it is. And it doesn't matter what you say or do, you're not right and you're never going to be right and were going to fight you.

This person, an employee in a city-run program designed to serve as a liaison between the city and the people in matters of environmental concern, voiced a commonly held belief that there are certain kinds of people whose goal is and will forever be to demonize the city, regardless of actual events or intent, in an attempt to reach a certain goal of their own. This serves as example of how such rhetoric can have many different results, such as the expectation of confrontational and possibly combative, and not necessarily productive, members of the community will hinder a process, not enhance it.

Ultimately, Holly Power Plant has become integral to community identity. It is a symbol of many things, of injustice and also of a special community in a unique space of Austin that many called home. I say "home," because once the final two turbines were shut down, and there was no noise, people noticed it. The eerily peaceful hum was gone, and to those who were used to the hum carrying them off to sleep, it was something that was immediately felt. This makes discussion and decision making around Holly especially contentious for community members, as the place has become an extension of themselves.

It is therefore particularly important that planners are aware of these narratives and the conflicts they create and perpetuate, as they plan for community participation as a means of mitigating the negative effects of the plant. The tension these narratives create limits community participation, which is of particular concern considering the historically marginalized community that lived by the power plant. This makes it the community

planning process a very personal one, and the story about Holly more than just another event in the history of East Austin.

Chapter 7: Discussion

My research has revealed two conflicting narratives in East Austin: one of activism and another of pragmatism. The dominant narrative surrounding the Holly Street Power Plant has been the activist one, reflective of the desire on part of community members to mitigate and end injustices bestowed upon the minority communities in East Austin. Underlying this narrative, though, is one of pragmatism. This begins to form an insurgent historiography, one that acknowledges this conflict, and may prove to serve as a learning tool for future planning endeavors. Members of this community, for the most part, understand both narratives and can speak to them. However, each of these narratives have their champions, and the loudest have in some cases been egregious in their determination to fight ‘to the death’, using language and other more concrete tactics to dissuade and/or intimidate their antagonists.

Unfortunately, this conflict, as with any conflict, has its innocent victims. In this case, participation in community planning activities is adversely affected. Ultimately, the tension between these two narratives brings more harm to a community that has undoubtedly seen its unfair share of pain and suffering. It becomes increasingly clear that this tension is one of the major reasons many people are not passionate and involved in this movement to remove the Holly Power Plant. The pragmatic attitudes have seemed to come from those who believe that the Holly Power Plant does not define them as a community. For these individuals, some of whom I spoke with, their life in the community does not center on the existence of the Holly Power Plant injustice narrative. These individuals also tended to have lived in the neighborhood for more than a generation. That is not to say that all individuals who have deep roots in this

neighborhood feel this way, because as I have shown earlier, some of the most passionate and involved activists are long standing residents.

Such varying perspectives surrounding historical events have broader implications for planning in diverse, marginalized communities, and unlocking such narratives have the potential to improve community planning. Creating and sustaining a more collaborative and deliberative planning environment in places where diversity and justice color the tenor of the process, requires acknowledging the different histories associated with any given neighborhood. Most importantly, a celebration of these variations can enhance the processes and products of collaborative planning.

Ultimately, deliberation and consensus may never be enough, since conflict amongst different community factions are reproduced through powerful narratives. Instead, these competing narratives should be brought forth in to foster deliberation and debate. Through ethnography, community member's stories can become instrumental in personalizing these narratives, humanizing them, and inspiring empathy. Proper guidance through this facilitated dialogue will not only encourage respect amongst these different elements of the community, but can also promote community ownership over the planning process and products.

No one likes conflict. In fact, many try to avoid it. However, conflict can help us give new meaning to tired hegemony and new life to seemingly doomed processes, if these processes are carefully constructed in ways that allow for dissent, re-envisioning and reinterpretation of existing narratives. Understanding why these narratives and conflict exist has the potential to cultivate dialogue and debate that fosters deliberative and participatory planning. In particular, the insubordinate and indifferent opinions and attitudes are just as important as the dominant activist narrative to nurture such participatory processes. In order to create and sustain a truly collaborative, democratic

planning environment, all of these voices need to be heard and allowed to enrich and deepen a multifaceted, uniquely sophisticated and dynamic, organically messy but beautifully complicated historiography.

Appendix A

HOLLY NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN: TOP TEN ACTION ITEMS (2001)

Top Ten Action Items

1. The neighborhood planning team endorses the closure of the Holly Power Plant at the time when reserve energy capacity becomes available to begin instituting the phased closure of the power plant.
2. With the \$20,000 allocation for an adopted neighborhood plan, the neighborhood requests that these funds be dedicated to the Cepeda Library branch and be used for the purpose of purchasing Spanish- English books, publishing software, and additional resources such as Braille texts and cassettes for the hearing and visually impaired.
3. Increase assistance for home repairs near the Holly Power Plant especially for roof and foundation repairs.
4. Rezone GR zoned property within the Residential District at Robert T. Martinez and Holly with a CO- Conditional overlay to allow existing uses, restrict height to 30' and restrict other uses incompatible with the Residential District.
5. Develop the appropriate infrastructure for South Side of E. 5th Street (Pedernales to Chicon) to include the following: sidewalk, curb and gutter and potential street repairs/realignment.

6. Participation by representatives of the Holly Neighborhood Planning Team should be included during the development of station locations and alignment of future rail lines in the event of an approved rail referendum.
7. Preserve land for single-family homes in Residential District through the future land use plan.
8. Permit small lot amnesty for single family lots currently under 5750 square feet in order to allow new or reconstruction of houses on lots previously too small to build on. (neighborhood-wide, primarily applicable to Residential District).
9. Encourage synchronization of lights along Pleasant Valley from East César Chávez to 7th Street .New left turn at Pleasant Valley & 7th has improved traffic movement, however the timing at peak hours
10. Install signage to encourage and indicate desired route for truck traffic leading to 7th Street at the following locations: Robert T. Martinez (if intersection improvements at 7th Street are created to address turn movements for trucks)

Source: City of Austin. (2001). Holly neighborhood plan: An amendment to the city of austin's comprehensive plan *The Austin Tomorrow Comprehensive Plan, Chapter 5, Section 5-10.*

Appendix B

LIST AND DESCRIPTION OF 17 REPORTED EVENTS TO TCEQ/EPA FOR HOLLY POWER PLANT

There have been numerous spills or upsets associated with the Holly Street Power Plant. Below is a list of events currently known to the preparers of this report. These events were compiled from information provided by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Texas Natural Resources Conservation Commission (TNRCC), and the City of Austin.

Spills

1. On August 6, 1974, 10,000 to 20,000 gallons of #5 fuel oil were released. Cleanup began immediately and continued until the material was contained and recovered.
2. On January 2, 1985, an unknown amount of #5 fuel oil was spilled from a fuel line rupture. The fuel entered the floor drain system, passed through a separator, was contained by a boom and removed with a skimmer.
3. On April 16, 1986, 200 pounds of ferrous sulfate were released when a 10,000-gallon steel tank was cut up for scrap. The material was neutralized and taken to a municipal landfill.

4. On August 14, 1988, polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) waste leaked from storage drums. The leakage was cleaned up and drummed.
5. On April 19, 1990, up to 57 parts per million (ppm) Aroclor 1242 PCBs were measured in water discharged from Outfall 101 into Town Lake; up to 90 ppm Aroclor 1254 were detected in the "air ventilation screens" oil bath. The City voluntarily shut down the plant to investigate the problem. An independent consulting firm found no detectable levels of PCBs in water or sediment samples collected between April 24 and May 3, 1990. The consultants did identify areas in the drainage system that contained less than one part per billion (ppb) PCBs. In 1992, the drainage and air ventilation systems were cleaned and the plant set up ongoing monthly analysis of plant water discharges during storm events to detect PCBs. The investigation concluded that the original test results had inaccurately indicated the presence of PCBs in the discharge water.
6. On March 13, 1991, approximately 700 gallons of #5 fuel oil were spilled.
7. On November 3, 1991, 6,000 to 10,000 gallons of #5 fuel oil were released when a piping connection in an underground line failed. Most of the oil was spilled within the tank's secondary containment area. However, approximately 100 gallons were released outside of the secondary containment area. The oil and contaminated soil were removed and properly disposed of.
8. On May 1, 1992, approximately 50 gallons of #5 fuel oil were released when a piping leak occurred during fuel transfer. The spill was confined to the tank

containment area; the oil and contaminated soil were removed from the secondary containment area and disposed of properly.

9. On September 24, 1992, 1,000 gallons of #5 fuel oil were released. The oil and contaminated soil were removed from the secondary containment area and disposed of properly.
10. On February 23, 1993, 2 to 5 gallons of transformer oil containing 11.7 parts per million (ppm) PCBs were released. The transformer slab was cleaned and the soil next to the slab was removed and disposed of properly.
11. On March 10, 1993, 0.5 to 1 gallon of transformer oil containing 11.7 ppm PCBs was released. The transformer slab was cleaned and the soil next to the slab was removed.
12. On March 13, 1993, 200 gallons of #5 fuel oil were released from an improperly closed section of the fuel oil transfer piping. The oil escaped due to thermal expansion and was ignited by a spark from a heating element. The fire was extinguished by the City of Austin Fire Department in less than 30 minutes.
13. On May 4, 1994, while working to demolish fuel oil tanks at the plant, the contractor caused a pump hose to fall from the bottom of one of the tanks. Approximately 200 to 300 gallons of fuel oil were released into the earthen containment area around the tank. Clean up of the oil was promptly initiated and all of the surface oil was removed the same day.

14. On June 25, 1994, a fire at the switchyard, where an oil circuit breaker was burning and leaking oil, resulted in the activation of the switchyard deluge system. Control measures were implemented to reduce or prevent water from fire fighting activities being discharged into Town Lake.
15. On July 10, 1997, approximately 250 gallons of oil from Holly Unit #3 leaked into Town Lake. The cause of the leak was repaired the same day and controls were put in place to prevent similar incidents from occurring in the future.
16. On June 14, 1999, an employee accidentally disrupted the flow of lubricating oil to a turbine turning a generator causing a bearing to overheat and break its seal. Oil from the bearing showered the hot turbine causing a fire that required the evacuation of approximately 60 employees.
17. On July 23, 1999, between five (5) and 15 gallons of turbine oil from an oil/water separator entered Town Lake. The oil was contained with absorbent booms and floating hydrophobic oil-philic absorbent pads were used to soak up the oil.

Appendix C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS – UT AUSTIN IRB #2010-11-0124

Sample Interview A

For non-structured interviews with current and former neighborhood residents, PI has created this interview guide that will explore the following topics in the proposed project: I) personal history in community, II) history of community, III) daily life of community, IV) assets of and challenges faced by the community, V) real and/or perceived harm from proximity to the power plant, VI) perceptions of assessments, and VII) perceptions of planning processes and planners.

I) Personal History in Community

1. How long have you lived in this community?
2. Does your family live in this community?
3. What is your relationship to this community?

II) History of Community

1. How would you describe this community?
2. What areas would you include?
3. Do you feel the quality of life, however you define it, has improved during your lifetime? Please explain.

III) Daily Life in Community

1. Are there recreational activities in your neighborhood? Describe.

2. Are there health service providers in your neighborhood? Describe.
3. Are there adequate employment opportunities in your neighborhood? Describe.

IV) Assets of and Challenges Faced by the Community

1. What do you feel are the assets of your community? Please explain.
2. What kind of problems do you feel plague this neighborhood? Please explain.
3. What parts of your neighborhood do you feel are problematic?
4. How could life in your community be improved?

V) Perceptions of Harm and Proximity to Power Plant

1. Are you familiar with the Holly Power Plant?
2. Have you been affected by it? Please elaborate/provide examples.
3. How have others in this community been affected by the plant? Please elaborate/provide examples.

VI) Perceptions of Assessments

1. Do you feel the area close to Holly is/was a safe place to live? For children to play?
2. What did the government say about the area?
3. What was your reaction to the assessments made by the government on Holly?
4. How do you feel about it now?

VII) Perceptions of Planners and Planning Processes

1. Have you been to any of the community forums on the Holly Power Plant closure?
2. Did you attend any of the city-lead forums, city council meetings regarding the power plant?

3. How did you feel when you left those forums? Was anything resolved? Not resolved? Please elaborate.
4. What kind of information and support do you feel the government provided throughout this process? Was it enough?

Sample Interview B

For non-structured interviews with planning and other government officials, PI created these sample interview questions that will explore the following topics in the proposed project: I) position of individual and role of office/agency, II) role/duties in environmental assessment, planning, site remediation and/or redevelopment processes, and III) role of community in planning and development. These same questions will be asked of other redevelopment project officials when applicable.

I) Position of Individual and Role of Office/Agency

1. What is your current position and employer?
2. What was your position and employer during the Holly Power Plant assessments, closure and remediation/redevelopment processes?

II) Role/Duties in Environmental Assessment, Planning, Site Remediation and/or Redevelopment Processes

1. What role, if any, did your organization play in the assessments, closure and remediation, and redevelopment processes?
2. What was your role in these processes?
3. How do you feel about the government's actions/inactions in such environmental contamination site remediation over time? In this community specifically?

III) Role of Community in Planning and Development

1. What was the role of the community in the planning and redevelopment processes?
2. What kind of community action was successful? Unsuccessful? Why?
3. Did the role of the community change over time? How? Why?

Sample Interview C

For interviews with members of social and environmental justice advocacy organizations, such as PODER, PI created this interview guide to assess: I) Overall purpose of agency or organization & relation to environmental suffering, II) history & politics of disproportionate effects from industrial land uses and redeveloping contaminated lands on minority communities in Austin, III) understandings & perceptions of environmental hazards and harms of those in close proximity to Holly, and IV) community responses to such environmental hazards and harms.

I) Overall Purpose of Agency or Organization and Relation to Environmental Suffering

1. What is your current affiliation with X organization?
2. What is the mission/vision/goals of your organization?
3. What kind of projects do you work on? In what parts of Travis County/Austin?
4. What kind of projects have you worked on regarding environmental justice issues?
5. What strategies do you utilize to alleviate injustice and inequality in the area?
6. What was your organization's role during the Holly Power Plant assessments, closure and remediation/redevelopment processes?

II) History and Politics of Disproportionate Effects from Industrial Land Uses and Redeveloping Contaminated lands on Minority Communities in Austin

1. What is your understanding of the history of this community within the city of Austin?
2. Describe your organization's assessment of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the Holly Street Neighborhood within the context of environmental justice in Austin?
3. Can you please describe the political side of the Holly power plant closure, demolition and remediation?
4. How has your organization perceived and therefore approached work with governments/responsible parties in these situations?

III) Understandings and Perceptions of Environmental Hazards and Harms of Those in Close Proximity to Holly

1. Do community members feel environmentally unsafe in their homes, schools, or places of work? Please explain.
2. If you feel the community feels unsafe in their immediate environments, do you think that racial relations in the city are a part of the reason for this perception? Please explain and elaborate on other sources of perception.
3. Is there a relationship between social and environmental justice and racism?
4. Are community members able to identify environmental risks, voice their concerns, and instigate some kind of remediation from responsible parties?
5. What are your feelings towards the city planners and environmental risk assessments they conduct?
6. What kind of quantitative data do you use to support your cause? Qualitative?

IV) Community Responses to Such Environmental Hazards and Harms

1. Has any part of the population experienced any disproportionate health or other kinds of effects as a result of the Holly power plant? Please explain and provide examples or survey data.
2. What has the community been able to do in terms of mitigate effects and create change prior to your intervention? After your intervention?
3. What has been and currently is the community morale surrounding the Holly power plant case?

Appendix D

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