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THE ROLE OF MULTICULTURAL PLANNING IN RURAL NEBRASKA:
CASE STUDIES OF FOUR MID-SIZED CITIES

by

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THE ROLE OF MULTICULTURAL PLANNING IN RURAL NEBRASKA: CASE STUDIES OF FOUR MID-SIZED CITIES

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University of Nebraska, 2013

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The purpose of this study is to analyze multicultural planning practices in rural Nebraska towns. Due to the increased influx of Hispanic population in Schuyler, Lexington, South Sioux City, and Crete, Nebraska, in the period from 1990 to 2010, this research focuses on uncovering social and economic impacts that Hispanic immigration is leaving on receiving communities. Also, this study reviews current comprehensive plans of the communities selected for this research to determine whether multicultural policies are being defined and incorporated into the vision of community development. A survey of planning consultants, city administrators and community members further contribute to the understanding of planning practice in rural Nebraska towns. The comprehensive plans were evaluated using the Policy Index of Multicultural Planning developed by Qadeer and Agrawal. The results of the study reveal that none of the selected four comprehensive plans exhibit strong orientation toward multicultural planning policies in their jurisdiction. Only small indication of multicultural policies was found in the areas of ethnic specific service needs, housing, ethnic entrepreneurship, as well as accommodation of ethnic sports. While communities continue to work on encouraging Hispanic communities to participate in the planning process, planning methods such as appreciative planning and multiculturalism are recommended for planners to expand their practices toward more inclusive and comprehensive planning.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

One of the most appealing characteristics of the United States has always been its diversity. Migration of people from one place to another has always been a part of human history, and if it happens in significant numbers, it poses challenges resulting out of diverse cultures living together in one society. Human migrations can have social, economic and demographic impacts on a community. Moreover, they may put in question some of the established traditions of planning practice and regulations that affect daily living of people (Sandercock & Klinger 1998). In this context of shifting demographics, it is imperative to understand the change that cultural diversity is bringing to community planning theory and practice.

Given the vast territory of the United States, one might assume that it takes a significant change to become noticeable in a nation that holds a population of over 310 million people and counting (Census, 2012 estimate). However, according to Pestieau and Wallace (2003), the most noticeable impact of immigrant influx is seen on the local, neighborhood level. The State of Nebraska is home to many cultures and ethnicities; however, the Hispanic population in particular, has been the fastest growing over the last twenty years. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Hispanic population growth in Nebraska has been unprecedented, resulting in a 155% increase from 1990 to 2000 and 77% from 2000 to 2010 (Census Bureau). It took years of immigration, economic and social hardships that enabled Hispanics to start an uninterrupted process of settlement into metropolitan and rural cities of the United States.

Discussions about the growing Hispanic population in the U.S. are not new and appear quite often in contemporary media. Whether it is an immigration policy, authorization of illegal aliens or a movement of immigrants born in America called

Dreamers, the subject of Hispanic population growth is significant and prominent in this country. For the purpose of this paper, Hispanics are defined as people who identify with the terms “Hispanic,” “Latino,” or “Spanish” and are those who classify themselves in one of the specific Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish categories, as well as those who indicate that they are “another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin” (census.gov).

Hispanic settlement in the U.S. has always been uneven, with key states that are geographically close to the Mexican border—such as California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas—holding bigger concentrations of immigrants (Durand, Massey, and Capoferro 2005, 1). Under the influence of various workforce and political pressures, immigrant destinations changed over time. The period from 1980 to the 1990s is highlighted as a period of shifting patterns of settlement in the new, more northern destinations of Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, Idaho and others (Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2005).

In Nebraska, in the period from 2000 to 2010, Hispanics accounted for 63% (72,980 persons) of the state’s total population growth (115,078 persons). Moreover, the Hispanic population in Nebraska increased by 353% from 1990 to 2010 (US Census statistics). Such an incredible change in demographics cannot be branded as minor, and as one might assume, it poses some housing, social and cultural challenges.

In rural Nebraska towns, a shift in demographic composition has been even more noticeable due to unprecedented Hispanic immigration—the fastest growing minority group in the state of Nebraska (Census Bureau State and County QuickFacts). The phenomenon of the growing immigrant population is not only affecting communities and the country overall; more importantly, it is affecting and presenting new challenges to the practice of planning.

Planning, as with any process, has gone through stages of adaptation throughout its history, each step addressing and reflecting the needs of that time. Starting with its concern for the physical environment and solving social problems, the planning profession is facing yet another change. While those issues were relevant at the time they occurred, the same doctrine cannot be applied to today's culturally diverse communities. Another approach to planning practice that reflects the cultural diversity that this country represents is necessary.

CHAPTER 2: OVERVIEW

2.1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The growing Hispanic population in Nebraska is a phenomenon too significant to not have an impact on planning practice. In a time of increasingly rapid cultural diversity, it is important as never before to find out the impact and challenges this growing change is having on professional planning practice. Based on the evidence of cultural diversity and significance of the Hispanic presence, this research study aims to understand the importance of the planner's role in ushering and accommodating the shift in demographics in rural Nebraska towns. The growing diversity of communities in Nebraska is indicative of the need for new approaches and revision of methods planners commonly apply in their profession.

This research project addresses two prominent problems:

Problem 1: The attention on Hispanic immigration has been focused primarily on metropolitan areas. This disadvantages rural communities that are now seeing the influx of Hispanics and have yet to develop approaches to working with them within the planning realm.

Problem 2: While planning practice recognizes multiculturalism in theory, it uses unchanged traditional approaches to dealing with culturally diverse communities.

While settlement of an immigrant population is rarely evenly distributed on any given territory, the recent influx of immigrant settlement in the Midwest indicates that new destinations are being selected by newly arriving Hispanics. The selection of new destinations can be explained by favorable social and economic conditions of the

receiving communities. Population growth in these areas has also been reinforced by favorable work conditions and by friendly and safe communities for raising families. The location of major manufacturers and meat-packing plants in the area are also major attractions for the Hispanic workforce. While any change carries many unknown factors, most changes can be approached as either frightening or burdensome, or seen as an opportunity to readjust and evaluate advantages.

Michael Burayidi (2000) advocates that planners pay close attention to the public policy parameters that are used in multicultural communities. He argues that the key for working effectively in diverse communities lies in understanding the various cultural, demographic and historical backgrounds of the people. Such an approach requires adjustment of traditional tools and methods of public engagement (Burayidi 2000). Due to the continuity of the change in demographics and the fact that the fastest growing segment of the population in rural communities of Nebraska is of non-western-European origin, extra pressure is placed on planners to address questions they previously did not have to raise and to possibly establish entirely new roles in their practice.

2.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Defining the role of multicultural planning in rural Nebraska is very important for several reasons. First, the changing diversity of rural communities due to immigration is a continuing and significant process that affects the demographic, social and economic makeup of receiving communities. Planning, which is an applied profession, is closely involved in the analysis of population growth and change as an instrument for measuring future development of a community.

The shifting trajectory of immigrant Hispanics extends the impact to not only a group of places, but eventually every state. Second, the rapid growth of the Hispanic population is posing challenges that need to be addressed in the planning profession, specifically in housing, community and economic development (Vitiello 2009). In a period of dramatic population change, understanding current and future needs of a community is critical. Active involvement of planners in embracing these changes and serving as direct participants in the integration process is crucial for the well-being of people and communities.

Because Nebraska has only been exposed to significant Hispanic population growth in the last twenty years, it is important for the planning profession to look at success stories of their colleagues across the country and abroad who have had more experience working with diverse communities. Studying multicultural planning practices will offer a significant insight for planning practice in Nebraska and will identify best practices for making rapidly changing communities pleasant places to live.

2.3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

For the purpose of this study, thirty-one cities of the first class (with population of 5,000 to 100,000) in Nebraska were initially selected for further consideration. Four out of these thirty-one communities stood out due to dramatic growth numbers among Hispanics over the course of twenty years (1990-2010). The four communities identified in this research for further analysis are Schuyler, Lexington, South Sioux City and Crete. Each of these communities has shown significant numbers of Hispanic persons and has the highest percentages of Hispanic population of all cities of the first class in Nebraska

(see Appendix A). While planners have always worked with citizens during the planning process, a changing factor in their profession is the cultural diversity of citizens in many cities. Due to planning's traditional orientation toward the built environment, more attention should be paid to cultural differences and the needs of minority groups as they become part of the community.

Based on the evidence of cultural diversity and significance of the Hispanic presence in the four selected Nebraska communities, this research aims to understand the importance of the planner's role in accommodating the shift in demographics in rural towns of Nebraska. Moreover, this research aims to analyze the communities' current comprehensive plans for the presence of multicultural approaches to community development. The growing diversity of communities in Nebraska suggests the need for new approaches and revision of methods planners commonly use in their profession. A comparative analysis of monistic and holistic planning will be used in identifying strengths and weaknesses of these two approaches in a multicultural setting.

According to the literature (Collins and Ison 2009), the benchmark for citizen participation in planning is often described through Arnstein's ladder of citizen involvement. Arnstein's ladder represents an eight-step gradual movement up the ladder from (1) manipulation; (2) therapy; (3) informing; (4) consultation; (5) placation; (6) partnership; (7) delegated power; and (8) citizen control (Collins and Ison 2009, 361). However, Collins and Ison (2009) argue that approaches to citizen participation should involve not only the means of participation suggested by Arnstein's ladder, but also offer meaning behind them. Collins and Ison (2009) contend that it is time to re-conceptualize

common practices and policy approaches to citizen involvement toward social learning and deeper conversations with participants about the nature of the problem.

Finally, this research is aimed at identifying the role and purpose of planners in multicultural communities of Nebraska and at drawing examples of successful models of community engagement from places that have taken that step toward multicultural community development.

2.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis endeavors to answer the following research questions:

1. *What are the implications of the Hispanic population growth for the planning profession; and*
2. *How is planning to be addressed in multicultural communities?*

2.5. LIMITATIONS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Due to time and research constraints, this study is limited in scope. Due to research interest in Nebraska rural communities with the highest Hispanic population growth over the last two decades, only four Nebraska cities of the first class were selected to conduct further analysis. A considerable portion of the analysis section concentrates on personal interviews with planning stakeholders (city administrators/mayors and community members) and planning consultants. Due to limited time for conducting this study, only one representative from each category (administrator, community member and consultant) is interviewed in each of the four selected cities. Another portion of the analysis focuses on studying current comprehensive plans of the selected communities to

identify multicultural approaches in planning practice. Due to a comprehensive plan's typical update period of once in every 5 to 10 years, the selected comprehensive plans might offer limited insight in their current form and therefore may represent a weakness in this study. In addition, the analysis of the comprehensive plans in this thesis focuses only on identifying and evaluating what indicators of multiculturalism are missing, based on the Qadeer's and Agrawal's (2011) Policy Index of Multicultural Planning. The analysis does include in-depth explanations of why those differences might exist, but does include a comparison of comprehensive plans using the indicators. Due to a small number of municipalities studied, the gathered findings are of exploratory, rather than conclusive, character.

For the purpose of this study, ethical considerations have been accommodated in the collection of research data. As part of the process, an Institutional Review Board (IRB)¹ approval at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln was requested (and received) prior to contacting research participants. Information gathered and materials received from the participants were properly and confidentially handled and used solely for the analysis reported in this paper. A copy of the cover letter and informed consent form are enclosed in Appendix B.

¹ IRB#20131013825 EX. Date Approved: 10/08/2013. Valid Until: 10/07/2018

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF IMMIGRATION IN NEBRASKA

The goal of this chapter is to provide insight into the history of Hispanic immigration in Nebraska, as well as discuss some prominent challenges that Hispanic immigration is posing for planning practitioners in Nebraska. Also, this literature review highlights planning practices across the country and abroad that have been successful in addressing the challenges of a growing diverse community. While each community and environment are different, along with uneven resources available to address pending issues, looking at examples of communities that are not new to the concerns of a multicultural community is vital for addressing issues of our own. The chapter includes the following sections: an overview of Hispanic immigration history in Nebraska, the challenges presented in front of the planning profession, and approaches to planning.

Diversity and multiculturalism could not be more pronounced nowadays. Today, global issues revolve around finding common ground for differing norms, values and perceptions of right and wrong. The world has changed to a point where no one culture is constrained in one territory, where cultural diversity is the lived reality. According to Qadeer, multiculturalism finds its place within a society and is comprised of norms and practices pertinent to particular groups or cultures within a society (Qadeer 2007, 90).

The rapid growth in the number of Hispanics that has taken place in Nebraska within the last two decades has been continuous. For rural communities where Hispanics have chosen to settle for jobs or other reasons, this growth presents a challenge in terms of limited housing opportunities, shortages of public services and the changing social makeup of the community that, prior to demographic changes, was more homogeneous.

Making rural communities pleasant places in which to live and raise a family is the responsibility of not only its residents, but also should be the outcome of policies and planning efforts of the municipality that brings social diversity and civil rights and responsibilities to common ground.

3.2. OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF HISPANIC IMMIGRATION IN NEBRASKA

In an interview as part of a documentary program, “Immigration in Nebraska” Dr. John Wunder, a history professor at UNL, said: “We have a long history of immigration in Nebraska; every one of us came from somewhere else” (College of Journalism and Mass Communications, 8). According to Gouveia et al. (2005), Nebraska’s experience with Latino immigrant population dates as far back as the beginning of the 20th century; however, only few Latino immigrants chose to permanently stay in Nebraska then. Due to this earlier experience, Gouveia et al. refer to the State as a “re-emerging destination” for Hispanic immigrants (Gouveia et al. 2005, 23). The new wave of immigrants came to Nebraska in the 1980s when a significant growth of the Hispanic population was noticed. Figure 3.1 shows that the biggest growth of Hispanic population in Schuyler, Lexington, South Sioux City and Crete took place from 1990 to 2000.

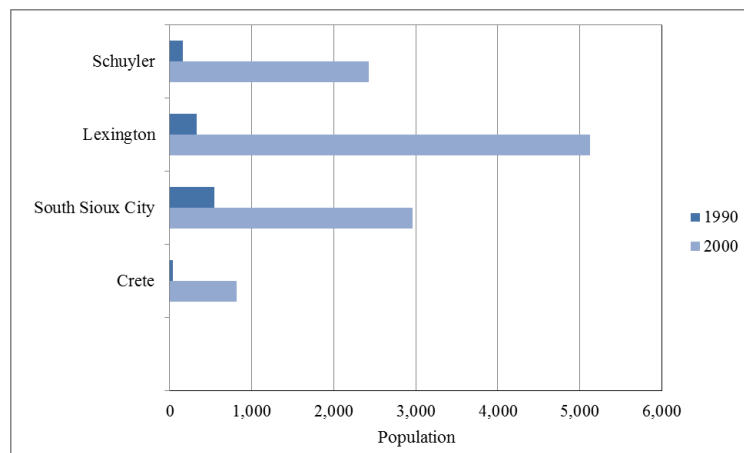


Figure 3.1: Hispanic Population, 1990 and 2000, in Case Study Cities Census Bureau.

Table 3.2: Total Hispanic and Hispanic Population, 2010.

	Total Population	Hispanic Population	Hispanic Population
Schuyler	6,211	4,060	65%
Lexington	10,230	6,183	60%
South Sioux City	13,353	6,047	45%
Crete	6,960	2,484	36%
<i>Nebraska</i>	1,826,341	167,405	9%
<i>Source: Census Bureau 2010</i>			

Hispanic immigrants bring not only diversity, as they come from places such as Guatemala and El Salvador, but also offer rejuvenation of communities made possible by higher fertility rates and the younger age of the immigrants. In a ten year time period, from 2000 to 2010, Hispanic population in Nebraska in the age group of “under 5” has seen an increase of 9,859 people (see Appendix D). According to Nebraska Births Report, Hispanics have a fertility rate twice as high the non-Hispanic white population (Drozdz and Deichert 2008).

3.2.1. MEATPACKING AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

While immigrant groups may come from diverse backgrounds, the reasons for their settlement in rural areas of Nebraska are tied to specific industries. According to Gouveia et al. (2005), such cities as Schuyler and Lexington are illustrative of the transformation that took place during the 1990s with the establishment of meat packing, sugar beet growing and processing industries. Continuing and growing demand for labor in agriculture has been a major cause for the influx of Hispanic immigrants. Hispanics are a major labor force for this employment sector, which has been restructured for lower cost, higher output, and de-skilling of the workforce, dictated by the global economy

(Gouveia et al. 2005). According to Gouveia et al., the predominance of the Hispanic community in low-wage occupations is a major connection between the old and new arrivals of immigrants. Gouveia et al. point out that in 2000 nearly 64% of all Latino male workers in Nebraska held employment in either construction or agriculture production (Gouveia et al. 2005, 31-2).

Meat packing and agricultural production are industries that leave a significant footprint on the U.S. economy and are concentrated only in a few states, one of them being Nebraska. According to the National Council of La Raza, the largest national Hispanic civil rights and advocacy organization in the U.S., Nebraska employs the second largest number (12,090) of trimmers and cutters in poultry processing (National Council of La Raza). Since reports of brutal work conditions have caused a stir across the state, a bill of rights was introduced in 2000, informing meatpacking workers of their legal rights. A *Lincoln Journal Star* article of October 7, 2009 by Don Walton explains in detail the legal rights of meatpackers and points out that little has changed in work conditions since the bill of rights. In fact, meatpacking speed lines are set to increase, which may cause more injuries (*Lincoln Journal Star*). While the bill of rights lists all the basic rights for a safe and adequate workplace, and compensation paid for the work done, it does not seem to address issues at the core of the production industry—unyielding speed of production lines and humiliating treatment and verbal abuse (*Lincoln Journal Star*). The challenges described by meat plant workers and insufficient change in workplace to accommodate those workers seem to have only made one thing clear: meat packing is just hard labor.

3.2.2. IMMIGRATION IMPACTS ON RURAL COMMUNITIES

Having understood reasons for immigration to rural places in the Midwest, it is also important to see how the demographic change due to immigrant influx is shaping these communities. Many books and articles talk at length about immigration in large cities, while rural communities have been mostly overlooked. The significance of the phenomenon in rural communities lies in their historically homogeneous population (prior to immigrants) and lack of funding opportunities to sufficiently address some the issues of affordable housing, infrastructure, and public services that arise with significant population increases in a community.

A case study of the impact of population influx on the small community of Schuyler, Nebraska, revealed that the impact on the community was significant and mostly present in the built and cultural environment of the community (Potter et al. 2004). Issues pertinent to small communities facing population influx seem to revolve around social changes in neighborhoods, housing challenges and need for additional public services.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Hispanics comprise 65% of Schuyler's total population. Such a significant presence of another ethnic group classifies Schuyler as a majority minority community. While large cities are naturally diverse, small communities such as Schuyler usually tend to be more homogeneous. In ten years, from 2000 to 2010, Schuyler's total population grew only by 15.6%, while the Hispanic population grew by 68% (Census Bureau). Many rural communities, in an effort to slow down population decline, have opened their doors to food processing industries. Along with the solution to a problem came challenges in the form of immediate impacts on

available housing, either for purchase or rent, accommodation in public schools, transportation and local hospitals (Potter et al. 2004). An influx of another culture in small communities can bring variety, but it also inevitably forces neighborhoods to shift their cultural identity from once being homogeneous to becoming culturally heterogeneous.

The study of Schuyler showed that in rural communities experiencing an influx of immigrants, rental housing is needed and is attractive for immigrants. Lack of available low-income housing for sale and the affordability of rental housing units made rented housing the preferred housing choice. However, because of the increased interest in rental housing, rents went up significantly, only reinforcing the challenge of housing availability (Potter et al. 2004, 228). In addition, investments in the construction of new housing are complicated by the uncertainty of the economic situation among immigrant workers. According to the study, immigrant populations with weak economic foundations are susceptible to economic downturns and are one of the first components of the population to leave a community if their jobs are no longer available. Contrary to this observation, the majority of new arrivals is content with their residence and would continue living in Schuyler (Potter et al. 2004, 228). As pointed out by Gouveia et al., Hispanic communities, once assimilated, are formed in ethnic clusters around small labor markets and tend to play an important role of providing a social network for future arrivals (Gouveia et al. 2005, 23).

The increased population reflects not only on housing, but also municipal services. In Schuyler, the availability of such services is limited, and these limitations are felt by the newcomers. As noted by the study, most newly arrived Hispanic immigrants

noted not having multiple vehicles to ensure mobility of all members of the household, and were challenged by limited availability of public transportation in trying to find a solution. While limited resources partially justify the lack of needed public resources and services, there is also an aspect of cultural preferences. Deficiencies of public resources and services resulting from an increased population are further made difficult by language barriers and unavailability of translation services.

Since most local communities also have public schools, the surge of Hispanics into rural and small town neighborhoods cannot be unnoticed in local educational establishments. Ill-equipped and surprised by the flow of immigrants into schools puts pressure on school administrations to provide necessary instructional attention and accommodation to students without or with limited English proficiency.

The challenges presented by increasing numbers of newly arrived immigrants are not unique to a single location, and Schuyler is no exception. While communities continue to change and are being shaped by an array of cultures, it is a pressing need for communities to find ways to use this change for the benefit of their communities and harness the “benefits” of multiculturalism for the purpose of strategic planning.

Research conducted on the strengths and challenges of rapid rural immigration published in *Great Plains Research* points out two main positives pertinent to the new immigrant population: economic prosperity and cultural diversity (Potter et al. 2004, 242).

Meat packing plants in rural communities oftentimes are primary businesses that significantly contribute to the communities’ economic vitality. Due to harsh working conditions of the plants and low wages, the majority of workers are Hispanic.

Communities and the packing plant industry—both—heavily rely on immigrants to maintain their viability. Also, with immigrants comes the purchasing of goods and necessities and the establishment of new businesses in town. Besides improving the tax base of towns, immigrant flows bring indirect financial benefits through the development of new housing projects and the opening of new business establishments (Dalla et al. 2004, 242). It is important to acknowledge the oftentimes unseen benefits that the communities receive with the influx of new population.

The unseen benefits do not always have a financial context. Another such hidden aspect is cultural. One should never underestimate the value of exposure to other cultures. The value of the experience, in my opinion, goes beyond encountering another cuisine, music or language. It lies in the expansion of the world view, understanding and respect of other values and allowing diversity to bring richness to our daily lives. Most parts of the world are no longer separated from outside influences, and people must be aware of the differences and interdependences that other cultures bring into the equation. According to Potter et al. (2004), members of surveyed rural communities pointed out strong familial ties and a great work ethic present among Hispanic immigrants. Hard working and appreciative immigrant families often become role models in their commitment to families and their diligent work ethic.

With rapidly growing immigrant populations, communities face the question of what could be done to sustain and improve the quality of life. In discussions with community members, residents have offered suggestions for improving their communities. First, some communities have identified a strong need for multi-cultural education. Judgment and stereotyping often come from insufficient understanding and

avoidance of the unknown, in this case, immigrants (Dalla et al. 2004). Insufficient knowledge about a culture or a group creates a void and room for misjudgment and negative labeling (Dalla et al. 2004, 244). A logical solution comes to mind to offer bilingual interpretation assistance in public services and facilities that are in high demand, such as medical and educational facilities, police and legal services. It only seems logical to offer alternative ways of communication to people whose ability to understand the main language is limited. Some people believe that integration of cultures could be done through children, as their social skills are not constrained by racial or ethnic origins. They find joy in just socializing with other kids. However, others think that change is unlikely to occur until kids are grown and become adults.

Second, participants in the study conducted by Potter et al. (2004) pointed out that meat packing plants should play an active role in helping mitigate subsequent problems due to their direct involvement in attracting immigrant workers to rural areas for labor. Survey participants noted that the majority of plant executives are commuters and, therefore, did not experience first-hand the negative impact of immigrant flows. For plant executives, the effects of population growth were only experienced through the positive benefits of cheap labor and not necessarily through social complexities such as overcrowding in schools and housing shortages (Potter et al. 2004).

Multicultural communities represent a phenomenon that cannot be looked at narrowmindedly. With the complexity of varying values, lifestyles and even physical appearances between immigrants and long-term residents, it seems easier to focus on the negative, mainly because of well-pronounced differences. Instead, it is more beneficial, for the long run, to focus on similarities, as there are a few. Findings by Dalla et al.

(2004, 248) point out that concerns expressed by immigrants revolved around financial and economic stability, employment, educational opportunities for kids, and safety. These safety-net factors are not tied to a specific ethnic group. Moreover, these factors provide a foundation for building common ground and uniting immigrants and their communities for the common good. Practice and policy should be oriented toward “bridging” differences and building cooperative partnerships, thereby producing solutions for mutual challenges. In this multi-faceted effort to bridge gaps, the role of community leaders cannot be emphasized enough. It should be a joint effort aimed at the establishment of collective efficacy and shared belief in the ability to adequately face and respond to community challenges.

3.3. CHALLENGES FACING PLANNING PRACTICE

Population growth and an influx of immigrants to rural communities have not been extensively studied in the planning discipline. According to Pestieau and Wallace, planning has not been very active in recognizing the importance of multi-cultural ethnic groups in rural neighborhoods (Pestieau and Wallace 2003). While diversity is common in bigger cities and, therefore, is less noticeable among multiple ethnic groups, small rural places display much more vivid presence of multiculturalism. In places that have experienced a large influx of immigrant population, challenges such as an increased demand for commercial and municipal services, social and cultural institutions, as well as housing alternatives, become common (Pestieau and Wallace 2003, 255).

Sandercock and Kliger point out that insufficient recognition of the impact of immigrant influx on communities may lead to spatial restructuring of cities, sometimes

resulting in destabilization of the existing, and sometimes taken-for-granted, social cohesion (Sandercock and Kliger 1998, 127). As communities become increasingly diversified, planners become involved in negotiations and the management of conflicts that arise from increased cultural differences. One may assume that urban planning is concerned with delivering services to the entire population and should not be focusing on any given culture and its needs in a certain community. Urban planning practice generally is known to be a neutral activity serving the needs of all. While such argument may possess some validity, a problem arises when such statements are made, but the need for a serious reconsideration of assumptions already implanted in the “neutral” planning practice is ignored (Pestieu and Wallace 2003, 256). Burayidi points out that culturally sensitive and inclusive planning carries the notion of good practice. Regardless of the demographic composition, the role of planners is essential in facilitating interactions among city residents, no matter their origin. Burayidi points out that conflicts over land use, housing and historical preservation could be avoided through the practice of multicultural, proactive and culturally sensitive planning. While the role of planners in reaching consensus and building common ground among various groups of people is fundamental, the results are not achievable without substantial support and commitment from the elected officials. Pestieu and Wallace state that elected officials and community leaders are better positioned to solve diversity driven issues than planners alone (2003).

While a recognition of diversity is a step forward toward more inclusive planning, Sandercock and Kliger (1998) state that local municipalities should go beyond the rhetorical recognition of diversity and toward inclusive implementation strategies.

Sandercock and Kliger also point out that instead of offering specific steps for accommodating diversity in implementation, only general references in policies are made by municipalities (Sandercock and Kliger 1998, 129).

In an interview with planning officers for a study conducted by Sandercock and Kliger, a planning officer explained that the planning system is culturally neutral and, therefore, does not experience culture related issues. However, this begs the question of whether, by being neutral, planning practice is avoiding blind spots in the system and is not encouraging planners to be sensitive to cultural issues when they become visible (Sandercock and Kliger 1998, 129).

Contemporary criticism of planning practice in light of growing multiculturalism points out a pressing need to consider local differences and local contexts in understanding the different responses to similar problems. According to Sandercock, the planning system has yet to work on refining the theory of multiculturalism and have a continued discussion on its definition and issues (Sandercock 2003). The significance of a context cannot be overlooked in grasping the effects of diversity on planning dynamics. When approaching diversity related issues, planners are presented with a multitude of responses; however, strategies should be developed based on a specific context. A contributing factor to the need for a discussion on multiculturalism and policy is an emerging language of *interculturalism* that works to engage immigrants in cross-cultural conversations and organizations within a community (Sandercock 2003). Consequently, daily conversations will eventually lead to an increased ability to live and share public spaces with those who are different.

In a social context, Qadeer's definition of multiculturalism goes beyond the plain tolerance of differences. Qadeer sees multiculturalism as a vision of a community where everyone owns the entitlement to their preferred lifestyle of private life, but obeys the regulations of common institutions in the public realm (Qadeer 2000). A gap exists between the acknowledgement that more sensitivity to cultural differences could be employed by planners and the limitations of planning policies that are designed to be neutral and unbiased. Therefore, a challenge presents itself before planners, where culturally diverse cities and communities challenge planning policies and practice, and this difference is associated with a problem.

Sandercock (2000) points out that the challenge posed by multiculturalism relative to the planning system finds its roots in the norms and values of the dominant culture embedded in the legal framework of planning. At the time of the initial immersion of the norms into the legal framework, societies were less diverse than they are now. These values are still at the core of the decision making processes today. A significant implication of this circumstance lies in constrained judgment of emerging issues that are not bound by the same belief systems of the dominant U.S. culture. The universalism of the "one law for all" model of planning practice implies hidden assumptions that could be easily contested in the following examples: "normal households" constitute a nuclear family; "appropriate urban form" as single family housing; and others (Sandercock 2000, 16).

Following a strong presence of norms of the dominant culture in the legal framework comes the reflection of these norms in the way planners work, behave and think. Burayidi points out that cultural insensitivity can lead to unsuccessful

communication, reserved attitude toward shared information, unwillingness to cooperate, ineffective teamwork, unsuccessful decision-making and uncompliant approach to procedure (Sandercock 2000, 16). Conflicts occur not only on the basis of cultural misunderstanding. A bigger challenge arises when anxieties and fears of another culture or people are expressed using the planning system. An example of such is a conflict over the location for a mosque or a Hindu temple. Finally, a profound challenge is presented to planners when they are faced with issues that do not fit in the “standardized” framework of practices; therefore, their own values are contested.

Though the challenges presented here are weighty and should be seriously considered in evaluating common/neutral planning practices, there seems to be no clear prescription offered in theory or practice for incorporation of differences into planning. In an effort for municipalities to embrace diversity on the way to becoming a “diversity pioneer,” Sandercock suggests seven policy directions. First and foremost is the political commitment expressed by the local government in the form of integration programs. The second is a policy support system on every level. The third is the training and education of municipal workers focusing primarily on integration. Fourth, social institutions need to undergo an innovative transformation in the realm of social policy. Such innovation can be expressed through recognition of immigrant rituals and cultural social services. The fifth direction implies a deeper understanding of urban policies and their efficiency in addressing cultural differences. This assessment of tools implies expanding of the planner’s toolbox and cross-cultural communication skills along with participatory mechanisms for generating solutions resulting in less adversity. Sixth, hosting communities need to develop responsiveness toward immigrants and build new notions

based on common identity. Lastly, the seventh policy direction is the importance of continued work on fears and anxieties of communities that drive conflicts over shared public space (Sadercock 2003, 322). As suggested by Sandercock, only with enough commitment and continuous work on promoting diversity as a point of departure in the planning framework, differences can be incorporated successfully.

3.4. APPROACHES TO PLANNING

“Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody”

-Jane Jacobs

In light of the rapid diversification of communities and the increased conversations about introducing other planning approaches in multicultural communities, this section addresses monistic and appreciative planning approaches, as well as uncovers the benefits of multiculturalism. For the purpose of this work, monistic planning refers to a former planning practice in which planners followed and promoted value free and unbiased public policy and served a rather technical role in planning (Burayidi 2000, 40-3). Appreciative planning, on the other hand, is a planning model that builds its practice on joint trust, respect and care-based action (Ameyaw 2000, 101-7). These planning methods and a comparative analysis between monistic and appreciative models are offered further in this section.

The growing presence of multiculturalism is posing challenges to urban planning in the form of changing neighborhoods versus ethnic features of urban design, occupancy standards versus cultural preferences, commercial regulation and others (Qadeer 1997). The drastically changing social and demographic makeup of rural communities in Nebraska raises questions about the effectiveness of traditional practices and values of

the planning framework. Common planning practices focus on neutrality, comprehensiveness and rationality in their approaches to community issues (Burayidi 2003). Increasing diversity, however, is bringing in another perspective, challenging the norm, demanding yet other methods of dealing with diversity of values, cultures and needs.

With the emergence of multiculturalism, ethnic communities are approached less as targets for redevelopment and more as typical vibrant multicultural neighborhoods. The goal of planning is still to serve the needs of the entire community; however, the needs of people in diverse communities are not necessarily uniform. Rather than focusing on a predetermined set of similar needs, planners are called upon to accept “difference” as a starting point. Sensitivity to cultural diversity not only allows for acknowledgement of the “other” but also enables planners to resolve issues that stem from cultural differences at the outset of a planning process. Multicultural approaches to planning allow for the expansion of the planning mission to improve the general welfare of all. Doing so by incorporation, and not by avoidance, improves the comprehensiveness of planning—the core of planning practice.

Pluralistic planning approaches go beyond acceptance. They bring a different dimension to planners’ communication skills and professional competence. Planning, as is the case with most professions, has been undergoing phases of development, each offering twists and special emphases on various elements of planning practice. In the context of multiculturalism, Burayidi suggests that there were three such phases. The first phase started with the profession’s inception in the early 1900s up to the 1960s. The

second appeared in 1961 and continued until the mid-1980s. Finally, the current and last phase began in the mid-1980s (Burayidi 2000, 39).

3.4.1. MONISTIC PLANNING

The beginning stage of the planning profession, characterized in the literature by “assimilation” as the basis of the conceptual framework, was prominent in its efforts to preserve the Anglo-Saxon culture from immigrant influences. While immigrants from Europe were offered a chance at improving their well-being, immigrants from non-European countries, such as Mexico, could not easily assimilate due to their clear distinction from the dominant culture in terms of physical appearance. Such differences resulted in economic and social hardships for immigrants who could not simply assimilate into the dominant culture (Burayidi 2000). Planning principles of that era were representative of the prevailing views on cultural and ethnic differences. The approach to planning in that era, described by Burayidi as *monistic*, revolved around unitary public interest, where the planner’s main function was to be a technical expert working to meet the demands of a society through physical improvement of the city/community (Burayidi 2000, 40).

The obvious down side to such rather narrow-minded approach is its limited vision of a community and obvious avoidance of divergent demographic characteristics that could potentially impact the community’s social and economic welfare. Fear and the negative connotation of cultural differences pertinent to the monistic approach of planning precluded communities from embracing another worldview. As expressed by Maruyama, the principles of generalization, universality, and homogenization were not

only the cornerstone of the universe, but were also desirable for the society (Burayidi 2000, 38-3). According to Burayidi, efforts made by planners to redevelop ethnic neighborhoods and bring them up to par with the rest of the community were symbolic of the planners' support of the Urban Renewal program in the U.S.

3.4.2. HOLISTIC PLANNING

Social unrest of the 1960s pointed out failures of planning to accommodate needs of the minority population and signaled a shift in planning methods from assimilation to pluralist and *holistic planning*.

The rise of the Civil Rights and Feminism movements in the 1960s escalated social justice issues and acknowledged the failure of urban renewal to address minority issues. The paradigm shift toward inclusiveness of the minority groups and their needs brought new challenges before planners who now had to incorporate advocacy in their relationships with cultural minorities and be more exposed to political action in bringing different views to the discussion table of public policy. While some changes were already visible after the paradigm shift, Sandercock (1995) points out that ethnic and racial minority voices were still marginalized and not well represented in planning.

The discourse about multiculturalism and holistic planning entered the stage at the time of planning discussions on the importance of conversation, negotiation and mutual accommodation between minority groups and the majority population. Such discussions in the present time are even more crucial due to the dominance of Hispanic population in some rural communities of Nebraska. Therefore, multiculturalism is an acceptance of different world views and an understanding that people are shaped and continuously

influenced by the culture in which they were raised. Multiculturalism should not be perceived as a dividing factor; instead, it is defined as a strength of any community's social context (Burayidi 2000).

Following in the footsteps of multiculturalism, holistic planning does not believe in universal standards and norms, prevalent in traditional planning. Moreover, holistic planning looks further and deeper, into the whys and meaning of actions. As opposed to scientific planning approaches, holistic planning is nonlinear and fragmented, and the role of a planner is viewed as one of a partner. Holistic planning also acknowledges that a multiplicity of attitudes and behaviors lie within separate cultures that see them as logical, even if they appear illogical in other cultures. Lastly, in order for other cultures to be involved in discussions, they must be treated as a part of, rather than departure from, the standard (Burayidi 2000, 46).

The comparative analysis of the monistic/pluralistic and holistic planning approaches concludes as follows:

The *monistic* approach is of the hierarchical power structure with an emphasis on universalistic world views that are driven primarily by instrumental rationality. Monistic planning is monotonous, technical and functionalist. *Holistic* planning, on the contrary, is particularistic with a power structure that allows participation and mutual accommodation. Its orientation of architecture and urban form reflect diversity, history, and aesthetic (Burayidi 2000). In order for holistic planning to blossom, it should be allowed and encouraged to function fully in local and national discourses, as well as be perceived as a part of, rather than a departure from, the norm.

Burayidi builds a strong case toward full implementation of the holistic planning techniques and incorporation of holistic approaches into planning practice. He states that the strengths of holistic practices go beyond their comprehensiveness. According to Burayidi, holistic planning contributes to the following:

- *deeper understanding of the cultural differences between planners and multicultural communities;*

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the fastest growing minority group in the U.S. is that of non-Western European descent, which implies that planners—if they have not already—will soon need to embrace greater interaction with multicultural groups.

Interactions between various cultural groups tend to create tension, forcing planners to be involved in resolving such conflicts. Involvement in conflict resolution among multicultural groups may include making choices and decisions previously unexplored by planners. Exposure to and deeper understanding of cultural differences in a given community are essential for planners' future ability to effectively address multicultural conflicts.

- *making planning practice more relevant to the needs of the immigrant population;*

Holistic planning strives toward making planning a comprehensive and just process for all, regardless of race or ethnicity of community members. According to Burayidi (2000), acceptance of planning as a fair process is hard to fulfill among diverse groups if in its practice it relies exclusively on the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon culture. Perceptions of planning injustices and cultural biases may stem from regulations that impose cultural biases on minority groups, such as in the areas of land-use (Burayidi 2000). Also, calls

for accommodation need to be made in housing arrangements, as preferences and needs of different culture groups vary and housing should be reflective of the cultural diversity of the community.

While during the era of Urban Renewal in the U.S., ethnic enclaves and neighborhoods were declared blighted and dysfunctional, cultural sensitivity in planning now allows for revitalization, preservation and sometimes even recreation of neighborhoods with a cultural character. Such efforts of cultural preservation can be observed in larger cities through Chinatowns and Greek or Italian neighborhoods. However, examples of localized efforts are few. In the very few cases where culture is reflected in housing designs or arrangement (e.g.) Ohlone neighborhood in Oakland, California, efforts were made to incorporate culture and citizen participation in the planning process.

- *expanding the planning debate to the voices of minority groups (Burayidi 2000, 37).*

In order for planning to be inclusive of voices of minority groups, techniques and the decision making process should go outside the borderline of conventional bureaucratic and legalistic planning practices (Burayidi 2000). Adjustment to new techniques and forms of communication may be required for planners to be comfortable in new settings while developing cultural sensitivity and incorporating inclusiveness into their methods.

Planning is a profession that has gone through multiple stages of development. Perhaps the 21st century is yet another period of time when gears must be shifted for a smoother transition into a changing environment. Research suggests that with every given

period of time, whether during the start of the profession in the 1900s or during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, planners had to respond to the changing economic and social demands of that time. From the perspective of the 21st century, planning decisions in those years may appear inadequate; however, those decisions were made to respond to the events and the dominant cultural assumptions of that time. Keeping in mind planners' dedication to society overall, their actions should be sensitive to the values of the people they serve.

3.4.3. APPRECIATIVE PLANNING

According to Stephen Ameyaw, multicultural planning can be realized through the practice of *appreciative planning*, which is discussed in greater detail in this section. Appreciative planning is not just a theoretical concept, but rather a tool that helps planners approach multicultural communities with sound techniques for problem solving and conflict resolution. Because multicultural communities possess different values, appreciative planning is geared toward bringing those differences together toward mutual respect and trust. With the rise of multicultural communities, appreciative planning offers a valuable means for planners to help diverse communities face diverse problems. More importantly, appreciative planning departs from the conventional method of solving land use problems separate from social/racial issues (Ameyaw 2000, 102).

This is not to imply that conventional planning methods are unsuccessful. Planning methods that work for the majority population do not fully address the needs of different minority cultures mainly due to their incomprehension of the differences in perception and values of the minority groups. Communities that mostly contain single

family housing are not adequate in addressing housing needs of minority groups who are used to different housing arrangements. Conflicts arise on the basis of unmet expectations and competing interests, and planners are expected to address the conflicts effectively.

When working with diverse groups, simply translating surveys and meeting minutes to Spanish and utilizing the help of cultural organizations in mediating the contact with the minority population is not adequate to encourage meaningful participation. The main reason for such inadequacy to come out of traditional planning approaches when working with diverse communities is that rationalized planning ideas cannot be translated into cultures with completely different value systems (Ameyaw 2000, 103).

While many communities may have acknowledged the presence of multiculturalism in their communities, action steps should be taken toward implementation and inclusion of ethnic minorities in planning and decision-making processes. Experiences of Canadian cities serve as reminders that even communities at the early stage of development can make effective steps toward expanding their base of support and interest to other ethnic groups.

Ameyaw suggests four key elements of community building: (1) jump start, (2) plugging in, (3) emerging sense of diversity, and (4) collaboration for constructing multiculturalism (Ameyaw 2000, 109). He states that even communities with a distant sense of multiculturalism and limited experience can jump start community building initiatives by incrementally plugging in small positive factors that would raise ethnic and racial awareness. Picking up on small projects that can *jump start* initial contact with diverse groups could serve as the first step toward community building. Successful

outcomes of these jump start projects can serve as an effective model that could be shared across the community. Essential for this stage is determination of leaders and willingness of multi-cultural groups to form partnerships that could be carried across ethnic boundaries. Only partnership among diverse groups assures understanding and eases confrontation (Ameyaw 2000).

Citizen participation and collaboration among community groups is essential for the goal of addressing common problems. This is where appreciative planning works to make a significant impact through collaboration and mutual respect. While less experienced communities can start building their interest base and reinforcing the jump start efforts, more organized communities could further develop their ties with the diverse groups to gain their influence. The golden spike of appreciative planning does not lie in serving the needs of any one group, but rather in the employment of practices that allow for reaching out to all people and ethnic groups to let them share their views and experiences in their communities that in turn instill trust, learning and networking among community members and their leaders.

CHAPTER 4: THE AMERICAN PRACTICE OF MULTICULTURAL PLANNING

The vibrancy of the planning profession lies within the multiplicity of issues it has to face on a daily basis. With the turn of the 21st century, social, economic and global issues have not only become more complex; they have become numerous. The issue of Hispanic immigration in the U.S. has grown to not only impressive numbers, but also has caused a political debate on the effects and implications of this phenomenon on a number of social, demographic and economic aspects of American communities.

When the surrounding environment changes, causing paradigm shifts in how we perceive and manage our communities, it often seems illogical to resist the inevitable change and hang on to old ideologies simply for the sake of tradition. Neither antiglobalization nor other anti-change political sentiments are capable of solving the challenges of 21st century urban life (Sandercock 2007). As planning issues become diverse and intricate, planners need to rely on tactics and methods that allow them to face new challenges and offer constructive solutions, rather than to avoid such pressing concerns. In this context, appreciative planning provides tools of empowerment, as well as confidence in self ability to be a generator of innovative solutions. In approaching multicultural concerns with rationality, planners oftentimes trigger self-protecting attitudes among immigrant groups that look for escape from blame rather than participation in problem solving (Ameyaw 2000, 113-7).

The strength of multiculturalism lies in positive reinforcement and encouragement of the community to be their own problem solvers. Ameyaw (2000) suggests that planners become innovative in their practices and build on successful examples of other

communities when facing current challenges of the profession. Positive reinforcement and replication of successful practices play a key role in building a foundation for effective manifestation of multicultural approaches.

Building on the experience of other communities, this chapter offers an insight into community struggles and successful resolution of conflicts resulting from cultural differences. Case studies highlighted in this chapter represent only a fraction of multicultural living instances and more successful examples can be drawn from the experiences of other communities. Offered here are three case studies from Orange County, California that provide solutions to three culturally sensitive issues: 1) liquor license approval for a Hispanic grocery store; 2) conditional use permit approval for a Buddhist temple; and 3) resolution of restrictions on garage sales and laundry lines in a low-income immigrant neighborhood (Harwood 2005).

The three case studies focus on the following locations in Orange County: Anaheim, Garden Grove and La Habra. According to Harwood, Orange County is known for one of the most significant economies in the world while at the same time being a home for poverty and despair. The demographic and social contexts of Orange County have changed significantly over the period from 1990 to 2010 (Harwood 2005). According to Census Bureau 2012 estimates, the total population of Orange County is over 3 million people, compared to over 38 million in the entire State of California (Census Bureau 2012). As of 2012 Census estimates, the biggest minority group is Hispanic or Latino, comprising 34.1% of the total population of Orange County and 38.2% of the state. Asian population comprises 18.9% of the population in the county and 13.9% in the state (Census Bureau 2012).

Unlike its cultural diversity, the political representation of Orange County is mostly homogeneous, where 70% of the voting population is non-Hispanic white, 14% Latino, 8% Black, and 7% Asian (Harwood 2005, 358). Harwood explains that such political homogeneity is partially due to a significant number of new residents not being documented or able to vote in the State of California (Harwood 2005, 358).

4.1. CASE 1: ANAHEIM: GIGANTE SUPERMARKET

The City of Anaheim has several interesting features. Being the second largest city in Orange County, Anaheim had a population of over 343,000 in 2012 (Census Bureau, 2012 estimates). Of the total population in Orange County in 2010, 52.8% was Hispanic, compared to 37.6% in the State of California (Census Bureau 2010). Moreover, Anaheim is notorious for its battles over street and mobile vendors and political fights with the government of Mexico over immigration impacts on Anaheim's local schools (Harwood 2005).

The planning uproar started after a Mexican grocery chain, "Gigante," negotiated a 20-year lease contract with the Anaheim Plaza in 2002. Due to the area's above average crime records, the store was required to undergo a "determination of public convenience or necessity" (PCN) in order to receive a liquor license, even though the area zoning already allowed selling of alcohol in supermarkets. The initial report to the planning commission done by planning staff recommended denial of the license on the basis of overconcentration of liquor licenses in the area. The police department offered additional information on crime statistics; however, the commission's decision was to deny the license on the grounds of insufficient demonstration of how the license would serve at the

convenience of the general public and the over-concentration of liquor licenses in the census tract (Harwood 2005, 361). While a neighboring store had received PCN approval a year earlier, the denial of the license to Gigante would have a negative impact, forcing the business to relocate.

The announcement by the planning commission of the denial of the liquor license caused much anticipated turmoil in the community. The situation was exacerbated by a letter written by the City of Anaheim Redevelopment Agency simply stating that Gigante did not serve the entire population of Anaheim but rather a specialized clientele. Because of Anaheim's earlier anti-immigrant attitude, as well as earlier rejection of state funded public schooling and healthcare, emotions were high. Although the city was not aware of the redevelopment agency's public expression of satisfaction with the commission's decision, the planning commission felt guilty of discrimination (Harwood 2005, 361).

It was concluded by Gigante's lawyer that the decision of the planning commission violated the North American Free Trade Act because only Gigante was subject to such approval process. Moreover, the lawyer demanded that the approval be granted due to significant Hispanic population in the area (Harwood 2005). Following planners' recommendations, the council proposed "transferring the current license from another location in the city to maintain the overall number of licenses in the city" (Harwood 2005, 362).

4.2. CASE 2: GARDEN GROVE: THE CHUA LIEN HOA BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The location of this case is in the city of Garden Grove, Orange County. Although over 174,000 in size, the city population is almost evenly distributed between Asian

(37.1%) and Hispanic/Latino (36.9%) persons (Census Bureau 2010 estimates). The Asian population of Garden Grove exceeds that of the entire state by 24.1%. With its vibrant business community, planners of Garden Grove were faced with a challenge of serving the city's new, as well as old, practices through the process of a conditional use permit.

In the late 1980s, a group of the Lien Hoa Buddhist Temple members started having meetings at a Buddhist residence in a predominantly white middle-class neighborhood. Following a request for expansion of the residence, the Buddhist monks were denied the request due to residents' complaints. Later, an expansion of the residence was permitted, including adding extra rooms, covered patio area, and an enclosed front porch. However, as a result of an investigation of anonymous complaints, the residence was found to be violating the required conditional use permit for operating as a religious facility in an area zoned for single-family housing (Harwood 2005). Numerous complaints by the residents about parking, noise and group gatherings contributed to the decision to limit daily functions of the temple to the house, occupancy of 20 people at a time, singing or chanting with open windows, and using a public address system (Harwood 2005).

In need for an assembly house, the members of the temple requested an approval for a CUP, which was approved and granted with a list of conditions. Following a short period of time and a Vietnamese Mother's Day celebration, the temple was once again under attack for multiple violations. Nine months later, a court settlement concluded with the city's dismissal of charges and a \$5,000 letter of credit posted by the head monk for one year to prevent future violations. After the court settlement, the temple was able to

continue its practice with limited disturbances and minor violations. Due to multiple participants, complexity of a religious entity, and legal threats that were included in the conflict, the case extended over a decade (Harwood 2005).

It is important to note that while some reported disturbances may have been appropriate, it was admitted by the code enforcement officer that most complaints were made by people not directly affected by the temple's functioning. Moreover, due to the requirement to respond to all complaints, the temple was investigated multiple times, while other religious gatherings had never been investigated. An assumption can be derived from this case that the system was leverage by long-term residents who resisted new activities in the neighborhood introduced by the newcomers. Perhaps the same leverage concept could have been applied by the newcomers against the long-term residents had they known the mechanism for making such complaints.

4.3. CASE 3: LA HABRA: NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION

La Habra is located on the northern side of Orange County with a population of over 61,000 (Census Bureau 2012 estimates). The Hispanic population of La Habra makes up a significant 57.2% of the total mostly middle-class and working population (Census Bureau 2010). The city's neighborhood improvement regulations dealing with push cart vendors and clotheslines were borrowed from other cities such as Santa Ana and Anaheim. It was observed by one council member that unappealing garage sales were taking place in a nice part of town, and that needed attention of the planning commission in the form of a regulation.

After the adoption of the yard sale regulation, street vending started to multiply across the county. In 1994, when a ban was issued to prevent street vending, it caused some controversy. It was noted that the decision to ban push cart vending was based primarily on resident complaints and not on public consensus about the nuisance. It was concluded by the chief of police that street vending was against public welfare, safety and order (Harwood 2005, 365). The decision caused discriminatory sentiments in the Hispanic community who perceived it to be “another typical racial baiting by politicians” (Harwood 2005, 365). Later, the city had moved on with subsiding public nuisances such as graffiti, overgrown weeds, inoperable vehicles and clotheslines in an effort to clean up the community. The city’s efforts were met with discontent and even hostility. Residents expressed their dissatisfaction by stating that additional programs, food and jobs were needed in the community more than regulations.

Regulations prohibiting street vending and yard sales sensitized a critical issue, affecting the well-being of families and even the owner’s self-respect (Harwood 2005, 366). In following years, the city of La Habra still reinforced city ordinances, but with some modifications. Garage sales were permitted but limited to only a few times a year and did not require a fee. In order to keep streets and neighborhoods cleaner and safer, the city hired more code enforcement officers and approved an ordinance that imposed a fine for thieves of shopping carts, which was becoming a common occurrence in the city. However, in order to prevent deportation of low-income mothers, the enforcement of the ordinance was not aggressive (Harwood 2005, 366).

4.4. SUMMARY

What these three cases offer are examples of what types of challenges multicultural communities present for planners. It is crucial to understand and acknowledge that taking a neutral position in solutions and recommendations is counteractive to the well-being of the *entire* community. By choosing the “business as usual” approaches in situations that are unusual to their professional practice, planners are contributing to ethnic inequality and political exclusion. Decisions made about what is included or excluded from staff reports, as well as interpretation of codes for residents, are all political decisions leaving an impact on the minority population (Harwood 2005).

From these cases it can be inferred that when issues of culture and ethnicity were highlighted by media reports, planners would deny being culturally insensitive and blame the media for escalating the issue (Harwood 2005). A better approach in this circumstance would be to acknowledge the presence of cultural difference and openly address the situation. Blindly accepting and following other municipalities’ regulations only adds to the planner’s inability to face the challenge. Instead of using existing regulations to control difference, the “business as usual” mentality needs to be reasonably contested. The “growing pains” of the changing demographic does not necessarily indicate the failure of planning, but rather signals the existence of difference (Harwood 2005, 368). “New” and “different” need to be accepted and fears of “new” addressed, as they help communities to move forward.

CHAPTER 5: NEBRASKA CASE STUDIES

This chapter offers results of the review of the comprehensive plans and shares results of the surveys that were conducted with community leaders, planning firms and community members in four Nebraska communities: Schuyler, Lexington, South Sioux City and Crete. The chapter presents research findings about the occurrence of multicultural approaches to community planning and the perceptions of citizens of the planning practice in these four communities. The selected comprehensive plans were also evaluated using the Policy Index authored by Mohammad Qadeer and Agrawal. The ranking was done based on what multicultural policies were present and to what degree they were discussed or addressed in the plan. The research findings are presented in two parts: 1) review of the current comprehensive plans and 2) interviews.

The interviews conducted for this research were targeted at identifying multicultural methods and techniques used by planning consultants during plan development, city administrators' understanding of the demographic and cultural diversity of their municipalities and their impact on plan development, and citizens' perceptions of the planning process, sense of involvement and representation during plan development in their communities.

The selection of city administrators was based on their familiarity with the plans considered for this research and their current title of city administrator or assistant city administrator. Also, planning consultants were chosen based on their direct participation in the development of the comprehensive plans. Even though a limited number of jurisdictions were selected for this project (4), some of the planning consulting firms had worked with more than one of the communities selected for this study.

5.1. COMPREHENSIVE PLANS

In the analysis of the comprehensive plans, a Policy Index of Multicultural Planning was utilized for rating policies based on a 0-2 ordinal scale. The Index offers a list of multicultural policies developed by Qadeer and Agrawal (2011) to measure the response of planning practice toward cultural diversity. A list of nineteen multicultural policies makes up the Policy Index (see Appendix B). Evaluation of the comprehensive plans presented below appears in the following order: Schuyler, Lexington, South Sioux City and Crete based on the rank order of the percentage of Hispanic population in the communities in 2010. The analysis and ranking of the comprehensive plans is based on the author's judgment after reviewing the documents.

5.1.1. SCHUYLER

Schuyler is the county seat for Colfax County. Schuyler's population is a mixture of many nationalities. The three largest ethnic groups arriving early in the town's history were Czech, Irish, and German. Since the early 1990's Hispanic immigrants have been immigrating to Schuyler. In 1969 the Spencer Foods Company built a beef packing plant west of Schuyler. Today, this modern plant operates as Cargill Meat Solutions. Schuyler is a progressive city of the first class with a growing multi-cultural population of 6,211 (<http://schuylernebraska.net/govCity.asp>).

The Comprehensive Plan for the city of Schuyler, adopted in November 2004 highlights the importance of the Hispanic population for the economy and overall well-being of the Schuyler community. The plan points out the need to incorporate more

places of public interaction between cultures, including the Hispanic population to retain and attract potential residents.

Also, the plan delineates the need for additional recreational areas and ethnic sports facilities, such as soccer fields. Schuyler currently has a number of soccer fields; however, the community strives to keep its standards above the national average in the provision of soccer fields for use by community, which has a large Hispanic component.

The plan identifies the demand for mixed housing designs and choices that would accommodate the diversity of its population and serve the needs of the entire community. Hispanic businesses and business owners are encouraged to market their services to the entire community, and not just to those with Hispanic heritage. Policy recommendations are proposed to help the Hispanic community better understand zoning codes and regulations via Spanish translation of planning documents. A series of actions are outlined in the plan to help the Hispanic business community increase its knowledge of business practices by providing business classes and offering “after hours” sessions held in a number of Latino businesses. The Chamber of Commerce is encouraged to play a leading role in this educational effort.

The plan sets a goal to identify leadership among the Hispanic population and to organize a forum for Latino participation. Overall, the plan acknowledges the challenges and an economic change associated with population growth and, therefore, sets a goal to expand participation of the Hispanic community in government and civic organizations/activities. Table 5.1 shows that Schuyler’s Comprehensive Plan exhibits a noticeable consideration of multicultural policies, especially in the areas of housing for diverse groups, ethnic entrepreneurship and ethnic sports. Among the lower ratings are

involvement and consideration, participation in decision-making, ethnic diversity as a goal, policies for ethnic business areas, ethnic signage and accommodation of intercultural needs.

<i>Table 5.1 Multicultural Policy Index – City of Schuyler Comprehensive Plan</i>				
#	Policy	Rating 0-2		
		0	1	2
1	Involvement and Consultation		X	
2	Representation in Planning Communities	X		
3	Participation in Decision-Making		X	
4	Routinely Analyzing Ethnic Characteristics	X		
5	Studies of Ethnic Enclaves	X		
6	Ethnic Diversity as a Goal		X	
7	City-wide Policies for Cultural Institutions	X		
8	Policies/Guidelines for Ethnic Areas	X		
9	Policies for Ethnic Business Areas		X	
10	Culture/Religion for Site-specific Accommodations	X		
11	Ethnic Signage/Street Names/Translation of codes		X	
12	Ethnic-Specific Service Needs	X		
13	Immigrants Special Needs	X		
14	Ethnic Heritage Preservation Projects	X		
15	Housing to Suit Diverse Groups			X
16	Providing for Intercultural Needs		X	
17	Promoting Ethnic Entrepreneurship			X
18	Promoting ethnic Art and Culture	X		
19	Accommodating Ethnic Sports			X
TOTAL			6	6

Source of Policy Index: Qadeer and Agrawal, 2011, p. 145. Canadian Journal of Urban Research, 132-156

Source of Plan: Comprehensive Development Plan 2004, Schuyler, Nebraska. <http://schuylernebraska.net/schuylerPlan.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2013).

Evaluation ratings:

The multicultural policies developed by Qadeer and Agrawal (2011) as part of the Multicultural Policy Index are coded based on a 0–2 ordinal scale. Items within each of these components receive a score of 0 if they are not mentioned or identified in the plans. Items scored as 1 indicate they are identified but not detailed. A score of 2 indicates the item is thoroughly described or detailed in the plan (Fu and Tang 2013, 63).

5.1.2. LEXINGTON

Lexington is located in south-central Nebraska. The basic economic activities of Lexington include manufacturing, retailing, meat processing, aquaculture, alfalfa dehydrating, cattle feeding, farming, ranching, and ethanol production. The business climate in Lexington is very good at the present time. Tyson Foods (IBP) is the community's largest employer, but several other industries and businesses continue to thrive in Lexington (<http://www.cityoflex.com/index.aspx?page=97>).

The Comprehensive Plan for Lexington, adopted in August 2005, consists of two parts: a general plan and a comprehensive plan update to the current documents. The plan is written in general terms and is presented as a general vision of the city's future development. Throughout the plan there seems to be no direct reference to Hispanic population growth. Instead, the plan makes a general reference to the expected population growth in the community that would have to be accommodated by the provision of additional housing and the improvement of current living conditions for residents. The plan sets general community development goals that are intended to improve the quality of life for all community residents, regardless of their ethnic or racial origin. Moreover, in its proposed actions for development and preservation of current residents, the plan acknowledges cultural diversity of its population. In its efforts to accommodate the community's needs and demands, the Lexington Comprehensive Plan includes a development strategy oriented toward continued education opportunities, such as ESL (English as a Second Language) classes offered to people and businessmen interested in learning a second language (Lexington Comprehensive Plan 2005).

<i>Table 5.2 Multicultural Policy Index – City of Lexington Comprehensive Plan</i>				
		Rating 0-2		
#	Policy	0	1	2
1	Involvement and Consultation	X		
2	Representation in Planning Communities	X		
3	Participation in Decision-Making	X		
4	Routinely Analyzing Ethnic Characteristics	X		
5	Studies of Ethnic Enclaves	X		
6	Ethnic Diversity as a Goal	X		
7	City-wide Policies for Cultural Institutions		X	
8	Policies/Guidelines for Ethnic Areas	X		
9	Policies for Ethnic Business Areas	X		
10	Culture/Religion for Site-specific Accommodations	X		
11	Ethnic Signage/Street Names/Translation of codes	X		
12	Ethnic-Specific Service Needs	X		
13	Immigrants Special Needs	X		
14	Ethnic Heritage Preservation Projects		X	
15	Housing to Suit Diverse Groups		X	
16	Providing for Intercultural Needs		X	
17	Promoting Ethnic Entrepreneurship	X		
18	Promoting ethnic Art and Culture	X		
19	Accommodating Ethnic Sports	X		
TOTAL			4	0

Source of Policy Index: Qadeer and Agrawal, 2011, p. 145. Canadian Journal of Urban Research, 132-156

Source of Plan: Comprehensive Plan Update 2030, Lexington, Nebraska.

<http://www.cityoflex.com/ftp/documents/Lexington%20Comp%20Plan%202030.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2013).

Comprehensive Plan Update: The Lex-Plan 2013, Lexington, Nebraska, (web link unavailable at the time of this thesis) (accessed November 2, 2013).

Evaluation ratings:

The multicultural policies developed by Qadeer and Agrawal (2011) as part of the Multicultural Policy Index are coded based on a 0–2 ordinal scale. Items within each of these components receive a score of 0 if they are not mentioned or identified in the plans. Items scored as 1 indicate they are identified but not detailed. A score of 2 indicates the item is thoroughly described or detailed in the plan (Fu and Tang 2013, 63).

The plan update points out a significant growth of the Hispanic population from 1.64% in 1990 to 51.15% in 2000, and to 60.44% in 2010. A 55.46% growth of the Hispanic population from 1990 to 2010 defines current and potential housing demands in the community (The Lex-Plan 2013, 19). The plan update also points out the effort of the local fire and rescue service that has begun to utilize modern technology, such as the iPad, to better communicate with people whose first language is not English. Descriptions in the plan of public meetings conducted to gather citizen perspectives on the community issues do not specify the presence of members of the Hispanic community in Lexington. As shown in Table 5.2, the Lexington Plan exhibited very few multicultural policies. Out of nineteen policies, only four were indicated. Policies in the areas of city-wide policies for cultural institutions, ethnic heritage preservation projects, housing for diverse groups and accommodation of intercultural needs are identified, but are not discussed in detail.

5.1.3. SOUTH SIOUX CITY

South Sioux City is located in the northeast corner of Nebraska, known as the Tri-State-Area or Siouxland. South Sioux City is continually upgrading its infrastructure for all of future needs. The South Sioux City area has over 500 acres of industrial ground to choose from and ready to develop. South Sioux City also boasts a good educational system with schools and a safe community for people to live, work, and play (<http://www.southsiouxcity.org/departments/?fDD=7-0>).

The Comprehensive Plan for South Sioux City, adopted in 2009, provides a general overview of South Sioux City and its current conditions and infrastructure. The

plan contains few direct references to the Hispanic population. Instead, the plan focuses on services for the entire population, such as housing, transportation and schools.

<i>Table 5.3 Multicultural Policy Index–City of South Sioux City Comprehensive Plan</i>				
		Rating 0-2		
#	Policy	0	1	2
1	Involvement and Consultation	X		
2	Representation in Planning Communities	X		
3	Participation in Decision-Making	X		
4	Routinely Analyzing Ethnic Characteristics	X		
5	Studies of Ethnic Enclaves	X		
6	Ethnic Diversity as a Goal	X		
7	City-wide Policies for Cultural Institutions	X		
8	Policies/Guidelines for Ethnic Areas	X		
9	Policies for Ethnic Business Areas	X		
10	Culture/Religion for Site-specific Accommodations	X		
11	Ethnic Signage/Street Names/Translation of codes	X		
12	Ethnic-Specific Service Needs		X	
13	Immigrants Special Needs	X		
14	Ethnic Heritage Preservation Projects	X		
15	Housing to Suit Diverse Groups	X		
16	Providing for Intercultural Needs		X	
17	Promoting Ethnic Entrepreneurship	X		
18	Promoting ethnic Art and Culture	X		
19	Accommodating Ethnic Sports	X		
TOTAL			2	0

Source of Policy Index: Qadeer and Agrawal, 2011, p. 145. Canadian Journal of Urban Research, 132-156

Source of Plan: Comprehensive Plan 2009, South Sioux City, Nebraska.

<http://www.southsiouxcity.org/egov/documents/446311242836300.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2013).

Evaluation ratings:

The multicultural policies developed by Qadeer and Agrawal (2011) as part of the Multicultural Policy Index are coded based on a 0–2 ordinal scale. Items within each of these components receive a score of 0 if they are not mentioned or identified in the plans. Items scored as 1 indicate they are identified but not detailed. A score of 2 indicates the item is thoroughly described or detailed in the plan (Fu and Tang 2013, 63).

The plan discusses in length the effects of population growth. It points out that changes in ethnic and racial contexts cause economic and social changes in the community. Businesses and educational institutions in South Sioux City are incorporating bi-lingual skills in offering information to the public, and such services are increasing (Comprehensive Plan for South Sioux City 2009, 20). Public computers at the City library feature Spanish keyboards to make their services accessible to the immigrant population. The plan recognizes the demographic diversity of the community and values the employment base, fulfilled in large measure by immigrants, who work at such companies as Tyson Fresh Meats (beef slaughter and processing), which employs over 5,000 residents (Comprehensive Plan for South Sioux City 2009, 88). As shown Table 5.3, consideration of multicultural policies in the South Sioux City Comprehensive Plan is very limited. Only brief mentioning of ethnic-specific service needs and accommodation of intercultural needs can be found in the plan.

5.1.4. CRETE

Crete is located in Nebraska's Blue River Valley. Founded in 1870, this vibrant city benefits from both its pioneer heritage and its present day diversity. Home to 6,960 residents (2010 Census), Crete provides the comforts of small town living with convenient access to the nearby metropolitan areas of Lincoln and Omaha. Crete is somewhat of an anomaly in that it supports both industry and a private college. Four major manufacturers are located in Crete. Bunge Milling is the leading corn dry miller in

the world, with operations in North and South America. Douglas Manufacturing is a family business that produces election equipment and media containers.

<i>Table 5.4 Multicultural Policy Index–City of Crete Comprehensive Plan</i>				
#	Policy	Rating 0-2		
		0	1	2
1	Involvement and Consultation		X	
2	Representation in Planning Communities	X		
3	Participation in Decision-Making		X	
4	Routinely Analyzing Ethnic Characteristics	X		
5	Studies of Ethnic Enclaves	X		
6	Ethnic Diversity as a Goal		X	
7	City-wide Policies for Cultural Institutions	X		
8	Policies/Guidelines for Ethnic Areas	X		
9	Policies for Ethnic Business Areas		X	
10	Culture/Religion for Site-specific Accommodations	X		
11	Ethnic Signage/Street Names/Translation of codes		X	
12	Ethnic-Specific Service Needs	X		
13	Immigrants Special Needs	X		
14	Ethnic Heritage Preservation Projects	X		
15	Housing to Suit Diverse Groups			X
16	Providing for Intercultural Needs		X	
17	Promoting Ethnic Entrepreneurship			X
18	Promoting ethnic Art and Culture	X		
19	Accommodating Ethnic Sports			X
TOTAL			6	6

Source of Policy Index: Qadeer and Agrawal, 2011, p. 145. Canadian Journal of Urban Research, 132-156

Source of Plan: Comprehensive Plan 2006, Crete, Nebraska. <http://www.crete-ne.com/documents/4/CreteComprehensivePlan.pdf> (accessed October 1, 2013).

Evaluation ratings:

The multicultural policies developed by Qadeer and Agrawal (2011) as part of the Multicultural Policy Index are coded based on a 0–2 ordinal scale. Items within each of these components receive a score of 0 if they are not mentioned or identified in the plans. Items scored as 1 indicate they are identified but not detailed. A score of 2 indicates the item is thoroughly described or detailed in the plan (Fu and Tang 2013, 63).

Farmland Foods, located just outside city limits, employs approximately 2,050 people. Nestle/Purina produces a wide variety of pet foods (<http://www.crete-ne.gov/index.aspx?nid=93>).

The Comprehensive Plan for the city of Crete, adopted in May 2006, is different from other plans evaluated for this project in that its format and strong focus is on future land use in Crete. The plan acknowledges the diversity of Crete's population and its rapidly changing environment. The plan's concentration on land use and transportation is clear throughout the document.

The plan emphasizes the efforts made by the City of Crete to accommodate the growing immigrant population of Hispanic origin. The plan highlights special efforts of the Crete Public School System, as well as city and community leaders, in extending opportunities and help to new community members. Efforts, such as ESL (English as a Second Language) classes and cultural programs at Blue River Community Center, as well as grant applications for cultural programs, serve as examples of the City's commitment. While the focus remains on Crete's current and future land use, the plan points out ongoing conversations on integration and cultural diversity in the community.

In light of the growing population in Crete, provisions are made by the current plan and future plan update to further develop and diversify housing to suit the needs of the diverse population. The plan also makes cultural policy recommendations that include the following:

- Encourage minority group representation on the city steering committee and in business groups;
- Appoint minority citizens to the Planning Commission;

- Designate a City-wide Council seat for minority representatives only;
- Establish a cultural diversity committee for integrating the community's multiple ethnic and cultural groups;
- Create a part-time cultural liaison position in the city of Crete to carry out the role of a facilitator of multicultural and public relations issues (Comprehensive Plan for Crete 2006, 6-4).

Table 5.4 shows that Crete's Comprehensive Plan exhibits a substantial inclusion of multicultural policies. Specifically, the plan discusses in detail housing for diverse groups, ethnic entrepreneurship and ethnic sports. Other policies, identified with fewer details are involvement and consultation, participation in decision-making, ethnic diversity as a goal, policies for ethnic business areas, ethnic signage and accommodation of intercultural needs.

5.2. INTERVIEWS

The purpose of conducting interviews for this research was to gain deeper understanding of the planning process, methods and techniques employed in planning practices, as well as overall perception of the process by city administrators, planning consulting firms and citizens of the selected cities. The interviews provided a clearer image of the planning process that could not be fully derived from evaluating the comprehensive plans.

In total, twelve interviews were conducted for this project. In order to accommodate the participants, three options were offered for gathering the respondents' feedback: email, in-person interviews, and phone interviews. Two out of the twelve

interviews were conducted in-person, two over the phone, and the remaining through email. Summaries of the participants' responses are presented below. For complete questionnaires and individual responses of the participants, please see Appendix E.

5.2.1. CITY ADMINISTRATOR INTERVIEWS

5.2.1.1. *City of Schuylers/City administrator 1*

The city administrator for Schuylers pointed out that the 2004 comprehensive plan focuses mainly on land development. The city administrator served in the role of project manager for the comprehensive plan process. The process of plan development included citizen involvement that included sending out surveys to the entire population of Schuylers. Normally, community surveys are translated into Spanish and English. Other methods of civic involvement included notifying major employers and postings in public spaces. Information was also sent to local radio stations and newspapers. Council meetings were televised on local television. While considerations that went into the analysis of the Hispanic community in the comprehensive plan were the same as for the rest of the population, the city administrator pointed out that Hispanic population growth is reflected in the current plan. Community growth is projected and reflected in the plan, and the city provides public services to the entire population and not to specific ethnic groups.

5.2.1.2. *City of Lexington/City administrator 2*

The assistant city administrator in Lexington had no role during the process of developing the 2005 comprehensive plan; however, this person served as a mover, coordinator, and liaison for the consultants during the Lex-Plan-2013, which is an update

to the current plan. While the plan update met expectations of the city and exceeded the goals in the 2005 plan, the interviewee pointed out that while change and growth may be ethnic, the standards for housing, classrooms and utilities do not have an ethnic identity, with the exception of recreational preferences. Soccer is more popular as a sport in Lexington than other “American” sports. As part of planning approaches and methods used during plan development, only interpreters were hired to assist with focus groups and town hall meetings. An online medium was used instead of a traditional town hall meeting.

According to the interviewee, participation in the online town hall meeting far exceeded traditional meetings. While ethnicity of the participants was not identified, it was pointed out that mostly the young people in Lexington who, for the most part, are Hispanic, were attracted to the online medium. Other citizen engagement tools included sending out invitations to the Hispanic community, to the school system, as well as to ethnic and religious organizations to participate in public meetings. Information with regard to public meetings was also displayed on the city website, which has an option for a translation. As was pointed out in the interview, the first generation Hispanic population has not been active or interested in public issues. However, in recent years Lexington has been seeing the second generation Hispanic population serve as cultural ambassadors who own the benefit of inheriting the outcomes inspired by the current plan.

5.2.1.3. City of South Sioux City/City administrator 3

The city administrator in South Sioux City pointed out that the purpose of the comprehensive plan is to advance the entire community. It was pointed out that crime actually went down with the increase of the minorities. This, according to the city

administrator, is a reflection of the city's efforts to deter crime in the community. One of the efforts to involve the minority population in committees has been through the local Hispanic newspaper. In the 2009 Comprehensive Plan for South Sioux City, the city administrator's role was to ensure participation of the citizens in the planning process, review of the plan, and presentation of the plan to the council.

While planning methods were not specifically adapted for the Hispanic community, local newspapers and surveys were used to encourage participation of the Hispanic community. The interviewee pointed out that while all members of the community are considered when developing a plan, population growth should be part of any comprehensive plan. Overall, the Hispanic population in South Sioux City is very happy, the city administrator says.

5.2.1.4. City of Crete/City administrator 4

At the time of the 2006 comprehensive plan development, the Crete city administrator's role was primarily facilitative. The plan focused mainly on transportation, due to some grant money allocated for the transportation component, leaving little funding for other aspects of the plan. Therefore, the plan is not reflective of the community's cultural diversity. In the current plan update, which is more of an entirely new plan, the administrator's role has been to prepare the request for proposals (RFP) for consultant services and still facilitate the planning process. While the previous plan did not entirely represent the city's vision for the community, the goals and objectives were not very clear, partially due to little interest from the planning commission to embark on the plan at that time. While the previous plan did little to nothing to address the needs of the Hispanic community, the new plan is going to significantly increase the efforts made

to address the needs of the Hispanic population. Moreover, funding constraints of the previous plan did not allow for an in-depth analysis of community needs. Outreach and planning methods were also not adapted to suite the Hispanic community. While the previous plan did practically nothing to encourage participation in the planning process among the Hispanic population, the new plan is going to build on previous work conducted by University of Nebraska-Lincoln students and data they collected to build and expand the efforts toward encouraging participation of the Hispanic community in the planning process.

The new development plan effort for Crete is exploring ways for rehabilitating housing, incorporating Hispanic businesses in the downtown area, and ensuring safer renter housing for the Hispanic community through the enforcement of zoning and building codes. A recreational component will address cultural preferences, such as soccer fields and programs. Cultural diversity makes Crete a richer community, but without accommodating the needs of everyone, moving forward is hardly possible for the community. That is the core purpose of having a sound comprehensive plan— so that it will address the needs of the entire community.

5.2.2. CONSULTANT INTERVIEWS

Planning firms that were surveyed for this project were selected based on their involvement in plan development for the case study communities. Some planning firms developed comprehensive plans for more than one of the case study communities. In their responses to the survey, all consultants referred to their earlier experiences working with diverse communities that contributed to their overall perspective and expertise. The

planning firms and organizations surveyed for the purpose of this work are JEO Consulting Group, Inc.; Hanna: Keelan Associates, LLC; RDG Planning and Design; and SIMPCO.

Most of the planning firms involved with the comprehensive plans for the four case study cities in this analysis had prior experience working with multicultural communities. These experiences were reported by the interviewees to be positive, and sometimes served as learning opportunities that were applied to other communities with smaller Hispanic populations. Overall, the experiences of planning consultants also were reported to involve some expected challenges, such as a language barrier, lack of interest in participation among the first generation Hispanic community, and overall distrust in the government or the unwillingness to be recognized. While, for the most part, planning approaches remained the same whether in Hispanic dominant or predominantly non-Hispanic communities, some planning firms have gone an extra mile to reach out to the Hispanic community for their feedback and for their identification of pressing needs within the community. One example was offered where door-to-door in-person surveys of Hispanic business owners were conducted to find out about the needs for their businesses, since some had out-of-region clientele.

Other common approaches included conducting focus groups, including Hispanic representatives in town hall meetings, offering bi-lingual print material (pamphlets), utilizing electronic media for participation, and having Hispanic representatives in task forces. As was described earlier, while most communities were cognizant of their Hispanic communities, planning consultants were challenged with getting those groups to take an active participatory role in the process. As described by one consultant, there are

noticeable differences in participation levels between first and second generation Hispanic communities. Where first-generation Hispanic community residents would be unsettled, disinterested and unmotivated to be part of the process, second- and third-generation Hispanic residents display a lot more interest and participation.

In working with communities with large numbers of Hispanic persons, planning consultants pointed out that the desire for education, quality and affordable housing, and good wage employment are the most prominent needs expressed by the Hispanic community. While some challenges faced by the consultants required them to be a little more proactive, overall, the general consensus expressed among planners was that an effort is always made to include the minority population in the planning process. The consultants generally pointed out that the primary role of the planner is to serve the entire community, not just individual needs. Planners also pointed out the necessity to understand the planning needs of all ethnic minorities, as they are a part of the community and country overall. Therefore, assistance should be provided to planning their physical and social future in the community.

Some prominent recommendations made by planners included continuing with drawing more leadership from Hispanic communities, reaching out to communities, and improving community standards. It was pointed out that it is imperative to constantly educate the public about the housing codes and general principles of being good neighbors. While code enforcement is necessary, a more effective way of reaching out to the community was said to be through education.

5.2.3. CITIZEN INTERVIEWS

Due to a number of constraints, only one representative from each of the four case study cities was surveyed for this project. Citizen participants were contacted based on their affiliation with the community and recommendation of the city administrator. All four citizens surveyed were of Hispanic origin.

The results from the citizen surveys are both insightful and hopeful. Almost all of the respondents pointed out the importance of being sufficiently represented in community meetings and task forces. Some members of the Hispanic community played more active roles, such as being part of a community breakfast group, an active participant of the Community Health Improvement Plan, and even members of the city council and planning commission. While, overall, it was pointed out that the community was paying attention to the needs of the Hispanic population, little of this attention was reflected in implementation. It appears to be a general concern among Latino population that issues and concerns discussed during town hall meetings were of city-wide context and did not pertain to neighborhoods where Hispanic people are affected the most.

One of the challenges expressed by a community member was the difficulty to attract the Hispanic community to the planning process. Such difficulty seems to stem from conflicts in the time required to participate, low self-esteem, and language barriers. Also, it was pointed out that some communities are catering to the needs of the first-and second-generation Hispanic population that are more concerned with making a living and surviving, as opposed to being actively engaged in community matters. It was mentioned multiple times that more representation is needed from the community. People who fill out community surveys and those who happen to be in public meetings and task forces

are not the same. People making decisions and implementing changes are educated, and therefore, have different views about community needs.

Overall, citizens who took part in the survey for this research felt hopeful and fairly represented during the planning progress. While some expressed reservations about the comprehensiveness of the city's approaches to accommodate the needs of the Hispanic community, all expressed encouragement and motivation to be involved in future planning processes in their community. Recommendations for the future included following up with community leaders, as well as targeting Hispanic communities to take part in community discussions that could offer a deeper insight into what needs are pressing and how the Hispanic community could contribute to the success of various community projects. Others expressed a desire to be asked more specific questions, like the majority population, about their needs and what makes the biggest impact on the Hispanic community, and, most of all, to be listened to and to have their needs addressed in the planning process.

5.3. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Overall, the responses to the surveys were very insightful. All survey participants expressed interest and motivation to be involved in community issues and offered their input for the improvement of public services and overall well-being of their communities. While municipalities make strides toward more active citizen participation, more attention should be paid to groups that are directly affected by the development. It was pointed out several times in survey responses that, while communities attempt to respond to the needs of the Hispanic community, they fail to ask specific questions about what

they think is needed and what is important for them, thus making their participation seem irrelevant in addressing their needs.

The review of the comprehensive plans afforded an in-depth look into municipalities' visions for the development of their communities. All four plans for the case study communities were different in format and content, each putting a little more emphasis either on transportation, current strengths or land use. Also, the review of the comprehensive plans and follow-up interviews/surveys with city administrators and planning consultants revealed that the comprehensive plans did not always clearly reflect the approaches defined in the surveys. Review of the plans contributed to clarification of the concepts mentioned in the surveys of city administrators, planning consultants, and citizens. For instance, most municipalities expressed interest in improving housing for the Hispanic population through adapted building designs; however, plans do not include such provisions. Two out of four comprehensive plans discuss population growth and immigration in general terms, but do not use the word Hispanic or Latino even once in their document. This begs the question of whether a different approach needs to be employed when putting together comprehensive plans to better reflect ethnic diversity of communities. However, that lies outside the scope of this project.

The Policy Index for Multicultural Planning developed by Qadeer and Agrawal (2011) was used to rate the comprehensive plans based on a list of policies that help determine whether a municipality employs multicultural methods in planning practice. The scoring used a 0-2 ordinal scale, where 0 was given if a policy was not mentioned at all, 1 if a policy was mentioned but not detailed, and 2 if a policy was thoroughly described (Fu and Tang 2013, 63). As a result of the ratings, only two out of four

municipalities (Schuyler and Crete) displayed three policy directions that rated as 2: policies that provide housing for diverse groups, promote ethnic entrepreneurship and accommodate ethnic sports (refer to Table 5.1 and 5.4). The Lexington and South Sioux City comprehensive plans were scored either 0 or 1 on all of the policy directions.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to evaluate multicultural planning practices in rural towns of Nebraska. Review of current theory on this subject suggested a need for adjustment of planning methods and approaches in planning practice in multicultural communities. With the growing diversity of population in communities in Nebraska, such as those selected for this study, the need in such adjustment is warranted. While the core of planning practice lies in serving the needs of the entire community, it is becoming evident that new population groups are starting to affect the social and economic fabric of communities. While cultural diversity has always been part of big cities, little attention has been paid in planning literature to cultural diversity in rural communities. Hispanic population growth has been rapidly advancing during the last couple of decades. The new aspect of Hispanic population growth is its dispersion into areas in the Midwest that are unaccustomed to such a phenomenon. In Nebraska, such growth has been even more noticeable in rural places that, due to small size, would exhibit change more vividly. Another noticeable change observed in rural communities is that prior to the arrival of the Hispanic population, they were predominantly homogeneous.

While the increased influx of immigrants changes the demographic makeup of receiving neighborhoods, planners and cities overall are overlooking some of the benefits that immigrant Hispanic populations are bringing to their communities. As pointed out in this study in more detail, some of the known positive consequences of Hispanic influx into rural communities are: 1) economic stability due to uninterrupted labor supply of low wage workers; 2) mitigation of population decline due to population loss and aging; and 3) cultural diversity.

As with any community, positive outcomes may be overshadowed by the negative, more visible changes to the community. As planners are caught in the midst of community issues and take on the responsibility of offering solutions, this task is becoming more challenging with the presence of multicultural groups whose values substantially differ from the ones of the majority population. The challenge of difference arises when new issues are treated using old methods. While planning attempts to be fair to everyone in the community, the neutral position that it often takes leads to the avoidance of cultural issues per se; therefore, contemporary criticism presents yet another task in front of planners: to further refine their approaches toward more inclusive, culturally-sensitive practices and acknowledge “difference” as a point of departure in solving community issues.

Literature suggests a number of planning approaches that could enhance the cultural sensitivity of planning practice. While there is a lack of prescriptive examples of how to implement multiculturalism into planning practice, the theoretical framework offers a few directions. Beginning as predominantly a monistic practice, planning has adjusted its ways throughout time; however, the core of professional planning practice has remained oriented largely toward the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon culture.

Moving forward, Burayidi suggests shifting the planning paradigm toward holistic and appreciative planning methods in which multiculturalism and cultural differences are embraced as integral aspects of planning practice. The main distinction between monistic and holistic approaches is that universalist views of the monistic culture are substituted with pluralistic views that allow for participation and mutual accommodation (Burayidi 2000). Other benefits of employing holistic methods

described by Burayidi result in deeper understanding of cultural differences, meeting the needs of the immigrant population and expanding the planning debate to include the voices of minority groups (Burayidi 2000, 37).

The analysis of the comprehensive plans for the Nebraska cities of Schuyler, Lexington, South Sioux City and Crete in this research revealed insufficient use of multicultural policies in planning practice. All four communities indicated some interest in multicultural policies that accommodate housing needs of diverse communities, offer ethnic-specific services such as interpretation and signage in another language (Spanish), promote entrepreneurship among immigrant population and accommodate ethnic sports (soccer). These are great indicators of the acknowledgment of the multiplicity of cultures present in each of these communities; however, they only represent a fraction of Qadeer's and Agrawal's Policy Index for Multicultural Planning. It may be assumed that a bare minimum is being accomplished by the studied communities; however, deeper considerations of multicultural policies need to be made to reach significant results. Based on the Policy Index, seven out of nineteen policies did not appear in any of the four plans during plan evaluation. The missing policies are the following:

- (2)- Representation in planning communities*
- (4)- Routinely analyzing ethnic characteristics*
- (5)- Studies of ethnic enclaves*
- (8)- Policies/guidelines for ethnic areas*
- (10)- Culture/religion for site-specific accommodations*
- (13)- Immigrants special needs*
- (18)- Promoting ethnic art and culture*

Only the comprehensive plans for Crete and Schuyler indicated more policies than the other two plans.

If communities were to follow Sandercock's (2003) policy directions toward becoming "diversity pioneers," they would have to implement the following:

- commitment of the local government toward integration programs;
- policy support system;
- training and education of municipal workers focusing on integration;
- innovative transformation of social institutions in the realm of social policy;
- deeper understanding of urban policies and their efficiency in addressing cultural differences;
- construction of awareness and perceptions toward immigrants based on common identity; and
- working toward eliminating fears and anxieties that stand at the core of conflicts (Sandercock 2003, 322).

RECOMMENDATIONS

This research indicates that the planning profession has yet to show considerable progress toward deeper acknowledgement and comprehensive inclusion of cultural diversity in its practice. Such effort is a responsibility of not only planners, but also politicians and planning educators who play a significant role in guiding the evolution of planning practice. Such evolution is contingent upon the expansion of planning practices outside the boundaries of impartiality, toward interculturalism, facilitated dialogue and a reciprocal understanding between people of various cultural backgrounds (Agyeman and Erickson 2012). It is important for planners to follow the ethical principles set forth by The American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) to recognize, understand and engage cultural diversity in innovative and productive ways. However, according to Agyeman and Erickson (2012), planners lack cultural competency skills. This is especially relevant, given the fact that planning is a cross-cultural experience by nature.

Leonardo Vazquez, AICP/PP, director of The Leading Institute and the Professional Development Institute, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Edward J. School of Planning and Public Policy, argues that the number one critical skill for 21st century planners is nothing other than cultural competency. The essence of this skill lies not in tolerating different culture groups but engaging them effectively in the planning process. The importance of cultural competency also stems from the increased authority and expectations of diverse communities (Leonardo Vazquez, Planetizen Blog, comment posted December 21, 2009). Vazquez defines cultural competency as “a set of knowledge and skills to help individuals engage more effectively in culturally diverse environments” and argues that main themes of competency revolve around awareness,

beliefs, knowledge, skills, behaviors and professional practice. According to Vazquez, perceived “truth” about right or wrong may be constructed by facts; however, its foundation comes from cultural perceptions (2009). In conclusion, Sandercock (2004) argues that impartiality and rule- bound planning practices are not flexible to accommodate difference. Therefore, the ultimate goal of cultural competency is to demand that flexibility. Concluding with the words of Vazquez, “one does not have to know cultural competency to do urban planning; however, planners and communities they serve will be more successful if planners are culturally competent” (Leonardo Vazquez, Planetizen Blog, comment posted December 21, 2009).

Based on the findings of this research and analysis of the comprehensive plans, the case study cities, as well as planning consulting firms could take specific steps toward further development of multiculturalism. While only Schuyler and Crete showed significant interest in multicultural policy directions, other communities could follow suit, as well as build on the existing policies to jump start multicultural engagement. Specifically, communities can begin with the following: increase representation of Hispanic community members in the planning process, conduct analysis of ethnic neighborhoods and their needs, analyze ethnic enclaves, design specific policies and guidelines for ethnic areas, develop culture and religion for site specific accommodations, promote ethnic art and culture, and most importantly, address immigrant needs.

While no specific steps for building multiculturalism are clearly identified in the literature, simple and accessible measures described above present an opportunity for communities and planning practitioners to start making change today. Utilization of Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation discussed in this paper highlights the importance

of citizen engagement in the decision-making or policy discussion process. While theoretical acknowledgment of citizen engagement as is important, active participation of the stakeholders of the planning process is essential for successful planning practice. Change can be implemented by sharing successful examples and replicating them in other communities.

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APPENDIX B

IRB APPROVAL LETTER

October 8, 2013

Pakiza Shirinova
Community and Regional Planning Program
1013 Boswell Avenue Crete, NE 68333

Gordon Scholz
Community and Regional Planning Program
304 ARCH, UNL, 68588-0105

IRB Number: 20131013825 EX

Project ID: 13825

Project Title: Master's Thesis Research

Dear Pakiza:

This letter is to officially notify you of the certification of exemption of your project by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects. It is the Board's opinion that you have provided adequate safeguards for the rights and welfare of the participants in this study based on the information provided. Your proposal is in compliance with this institution's Federal Wide Assurance 00002258 and the DHHS Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects (45 CFR 46) and has been classified as Exempt Category 2.

You are authorized to implement this study as of the Date of Exemption Determination: 10/08/2013.

1. The stamped and approved informed consent document has been uploaded to your form files (document with Approved.pdf in the file name). Please use this document to distribute to participants. If you need to make changes to the document, please submit the revised document to the IRB for review and approval prior to using it.

We wish to remind you that the principal investigator is responsible for reporting to this Board any of the following events within 48 hours of the event:

- * Any serious event (including on-site and off-site adverse events, injuries, side effects, deaths, or other problems) which in the opinion of the local investigator was unanticipated, involved risk to subjects or others, and was possibly related to the research procedures;
- * Any serious accidental or unintentional change to the IRB-approved protocol that involves risk or has the potential to recur;
- * Any publication in the literature, safety monitoring report, interim result or other finding that indicates an unexpected change to the risk/benefit ratio of the research;
- * Any breach in confidentiality or compromise in data privacy related to the subject or others; or
- * Any complaint of a subject that indicates an unanticipated risk or that cannot be resolved by the research staff.

This project should be conducted in full accordance with all applicable sections of the IRB Guidelines and you should notify the IRB immediately of any proposed changes that may affect the exempt status of your research project. You should report any unanticipated problems involving risks to the participants or others to the Board.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB office at 472-6965.

Sincerely,

Becky R. Freeman, CIP
for the IRB



Nebraska
Lincoln

COLLEGE OF ARCHITECTURE
Landscape Architecture +
Community and Regional Planning Programs

Signed Consent Document

Title of Research:

"The role of multicultural planning in rural Nebraska"

Purpose of Research:

This study will investigate the role of planners in multicultural communities of Nebraska. This research also aims to determine how planning practice is recognizing the ever changing cultural diversity of rural communities in this state.

Procedures:

Participation in this study will require approximately an hour of your time. You will be asked to answer a list of 6-8 questions about your experience and the planning process that took place during the development of the Comprehensive Plan in your community. Participation will take place at the City Hall.

Risks and/or Discomforts:

There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this interview.

Confidentiality:

Your responses to this survey will be kept confidential. Answers to this questionnaire are going to be used to evaluate and draw connection to the application of the planning practice in multicultural communities in Nebraska. Since this research serves the purpose of writing a thesis paper, the information provided by the participants will be used solely and only for the purpose of this thesis. The analysis section of the paper will identify jurisdictions and an interviewee's official title for the purpose of structure and relevance of questions asked. All answers and materials offered as a result of this participation will be handled only by the primary investigator, myself—Pakiza Shirinova.

Opportunity to Ask Questions:

You may ask any questions concerning this research at any time by contacting me at pshirinova2@unl.edu or my cell phone 402-418-1064. You may also contact my academic advisor and secondary investigator, Gordon Scholz at gscholz1@unl.edu or 402-472-9284. If you would like to speak to someone else, please call the Research Compliance Services Office at 402-472-6965 or irb@unl.edu.

Freedom to Withdraw:

Participation in this study is voluntary. You can refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without harming your relationship with the researchers or the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, or in any other way receive a penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Room 302 Architecture Hall / P.O. Box 880105 / Lincoln, NE 68588-0105
(402) 472-9212 / FAX (402) 472-3806 / <http://archweb.unl.edu>



IRB# 20131013825 EX
Date Approved: 10/08/2013
Valid Until: 10/07/2018

Consent, Right to Receive a Copy:

You are voluntarily making a decision whether or not to participate in this research study. Your signature certifies that you have decided to participate having read and understood the information presented. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

Signature of Participant:

Signature of Research Participant

Date

Name and Phone number of investigator(s)

Pakeiza Shirinova, 402-418-1064

Gordon Scholz, 402-472-9284

APPENDIX C

POLICY INDEX OF MULTICULTURAL PLANNING

1. Providing minority language facilities, translations and interpretation in public consultations.
2. Including minority representatives in planning committees and task forces as well as diversifying staff.
3. Including ethnic/minority community organizations in the planning decision-making processes.
4. Routinely analyzing ethnic and racial variables in planning analysis.
5. Studies of ethnic enclaves and neighborhoods in transition.
6. Recognition of ethnic diversity as a planning goal in the Official/Comprehensive Plans.
7. Citywide policies for culture-specific institutions in plans, e.g. places of worship, ethnic senior homes, cultural institutions, funeral homes, fairs etc.
8. Policies/design guidelines for sustaining ethnic neighborhoods.
9. Policies/strategies for ethnic commercial areas, malls and business improvement areas.
10. Incorporating culture/religion as an acceptable reason for site-specific accommodations/minor variances.
11. Accommodation of ethnic signage, street names and symbols.
12. Policies for ethnic specific service needs.
13. Policies for immigrants' special service needs.
14. Policies/projects for ethnic heritage preservation.
15. Guidelines for housing to suite diverse groups.
16. Development strategies taking account of inter-cultural needs.
17. Promoting and systemizing ethnic entrepreneurship for economic development.
18. Policies/strategies for ethnic art and cultural services.
19. Accommodating ethnic sports (e.g. cricket, Bocce, etc.) in playfield design and programming.

Source: (Qadeer and Agrawal 2011, 142)

APPENDIX E

SURVEY RESPONSES

(city administrators, citizens and planning consultants)

Data collection was conducted utilizing multiplicity of methods: in person and phone interviews, as well as email surveys. Each category of participants (city administrators, planning consultants and citizens) were asked the same questions presented in detail below.

CITY ADMINISTRATOR 1—CITY OF SCHULER, NEBRASKA

Survey Questions:

1. In your opinion, does the current comprehensive plan for your jurisdiction sufficiently recognize Hispanic population growth as a planning component? If so, how?
2. What was your role in assisting the planning effort for the development of the 2004 Comprehensive Plan for **Schuyler**? Please offer examples.
3. Were your expectations of a comprehensive plan met in full, partially or not at all?
 - a. If so, how? If not, what were the deficiencies, in your opinion?
4. In your opinion, were the planning approaches/methods used during plan development cognizant of your community's Hispanic population? For example, were surveys of the Hispanic population or focus groups conducted?
5. How were the planning methods adapted, if at all, for the Hispanic population in your community?
6. What approaches were used to encourage participation of the Hispanic community in the planning process?
7. In your opinion, what considerations of the Hispanic community went into planning analysis of the comprehensive plan for your jurisdiction (residential, commercial and recreational)?
8. Do you think Hispanic population growth should be addressed in a comprehensive plan for communities with a significant Hispanic presence?

Responses:

1. Yes, Hispanic population has been in Schuyler for more than 20 years. Comp. Plan focuses on land development over 10 years.
2. I was the project manager for the 2004 plan.
3. Met in full.
4. Very much so. Surveys were received from all of Schuyler's population. Town hall meetings were held. Surveys are normally prepared in English and Spanish. I cannot remember if the 2004 survey specifically was prepared in Spanish as well as English.
5. Interpreters are available during the process.
6. Notices given to largest employer. Notices posted in public places. Information provided on local radio stations. Articles in the local newspaper. Council meetings are televised on local cable TV channel.
7. Same as other people.
8. Yes, it is addressed. Growth of a community is projected and documented in the plan. The City provides public services for everyone.

CITY ADMINISTRATOR 2—CITY OF LEXINGTON, NEBRASKA

Survey Questions:

1. In your opinion, does the current comprehensive plan for your jurisdiction sufficiently recognize Hispanic population growth as a planning component? If so, how?
2. What was your role in assisting the planning effort for the development of the 2005 Comprehensive Plan for **Lexington**? Please offer examples.
3. Were your expectations of a comprehensive plan met in full, partially or not at all?
 - a. If so, how? If not, what were the deficiencies, in your opinion?
4. In your opinion, were the planning approaches/methods used during plan development cognizant of your community's Hispanic population? For example, were surveys of the Hispanic population or focus groups conducted?

5. How were the planning methods adapted, if at all, for the Hispanic population in your community?
6. What approaches were used to encourage participation of the Hispanic community in the planning process?
7. In your opinion, what considerations of the Hispanic community went into planning analysis of the comprehensive plan for your jurisdiction (residential, commercial and recreational)?
8. Do you think Hispanic population growth should be addressed in a comprehensive plan for communities with a significant Hispanic presence?

Responses:

1. I don't think I perceived many Hispanic-specific requirements vis-à-vis growth. While much growth is ethnic, the requirements for housing, classrooms, utilities, etc., do not really change because of the culture. The main difference I anticipated and observed was in recreation preferences. For example, soccer is more popular than other "American" sports such as baseball and basketball.
2. I arrived in Lexington in 2006, so I had nothing to do with the 2005 Comprehensive Plan. In the Lex-Plan 2013, however, I was the principal promoter, mover, coordinator and liaison with the consultants for the project. Examples include scheduling, public outreach, publicity, and proofreading drafts of the product.
3. My expectations were met, and I believe the 2013 plan exceeds the deliveries in the 2005 version.
4. We did not conduct surveys, but we did hire interpreters at some focus groups and town hall meetings. We used an online "virtual town hall" program, and participation far exceeded that of traditional town hall meetings. The online participants were not questioned about their demographics, but one can assume the medium attracted more youth than would attend an in-person meeting, and many of the youth in Lexington are Hispanic.
5. Except for the interpreters, I can't think of anything.

6. We sent invitations to public meetings to Hispanic and other ethnic organizations and religious institutions, as well as the school system. The information was prominent on the City's website, which has a translation feature.
7. See #1
8. I think a wide diversity of the population should be sought and addressed, including ethnicities, genders, ages, socio-economic, etc. It's my experience that first generation new immigrants of all nationalities have little interest in public participation. For several years now, however, Lexington has been graduating a majority of second-generation Hispanics, and most are accustomed to acting as cultural intermediaries. In my opinion they are well-suited representatives with the added benefit that they will inherit the outcomes inspired by this plan.

CITY ADMINISTRATOR 3—CITY OF SOUTH SIOUX CITY, NEBRASKA

Survey Questions:

1. In your opinion, does the current comprehensive plan for your jurisdiction sufficiently recognize Hispanic population growth as a planning component? If so, how?
2. What was your role in assisting the planning effort for the development of the 2009 **South Sioux City** Comprehensive Plan? Please offer examples.
3. Were your expectations of a comprehensive plan met in full, partially or not at all?
 - a. If so, how? If not, what were the deficiencies, in your opinion?
4. In your opinion, were the planning approaches/methods used during plan development cognizant of your community's Hispanic population? For example, were surveys of the Hispanic population or focus groups conducted?
5. How were the planning methods adapted, if at all, for the Hispanic population in your community?
6. What approaches were used to encourage participation of the Hispanic community in the planning process?

7. In your opinion, what considerations of the Hispanic community went into planning analysis of the comprehensive plan for your jurisdiction (residential, commercial and recreational)?
8. Do you think Hispanic population growth should be addressed in a comprehensive plan for communities with a significant Hispanic presence?

Responses:

1. Our comprehensive plan is set to advance the entire community. We do not separate the ethnic groups. Our plan has worked as a guide for residential and industrial growth. Our crime rate has continued to DECLINE as minorities have moved in – which is a reflection of our efforts to deter crime. We continue to get more minority involvement in our committees and the Hispanic newspaper has been a great asset in getting the word out.
2. Making sure that all citizens could participate in the planning process; working with the committees for input; review of the plan and presentation of the plan to the council.
3. Yes it is working on all fronts.
4. Yes and the newspapers helped.
5. No minorities were specifically given a separate plan. Comprehensive plans show areas for commercial, residential, and industrial growth, parks, streets and transportation issues and infrastructure needs.
6. Newspaper and surveys
7. All members of the community were included.
8. Population growth should be. I think you would find the Hispanic population here is very happy. I would encourage you to talk to Abril Garcia with the Mundo Latino.

CITY ADMINISTRATOR 4—CITY OF CRETE, NEBRASKA

(Answers provided non-verbatim as notes)

Survey Questions:

1. In your opinion, does the current comprehensive plan for your jurisdiction sufficiently recognize Hispanic population growth as a planning component? If so, how?
2. What was your role in assisting the planning effort for the development of the 2006 Comprehensive Plan for **Crete**? Please offer examples.
3. Were your expectations of a comprehensive plan met in full, partially or not at all?
 - a. If so, how? If not, what were the deficiencies, in your opinion?
4. In your opinion, were the planning approaches/methods used during plan development cognizant of your community's Hispanic population? For example, were surveys of the Hispanic population or focus groups conducted?
5. How were the planning methods adapted, if at all, for the Hispanic population in your community?
6. What approaches were used to encourage participation of the Hispanic community in the planning process?
7. In your opinion, what considerations of the Hispanic community went into planning analysis of the comprehensive plan for your jurisdiction (residential, commercial and recreational)?
8. Do you think Hispanic population growth should be addressed in a comprehensive plan for communities with a significant Hispanic presence?

Responses:

1. No, I don't believe that it does. The 2006 plan did a fairly good job. We did it because there was a department of roads funding available. The fund paid for the traffic and transportation component with a budget of a \$100,000. Only \$25,000 was available for the plan. It wasn't where it should have been. It started with a one mayor's term and continued with another mayor's term. It didn't address the demographic change, it was lacking. In Crete, demographic change has been very

dramatic in the last 10/5 years. In that time, administration was not interested in addressing the plan. Current mayor saw merit in the comprehensive plan.

2. Plans are normally an activity of a planning commission. Our planning commission is typical of any planning commissions, but as staff you need to assist them and put things in front of them. They are reactive in nature than proactive. With the 2006 plan we took the wrong approach. And my position at that time was a public works position. I could address transportation more efficiently than any other component of the plan. I prepared an RFP for the new plan, which turned out to be very comprehensive.
3. They were met partially. Some of it being our responsibility, we didn't know what we didn't know. We saw that something was lacking when we saw the final product. The planner did what was expected. We didn't know what questions to ask. Bringing the UNL group helped with the new plan. It is not easy to build consensus from inside. Sticking point was when people didn't see it as a funding opportunity.
4. There were no specific activities that were undertaken in the 2006 plan that specifically addressed the Hispanic community. They acknowledged the Hispanic community; they were not very in depth of the needs of the Hispanic community. Some people are still in denial of the significance of the Hispanic population. This new plan is going to be a great deal more cognizant of the Hispanic population and cultural diversity.
5. Planning methods were not adapted for the Hispanic community. The funding was not there to do outreach and go in depth. No one is to blame; it was an error of omission. I am excited about this new project.
6. All of the work done by the UNL group, we will do more of that. We've used the data that the UNL group has gathered and the concerns. We're doing more of that and more in depth research. The RFP said we would build on the data and expand it. The 2006 plan did practically nothing. You can't have a correct plan. The influx of the population causes challenges, the planning process is going to help understand and address those challenges. We hired a Hispanic employee that was a calculated move on my part, and not so much because we needed someone. To

show the Hispanic community that they matter, that there is someone can help them with specific needs. There is a lot of distrust of the government among Hispanics because of the government situation in Mexico; for example, there is a lot of corruption. There is a difference if they're talking to someone from City Hall potentially trying to impose something on them and someone who is just friendly and outgoing. Americans also distrust the government. As a city, it is our responsibility to give people the tools to succeed.

7. Residentially, one faucet that we have is doing a housing study. The more housing is purchased by the Hispanic population, the greater the community buy in is. Specific to this new plan, we've done a housing study; we have applied for grant money to do housing rehabilitation. Commercially, we're incorporating Hispanic business in the downtown area. We want everybody going in one direction and have a universal understanding of the downtown area, it is managed growth. We have proactive Hispanic business leaders and we've tried to help them and encourage them, we go an extra mile to help them. Commercial has not been very developed. Recreationally, we are very engaged addressing recreational opportunities for the entire community. We have soccer programs. Soccer is huge for the Hispanic population. We've tried doing an adult soccer program. It is challenging because they want the city to provide soccer fields, but also decide who is in soccer programs. From the municipal stand point we can't do that. We can't structure a program that excludes a person. Addressing housing from the perspective of the Hispanic population is done mainly through zoning and not planning specifically.
8. You can't move forward without including everyone in the plan and understanding their expectations as well. Ignoring anything is not a solution at all. We are a richer community than most others because we know more, we experience more. We have a better understanding of the world just because we're dealing with different people. They are people who chose to embrace that and people who don't. The comp plan looks at what the entire community wants and needs, not half of the community.

CITIZEN SURVEY – TEMPLATE

Survey questions:

1. Have you participated (by invitation or voluntarily) in a comprehensive plan development process in your community?
 - a. If so, what was your direct involvement and role in the process?
2. Do you feel that the planning process was adequate and efficient in addressing the specific needs of the community?
3. Was the planning process efficient in addressing the needs of Hispanics, specifically?
4. Have you noticed any special efforts being made by the city or independent consultants to engage the Hispanic community in the process?
 - a. If so, please offer examples. Special efforts may include Spanish translation services, signage in Spanish, discussion of Hispanic issues and more.
5. During the planning process, did you feel fairly and/or sufficiently represented? Why or why not?
6. Were your expectations of a planning process met in full, partially or not at all?
 - a. If so, how?
7. Do you feel motivated to be involved in the planning process for your community in the future? Why or why not?
8. What would be your recommendations/suggestions to the process to better accommodate the needs of the Hispanic community?

CITIZEN SURVEY 1 – CITY OF SCHUYLER, NEBRASKA

Responses:

1. I have participated in the Child Well Being Initiative this program is in the first stages of development. I'm part of the support group team where we identify resources to help families to have access to resources in their community and knowledgeable what is offer in the community. Also to acknowledge the barriers that our community face.

- a. Culture awareness
- b. Language
- c. Transportation
- d. Education

Another project that I'm involved in is the Community Health Improvement Plan (CHIP). In this project I'm part of the Family Wellness Programs and Adult Obesity in Colfax and Platte County in this project the team meet every quarter to work on the Strategic Plan. We report on the county CHIP meeting twice a year.

2. I felt the procedure was adequate because I was involved in the survey and the strategic plans developed were the reflection of the surveys. Each county had their own individualized concerns some were the same some were different. Each county has their own resources and their own struggles.
3. Yes, the planning process addresses the needs of the Hispanics and invited Hispanics that work with Hispanics. Specially in Colfax County there is more Hispanic representation in the CHIP meeting. (School, hospital, health department). But we need community members.
4. I have noticed that that we come up with names that key people can be involved in these projects but it is so difficult for Hispanics to commit to it or to attend. Some of the conflicts are time, job, self-esteem, language etc. The generation that right now we are serving is first and second generation and at this time they are in a survival mode they are not worried about if things get done or not or been part of the change they want to work and support their family.
5. During the planning process we needed more representation from the community which are the ones that completed the survey. All the people talking and making changes are educated professionals and view things very differently.
6. I did not have any expectations of the planning process because usually I'm invited as a minority health coordinator due to my title. I do speak up but I don't see a

reflect on the project cause is only me and 20 of other ethnicity. Usually projects goes toward what the majority chooses.

7. I don't feel discourage yet, I feel that is going to be better we need to work on it and look for community members that have the same passion and desire. I will continue to participate and be in involved in my community like I have been doing for the last 15 years.
8. My recommendations is to invite the same target population used in the survey to be part of the project they can provide information on a project benefits them, how can be helpful in their community and how to make it successful.

CITIZEN SURVEY 2—CITY OF LEXINGTON, NEBRASKA

Responses:

1. Yes. I did participate in the comprehensive plant voluntarily. No direct involvement I want to give my opinion as citizen in the community and be inform of possible changes.
2. Yes I feel the group people took the time to know the community and recommend the adequate needs for the community.
3. Yes the planning was efficient and address community needs.
4. Yes the city did invite business owners and community people to be part of the comprehensive plant by sending letters in Spanish and have interpreter at the meetings.
5. Yes I feel part of the community.
6. The process met my full expectations, they had cover areas that I was not planning or think the someone care or that was a need for the community, example a plaza with parking so most of the venders get in the same place and offer different food or items for the community in one place.
7. Yes I fell motivated be part of a good change for the community.
8. The process was good my only recommendation will be to do one and one communication with individuals or business owners, that will bring ideas because in group is difficult to be open and express themselves.

CITIZEN SURVEY 3—CITY OF SOUTH SIOUX CITY, NEBRASKA

Responses:

1. Yes. We usually participate in community projects as a bridge of communication between the Latino and Anglo community. We provide the public with basic or complete information about the different projects in Siouxland.
2. Yes, but we need more involvement from the Latino community in this kind of projects.
3. No.
4. Yes, they have, they are printing more notices in Spanish, the fact that the Latino community represents around 40% in South Sioux City and makes this a need.
 - a. The city of South Sioux City prints notices in Spanish in a regular basis, also Dakota County Clerk, prints the ballots in Spanish in our paper.
5. Yes, there is always an interest from the city management to reach the Latino community.
6. Yes.
7. Yes! That's one of our objectives as a mass media, be involved in the process and communicate to the community.
8. Maintain follow up meetings with community leaders.

CITIZEN SURVEY 4—CITY OF CRETE, NEBRASKA

(Answers provided non-verbatim as notes)

Responses:

1. I have. I was asked to be in the community breakfast group in Crete. We talked to different people from the University, took part in a survey. My role was primarily to participate in the community breakfast group. I was not asked any specific questions. The University team did a presentation on their findings.
2. I think it would have been better if they addressed different groups in different ways. It would have been better if they asked how these changes would affect us specifically. I wish they targeted specific community neighborhoods to ask about the changes that have direct impact on them as opposed to general city-wide

questions. I didn't live in the part of town where improvements were being planned, so it was irrelevant to me.

3. I didn't participate in the high school meetings. There were flyers translated in Spanish. I didn't go to meetings that were not pertinent to my area. If general questions about the city were asked, I was not interested in going. The focus of the study conducted by the University group was on the city in general, but did not target specific Hispanic communities.
4. There were flyers in Spanish; a survey was conducted about what people thought they needed for the city, general questions.
5. Three members of the Hispanic community were part of the breakfast group, 2 worked for the school (myself included), one for the city. Another 3 Latino people were present at the public meetings. It was not efficient representation, but the redevelopment area did not include a big Hispanic community. They looked at multiple places in Crete for the redevelopment. But the main focus was on the downtown area.
6. I think it went the way I expected. People cared about the project, they wanted to do something, but they didn't know where to start.
7. I am motivated to see something happen. I would like for someone to come in and help, especially for Latinos to make the environment better.
8. I think they need to ask us the same questions they ask the majority non-Hispanic population, ask what I need and what matters to me and listen to me.

PLANNING CONSULTANT SURVEY—TEMPLATE

Survey Questions:

1. How would you describe your experience working with Hispanic communities in Nebraska?
2. Prior to developing the comprehensive plan for Crete, Schuyler, South Sioux City or Lexington (please identify which), have you had any experience working with Hispanic communities?
3. What were your strategies for engaging the Hispanic population in the planning process?

4. Were those approaches different from the ones you have used in other communities?
5. What were the driving forces behind your decision to adjust your approaches/methods to working with Hispanic communities?
6. What were the challenges of working with Hispanic communities?
7. During plan development, what needs of the Hispanic population did you identify as most important in the communities with which you worked?
8. What methods did you use for identifying housing needs of the Hispanic population?
9. What policies would you recommend for accommodating Hispanic neighborhoods in the future?
10. Throughout the planning process, what efforts (if any) were made to include ethnic minority representatives in planning committees and task forces?
11. As a representative of the planning practice, how do you define your role in diverse communities?

PLANNING CONSULTANT SURVEY 1

(Answers provided non-verbatim as notes)

Responses:

1. It's been good. We were not seeing a leadership group in Hispanics. We now see the 2nd generation of Hispanics, it is evolving and becoming more settled. See kids who've moved in with their parents. They didn't come from communities that were very involved. People weren't very interest in the planning process in general, regardless of their race. It is a general trend among the population. It is generally difficult to get people involved in something like plan development and take their time away from family and kids. Since then we've taken different approaches in Lexington and Schuyler. We went door to door with businesses with a translator—introduced ourselves and asked questions straight from business owners. Questions were about good and negative aspects of the downtown, what needs business owners had for their businesses. Schuyler businesses (Hispanic)

have a regional clientele who would come from distant areas to buy their stuff like Omaha and Lincoln.

2. Projects in De Moines, South 24th street in Omaha. A lot of housing studies in South Sioux City, we did a lot of housing projects.
3. Two things: door to door visits and interviews, conducting community meetings with business owners, asking them to come to pub meetings. Did online survey, translated into Spanish when doing a downtown redevelopment and a housing study.
4. Translating materials and meetings into Spanish was the most unusual. Doing door to door we learned and used in other locations even with smaller Hispanic communities.
5. A combination, wanted to make sure we understood the perspective of other residents. It was also advised by the city and city council to involve that part of the community. They felt it was very important.
6. It was engaging residents and trusting in the process. Making them believe that they could play a role in the process, it was the biggest challenge. As communities evolve and settle that will be a little easier.
7. Housing is a big need. Adequate, quality housing, overcrowding and affordable housing was the biggest issue.
8. We did surveys that were translated, small groups and individual. We involved and met with service providers, social services, major employers. Met with a local priest in Schuyler that served Hispanic population. Through conversations, stakeholder groups (landlords) and tried to invite members of the Hispanic community to public meetings. Early on in the demographic shift, when the population was very transient, the initial population was young single males who weren't very concerned with housing quality. By 2004 it started to change, we started to see more families. People were afraid to talk or complain about their living conditions; talking to other community members (non-Hispanic) was helpful and informative in finding out the deficiencies of housing in the area (Schuyler).

9. One of the biggest things is to continue to bring more leadership from the Hispanic community and the community in general, outreach to community, improving community standards. It was recommended to the city that they need bilingual employees to conduct early on outreach and education of the community (Hispanic) about housing codes and general rules of being good neighbors. People need to be taught that they can't have 4 cars parked in their front yard. The city has not been able to do that yet. We suggested to the city (Schuyler) to make bilingual pamphlets on what it means to be a good neighbor, to explain/educate and not simply do code enforcement.
10. Yes there was. Effort is always made to have a representative of the population Hispanic and otherwise. Was 50%-no, it was hard to find an individual who would take a leadership role. It is difficult. Individuals were invited.
11. Reaching out to as many people as possible, listening and incorporating their needs in the comprehensive plan.

PLANNING CONSULTANT SURVEY 2

Responses:

1. As with other ethnic groups who have settled within the area, the Hispanic community is assimilating itself with the framework of the community. Large numbers of the population are second and third generation and are celebrating both the Hispanic and American culture.
2. Yes
3. Finding champions within the culture and asking for assistance in reaching out to the various ethnic groups. Of course, making as much of the information accessible to the population as possible and including translations into Spanish.
4. Every plan requires strategic research especially demographic. The structure of a community's population requires adaptive methodology. For example, if a community has a high number of individuals over the age of 65 it is imperative to have input from this specific demographic. If a community has a large population within specific ethnic groups, demographics, income categories, or other indices the planner should make every effort to inclusive in public input.

5. The large Hispanic population within the community.
6. The challenges of working with the Hispanic communities is the difficulty in gathering public information. The community at times is insular. As the generations age, the second and third generational residents are responsive and participate to a larger extent than first generation Hispanics. The Hispanic community within South Sioux City is varied. Many different countries are part of the overall ethnicity and from these different nationalities there are prejudices and assumptions.
7. Education, quality good wage employment, and housing
8. Public input meetings and data research
9. Champions within the ethnic community are a wonderful source of eliciting the needs of a neighborhood. Many cultures are not built on the same format as the preexisting neighborhood system. Understanding how a culture works and accommodating methods to the culture is good practice.
10. South Sioux City always makes intensive effort to include ethnic minority representatives in the planning process.
11. My role is the same for all communities. I attempt to represent all in an unbiased approach with understanding and compassion.

PLANNING CONSULTANT SURVEY 3

(Answers provided non-verbatim as notes)

Responses:

1. Good experience. We did a couple plans for Lexington. Multicultural communities are an excellent planning challenge.
2. Yes, Grand Island has a well-established Hispanic community. We did a housing study, we had to reach out and find leadership in the Hispanic community. We comprised steering committees; made sure that there is a member or a couple of Hispanic community members on the committee. The evolution has gone a long way; Hispanics now get elected in the city council. Other communities are very small. Fremont and Norfolk have large Hispanic communities. We had steering committees, made an attempt to involve Hispanics or other ethnicities, get a good

representation on our steering committees. We did surveys in Spanish and made sure they make sense by having a Spanish native proof read them. Also, Madison is one of our current projects. We include Hispanics in focus group meetings; it's a separate decision to conduct specific focus groups or listening sessions for Hispanic communities. We have translators. Harvard is another town with a large Hispanic population.

3. Translation, listening sessions, focus groups, steering committees.
4. No, approaches were pretty much the same, we adjust them accordingly. You have to meet with Hispanics on their turf. It's hard to get them to come to a meeting for an hour and a half, get their attention if it doesn't affect them.
5. They (Hispanics) are a busy population, trying to get them to come is a challenge. They focus on community issues, not very outspoken.
6. It is not discretionary. You have to involve everyone in the process if you want a good participation, good planning process. Language and cultural issues and time—need to make sure that they're comfortable with the venue you've picked for your meeting.
7. Education, employment, housing were identified as most important. They prefer larger housing, detached, single family homes. Sooner or later they will change their housing customs like others. They're assimilating, it's starting to change. I've been noticing that change.
8. First and foremost we identify where they live right now and if that's a good fit for them. We understand code, housing rehabilitation needs, it's getting less and less. Today they're directly involved in the process. We work with them to do surveys, just like with any other special community.
9. It is a mix of populations. We're not finding Hispanic communities concentrated in one spot, they're more spread out. They assimilate themselves into community. They are starting to get dispersed throughout the community.
10. Big effort. We work with a planning commission; we say we need a bigger group which includes different minority groups that need to be included in the process.
11. My responsibility is to be cognitive of the planning needs of all ethnic minority groups with the understanding that they are part of our country, part of our

society, therefore, we need to assist in planning their physical and social future. We do a lot of human service planning in those communities.

PLANNING CONSULTANT SURVEY 4

Responses:

1. I have enjoyed working with Hispanic communities. My planning experience with Hispanic communities in Nebraska has not varied very much compared to other communities in without large Hispanic populations. The major difference is being aware that their opinions are not being considered. Thus, additional efforts are necessary to include them or a representative in the public input process.
2. Yes, when I lived in California I worked on several projects with Hispanic communities.
3. In Lexington, we utilized translators at our public meeting, provide meeting announcements in Spanish, utilized a website with over 200 language translations, and facilitated focus groups and interviews with members of the local schools and faith leaders.
4. No, we general utilize those same efforts. However, we do ask more questions about non-English speakers needs in the focus groups and interviews. In addition, we do not have translators present unless we are aware of a potential language barrier.
5. It is the right thing to do as a planner. Ethically, we bound to a set of standards that includes those without a public voice. We make a strong effort to be inclusive of the whole community regardless of populations ethnicity. It has been my experience that the better or more community input you receive the more unique and implementable
6. We can easily overcome language barriers, but the challenge is always participation. Sometimes the Hispanic population is not established in the community if they are primarily first generation immigrants. Then, they will not participate. In my opinion this is a result of their distrust of “government” and try to not call any attention to themselves or their families. Fortunately, Lexington’s Hispanic community is multi-generational and has good leadership that has

elevated their representation all the way to the City Council. Thus participation representing the Hispanic community was not much of a challenge. The bigger challenge in Lexington was getting participation from newer immigrant populations (mostly African).

7. The lack of available safe and decent housing was a glaring need. We attempted to provide the community with different housing styles to provide greater choice of housing for the entire community, including a model of single-family homes that can accommodate multi-generational families, a cultural norm for Hispanic communities.
8. We did not specify housing needs based upon Hispanic ethnicity. The housing needs of the community were analyzed overall and some nontraditional housing options were recommended to accommodate immigrant populations based upon our observations and the qualitative input received from the community.
9. In Lexington, we developed urban design visions that reflect Spanish style architecture and the multi-generational housing (as discussed above).
10. The Lexington Planning Commission served as our visioning committee and it included a diverse representation of the citizens including people of Hispanic origin. Beyond the committee, we facilitated discussions online, with focus groups that represent minorities, held town hall meetings (where minorities did participate), conducted interviews with major employers, the school district, hospital and City Staff.
11. My role as professional planner is to include all people regardless of their language or the color of skin in the projects to make their community a more resilient and better place to live in the future while preserving the cultural value of today.

APPENDIX F

DEFINITIONS

Alien—Any person not a citizen or national of the United States (dhs.gov)

First class city— a city, having more than five thousand and not more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, as may be ascertained and officially promulgated by the United States or under the authority of the State of Nebraska or by the authority of the mayor and city council of any such city (Nebraska Legislature)

Hispanic/Latino—People who identify with the terms “Hispanic,” “Latino,” or “Spanish” are those who classify themselves in one of the specific Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish , as well as those who indicate that they are “another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin” (census.gov)

Holistic planning—is a responsive planning approach to a diversity of worldviews and cultures that acknowledges relations that allow for completion as well as sharing (Burayidi 2000, 46)

Immigrant —a person who migrates to another country, usually for permanent residence (dictionary.com)

Monistic planning—a former planning practice in which planners followed and promoted value free and unbiased public policy and served a rather technical role in planning (Burayidi 2000, 40-3)

Multiculturalism—the preservation of different cultures or cultural identities within a unified society, as a state or nation (dictionary.com)

USDA—The United States Department of Agriculture