

PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

The Magazine of Planners Network

Arts, Culture and Community

Issue Editor: Ayse Yonder



Photo by Antonio Rosell, Community Design Group

Flower bearers from Heart of the Beast Puppet Theater in Minneapolis

Artists as Community Developers

By Ann Markusen

Artists have been under-appreciated as participants in community and neighborhood development in cities around the world. On the one hand, they have been lumped into a “creative class” whose hedonistic preferences for residing in lively, diverse cities are credited with generating economic growth. On the other hand, artists are sometimes accused of playing a gentrifying role, displacing lower-income residents from urban neighborhoods.

Both of these are misconceptions and partial truths, obscuring the unique, grounded and generally positive role that artists play in urban and ethnic neighborhoods. Artists’ actual contributions depend on how the built environment and community development are managed by planners, so an understanding of how the arts ecology works is important for making good planning practice. I use the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul as a laboratory for illustrating artists’ contributions and note how planners have facilitated these contributions and how they could do better.

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MARCUSE ON
KATRINA

PUBLIC ART
AND WILD RICE

CULTURE AS
COMMUNITY
CONNECTOR

THE NEXT LA

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

Katrina, "Disasters" and Social Justice

By Peter Marcuse

Before Katrina, New Orleans was a city and region badly divided by race and class. Over two-thirds of the population in the city was African American and 30 percent was under the poverty line. Housing conditions were similarly divided, and the homes of the poor and African Americans were hit the hardest. Barack Obama, not a flaming radical but an eloquent African American member of the United States Senate from Illinois, put it this way:

I hope we realize that the people of New Orleans weren't just abandoned during the hurricane. They were abandoned long ago—to murder and mayhem in their streets; to substandard schools; to dilapidated housing; to inadequate health care; to a pervasive sense of hopelessness.

The conditions that made Katrina such a deadly force could have been avoided. Wetlands between New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico could have absorbed much of the shock of the hurricane. These wetlands, however, were reduced by 4,900 square kilometers since the 1930s, and loss was running at 65 square kilometers a year in the recent past. Most of the loss was due to real estate development, new pipelines to transport oil from platforms in the Gulf to refineries inland and the expansion of shipping channels. The danger was known. Many reports raised flags of caution. Yet the funds requested to fix the problems were consistently cut. Most recently, the Army Corps of Engineers asked for \$27.1 million for levee maintenance and expansion, and even this moderate request was cut to \$5.7 million by an administration dedicated to lowering taxes and pursuing a vastly expensive war in Iraq.

A decent rescue operation after Katrina could have reduced the loss of life, but Michael D. Brown, the political appointee named to head the

Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), had no obvious qualifications for his position. He had run an Arabian horse association before he was given the job. The government response has justifiably been seen as an absolute disaster.

New Orleans without Blacks and the Poor?

It is too early to tell what will happen to New Orleans after the rescue operations are completed and the flood waters recede. Dennis Hastert, Republican Speaker of the US House of Representatives, has suggested it may be too expensive, and not worthwhile, to rebuild the city. New Orleans planning educator Ray Burby questions "whether it makes sense to spend several hundred billion dollars in rebuilding the city...the best thing to do will be to relocate a fairly sizable portion of the population to other places where they can earn a decent income and lead a better life." Furthermore, the population of New Orleans was declining well before Katrina: Its population went from 570,000 in 1950 to about 460,000 today. But historical experience suggests there will be strong pressures to rebuild the city exactly as it was before, even though it is a little hard to see how this might happen. Apart from the rebuilding costs themselves, the costs of building levees alone is estimated at some \$18 billion.

One could envisage other scenarios. The federal government, in a perverse display of leadership, could give a contract to Halliburton to rebuild the city, perhaps with Daniel Libeskind talking himself into a commission for redesigning the French Quarter, the chief tourist attraction of the city. Those parts of the city and region needed to sustain major economic enterprises will be rebuilt with massive government subsidies: the port, oil pipelines, refineries and the trade facilities. To the extent that the rebuilding is left to the private sector, the result is predictable: Those with the money (including from insurance) [Cont. on page 30]

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poration in the State of New York.
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The Planners Network is an association of pro-
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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. 165

www.plannersnetwork.org

Fall 2005

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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):

Community Design
Global Warming and Energy
Indigenous Planning
Water

Public Art and Wild Rice

By Karl Lorenz

Public artists can engage stories that help defend community resources. The Anishinaabe communities in Minnesota and Wisconsin have watched researchers at the University of Minnesota map the genome of their most sacred resource, wild rice, a first step in the process of appropriating it for sale on the world market. Through collaborative exercises and a sculptural installation, I have tried to engage this story.

White Earth and the Anishinaabe Narrative

The White Earth Band of Anishinaabe (Ojibway) is located in northeastern Minnesota. These tribal communities rest atop a continental divide, sending waters north to the St. Lawrence Seaway and south to the Gulf of Mexico along the Mississippi River. The band is a member of a large Native American kinship group whose oral traditions suggest a tie to a cultural stream reaching back 10,000 to 12,000 years. At the western edge of a broad cultural region, their ancestral affiliations relate them to the Cree in the north, Abenaki (New York) in the east and Shawnee (Ohio) in the south. The heart of this vast cultural and physical expanse lies directly in the Great Lakes region of North America. Here, the clear lakes and rivers—vestiges of the receding glaciers of the last Ice Age—produce wild rice, a staple in the traditional indigenous diet.

Anishinaabe accounts of their origins tell how the tribe migrated to the Midwest from the eastern seaboard. Led by prophecy revealed to their elders, the ancestral Anishinaabe traveled with the knowledge that they would recognize their destination when they came to the place where “the good berry” grew on the water. Their journey took them inland along the St. Lawrence Seaway, with seven major stops along the way. Each stop was marked by a sacred fire, many of them maintained in secret to this day by the descendants of the original migration. When the Anishinaabe arrived in the Great Lakes region, they found *mabnomin* (wild rice) growing in the waters nourishing the plentiful wildlife and vegetation of the area. They had arrived in their homeland. Prophecy was fulfilled.

Their migration complete, the People became increasingly intimate with the landscape, beginning a several-thousand-year relationship with

mabnomin. It became central to birth, feasting, family and clan gatherings, death and other significant social and religious events in the life of the tribe. This legacy remains intact on the Anishinaabe reservations of Minnesota, Wisconsin and parts of the Great Lakes region in Canada. *Mabnomin* resides at the very heart of the cultural identity of the People and they are charged by the Creator to protect it.

University of Minnesota Maps the Genome

Several decades ago, the University of Minnesota became interested in wild rice. Initial involvement was sparked by a few white growers in northern Minnesota who had a desire to commodify the grain—a delicacy that fetches a premium price—and capture a portion of the market. As a publicly funded research institution, the University responded by producing a hybridized seed stock that could be grown in rice paddies, ripened uniformly and harvested more easily with airboats than the rice growing wild in the lakes. A consequence of this legacy is that the industry moved to the more agriculturally favorable climate of the west coast. Most “wild” rice sold today is actually paddy rice produced in California.

All the while, university researchers, as they proceeded with breeding programs, had virtually no contact with the tribes. The University had not consulted this major constituency in proceeding with its research agenda around wild rice, but why should it have? It never had before. The University initiated no formal dialogue with the 60,000 Anishinaabe in the state (over half of whom are from White Earth) for whom wild rice is a gift from the Creator and daily reminder of why they are here in this place.

This academic intrusion into the local Anishinaabe narrative of wild rice cut into the limited sales of it that provided warm coats during harsh winters for desperately poor Native communities. It didn't, however, significantly impact the integrity of the rice and the relationship of the People to this key cultural and religious force in their lives. Protected by federal treaty laws, the wild stands of rice were left relatively intact by the university.

Things changed radically when the Anishinaabe became aware that University of Minnesota researchers were mapping the wild rice genome. The potential threat posed by genetic manipulation of the sacred grain was immediately understood on many levels (economic, cultural and spiritual). It provoked an intense effort by the Anishinaabe to demand that the University respect the unique role that this “relative” held for the community. The Anishinaabe insisted that the researchers stop all genomic research on wild rice.

The movement to protect wild rice was organized by the communities of the White Earth Band, led by the efforts of Joe Lagarde (descended from traditional chiefs and an extremely effective community organizer) and healers like Paul Schultz, Earl Hoagland and his wife, Kathy. Quickly, all of the bands and several affiliated tribes (Canadian and US) made calls to the University administration, demanding respect for the voice of a significant (and indigenous) segment of the Minnesota population. The tribes argued that the University—supported by tax dollars and mandated to work for the public good—would do irreparable harm to their culture and way of life. The tribes saw this as yet another act of genocide through cultural destruction by white culture.

This call went unheeded, and the wild rice genome map was recently completed by University of Minnesota researchers. Efforts are currently underway in Australia to exploit the genome information to alter selected characteristics of the grain. The University of Minnesota claims it currently has no plans to pursue a similar agenda and has no ongoing effort at dialogue around wild rice with the tribe.

Public Art in the Arena with Wild Rice

I worked with White Earth community partners and faculty from the University of Minnesota to develop the complex of meanings and symbols behind this story. Metaphors, such as bridging difference, building inferential ladders of meaning and being closed off in silos, unable to see clearly through to the other side, emerged. These metaphors were explored under the broader theme of independent, unfettered scientific practice versus the mandates of culture and tradition. These elements were developed over several community meetings, where the art-making process was an integral (but not primary) focus of the gathering. Several meetings were convened across Anishinaabe communities in Minnesota and Wisconsin to consult on how to force the University to desist in wild rice genome mapping. At these meetings, I was invited to install full-size,

temporary, raw sculptural “sketches” as a means for community comment about the direction of the artistic effort, as it paralleled the evolving language of the community’s defense of wild rice. I also worked with University of Minnesota faculty to better understand their academic interest in pursuing a genomic research agenda and concerns about careers and “academic freedom” to conduct interesting research.



Photo by Karl Lorenz

These collaborative exercises, with intentionally crafted opportunities for community feedback, led to a two-year sculptural installation on the University of Minnesota campus. When time came to announce the campus installation, I’d developed considerable support from a core group of faculty (who announced the impending installation to the University community) and had significant support from several campus partners (Public Art on Campus Committee, American Indian Studies Department and others). The installation is near the buildings where scientists conducted wild rice research. It consists of bridging elements, ladders, silos and image constructions. The images, on opposite sides of panels, reflect ⇨

the separate stories invoked by the conflict. An additional phase is planned for the fall. Anishinaabe elders plan to meet with university faculty to share their story. This will lead to the construction of an additional element derived from the dialogue for a now-empty central "bridging" area of the sculptural installation.

The intention of these public art efforts is to raise awareness of contested meanings around wild rice. Early attempts to resolve the issue through petitions, public demonstrations and hastily convened meetings quickly collapsed into polarized monologues because of the high stakes central to the issue. The University of Minnesota did not need to negotiate or compromise and has acted imperiously, unwilling to enter into genuine dialogue. The success of a public art process is dependent on creating a fuller awareness of an issue by respecting ambiguity and elevating the elements of story (in this case, scientific inquiry versus cultural genesis). This allows for greater reflection on the issues and a more articulated social space for engaging democratic practice.

Public Art, Public Space, Democratic Practice and Complexity

The wild rice controversy shows how art can become engaged with the public. Public art must be more than simply finding new venues in public places for the display of artworks. Public artists must not limit themselves to bench-making opportunities and beautification projects as cities gentrify to become more welcoming to the affluent and ably represented. Even when public artworks lay claim to site specificity—using materials from the site or acknowledging local history or functionality—too often there is little reflection about what it means to practice art-making in the complex, contested spaces of public life.

The wild rice issue provides a compelling example of conflicted meanings in public space. For some it represents an opportunity for industrial exploitation and research; for the Anishinaabe, it is the fulfillment of prophecy and central to cultural and religious life. Public art, as civic process and artistic practice, can embrace the tension and complexity of the wild rice issue and expand the representation of voices around this critical community concern.

A public art process can result in artworks that represent the collaboration and shared vision of the artist and community. It requires that the artist commit to working with a community and relinquish significant control of the process of generating content for community partners. The artist participates as an equal (a citizen partner) with a distinct set of professional capabilities to offer, rather than assumes the role of creative center. I should emphasize this is not a communal art-making process, but a synergistic generation of public meaning.

Public art must commit to expanding the range of voices and meanings of place represented in the cultural mix of a given social context, and amplifying those voices within democratic notions of public space. Otherwise, it risks becoming an unwitting accomplice in maintaining the *status quo* of dominant interests. Moreover, the practice of public art must revel in the inherent ambiguity displayed in the multi-layered experience of place, not to purposely indulge in mystification and obfuscation, but to do justice to overlapping claims of meaning and needs for representation in social spaces. Accounting for complexity lends depth, seriousness, purpose and respect for the impact of real issues on those involved.

Karl Lorenz is a public artist based in the Twin Cities. He can be contacted via email at klorenz@mn.rr.com.

The PN e-newsletter

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.

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and in the subject line put "subscribe to e-newsletter."**

Markusen [Cont. from page 1]

Artists and the Creative Class

From a progressive planning point of view, what is wrong with the notion of a creative class drawn to diverse cities and the implied causal connection between diversity and high-tech success as popularized by Richard Florida in his recent book, *The Rise of the Creative Class*? To begin with, creative class status is reduced to higher educational attainment, a definition that automatically excludes working-class people. But human creativity, conceptually, cannot be conflated with years of schooling. People at all levels of education exercise considerable inventiveness: home care workers figure out ingenious ways of dealing with testy and disabled clients; people schooled on the streets orchestrate brilliant petty crimes; repair people and technicians find remarkable ways of fixing machines and improving their design. Secondly, Florida's sole measure of diversity is the presence of gay male households. When one uses race or ethnicity as a measure, the correlation between diversity and high-tech growth disappears. Third, the location and community activities of artists (writers, musicians and visual and performing artists) differ markedly from those of other members of Florida's so-called creative class—accountants, lawyers, scientists, engineers, managers.

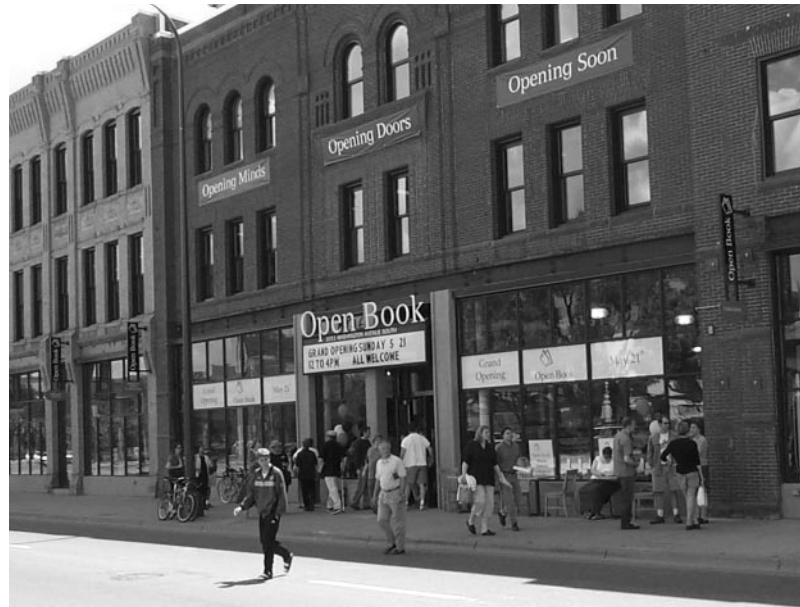
It makes sense to focus on artists as urban actors distinct from other highly educated groups. As a group, artists exhibit high levels of schooling but relatively low earnings. Artists do tend to live in diverse urban neighborhoods, whereas engineers and managers favor homogeneous suburbs. Artists are drawn to inner-city neighborhoods because they are affordable and offer access to quality workspace and to each other. Performing artists—dancers, choreographers, actors, directors and musicians—because they rely on collective performing arts spaces and quirkier audiences, are even more apt to live in inner cities than visual artists and writers, but all artists are more centripetally inclined than the rest of the workforce.

Despite their solitary work habits, many artists participate actively in politics, voting in high numbers and using their visual and performance skills in political campaigns. It is believed that artists vote predominantly “left.” Artists are often supported by elites, through direct patronage or foundation-channeled grants, but are nevertheless frequently opposed to the latter's values—aesthetic and political. Artists remain a powerful source of articulated opposition to the societal status quo and a major force for innovation.

In the built environment of the city, artists play multiple roles in stabilizing and upgrading neighborhoods, both through their presence and occupation of space and through their active community engagement. Three kinds of artistic space help to stabilize urban neighborhoods and facilitate artists' roles in community development: artists' clubhouses; live/work and studio buildings; and small-scale performing arts spaces. Many of these are rehabbed former industrial buildings that offer spacious work and performance space at an affordable price.

The Flourishing of Arts in the Twin Cities

In the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, many artists work in and regularly visit “clubhouses”—dedicated spaces that serve amateur as well as accomplished artists on a community or genre basis. These include the Loft Literary Center,



Open Book, home to the Loft Literary Center, on opening day

Playwrights' Center, Textile Center, Northern Clay Center, Composers' Forum, Minnesota Center for Photography and Independent Film Project. These also include Homewood Studios, which serves a northside working-class, African American neighborhood, and Intermedia Arts, which serves a southside ethnically mixed and increasingly immigrant neighborhood. In these dedicated spaces, artists and their audiences come together to learn about each others' work, receive feedback and mentoring, share equipment and space, build networks and learn about funding and presentation opportunities.

The Twin Cities also hosts a large number of artist live/work buildings, among them Lowertown Lofts, Northern Warehouse, Tilsner Artists ➔

Photo by Bob Williams

Cooperative and Frogtown Family Lofts, all in St. Paul, and studio buildings, including Grain Belt, California Building and Traffic Zone, all in Minneapolis. These offer artists an affordable space to live and work in the presence of other artists struggling with many of the same artistic and economic issues. They function as venues for art crawls and other community events and ensure that artists are on the street at all hours of the day and night, keeping crime rates down and stimulating re-use of nearby facilities, such as that now used by the old Farmers Market in St. Paul.

Small-scale performing arts spaces, such as theaters or dance venues embedded in neighborhoods, stabilize and invigorate commercial areas and often relate to the unique character of the community. The Twin Cities hosts fifty-five theaters and a number of dedicated dance spaces, plus many music venues that serve these purposes. While the largest of these are entertainment destinations surrounded by parking ramps, and while they receive disproportionate shares of public arts and economic development funding, many others have forged close ties to neighborhood residents.

interest-free loan of \$325,000 to do the renovations, and HOB also won a \$150,000 loan from the Neighborhood Revitalization Program, to be repaid through service to the neighborhood. The neighborhood, increasingly Latino, rallied to help clean up the building—it needed a new roof, standing water pumped out and every surface washed. Across the street, Latino merchants had, all with private money, redeveloped vacant space into a *mercado* and new restaurants, with rental housing upstairs. Through a carefully built partnership of mutual respect, HOB and the Latino Business Association are now taking over the huge, vacant Minnesota Antiques building to use as an incubator for Latino businesses and as a Latino community network space. The building will also house the theater, giving it a place to rehearse, build puppets (now done in the theater aisles) and run the office (now in the old balcony).

Artists and Gentrification

The mushrooming of artistic activity in some inner-city neighborhoods has in some cases prompted concerns about gentrification and community displacement. Planners and communities are also concerned that artists' space may reap subsidies—for low-income housing, for instance—that may crowd out other worthy and poorer recipients. In some cities, like New York City, tensions between long-time working-class and minority residents of a neighborhood and incoming young artists moving into apartments and industrial spaces have been high for decades, as described in Sharon Zukin's pioneering 1982 book, *Loft Living*. Real estate developers often use artists—and sometimes even their sweat labor—as a vanguard for wholesale neighborhood turnover, sometimes subsidizing galleries and performance spaces as a way of making the neighborhood more hip. Zukin argues that artists' conversions of lofts for live/work space contributed to deindustrialization, but the causal link is difficult to prove. In Manhattan's Soho and Tribeca, the departure of small manufacturers may have been accelerated, but the larger phenomenon, fed by the pull of cheaper and more functional suburban sites and cheap imports, happened in many cities across the country with no artistic incursion. In some cities, pioneer low-income artists have been displaced by wealthier galleries and more prosperous residents. This process is less problematic in deindustrializing and depopulating neighborhoods in cities like Paducah, Kentucky, Cleveland and St. Paul's Lowertown, which have benefited from artists moving into vacant industrial space and increasing personal security and economic activity. Also, many artists occupying such space are of the neighborhood to begin with, so the artistic use of such space constitutes a community retention success.

Photo by Roy Close, Artspace



Jusenius Hall in his studio at the Tilsner Artists Cooperative in St. Paul

An outstanding example of how artistic space has helped to revitalize and stabilize a low-income neighborhood is Heart of the Beast (HOB) Puppet Theater. Begun in the 1970s by counter-culture young people, HOB works with larger-than-life puppets worn by the players and relies on original scripts and live music, much of it now international ethnic folk material. After working out of a series of churches and lofts, HOB worked with the City of Minneapolis to lease and then buy a former porn theater (once a family theater) in the poorest neighborhood of town. After some dragging of its feet, the City gave the theater troupe a ten-year,

Many artists, along with other lower-income residents, are displaced when property taxes and rents begin to rise along with the incursion of higher-income residents attracted to the buzz that artists create in neighborhoods they have helped to renovate. One way of preventing this dynamic, so powerful because of private land ownership rights in our society, is to build and hold artistic space in common as cooperatives, non-profit organizations or land banks. Artspace, Inc, a Twin Cities-based national pioneer in the reuse of older buildings for artistic space, has for almost twenty years gone this route rather than turn over ownership to private parties.

Beyond matters of space, artists make many contributions to community viability and life. Artists produce commissioned and informal public art that enlivens the community visually, and they often participate in planning parks and cultural facilities. Artists are often actively engaged in community events, such as parades, festivals and fairs, and neighborhood politics. Heart of the Beast, for example, unfurls its puppets every year for a themed May Day parade down the south side, ending up in Powderhorn Park, where admirers from all over the city come to view them. It also partnered with a vibrant ethnic business community to revitalize a commercial strip. Artists help to create the vision that Jane Jacobs celebrated in *Death and Life of the Great American Cities*—a series of distinctive, stable neighborhoods with porous borders that invite visits from other city residents.

Cultural planning is an exciting contemporary frontier for planners, especially because it increasingly demands collaboration among land use, economic development and cultural policy agencies and the public. Planners make momentous decisions, through zoning, infrastructure provision and urban redevelopment schemes that shape the cultural map of a city. In the past decade in the Twin Cities, too many city and state public sector resources have gone into subsidizing large, “fine art” destination theaters and museums while small-

er-scale, neighborhood-embedded artistic spaces have had to scrap for funding. Better intelligence on and articulation of the dividends that artists and



Photo by Roy Close, Artspace

An artist with her son in her residential live/work unit at Frogtown Family Lofts (St. Paul)

art spaces make to communities can alter this pattern and nurture artistic activity as a key ingredient in community development.

Ann Markusen is a professor and Fesler-Lampert Chair in Urban and Regional Affairs, and director of the Project on Regional and Industrial Economics at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota. For her recent work on artists and urban development, visit www.hhh.umn.edu/projects/prie for publications such as: “The Artistic Dividend: The Hidden Contributions of the Arts to Regional Development” (2003); “From Clubhouse to Hothouse: The Evolution and Impact of Artists’ Centers” (2005); “Urban Development and the Politics of a Creative Class” (Environment and Planning, forthcoming); and “The Artistic Dividend: Urban Artistic Specialization and Economic Development Implications” (Urban Studies, forthcoming).

SAVE THE DATE



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Chicago, IL

Art and the Politics of Public Housing

By Jacqueline Leavitt

We believe in a grassroots movement that puts into question the essential relationships on which the system is based. The focal point of these cultural campaigns is the evolution of political conviction into artistic actions and vice versa. We will present cultural performances as political actions because everyone is artist and activist at the same time.

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To juxtapose art and public housing may seem contradictory. Aesthetic principles include symmetry, focal point, pattern, contrast, perspective, dimensionality, movement, rhythm, unity and proportion. Public housing in the United States is hardly considered to have an aesthetic of architecture—pleasing visual design elements, such as the color of building materials, texture, the ways in which sunlight and shadows create patterns, a sense of harmony, the volume, shape and articulation of space.

In other countries, most notably the Netherlands, some social housing is recognized as works of art and architecture. In Amsterdam, there is the architecture of Michel de Klerk (“the Ship” at Spaarndammenplantsoen, built in 1919) and in Vienna there is the Hundertwasser House (the building began in the early 1980s and in 1983 was turned over to the tenants). If thought is given at all to the relationship of art to public housing, it is in the form of classes for residents, the addition of decorative elements to facades, interior and exterior murals or the inclusion of sculpture on the grounds.

Let’s take another look at art and the politics of public housing by focusing on the former Pico Gardens, Aliso Village and Aliso Extension (aka Pico Aliso), three adjacent developments in the Boyle Heights community of Los Angeles.

Public Housing

Public housing in the United States is routinely demonized by the right, center and left as a hotbed of violence and deviant behavior. Its architecture is pronounced dull, uniform and

repetitive. Despite the fact that two-thirds of public housing is low-rise, as it is in Los Angeles, where it is mainly two and three stories high, critics generalize and denounce the scale as inhumane. There are problems with public housing, but these arise from deferred maintenance, corruption and structural social and economic imbalances. For those of us who defend public housing as the only remaining permanent affordable housing program, the issues lie in the widening gap between income and rents, the lack of well-paying jobs with benefits and privatization.

The hostility toward public housing is disproportionate to the relatively few units that exist—1.3 million families totaling 3 million seniors, disabled and low-income families with children, living in about 13,000 developments across the country. Over its lifetime, the more than fifty-year-old program has been outnumbered by the younger Section 8 voucher program that houses 4.7 million. Under President William J. Clinton, the Democrats rolled back the functions of the state, accommodating a Republican-dominated Congress, some of whose members called for dismantling the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). One key program of that era was HOPE VI, hailed by supporters for its demolition of what was called “distressed” public housing and replacement with “mixed-income” housing. The national estimate is that about 100,000 low-income units have been or are in the process of being demolished. Resistance has occurred in various places. HOPE VI came to Pico Aliso in 1996 and the resistance efforts included performance art, a result of a collaboration between two groups, Union de Vecinos and Ultra-red.

The HOPE VI Program at Pico Aliso

In 1996, tenants and organizers at Pico Aliso, responding to eviction notices and the impending demolition of three contiguous developments, formed Union de Vecinos. Thirty-six families received flyers from the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA)—slipped under their doors at night—informing them that they had sixty days to relocate and that Section 8 would be available. Two organizers,

Leonardo Vilchis and Elizabeth Blaney, who had been working with the community, met with the core group of families who received the eviction notices. One tenant leader said:

We went to various agencies in the community for support but were turned away. We decided to organize ourselves and refused to leave. We delayed the demolition for two years until we received written guarantees that we would stay in Pico Aliso. During this process we discovered that we needed an organization.

Relocation rights were won for some who stayed. The fight was successful in ensuring that activist public housing residents were not excluded from moving into desirable units that were slated for sale. The actions of Union de Vecinos at Pico Gardens led to delays that were sufficient to convince HACLA to shift its tactics and demolish Aliso Village in one stage. But resistance did not derail the housing authority; 577 units of existing public housing were replaced with 421 new units at Pico Gardens and Aliso Extension. Of those, only 280 were for public housing tenants and sixty were senior apartments. Of eighty-one detached courtyard homes, more than thirty were once slated for sale.

Notwithstanding the outcome, Union de Vecinos thrived, expanding its organizing to other public housing developments and the surrounding Boyle Heights neighborhood. The struggle of traditional organizing involves going door to door, identifying tenant leaders and those in need, rendering services for tenants, preparing residents for testifying at public hearings, passing out flyers, taking surveys and attending many meetings. The Union de Vecinos organizers prepared grant requests, and in 2001, enough funds were raised to pay the original two organizers and hire residents as staff members. By then, Union de Vecinos was collaborating with Ultra-red, an arts group. Ultimately, other artists joined the struggle.

Public Housing and Art: Installations and Soundscapes

Since 1994, Ultra-red has pursued a practice that on its web page is called a “dynamic exchange between art and political organizing, producing radio broadcasts, performances, recordings, installations and public space occupations” (www.ultra-red.org). The core group includes: Dont Rhine (artist, AIDS activist) and Pablo Garcia (musician, organizer, Valley Family Technology Project). After working with them, Blaney and Vilchis joined Ultra-

red and produced the videos used in the installations about HOPE VI. In 2004, the newly reorganized group defined Ultra-red as an aesthetic-political organization.

The initial impetus grew out of Rhine’s involvement in ACT-UP and the group’s work broadened to include national and international projects. The newly constituted group worked in Dublin, with the Ballymun Women’s Resource Center at the largest public housing estate in Ireland. Other partners have included Kanak Attak, a German-based immigration and anti-racist network that involves research, sound, film and exhibition in challenging the idea of “foreignness;” experimental sound composer Eddie Peel of Sony Mao and Needle; Berlin-based musician Elliot Perkins (aka Phonem); and American ambient/computer synthesis composer Terre Thaemiltz.

The focus of the two-year collaboration with Union de Vecinos was the politics of HOPE VI and the residents’ resistance to demolition and displacement. The overall themes address the impact of public policy on public housing residents and the ways in which language is used to rationalize demolition. For example, Pico Aliso is characterized in pejorative terms pre-demolition while it is extolled afterwards.

The four Ultra-red installations include: 1) erasure that addresses Los Angeles’ history of displacing low-income people; 2) Pico Aliso residents’ ideas about the use of the \$50 million HOPE VI allocation and the existing living conditions; 3) differences between residents’ opinions and those of HACLA; and 4) demolition of Aliso Village. Each was multimedia—involving combinations of video, soundscape, photography and framed testimonies—and participatory, involving artists and residents.

“Structural Adjustments,” with Public Works Administration (Karina Combs, Cecilia Wendt and Valerie Tevere) and curated by the Arroyo Arts Collective, was the first video and photography installation mounted in February 1998. This focused on erasure and loss, highlighting the use of eminent domain in Chavez Ravine in 1957 and the displacement of a low-income largely Latino community on a promise to build 3,500 of 10,000 units of public housing city-wide. Instead, the cleared land was turned over to the Dodgers baseball team and the former homeowners and renters had to fend for themselves. The poignancy of the displacement at Chavez Ravine is that some people landed in Boyle Heights and some in public housing, including Pico Aliso, where they then faced another round of loss. ⇨

In this installation, residents from Pico Aliso read testimonies about life in public housing and responded to the question, "What would you do with the HOPE VI allocation of \$50 million?" As people described their living conditions, the soundscape included dripping water from kitchen faucets. The second installation, also called "Structural Adjustments," combined video projection with a live sound performance in a gallery in downtown LA's artists' loft district. In July 1999, "Concrete Projections" took place in a courtyard at Aliso Extension. Two videos were screened on opposite walls, simulating a dialogue between the housing authority and the community. Clips were drawn from countless videotape footage of meetings with the housing authority, public hearings, etc. A micro, or pirate, radio station, set up in one apartment overlooking the courtyard, provided a running narrative that drew from official documents, such as housing authority minutes. This soundscape provided the familiar community ringing of bells at the nearby church and the ting-a-ling of the ice cream truck.

The final installation occurred in April 2000. "Dislocating Housing" brought Ultra-red, Union de Vecinos and other artists together as part of a day-long "celebration" about the impending demolition of Aliso Village. This included residents spray painting goodbye messages inside their former homes, and outside, writing in large letters, "We like living here." The installation borrowed used furniture from residents and recreated the living room of a public housing resident's home; a television set played a video of life in Pico Aliso and the surrounding community, while the soundscape picked up on the jiggling sound when spray paint cans are used. The irony was that three days before demolition, HACLA "erased" the messages just prior to bulldozing the buildings. Even in erasure, the "authority" wiped out any lingering signs of human identity and personification of the existing community.

In addition to the installations, in September 1998, Ultra-red, Union de Vecinos and Public Works Administration gave a reality bus tour that was part of the 6th LA Freewaves Festival. The tour revisited the history of public housing in Los Angeles, including Chavez Ravine.

Everyone Is an Artist

Residents were involved in a number of ways, lending meaning to the idea that everyone is an artist. Over the three years in which artists recorded life at Pico Aliso and documented presentations by HACLA, residents were "there," part of the documentation. During this time, the "artists" were omnipresent, wearing headsets, holding micro-

phones, recording. Ten residents became more active and also took on artists' tasks and equipment. The videos are a record and were replayed for residents as a way for them to reflect upon their lives in public housing. More residents were actively engaged in recording testimonies that were played or framed at the installations and which now hang in the Union de Vecinos office. At the Aliso Extension site, the installation was similar to "wraparound sound" emanating from the buildings, the people, the videos, residents selling food and a *quinciañera* celebrating the fifteenth birthday of one resident's daughter. The Ultra-red performance blended into the dancing and socializing between artists, residents, birthday participants and supporters.

Ultra-red's work with residents at Ballymun and documentation from Union de Vecinos revealed conditions that were similar yet different. The international collaborations included an exchange where two Pico Aliso resident leaders went to Dublin and a delegation from Ballymun came to LA. These exchanges help forge an international network and understanding of structural crisis and government intervention in housing.

Meanwhile, Union de Vecinos has also used the documentation in organizing tenants at Pueblo del Sol, the mixed-income housing that replaced the demolished Aliso Gardens. In 2004, the new management recognized the Union as the tenants' representative and lifted threats of eviction to some renters.

From its initial focus, Union de Vecinos has expanded its organizing to the rest of Boyle Heights. Thirteen committees send representatives to an executive body and the strength of the organizing partially lies in the organization's ability to mobilize approximately 800 to 1,000 people for events. Union de Vecinos is also poised to undertake broader organizing among the Latino community in another council district. Performance art has been integrated into the Union's repertoire. In Boyle Heights, residents initiated two installations. One concerned cleaning up the alleys. The residents made lanterns out of soda bottles with candles, creating lighting that made visible the unsafe conditions, and erected tombstones to drive home the consequences of the lack of security. Subsequently, the alleys were cleaned and lighting was installed. In another action, residents placed carpeting on a busy street to slow traffic and were successful in getting the city's attention, leading them to install speed bumps.

Building a Movement for Change

My purpose here was not to evaluate the role that art plays but to comment on the relationship between art and the [Cont. on page 17]

Artists Meet Community Development in the Bronx

By Joan Byron

Arts and culture is helping to catalyze the revitalization of the South Bronx, but in a way that contrasts with the “artist as advance guard of gentrification” scenario. The Point CDC in the Hunts Point section of the Bronx has consciously sought to nurture a homegrown cultural scene as a foundation for social, cultural and economic renewal.

The Point’s co-founders Paul Lipson, Mildred Ruiz, Steven Sapp and Maria Torres had previously worked for a local youth services agency. By 1994, they were frustrated by a paradigm that recognized only the community’s deficits. They were determined to engage local adults and young people and tap their creative energies in order to capitalize on the area’s history as the cradle of new cultural forms from postwar Latin jazz to hip-hop.

They identified a vacant one-story, 12,000 square-foot garage as a site for a community arts incubator that would initially house work and display space for visual artists, a dance studio and a 200-seat “black box” theater. (My organization, the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development, ruthlessly elbowed a competing architectural firm aside for the privilege of providing free schematic design work. We then wrote a foundation grant that enabled us to provide full services without charging The Point.) By using donated materials, volunteer labor and local specialty contractors, The Point completed its initial renovation (and got a Certificate of Occupancy and a Public Assembly permit) in eight months, all for less than \$250,000. Subsequent renovations have added a photo studio and darkroom, recording studio and low-power FM radio station and ever-improving lighting and sound equipment.

The Point quickly became a hotbed of activity, offering classes for young people and work space for adult artists (often bartering one for the other). And it wasn’t necessary to parachute artists in. Local dancers, painters, sculptors, poets, designers and musicians were drawn by the buzz and heartened to find that making it might not have to mean moving downtown.

Points from The Point

1. *Art doesn’t need to be imported.* Key to the vitality of the Hunts Point arts scene is that it’s

homegrown, built around artists and art forms that have strong local roots; it is not an outpost settled by artists who’ve been displaced from somewhere else.

An important strategy for The Point was to create an ample, welcoming and high-quality cultural venue. Both the theater and the atrium became important spaces for community meetings. In 1997, local residents had begun formulating a local vision plan when Hunts Point was invaded by the garbage industry. The Giuliani administration’s agreement to close the city’s last remaining landfill in Fresh Kills—with no plan to deal with the city’s 26,000 tons per day of residential and commercial solid waste—brought twenty-seven private, poorly-regulated transfer stations to Hunts Point. And a new facility that would have handled some 4,000 tons of putrescible garbage per day was proposed for the Hunts Point waterfront by American Marine Rail (AMR), a new corporation whose project would be financed by a contract with the city.



The atrium of The Point

Local stakeholders, including residents and representatives of Hunts Point’s wholesale food distribution industry (most have long-term leases from New York City Economic Development Corporation), organized brilliantly, not only defeating the AMR proposal, but joining with their counterparts in other environmental justice communities across the city as the Organization of Waterfront Neighborhoods (OWN). After much organizing, OWN’s demand that the City adopt ⇒

Photo courtesy of The Point

a comprehensive approach that equitably distributes the burden of garbage handling became the basis for the Solid Waste Management Plan put forward by the Bloomberg administration this year.

2. Space is an important asset that can be shared by artists and the broader community. Space for performances may be easier to share than the work and exhibit spaces of visual artists. Performance spaces obviously lend themselves to other uses, especially community meetings, and

to The Point, which continues to provide important support. New organizations, including Sustainable South Bronx, the Bronx River Alliance and Green Worker Cooperatives carry forward varied elements of a shared agenda.

In Hunts Point, culture and activism are inseparable and synergistic. Established performers like percussionist Angel Rodriguez generously share their work at waterfront rallies. These events also showcase up-and-coming talents. Local artists explore their own experiences in their plays, dances, murals and poetry. These experiences are steeped in the community's history and present-day reality. New work can both affirm the values of local residents and challenge them. Arthur Aviles, whose dance works are often gorgeously (and hilariously) homoerotic, prefers the "ewww" reaction of a Bronx audience to a boy-on-boy kiss to the politely silent reaction of downtown homophobes.

3. Community-based cultural activity can be an important resource in local struggles for social, economic and environmental justice. The artistic upwelling in Hunts Point appears to me unlikely to trigger the cycle of hipness-gentrification-displacement that has made artists the "truffle pigs for the real estate industry" elsewhere.

Far from promoting displacement, a vibrant and genuine culture that is both produced and consumed locally unites people across lines of income and class. It draws upon and celebrates the diverse talents of an often embattled community and strengthens resident's resolve to stay. This is not to deny that the rising cost of housing, as well as space for work and performance, challenges even Hunts Point's artists and regular folks. But housing costs are also rising in neighborhoods that lack the kind of visible institutions like The Point, more in response to the universal pressure of population growth and a violently polarized economy rather than the search for the next hip "hood."

But don't take my word for any of this. Visit The Point at 940 Garrison Avenue, Bronx, NY 10474, 718.542.4139, www.thepoint.org, as well as: Sustainable South Bronx, www.ssbx.org; Bronx River Alliance, www.bronxriver.org; and Bronx Academy of Arts & Dance, www.bronxacademyofartsanddance.org.

Joan Byron is a registered architect and leads the Sustainability and Environmental Justice Initiative (SAEJ) at the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development. From 1989 through 2003, she directed the Pratt Planning and Architectural Collaborative, the Pratt Center's non-profit architectural practice.

Photo by Joan Byron



Community meeting at The Point

performances themselves are occasions for community members to come together. Gallery exhibits don't function so easily in this way, and the need to protect displayed works from damage can create a "don't touch" ambience.

The planning process initiated at The Point was originally intended to produce a 197A plan—a city charter-defined document that reflects a community's vision for itself (but which may not be respected by public or private actors in future development). The Point's organizers recognized both the urgency and the opportunity to address environmental issues in a more focused way, both to resist the imposition of additional burdensome land uses, and to claim and enhance the community's environmental assets—particularly the Bronx River and its waterfront. Beginning with the creation of a new park at the foot of Lafayette Avenue, a street whose riverfront dead end had long been buried under tons of dumped debris, The Point became part of a network of organizations pursuing environmental justice on multiple fronts. The campaigns to eliminate the Sheridan Expressway, to create the Bronx River Greenway (and more recently, the South Bronx Greenway) and to promote high-road manufacturing—rather than polluting and land-intensive infrastructure—all owe much of their early energy

Culture as Community Connector

By Tom Borrup

Culture has been used to divide and conquer, but it can also connect and empower. Some planners, developers and policymakers are learning ways art and culture contribute to community and economic revitalization, both as community assets and as tools to mobilize other assets. During the past decade, practitioners, thinkers and researchers have been demonstrating and uncovering the efficacy of culture in the context of community building, peeling back layers of impact and meaning. Cities and small towns are increasingly populated with a mixture of immigrants from around the world and people of different faiths, lifestyles and economic classes. Connecting them and working together in meaningful ways require neighbors to relate on a cultural level.

"As community builders, understanding culture is our business," states The Community Toolbox, a project of the Work Group on Health Promotion and Community Development at the University of Kansas at Lawrence. The Toolbox is designed to assist organizers and community development professionals. "Culture is a strong part of people's lives. It influences their views, their values, their humor, their hopes, their loyalties and their worries and fears...When you are working with people and building relationships with them, it helps to have some perspective and understanding of their cultures" (www.ctb.ukans.edu).

Deficit-based approaches to community development focus on what people lack. Unfortunately, this deficit model has been shared by the mainstream cultural sector along with planners and developers. Traditional Western arts institutions and their "outreach" efforts see cultural voids rather than people with a wide range of cultural assets. Social change activists cannot hope for much lasting success without incorporating cultural empowerment strategies in their work. Finding new norms and cooperative ways of working across cultural boundaries is difficult, but success results in a more innovative, productive and humane society.

A new generation of arts organizations is seeing communities rich in cultures and creative practices. This new generation of organizations has taken on the challenge of nurturing traditions and skills while including those voices in broader community dialogues.

Community Cultural Organizations at Work

Founded and led by visual artist Rick Lowe, Project Row Houses is both physically and spiritually reconstructing a devastated African-American neighborhood in Houston's Third Ward. The artist's raw material is the history, culture and resilience of the people, and several blocks of run down "shotgun houses."

Lowe was moved by a painting by the late John Biggers showing African women in traditional dress proudly beside their full-of-life row houses. Since 1995, he has been working to bring the painting to life in a seamless cross between artistic practice and community development. This widely celebrated organization has restored twenty-nine housing units on one city block and has begun work on several adjacent blocks.

Seven of the houses are used as residences for single mothers who are completing their education. Eight are used for art exhibits while others are meeting places for local residents to discuss such issues as gentrification, ethnicity and identity. The project is now restoring the nearby Eldorado Ballroom, once a lively nightclub for jazz and blues. Lowe and Project Row Houses have also worked with local residents in a surrounding 35-block area to craft a master revitalization plan that will direct new investment to benefit low-income residents.

In rural western North Carolina, HandMade in America focuses on enhancing the quality of life while broadening economic opportunities. Leaders of this arts-based community development hybrid in Asheville realized the futility of recruiting yet another large manufacturer as their salvation. Instead, they decided the answer was in the enormous but invisible talents in small towns and back roads. Director Becky Anderson has tapped the region's deep well of craftspeople, establishing western North Carolina as the center for hand-made objects in America.

In the similarly picturesque hills of western Massachusetts, vast mills sit abandoned by once-thriving industries. The world's largest paper manufacturer during the first half of the twentieth century, Holyoke, is now home to one of the region's largest Puerto Rican populations, a community facing ⇒

many health, housing, employment and discrimination issues. Nuestras Raices, a non-profit centered in culture, environmental justice and youth development, tackles these issues while organizing its constituency. Nuestras Raices is growing roots in the community—literally—by planting seeds. Director Daniel Ross brings together his community's expertise in farming and food preparation with the knowledge of nearby universities to hybridize plant materials native to the Caribbean Islands. It is conducting expansive urban gardening and food-based micro-enterprise development while keeping alive Puerto Rican cultural practices and involving youth.

During the past decade, the Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum on Chicago's Lower West Side vaulted from infancy to adulthood, galvanizing the traditions and aspirations of its largely immigrant neighborhood to become a substantial institution. Former schoolteacher and founding director Carlos Tortolero drew on the community's many talents, the Chicago Park District, schools, artists and youth to build an institution his community is proud of. Nearly 250,000 people visit the museum annually, half from surrounding neighborhoods. The museum has helped solidify the Mexican-American community while building bridges across ethnic and geographic lines and bringing new economic and intellectual resources into the community.

Studies in several US cities consistently conclude that cultural organizations, particularly small community-based groups, have far greater impact on their surroundings than their size would suggest.

When Intermedia Arts transformed a south Minneapolis auto repair shop into an arts center in 1994, no one expected it would become one of the neighborhood's most dynamic civic spaces. Eclectic programming and multiple community uses created a space where corporate executives, politicians and business owners routinely co-exist with graffiti artists, homeless teenagers and environmentalists. The organization took an assertive role in redevelopment in the late 1990s, engaging artists, the public and community leaders in planning the neighborhood's future. The organization works regularly with fast-growing Latino, Asian and African immigrant communities, and artistic director Sandra Agustin makes sure all these voices are heard in discussions of issues such as gentrification, racism and

political exclusion. With support from Animating Democracy (www.animatingdemocracy.org), the center commissioned artist-activists to engage neighborhood residents in creating sculptures, performances, murals and mosaics. Through the art and the process of making it, people expressed their worries about gentrification and displacement, solidified connections with each other and devised ways to improve their neighborhood.

Seattle's Wing Luke Asian Museum builds relationships and fosters civic engagement by involving its community in creating exhibitions and events. Located in the International District, an economically challenged, multi-ethnic Asian community with a rich history, it's a cross between a historical museum, an arts center and a community center. Wing Luke also occupies a converted auto repair shop in a neighborhood where immigrants arrive daily. Director Ron Chew implemented a process that puts the community in charge, creating exhibitions and telling their own stories. At any given time, as many as three citizen committees work together to share stories, do research, conduct interviews, gather objects, design, write, build and ultimately lead tours of exhibits. Chew's premise, like that of the other groups, is that a cultural organization should be a "living laboratory for the collaborative talents of ordinary people," putting culture to work in service of building community and revitalizing neighborhoods.

Research Highlights of the Impacts of Smaller Arts Groups

Research on the variety of ways that culture and the arts impact smaller groups began in the late 1990s at the Urban Institute. Under the direction of Dr. Maria-Rosario Jackson, the Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project (ACIP) developed a body of evidence from which it is creating a methodology for measuring these impacts (www.urban.org/nnip/acip.html). By joining these indicators with the Urban Institute's larger set of community indicators, ACIP hopes to provide standard measurement tools that can be compared over long periods of time to gain a better understanding of how arts and cultural activities affect different dimensions of community building.

Studies in several US cities consistently conclude that cultural organizations, particularly small community-based groups, have far greater impact on their surroundings than their size would suggest.

A University of Pennsylvania study by Mark J. Stern and Susan Siefert, which has studied community-based arts groups for ten years through the Social Impact of the Arts Project, found that as the presence of small arts groups in neighborhoods increased, there were multiple positive effects.

(www.ssw.upenn.edu/SIAP). In areas with higher levels of cultural activity—in both poor and middle-class neighborhoods—there was a positive impact on school truancy, youth delinquency, civic engagement, teen pregnancy and a host of other factors associated with community well-being. There was also a positive relationship between arts participation, population stability and real estate values.

Researchers have found that small cultural groups are typically more important to revitalization of neighborhoods than major institutions. Small cultural groups stimulate community revitalization less through direct economic impact than through the building of social connections between people. They motivate neighbors and give them increased capacity to see possibility and make change in their communities. This increases connections between neighborhoods of different ethnic and economic groups, stimulates broader civic engagement, expands residents' sense of collective efficacy and strengthens bridges between neighborhoods.

A recent Chicago-based study by Diane Grams and Michael Warr also examined the social and economic activity that goes on around cultural organizations. Their study found that small community-based arts organizations leveraged a variety of relationships, capacities and activities in unusually effective ways, and that they built social relationships, enabled problem solving and provided access to resources. This study also concluded that small cultural groups promote neighborhood stability, enable a sense of belonging, create productive uses of underutilized spaces, create new links to non-local resources, provide space for cross-cultural dialogue and provide opportunities to learn new skills.

In their survey of activities that generate social capital, Robert Putnam and Lewis Feldstein arrived at similar conclusions: "We believe that the arts represent

perhaps the most significant underutilized forum for rebuilding community in America." America's cultural institutions and the people who work in them have much potential to "create opportunities for political expression, community dialogue, shared cultural experiences and civic work—all with an eye toward making citizen participation fun."

The economic, social, physical and civic dimensions of community building are equally important and interrelated—in fact, inseparable. In its survey of over 150 New York City-based economic and community development organizations, New York's Center for an Urban Future called for integrating cultural and business development and found that the two had the greatest impact when they worked side by side.

The Ford Foundation assembled a team of leaders in culture and community development in 2002-2003 to look at innovative community development strategies. The Downside UP Listening Tour found that art and culture organizations supported community involvement and participation, increased the potential for people to understand themselves, changed how people saw the world and bolstered community pride and identity. The arts helped improve derelict buildings, preserve cultural heritage, transmit values and history, bridge cultural, ethnic and racial boundaries and stimulate economic development. Community development and arts organizations most often were disparate and isolated from one another, but they have an important "synergistic relationship" that it is rarely acknowledged or exploited.

Tom Borup is a consultant and writer based in Minneapolis. He was executive director of Intermedia Arts from 1980 to 2002, and consults with non-profits, foundations and public agencies nationally. His book, Creative Tools for Community Building, will be released by Wilder Publishing in 2006. See www.communityandculture.com.

Leavitt [Cont. from page 12]

politics of public housing. Ultra-red's approach brought a new perspective to the thinking of the key organizers and in turn to the residents as well as to the artists. Additionally, other artists became active supporters. Artist and activist Dont Rhine believes that working with the Union transformed the way Ultra-red conceptualizes sound art and political art in general. The organizing philosophy of Union de Vecinos pre-Ultra-red lay in popular education, which uses a variety of methods, such as words, movement, sound and storytelling. Michael B. Schwartz writes that the objective of the popular education movement is liberatory, citing oppressive systems like education, but also of cultural mem-

ory wiping. To the extent that the HOPE VI demolition program intended to purposely wipe out the cultural memory of public housing residents, Ultra-red and Union de Vecinos were successful in reducing that possibility. The writings of Ultra-red, the testimonies of residents, the videos and CDs are all witness to and memory of a counter-interpretation of life in public housing. By itself, the installation art does not stop a specific housing policy but helps to build a movement for change.

Jacqueline Leavitt is a professor in the Urban Planning Department at UCLA and director of the Community Scholars Program.

Culture and Community Development: *Tough Questions, Creative Answers*

By Caron Atlas

What are the tough questions that public officials—mayors, planning commissioners and economic development experts—and private developers should address to incorporate issues of cultural planning in community development programs/projects? And what are the questions artists and arts organizations need to consider related to their roles in development?

I work at the intersection of culture and community development but I have as many questions as answers. How can development extend beyond commercial values to include social, economic and cultural values such as diversity, participatory democracy and social justice? What would it look like if development honored the multi-layered identities of communities, and involved them in determining their own fate? And what if in doing this they were able to incorporate creative methodologies from the arts?

Photo courtesy of Appalshop



Still photo from Appalshop filmmaker Robert Salyer's film "Sludge"

I have learned over the years that we don't ask enough questions. And when questions do get asked, too often only one group of stakeholders gets to ask and answer them. What would it look like if a diverse group of people offered questions that they would like considered? To find out, I sent a call for tough questions to artists, arts administrators, educators, activists, policymakers and funders.

To get them started I posed some questions of my own that have grown out of many years of work in

urban and rural contexts: What are the cultural impacts of development and the role of artists in gentrification? How do issues of race, class and power play out in this work? What opportunities are available for cross-sector collaboration and training? Within a week, eighteen people sent back a rich collection of questions.

Community Assets and Values

Appalshop Roadside Theater Director Dudley Cocke's question reflects the importance of identifying community assets:

Is there an inventory, based on interviews with the people currently living there, of the natural and cultural assets of the area to be developed? How are these natural and cultural assets related? How should the public, elected officials and developers assign value to such tangible and intangible assets?

Created in 1969 as part of the War on Poverty, Appalshop, an Appalachian cultural center, continues to address economic inequities and community development. Development issues include the legacy of strip mining and the growing impact of prison development, but they also include visions for arts, media and homegrown creative industries that draw on the richness of the local Appalachian culture and place.

Down the road, Robert Gipe and his Southeast Community College students are mapping the assets of Harlan County through oral history, theater and photography. They are asking:

Historically, how has cultural activity helped sustain communities? What kinds of culture/artistic activity would be hardest for your community to do without?

In Seattle, Tommer Peterson is concerned about history as well. The museum where he works, the Wing Luke Asian Museum, engages Asian Pacific-American communities and the public in exploring issues related to the culture, art and history of Asian Pacific Americans. He asks:

How do we value and respond to the history of a place (particularly if that history is unpleasant

or challenging) while designing ways to improve it for its present and future uses?

Wing Luke's practice of placing stories and oral histories at the center of their exhibitions, and its transformation of a deteriorating old hotel in the heart of its Chinatown-International District neighborhood into a new museum, illustrates its own response to this question.

Selma Jackson, owner of 4W Circle, a retail incubator in Fort Greene, Brooklyn, asks a related question:

How can we have new development in communities and not discard the existing programs that have organically created the existing community?

She is a member of the Concerned Citizens Coalition, a group that came together to respond to the BAM Local Development Corporation's cultural district and to develop an inclusive vision for culture and development in the neighborhood.

Inclusion, Participation, Partnerships and Power

Selma Jackson continues:

How can the process of change include all stakeholders at the table for planning?

Maurine Knighton of the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone interrogates the question by asking:

How is 'stakeholder' defined? How does one determine which stakeholders should be included in a development project? When is the appropriate time to extend the invitation?

Others raise questions about what makes for meaningful inclusion and participation. Lori Pourier, executive director of the First People's Fund in Rapid City South Dakota, asks:

How does a city planning office incorporate diverse cultures (including the arts) historically rooted within their communities in a meaningful and respectful manner?

Referring to a "subtle matrix of overlapping values in communities," Wing Lukes Peterson wonders:

Will planners ever learn that including voices of community members in their work means taking them on as equal partners and sharing control?

Judi Jennings, director of the Kentucky Foundation for Women, suggests that we "get

beyond the kind of platitudes that we so often hear about relationships." Arts and museum management consultant Kinshasa Holman Conwill draws on her experience in the development of cultural plans to address the issue of meaningful participation. She offers four challenging questions related to strategy:

What strategies work to bring parties (cultural, community, public, private) to the table, keep them there and honor and incorporate the ideas of all involved? What are the incentives for mutually beneficial relationships among arts, culture, community and the variables of commercial development? What is the role of public sector officials in creating policies that encourage such mutuality? How do we transform the 'art of the deal' from a zero-sum game to a set of real partnerships?

Who Defines Culture?

One of the tough challenges community and cultural development consultant Tom Borrup experiences is:

How to get people in the community-building professions to think beyond western institutionalized art when you say the word 'culture' or 'art'?



Photo by Jose Garcia, courtesy of Roadside Theater

Roadside Theater, Junebug Productions, and Pregones Theater performing *Promise of a Love Song*.

Debora Kodish, director of PTP asks:

How are 'culture,' 'artists' and 'development' defined? Whose culture(s) count/are counted? Who is recognized as an artist? Whose development? Who benefits and who risks in a neighborhood where development is happening? How can development be framed so that truly sustainable, plural, multiple forms of cultural ⇨

diversity, like biodiversity, are in the mix, valued, seen as critical to community health and long-term viability?

Sociologist Hector Berthier Castillo of the National University of Mexico (UNAM) relates this challenge to Mexico when he quotes Mexican author Nestor García Conclini: "The cultural wealth that is appreciated is that of dominant groups: the writings of the peasants, works of poor youngsters are not filed, nor do their humble dwellings receive the attention given to historic sites." Castillo questions the "lofty heights" of the social sciences and academia, finding it essential that "the knowledge acquired and generated by research be directly used to the solution of specific problems." He does this through the Circo Volador (Flying Circus) cultural center, an applied sociology project that focuses on youth creation through rock music, murals, graffiti, radio and capoeira in a tough Mexico City neighborhood. For him, "the real challenge is to convince, negotiate, agree and defend the project from the corresponding authorities. Today we continue sitting in officials' rooms, avoiding being absorbed."

Leadership Institute, follows a group of people fighting city hall for the right to define and preserve viable communities.

Development, Culture and Resources

Amalia Anderson, an indigenous lawyer and activist working with League of Rural Voters Main Street Project, frames her questions around the impact of development on culture.

How does dispossession and displacement from lands/neighborhoods affect the cultural identity of people of color? How can we use the arts to begin to connect local displacement and gentrification issues to a larger, more global conversation about systemic and historical nature of dispossession...and loss of land? How can the arts be used as a tool central to the healing process for those communities who have been 'devalued' through a process of economic development?

Two participants involved in policymaking raise questions about the impact of culture on development. Dee Davis, president of the Center for Rural Strategies in Kentucky, asks:

How do I evaluate cultural work? If I build forty units of housing for low-income families, I have plenty of ways to evaluate the good it does for the community from economic impact to public safety. How do I measure the value of cultural activity so I can justify the investment of precious public funds?

Kathie deNobriga, a member of the City Council of Pine Lake, Georgia, asks:

As an elected official, I'd have to answer a basic question: How do you reconcile using tax money (from the public) on something that is apparently used by only a small number of people?

Pat Cruz, executive director of Aaron Davis Hall, and Tim Tompkins, president of the Times Square Alliance, raise questions related to resources. Cruz asks:

What are the resources, financial and human, that community-based cultural organizations need to affect sustained and stabilizing community development?

For Tompkins:

How can 'popular' cultural and artistic projects—popular meaning more economically viable and less risky artistically—be used to

Photo by Thomas Morton



The Philadelphia Folklore Project documents and supports the city's folk arts and culture

The Philadelphia Folklore Project (PFP) encounters this challenge as they document, support and present Philadelphia-area folk arts and culture. They believe "that the quality of urban life is directly related to the persistence, diversity and vitality of our vernacular folk cultures." PFP has been tracking some of the places where local communities fight gentrification and urban removal. Their new video, *I Choose to Stay Here*, produced in collaboration with the Community

subsidize less popular, less economically viable and more challenging artwork?

Positive Social Change or Gentrification?

Community development consultant Millard “Mitty” Owens asks:

When will we recognize the full value of these elements throughout the development process? Culture and creativity should be integrated from the outset, guiding the process—to facilitate widespread interest and active engagement from diverse constituencies (particularly those typically alienated from such processes), to help us break out of our traditional planning boxes and envision something more creative and unconventional that might better address the community's needs....And we should recognize the lasting social contribution of a cultural component to a development project, such as planning a local museum or cultural center that promotes racial or class understanding in the midst of a rapidly diversifying neighborhood, a ‘graffiti wall’ in a commercial strip rife with youth ‘tagging’ on local businesses; a local theater troupe that addresses community problems and programs promoting respect and cultural preservation.

Urban Bush Women Artistic Director Jawole Willa Jo Zollar asks a question on behalf of artists in the community:

Given that an economically diverse neighborhood is a common goal and given that artists are an important part of the lifeblood of a community, many communities, and Brooklyn in particular, are in danger of losing the ability for artists to find affordable housing. How will you address this issue?

Selma Jackson adds:

If an area is ‘discovered’ by artists, history tells us that development will follow. How can we create ownership for artists and community organizations when they move into areas, so that the constant displacement of community pioneers is curtailed?

Brad Lander of Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) in Brooklyn asks:

What is the line between arts-led community development and arts-led gentrification?

Pregones Theater faces this question as it devel-

ops its new theater in the South Bronx by engaging its community in a discussion about what can be done to prevent the displacement of neighborhood residents. Tom Borup considers “how real estate developers and artists share a lot of skills and methodologies, like seeing possibility in what others have discarded and being able to work with raw materials to create meaning and value that wasn’t there.” For him the question could be:

How are artists and real estate developers alike? And is it fair that they’re lumped together in the category of agents of gentrification?

Amalia Anderson asks about the limits of artist’s ability to be a force for positive change:

How does the impact of the global financial structure, and the role of technology in globalization, limit the artist’s ability to be an agent of change? Or does it?

To that I would add another question:

How do you deal with the possible contradiction between the artist’s role as social critic and the one of being an engine of development? What are the tensions between the art of resistance and community building?

Continuing the Dialogue

I close with a comment from Kinshasha Holman Conwill about our ability to learn tough lessons as well as to ask tough questions:

What do we do when things don’t work out, despite truly good faith efforts, to reduce tensions, repair relationships and carry lessons forward?

If anything can be learned by the thoughtful questions and experiences shared by my colleagues, it is the value of asking questions and learning from one another throughout the development process. Their rich and enthusiastic responses demonstrate that there is no reason to ask questions and learn alone. In fact, the challenges and creativity of joining art, culture and development call out for diverse perspectives and experiences, and multiple forms of knowledge.

Caron Atlas is a Brooklyn NY-based consultant working to strengthen connections between art and culture, policymaking and social change. She would like to acknowledge the help of Kinshasha Holman Conwill in conceptualizing this piece and in writing the call for questions.

Discipline and Disorder by Design:

Berri Square, Montreal

By Amy Siciliano

Developed as an emblem of the new urban aesthetic of creativity, consumption and “culture,” a public space, once a parking lot, in the heart of Montreal’s Latin Quarter attracts accolades from the elite guardians of art and architecture.

But what actually happens in this space has defied expectations. It is a base for street kids, skateboarders and drug dealers, and houses a provisional soup kitchen for the homeless. This was clearly not what civic officials envisioned for this multimillion dollar project. For the past several years, city officials have used various tactics to reclaim the site from the perceived clasp of disorder and chaos. This in turn has triggered a politics of resistance, subverting the dominant urban order imposed on a space that was supposed to help brand Montreal as a new “creative city.”

How the Space Was Designed

Conceived, designed and programmed to showcase Montreal’s *savoir-faire* in cosmopolitan urbanism, Berri Square (now called Place Emélie Gamelin) opened in 1992 to mark the city’s 350th anniversary. There was talk in the press that the concept for the square was “the most ambitious in Canada, possibly in North America,” and that it would represent “a kind of laboratory for a new urban life.” This innovative public space was to be the centerpiece of the City’s strategic plan to fortify the cultural potency of the Latin Quarter, a district east of the Central Business District that houses several of the city’s major cultural institutions.

The anniversary, crucial to the square’s conception, lent strategic political and financial validation to the enormous risks associated with the project. At a cost of \$5.5 million (Canadian), it was the most costly public square project ever undertaken. It also fed into a pattern of unorthodox planning, which included a private contract for its design and dedication of over 10 percent of the budget to a work of public art. The art would serve as a structural element of the space, contextually integrated into the site itself to perform three specific functions: identify the place; structure the space; and animate the square. It

was the first time the City had an open competition for public art, and the winner best followed the aesthetic strategy mandated by the plan, which evaluated submissions based on their “usefulness, functionality and publicness.”

Berri Square signaled the beginning of the increasingly integral role that art and public culture would play in the City’s economic policy. Conventionally, “culture” had been equated with recreation and overlooked as a specific economic strategy. This was reflected further in the City’s preoccupation with the design and designation of the space as a “square.” The City wanted something decidedly more urban, a movement away from Olmsteadian park planning towards an open space that could offer a spectacle of events year-round. A privately owned café on site would service two seasonal programs: exhibitions and festivals in the spring and summer and a skating rink with an underground cooling system allowing it to operate from October to April. The logic behind this seasonal strategy of animation is revealing. According to one of the designers:

The City wanted us to come up with concrete solutions to eliminate the vagrants, the punks, the skinheads—people they didn’t want to see there... So basically Berri Square was designed in the most straightforward manner to be the focus of an interesting kind of city life by a strategy of animation. That is why the ice rink, the café—the programming part of the project—was so important to it. There are some things you can do by designing spaces, but there are other things that are probably more efficient and can be achieved by occupation.

By programming four seasons of activity with festivals, art, leisure and consumption, the City would cultivate a particular public life, fortify the city’s cultural image and stimulate economic development in the area.

But the projection of this abstraction onto a

socially and physically heterogeneous area of the city fractured upon contact. In 2000, the artist, reflecting on his work, commented:

While the artwork was designed to have water cascading down elevated sculptures, channeled through canals, to terminate in pools submerged in the central square, in reality the flowing water primarily served as a place for washing clothes and bodies. Today the canals run dry, in many ways symbolic of the antinomy between the square's intended aesthetic disposition and its everyday value.

The Social Life of a Small Urban Space

The social life of Berri Square today stands in stark contrast to the space filtered through an aesthetic lens of cosmopolitan culture. After the anniversary celebrations wound down, the City awoke to an acute fiscal hangover, and by the end of 1993 the economy was feeling the effects of a prolonged recession. This meant that much of the programming aspect was left hanging, leaving the square's utility to be decided on by users themselves.

According to a Montreal police officer, "If that same park were somewhere else in the city, well that would be awesome, but they put it right downtown—where there are homeless, where there are drugs... Every downtown has a place for this—this is ours."

The unplanned and seemingly more organic elements of everyday life in the square find their roots in the unique social and historical geography of the space and its surrounding environs. The long distance bus terminal is directly across the street and is a busy terminus for transient workers and street kids from the surrounding regions. In addition, the area surrounding Berri Square is home to a variety of services and support structures for the city's marginalized youth, homeless and disadvantaged. According to police, this means that Berri Square plays a strategic role in socializing newcomers:

Street kids come here...from all over on the bus and when they arrive, the first thing they see is the park, and they see they can get their drugs, and from this they get to know the dealers. The dealers tell them how to work the street, and they quickly learn about all the services for homeless people in the area. Here they have whatever they want—medical help, needles, food,

shelter, anything. If I were a homeless person, Berri Square is where I would be for sure.

These social networks shouldn't surprise those familiar with the Latin Quarter. At least for the past 200 years, this area has been home to the city's most disadvantaged. In 1842, Émilie Gamelin, a wealthy widow, transformed a house on the block that was to become Berri Square into a hospice servicing the city's poor and terminally ill. In subsequent years, Gamelin's organization expanded operations to include a soup kitchen and rooming house, with clientele increasingly drawn from transient laborers at the port. But in the early 1960s, the City acquired the block to construct the hub station for the new métro system. All buildings on the site were demolished and the space was converted to a parking lot for the workers of Hydro Quebec—until 1989, when it was tagged for a public space.



Photo courtesy of Amy Siciliano

The element of water, an integral part of the artist's conception, was removed.

Ironically, despite the new aesthetic mandate brought down to convert the space to a year-round spectacle, a local charity still operates a daily provisional soup kitchen in the square. Besides this daily migration, other regular users are street kids, skateboarders and the Hells Angels, who have earned exclusive trafficking rights there, the site of their most lucrative street operations. The visible presence of "undesirables" and their actions has led to a significant degree of social contestations between some users and the police. This debate has centered on equal access to the square by all, appropriation by some groups ⇒

at the expense of others and heightening levels of police harassment.

The City's Campaign to Reclaim the Space

In 1996, the City embarked on a campaign to reclaim the space, not unlike New York City's reclamation of Tompkins Square Park. It began with a zoning amendment to change the space from a square—open 24 hours—to a park, which closes nightly. And that summer

moting the demonstration read, "As the corporate monopoly on land continues to grow, our free public spaces become fewer and fewer. Such is the story of Berri Square. Once a place for all, now closed for business and open only to the well-groomed."

This intervention resulted in the arrest of seventy people charged with illegal occupation of the new *park* and thrown in jail. Deeming the actions by the police unjust, MAJ filed a class action lawsuit against the City only to discover that they had changed the square's designation without respecting their own zoning amendment procedures. In September of 1998, a municipal court judge ruled that the bylaw was indeed illegal. This sparked a collective action lawsuit against the City by those who had been arrested at Berri Square.

Although the designation of the space was eventually changed legally, since then MAJ has become a thriving non-profit organization that provides legal council to help citizens who have been victims of police or judicial brutality (see www.majquebec.org). And Berri Square has become Montreal's most politically active public space, a symbol of resistance for some in the city.

Recently, another form of public art has begun to take shape in the square. Since 2000, a local artist's collective harnesses the square for *Etat d'Urgence*, a "refugee camp" set up each year to draw attention to the rapidly growing global underclass (see www.atsa.qc.ca for a short documentary on the 2004 project). For five days, Berri Square becomes a refuge for the city's own underclass, a place for warmth, shelter and nourishment, and also for art, music and organizing.

These notes are an attempt to locate points of tension within the structural reality of capitalism at work in the city. By tracing one such process in order to render it problematic, we see how local politics works to challenge these processes, as urban dwellers articulate their interests, opposition and everyday lives through spatial practice and resistance. Identifying progressive movements emerging from contradictory urban spaces is a step toward overcoming the challenges associated with them, and, most importantly, toward gauging strategies that work to undermine the new urban order.

Amy Siciliano is a member of the Planners Network Steering Committee and a graduate student at the University of Toronto.

Photo courtesy of Amy Siciliano



Activist organizing in Berri Square.

social profiling by police began to rise. Those targeted were being ticketed not only for being in the space after hours, but also for occupying more than one space on a park bench, walking on the grass and spitting. These offences prompted several youth to organize a group called Mouvement Action Justice (MAJ) to "combat a police campaign of harassment and intimidation...designed to expel them from the downtown park." Their aim was to educate street kids about their legal rights in public spaces. But tensions between the police and the youth mounted and on July 29, 1996, a massive demonstration brought over 250 youth and civil rights advocates into the square after its closure for a collective act of civil disobedience. A flyer pro-

Unseenamerica

By Esther Cohen

I've always been interested in how we see, what we see, why we see what we do. And why something can be invisible until we learn to look. I work for Bread and Roses, a cultural program that is part of a union, 1199 SEIU, the Service Employees International Union. We are a 25-year-old non-profit working people's arts organization—code words for struggling. We are always on an invisible financial cusp. We ask for money and help all the time. On occasion, help comes.

A new camera store opened near the apartment of one of our volunteers, and she reflexively went in, imagining that the man who worked there might give her cameras. She hadn't put much thought into what we'd do with them. She just knew we needed them. We need almost everything. He gave her 100 cameras, and we designed a program called unseenamerica, offering free 12-week photo classes with professional teachers to five different groups: migrant workers, homecare aides, building maintenance employees, garment workers and nannies. The idea behind the program is that so much life around us remains unseen. We just don't see so many of the people who make our lives work.

The first class begins with a big stack of popular magazines. We ask the students to find themselves, to find their pictures or their sensibilities. They don't. Then we talk about how to become more visible, how to tell the stories we want to tell, not just the stories others want to hear.

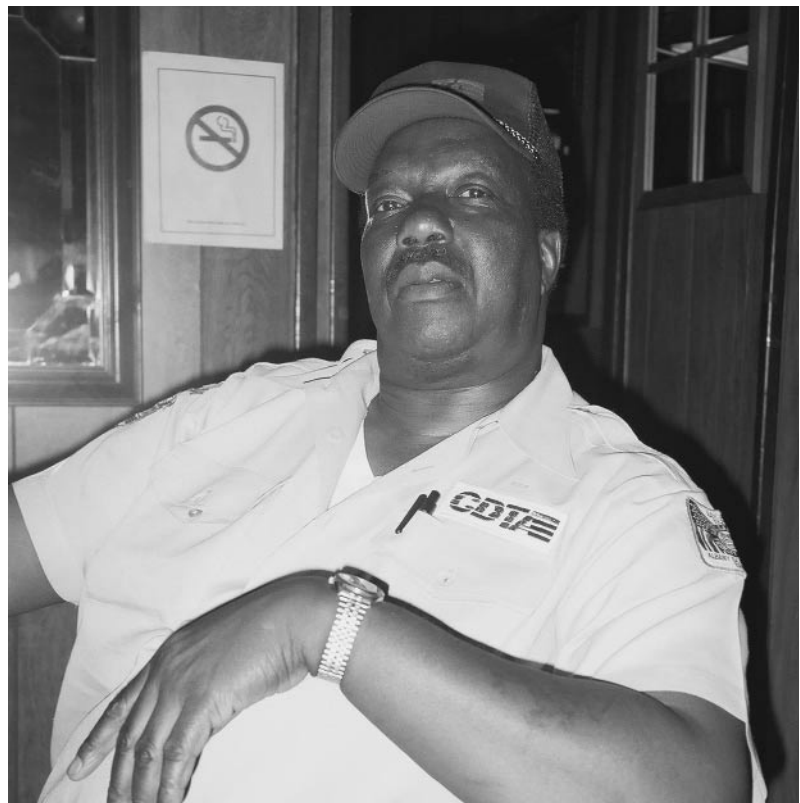
We mounted an exhibition at the Bread and Roses gallery, attached to the union headquarters, and hundreds of people came—relatives, children, many people who had never been to an opening before. At the opening, the new photographers described their images. A migrant worker spent twelve weeks photographing chairs from every angle because she never got to sit down. A homecare aide who worked double shifts for years took a picture of her 25-year-old son's haircut because she missed his first one and felt sorry all those years. A Chinese garment worker, an older man in his seventies, explained that his culture taught him to photograph only happy occasions, birthday parties and weddings. His life had not been happy, so he'd never taken pictures. After a few weeks he understood that he could photograph anything.



Title: Yes!! Back to work

By: Ed Ruede, Electrician (IBEW 236)

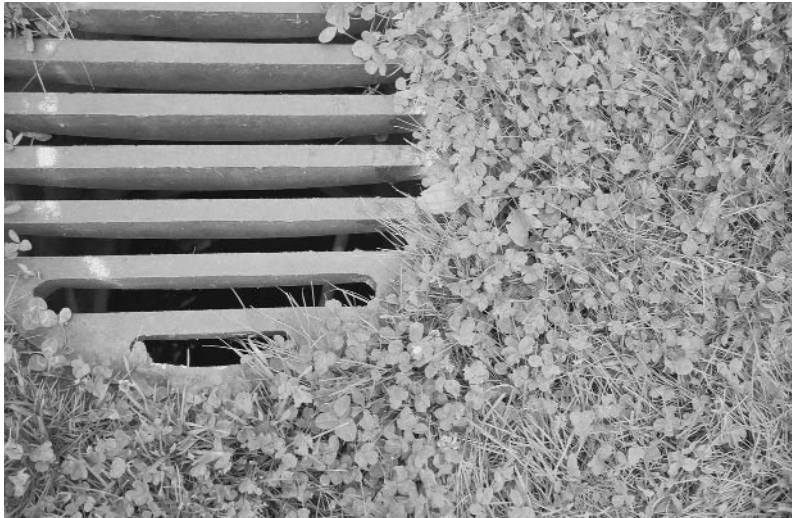
"BEC project on the river in Glenmont. Working four ten-hour days. I am working the night shift: 6pm to 4am. It takes a few weeks to get used to the hours. It looks like work at least through the New Year."



Title: Bus Driver

By: Wanda Lubinski (CSEA)

"Who ever pays attention to the bus driver?"



Title: **Manhole**

By: Suzanne Waltz, Supervising Safety and Health Consultant (PEF)

"Unseenamerica has made me look at everyday scenes, people, and objects in a totally different way. It is no longer just a manhole cover. It is who made that cover, who moves it, and works beneath it."



Title: **Daughter's First Fish**

By: Ronald Taylor, Nurses Aide (1199 SEIU)



Title: **Early Morning after a Night of Rain**

By: Gail Cook, Licensed Practical Nurse, Guilderland Nursing Home (1199 SEIU)

"In the winter it is a dark ride. In the summer it's a beautiful ride. Some mornings should last all day."

His image in the exhibit was a bus full of workers who traveled on a snowy day to join a demonstration. He said it was his first happy picture: a cold day and warm hearts of workers on a bus.

Another woman, who said she'd never spoken in public before because she never thought anyone was interested in her, described how she felt about her camera and her pictures: "I feel like a frog who has finally jumped out of a well."

We've held over 300 classes and exhibits with steelworkers, autistic adults, public workers, formerly homeless men, restaurant employees, security guards and many others. Their stories have been exhibited in public sites around the country. One day we hope to have a very large, dynamic and inclusive exhibit of unexpected pictures, unfamiliar voices, portraits we should learn to create—and to see—of this rich complex society of contradiction and surprise.

In 1995, recognizing the need to reach the children of union members and the thousands of other young people from similar backgrounds through the provision of quality arts education (especially at the high school level), Bread and Roses extended its programming to New York City's public schools. In developing our arts program, we have focused on the exploration of social issues and the stories of inspiring, socially active people of hope and courage. Program topics have ranged from immigration to civil rights, and from the role of labor to the nature of the changing workplace.

By 1998, seventeen sites in Manhattan and Brooklyn served 4,500 students, with over 100 educators trained in how to incorporate the arts into classroom instruction. The arts education program trains teachers from every discipline (art, English, social studies and music) to incorporate the arts into daily lessons, helping them take advantage of the uniquely engaging qualities of the arts and the natural artistic expression of young people as bridges to academic achievement. In addition, teaching artists use a variety of media—including drawing, printmaking, photography, video and painting—to provide hands-on instruction to students during extended day sessions.

By capturing the perspective of unseenamerica, these arts projects will help make people who are now "invisible" visible to our larger culture, policy-makers and lawmakers. And in doing so, this can bring them a step closer to achieving the promise of the American Dream.

Esther Cohen is executive director of Bread and Roses.

A Cultural Policy for Montreal:

Arts or the Neoliberal Agenda?

By Norma M. Rantisi and M. Jason Blackman

The City of Montreal recently drafted its first formal cultural policy. While the policy seeks to link culture with economic development, it uncritically embraces the role of business in the arts and fails to promote the value of art for art's sake—for its inherent value. In the context of contemporary neoliberalism, the balance between the economic value of culture and its other attributes has become an ever more delicate one.

The Link between Arts & Economic Development

In January 2005, economist Richard Florida presented a picture of Montreal's burgeoning creative sector to the city's local board of trade. He suggested that Montreal is well positioned to take advantage of the new economy. Montreal ranked highly among North American cities in indices measuring the size of the artistic community, population density, cost of housing and the proportion of bilingual or trilingual residents. Florida asserted the significance of creativity and the arts to innovation and, by extension, urban economic development and competitiveness.

In highlighting the connection between culture and economy, Florida acknowledged the broader significance of culture and its multifaceted nature. This and similar discourses emphasize how culture contributes to environmental, social and economic goals, above and beyond its inherent aesthetic value. However, Florida's visit also underscored the challenges involved in supporting the arts and cultural institutions. His study of Montreal was commissioned by Culture Montreal, an independent non-profit organization with a mandate to promote the arts and culture in the city. This organization distinguishes itself from established arts groups such as the *Conseil des Arts de Montreal* (which is concerned mainly with the disbursement of grants to local artists) in that Culture Montreal is open to any citizen interested in promoting culture, and it engages in research and analysis to support educational and advocacy functions. Over the past four years, this group has been lobbying the City of Montreal

to adopt a cultural policy, a draft form of which was released around the time of Florida's visit.

The timing of the two events was not coincidental. Culture Montreal has sought to pressure the City to show greater commitment to the establishment and implementation of the policy and to fund it. According to the chair of Culture Montreal, "The media frenzy inspired by Richard Florida will have the net advantage of getting the attention of politicians from all levels of government as well as capturing [sic] the imagination of the business community."

We will look critically at the defining principles of the draft cultural policy and the way it was developed to show the challenge that the City faces in managing and providing adequate support for the arts. Within the context of neoliberalism, the emerging emphasis on economic dimensions threatens to subordinate the arts to economic development and give greater authority to private actors.

Evolution of the Arts: From High Culture to Commerce

Sociologist Lily Kong suggests that there have been three distinct phases characterizing support for culture in Western capitalist countries. In the 1950s and 1960s, the arts were seen as a reflection of economic development rather than a contributor to it. The emphasis was on the professionalization of the arts. Support generally came in the form of subsidies, which were earmarked for major cultural institutions, particularly the "high arts," such as museums, theaters and symphonies. The boundaries between high art and popular culture as well as those between culture and the economy were clearly defined.

In the 1970s and 1980s, culture was viewed as a critical resource for community building. Policymakers and activists recognized the links between cultural assets and social and political agendas, such as the integration of ethnic and racial minority groups and distressed communities. In this period, the existing hierarchies between high and popular art were disrupted, particularly in light of the ⇒

expansion of electronic media and the increasing accessibility of art forms.

It was not until the 1980s that the potential links between culture and the economy were formally recognized. A number of trends prompted this paradigm shift. De-industrialization was a major factor. The loss of manufacturing jobs in low-wage regions created the need to establish new "competitive advantages," as competition could no longer be based strictly on cost. Consequently, products and services had to be differentiated in the marketplace and culture was a means to do so. Since most cultural activities are concentrated in cities, local policymakers have identified cultural industries as a component of their economic development agenda. The recognition of the culture-economy link is evident in the place-marketing initiatives of cities whereby officials exploit local cultural assets and amenities to stimulate tourism and lure investment (e.g., New York City's South Street Seaport or Montreal's Gay Village).

The focus on economic aspects risks siphoning resources away from the emerging artists and non-commercial forms of art.

The growing interest in cultural industries coincided with another significant trend, the slashing of government budgets. Government support for the arts, long viewed as a subsidy, has become an easy target in this period of neoliberal governance. In response to the cuts, arts agencies have been forced to present economic justifications for public arts funding. Arts advocates now attempt to quantify the broader economic value of culture in financial and employment terms. While this approach brings greater prominence to more commercial forms of art and heritage and spurs greater interest on the part of private sector actors, the focus on economic aspects risks siphoning resources away from emerging artists and non-commercial forms of art.

Evolution of Montreal's Cultural Policy

It is within this context that the City of Montreal proposed to draft its first cultural policy. The idea of a cultural policy was introduced as part of a municipal election campaign of what was then (in 2001) a newly formed political party, the Montreal Island Citizens Union. In its program statement call-

ing for a cultural policy, the party acknowledged the importance of supporting Montreal's creative potential: "...culture represents much more than dollars and jobs, but it should be noted nevertheless that it is a major sector of the economy, representing more than \$3 billion per year in the Montreal region alone." The statement recognizes the need to integrate cultural issues into the philosophy of municipal administration, rather than treating them in isolation.

Upon taking power in January 2002, the Citizens Union launched a process for the creation of a cultural policy. To this end, as part of the broader Citizen's Summit, the party sponsored a cultural workshop in June 2002 that served as an incubator for the cultural policy. The workshop included representatives from various arts disciplines, leaders in cultural industries (such as film, literature, recording and multimedia), as well as heritage preservation groups and business leaders. Key issues and challenges were identified, including the need to improve local libraries and neighborhood cultural centers, which could contribute to the broader quality of life and the artistic potential of all citizens.

Following the Summit, the City appointed a committee of local stakeholders, primarily representatives from the traditional arts disciplines. Over a period of twelve months, the committee developed a set of guidelines for the elaboration of the policy, which were released in November 2003. Then, towards the end of 2004, the City released a draft policy.

The draft cultural policy is still being finalized. In its current form, it centers on five primary axes. The first axis is focused on increasing the accessibility of arts and culture by upgrading Montreal's public libraries and by fostering better links between educational institutions and cultural institutions. Secondly, there is a call for enhancement of the city's "living environment" through the development of cultural poles as well as a public art intervention plan. In the third axis of development, there is recognition of the need for greater direct support for artists, which would be channeled through the *Conseil des arts de Montreal*, while the City would deal directly with organizers of major festivals and institutions. The fourth axis entails the promotion of Montreal's image and reputation by maintaining its distinct francophone character while remaining open and inclusive to minority communities. Culture here is seen as a potential trademark for the City to exploit. In the final axis, the City attempts to define what its role will be in cultural development. The City sees itself assuming a

leadership role, although it explicitly states that it does not have “the ambition or the financial capacity to take the place of [higher levels of] government.” It cites the need to diversify its sources of revenue and rely on a diverse range of public and private stakeholders.

Cultural Policy in the Neoliberal Context

When the draft policy came out for public consultation, Culture Montreal was quick to react. Its reaction encapsulates the challenges and pressures that remain in instituting such a policy. As an independent entity, Culture Montreal provided a critical assessment based on the perspective of artists and arts institutions. On the one hand, it commended the City for acknowledging the centrality of culture to urban development and for addressing all the constituents that ensure cultural vitality (including citizens, established artists, emerging artists, cultural industries and public and private actors). However, Culture Montreal also criticized the policy for lacking substance with respect to implementation and financing. Much of the responsibility for cultural programming presently resides at the level of the local boroughs since they are responsible for the neighborhood cultural centers. This begs the question of how the City can coordinate and oversee policy across the boroughs and foster a common vision of development rather than just downloading responsibility to the borough level, where resources are already stretched.

As for the responsibilities at the city level (such as urban development and heritage), there are few mechanisms to ensure input from existing cultural organizations. Culture Montreal questioned the City’s ability to solicit the involvement of business and higher levels of government, and to generate new sources of revenue. How could such an involvement be assured? On *what* terms and *whose* terms? The City has shown little ini-

tiative to redistribute its own resources and to set up mechanisms for inducing and more importantly, *steering* such partnerships. In the absence of these initiatives, the City is viewed as just “handing the job to others.”

These criticisms notwithstanding, Culture Montreal is in full agreement with the City on the need to further engage the private sector, particularly in light of the City’s fiscal burdens and the growing centrality of culture to economic dynamism. The group even suggests that if the City treats culture as a “business asset,” it can ensure business’ participation in all aspects of cultural development. Culture Montreal’s adoption of the culture-cum-economic development discourse and its growing rapprochement with the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Montreal illustrates that even it increasingly views support from business as the new “Holy Grail.” And for its part, the Board of Trade appears to have taken the bait. Shortly after Florida’s visit, the Board published its own response to the draft policy, citing the need to encourage businesses to adopt cultural patronage as a corporate value and to promote networking between business and cultural groups by having business people sit on the boards of cultural organizations. The question and challenge that remains in this context is how the City and non-profit groups, such as Culture Montreal, can ensure that culture is valued by interests that are not solely, or even predominantly, economic.

Norma M. Rantisi is a member of the PN Steering Committee, co-editor of the PN E-newsletter and assistant professor in the Department of Geography, Planning and Environment, Concordia University (Montreal). M. Jason Blackman is co-editor of the PN E-newsletter and a graduate student in the School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia.

**Check out the newly revamped
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Marcuse [Cont. from page 2]

who see profitable opportunities there may rebuild. The poor, largely tenants and to a large extent extremely poor, will not be able to go back, except for the few really needed to keep the economy going. The city will become essentially all white and all middle and upper class. This is, no doubt, a result many in power would not find objectionable.

A New Orleans rebuilt without the poor and blacks may not be far off. According to a report in *The Wall Street Journal*:

Despite the disaster that has overwhelmed New Orleans, the city's monied, mostly white elite is hanging on and maneuvering to play a role in the recovery when the floodwaters of Katrina are gone....in an exclusive gated community known as Audubon Place, is the home of James Reiss, descendent of an old-line Uptown family. He fled Hurricane Katrina just before the storm and returned soon afterward by private helicopter. Mr. Reiss became wealthy as a supplier of electronic systems to shipbuilders, and he serves in Mayor Nagin's administration as chairman of the city's Regional Transit Authority. When New Orleans descended into a spiral of looting and anarchy, Mr. Reiss helicoptered in an Israeli security company to guard his Audubon Place house and those of his neighbors.

....The power elite of New Orleans...insist the remade city won't simply restore the old order. New Orleans before the flood was burdened by a teeming underclass, substandard schools and a high crime rate. The city has few corporate headquarters. The new city must be something very different, Mr. Reiss says, with better services and fewer poor people.

Rebuilding with Social and Economic Justice

There are other alternatives that address rebuilding from the point of view of social justice. The following seven principles should be at the center of this approach.

Make the planning democratic. Planners are taken by the idea of regional approaches, although we

recognize the difficult issues of participation that would be involved in such planning. Yet little that is positive has emerged on how such a process of planning might be concretely undertaken. One possibility might be to make the planning process people-based, rather than place-based. Ask those displaced where they might want to live, and consider relocation planning (perhaps even on a national basis) as much a part of the planning process as reconstruction in place. In the interests of justice, one might also want to treat the wishes of displaced residents differently from those of investors or property owners.

Try a thought experiment. Take the estimated \$200 billion it would take to "rebuild" New Orleans in a sustainable fashion. Divide it by the population injured by Katrina, say 500,000. That's \$400,000 per person, almost \$1,000,000 per household. Aggregate households by key characteristics or interests, for example, by neighborhood. Let the residents of District 9 decide how to spend the several billion dollars thus allocated to them, and so on for each group or interest (except for the World Trade Organization and those with insurance). Would the levees be rebuilt? Would a new town be founded? Would people take the risk of staying? Would minimum repairs be made, and the money used to buy cars for the carless, send children to college or bring families out of poverty? Or would the money be used to start a new life elsewhere?

There are now a number of efforts to organize and give the poor of New Orleans a direct voice in the re-planning of the city. A group calling itself Labor Community United is one of those spearheading that effort. They face major obstacles: not only an elite that has very different ideas from theirs, but a federal government not known for its concern with equity and a constituency that is today largely dispersed and thus hard to organize. Now they, and their allies, need the political muscle to win the major role in re-planning New Orleans that a democratic process would require.

FEMA's recently announced plan to provide 300,000 temporary trailers/mobile homes for refugees from the floods opens a whole range of possibilities. If it is done with sensitivity, planning and adequate resources, it might mean that community ties can be preserved and restored in a new location. Access might still be provided to jobs in the old New Orleans. Resources might be provided to each household to re-establish themselves on a sound footing. The process could also be a practical way of permitting collective, democratic decision-making, since the temporary housing will be in large "communities" that might mirror previous neighborhood solidarities. The newly relocated

communities might then be allowed to plan for their own future, for the replacement of their temporary units by permanent ones, for the provision of public facilities and for all that goes into the construction of a good urban place in which to live. Those that wanted to return to their old neighborhoods could; that is not inconsistent with others wanting to start fresh, creating new neighborhoods in new locations. And those wishing to re-establish themselves outside of the region could be given the equivalent resources to enable them to do so. That might be democratic planning indeed.

Planning, however, seems to be in the hands of firms like Bechtel National Inc. of San Francisco, an entity not in the business of using democratic processes. Now is the time to raise this issue.

Distribute resources equitably. Presumably substantial sums will be made available to help repair damages and compensate for the loss of life after Katrina. But all damages are not alike. To begin with, property damage is different from personal injury or loss. No doubt the rich had greater financial losses than the poor; in judging compensation to the victims of 9/11, awards were based on prior income and income-earning capacity lost, a decision not made in the interests of social justice. Some business losses were covered by insurance; many knew the risks they were assuming, were able to cover themselves against prospective loss and have questionable claims for public assistance (distribution of emergency aid is in a different category). In general, one might differentiate between those who were exposed as a matter of a calculated risk and for a calculated profit, and those who were there simply because they had no choice, economically or socially.

Use federal expenditures as economic development tools for the poor. Federal involvement in rebuilding after Katrina has obvious economic development implications. With the lamenting of poverty and racism, it would be in order to focus on how federal expenditures could contribute to reducing poverty, rather than just compensating for it. That would involve a variety of measures: pay decent wages on all reconstruction work; combine hiring with job training where needed; seek out employment opportunities for the unemployed; plan infrastructure investment so as to foster the best job creation possibilities; and target subsidies where job creation possibilities are best.

Get the respective roles of local, state and federal governments right. Part of this is simply the technical question of reaching agreements, early on, among the different levels of government as to the division of responsibilities. This is a managerial problem. But the resources of the cities and states are

inadequate to deal with the catastrophe. The biggest share of support must come from the national government. Only at the national level can a real socially-oriented redistribution of resources take place; decentralization of fiscal responsibility is inherently regressive.

Don't transfer public responsibilities to private entities. Planning, land use controls, relief and reconstruction should not be privatized. This is not the place for private profiteering by the Halliburtons of the world, or for star architects to be hired to tell the people of New Orleans what their city should look like. According to Peter Drier, "three companies—the Shaw Group, Kellogg Brown & Root (a subsidiary of Haliburton, whose former CEO is VP Dick Cheney) and Boh Brothers Construction of New Orleans—have already been awarded no-bid contracts by the Army Corps of Engineers to perform the restoration. Bechtel and Fluor (firms with close ties to the GOP) have also reaped huge contracts."

The same concern also applies to non-profit groups. The Red Cross and the Salvation Army and countless voluntary and charitable organizations have contributed mightily to helping out in the present emergency. It has long been public policy in the United States to try to maximize the role of private non-profits in at least the social service sector, and there is a growing disquiet, more visible in Europe than here, that such policies lead to an abdication of public responsibility and are motivated by efforts to hold down public costs, and taxes, rather than provide better or more efficient services. There is an ideological component to the belief, assiduously promulgated in some circles, that folks should make a charitable contribution for disaster relief, but the idea of raising taxes for the same purpose is disfavored. However, public disaster relief and planning are classic arguments in favor of an active public sector.

Figure out what went wrong now, and be blunt. There is enough fault to go around—involving both Democrats and Republicans—in terms of rescue operations and past planning, development and engineering. Should criticism be avoided, lest it inject partisanship into a human tragedy? Either one gets specific about who has responsibility or you end up with generalities like "the government let us down," which can easily lead to "you can't trust the government," "we're wasting our taxes" or "you can't trust politicians." Yet in the interests of justice and democracy it is precisely the political sphere that needs to be activated, the participation in politics, electoral and otherwise, that should be encouraged. And if no politician or political party appears that seems satisfactory, that is also an important les- [Cont. on page 35]

Book Review:

The Next Los Angeles: The Struggle for a Livable City

By Robert Gottlieb, Mark Vallianatos, Regina M. Freer & Peter Dreier

Review by Pierre Clavel

Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005. 279 pages (Paperback), \$21.95, ISBN: 0520240006

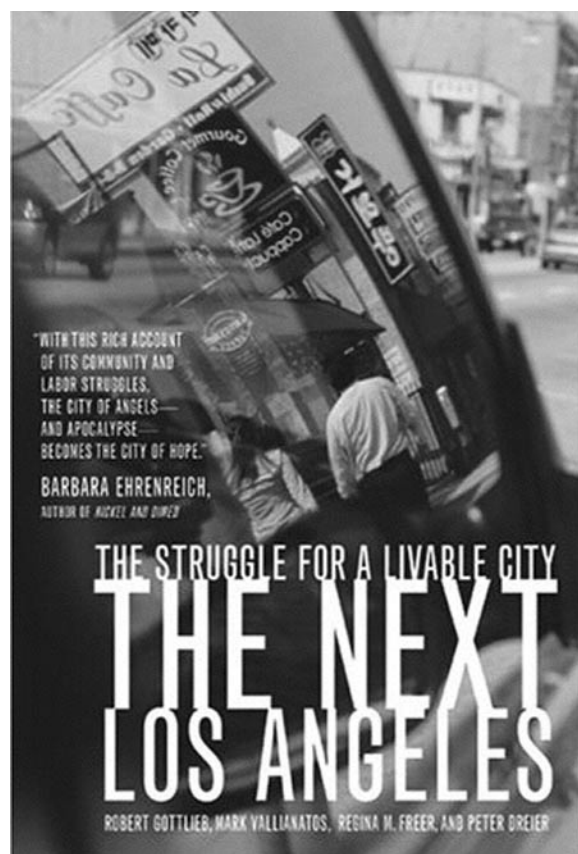
The Next Los Angeles: The Struggle for a Livable City is the stirring, graphic story of how—after efforts going back a century—a progressive coalition came to the brink of power in the nation's second largest city in 2005. The recent election of Antonio Villaraigosa in May 2005 and the prospect of stronger support for many of the

Taken together, these developments encourage the left, as the left has often turned for inspiration to its occasional city takeovers. Harold Washington's mayoralty in Chicago, Ray Flynn's in Boston, the anti-growth regime around Proposition M in San Francisco—these were all notable in the 1980s. There were a number of smaller places in the 1970s and 1980s, and century-old examples like the mayoralties of Hazen Pingree (Detroit in the 1890s) and Tom Johnson (Cleveland from 1900 to 1908). The fact that these victories have been temporary, and the gains elusive for most people, has always cast a shadow on these successes. Skepticism is usually justified. But it would be just as wrong to dismiss a real step forward.

Robert Gottlieb and the other authors of this book have it right. They think that Los Angeles always has its two sides. One is reactionary, the other progressive. Usually the progressives don't win, and the most they get is a fragile balance. Yet there is always the hope of something greater. *The Next Los Angeles* puts us on notice that in 2005 there is hope.

The Progressive History of Los Angeles

Los Angeles has a progressive and radical history, but a lot of it was forgotten. The authors give us a summary. Job Harriman, a labor lawyer and socialist leader, nearly won election for mayor in 1911. The all-but-forgotten Charlotta Bass edited the *California Eagle*, the state's only African-American newspaper, from 1915-1951, and played an important role connecting radical and liberal forces. Upton Sinclair launched the End Poverty in California (EPIC) campaign for governor in 1934, and won the Democratic primary with a record vote before losing the general election. Carey MacWilliams did advocacy journalism in the 1940s. Dorothy Healey headed the local Communist Party and created a "municipal program for Los Angeles" in 1959. Organizer Fred Ross established the Community Service Organization, affiliated with the Industrial Areas Foundation, in the 1950s, and mentored César Chavez and others.



policies that the coalition has laid out give this book relevance, even though it came out before the election and before Villaraigosa had a chance to begin governing. *The Next Los Angeles* is not just an account of elections and administration but a sophisticated political analysis rooted in a fascinating history leading to the convergence of recent advances.

Radicals and progressives came into the public eye in California and Los Angeles in the 1960s, but the authors characterize the decade as “ending in frustration”—in Los Angeles as in other parts of the nation. Activists had rallied around the Bobby Kennedy campaign, only to see him assassinated after winning the California primary in June 1968; this was in the wake of the Martin Luther King assassination in April, the destruction of activist groups and the diversion of national attention to the Vietnam War.

A left-liberal alliance captured the mayoralty in 1973 and held it for twenty years under African-American mayor Tom Bradley. It was far from what the ordinary person might have wanted, but it had some durability. The Bradley regime had begun to fray by the 1990s. According to the authors:

By the end of the Tom Bradley era in 1993, Los Angeles no longer had a well-oiled and coherent corporate power structure....Most local business and political leaders had no long-range vision or agenda for the city. Instead they focused on making local deals. For example, they pushed to construct a subway—which they claimed was necessary for L.A. to become a “world-class” city—and then maneuvered to channel construction contracts to politically connected firms that in turn incurred immense cost overruns. (p. 135)

Nor was the city able to cope with the stresses that were building up, finally erupting in response to the Rodney King verdict in April 1992. Bradley’s response was to hire former Olympics organizer Peter Ueberroth to organize a business-backed, top-down effort called Rebuild L.A. This produced a number of promises, but no real lasting action.

Through the beginning of the 1990s, the picture justifies the authors’ summary comment:

The history of progressive L.A. in the twentieth century—dynamic movements, important policy breakthroughs and a wave of social action, but an inability to extend itself beyond the political moment to establish a more cohesive and continuing alternative to the dominant forces in the region—remained an invaluable, though ambiguous, legacy. (p. 48)

Transition under a Big Business Mayor

With the Democratic candidate unable to present a coherent vision, conservative Republican businessman Richard Riordan won the mayoralty in 1993, promising to beef up the police force. Once in office, his solution to city problems was privatization, pushing city services off to a lower wage workforce. This, the authors say, stimulated a wave of organizing throughout the latter half of the decade, much of it around a series of alternative approaches to “rebuilding L.A.” Eric Mann led the organizing of a Bus Riders Union and the Labor/Community Strategy Center succeeded in getting the Metropolitan Transit Authority to rescind a planned rate increase and provide new services. There was a series of moves to reform welfare reform by softening the effects of the 1996 federal legislation: improving the pay and quality of jobs available to persons off the welfare rolls, provisions for food security and access to affordable child care.

There was an immigrant rights campaign that pressured the Immigration and Naturalization Service to speed up the process of granting citizenship, promoted voter registration among naturalized citizens and agitated against the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 that had been passed in 1994. There was labor organizing, most dramatically the Justice for Janitors campaign that, after a slow start in the 1980s, began to attract support outside the ranks of the workers in that sector. And environmental justice movements, which had been a feature of much neighborhood organizing, coalesced and matured. Most dramatic was the living wage ordinance passed by the city council in 1997. By 2002, these had generated support so that a \$100 million annual Housing Trust Fund was announced by then-mayor James Hahn.

The Convergence of Forces

The authors see a convergence of forces as setting the stage for a possible progressive political breakthrough in the 2005 mayoral election. First was the hollowing out of the city’s business and elite leadership. While Los Angeles was the site of great accumulations of private wealth in the past few decades, decreasing proportions were locally produced or locally dependent. As a result, elites had less reason to involve themselves in the affairs of the city. The result was a vacuum, a loss of vision:

By the end of the twentieth century...most of the resident rich had fortunes that weren’t dependent in the



slightest on the condition of the L.A. economy as such, and much of the major property interests in the L.A. economy were still controlled by overseas investors who had snatched them up in the late '80s. ... Economic elites no longer played a coherent role in shaping the region's economy and its related political outcomes. (p. 163)

Meanwhile, the fundamental force of immigration had produced big changes in the city's economic base and political interests. By the 1990s, the city, which had been largely white in 1960, was racially diverse enough that there was no majority race. But it was the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 that intended to deny the use of schools and hospitals to undocumented immigrants—a policy promoted by Republican Governor Pete Wilson and passed in 1994—that stimulated the main political response.

The authors report that:

By 1995, L.A. area citizenship classes were swamped with tens of thousands of applicants...By the mid-90s, Latinos had replaced whites in the governing bodies of the Eastside towns, and Latinos made up a full quarter of the Democrats' State Assembly delegation. (p. 159)

Finally, organized labor re-emerged as a political and economic force in the 1990s. Leadership came from the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE), which made dramatic gains in membership. HERE and SEIU, the successes of which were tied to immigrants, particularly women workers, led the area's historically xenophobic labor movement to adopt a diverse approach. By 2000, the AFL-CIO switched to a policy pressing citizenship for undocumented workers, and led a mass rally for immigrant workers' rights, headlined by national leaders. And by the end of the decade there was general support for the janitors, as indicated by downtown crowds seeing the April 2000 march:

As the janitors left downtown, observers—few had known in advance about the march—started coming out of their buildings or leaned out of windows giving a thumbs-up sign. After a couple of miles, people watching from the sidewalk started to cheer. Then, as the march reached Beverly Hills, people on the sidewalk—first one, then a

couple, then several—did something that had never been seen before. People darted into the street and handed the janitors cash. Office workers also emerged from high-rise buildings to raise a fist in support or flash a sign of victory. As SEIU official Eliseo Medina remarked, "In the past we were used to getting only one finger, so this [victory sign] was a welcome change." (p. 89)

Wider Implications

These themes—laid out in detail in *The Next Los Angeles*—are reminiscent of other cases of "progressive cities." Disarray among local elites was a factor in the emergence of Harold Washington in Chicago and Ray Flynn in Boston, both in 1983. The long history of activism in the face of reaction was also present. What is new in Los Angeles is the role of recent immigration, the resulting diversity, and the mobilization of that diversity around economic issues. This is something that has occurred in other places, but perhaps not in as marked a way.

One of the great values of this book is the exhaustive detail with which the city's "mosaic of movements" is captured. The authors mention hundreds of movements in the 1980s and 1990s. This is a kind of reverence for history, a reminder that activists today—doing work that is usually unprofitable and lonely—had company in earlier decades, often including people who are still around. Los Angeles may be outstanding in this, but it cannot escape the reader that similar stories exist in other places. One of the functions of engaged academics is to write them and in this, *The Next Los Angeles* is a model for the rest of us.

The authors do not stop at simply celebrating diversity. There is also the question of coherence, how to see all the diverse strands of protest as one force. The authors return to this theme throughout the book. They note the role of Charlotta Bass, who linked "radicals" to moderate liberals early in the twentieth century. They highlight the key resource the city's progressive factions had in Jackie Goldberg—activist, city council member and then-state legislator—who sponsored the successful living wage ordinance in 1997. When a dispute erupted over bus versus rail transportation at a 1998 conference, it was Goldberg who reminded the participants that movements "need to know how to disagree as well as what we want to build."

Coherence among the various strands that might make up a progressive majority in a city has been

an issue in other places. John Mollenkopf's landmark exposition of "growth coalitions" suggested it was fragmenting tendencies that would doom a "neighborhood option" as an alternative political arrangement. Richard DeLeon saw a similar challenge in the anti-growth forces in San Francisco in the early 1990s: They could oppose, but not govern. Various other progressive city governments have fashioned temporary or longer-run fixes to this problem. In Burlington, Vermont the main cleavages are relatively mild ones, but they find coherence in a set of organizations outside of city hall; Burlington has managed to maintain its political coalition since 1981. Harold Washington governed Chicago despite the fragile alliance of the "black" and "brown" parts of his city council support. And Ray Flynn carried on in Boston despite the reservations of supporters of Mel King.

One can ask about the role of plans and similar programmatic statements contributing to movement coherence. The Next Los Angeles includes an appendix devoted to an extensive programmatic state-

ment called "The Progressive Los Angeles Network Agenda: Summary of the Work of Nine Policy Task Forces—April 2001." Other cities have built on such statements, before and after elections. One of the authors of The Next Los Angeles, Peter Dreier, was the main author of *Who Rules Boston?* in 1983. Robert Mier, Wim Wiewel, Doug Gills and Art Vazquez helped create a similar statement in Chicago that went through several iterations, finally as a policy plan for the city administration. Berkeley activists produced *The Cities' Wealth* in 1975, and the Santa Monica's for Renter's Rights produced a *Principles of Unity* document prior to their victorious election in 1983. These sorts of documents, to the extent they come from a representative discussion and work from the different parts of the support system for a political movement, have some effect on coherence as well, because they are written down and publicized, and serve to institutionalize the debates and positions they come from.

Pierre Clavel is professor of urban planning at Cornell University.

Marcuse [Cont. from page 31]

son, and perhaps incentive, for political action. It is, after all, in the political arena, not in the forces of nature or the market, that one can expect principles of social justice to be considered.

If developing wetlands reduced New Orleans' ability to withstand hurricanes, shouldn't questions be asked about who allowed the development? If African Americans are overly concentrated in low-lying areas, or have 50 percent fewer cars per capita than whites, or double the poverty rates, shouldn't that be a matter of public discussion, with causes and responsibilities sought? If National Guard troops are needed today, and 3,000 Louisiana National Guard and 4,000 Mississippi National Guard are in Iraq, is it not appropriate for citizens to consider the implications? It is not some nameless forces of nature, but human agency, that has produced these results. Should not the humans that have produced the results be held accountable?

Don't generalize disasters. All disasters are not alike. Warning systems and rescue and recovery operations may have much in common. It is deceptive, however, to treat both the recent tsunami and the attack on the World Trade Center as "disasters" without focusing on the very different causes of the two. Possibly a distinction can be made between purely natural disasters and purely human disasters, but there are very few of either. "Disaster planning" might well encompass the type of post-disaster issues mentioned above, and might encompass the environmental analysis of risks of key disaster-caus-

ing conditions. But there is no reason to believe that "disaster analysis" or "disaster planning" should be the right approach to look at the root causes of terrorist attacks, wetlands development or port locations. On the contrary, if disaster planning leads to a response to terrorism that is limited to fortifying high rises and installing cameras for the surveillance of public places, or designing concrete barriers with flower planters on top, then it is displacing serious analysis of the human factors that have produced or contributed to the disasters.

Both anti-terrorism planning and flood disaster rescue operations are now under the Department of Homeland Security. That obscures the very different nature of each. It equates video camera surveillance with levees, political intelligence with wetlands protection and suggests that violent extremism is a natural and unavoidable force, like a hurricane, so only its consequences and not its causes can be dealt with. "Disasters" is a category defined by its results, not its causes. It is as if we embarked on an "anti-untimely death" campaign, created a federal agency with that name and put under it everything dealing with AIDS, infant mortality, hunger, war, murder, heart attacks, cancer and traffic accidents. We should be aware of such nonsense, and its political and policy implications.

(See PN Statement on Katrina, page 38)

Peter Marcuse is professor of planning at Columbia University in New York.

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New Orleans: Plan for Racial Equality and Environmental Justice

*Statement by the Planners Network Steering Committee**

Planning in the New Orleans region before Katrina left many people, mostly Black and poor, vulnerable to a natural disaster. They were left behind in the evacuation plans, and many who sought to flee had insufficient resources; in some cases, they were harassed and prevented from fleeing by heavily-armed police and military. They were exposed to environmental hazards and blamed and scape-goated in the media.

Planning for the future of New Orleans is a major concern to progressive urban planners. However, the discussion already unleashed at a national level does not adequately address the basic issues of racial inequality and environmental justice. The following principles should guide the planning process.

1. All those who were displaced by Katrina should have an opportunity to participate in making decisions about the future of the city and region. They should be empowered to decide whether and how the city is rebuilt.
2. Given the toxic contamination of flood waters, a full and complete environmental analysis should be done before people move back to New Orleans, and the expediency of getting back to "business as usual" should not take precedence over public health.
3. The racial divide between New Orleans' central city and suburbs, and among city neighborhoods, should be a central issue in the planning process. Katrina should not become an excuse for a massive removal of blacks and poor from the city, nor should a rebuilt city re-create ghettos vulnerable to future disasters. Environmental justice concerns should prevent the concentration of hazardous facilities in and near low-income communities of color.
4. Need should be the main criterion for distributing compensation to victims. Those who are in greatest need include the poor, tenants without property, children and the elderly with limited assets. Businesses and property owners, especially those who have insurance, should not be the primary beneficiaries of government relief. Efforts should be made to reach out and assist immigrants without exposing them to punitive action by immigration authorities.
5. The federal government's temporary housing for victims should be of the highest quality possible given the circumstances, and adequate physical and social infrastructure must be provided. These temporary communities may well last for many years and become permanent.
6. Public rebuilding initiatives should promote local economic development by contracting with local businesses and organizations when possible and requiring that workers are paid living wages. The rebuilding effort should not be used as an excuse for corporate profiteering, exploitation of workers, or the downsizing of social programs.
7. As the experience of the Netherlands has shown us, it is possible to build cities in coastal areas below sea level and protect them from flooding. However, this is only possible because when there is a substantial commitment of resources by national government, strong regional planning, and strict local land use regulations. Land use planning in the future New Orleans should preserve wetlands, protect housing, and control the location of industries.

***Tom Angotti, Lee Deuben, Josh Lerner, Richard Milgrom, Norma Rantisi, Alex Schafran, Amy Siciliano.**

Planners Network is an organization of urban planners, activists and academics.
www.plannersnetwork.org

For post-Katrina organizing, go to: <http://katrina.mayfirst.org>

PN UPDATES

NEWS

Responses to PN Statement on New Orleans

From **Daniel Lauber** (President of Planning Communications and AICP President, 2003-2005): As usual, PN's statement on rebuilding after Hurricane Katrina does the planning profession proud. It's a shame that the mainstream planning organizations lack PN's sensitivity to the extreme levels of racial and economic segregation that have so hurt New Orleans (as well as the entire nation) in the past and lack PN's commitment to incorporating planning techniques to reduce these levels of segregation in the rebuilding of the New Orleans metropolitan area.

From **Sue Ann Morgan** (AICP, sueann@dmv.com): I'm a planning consultant in Martinsburg, West Virginia. I lived in New Orleans for many years, and I got my masters degree in urban and regional planning from LS-UNO. I am glad to do whatever I can to assist in the rebuilding of New Orleans. If there is any call for planners in New Orleans, please know that I would make myself available to relocate, etc.

From **Alan Feinberg** (RA, AICP, Alan.Feinberg@associates.dhs.gov): I am "embedded" in the FEMA / HUD hurricane Joint Housing Solutions Center in a big, enormous old abandoned department store in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. A high percentage of people here are focused on the immediate, and I, and a handful of other planners and designers, am attempting to deal with the future. I am aware that there are many professionals on the outside, with many years of creative thinking and acting on many of the dilemmas facing us now, who want to help. Unfortunately, right now it seems that they have little access to the decision-makers here or in Washington. I am trying to rectify that. Although I am an architect, planner and urban designer, I see my role here as a weaver of people and ideas. Please feel free to contact me and see how Planners Network can plug in to the solutions.

MEMBER UPDATES

PN members **Brian Azcona** (currently working on his Ph. D. in sociology at the University of Kansas) and

Jason Neville (currently working on his master's degree in planning at the University of Southern California and organizer of the new USC PN Chapter) are both originally from New Orleans and have written an article entitled "Unnatural Disaster: Louisiana's Crisis in Policy and Planning." Here are some excerpts from their article:

Politicians, policymakers, academics and committed citizens have long recognized the dangers of a potentially disastrous hurricane. President Carter created FEMA in 1979 to address the country's worst-case disaster scenarios, and New Orleans has consistently been at the top of that list. In 1995, the International Panel on Climate Change of the United Nations identified New Orleans as the most vulnerable North American city to global climate change because sea-level rise and elevating temperatures of the Gulf of Mexico intensify the frequency and power of hurricanes. The recent destruction of human life, property and one of this nation's greatest historic and cultural treasures demands a critical assessment of how authorities confronted and prepared for a hurricane strike that was seen as inevitable. For the crisis of New Orleans is the quagmire of unsustainability, which is a problem the entire nation faces. Sadly enough, after the realization of the worst-case scenario, it seems the best-case scenario might be that we pause, question and prepare a plan that will work this time around. [...] Our city and coastal areas are indeed unique in this world. While none of these plans presented is a perfect solution for our city and region, they illustrate that our problems are not insurmountable as well as inspire us to pursue an ambitious and creative approach to redevelop the Southeast Louisiana coast and the city of New Orleans. Imagine a regional public works project to reclaim land, build a series of small-scale levees and canals, preserve our unique cultural heritage, re-establish bountiful resources for fishing and hunting—all of which could facilitate an ambitious and cooperative spirit among all of the peoples of Southeast Louisiana.

For more information about the article, contact Jason Neville at jason.neville@usc.edu. [Cont. on page 41]

RESOURCES

PUBLICATIONS

An Atlas of Poverty in America by Amy Glasmeier can be accessed from:
www.emsei.psu.edu/~kolb/amy/Atlas/

Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing Markets: National Results from Phase 1, Phase 2 and Phase 3 of the Housing Discrimination Study (HDS) is available in printed form from 800-245-2695, option 4; or is downloadable at
www.huduser.org/publications/hsgfin/hds.html.

Living Wage Laws in Practice: The Boston, New Haven & Hartford Experience by Mark Brenner & Stephanie Luce has been published by the Political Economy Research Institute (2005). For copies, contact Professor Brenner, Gordon Hall, University of Massachusetts, 418 N. Pleasant St., #A, Amherst, MA 01002; Phone: 413-577-0241; Email: brenner@peri.umass.edu; Web: www.umass.edu/peri.

Neighbor Power: Building Community the Seattle Way by Jim Diers has been published by University of Washington Press (2004). This is the story of Diers' work with communities as head of Seattle's Department of Neighborhoods under three mayors.

(Re)constructing Communities: Design Participation in the Face of Change edited by Jeffrey Hou, Mark Francis and Nathan Brightbill (2005) has been published by the Center for Design Research at the University of California, Davis (2005). To order copies, please contact: Center for Design Research, Landscape Architecture Program, University of California, Davis, 142 Walker Hall, Davis, CA 95616; Phone: 503-752-3907; Email: ida@ucdavis.edu; Web: faculty.washington.edu/jhou/pacrim.htm.

Revitalizing Affordable Rental Housing: A Handbook for Non-profit Owners discusses recapitalization strategies, Section 8 renewals, refi-

nancing and regulatory issues and more. Emily Achtenberg is one of several contributing authors. Available from LISC at www.lisc.org.

Smart Preservation: Preserving At-Risk Subsidized Housing with State Bond Funds by Emily Achtenberg argues the case for preservation in Massachusetts and criticizes the Romney administration for withdrawing state funds. Includes a cost-benefit analysis, case studies and tenant profiles. Available from Citizens Housing and Planning Association at www.chapa.org.

Tribal Consultation: Best Practices in Historic Preservation is a study from the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (2005). Phone: 202-628-8476; Email: bambi@nathpo.org; Web: www.nathpo.org/special_projects-Best_Practices.html

University Education for Community Change: A Vital Strategy for Progress on Poverty, Race & Community-Building, by Andrew Mott is available from the Community Learning Project, 1301 Connecticut Ave. NW, #500, Washington, DC 20036; Phone: 202-822-6006; Web: www.communitylearningproject.org.

EVENTS

November 14-15, 2005. World Forum on Information Society: Digital Divide, Global Development and the Information Society Second Phase will be held at the Renaissance Tunis Hotel in La Marsa, Tunisia. This conference is organized by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) of the United Nations. For more information, visit: www.irfd.org/events/wf2005.

January 9-12, 2006. Second International Conference on Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability to be held in Hanoi and Ha Long Bay, Vietnam. For more information, visit: www.SustainabilityConference.com.

February 13-16, 2006. 11th International Conference on Urban Planning and Regional Development in the Information Society (CORP) will take place in Vienna, Austria. For more information, visit: www.corp.at.

May 17-19, 2006. 3rd i-Rec International Conference on Post-Disaster Reconstruction hosted by CESPPO at the University of Florence and will be held in Florence, Italy. For more information, visit: www.grif.umontreal.ca/pages/ire-homepage.html.

May 18-22, 2006. 44th International Making Cities Livable Conference on True Urbanism & Healthy Communities will be held in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The conference will be co-organized with the University of Notre Dame School of Architecture. Please send a 200-250 word abstract to: Suzanne H. Crowhurst Lennard Ph.D., Program Committee Chair, IMCL Conferences, PO Box 7586, Carmel, CA 93921. Fax: 831-624-5126. Email: Suzanne.Lennard@LivableCities.org. Deadline for submission: December 20, 2005. For more information, visit: www.LivableCities.org.

FELLOWSHIPS

Dissertation Fellowships, the University of Toronto's Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Sawyer Seminar, "Globalizing the Americas: World Economies and Local Communities," is seeking two dissertation fellows for the academic year 2006-07. The seminar will gather scholars from across the Americas to explore the contemporary and historical effects of globalization on local communities in North, Central

and South America, as well as the Caribbean. The fellowship is intended to support graduate students in the final stages of their Ph.D. (or equivalent degree) research in any humanities or social science field. Candidates' research should engage directly with one or more of the thematic threads of the seminar: labor and empire; economy, culture and commodities; migration and diaspora; race and inequality; labor movements and working-class culture; and redefining and reconceptualizing 'labor.' Financial package is \$20,000. Closing date: February 1, 2006. For more information, see www.utoronto.ca/csus/sawyer.

ONLINE RESOURCES

Hurricane Katrina Discussion Forum. In response to requests received, Planetizen has set up a discussion forum to enable urban planners, allied professionals and those affected by Hurricane Katrina to exchange planning-related information. Please visit www.planetizen.com/forum/101.

Green Infrastructure Cost-Benefit Calculator. The Center for Neighborhood Technology has developed a calculator to determine the economic results of using green infrastructure as an alternative to various types of built water infrastructure. Please visit greenvalues.cnt.org.

Guide to Economic Indicators. The Woodstock Institute has published a new online reference to key facts/metrics critical to community development. Please visit www.woodstockinst.org/indicators.php.

Resources [Cont. from page 39]

Jennifer Clark is now assistant professor at the Georgia Institute of Technology. Her new contact information is: School of Public Policy, Georgia Institute of Technology, 685 Cherry Street, Atlanta, GA 30332-0345; Phone: 404-385-7224; Fax: 404-385-0504; Email: jennifer.clark@pubpolicy.gatech.edu.

Cassidy Johnson recently presented her work about temporary housing after the 1999 earthquakes at the UIA 2005 Istanbul Conference (Union des Architectes International). An article about her work and her photo was published in *Cumhuriyet*, one of the national newspapers in Turkey.

Ute Lehrer has joined the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University as of July 1, 2005.

Richard Milgrom has moved to a new tenure track position in the Department of City Planning at the University of Manitoba. The department is developing its concentration in community design and is working with the City of Winnipeg to establish an Urban Design Centre.

Eugene J. Patron graduated from SUNY Empire State College in June (BA, major in urban planning) and took a new job as press and communications director for Prospect Park, Brooklyn.

Teresa Vázquez has recently taken a position in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at California State University of Northridge.

Websites for the arts and community development groups mentioned in articles in this issue of Progressive Planning

Ann Markusen:

Heart of the Beast Puppet Theater: <http://www.heartofthebeasttheatre.org/>
Artspace: <http://www.artspaceusa.org/>
Loft Literary Center: <http://www.loft.org/>
Open Book: <http://www.openbookmn.org>
Intermedia Arts: <http://www.intermediaarts.org>

Jacqueline Leavitt:

GRADO 0: Multimedia counter-information campaigns: <http://squat.net/grado0pae.html>
Ultra-red: <http://www.ultrared.org/>
Ballymun Women's Resource Centre: <http://www.ewm.ie>
Kanak Attak: <http://www.kanak-attak.de/>
Union de Vecinos: <http://www.uniondevecinos.net/>

Joan Byron:

The Point: www.thepoint.org
Sustainable South Bronx: www.ssbx.org
Bronx River Alliance: www.bronxriver.org
Bronx Academy of Arts & Dance: <http://www.bronxacademyofartsanddance.org/>

Tom Borrup:

Community Toolbox: <http://ctb.ku.edu/>
Project Row Houses: http://www.acfnnewsources.org/democracy/row_houses.html
HandMade in America: <http://www.handmadeinamerica.org/>
Nuestras Raices: <http://www.nuestras-raices.org/>
Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum, Chicago: <http://www.mfacmchicago.org/>
Intermedia Arts, MN <http://www.mfacmchicago.org/>
Animating Democracy: www.animatingdemocracy.org
Urban Institute, Arts and Culture Indicators in Community Building Project: www.urban.org/nnip/acip.html
Social Impact of the Arts Project, University of Pennsylvania: www.ssw.upenn.edu/SIAP
Report by Diane Grams and Michael Warr, MacArthur Foundation: http://www.macfound.org/documents/docs/small_budget_arts_activities.doc
New York's Center for an Urban Future The Creative Engine by N.S. Kleiman, New York's Center for an Urban Future: <http://www.nycfuture.org/>
Downside Up, The Listening Tour Project: <http://www.downsideupthemovie.org/tour/concept.htm>

Caron Atlas:

4W Circle: www.4wcircle.com
Aaron Davis Hall: www.aarondavishall.org
Appalshop: www.appalshop.org
Center for Civic Participation: centerforcivicparticipation.org
Center for Rural Strategies, Whitesburg, KY: www.ruralstrategies.org
Circo Volador / Flying Circus: www.circovolador.org
Community & Cultural Development: communityandculture.com
First People's Fund: www.firstpeoplesfund.org
Kentucky Foundation for Women: www.kfw.org
Philadelphia Folklore Project: www.folkloreproject.org
Southeast Community College Harlan County PACT Project: www.secc.kctcs.edu/AppalachianCenter/Program/pact.html
Times Square Alliance: www.timessquarenyc.org
Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone: www.umez.org
Urban Bush Women: www.urbanbushwomen.org
Wing Luke Asian Museum: <http://www.wingluke.org/>

Amy Siciliano:

ATSA: www.atsa.qc.ca
Mouvement Action Justice: <http://www.majquebec.org>

Esther Cohen:

Unseen America: <http://www.bread-and-roses.com/unseenintro.html>

Rantisi + Blackman:

Culture Montreal: <http://www.culturemontreal.ca>

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.

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- \$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.

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Katrina and Social Justice

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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.

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