

informal, the case would suggest that these lines are blurred; a frequent volunteer may take on a formal leadership role within the PHCA or seek elected office, while those involved in formal mechanisms of participation would often take on several informal roles too.

On the question of if and how participation activities have changed over time, and how these changes have altered the community, Donahue's analysis of Pimmit Hills over decades offers important insights. Community members have engaged in different activities over time, reflecting not only changing conditions and needs in Pimmit Hills but also broader shifts in society. Some activities that were once wildly successful—like the adult and teen dances—eventually died out, Donahue argues, at least in that case, because there are so many more outlets for socializing today. Likewise, the PHCA was arguably at its strongest in the 1950s and 1960s when county services were poor so it had to both fill gaps and fight for their improvement. As the county government's activities became more comprehensive and satisfactory, that need declined. Meanwhile, other activities, like the annual community picnics, clean-up days, and Santa visits, have persisted at least in part because they continue to fill important niches. Either way, participation has changed the community. The emergence of negative forms of participation, like speeding and off-leash dogs, precipitated both physical changes (e.g., stop signs and other physical traffic calming measures) and policy changes (e.g., stronger leash laws).

Last but not least, on the questions of how public policies facilitate or inhibit various forms of participation, and how participation influences public policies, there is substantial evidence in Donahue's analysis of the important interrelationships between the formal public sphere and participation. The lack of formal public policies and associated institutions at the county level in the early years was an inhibitor to participation, as community members sought to influence decision-making but there was little room to do so given the very weak and insular nature of governance in Virginia at the time, particularly at the county level. Groups like the PHCA responded through their individual and collective advocacy; an example was the creation of the Fairfax County Federation of Citizen Associations to push the county Board of Supervisors to do more. On the contrary, as the Fairfax County government became more sophisticated over time, it established mechanisms to support participation. It was the advocacy work of groups like the PHCA that ultimately led to substantial changes, like the establishment of a county-owned water and sewer system when the privately owned system created by the neighborhood's developer failed them. Later on, residents would successfully advocate for other changes, like the establishment of schools and introduction of traffic calming measures. On the contrary, the community was seemingly less influential when it came to issues around which there was considerable internal disagreement, like, painfully, desegregation.

Perhaps, the most important postulate of the participation-community theory supported by this careful analysis of Pimmit Hills over the decades is that there is a dialectic and recursive relationship between external structures, internal structures, and participation activities. The myriad of formal and informal, positive and negative, group and individual activities carried out over the years rarely happened in a vacuum. For example, informal and individual negative participation like littering begot more formal positive participation in neighborhood institutions, like beautification campaigns with supporting newsletter articles, which precipitated shifts in external policies like stricter littering laws. An important takeaway from this is that, in the words of Donahue, "the interrelationship between community and participation is a complex phenomenon," and we need to take a holistic rather than narrow view of what "participation" is in order to fully understand it.

Acknowledged limitations of Donahue's analysis include that it is of only one case, and reliant on certain forms of information, which are not comprehensive. It is particularly challenging to track negative and non-participation. However, this deep dive into participation broadly understood in one community over the course of sixty years offers a unique lens into how we can better understand the interplays between the wide variety of forms of participation included in Donahue's participation matrix. This book offers important insights for scholars and students interested in going beyond our traditionally narrow conceptions of participation to gain a more comprehensive understanding of participation in all its varieties in practice.

References

- Alinsky, Saul. 1989. *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Donahue, Patricia. 2013. "We, the Community: A Study of Participation, Community and Public Policy." PhD diss., George Mason University, Fairfax.
- Stones, Rob. 2005. *Structuration Theory*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Freeman, Lance. 2019. *A Haven and a Hell: The Ghetto in Black America*. New York: Columbia University Press. 318 pp. \$32.00 (hardback): ISBN 978-0-231-18460-1

Reviewed by: Jeffrey S. Lowe, Texas Southern University, Houston
DOI: 10.1177/0739456X20903476

In *A Haven and a Hell: The Ghetto in Black America*, Lance Freeman chronicles five epochs spanning over 130 years, from the 1880s through the 2010s, of the ghetto as the institution having the most impact in black life in the United States. The book focuses on ghettos outside the eleven southern states forming the Confederate States of America in the U.S. Civil War. Recognizing the exodus of freedmen, freedwomen, and their descendants from the

south, the book uses mixed methods, primarily integrating census and survey data across time and space, in addition to a rich variety of historical documents including many from black newspapers, authored by scholars and public intellectuals as well as ordinary black folk, and weaves together a compelling narrative of how non-southern ghettos influenced the lives of their inhabitants and how those inhabitants influenced the ghetto as the preeminent institution in their collective lives. The book's intent is to make clear the continuity of the ghetto as a haven for some blacks, while at the same time for other blacks the ghetto merely functions as a hell.

After an introduction, the book includes seven chapters approximately thirty pages each in length, and a conclusion that entails policy prescriptions for ending the hellish conditions of the ghetto. Chapter 1 defines urban places that came to be known as black ghettos. The chapter gives attention to "ghetto" as a term whose origin dates back to sixteenth-century Italy, and the connotation that undergirds the negative conception of predominantly black neighborhoods and its inhabitants beginning in the late nineteenth century to the Great Migration. It is this conception that regulated black Americans to stigmatized places and as Freeman explains "was thus instrumental in changing blacks' status in early-twentieth-century America" (6). The chapter sets the tone for the remaining chapters of the book.

Each chapter after the first one ebbs and flows about the duality of the ghetto as a haven or hell within the context of a particular historical epoch. Chapter 2 covers the Great Migration and explains how racial isolation and per capita retail sales among black retailers aided growth of black enterprise, self-reliance, and a New Negro ideology that gave rise to the spatial fix of the ghetto as a haven. Those attributes regulated black social and economic movement to inevitably physical deteriorating spaces creating the hell ghettos have historically been known to be.

Chapter 3 recounts the harsh reality of the Great Depression, detailing how the Federal government began demarcation of ghetto borders as a justification for locating public housing. Black leaders reluctantly endorsed public housing due to the immediacy for employment and shelter security, as well as the role such housing would play in the expansion of the ghetto as a haven, but understood that longer term implications would make the ghetto more hellish by further entrenching racial segregation.

Chapter 4 assesses the time between post-World War II to post-Civil Rights, a mid-twentieth-century era when the largest number of blacks in U.S. history migrated from the South heading to northern urban centers and, for the first time in significant numbers, to major west coast cities. In these cities, the ghetto continued to function as a haven for new arrivals and became the epicenter for transforming urban politics, while reaching a noticeable peak in the number of blacks that perceived the ghetto as hell stemming from socioeconomic isolation and the lack of material gains.

Chapter 5 focuses specifically on the 1960s; the period where the ghetto as hell eclipsed the ghetto as haven because opportunities for some blacks outside the ghetto expanded due to lessening racial discrimination, while for others changes in central-city ecology exacerbated ghetto marginalization. A re-emergence of self-reliance promulgated through black power ideology sought to sustain the ghetto's status as a haven, particularly in the arenas of preserving black culture and political power.

Chapter 6 builds upon the previous chapter by describing the remaining decades of the twentieth century as a time of weakening state oppression due to Civil Rights legislation and some relaxation in the racial cast system that enabled a black middle-class mass exodus from, and lessened immigration to, ghettos. The dominant view of the ghetto as hell no longer denoted a place where all black Americans lived, but the primary impediment to opportunity for lower income blacks in spite of the valiant efforts of the community development movement.

Finally, Chapter 7 details three trends most pronounced during the first decades of the twenty-first century: mass incarceration, the subprime lending crisis, and gentrification. These trends are likely to influence future denoting of the urban ghetto as a haven or further entrenchment as a hell.

A Haven and a Hell is an eloquently written and captivating book. However, the book does little to bridge the gap between the study of the ghetto and city building, and planning practice. Freeman might have done a better job at doing so had he engaged and built upon previous works by urban planners such as *Redevelopment and Race: Planning a Finer City in Postwar Detroit* (Thomas 1997), *Historical Roots of the Urban Crisis: African Americans in the Industrial City, 1900-1950* (Taylor and Hill 2000) or *How East New York Became a Ghetto* (Thabit 2003). These works bring attention to traditional planning tendency for economic and physical objectives over community needs for social justice; the desire for maintaining a unified front in resistance to racist policies and white supremacy practices; the rising complexity in residential patterns among blacks coming into contact with modernization; and alternatives for improving the quality of black urban life and neighborhoods. The planning profession is not explicitly mentioned in the text until Chapter 7 where attention turns to gentrification and announces that the conclusion conveys implications for planning and policy.

The conclusion offers policy prescription for gentrification, although not to thwart it but to incentivize efforts toward increasing the affordable housing stock. Freeman posits that in hot housing market cities, "the difference between community development and gentrification might be a distinction without difference" (247). From there, these processes are held in congruence. Moreover, what is implied is that the gentrification process is value neutral and its outcome is bad for some and good for the black gentrifier, in particular, who is more likely to advance ghetto-haven development to the benefit of all

blacks. Boyd (2008) dispels this notion through an assessment of black-led gentrification in a south side Chicago neighborhood that marginalized and demobilized longtime lower income black households. Hence, incentivizing gentrification is likely to expand gentry accumulation and influence, but stymie agency from the grassroots that challenges the status quo. For readers concerned about social justice and who recognize the propensity of the market to place efficiency over equity, they may find this prescription to be a dangerous one.

For the preceding portions of the book, the evaluative approach undertaken seems fairly similar to that of economists who seek to straightforwardly separate winners from losers. Freeman may have found this necessary to clarify the duality the ghetto presents as the primary institution in black life. Yet, the conclusion entails “social justice arguments” (243) for improvement to the point where the ghetto as a haven eclipses the ghetto as a hell. The book closes surmising that when and where white supremacy subsides, the need for the Ghetto will diminish. The implication here is that the ghetto is antithetical to the American Dream of inclusion. Put another way, achieving this American Dream would no longer render a need for the black ghetto to serve as the institutional center of black American life. Taylor and Hill (2000) would agree and further argue sustaining black culture, building unity and power (space), in the absence of the black ghetto (place), still matters in the continual fight against racism and white supremacy.

A Haven and a Hell is a good fit for use in a black studies or urban history courses. The rich century-plus narrative weaving together the voice and perspective of blacks to illuminate a ghetto duality makes a significant contribution to the contemporary and preceding historical scholarship on black city life and urbanization. It is somewhat disappointing that the book engages little planning scholarship that fits within the genre, and a direct focus on urban planning occurs only at the end. In spite of these shortcomings, the book encompasses the entire life (or at least up to the second decade of the twenty-first century) of the planning profession, and very few works by planning scholars include the black voice with such resonance dating before the advent of professional planning in the United States. For this reason, *A Haven and a Hell* should make the required reading list on the syllabus of any undergraduate or introductory planning history course seeking to advance understanding about the interconnection between urban spatial formation and the social construction of race.

References

- Boyd, Michelle. 2008. “Defensive Development: The Role of Racial Conflict in Gentrification.” *Urban Affairs Review* 43 (6): 751–76.
- Taylor, Henry Louis, and Walter Hill, eds. 2000. *Historical Roots of the Urban Crisis: African Americans in the Industrial City, 1900-1950*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Thabit, Walter. 2003. *How East New York Became a Ghetto*. New York: New York University Press.

Thomas, June Manning. 1997. *Redevelopment and Race: Planning a Finer City in Postwar Detroit*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Zommers, Zinta, and Keith Alverson, eds. 2018. *Resilience: The Science of Adaptation to Climate Change*. Cambridge, MA: Elsevier. 354 pp. \$85.00 (paperback). ISBN 978-0-12-811891-7

Reviewed by: Saleh Ahmed, *Boise State University*

DOI: 10.1177/0739456X20916512

The scale and the patterns of the recent wildfires in Australia, the highest tides in the past fifty years experienced in the city of Venice in Italy, and the recent flooding in Bangladesh, which killed more than sixty and displaced thousands of people, have been unprecedented. These patterns of weather and climate anomalies have become increasingly common. In sum, people all over the world have been increasingly exposed to various natural hazards. Some might wonder whether the science of adaptation has reached its threshold.

The economic, environmental, social, and cultural burdens of climate change are enormous and unbearable for a large number of the world’s population, particularly for those who are in the Global South and who have limited resources. Thus, adaptation and resilience have become increasingly important. So far scholars and practitioners in different parts of the world have used various empirical methods and techniques to research adaptation. Results suggest that adaptation is largely place-based and influenced by local economic, political, social, and cultural determinants. However, there is no agreement on frameworks, methods, metrics, and indicators designed for an assessment of progress toward the global goal on adaptation, a major policy issue.

Resilience: The Science of Adaptation to Climate Change, edited by Zinta Zommers and Keith Alverson, is a significant contribution to understand the adaptation process and its outcomes at the global scale. Leading adaptation and resilience scholars and practitioners contributed twenty-seven chapters, using various disciplinary lenses based on several geographical contexts and adaptation challenges. Contributors discuss a range of weather and climatic stresses, such as sea level rise, salinity intrusions, droughts, unpredictable rainfall patterns, and flooding, as well as place-based responses. These stresses have not only implications on local and individual livelihoods but also global sustainability and development.

The book is divided into an introduction, authored by Keith Alverson and Zinta Zommers, and five different sections. The first section, which consists of Chapters 1 to 5, focuses on the societal needs for adaptation. For example, in Chapter 2, Robert Nicholls discusses the household level adaptation to sea level rise, which has been one of the