

PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

The Magazine of Planners Network



Photo by Marie Kennedy

A squatter settlement in Buenos Aires contrasts with the city's newly redeveloped waterfront skyline.

Participatory Housing Cooperatives: An Argentinean Experiment

By Marie Kennedy and Chris Tilly

In the shadow of the sparkling skyscrapers of Buenos Aires's newly redeveloped Puerto Madero waterfront area, we picked our way along the muddy paths of a *villa miseria*, the Argentinean word for a squatter settlement. The houses ranged from small, spartan brick boxes with cement floors to subhuman hovels with mud floors and shallow ditches, only partially concealed, for outhouses. The city government's response: erecting a 25-foot-high wall of dirt to hide the *villa* from the glitzy clubs, offices and apartments of Puerto Madero. In addition, the government has made no secret of its plan to evict the squatters to make way for a new gated luxury development. In Argentina's capital, as in much of Latin America, stark divergences in housing conditions mirror growing inequality.

[Cont. on page 7]

INSIDE:

VIETNAM
GOING GLOBAL

ZONING FOR
ETHNIC CLEANSING

SOCIAL HOUSING
IN ONTARIO

LIVABLE
NEIGHBORHOODS

MANY OTHERS...

The SEVENTH GENERATION

*"In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations."
- From the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy*

Progressive Regional Planning in the Twin Cities

By Ann Forsyth

Minnesota, or more specifically the Twin Cities, is well-known nationally for its regional planning, having a number of innovative programs in operation. Progressive planning practice in the Twin Cities, however, reaches further than regional efforts. In particular, a vibrant non-profit sector is a setting for testing new ideas.

The seven-county Twin Cities metropolitan area is already large, with 189 cities and towns and forty-one school districts. It is governed, in part, by a creature of the state government, the Met Council. William Johnson's terrific 1999 book, *Growth Management in the Twin Cities Region*, outlines the basics of the system. The Council itself is appointed by the governor and its level of influence varies directly with the governor's interest in regional issues. The Council then guides a large staff that conducts the day-to-day operations of regional planning and infrastructure investment.

The Met Council was formed in 1967, and its powers have generally expanded over the years, supported by Democrats interested in the equity benefits of regionalism and Republicans interested in the fiscal benefits of more coordinated infrastructure provision. An important date was 1976, when the Metropolitan Land Planning Act was passed, requiring local governments to prepare comprehensive plans that fit within the Met Council's overall policies and plans. Plans are to be completed every ten years, with the next round due in 2008.

In the early 1990s, transit was added to the Met Council's control—its Metro Transit provides 95 percent of bus rides. Since 1994, 90 percent of wastewater in the Twin Cities has been provided by the Met Council. It uses

this power to shape development, creating a Metropolitan Urban Services Area (MUSA) line outside which development is more difficult. For 134 suburban local governments, the Met Council also manages the Section 8 housing program. It plans the regional open space system and provides GIS resources. Finally, it operates a number of smaller programs, including the Livable Communities Demonstration Account, which has been a popular way of funding urban revitalization ranging from brownfields redevelopment in the urban core to new suburban downtowns in the larger metropolitan region.

Obviously the Met Council has a lot of roles—the debates are over how seriously it takes its roles and whether it is overstepping its mandate or avoiding it. For instance, it has seldom exercised its power to review regionally significant projects. It has also had different emphases in monitoring comprehensive plans; it used to focus on affordable housing, but now emphasizes land use and transportation connections. While local comprehensive plans are required every ten years, and while zoning has to conform to these plans and they in turn have to conform to the Met Council's plans, local governments often resist, delaying the process of coordination.

In addition, not everyone likes the current Metropolitan Framework 2030. This document is a marginal reworking—under the Republican administration—of the earlier Metropolitan Blueprint created when Jesse Ventura was governor and Democrat Ted Mondale was head of the Met Council. The big idea behind the plan is to intensify development along existing corridors to enable better transit retrofit and to limit the need for sewer expansion. There is [Cont. on page 6]

PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

EDITORIAL OFFICE

Hunter College Dept of Urban
Planning, 695 Park Ave.
New York, NY 10021
http://www.plannersnetwork.org
email: tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu
Ph: 212-650-3130 Fx: 212-772-5593

MEMBERSHIP OFFICE

1 Rapson Hall
89 Church Street SE
Minneapolis, MN 55455-0109
Ph: 612-624-3596 Fx: 612-626-0600
Email: pnmail@umn.edu
www.plannersnetwork.org

EDITORS

Tom Angotti and Ann Forsyth

EDITORIAL BOARD

Eve Baron, Kara Heffernan,
Norma Rantisi, Chester Hartman, Jason
Blackman, Marie Kennedy

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Katharine Rankin, Alejandro Rofman

LAYOUT

Donovan Finn

Progressive Planning is published quarterly
by Planners Network, Inc., a non-profit cor-
poration in the State of New York.
Copyright 2005 by Planners Network.
Reprinting and distribution of portions of
this magazine for non-commercial purpos-
es are encouraged. Reprints for commer-
cial purposes require written permission
from the publisher. Progressive Planning is
indexed in the Alternative Press Index.

STEERING COMMITTEE

Tom Angotti, Josh Lerner, Richard
Milgrom, Norma Rantisi, Ken Reardon,
Amy Siciliano, Alex Schafran

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chester Hartman, Chair, Teresa
Córdova, Dana R. Driskell, Ann
Forsyth, Marie Kennedy, Patricia
Nolan, Arturo Sanchez, Peg Seip, Ruth
Yabes, Ayse Yonder

Statement of Principles

The Planners Network is an association of pro-
fessionals, activists, academics, and students
involved in physical, social, economic, and envi-
ronmental planning in urban and rural areas,
who promote fundamental change in our politi-
cal and economic systems. We believe that
planning should be a tool for allocating
resources and developing the environment to
eliminate the great inequalities of wealth and
power in our society, rather than to maintain and
justify the status quo. We are committed to
opposing racial, economic, and environmental
injustice, and discrimination by gender and sex-
ual orientation. We believe that planning should
be used to assure adequate food, clothing,
housing, medical care, jobs, safe working con-
ditions, and a healthful environment. We advocate
public responsibility for meeting these needs,
because the private market has proven inca-
pable of doing so.

PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

The Magazine of Planners Network

No. 164

www.plannersnetwork.org

Summer 2005

FEATURES

Participatory Housing Cooperatives: An Argentinean Experiment <i>Marie Kennedy and Chris Tilly</i>	1
7th Generation <i>Ann Forsyth</i>	2
Vietnam Going Global without a Plan: Welcome to the Capitalist World <i>Tom Angotti</i>	4
Good Design Alone Can't Change Society <i>Kimberly Libman, Lauren Tenney and Susan Saegert</i>	12
Zoning for Ethnic Cleansing <i>Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions</i>	15
Neoliberal Ideas and Social Housing Realities in Ontario <i>Jason Hackworth</i>	17
Livable Neighborhoods: Rethinking New York City Planning <i>Micaéla Birmingham and Eve Baron</i>	20
Creating and Maintaining Affordability with Housing Co-ops <i>Kerstin Larson</i>	24
Redefining Best Practice in Indian Country <i>John A. Koepke</i>	27
2005 Planners Network Conference Photo Recap	29

DEPARTMENTS

Planners Network Updates	31
Resources: Jobs, Events, Publications	33
How To Join, Purchase Back Issues, etc.	35

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Progressive Planning seeks articles that describe and analyze progressive physical, social, economic and environmental planning in urban and rural areas. Articles may be up to 2,000 words. They should be addressed to PN's broad audience of professionals, activists, students and academics, and be straightforward and jargon-free. Following a journalistic style, the first paragraph should summarize the main ideas in the article. A few suggested readings may be mentioned in the text, but do not submit footnotes or a bibliography. The editors may make minor style changes, but any substantial rewriting or changes will be checked with the author. A photograph or illustration may be included. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. Send to the Editor at tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu or Planners Network, c/o Hunter College Dept of Urban Planning, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021. Fax: 212-772-5593. Deadlines are January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

Upcoming Topics (articles welcome):

Arts and Culture
Community Design
Global Warming and Energy
Indigenous Planning

Vietnam Going Global without a Plan: *Welcome to the Capitalist World*

By Tom Angotti

In the Jan/Feb 1998 issue of the *Planners Network newsletter* (the forerunner of *Progressive Planning Magazine*), I wrote, “If you love livable cities, hurry up to Hanoi” because new development “threatens the city’s greatest asset, its street life.” Unfortunately, it’s now too late.

I recently spent three weeks in Hanoi studying the region and planning. As Vietnam’s economic czars race to catch up with China, they are creating gaping inequalities that the old planning apparatus is hard-pressed to deal with. The new

unemployment. Such a pattern is familiar in less developed countries, but Vietnam’s socialist orientation had previously excluded such excesses of capitalist urbanization.

Ciputra Hanoi International City is a giant new gated community going up in the fashionable West Lake neighborhood of Hanoi. An Indonesian investor bought from the government the right to build on land that was being used to grow flowers. He then fleeced individuals in the new cash-laden Vietnamese elite and expanding expatriate community to pay for their houses up front. Many of them bought with expectations of speculative windfalls, not out of a need for a place to live.

Ciputra’s landed gentry will enter their new community through a giant Baroque arch, where they may muse upon the glorious days of French colonialism. They can park their SUVs in the driveways of their Greek Revival mini-mansions, where they will forget the discomforts of the overcrowded, noisy, polluted city. They can send their children to the nearby International School, where they receive instruction in English, and drive to Ciputra’s mall for everyday Gucci goods. Ciputra’s architects may well have seen pictures of new urbanist experiments, for they included sidewalks, should any one dare to walk, and a few Asian design signatures.

The Revolution is Over, the Fight Begins

I opposed the Vietnam war (for the Vietnamese it was the American war) and, like many others who did so, I have always been reluctant to criticize the revolutionary movement and leadership that sacrificed so much to end the occupation by the most powerful military in the world and establish an independent nation. Millions of Vietnamese died, many of them civilians, in the bombings and “search and destroy” missions of the US military; from land mines and Agent Orange (a chemical weapon made in the US); and from the program of forced urbanization that produced concentration camps known as “strategic hamlets.” After the war, the Vietnamese followed



Photo by Tom Angotti

The gated community of Ciputra Hanoi International City.

entrepreneurial class is building wealthy enclaves all around the region, including gated communities where houses sell at prices comparable to Boston or San Francisco. Poor people are being moved out of old urban neighborhoods that are replaced by mammoth superblocks of commercial space and luxury housing. Peasants are leaving farms and *artesan* communities to work in new urban industries and commerce, where they encounter unsanitary, crowded living conditions, high rents and, all too frequently,

the path set out by Ho Chi Minh, who founded the Republic in 1945 to rebuild Vietnam along socialist lines.

But Uncle Ho's generation is mostly gone now, and the young generations have no memory of the war and a new set of aspirations. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the inability of Vietnam's economy and institutions to address these aspirations led to a dramatic opening up to the global capitalist economy in 1993. In a scenario all too familiar elsewhere, Vietnam's planning institutions caved under the influence of massive investments from Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan, Europe and the United States. Investors got cheap land and labor in industrial parks located along the highways the government built and maintained. International lenders rushed in to back the construction of a new urban infrastructure to support new development. In this climate, master plans follow the growth instead of leading it. Government and party leaders make the deals and prime the growth machine with huge infrastructure projects. Environmental impact statements are *de rigueur*, but government has little ability to enforce the rules or plan for long-term environmental quality. A giant informal economy has grown right along with the new industrial economy, and Vietnam's economic planners are increasingly unable or unwilling to deal with it as long as the global marketplace benefits from it. Urban planning in Vietnam is becoming as

irrelevant as it is everywhere that rapid "free market" growth is idolized and economic and physical planning are divorced from each other.

Government and party leaders, alarmed by the social and environmental consequences of the new capitalist bloom, call for balance and pass laws. The World Bank talks about "poverty reduction" and sustainable cities. But Vietnam's "market socialism" seems to be mostly free-market capitalism; it is creating structural poverty, segregated cities and environmental destruction. The historic balance between agriculture, industry and urban life is being destroyed. A rich street life is being wiped out by the car and motorbike industries. Perhaps the best hope is in the scores of spontaneous protests against massive urban renewal and displacement which, for the moment, tend to be settled with bigger relocation benefits; the wildcat strikes against sweatshop conditions; and above all the men and women of the new generation who realize that quality of life can't be bought from transnational corporations. Hopefully progressive Vietnamese will join the twenty-first century search for an alternative to global capitalism now that their government leaders have embraced it.

Tom Angotti is Co-Editor of Progressive Planning and Professor of Urban Affairs and Planning at Hunter College, City University of New York.

A number of people made contributions to Planners Network to honor Walter Thabit who recently died. We thank the following for their generous gifts.

Jill Hamberg

Peter Marcuse

Chester Hartman

Donna Semenza

Lewis Lubka

7th Generation [Cont. from page 2]

also an emphasis on more housing diversity. Overall, approximately one-third of the estimated one million more people living in the Twin Cities by 2030 will be housed in areas that are already developed. Although having significant input from regional planning superstar and Mondale-favorite Peter Calthorpe, the Framework is not uniformly popular. Some, such as Myron Orfield, don't like the fact that the plan includes a set of satellite rural growth centers, which can be seen as the thin edge of the wedge of increased suburban sprawl. In contrast, some suburban areas have been furious that they would have to take more housing units, with a particularly vehement conflict between the Met Council and suburban Lake Elmo only recently resolved. In addition, with the growth of the Twin Cities, the actual metropolitan area is now reaching out further than the official seven-county metropolitan area, with suburban growth skipping across the St. Croix River into Wisconsin, outside of the purview of the plan.

From the perspective of an outsider, however, there is surprising agreement from across the metropolitan area that the costs and benefits of growth should be shared. After years of concentrated public investment in their downtowns, both St. Paul and Minneapolis are experiencing a boom in housing construction; new condominiums are popping up almost everywhere served by reasonable transportation—reflecting a local-scale emphasis on putting housing along transportation corridors. In downtown Minneapolis, and adjacent high-amenity areas (such as along the Mississippi River), numerous high-rise condominium towers have been constructed, are under construction or are working their way through the approvals process.

Still, Ed Goetz, Karen Chappel and Barbara Lukerman (*Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 2003) have documented how suburban areas are not being forced to provide their fair share of affordable housing as they were in the past. Instead, the Met Council emphasis is on housing supply, increased density and urban form. In addition, in its overall work the Met Council certainly has been fearful of taking actions like charging new suburban customers more for sewers. Barbara Lukerman, Thomas Luce and Herbert Mohring have shown in a 1995 article in the *CURA Reporter* that the core subsidizes the periphery.

Other Regional Groups

The Met Council, however, is not the only organization with a regional focus. The Twin Cities is also famous for its regional tax sharing, which operates through the 1971 Fiscal Disparities Act that redistributes 40 percent of new commercial/industrial tax base to a region-wide pool based on population. As several analysts have pointed out, most famously Myron Orfield in *American Metropolitcs*, quoting studies by many other researchers, without it the difference in per capita tax dollars between the richest and poorest municipalities would be 25 to 1; with it, it is 5 to 1. A number of citizen groups and initiatives also operate at the metropolitan level, from the very active Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing (MICAH) to Embrace Open Space, an educational campaign initiated by the local McKnight Foundation. The McKnight-convened Itasca Project is also of interest; this is a group of CEOs convened to look at the region with an initial focus on the increasing problem of traffic congestion.

In fact, it is in the non-profit area where many of the most innovative ideas are tested. Part of this is an offshoot of the significant corporate philanthropy in the area, initiated in the 1960s by the group of corporate leaders who pledged to each give 5 percent of their pre-tax profits to charity. While things have loosened over the years, the Twin Cities undoubtedly has money for innovative projects. From housing to open space, many have a regional flair.

The Future

So where is the region heading? People do perceive that there are regional problems in the Twin Cities—sprawl, for example, is front page news. Metropolitan planning, however, is still going ahead and the Met Council has institutionalized a regional planning process in which local comprehensive plans must conform to regional goals in a process that has teeth due to the Met Council's control over sewer provision. Beyond regulation, the Met Council's Livable Communities program has created large-scale demonstration projects that have created new suburban downtowns and cleaned up large brownfields. The history of innovation—among governments, foundations and non-profits—provides some hope that the Twin Cities will depart from the generic path of growth.

Ann Forsyth was co-organizer of the 2005 Planners Network Conference.

Kennedy and Tilly [Cont. from page 1]

But, in Argentina—as in much of Latin America today—scrappy grassroots housing movements are working hard to move beyond survival and begin closing economic and social gaps. Slum-dwellers, squatters, homeless people and tenants have opened varied fronts in a struggle for decent, affordable housing. A particularly Argentinean contribution to the mix is a small but determined group of movements committed to *horizontalidad*—horizontality, meaning highly participatory democracy and consensus decision-making. Daniel Betti, the architect, urban planner and Buenos Aires city councilor who was our guide through Villa Costanera Sur, gave us a crash course on one such current, a cooperative housing movement that has launched 5,000 families on the way to building housing co-ops.

According to Betti, one in seven of Buenos Aires's 2.8 million inhabitants is experiencing a housing emergency. This includes 120,000 living in *villas miserias*, and 140,000 squatting, primarily in abandoned industrial buildings. Tens of thousands more live in government subsidized homeless hotels, often ten to twelve to a room. Others live in “legal” but barely livable housing or on the street.

Crisis and Resistance

Argentina's poor and working-class residents have lived through economic hard times since the mid-1990s. President Carlos Menem, who governed from 1989-99, presided over neoliberal free trade and privatization policies that resulted in waves of layoffs and plant closings. But the country's powder keg exploded in 2001, when investor panic and devaluation of the peso suddenly wiped out much of the assets and purchasing power of Argentina's large and, until then, prosperous middle class. In two days of massive street demonstrations, Argentina's people drove out then-president Fernando de la Rúa. A series of short-lived caretaker presidencies followed, and finally, in 2003, elections brought the current president, center-left Nestor Kirchner, to power. Kirchner has flaunted populist rhetoric, taken a tough bargaining line with international lenders seeking to collect the country's huge debt and shunned repression of protestors. But, he has stopped short of supporting the development of a grassroots “social economy,” leading many in the horizontal left to view him with skepticism.

The 1990s incubated a variety of new types of organizations, such as community-based unem-

ployment movements and groups of workers occupying their shuttered factories—in many cases, at least initially, experimenting with principles of *horizontalidad*. The 2001 crisis then led to an exponential increase in these and other organizations, although levels of participation have subsided since their peak.

Despite limited economic recovery since 2001, misery remains widespread. A nighttime walk through Buenos Aires reveals armies of *cartoneros*—cardboard scavengers digging through garbage bags to retrieve cardboard they



Example of a common street in the Villa.

can trade for a few centavos. At the same time, the city's rents are climbing, shooting up at an annual rate of 27 percent in May, with some lease renewals as high as 100 percent. While desperate families continue to crowd into vacant factories, young professionals are buying and rehabbing them, pushing rents up. Spokeswoman Noemí Caracciolo of the Tenant Association of the Argentine Republic protested, “We want a rent freeze,” but glumly admitted, “we don't know to what extent the government will be able to respond to us.”

A Cooperative Way Out?

Argentina has a long cooperative tradition, extending back to agricultural and consumer ⇨

cooperatives formed early in the last century. So, it's not surprising that the city of Buenos Aires, which is a freestanding jurisdiction like the District of Columbia, passed Law 341 in 2000,

Photo by Marie Kennedy



Some of the best housing in the Villa.

which encourages formation of housing cooperatives. What's more surprising, according to City Councilor Betti, is that nobody used the law for a year. "In 2001, I was hired onto a team for the Housing Institute," explained Betti, who was not elected councilor until 2003. "I pulled the law out of a chest," he said with a broad smile.

Photo by Marie Kennedy



The Villa's health center.

Law 341 provides for government-financed, low-interest thirty-year loans to finance land acquisition and construction. It also mandates participatory design and planning by the members of each co-op and allocates limited funds for technical

assistance. With a boost from the charismatic, high-energy Betti, use of the law has taken off. When we spoke in June, there were over 200 housing co-ops in Buenos Aires, encompassing 15 to 16,000 persons. Most are in the early stages. Twenty co-ops are engaged in construction and forty others have acquired land; none have completed their projects yet.

Housing co-ops range from ten to fifty families, and include groups from the *villas miserias*, squatter groups and groups in homeless hotels. There is even a group of forty worker-owners at the worker-occupied Hotel Bauen who can't afford housing and are quietly camping out with their families in rooms on the upper floors of the hotel (during our stay at that hotel we periodically saw unaccompanied children taking the elevator to the top floor). In describing how the formation of cooperatives has moved these groups forward, Betti remarked, "All of these groups were *resistance* movements in the sense that they were asking for subsidies from the government. Our task is to help them move from *resistance* to *self-management*, to making a positive proposal." He had few good words for what Argentines call "assistentialist" movements that simply protest in order to continue a flow of government aid, without fighting to change the conditions that make the aid necessary. "Assistance from the state turns you into an idiot," he growled. "The struggle must be to transform people, not to get a check."

The Struggle to Transform People

That's where the participatory process comes in. The law is vague about the nature of participation and different organizations have approached participation in very distinct ways. For example, the Argentine Communist Party's Piquetero Branch (*piqueteros* is a generic name for movements of unemployed people who use street and highway blockages to press their demands) builds housing rapidly, with little emphasis on participation along the way, according to Betti and Maiqui Pixton, a social psychologist on one of the technical assistance teams working with housing co-ops. "That's because the Communist Party is part of the political establishment—they have a bank!" Betti noted. Pixton added that often when worker cooperatives develop housing, one leader drives the process and makes the decisions. Betti characterizes this approach as "vertical work, though it may appear horizontal. The hierarchy of the organizations gets reproduced in the housing work."

On the other hand, said Pixton, "Some organizations work with cooperatives in a long process

of social development and maturation before they start developing housing.” The Movement of Tenant Squatters is one such organization. “They started out by occupying buildings, demanding to either receive credit or be given the buildings, and forming cooperatives,” said Soledad of the Unemployed Workers’ Movement of La Matanza, a horizontal *piquetero* organization based in Buenos Aires’s industrial ring (like many horizontal activists, she prefers to just be identified by her first name). “But they discovered that once people got the title to the housing, they dropped out. So now they organize a cooperative first, do consciousness-raising and only then take the building.”

Betti and his allies, including social psychologist Pixton, try to stake out a middle ground between these two extremes. “We work on self-management without preconditions,” commented Pixton. “We don’t demand that people be at a certain point. The housing emergency that they face makes it worthwhile to work simultaneously on social development and the housing itself.” This is especially true because government promises of funding can evaporate at any moment. At the same time, she added, “We work on having *everybody* make decisions together. That way, they are equipped to go beyond housing to work on education, health, jobs... whatever other issues confront them.” Betti chimed in, “Housing is a pretext. Of course it’s a necessity, but it’s also to create a focus that can lead to empowerment and the capacity to achieve future goals.”

What Role for Planners?

The technical assistance teams play a critical part in guiding this process. The teams, which act as independent contractors hired by groups forming co-ops, include architects, social scientists, lawyers and accountants (as in much of Latin America, Argentina does not have a profession that calls itself “planning”). Maiqui Pixton’s team, with eighteen professionals who work with fifteen co-ops, is the largest. Ten percent of the government credits to the cooperatives can in theory go to pay the professionals, but “the money comes in drips,” said Pixton. “The reality is we can’t live on the fees and have to have other jobs.”

Pixton identified the teams’ key challenge as “breaking with the hegemony of the sciences. It’s not just a question of knowing participatory methods,” she elaborated, “but understanding that people can make their own decisions, that they can manage projects themselves. We have to

accept that people may come up with a different answer than we do. When we say that we are working for transformation, we include ourselves!” Betti added, “Architects make plans, but people don’t necessarily understand how to read them. We found that we have to make the units big enough that people can design their own space.” The solution has been 2-story-high “shells” within which each family can place rooms to meet its needs.



Photo by Marie Kennedy

Orlando Fernandez and Danial Betti.

Another challenge is knowing how to combine support for the cooperative groups with pressure to move toward true self-management. “Some groups move rapidly to functioning autonomously,” Pixton said, “and some stay dependent. Our task is to let them know they’re not alone, but the decisions are theirs. It’s a delicate balance.” The goal, she said, is “to always encourage that everybody gives their opinion and that all opinions are valued. Often it doesn’t seem like they’re paying attention ⇨

to us,” she mused. “But then you see that when they work on their own, they’re reproducing those practices—everybody gets to speak, all opinions are valued—and so you see that they *have* learned.”

Photo by Marie Kennedy



A new mother nursing inside her home.

The government of Buenos Aires itself does little to help this process. “We have a society where a lot is simply dictated,” Pixton observed. “When the government gives a bene-

Photo by Marie Kennedy



Children of the Villa.

fit, it imposes it, without asking people how it might work better. You’re supposed to consider yourself lucky if you get an apartment, even if it’s in appalling shape and doesn’t meet your

family’s needs.” Moreover, the pervasive institutional corruption trickles down. “We understand why acts of corruption happen in the cooperatives,” said Pixton. “They’re imitating what they see around them. And they’re economically desperate—if our kids didn’t have anything to eat, how would we act? Still, even when they are in a state of poverty and desperation, you can demand that people act honestly, transparently and responsibly.”

This is What Democracy Looks Like

Pixton lit up the most when describing how involvement in the housing co-op process led to broader and deeper transformations. She told the story of a co-op president who started organizing with neighbors in a tenement several years ago. “He told me, ‘At that time, I didn’t know how to talk! I couldn’t talk in a way that other people understood—I couldn’t speak for myself, I was just a beast of burden. I had to learn to communicate in order to carry out this planning process.’ To get language is to also get freedom,” Pixton remarked. “If you speak for yourself, you can also think for yourself.”

Another frequent transformation is women who leave a battering situation due to their involvement in the cooperative process. The combination of group support and increased self-confidence developed through action makes the break possible. “And those are the women who fight the hardest against any authoritarianism in the group,” Pixton pointed out.

Democracy isn’t always pretty. As we toured the Costanera Sur *villa* with Betti, he got a call on his cell phone about a dispute between two of the largest housing cooperatives on what organizing strategy the Federation of Housing Co-ops should adopt. “These struggles always come up in the social sector,” he remarked. “The important thing is not to hide them; as the saying goes, ‘Don’t put French perfume on shit.’ If the process were authoritarian, there wouldn’t be any problem. One person would decide, and the rest would have to go along. But if it’s democratic, there’s always going to be disagreements.”

Participatory Legislation

Betti describes Law 341 as a good law, “but only a basic law.” He is currently helping to draft a broader municipal housing ordinance that would declare a state of housing emergency and provide significantly expanded

funds for self-managed housing development. And naturally, he's organizing a participatory process to decide what will go into the legislation. The model for this process is an earlier process to draft a law establishing neighborhood-level governments—a first for Buenos Aires, and due to go into effect starting with local elections this fall. "That law was written by forty-seven neighborhood assemblies!" Betti exulted. (Scores of self-organized neighborhood assemblies sprang up in Buenos Aires neighborhoods, especially middle-class ones, during the 2001 crisis.) "But that was the middle class. This time, with the housing law, we're involving the poor—because they know their own needs."

At the time we spoke, workshops that included cooperative members and technical teams were holding meetings to identify priorities and areas of consensus for a draft housing law. Betti hoped to complete the process by the end of the summer. "So far, we don't have the votes," he acknowledged. The left bloc in the city council includes only eight councilors out of sixty. "But we have people who will fight for it, because they feel that it is theirs." He noted that because politicians have been so discredited, mobilization can make a big difference. Betti's ambitious vision is to build from this housing self-management law to a complete housing law, and from a Buenos Aires statute to laws across the country. "We have a saying in this country," he said with a wink, that "in Argentina, God is everywhere, but he's paying attention to Buenos Aires."

Betti's plan also depends on getting re-elected this October. "I have to find a party to run with," he said. Candidates must be part of the list of some officially recognized party, and although the Argentine government recently approved 546 new parties, none of them appeal to Betti (and neither does the party he ran with in 2003). "I'm thinking of forming a new little party with some others, Liberatory Self-Management of Buenos Aires (ALBA). And if I don't win, that's OK. I'll still keep doing what I'm doing—I always have."

Organizing 15,000 cooperative members marks a small step toward meeting the needs of 400,000 Buenos Aires residents living in a state of housing emergency. Winning a bigger, better city housing law will help. But perhaps even more important than the law itself is the process of organizing and participatory planning that is training a cohort of thousands of new activists. When we last saw Daniel Betti he

was even more excited than usual. "Something really good happened yesterday in that *villa* we visited," he announced. "All the block representatives came to my office together. They said they've decided they don't just want to fight against expulsion from their land. They also want to launch a cooperative housing project!"



Photo by Marie Kennedy

Interior of a home in the Villa.

The spirit that moves ordinary Argentines from resistance to production is a powerful one—one worth watching as a positive example not just for Latin America, but for the rest of the world as well.

Marie Kennedy is professor emerita of community planning at the College of Public and Community Service, University of Massachusetts Boston and a member of the Planners Network Advisory Committee. Chris Tilly is a professor of regional economic and social development at the University of Massachusetts Lowell. Both have worked in Latin America solidarity movements for many years. They visited Buenos Aires in May-June 2005.

Good Design Alone Can't Change Society: *Marcus Garvey Village after Thirty Years*

By Kimberly Libman, Lauren Tenney and Susan Saegert

In 1968, Martin Luther King was murdered, the nation's cities and campuses were torn by riots and all the conventional approaches to cities were being questioned. Every modern approach to social reform, planning and architecture was under scrutiny. The door was open for experimentation and new approaches. In this environment, the New York State legislature created the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) with a reform agenda to:

- Increase the supply of livable, secure and well-designed urban housing at a time when housing was being lost to arson and abandonment;
- Produce integrated mixed-income and mixed-race communities in new developments;
- Create housing that stabilized at-risk communities;
- Respond to the context of the area surrounding a development;
- Provide multi-family housing and open space that would support family and community life and child supervision, creating developments with a sense of community; and
- Learn from the housing prototypes of European housing developments.

One of UDC's most unique projects was Marcus Garvey Village (MGV), located in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn. Members of the environmental psychology program at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York recently conducted research to understand what residents think of the project. Our study utilized photography, ethnography, surveys and interviews and served as background to a retrospective exhibit on the legacy of UDC sponsored by the American Institute of Architecture (AIA). The results of our study were mixed, calling into question the idea that good design alone can change society.

The Design of MGV

MGV exemplifies a number of UDC's central beliefs about housing design and its social consequences. After visiting over a dozen European social housing models, Ted Liebman, chief architect of UDC, recommended a low-rise, high-density prototype that adhered to the reform agenda of the UDC.

Built as part of the Model Cities Urban Renewal Initiative for Central Brooklyn, MGV was first occupied in 1976. Elements of the design included duplex apartments with private backyards or terraces; mews and street units where the mews were designed to better meet the needs of families with children; and the inclusion of substantial space for non-residential uses such as a community center, a day care facility, commercial shops and parking. In addition, throughout the development there is a minimal use of shared entrances and stairwells. Most apartments, rather, have private front doors that open onto a stoop or mews.

The *AIA Guide to New York City* describes MGV as "UDC's pretentious experiment . . . more a scholastic architectural thesis than a prototype for urban redevelopment" (2000, p. 794). Although the socially motivated design may appear scholastic, it demonstrates UDC's ability to provide large quantities of affordable housing of unusually high architectural quality. With its innovative structuring, MGV still has fifty-five units per square acre compared to the fifty units per square acre common in the still-ubiquitous high-rise elevator tower in the park model for affordable housing.

Does Design Matter?

More than twenty years after its first residents moved in, we asked, "Does the design matter?" The answer was, "Yes, but..."

In speaking with residents of MGV, it became clear that they perceive and value the amenities built into the design. When asked what they thought the designers of MGV wanted it to be like, they described the vision as "like a village where people would know their neighbors" and "convenient for tenants." They thought the mews and backyards were "something nice for the kids" and recognized that the designers were "looking towards peoples' privacy." In fact, these aspects of the development's design are so unique and contradictory to most housing available to low- and moderate-income New Yorkers that some of the same residents said that "Marcus Garvey Village was made for rich people." In particular, we found the hallmark feature of this design, the mews and

courtyards, was successful in achieving a number of UDC's goals. These semi-public spaces promote interaction and community development among neighbors and consequently provide a milieu of safety, affording children greater autonomy to play outside of their homes.

Twenty years ago, however, the mews served as a vector, bringing New York City's drug epidemic into this community. A press release from the Department of Justice states, "The insular nature of Marcus Garvey Village made the investigation particularly challenging—and dangerous. The apartment buildings open into private courtyard areas, shielded from public access and view, where the defendants routinely conducted their business."

Although this innovative design has had many successes, social history trumped the architecture. A resident succinctly captured the problem, stating that the designers thought there would be "no crimes, no illegal transactions, they [the designers] never thought people would do that." This history reveals that UDC's exuberant idealism was not without disadvantages.

The socially motivated plan for MGV contained a vision of urban living that in reality would require something more than just good design. UDC's planners and designers were correct in building non-residential community spaces. These spaces are emblematic of their intentions to promote social integration. But time, the challenging social history of Brownsville and a lack of well-managed and sustained social infrastructure hampered the realization of their long-term goals. For example, today very few residents participate in the tenants' association or use the day care facility. The community center has restricted resident access and is not in use. The parking lots have been turned into revenue-producing land rented to a local church and not available to residents. Most residents never have had cars and appreciate the convenience of the subway, which makes an ugly crack in the designed fabric of UDC.

In its prime, UDC closely oversaw the management of its projects to ensure that the social intentions of its design and planning could come to life. Maintaining a mixed-income and mixed-use development requires careful selection of tenants to fill residential, commercial and community-use vacancies. MGV is no longer owned and managed by UDC, today under the supervision of the New York State Division of Housing and Community Renewal. Residents had mixed responses to the overall quality and timeliness of maintenance, but long-term residents agreed that the standards for selecting tenants have changed—for the worse.

Management, reacting to crime in the development that is perceived to be committed by outsiders, has installed turnstiles, gates and security cameras in open spaces that border the high-rise public housing on one side of MGV. Residents don't seem to feel violated, but protected. But the role of management has shifted from supporting community development and maintaining the physical structures of MGV to its current focus: securing and sustaining the development against external criminal influence and simply patching, but not fixing, the physical deterioration of the development.

By building MGV, UDC substantially improved the community of Brownsville. Despite MGV's many social challenges and some wear-and-tear over the years, residents of the development report high levels of satisfaction with their living conditions. In

Although this innovative design has had many successes, social history trumped the architecture

comparison to alternative housing options for low- and moderate-income New Yorkers, the house-like units and amenities such as the mews make MGV a desirable place to live.

Better Housing, More Poverty

Using Census data from 1970 and from 2000, we can see that housing in the area has improved over time. Most striking, in 1970 all of the 187 households living in this census tract were renters. There were no owner-occupied units. The housing available was old: 79 percent of the housing stock was built in 1939 or earlier. MGV's 600 newly built dwelling units nearly doubled and modernized the housing stock of the area. By 2000 there was a significant increase in homeownership, with 22 percent of the available units in the tract being owner-occupied. MGV sits squarely between Marcus Garvey Houses, a high-rise public housing project, and a recently completed cluster of privately-owned single-family homes supported by Nehemiah Houses, a faith-based low-income housing initiative. Although there is not a strong sense of community between the residents of MGV, Marcus Garvey Houses and the Nehemiah houses, UDC did help change the housing conditions in the wider neighborhood. ⇨

While the housing infrastructure has improved, in other ways the community is worse off today than it was in 1970, before MGV was built. For example, the percentage of families living below the poverty level has gone up from 29.2 percent in 1970 to 42.3 percent in 2000. The tract has become less ethnically diverse, with the percentage of African-American residents going from 58.5 percent in 1970 to 90 percent in 2000. Similarly, education statistics have not changed that much over thirty years. In 1970, 20 percent of residents in the area graduated from high school and in 2000 only 33 percent had done so.

Following Through on the Plans

With MGV, UDC had mixed success in meeting the goals of its social experiment. It contributed to stabilizing housing conditions in the neighborhood but not to stabilizing the community at-large. Within MGV there is a sense of community among groups of neighbors but not throughout the development. As a result of the unforeseen challenges of the citywide drug epidemic, spaces that were originally meant to increase safety and community life were hijacked by criminals and took on a role antithetical to their intention.

On our first visit to MGV, a resident who has been living there for over twenty-five years told us, "I love this place, this is not the projects." Yet, just a few weeks later someone else said, "Let's face it, this is the projects." While our data can support both sides of this contradiction, a pragmatic analysis clearly points to successes in the design as well as lessons to be learned for the future.

While design matters, it also requires ongoing management, social programming and community organizing to support growing communities. No single development can live outside the context of institutions and public policies that reproduce social inequality. For MGV, the scale of what was built was not large enough to overcome history, poor management and neighborhood crime. But people still enjoy their homes. MGV fulfilled the

mission of providing better housing for low- and moderate-income people, although the mixed-income, mixed-race ideal could not be realized. You can change housing conditions and improve people's lives, but housing alone does not change society. Development does not end when developments open. This is when the real work begins.

While our study highlights both the successes and the limitations of small-scale planning, it begs the question of what would have happened if UDC had been allowed to fulfill its mandate on a much larger scale. In Wyandanch, Long Island, for example, UDC was blocked from building affordable housing. In 1971 the city of Wyandanch, a poor, largely minority community surrounded by wealthier and whiter suburbs, entered into an agreement with UDC to plan and construct much needed housing. UDC planned a mixed-income development, one that nearby white communities feared would become a mixed-race development. To curtail UDC's powers and keep it out of the suburbs, New York State passed legislation in the spring of 1973 allowing towns and villages to veto UDC projects. By mid-summer of the same year, the Wyandanch development was vetoed by conservative town officials. Today, Wyandanch is still struggling. In 1973 Wyandanch had no sewers and today it is still without sewers, an underdeveloped suburban ghetto. Long Island, too, remains divided on the need for affordable housing for poorer, minority populations.

Susan Saegert is a professor of environmental psychology and director of the Center for Human Environments at the City University of New York Graduate School, where Kimberly Libman and Lauren J. Tenney are doctoral students. They wish to recognize the contributions to this research made by Grace Campagna, Jennifer Giesecking and Dorian Luey, as well as the helpful suggestions on earlier drafts from Ron Shiffman. The work would never had been undertaken without the persistent prodding of Nina Liebman and the interest and information supplied by Ted Liebman and Allan Melting.

REMINDER:

**Bulk discounts are available
on *The 2004 Progressive Planning Reader*, with over 100
pages of the best from *Planners Network Newsletter* and
Progressive Planning Magazine.**

See details on inside back cover.

Zoning for Ethnic Cleansing: Israeli-run Municipality to Demolish Eighty-Eight Arab Houses

By the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions

The Municipality of Jerusalem intends to demolish an entire East Jerusalem neighborhood—eighty-eight homes housing 1,000 residents—in the el-Bustan area of Silwan village in East Jerusalem, close to the walls of the Old City. The reason, according to City Engineer Uri Shitreet, who issued the orders, is that this area is an important cultural and historical site for the Jewish nation because it stands on the site where King David established his kingdom. The aim, says Shitreet, is to return this densely populated Palestinian part of the city “to its landscape of yore.” The operation, the largest demolition of Palestinian homes in Jerusalem since 1967, is code-named “The Cherry in the Crown.” The earliest houses in the neighborhood date from the 1940s and 1950s, though most were built in the 1980s and early 1990s on private land belonging to Silwan villagers. Some of the houses in this area were built before 1967 and others were built in the 1970s. The first forty houses have already received demolition orders.

Since the Israeli government zoned almost all the unbuilt land of Palestinian East Jerusalem as “open green space” after the 1967 war (and since Palestinians would not be allowed to live in Jewish West Jerusalem), there is little space for Palestinians. The reasons are political, not urban. Air Cheshin, Mayor Teddy Kollek’s advisor on Arab affairs and one of the architects of the post-1967 policy, describes the intention in detail in his book *Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 31-32):

[In 1967], Israel’s leaders adopted two basic principles in their rule of East Jerusalem. The first was to rapidly increase the Jewish population in East Jerusalem. The second was to hinder growth of the Arab population and to force Arab residents to make their homes elsewhere. It is a policy that has translated into a miserable life for the majority of East Jerusalem Arabs.... *Israel turned urban planning into a tool of the government, to be used to help prevent the expansion of the city’s non-Jewish population* (emphasis added).

It was a ruthless policy, if only for the fact that the needs (to say nothing of the rights) of Palestinian residents were ignored. Israel saw the adoption of strict zoning plans as a way of limiting the number of new homes built in Arab neighborhoods, and thereby ensuring that the Arab percentage of the city’s population—28.8 in 1967—did not grow beyond this level. Allowing “too many” new homes in Arab neighborhoods would mean “too many” Arab residents in the city. The idea was to move as many Jews as possible into East Jerusalem, and move as many Arabs as possible out of the city entirely. Israeli housing policy in East Jerusalem was all about this numbers game.



Photo courtesy of ICAHD

Planners with the city engineer’s office, when drawing the zoning boundaries for the Arab neighborhoods, limited them to already built-up areas. Adjoining open areas were either zoned “green,” to signify they were off-limits to development, or left unzoned until they were needed for the construction of Jewish housing projects. The 1970 Kollek plan contains the principles upon which Israeli housing policy is based to this day: expropriation of Arab-owned land, development of large Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem and limits on development in Arab neighborhoods. ⇨

Shitreet thus bases his decision to demolish on the fact that the “King’s Valley,” as he calls the Bustan neighborhood, has been designated by the Israeli authorities as “open green space,” therefore off-limits to Palestinian building even though the homeowners own the land. Although the Israeli master plan for the city overrules the Jordanian master plan, which allows residential building in the Bustan neighborhood, international law prohibits Israel, as an occupying power, from imposing its own laws and regulations. Nevertheless, Shitreet has instructed city officials to deal “most forcefully” with building code violations, and says that the process of bringing lawsuits against the Palestinian residents has already begun.

Photo courtesy of ICAHD



An Israeli settler organization called El Ad is focused exclusively on the Silwan area, and does so with discreet help from the Israeli government. In 1992, Haim Klugman, then-director general of the Ministry of Justice, reported that tens of millions of dollars had been given to settler groups, including El Ad, by government ministries; false documents supplied by Arab collaborators had been used to classify Palestinian houses as “absentee property;” the Israel Lands Authority and the Jewish National Fund had allotted much of Silwan to the settlers without offering it up for tender; and public funds had been used to finance the settlers’ legal expenses.

“We break up Arab continuity and their claim to East Jerusalem by putting in isolated islands of Jewish presence in areas of Arab population,” say Uri Bank, a leader of the pro-settlement Moledet party. “Then we definitely try to put these together to form our own continuity. It’s just like Legos—you put the pieces out there and connect the dots. That is Zionism. That is the way the State

of Israel was built. Our eventual goal is Jewish continuity in all of Jerusalem.”

In the past decade, El Ad has taken over more than fifty houses in Silwan, displacing the Palestinian families (often in nighttime operations) and moving in Israeli Jewish families. Settlers just completed a seven-story apartment building in Silwan, which now stands over the village sporting a huge Israeli flag. The city engineer’s office claims it did not notice the construction. Needless to say, no demolition order has been issued, or will be.

Many in the Israeli peace movement suspect that such a major initiative would not come from the municipality, and certainly not from the lowly city engineer. More than likely it comes from above, from Sharon government officials anxious to placate the settlers over the Gaza redeployment by presenting them with a Jewish neighborhood on a prime site next to the Old City, and with an archaeological garden in place of Palestinian residents.

All this is part of an explicit process of “Judaizing” Jerusalem, says Meir Margalit, a former Jerusalem city councilman and a member of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD). “Look at the larger picture,” he says. “Put the settlement actions in Silwan together with the ongoing demolition of Arab houses in East Jerusalem. Put it together with the building of the wall through Abu Dis. All these features together paint a very dramatic picture where the Israeli government, together with the settlers, are part of a national program to make the life of Palestinians so hard they will leave Jerusalem.”

We at ICAHD call upon the international community to express its opposition to the plans of the Israeli government and the Jerusalem municipality to demolish an entire Palestinian neighborhood in East Jerusalem. Destroying Palestinian homes and communities has become an obsession with Israel, proceeding without pause despite initiatives to renew a diplomatic process of peace or create that “calm” on the ground that Israelis insist upon so vociferously. The threatened Silwan action contravenes not only the spirit but the letter of the Road Map, which specifies that, already in Phase 1, “the Government of Israel ends actions undermining trust, including attacks in civilian areas and confiscation/demolition of Palestinian homes/property...as a punitive measure or to facilitate Israeli construction.” Stop the demolitions immediately! For information on how to help, see www.icahd.org.

Neoliberal Ideas and Social Housing Realities in Ontario

By Jason Hackworth

A Return to the Halcyon Days or Just Another Empty Promise?

On April 29, 2005, officials from Ontario and the Canadian federal government announced what was deemed by one senior provincial official as “the largest affordable housing deal in Canadian history.” The roughly C\$600 million partnership between the federal and provincial government will be directed toward the construction of 15,000 affordable housing units and rent supplements to 5,000 Ontario families. The announcement came only weeks after a (federal) government-saving compromise between the ruling Liberals and the leftish New Democrat Party to devote C\$1.6 billion over the next two years for housing. To say that these announcements were welcome news to housing activists in Ontario would be the understatement of the decade. For the last twelve years, activists and affordable housing tenants have been forced to witness the ideologically-driven sacrifice of a once-impressive social housing sector in Canada. These announcements were met with enthusiasm by the affordable housing community, but also with a certain degree of caution that can be attributed to the community’s increasingly uneasy relationship with the provincial and federal governments during the past decade.

A (Very) Short History of Social Housing in Canada

The Canadian social, or government-subsidized, housing system functionally and symbolically sits between the welfare-friendly systems of Western Europe and the market-friendly system of the United States. The UK, France and the Netherlands, for example, all have (or recently had) rates of social housing over 20 percent and a fairly strong commitment to the sector, while antipathy toward the sector in the US has limited public housing to about two percent of the total stock (at the beginning of the 1990s). Somewhere in between (but obviously closer to the latter), Canada’s housing stock is about 6 percent social housing, or about 650,000 units nationwide. This stock consists of three large portfolios (and a number of smaller ones that will not be covered here). First, there is tradi-

tional public housing, which is about one-third of the social housing stock and consists of units built and, until recently, owned and managed by the federal government. Second, there is cooperative housing—arguably the most successful portfolio in the housing stock—that is derived from changes to housing laws in the 1970s that allow more residential autonomy in non-market housing. Finally, there are private and municipal non-profit housing stocks. These consist of units built with federal, provincial or municipal money but managed by either a community group or a special administrative wing of the city. Despite the variation in success, management style and cost of these portfolios, each has been attacked during the past decade for similar ideological reasons.

It is not too much of an exaggeration to say that for Canadian social housing, the early 1990s was akin to the early 1970s for US public housing. Not unlike Nixon’s famous 1973 declaration that the urban crisis was over and that the federal government was ending its commitment to future public housing, the early 1990s began with the newly-elected Liberal government declaring that housing for the poor was no longer the responsibility of the Canadian federal government. That announcement was made in 1993 by the deficit-obsessed finance minister Paul Martin—now the prime minister of the country—and applauded by the International Monetary Fund and Bay Street (Canada’s equivalent to Wall Street).

Because the federal government was the largest source of funding for most affordable housing in the country, the announcement was devastating for both the provinces and individual providers. Some provinces resisted for awhile, trying to shoulder the commitment that had been downloaded to them by the feds, while other conservative-leaning governments saw it as an opportunity to remove government from housing altogether. Ontario became one of the latter when it elected a Conservative government led by Mike Harris—a longtime and prominent member of Canada’s leading neoliberal think tank, the Fraser Institute. Harris immediately compounded the crisis in affordable housing by removing provincial ⇨

funds from the sector as well. To be sure, the Harris announcement was more mean-spirited and doctrinaire than the federal one. Not only did Ontario cancel all future commitments, it eliminated support for the roughly 17,000 units that were already in the pipeline, devolved responsibility to the municipalities (which, unlike their American counterparts, do not have enough taxing authority to generate adequate revenue for such expenditures) and eliminated major regulatory obstacles for unaffordable housing growth in the province.

It is often the case that the ideological hyperbole of newly-elective governments amounts to very little administrative change.

The rationale for the decision read like something out of a Frederick Hayek book, part of a grand plan to devolve (to the municipalities) and privatize as much as possible. Faith in “individual choice” and the market and an obsession with competition drove the government’s decision. The government argued, above all, that the market would figure out how to address the growing affordable housing crisis, if only we gave it a chance. They deemed the movement “the common sense revolution,” and it was wildly successful at undoing welfare state gains made during the past several decades.

Discussions about how to administer the downloading of existing housing stocks—many of which were jointly owned by the province and federal government—marked the late 1990s, finally resulting in the 2000 Social Housing Reform Act for Ontario (and various similar agreements for other provinces). The act formalized the downloading of housing in Ontario to forty-seven local housing service managers, most affiliated with an existing municipal government.

What We Are Left with Today...

It is often the case that the ideological hyperbole of newly-elected governments amounts to very little material change once the actual administrative negotiations take place. The complexity of organizations, the costs of wholesale restructuring and parallel legal frameworks often make such material change difficult to achieve. The restructuring of

social housing in Ontario is not one of these cases. The change since 1993 has been rapid and profound.

First, there has been an intensification of the affordable housing crisis. A 2000 study by Peressini and McDonald found that rates of homelessness in Canada now actually exceed those in the US on a per capita basis. These increases are even more intense in highly urbanized provinces like Ontario, home to roughly one-third of all Canadians. Social housing waiting lists now exceed 150,000 people (63,000 in Toronto alone), as rapid population growth has continued without any serious increase in the social housing stock during the past decade. The affordable housing crisis in Ontario—and all of Canada, for that matter—was sufficient enough for federal officials to commit C\$300 million in 2001 to build new units, but the more ideologically-driven Conservative government in Ontario refused to match these funds (a prerequisite for receiving them). As a result, the federal housing money sat untouched for several years. In 2003, the provincial Liberals came to power in Ontario, in part on a promise to match the aforementioned funds, but it took several years for this promise to materialize because the Tories, upon exiting the government, left the current government with a C\$6 billion deficit.

The second, perhaps unintended, consequence of social housing restructuring in Ontario has been the creation of an institutional kaleidoscope that is difficult to navigate for even the most seasoned housing provider. The downloading of responsibility for housing units, once held by the federal and provincial governments, has been an institutionally complex matter. The Social Housing Reform Act of 2000 attempted to add some clarity to the new system, but many private and municipal non-profit providers complain both that it is very confusing to work within the current system, and that the local service managers appointed by the province to manage existing portfolios are less knowledgeable than previous federal and provincial officials (under the previous system). The increase in complexity and the decrease in expertise is an ironic one since the original intent of downloading, and restructuring more generally, was the absolute reverse—to decrease complexity and increase expertise by localizing responsibility.

A third, largely unexplored, consequence of social housing restructuring has been the creation of a space for experimentation, primarily amongst non-profit housing providers and municipalities

in the province. This “space” holds great promise for creating more affordable housing, but it also contains much danger; it is possible that further privatization of the stock will occur and that a highly uneven system like that in the US might result. Much remains to be seen about how non-profits are operating within this context, but several models have emerged already.

One model that has emerged has been the experimentation of cities with zoning and fiscal incentives granted to non-profit, and increasingly for-profit, developers who are willing to build affordable housing. In Toronto, for example, the Let’s Build program has been working with non-profits for five years to smooth out the development process. The program provides cash, land and, most importantly, zoning concessions to developers in exchange for legal obligations to retain affordable housing. The model is very new in Canada, primarily because cities have historically enjoyed less autonomy from the provinces than cities do from states in the US. Much of the effort to incentivize affordable housing construction is directed at the private non-profit housing sector. In Ontario, there are about 600 private non-profit housing agencies who manage over 83,000 affordable housing units. These agencies are similar in nature to American community development corporations, but have a much closer and sustained funding relationship with higher levels of government than their US counterparts. Private non-profits in Canada enter into long-term agreements (often thirty years or longer) to keep their housing affordable in exchange for a stream of government funding—not unlike project-based Section 8 developments in the US.

There has also been experimentation with existing housing stocks through the vehicle of municipal non-profit housing agencies. Municipal non-profits manage the majority of non-profit housing in Ontario (140,720 of the 223,885 non-profit housing units) and are amalgams of various housing portfolios inherited by higher levels of government combined with those built at the municipal level. There are over 100 municipal non-profit housing agencies in Ontario, but the vast majority of units are managed by a handful of large urban agencies. The Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC), for example, manages a portfolio of over 58,000 units—nearly one-half of all municipal non-profit units in the province. In this case, TCHC, and most other municipal non-profits, and a politically-elected city council (and mayor) have tremendous influence (in cases, outright control) over how the housing stock is

managed. In Toronto, several high profile projects, including the infamous downtown Regent Park development—Canada’s closest equivalent to Cabrini Green in the US—are being attempted at the prodding of city officials. TCHC is engaging in an entrepreneurial plan to create a mixed-income community where a highly segregated one currently exists by demolishing and rebuilding much of the complex. Sound familiar? It has publicly discussed ideas like selling units to higher-income tenants, selling on- and off-site land in its portfolio and leasing space to commercial tenants to finance this venture. TCHC has gathered copious amounts of press in Toronto, but it isn’t entirely clear whether this activity is anomalous or whether such forms of entrepreneurialism are taking place elsewhere in Ontario’s municipal non-profit housing system (as its architects envisioned, or at least hoped, it would).

I have begun a systematic study of all municipal non-profit housing providers in Ontario to determine the extent of entrepreneurialism within the system. Through interviews with general key informants (i.e., those knowledge-

Much of the effort to incentivize affordable housing construction is directed at the private non-profit housing sector.

able about recent changes) and officials at each of the 106 municipal non-profits in Ontario, I am attempting to address the following questions. First, how much have municipal housing providers in Ontario been forced to turn to the market to raise revenues, and in exactly what ways? Second, where has the desire to turn to the market come from (above or within)? Third, are non-market units directly or indirectly being threatened by the turn toward a more private relationship with the real estate market? Finally, are there ways that municipal non-profits are able to collectivize resources or oversight in a way that might be counter to the architects of downloading but positive for affordable housing construction?

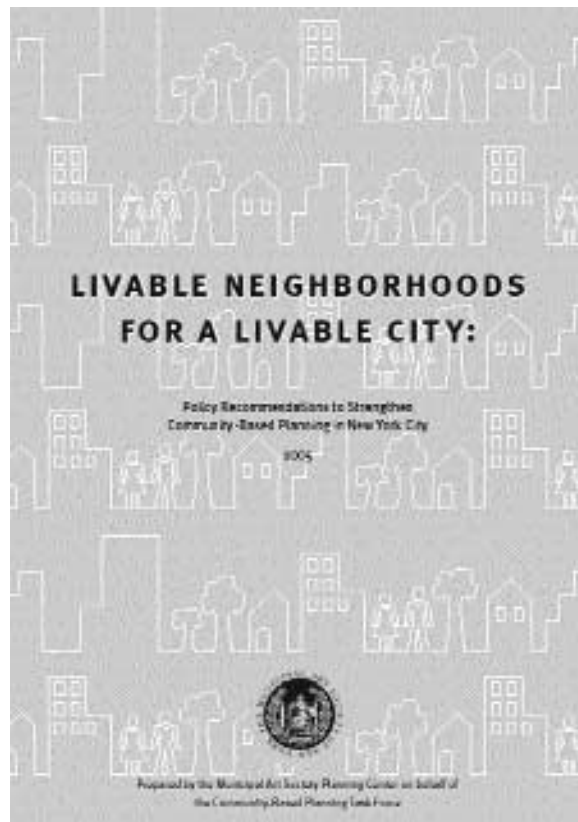
Actually-Existing Versus Ideal-Type Political Restructuring

Though the interviews have just begun, a number of preliminary findings [Cont. on page 22]

Livable Neighborhoods: *Rethinking New York City Planning*

By Micaéla Birmingham and Eve Baron

The Community-Based Planning Task Force has issued a call for the creation of a new, more democratic framework for planning New York City. The report, prepared by the Municipal Art Society Planning Center, *Livable Neighborhoods for a Livable City*, details specific, realistic steps New York City should take to improve the capacity of communities to make and implement plans that address their diverse needs.



With the city now undertaking its most elaborate and extensive planning for development in decades, it is imperative that the divergent visions of planners, developers and neighborhood residents be resolved. It is time to rethink how planning is done in New York City.

New York's current planning process is out of date, out of touch and out of ideas. At times, communities have no other option but to resort to lawsuits to have their voices heard. New plan-

ning tools that take advantage of the skills, knowledge and abilities of local communities would allow for faster, less costly and more innovative development.

Mayor William A. Johnson of Rochester, New York, said at a recent event that, although it is difficult to create a process for meaningful broad-based public participation in planning, community-based planning is possible anywhere. Rochester is one of a growing number of cities that have embraced the concept.

Organized in 2000 by a group of advocates, planners and academics, the Community-Based Planning Task Force is leading efforts to create a more significant role for communities in the city's decision-making processes. The report is the culmination of the task force's collaborative research, discussions, and workshops.

The Task Force identified a multi-pronged strategy to make community boards and other local organizations more effective planners — steps beyond the role Section 197-a of the city Charter (the provision that enables the creation of community-based plans) lays out for them. The report points to a lack of public awareness of community boards, and suggests ways to increase the public's involvement in boards and their efforts. It also recommends the creation of standards to ensure that the makeup of community boards reflects their diverse neighborhoods.

The report calls for a major increase in the training and resources available to community boards. A typical board represents nearly 140,000 people — greater than the population of Albany — but each receives minimal training, aid and funding. Building on the Planning Center's work on the Community Information Technology Initiative (CITI), the report urges the city to take advantage of technology to make information flow more easily to and from communities.

Recognizing that the ability to plan means little unless those plans can become a reality, the report also details ways elected officials and may-

oral agencies can work with communities to support and implement their plans. The City Council should, for example, provide oversight of city support for local planning and the 197-a process.

Only seven 197-a plans have been adopted by the city in 16 years, and, as recent developments in neighborhoods across the city that countermand these community plans demonstrate, the city is far from bound by their provisions. The report calls for city agencies to treat local plans as the basis for citywide planning and for the mayor and City Council to make a commitment to community-based planning by transforming city agencies into local planning partners.

"In Sunset Park, Brooklyn, we realized a long time ago that we had to embrace our community's differences in order to conceive a sustainable, locally based vision for the neighborhood. It's time for New York City to do the same by enacting policy that requires real participation from communities in development decisions. That means going beyond just requiring a developer to make a presentation to a community board for approval on something that's already a done deal," said Elizabeth C. Yeampierre, the executive director of the United Puerto Rican Organization of Sunset Park.

Cities like Seattle, Baltimore and Porto Alegre, Brazil, demonstrate that, although it is never easy, a planning process beginning with local visions can succeed. The current administration has demonstrated a commitment to public participation that far exceeds previous administrations'; with a true commitment to community-based planning, incre-

mental steps toward a new planning framework for New York are possible.



Photo by Micaela Birmingham

Street life on Myrtle Avenue in Fort Greene, Brooklyn, where rapid development bodes potential displacement of residents and businesses

The powerful concept of community-based planning helped inspire the creation of New York's community boards in the 1960s. Forty years later, it is time to finally adopt new planning tools and methods that will allow for a truly participatory process that takes local visions seriously.

The authors are Director and Senior Planner, respectively, of the Municipal Art Society Planning Center. The report is available on-line at www.mas.org.

**Check out the newly revamped
Planners Network website:**

www.plannersnetwork.org

The Planners Network member list is now available as a password-protected PDF on the site. For individual members the password is on the mailing label of your copy of Progressive Planning Magazine.

Downloadable PDF versions of Progressive Planning Magazine back issues also available.

Progressive Planning Reader Progressive Planning Magazine Order Form

- Copies of Reader @ \$12 each postage paid (up to 4 copies)* \$ _____
- Copies of Reader @ \$8 each postage paid (5 or more copies)* \$ _____
- Copies of Reader @ \$4 each postage paid (15 or more copies)* \$ _____
- Copies of Reader @ \$100 per box of 30* _____ \$ _____
- Subscribe to Progressive Planning Magazine @ \$25/year for individuals and \$50/year for organizations and libraries* \$ _____
- Join Planners Network / renew your membership and receive Progressive Planning Magazine for free**
\$25 for students, \$35 for incomes of \$25,000-\$50,000, \$50 income over \$50,000, and \$100 for sustaining members* \$ _____
- * All figures in US dollars. For Canadian membership rates see the website. **Order Total:** \$ _____

Your Information

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State/Province: _____ Zip/Postal Code: _____

Country: _____ Email (for queries): _____

Current member: Renewing member:

Payment

Check enclosed (payable to Planners Network):

Or credit card information: Visa: Mastercard:

Card number: _____

Name on card: _____ Expiration date: _____

Signature: _____

Phone (for queries): _____

Mail to: Planners Network, 1 Rapson Hall, 89 Church St SE, Minneapolis MN 55455

Fax order to: (612) 626-0600

You can also order using PayPal at www.plannersnetwork.org.

Progressive Planning Reader 2004

Over 100 pages of the best from Planners Network and Progressive Planning

Introduction

What Is Progressive Planning Today?

By Ann Forsyth and Tom Angotti

Politics and Planning

The Socialist City, Still

By Tom Angotti

On the Practical Relevance of Marxist Thought

By Renee Toback

Changing the Culture of Planning Toward Greater Equity

By Norman Krumholz

Urban Design

The Ground Zero Architectural Competition: Designing without a Plan

By Peter Marcuse

Post-9/11 Planning: New York City and Beyond

By Tom Angotti

The Narrow Base of the New Urbanists

By Michael Pyatok

New Urban Planning for Neighborhood Revitalization

By Jennifer Hurley

From "Sugar Cookies" to "Gingerbread Men": Conformity in Suburban Design

By Jill Grant

HOPE VI and the New Urbanism

By Janet L. Smith

Planning Education

Professional Identities and Boundary Maintenance

By Gerda R. Wekerle

Cracks in the Foundation of Traditional Planning

By Barbara Loevinger Rahder

Planning Education: How Could It Be Different from Business School?

By Katharine N. Rankin

Planning and Neoliberalism: The Challenge for Radical Planners

By Kanishka Goonewardena

Race, Gender and Diversity

Diversity and the Planning Profession

By Leonardo Vazquez

Involving Youth in Planning: The Progressive Challenge

By Ann Forsyth

Indigenous Planning and Tribal Community Development

By Ted Jojola

Are the Transgendered the Mine Shaft Canaries of Urban Areas?

By Petra L. Doan

Deviant History, Defiant Heritage

By Gail Dubrow

Multicultural Planning: Lessons from Papakolea

By Karen Umemoto

Women Plan Toronto: Incorporating Gender Issues in Planning

By Barbara Loevinger Rahder

Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization & Participatory Action Research

By Marie Kennedy

Community Planning

Building a Legacy of Health by Confronting Health Disparities Around Food

By David C. Sloane

Empowerment Through Community Development

By Marie Kennedy

Campus/Community Partnerships in the 90's

By Kenneth M. Reardon and Thomas P. Shields

Indigenous Planning At Work

By Teresa Córdova

Sustainability, Environment and Health

Urban Planning For Active Living: Who Benefits?

By Kristin Day

Engineering Physical Activity Back Into Americans' Lives

By Mark Fenton

Sustainability is Not Enough

By Peter Marcuse

Sustainable and Environmentally Just Societies

By Sandra Rodriguez

Feminist Thoughts on Planning for Sustainability

By Sherilyn MacGregor

Globalization and International Issues

Planning as a Tool of Political Control: Israel's Matrix of Control

By Jeff Halper

Planning at the Frontline: Notes From Israel

By Oren Yiftachel

War and the Urban "Geopolitical Footprint"

By Michael Dudley

Urban Planners Oppose the War In Iraq

(Statement 2003)

Strategic Planning and Urban Competition: The Agenda of Multilateral Agencies in Brazil

By Fabricio Leal de Oliveira

Confronting Globalization: The Role of Progressive Planners

By Tom Angotti

Transnationalism, Not Assimilation

By Arturo Sanchez

Transportation and Information

The Costs of Auto Dependency

By Lisa Schreiber

Transportation Equity and Environmental Justice

By Rich Stolz

Transportation in Toronto: Car Culture Is Alive and Well

By Janice Etter

The "Digital Divide" and the Persistence of Urban Poverty

By Blanca Gordo

Household Information Strategies and Community Responses

By Gwen Urey

Transportation Struggles in The Post-Apartheid City

By Jon Orcutt

Eight Myths of Traffic Planning

By Roger Baker

East St. Louis Citizens Put Transportation Planners on the Right Track for Light Rail Expansion

By Patricia A. Nolan

Regional Planning

Portland, Oregon: How to Link Growth Management and Affordable Housing

By Tasha Harmon

Race, Class & Space: A Historical Comparison of the Three Regional Plans for New York

By Tony Schuman and Elliott Sclar

Dots Crying In the Wilderness

By Jean Garren

Up to 4 copies \$12 per copy

5+ copies \$8 per copy

(Price includes postage & handling)

Creating and Maintaining Affordability with Housing Co-ops

By Kerstin Larson

The affordability gap between housing provision and housing need in the US grows wider with each passing year. One solution, widely known in Europe but not so familiar to Americans, are limited-equity housing cooperatives. This form of housing is becoming increasingly popular as a sustainable, affordable housing model for low- and moderate-income families. Limited-equity co-ops can provide for some wealth creation while maintaining almost per-

limited-equity cooperatives by no means work in every situation. They do not provide the long-term investment vehicle that a conventional home delivers. They do, however, work extraordinarily well in situations where residents place a higher premium on having autonomy over their housing rather than on having an investment opportunity or where opportunities for wealth creation are limited.

Northcountry Cooperative Development Fund (NCDF) in Minneapolis has worked with two resident groups over the course of the past year, the different situations of which illustrate the flexibility of the model. At Sunrise Villa Cooperative in Cannon Falls, Minnesota, an exurban community fifty miles southeast of the Twin Cities, residents of a manufactured home park purchased it and have owned and managed it as a no-equity co-op for the past nine months. At Frogtown Family Lofts in a busy urban neighborhood in Saint Paul, Minnesota, residents of a Low-Income Housing Tax Credit property are currently working to purchase the building and own and manage it as a limited-equity cooperative.

Sunrise Villa Cooperative: Preserving Rural Affordable Housing

The situation at Sunrise Villa Manufactured Home Park reflects a larger trend in Minnesota. Manufactured home parks represent an overlooked but critical source of affordable housing for a great number of Minnesota residents. Particularly in the suburban metro area, such parks are sometimes the *only* significant source of affordable housing. These same parks are increasingly vulnerable to closure due to rising property values and lucrative development opportunities. Residents of manufactured home parks typically own their homes, but they rent the land underneath them. Unlike most rental situations, however, park residents are usually offered no more than a thirty-day lot lease arrangement. Consequently, even residents with ten or twenty years of tenure face the constant threat of losing their housing at a month's notice. Contrary to their moniker, many "mobile" homes are not very moveable, and relocation, when even possible, is expensive and cumbersome.

Photo by Kerstin Larson



Saint Paul, Minnesota's Frogtown Family Lofts

petual affordability. Housing cooperatives are notable for their flexibility; they work equally well in rural manufactured home parks, in locally-based senior housing or as a source of urban affordable homeownership. Depending on the goals of the cooperative, members can structure their limited-equity formula for maximum wealth creation or maximum preservation of affordability. In reality, most resident groups choose a balance between the two.

Resident ownership can resolve residents' vulnerability to park closure, as well as address many of the infrastructure problems often found in aging parks. In conventional rental housing, the owner is incentivized to make the biggest profit possible while still maintaining a high occupancy rate. In manufactured home parks, however, residents who own their homes are virtually trapped, since moving manufactured homes is an expensive, laborious process which can, in many cases, cause irreparable damage to the homes themselves. As a result, many park owners are able to regularly raise rents without maintaining the park's infrastructure because it is highly unlikely that residents will incur the expense of moving their home even if infrastructure is poorly maintained. In a resident-owned park, residents' motivations revolve around increasing their quality of life, which is reflected in a greater commitment to maintaining park infrastructure while budgeting for affordable monthly charges.

Sunrise Villa residents found themselves in such a situation when the park owner sold the option to purchase the park to a buyer who was developing a multi-million dollar subdivision directly adjacent to the park. When park residents became concerned that the buyer intended to close the park for redevelopment, the owner called NCDF for assistance. Working closely with residents, NCDF negotiated a purchase agreement and assembled financing that was amenable to all parties and allowed residents of the park to purchase the land and convert it to a no-equity cooperative (in a manufactured home park co-op, it is typical that residents' equity accumulation rests with their home, instead of their share in the co-op). Residents' monthly charges, while up 13 percent from rental levels, provided enough revenue to complete needed improvements and remained affordable enough to allow every resident to stay a resident. Residents became members by purchasing a \$500 share in the cooperative, either by using their security deposit, making a cash payment or taking out a zero percent loan from the co-op that would be repaid monthly.

Upon conversion, co-op members immediately filled vacant lots, bringing park occupancy to 100 percent. They also resolved deferred maintenance issues and used funds from the proceeds of the closing to replace deteriorating mailboxes with a locking mailbox bank and refurbish the neglected playground with new equipment. Currently, the park has a waiting list of interested buyers.

Frogtown Family Lofts: Preserving Urban Affordable Housing

Though Frogtown Family Lofts is in a completely different environment, many of its challenges were similar to those of Sunrise Villa. Frogtown Family Lofts is a leasehold artists' cooperative in Saint Paul's Frogtown neighborhood. Home to thirty-six households, units are affordable to resi-



Photo by Kerstin Larsson

Members of the Sunrise Villa Co-op

dents whose incomes are at 60 percent of Area Median Income (AMI). As a Low-income Housing Tax Credit property, its affordability compliance period is set to expire on December 31, 2006, at which time the Brandt Jens Kluge partnership, which owns the building, may choose to convert it to another use. Members of the leasehold cooperative, who are relatively active and play a role in managing the building together with the managing partner of the partnership, are very interested in purchasing the building for conversion to a limited-equity cooperative.

Since the summer of 2004, NCDF staff has been working with residents at Frogtown Family Lofts to develop an acquisition plan that will work for them. Early in the process, residents decided that their central objectives in the project would be to ensure that Frogtown Family Lofts remains housing for artists, their families and low-income people, and that conversion to cooperative homeownership would not necessitate the displacement of current residents.

The five elements of this plan include:

- Frogtown Family Lofts will provide affordable homeownership in perpetuity. Entry costs are ⇨

designed to be accessible now, and through use of a limited-equity formula, into the future.

- Frogtown Family Lofts preserves affordable housing for low- to moderate-income artists and their families. Our operating budgets are aimed at keeping monthly housing charges (and rent for those who choose to remain tenants) at or below anticipated rental levels.

- Prospective members must meet a maximum household income of 80 percent of AMI. The cooperative seeks to retain a maximum income limit to guarantee long-term affordability, however, it also wants to maximize the cooperative's marketability.

- The cooperative will initially require an average equity or cash requirement (i.e., down payment) of \$2,500-3,000 from existing members. In choosing this figure, the acquisition committee sought an amount that would require existing residents to invest a meaningful amount of money to join the cooperative, while still keeping entry costs accessible. For those to whom this presents an obstacle, the cooperative will provide several

options to finance this equity requirement. The remaining financing will come in the form of a blanket mortgage on the property, repaid through proceeds of residents' monthly charges.

- Shareholders accumulate a maximum of about \$2,000 per year in equity. Though the specific formula has not yet been chosen, cooperative members are expected to accumulate up to \$2,000 in equity for each year of occupancy, subject to demonstration that a formula delivering such equity gains is sustainable and practical over the long-term.

Residents of Frogtown Family Lofts have a long way to go before they will be able to purchase their building. Potential lenders, however, have already expressed an interest in assisting in this preservation effort and residents look forward to the day when they can call Frogtown Family Lofts their own.

Kerstin Larson is housing program associate at the Northcountry Cooperative Development Fund in Minneapolis. She can be contacted at kerstin@ncdf.coop.

Hackworth [Cont. from page 19]

are emerging. The least surprising of these is that the entrepreneurialism that does exist in the system is borne of a certain desperation for resources, not a long-suppressed desire by local authorities to become more market-oriented. There are discussions about selling property, renting commercial space and increasing market-rate housing and homeownership, but most of these are marginal to the mission of these institutions. Most see these as a matter of necessity rather than desire, even in conservative districts that one might expect to be sympathetic to the original architects of the currently devolved system.

More surprising has been the finding that many municipal non-profit officials remain more trusting of higher levels of government than their American counterparts. The Canadian non-profit sector has been and continues to be closer to the state, but most non-profits don't consider recent discussions about privatization as a threat to the system, even though privatization was espoused originally by a politician with open contempt for welfare systems of almost all sorts.

Additionally, beneath the veneer of downloading and funding cuts at the federal level, there are a number of ways that non-profits and

municipalities are actually able to centralize regulation and resources in a way that is not entirely different from the classic Keynesian model. Agencies like the Social Housing Services Corporation have been established to pool resources needed for financing the development of new affordable housing. Moreover, cities have utilized existing legal protections and autonomy afforded to private corporations to create institutions that have both market power and public control. TCHC, for example, is a single-shareholder corporation—the single shareholder being the City of Toronto—that is less vulnerable to direct provincial or federal government decisions but is publicly controlled by the city. Simply put, the institutional architecture that has resulted from social housing restructuring has not generally led to the highly diffuse, private system that its neoliberal architects envisioned. New forms of regulation are emerging that are often only different in label than previous public housing, and this holds great potential for the centralization of resources that might once again lead to the development of new affordable housing in the province in the coming years.

Jason Hackworth is assistant professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Toronto.

Redefining Best Practice in Indian Country

By John A. Koepke

In *Landscape Journal*, Kyle Brown and Todd Jennings (2003) call for efforts to raise the social consciousness of the profession of landscape architecture through changes in our educational curriculum. This call was reiterated at a session of the 2005 Planners Network Conference. As Brown and Jennings noted, not all professional landscape architecture curricula have been wholly apolitical in terms of integrating social justice issues. Walter Hood and Randy Hestor at the University of California, Berkeley; Anne Whiston Spirn at the University of Pennsylvania with the West Philadelphia Landscape Project; Roxanne Hamilton and Daniel Winterbottom at the University of Washington, Seattle; and the Urban Places Project out of the University of Massachusetts, among others, have been heavily engaged in this arena for a number of years. Yet Brown and Jennings' proposed framework seems particularly useful for beginning a "system-wide" dialogue, beginning to answer both how and why questions.

One of the first questions to be addressed is why should indigenous people trust a designer/planner from a society that wrought the kind of destruction that nearly wiped out entire civilizations, no matter how expert that assistance might be? The kind of trust that is necessary can be built only by those willing to develop the relationships necessary to be part of the community. Only by moving toward a practice in which a long-term partnership in a trusting relationship with the people is not only a far-off goal, but an essential element, will planning and design efforts in indigenous communities be taken seriously.

During the course of my own practice and experience working with Native American communities, most recently with the Leech Lake band of Ojibwe, I have often heard it said, after 500 years of oppression, "We are still here!" Native people are survivors, yet they do not want to be prisoners in their own land. They do not ask for sympathy, although recognition of past struggles and empathy for their situation is much appreciated. They also appreciate those that are willing to work with them, to protect rights and envision a sovereign future, rather than those that would prefer to work to provide answers for them.

Grant Revell, an Australian landscape architect who works with indigenous peoples and teaches at the University of Western Australia, in Perth, recently shared with me a quote from Aboriginal activist Lily Walker, which seems to sum up the sentiments of the people with whom I have worked about accepting help from outside the tribe: "If you are here to help me, then you are wasting your time. But if you came because your liberation is bound up in mine, let us begin."

Cultural Competency

For practitioners, an understanding of the issues of sovereignty, colonization and assimilation that are germane to daily life on indigenous lands begins to build what Robert Albee, assistant director of the American Indian Community Development Corporation in Minneapolis, calls cultural competency. I have taken this notion as a starting point for my work in indigenous communities and believe it can be used to build a model of best practice.

...why should indigenous people trust a designer/planner from a society that wrought the kind of destruction that nearly wiped out entire civilizations...

Building cultural competency is the critical component to building working relationships with Native people. An immersion strategy that integrates social justice issues can lead to successful planning and design efforts. When working with design students, I have used a process that I call cultural immersion. Roxanne Hamilton and I first developed this process for our studios with the Tulalip Tribes, and again with the Port Gamble S'Kallam Tribe in Washington State. In each of these two cases we were invited to participate because of relationships that we had previously developed with tribal members or with people who ⇨

worked with the tribe who could vouch for our integrity.

We began by reading about sovereignty, colonization and assimilation issues from various sources; at the same time we were introduced to tribal members, including some elders, by our cultural guides or liaisons. As we worked with the tribe to identify relevant issues for the project, we simultaneously read the history of the tribe, familiarized ourselves with treaty rights and read various legislation, including the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 and the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988. We also read contemporary Native American literature; invited native speakers to share Tulalip (the Tulalip reservation is actually composed of three tribes), S'Kallam and other American Indian teachings as well as information on Pan-Indian culture; invited non-Native people who worked for the tribe to share their experiences and offer suggestions with regard to proper behavior and protocols; and importantly also attended cultural events when invited. In anthropological terms, I would say we were trying to move beyond "Big C" cultural understanding, that is, knowing and documenting the physical aspects of a culture in the quantitative sense, toward "little c" cultural awareness, that is, beginning to understand the beliefs and values of the people with whom we were working.

Our analysis and design efforts were inclusive. This was not business as usual, where we came into the situation to immediately define the problems and offer solutions. We came to build rela-

tionships with people, to get to know them before we even began the technical aspects of the work. To facilitate this we were careful to introduce ourselves in the proper way, to discuss our families and our home communities and to say why we were interested in being there in the first place. To further facilitate the relationship-building, we worked with tribal members in workshop formats in small group settings. We came as listeners with the attitude that we were there as facilitators to help bring the visions of the people forward. We did not pretend that we had all the answers and we asked questions being respectful of cultural and spiritual beliefs and careful not to probe issues that our guides suggested were too sensitive for outsiders.

This effort was particularly successful in helping the students develop a greater respect and empathy for the people with whom we worked and American Indian culture in general. Students also found themselves confronting their own feelings of guilt about the role of their culture and society in disempowering indigenous people. We used a talking circle throughout the process to share views, ideas, doubts, failures and successes and to reassure students that while their efforts could not change the past, they could make for a more positive future. In addition, we found that having some understanding of the language of a tribe or at least its linguistic underpinnings is critical to understanding a tribe's worldview and relationship to the land, which is so critical in making planning and design decisions.

John A. Koepke, of Ojibwe heritage, is associate professor and head of the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Minnesota.

SEND YOUR EMAIL ADDRESS TO OUR *NEW* EMAIL ADDRESS!

The PN e-letter has member updates, jobs, conferences and other announcements. Often PNers in the same city ask us how they can get in touch with other PNers, and the best we can do is send them names and addresses. Email is also the best way to let you know when your membership/subscription has to be renewed. If you don't want to receive the e-letter, we can keep you off that list, but please send us your email address so we can contact you when we need to.

Send to our NEW email address: pnmail@umn.edu
and in the subject line put "subscribe to e-newsletter."

2005 Planners Network Conference Recap

Over 250 people participated in the 2005 Planners Network conference, “Justice by Design?” in Minnesota’s Twin Cities, June 2-5, 2005. The following photos are mostly from some of the eight tours offered as part of the conference.

Photo by Ann Forsyth



The Weisman Art Museum on the University of Minnesota campus was the site of a conference reception.

Photo by Laura Musacchio



Ames Lake restoration at Phalen Creek Corridor Initiative with Fred Rozumalski as part of the “Ecological Restoration in the Center Cities” tour led by Laura Musacchio of the University of Minnesota Department of Landscape Architecture.

Photo by Laura Musacchio



Lake Nokomis restoration with Peter MacDonagh, also part of the “Ecological Restoration in the Center Cities” tour.

The tour entitled “Housing: From Public and Nonprofit Housing Development and Redevelopment to Recent Innovations in Affordable Housing Design” included a stop at the Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation’s Case Study Houses designed in collaboration with the Wilder Foundation and University of Minnesota.



Photo by Ann Forsyth

Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation’s Case Study Houses



Photo by Ann Forsyth

The Lake St. light rail station was featured on the “Transit Oriented Development and the Light Rail” tour, led by Frank Fitzgerald of the Metropolitan Design Center.



Photo by Ann Forsyth

PN UPDATES

PN News

Please note that Planners Network **Canadian membership fees** have changed slightly to better reflect the current exchange rate. The new fees (in Canadian dollars) are:

- \$30 for students, unemployed and those with incomes less than \$30,000
- \$40 for those with incomes between \$30,000 and \$60,000
- \$60 for those with incomes over \$60,000
- \$120 for sustaining members

Checks can be sent to:

Amy Siciliano
University of Toronto
Dept of Geography and Planning
100 St. George St, Room 5047
Toronto, ON M5S 3G3

PN Chapter News

The **University of Michigan** chapter recently sponsored a lecture series on equity planning, culminating in a visit from Professor **Norman Krumholz**. In the first event in the series, a panel of leaders from community-based organizations in the Detroit metropolitan region discussed the practice of equity planning on issues of regionalism and civil rights. The second event was a symposium of five University of Michigan faculty members to discuss the theory of equity planning and the role of universities in advancing progressive planning. A third event gathered students to discuss how they can carry forward the tradition of equity planning in their studies and future careers. Finally, Professor Krumholz delivered a lecture about his experiences with equity planning in Cleveland and how young planners can apply his lessons to the work they do today.

PN Member Updates

Jason Blackman graduated with a BA (Honors) in urban planning from Concordia University in

Montreal and is relocating to Vancouver for graduate studies in urban planning at the University of British Columbia.

Nicole Blumner will be working for the Berlin City Planning Department through a fellowship offered by the Robert Bosch Foundation Fellowship Program, which enables young American professionals to participate in an intensive work and study program in Germany. The goal of the program is to familiarize Americans with the political, economic and cultural environment of Europe and the Federal Republic of Germany and to strengthen the ties of friendship and understanding between the US and Germany. The program provides the American professionals with executive level internships in the federal government and private sectors.

Jennifer Clark (PhD, Cornell University) was recently appointed assistant professor in the School of Public Policy at Georgia Institute of Technology.

Gary Fields, assistant professor in the Department of Communications, University of California-San Diego and author of *Territories of Profit* (Stanford University Press), recently published an op-ed piece entitled "Power, Propaganda and Promised Land" in the *San Diego Union Tribune*, 29 May 2005. For the full text of the article, please visit www.signonsandiego.com/uniontrib/20050529/news_mz1e29power.html. Gary is working on a new book on the Israeli Separation Wall.

Elyse Golob has new contact information:

Elyse Golob, PhD
Director, Office of Economic and Policy Analysis
University of Arizona
P.O. Box 210458
Tucson, AZ 85721.
520.621.2377 (phone)
520.626.6946 (fax)
<http://oed.arizona.edu>
egolob@email.arizona.edu (email). ➔

Tasha Harmon of Portland, Oregon has a new email address. She can be reached at tashamail@comcast.net.

Brodie Hefner, AICP, taught a graduate seminar on "Housing and Urban Development" during the spring 2005 semester as an adjunct lecturer in the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning at **Hunter College**, City University of New York. At the same time, he kept his day job as a senior project manager for the US Department of Housing and Urban Development where for the last six years he has been managing HOPE VI public housing revitalization grants and other development projects from HUD offices in New York and Washington, DC. Brodie is also currently serving a two-year term as co-vice president for programs of the Metro NY Chapter of the American Planning Association. He can be reached at Brodie_Hefner@HUD.gov.

Ute Lehrer, assistant professor in the Department of Geography at Brock University (St. Catharines, ON), has received a three-year SSHRC research grant in the amount of \$63,000 from the Canadian government to study "Urban images, public space and the growth of private interests in Toronto." Ute recently received tenure and a promotion at Brock University.

From **Josh Lerner**: After several months traveling through Central and South America (www.line-sofflight.net/isittravel), I'm currently in Rosario, Argentina. In Rosario I'm conducting research on the educative and youth dimensions of the city's participatory budgeting programs and working with the Latin American coordinating office of Education Cities (www.edcities.bcn.es), an inter-

national network of cities working to transform their urban environments into educating spaces. I've also been establishing connections with some Latin American cousins of Planners Network, such as the Foro Urbano Ecuador and Redes de Planificacion Participativa y Gestion Asociada in Argentina, in case other PN'ers are looking for like-minded Latin American contacts. In September I'll be starting the PhD program in political science at New School University in New York. I can be reached at josh.lerner@utoronto.ca.

From **Joel Outtes**, head of the GEST Group for the Study of Society and Territory UFRGS-Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul: GEST is interested in establishing agreements and collaborating with colleagues in other institutions, cities and countries. We can either be a South American and/or American "leg" of comparative research projects and/or have colleagues as partners in any of our projects. We are also willing to collaborate with other colleagues applying for NEH and/or NSF grants as well as other funding agencies, such as the European Science Foundation, worldwide. GEST members work on subjects ranging from the history and geography of housing and cities in South America to the spatial dynamics of crime in the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre-RS, Brazil. We are also interested in receiving foreign scholars to give lectures. Please contact me at Outtes@uol.com.br if you want to lecture or do research here.

Alex Schafran recently had an article about Sullivan County, New York entitled "Growth and Change on New York's Urban/Rural Edge" published in *The Next American City*. The article is available at www.americancity.org.

Upcoming special issues Submissions welcome

Arts and Culture
Community Design
Global Warming and Energy
Indigenous Planning

See page 2 of this issue for submission guidelines.

RESOURCES

Publications

The following three articles from *The Nation* examine the opportunities and obstacles for progressives in municipal politics, inspired in part by Antonio Villaraigosa's victory in the mayoral race in Los Angeles.

"Cities: The Vital Core" (2005) by Joel Rogers, available at: www.thenation.com/doc/prem.mhtml?i=20050620&s=rogers.

"Urban Archipelago" (2005) by John Nichols, available at: www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20050620&s=nichols.

"Can a City Be Progressive?" (2005) by Peter Drier, available at: www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20050704&s=dreier

Taking the High Road: A Metropolitan Agenda for Transportation Reform, edited by Bruce Katz and Robert Puentes, published by Brookings Institution Press (2005, 235pp.), Paper Text, 0-8157-4827-2, \$22.95.

Analyzing Urban Poverty: A Summary of Methods and Approaches, by Judy Baker and Nina Schuler, September 2004, is World Bank Research Working Paper #3399, available at http://econ.worldbank.org/files/38383_wps3399.pdf.

Rethinking Rental Housing: Expanding the Ability of Rental Housing to Serve as a Pathway to Economic & Social Opportunity, by William Apgar, a January 2005 Working Paper from the Harvard Joint Centre for Housing Studies, is available at www.jchs.harvard.edu/publications/markets/w04-11.pdf.

Black Same-Sex Households in the United States: A Report from the 2000 Census (2004, 40 pp.), produced by the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force and the National Black Justice Coalition, is available from the Task Force, 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, #600, Washington D.C. 20005-4171, 202.393.5177, info@nbjcoalition.org, www.nbjcoalition.org/

The New Role of Health Care in Economic Development, by Tracey M. Orloff & Karen Doran (1998, 63 pp.), is available from the National Governors Association, 444 North Capitol St., Washington DC 20001-1512.

Changing Priorities: The Federal Budget & Housing Assistance, 1976-2005, by Cushing Dolbear, Irene Basloe Saraf and Sheila Crowley (2004, 13 pp. + tables) is available (\$20) from the National Low Income Housing Coalition, 727 15th St. NW, Wash., DC, 20005, 202.662.1530, info@nlihc.org, www.nlihc.org.

New Study of Predatory Lending/Subprime Borrowing, by Michael Stegman, Walter Davis and Roberto G. Quercia (2005), is available at www.ccc.unc.edu.

One Hundred Years of Poverty & Policy, by Howard Glennerster, John Hills, David Piachaud and Jo Webb (2004), all London School of Economics researchers, has been published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Available at: www.jrf.org.uk/bookshop/details.asp?pubid=657.

They Paved Paradise... Gentrification in Rural Communities (2005, 53 pp.), is available (\$5) from the Housing Assistance Council, 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Washington, DC 20005, 202.842.8600, hac@ruralhome.org.

Driven to Spend: Pumping Dollars Out of Our Households and Communities (2005), by the Center for Neighborhood Technology (CNT) & Surface Transportation Policy Project (STPP), is available at www.transact.org/library/reports_pdfs/driven_to_spend/Driven_to_Spend_Report.pdf.

The Crisis in America's Housing: Confronting Myths & Promoting a Balanced Housing Policy (2005, 22 pp.) is a joint publication of the Center for Community Change, the Center for Economic & Policy Research, the Children's Defense Fund, the Committee Learning Project and the National Low Income Housing Coalition. Available at www.nlihc.org.

Promise and Betrayal: Universities and the Battle for Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods (2005, 228 pp.) by John I. Gilderbloom and R.L. Mullins Jr. Published by SUNY Press. For more information, visit www.sunypress.edu/details.asp?id=61132.

The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America, (2005, 420 pp.). Xavier de Souza Briggs, (ed.). Published ⇨

by Brookings Institution Press. For more information, visit: www.brookings.edu/press/books/geographyofopportunity.htm.

Events

October & November 2005. Midwest Academy Training Sessions for Organizers & Leaders will be held in Chicago, October 17-21 and Maryland, November 14-18. For more information, contact the Academy, 28 East Jackson Blvd., #605, Chicago, IL 60604, 312.427.2304, mwacademy1@aol.com, www.midestacademy.org.

November 3-4, 2005. Smart and Sustainable Campuses. Presented by the EPA, the Society for College and University Planning (SCUP), the National Association of College and University Business Officers (NACUBO) and the Association of Higher Education Facilities Officers (APPA). Hosted by the University of Maryland at College Park. For more information, visit: www.epa.gov/sectors/colleges/sascc.html.

November 14-16, 2005. IRFD Forum on Information Society: Digital Divide, Global Development and the Information Society. The Forum, organized by the International Research Foundation for Development (IRFD), will be held in Tunis in light of the United Nations World Summit on the Information Society. For further information, visit www.irfd.org.

April 19 – 22, 2006. The Urban Affairs Association's 36th Annual Meeting. The conference is on the theme Neighborhoods and Urban Transformation: the New Global Context and will be held in Montréal, Canada. More details are available on the Urban Affairs Association's website at <http://www.udel.edu/uaa/>

July 17-19 2006. The Sustainable City 2006. Organized by the Wessex Institute of Technology, UK; University of Siena, Italy; Tartu University, Estonia. The conference will be held at Reval Hotel Olümpia in Tallinn, Estonia and aims to address the many interrelated aspects of the urban environment from transport and mobility to social exclusion and crime prevention. For more information, visit: www.wessex.ac.uk/conferences/2006/city06/index.html.

Online Resources

The New Jersey Bicycle and Pedestrian Resource Project, a partnership between the New Jersey Department of Transportation and the Alan M. Voorhees Transportation Center (VTC) at Rutgers has launched a new website offering one-stop shopping for information and resources on pedestrian and bicycle transportation. This Web site has been designed for transportation professionals, government officials, activists and the public to provide instant access to information regarding bicycle and pedestrian issues. Along with information on current events, interest

groups and the Resource Project, the website boasts an extensive information clearinghouse, an interactive "talk the walk" feature, four comprehensive libraries and a recommended links section, including:

- an online library containing electronic documents that can be accessed online;
- an offline library containing physical documents available upon request from the VTC;
- an image library containing an array of photos that can be downloaded for free; and
- a video library containing educational and promotional videos available from VTC.

Information about upcoming events and news regarding bicycling and walking in the Garden State will also be posted on the site. In addition, this website contains the home pages for both the Bicycle Advisory Council (BAC) and the Pedestrian Task Force (PTF). For more information, visit <http://policy.rutgers.edu:16080/njbikeped>.

Cities for Progress, a new initiative of **Institute for Policy Studies**, is a growing network of locally-elected officials and community-led activists and citizens working together for social change. Following in the footsteps of Cities for Peace—local resolutions prior to the Iraq war in which almost 200 cities and towns expressed their concerns about local costs of such a war—Cities for Progress is taking on other issues such as universal health care and anti-Wal-Mart campaigns. For information and resources, visit www.citiesforprogress.org.

Center on Hunger and Poverty has a newly formatted website focused solely on hunger and food insecurity at www.centeronhunger.org.

Urban Cartography, a collaborative online journal devoted to a wide range of urban issues, seeks articles on subjects such as GIS, imaging and cartography technologies; urban studies and social problems; demography; architecture; land use and planning; transportation; and civil engineering. Originally conceived as a way for students and young professionals to publish their research findings quickly and easily under a creative commons license, UC has expanded to a general interest online journal on a wide variety of planning-related issues. Students, professionals and others with an interest in these subjects are urged to email the editors, Gaela Mitchell and J. Lurie-Terrell, to be placed on the editorial board. There is no time commitment; authors may write as much or as little as they like. It is also perfectly acceptable to write short articles on your own projects, if they fit within the purview of Urban Cartography. Please feel free to share this invitation with colleagues, friends and anyone else who may be interested. Email the editors at urbancartography@gmail.com if you would like to receive the formal author invitation and access to post on the site. For more information, visit www.urbancartography.com.

JOIN PLANNERS NETWORK

For three decades, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning, social and environmental justice. PN's 1,000 members receive the Progressive Planning magazine, communicate on-line with PN-NET and the E-Newsletter, and take part in the annual conference. PN also gives progressive ideas a voice in the mainstream planning profession by organizing sessions at annual conferences of the American Planning Association, the Canadian Institute of Planners, and the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning.

The PN Conference has been held annually almost every summer since 1994. These gatherings combine speakers and workshops with exchanges involving local communities. PN conferences engage in discussions that help inform political strategies at the local, national, and international levels. Recent conferences have been held in Holyoke, MA; Rochester, NY; Toronto, Ontario; Lowell, MA; East St. Louis, IL; Brooklyn, NY; and Pomona, CA.

Join Planners Network and make a difference while sharing your ideas and enthusiasm with others!

All members must pay annual dues. The minimum dues for Planners Network members are as follows:

- \$25** Students and income under \$25,000
- \$25** Subscription to Progressive Planning only
- \$35** Income between \$25,000 and \$50,000
- \$50** Income over \$50,000, organizations and libraries
- \$100** Sustaining Members -- if you earn over \$50,000, won't you consider helping at this level?

Canadian members:
See column at right.

Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

Membership fees by Canadian members may be paid in Canadian funds:

- \$30 for students, unemployed, and those with incomes under \$30,000
- \$40 for those with incomes between \$30,000 and \$60,000
- \$60 for those with incomes over \$60,000
- \$120 for sustaining members

Make cheques in Canadian funds payable to: "Planners Network" and send w/ membership form to:
Amy Siciliano
Dept of Geography, Room 5047
100 St. George St, University of Toronto, M5S 3G

If interested in joining the PN Toronto listserv, include your email address with payment or send a message to Barbara Rahder at <rahder@yorku.ca>.

PURCHASING A SINGLE ISSUE

Progressive Planning is a benefit of membership. If non-members wish to purchase a single issue of the magazine, please mail a check for \$10 or credit card information to Planners Network at 1 Rapson Hall, 89 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55455-0109. Please specify the issue and provide your email address or a phone number for queries. Multiple back issues are \$8 each

Back issues of the former Planners Network newsletters are for sale at \$2 per copy. Contact the PN office at pnmail@umn.edu to check for availability and for pricing of bulk orders.

Copies of the PN Reader are also available. The single issue price for the Reader is \$12 but there are discounts available for bulk orders. See ordering and content information at <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/html/pub/pn-reader/index.html>

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

The PN WEB SITE is at: www.plannersnetwork.org

The PN LISTSERV:

PN maintains an on-line mailing list for members to post and respond to queries, list job postings, conference announcements, etc. To join, send an email message to majordomo@list.pratt.edu with "subscribe pn-net" (without the quotes) in the body of the message (not the subject line). You'll be sent instructions on how to use the list.

Progressive Planning ADVERTISING RATES:

Full page	\$250
Half page	\$175
1/4 page	\$75
1/8 page	\$40

Send file via email to <pnmail@umn.edu>, or mail camera-ready copy, by January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

Yes! I want to join progressive planners and work towards fundamental change.

- I'm a renewing member — Keep the faith!
- Just send me a subscription to Progressive Planning.
- I'm a student member.

My contribution is \$ _____. Make checks payable to **PLANNERS NETWORK**.

My credit card is Visa _____ MC _____ Amex _____ Card No. _____ Exp. date _____

Billing address (if different from below) _____

Name _____
Organization _____
Street _____
City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____
Telephone _____ **Fax** _____
Email _____

Mail This Form To:
Planners Network
1 Rapson Hall
89 Church Street SE
Minneapolis, MN 55455-0109

INTERNATIONAL MEMBERS: Please send U.S. funds. We are unable to accept payment in other currencies. Thanks.

In This Issue

2005 Conference Photos

•

Progressive Planning in the Twin Cities

•

Redefining Best Practice in Indian Country

•

Housing Co-ops

Your Last Issue?

Please check the date on your mailing label. If the date is **more than one year ago** this will be your last issue unless we receive your annual dues **RIGHT AWAY!** See page 35 for minimum dues amounts.

And while you're at it send us an **UPDATE** on what you're doing.

M O V I N G ?

Please send us your new address.

PLANNERS NETWORK
1 Rapson Hall
89 Church Street
Minneapolis, MN 55455-0109
Address Correction Requested

Non-profit Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
Bridgeport, CT
Permit No. 418