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Urban Inspiration Can Come from Unlikely Sources: What Boston Can Learn from Cities in Transition Around the World

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Boston is a city in transition, with power passing to a new mayor for the first time in a generation. The capital of New England should consider the examples of cities around the world in defining its next agenda. The urban centers that make up the Forum for Cities in Transition have all endured years of conflict and yet each continues to plan for a better future. Belfast, Nicosia, and Kaduna might not be role models for Boston; but three consensus points came out of the group’s recent summit: (1) it is hard to move forward without confronting the past; (2) collaboration is a necessity, not a choice; and (3) success requires that women be in position to lead. If Boston meets these challenges it will be better prepared to tackle intergenerational problems created by the exclusion of women and communities of color from equal social and economic opportunity; and to confront what is perhaps the most profound divide it has ever faced: the massive gap between rich and poor.

The outpouring of love for the long-time Boston mayor Tom Menino when he died in October 2014 was a reminder that Boston is a city in transition. Marty Walsh took office earlier last year with a first-in-a-generation opportunity to develop a new vision for the city. Every party with a stake in the city’s future can contribute to the process by bringing big ideas to the table with pragmatic models for making them real. It will also be critical to look around the country and the world for help. This article is an attempt to present some of the key insights and action plans that are under way in some very unusual cities around the world. The intent is to suggest that Boston can learn a great deal from even those places that have recently endured or continue to experience profoundly divided societies and a range of daunting social ills. In times like these, inspiration can come from unlikely sources.

Boston’s Opportunity for a Fresh Start

Mayor Marty Walsh is getting comfortable in the driver’s seat with some big wins. The Marathon bombing trial is over. An extraordinary winter is behind him. He won public confidence by reaching agreements with public employee unions and helping to bring about the rejuvenation of a more inclusive St. Patrick’s Day Parade. In addition, civil unrest after the Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, Missouri, did not erupt into violence, a new superintendent of schools has been chosen, and serious new initiatives have been announced to

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expand middle-income housing in the city. With a long list of significant achievements, Boston has made a remarkable recovery from a time three and four decades ago when its future was very much in doubt. Some challenges, however, refuse to go away. As presented in the Boston Foundation Indicators Project’s recently curated presentation titled, “The Shape of Our City,” some of these include a legacy of racial tension and a reputation significantly burdened by it, a stubbornly insufficient quantity of affordable housing, dramatic income inequality that mirrors or exceeds national averages, a skills gap between the students graduating from even its best secondary schools and the jobs that are available, and a deep a pattern of mistrust in government, together with low levels of voter participation in elections.¹ Health, employment, and educational attainment statistics skew toward the dramatically negative in communities of color and historically disadvantaged groups, with no remedy in sight.

Two events have been particularly divisive in the short time Mayor Walsh has been in office. A well-intentioned push to bring the 2024 Olympics to Boston is unpopular, and the way it was rolled out triggered a predictably skeptical response from communities that are habitually left out of the conversation about what is in their own best interest. The city—and Mayor Walsh in particular—may have been too fast to embrace the effort and failed to see an opportunity to vigorously represent the interests of all residents. In addition, the city’s abrupt closure of the Long Island homeless shelter and treatment programs because of the sudden discovery of a safety concern with the bridge that connects the island in Boston Harbor to the mainland continues to rile citizens, leaders in diverse organized religious communities, and homeless residents themselves.

Notwithstanding its many strengths, in socioeconomic and racial terms, Boston remains irrefutably a divided city—and a city in transition. But with a strong recovery from the recession and new leadership in City Hall and in the governor’s office and key posts such as the Chamber of Commerce, opportunity knocks.

The Forum for Cities in Transition

Last fall, Belfast, Northern Ireland, hosted a conference that was set up as a dialogue between civic leaders from places that self-identify as divided societies working toward peace, reconciliation, and shared prosperity. It was part of a long-term project called the Forum for Cities in Transition (FCT) and was founded and coordinated by the University of Massachusetts Boston professor Padraig O’Malley, who holds the John Joseph Moakley Chair of Peace and Reconciliation.

In October 2014, the forum gathered leaders from fifteen cities around the world in Belfast for its fifth annual conference, to explore the theme “Promoting Reconciliation Through Resilience.”² Representing cities that have been wracked by violence and division, and some by war, genocide, and what some euphemistically call “ethnic cleansing,” all seventy-five participants at the October conclave face significant barriers to progress.

Delegations from Srebrenica in Bosnia Herzegovina and Mitrovica in Kosovo are still healing from the 1995 war that left a prominent nation divided and deeply scarred. Derry~Londonderry of Northern Ireland has come a long way from the hyper-charged tensions and violent clashes that put it in the headlines worldwide; but it is still working to build and then protect new connections among its socially divided and economically depressed communities. Kaduna, Nigeria, sits on the river that provides a nation of Muslims and Christians with a de facto separation line and is itself a divided city where Christians and Muslims rarely interact in a positive or even safe environment. Representatives of these cities and others have successes to
share; perhaps more important, however, they showed a willingness to reflect on where they are stuck, and to seek insight from the others. Discussion at the forum revolved around topics that are on the agenda in Boston and many other cities around the world: confronting the past, fostering reconciliation, creating economic opportunity, and holding political leadership accountable.3

O’Malley observed to those assembled in Belfast that, “at a time when nations are falling apart, cities just keep getting stronger.” If true, a major cause would have to be the resilience and open-mindedness of leaders and the grit and determination of the people in their diverse communities. Another simple truth emerged from the very complex discussion in Belfast: no matter how willing and effective a city’s communities and their advocates are, lasting progress requires visionary leadership from the top.

The Forum Method
O’Malley’s method of getting cities around the world to pursue peace, reconciliation, and progress by engaging directly with each other was born out of over 50 years of working with the parties to the conflict in Northern Ireland and the sharply opposed parties in South Africa long before they reached a peaceful transition from Apartheid to democracy. On the back of that remarkable period of progress, he built a successful experiment that involved engaging representatives of two very different nations. O’Malley cultivated an atmosphere of compromise among the bitterly divided parties in Northern Ireland by getting them together face-to-face and privately with their diverse and once bitterly divided counterparts in South Africa. Talks that he arranged and cofacilitated with Nelson Mandela were among the factors that set the stage for significant steps toward what became known as the Good Friday Accord.4

O’Malley conceived of the Forum for Cities in Transition as a way to apply the methodology behind the success in South Africa and Northern Ireland to divided societies worldwide. The core principle is cities that are in conflict or have emerged from conflict (divided societies) are in the best position to help other cities in similar situations. A Bostonian could be forgiven for bristling at the comparison to cities whose wars we have watched on television in recent decades. But they have watched ours as well. And their experiences in acute circumstances may have significant application to explore.

In the words of the forum delegate and Belfast city councillor Tim Attwood, “We do have relative peace in Northern Ireland, but it is time to deepen the values and comprehensively advance the unfinished work. . . . It is time to further transform our politics and the lives of our people.”5

At the conclusion of the Belfast event, delegations were asked to state publicly their commitments to build on what they took away from the discussion. Commitments included infrastructure and dialogue projects as well as initiatives to bring diverse delegations abroad to observe program models in other cities. In addition there were consensus commitments to focus on such themes as the role of women, youth development, and entrepreneurship.

Insights That Could Help in Boston
The following three consensus points came out of the recent FCT summit: it is hard to move forward without confronting the past; collaboration is a necessity, not a choice; and success requires that women be in position to lead. These points offer insights for Boston.
Confront the Past

To borrow from President Barack Obama’s memorable line from the 2011 State of the Union address, if a city wants to win the future, it has to successfully confront the past. Delegates in Belfast agreed that a bold vision is an important starting point for any city in transition. There is a pragmatism to these delegates that inspires hope that progress can happen on many fronts; but there was a real consensus in Belfast about how limited a city’s effort can be when it does not successfully confront its own history.

In Belfast, political leaders have publicly stated a goal to take down all remaining physical barriers (ironically yet aptly known as “peace walls”) that have been used to separate neighborhoods for decades in the name of the physical safety of communities on both sides. On its face, this goal sounds hopeful and forward-looking, and is a clear sign of progress. Yet there are serious local advocates seeking to delay taking down the walls. Because of the backdrop in Belfast of a period in which there is a general lack of sectarian violence despite sharp divisions and serious protests over public issues, the rationale for opposing the dismantling of peace walls is instructive.

Community leaders in the Suffolk Lenadoon Interface Group have asked political leaders to slow down the process of removing the peace walls that separate them. The effort is not aimed to keep people apart but to provide time first to better prepare neighbors for living together. The Suffolk Lenadoon Interface Group, according to its mission statement, is “committed to building a shared and better future, and creating an environment hallmarked by understanding, tolerance and a celebration of all cultures, heritage and identities.” For twenty years, the group explains on its website, “there had been no contact between Suffolk and Lenadoon . . . until community leaders met in 1996.” Their meeting “was a brave step at a time when violence was prevalent. Those involved contended with decades of conflict, deep suspicion and mistrust.” Furthermore, “both communities suffer from serious deprivation and are characterised by high unemployment, low incomes, poor health, poor housing, poor services, poor skills and levels of educational attainment, sectarian division and community polarisation, high levels of stress and trauma, poor mental health, [and] high levels of anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence.”

The organization, which is part of a citywide network of similar interface partnerships across the divide, is calling for more public support for “cross-community work” to normalize relations between Belfast residents who have never before lived in an integrated neighborhood or city. Courageous representatives of the Protestant and Catholic populations on both sides are working to increase contact between the two sides and to develop mutual investment in valuable resources in the neutral areas that currently separate them. Initiatives include adult education, youth sports, co-owned commercial development, and beautification projects that focus on areas that tend to attract negative behaviors.

A significant milestone in the cross-community work of the Suffolk-Lenadoon project was the establishment of cross-community visits, first organized in 2013 by Jean Brown from Suffolk and Renee Crawford from Lenadoon. During these visits, residents from one side of the wall visit the community on the other and then repeat the process in reverse. Brown and Crawford met with forum delegates and explained the program in detail. These courageous and persistent leaders took delegates to both sides of the wall that divides their communities from one another to show how similar and close together they are. Through their explanation of the culture and history, delegates were encouraged to appreciate how different they are as well.
Follow Through on Bridging the City’s Divides

In his State of the City speech in January 2014, Boston mayor Marty Walsh spoke openly about the importance for Boston of embracing its human diversity and developing more confidence speaking openly about some its historic challenges with race and class. He announced a commitment to a citywide conversation about the past, “aimed at healing divisions that go back generations,” and in doing so he raised expectations that dialogue would be an important part of the strategy. Mayor Walsh also described an agenda for development and investment to realize his vision of a “thriving, healthy and innovative Boston.”

Eighteen months later it remains to be seen what his citywide dialogue project will look like and what the nexus is between those conversations and the ambitious plans that are starting to come out of City Hall. In December 2014, the city announced it had been awarded a Rockefeller Foundation grant to focus on “urban resilience,” and Mayor Walsh revealed that the effort is expressly linked to the divisive and still relevant issues of race and inequality in Boston. It was reported then that the “first priority will be to begin the conversation about what happened—and what is still happening—to the city of Boston as a result of busing.”

The mayor and Rockefeller Foundation president Judith Rodin shared more of their vision in a May 2015 article in the Boston Globe on the occasion of the project’s formal launch, stating, “Forty years after the busing crisis, Boston remains a city troubled by divisions of race and class that undermine community cohesion. Stark gaps in health, educational, and economic outcomes are evidence of how these vulnerabilities weaken Boston’s resilience.”

The Rockefeller-funded program may be a significant asset for Boston’s effort, but nothing signals progress like actually doing things differently than they have been done in the past. The campaign to bring the 2024 Olympics to Boston presents an opportunity to break with historically divisive patterns and establish new ones that city residents and institutions can replicate. Failing to reflect on the past before launching the Olympic bid has only compounded the risk of repeating mistakes and further widening persistent divides.

The divides Mayor Walsh indicates a desire to address may not be analogous to those facing Belfast or any other forum city; but tensions and divisions along social, racial, or ethnic lines are a drag on cooperation and collaboration. Just as significantly, these issues can profoundly affect on Boston’s reputation among visitors, newcomers, and potential partners and investors worldwide. Perhaps the best thing about the Rockefeller grant is that it puts Boston into a formal and well-supported cohort of cities around the world facing similar challenges and opportunities.

Put Women in Position to Lead

The discussion in Belfast about gender and progress in cities in transition is captured in a comment by Emanuela C. Del Re, an expert consultant working with postconflict societies worldwide and an adviser to the FCT: “It is not just a question of social justice but better results. Including women in political-economic-social processes improves the results.” She further explains, “Including women in political-economic-social processes improves the results, because women’s approach is different from that of men in that women are more sensitive than men as regards certain issues (family and others). But there is no difference in their engagement and capability for clear analysis and definition of strategies.”

Del Re continues:
I do not always agree on the trite statement that women bring peace and are less corrupt, because I think that this introduces in the discussion over the scarce presence of women in politics, even in Europe, a moral dimension that cannot be demonstrated and does not help the cause. Many women in power have been fierce and cruel, and even in the West the image of the woman in power is always depicted as emotionless and unscrupulous. I would rather concentrate on the fact that the picture would not be complete without the participation of women first of all because they constitute half of the population; and second of all . . . because they guarantee better results because the perspective from which we start to face problems is complete and 360° wide, allowing a prismatic approach.  

Consider this candid perspective from Mine Atle, a delegate to the forum representing the Nicosia-Turkish Cypriot Municipality, where she is a member of the city council:

I have been actively engaged in Cypriot politics since I was 17 (11 years). I have recently been elected as a council member. In my experience men do not have a tendency to place gender policies on their agenda unless they feel a strong pressure to do so. Peace building begins with truth and empathy. During the war in Cyprus many women experienced rape by the “other” and abandonment by their “own.” The voice of women during the reconciliation process is vital to gain a true picture of the suffering experienced in war. As for City leadership, the patriarchal structure of the municipal council (and other democratic organisms) has ignored issues such as baby changing facilities, a lack of a women’s shelter or affordable day care. Only with gender conscious women in vital roles can these issues be prioritized.

Atli notes that a recently founded gender equality committee in the Nicosia Turkish municipality “has begun to address the issue of women’s participation” in leadership roles in the city. Furthermore, the “recently elected Mayor of the Turkish municipality” has “embraced the goal of a gender equality policy for the municipality” and has “supported all activities and initiatives of the Gender Equality Committee” which includes establishment of a women’s shelter and a day care center.  

Jim Roddy, an FCT delegate from the City of Derry-Londonderry in Northern Ireland and the manager of the City Centre Initiative in Derry-Londonderry, adds a perspective from a city where women currently hold some of the most important leadership roles. “At the moment” he says, “our mayor, CEO of Derry City Council, CEO of the Londonderry Chamber of Commerce, and member of the European Parliament are all women.”

According to Roddy, however, in Derry-Londonderry his office hears anecdotal evidence that mid-management roles are more difficult for women to attain.

What is of particular importance in Roddy’s message about Derry-Londonderry is that there is not a sense of task completion just because women currently occupy top positions. He describes a network of civil society programs, many of which receive public financial support, that exist to ensure challenges faced by women can be addressed in a sustainable way.

In Boston, of potentially great significance is the mayor’s creation of the Office of Women’s Advancement, which “provides a permanent, effective voice for all female residents of Boston by working inclusively with public, private, and non-profit partners on key issues that significantly affect women and girls.”

The new initiative has three priorities: “understanding and reporting on the status of women and girls in Boston through data and research; advancing women’s economic equity in
partnership with the Boston Women’s Workforce Council; and promoting women’s health and safety.”

If the Walsh administration commits to a culture of transparency, it would also be possible to measure and track the actual rate and level of participation in government by women. Without wide access to that data and there cannot be a public discussion, nor can there be goal-setting and accountability. In addition to understanding the raw numbers, it would be important to reflect on the concern expressed by Jim Roddy of Derry–Londonderry about how women are experiencing their roles in leadership at all levels of the organization.

Mayor Walsh’s “100% Talent” program is intended to confront the persistent wage gap that indicates women earn less than men for the same work. It presents an opportunity to make progress and at the same time to build relationships among many very powerful constituencies and organizations.

Setting Priorities Together

Each delegation to the FCT is expected to reflect its city’s various factions and also as complete an array as possible of the public, nonprofit, and private stakeholders in making a successful transition. What is first apparent upon meeting and reviewing the delegations is that for a variety of reasons, it is not easy to create a collaborative group that meets this standard. Going back to the model that inspired the FCT, one could imagine how difficult it must have been to assemble in single meeting the full range of parties in a divided society, including those at either extreme whose methods included outright violence and whose ideologies negated the legitimacy of the other. Still, given the challenge, the delegations do manage to encompass a breadth and embrace a spirit of cooperation that would have been inconceivable during the worst days of the conflicts their respective cities have survived.

Imagine for a moment what it would be like for the City of Boston (and frankly other cities and towns around it) if each neighborhood were asked to compose a delegation of equivalent diversity. Imagine if each neighborhood delegation would attempt to create, as FCT delegations have, a common agenda for peace, reconciliation, and progress and make public commitments to one another. And finally, imagine if it were also expected of these neighborhood delegations that each find partners in other delegations with whom they can exchange knowledge and experience.

Would such a model make each neighborhood and the city as a whole stronger? What if the combined citywide enterprise spun off cohorts that represented the entire city geographically but focused on priority issues such as confronting unresolved issues in the city’s past, including women in positions of power, strengthening youth development or ensuring that area residents can age with dignity and security?

City-to-City Collaborations in the Forum

As hard as it has been for the FCT delegations to accurately and completely represent their respective cities in microcosm, it has also been a challenge for them to sustain successful partnerships between and among them. But there have been some examples of the good that is possible. And there are new ideas being developed in follow-up to the 2014 Belfast meeting. The Baghdad delegation and Nicosia Turkish delegation agreed to twin their efforts and track progress together, as well as to find opportunities for cross-pollination. Baghdad also proposed to host a youth conference on creating work opportunities as a basis for investment.
In Kirkuk, Iraq, the delegation’s agenda includes getting seeds to farmers, convening a discussion of security in the city, and undertaking important reconstruction initiatives.

The Derry–Londonderry and Belfast delegations have pledged to make their police professionals available to share insights with other FCT cities, with a particular focus on the role of women as officers.

Focusing on women’s empowerment, the delegation from Haifa, Israel, has invited the delegation from Kaduna, Nigeria, to bring women leaders to Israel for agricultural skills training and what they are calling “knowledge training” to prepare for the increasing demands of the technology-driven economy. Delegations from Haifa and East Jerusalem will focus on a women’s network to link diverse coalitions in the two cities, while in East Jerusalem another focus will be on social infrastructure: drug-and-violence-prevention programs, enhancing the “Older Brother” program, and investing in recreational facilities.

Kaduna wants to host an in-Africa conference to mirror the greater FCT effort and also a youth-focused initiative. In the Balkans, Mitrovica is going to prioritize the participation of municipal officials in the FCT delegation and will focus on youth and women’s issues as well as a police exchange with Derry–Londonderry. Mostar will develop a range of activities for advancing small-business development and will partner with Mitte, Germany, on increasing employment opportunities by expanding training programs. Nicosia, Cyprus, intends to engage the government of the Republic of Cyprus so that its delegation can increase its connection to governance, and it will focus on organizing a “good relations” unit.

Ramallah and Tripoli will commit to conducting research to develop new collaborative projects. Ramallah will focus on strengthening solidarity between the Palestinian peoples and local governmental authorities. Tripoli is interested in enhancing violence prevention efforts and developing cultural events to celebrate the true identity of the city.

A bi-national secretariat provides governance for the FCT including parties from Northern Ireland and the University of Massachusetts Boston. The secretariat has committed to supporting the delegations around the world and ensuring that they develop the capacity to follow through with their commitments. Ultimately, however, the secretariat is committed to the FCT model in which responsibility for follow-through lies entirely with the cities themselves.

**Five Ideas for Boston, Inspired by Observing the Belfast Meeting of the Forum for Cities in Transition**

A cautionary note with any comparison between FCT cities and Boston: the challenges they face are profoundly different. The basis for suggesting that Boston look to forum cities for ideas comes from observing the ambition, imagination, and pragmatism of the FCT delegations. Many are focused on making choices that can profoundly and immediately affect quality of life for diverse residents.

Delegates to the FCT agreed on four priorities: “reduce violence; promote peace and reconciliation; encourage civic participation of all sectors of society, and promote economic development and regeneration.” They have also started planning special initiatives on the role of women in leadership and on youth development.

Here are five ideas, inspired by the FCT that Mayor Walsh might consider for Boston:

1. Start over with the Olympic Bid and ask community development corporations, neighborhood councils, and grassroots organizations what they need to see in order to
believe the Olympics would be a win for Boston. Continue to focus on creating a model Olympic Games to be replicated around the world but focus also on developing a model process of arriving at the decision to bid for the privilege.

2. Call a summit on the topic of housing and homelessness in the greater Boston area and immediately restore the beds, storage facilities, and treatment programs that were dismantled when Long Island was closed. Create a regional master plan that sets the standard for all urban areas to meet with regard to housing low income residents and ending homelessness.

3. Frame the citywide dialogue project around the creation of diverse and inclusive neighborhood programs for which the agenda is set by the local participants. Set a high bar for the groups by asking them for pragmatic and actionable proposals for strengthening cohesion in their communities, and allocate a reasonable amount of funding for planning and implementation.

4. Take diverse delegations of Bostonians abroad to see what other cities are doing to bridge divides in their own communities. Frame the experience tightly around problems the delegation is qualified for and committed to solving, and use goals and timetables to hold the group accountable.

5. Commit to deepening the cadre of leaders in diverse communities across the city (with a particular focus on substantial participation in major roles by women) so that Boston can rely more fully on a rich population of well-trained and sophisticated citizen advocates who speak a common language about collaboration and problem solving, and who share a vision of a city that can master even its most daunting challenges.

Cities know they have much to learn from each other, and the stakes are high because we know positive outcomes in urban centers can drive regional prosperity. Sometimes wisdom comes to Boston from unexpected places. Why not learn from the experience of other cities in transition?

Notes


2 Previous FCT conferences were held in Mitrovicë–Kosovska Mitrovica (2010); Derry–Londonderry (2011), Kirkuk (2012), and Kaduna (2013).


Walsh and Rodin.

Emanuela C. Del Re, e-mail interview with the author, February 20, 2015.

Mine Atli, e-mail interview with the author, February 16, 2015.

Jim Roddy, e-mail interview with the author, February 2-3, 2015.


FCT Report.