

PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

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Photo: Peter Zelchenko

The recently closed and gutted Edmar grocery in Chicago's West Town community. Edmar was the last affordable supermarket within the city's central area. Within two years, a Safeway-Dominick's store will open on the site.

America's "Dietary Divide"

By Peter Zelchenko

*I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.
--Langston Hughes, "I, Too, Sing America"*

Lately grassroots and higher-level activity in food access planning has been growing. Americans aren't leading healthy lives because they are overexposed to the standard menu of American mass culture. This has always ensured that food is a top target for reform, and the cost of food is always key. **[Cont. on page 11]**

INSIDE:

GREEN CHICAGO

ORGANIC FOOD

SUSTAINABILITY

PUBLIC HOUSING

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*

Chicago 2006: From City Beautiful to Sustainable?

By Kara Heffernan

Exactly 100 years ago, Daniel Burnham started work on his pioneering Plan of Chicago, which called for the transformation of the city's core into a monumental civic center and the creation of a network of parks, particularly on the waterfront. Burnham's vision of the "City Beautiful" went on to serve as a model for the federal urban renewal program, which resulted in the displacement of low-income minority communities, but did produce a lot of green space. The 2006 Planners Network conference in Chicago, *Tending the Garden: From Grassroots to Green Roofs*, held June 9-11, brought today's grassroots movements into the discussion about new efforts to green the city, including the work being done in the city's neighborhoods that are facing new threats of resident displacement.

Today's Chicago is getting to be known for being "green." Some of this is the legacy of Burnham's plan, but it is also the result of Mayor Richard M. Daley's stated goal of making Chicago the "greenest" city in the country. Since he took office in 1989, Daley has adopted the language of sustainability and started new greening projects. From the perspective of a visitor, it might appear as if he's already achieved his goals. This is especially true if one fails to venture off the well-trodden path of the tourist—the downtown area, the Gold Coast, and the Magnificent Mile. Trees are everywhere. Planters in street medians and on sidewalks overflow with colorful flowers. The lakefront is as beautiful as ever. And then there is Millennium Park, which has seemed to catch the fancy of visitors and res-

idents alike. While the park has its critics—as well it should, given cost overruns of \$350 million dollars and a final delivery four years behind schedule—it's hard to dispute the new life it has injected into downtown.

Grassroots Greening

But there's more to the greening of Chicago than just what has been going on downtown and under the direction of the City. There is much happening in the neighborhoods as well. Grassroots efforts are afoot to transform an old railroad right-of-way into a trail. The Bloomingdale Trail, which runs through several neighborhoods on the northwest side, is being considered as part of an open space plan developed by stakeholders in Logan Square, one of the most open space-deprived neighborhoods in the city. On the recycling front, grassroots efforts continue to get the city to overhaul its dismal recycling program, which manages to garner a participation rate of only 13 percent. A demonstration of a curbside program in a south side neighborhood has proved successful—with a participation rate of 80 percent—and plans call for expansion to other neighborhoods. And as far as energy goes, Chicago is home to the first real-time electricity pricing experiment in the country, operated by the non-profit Community Energy Cooperative. About 1,500 residential customers have been paying hourly market prices to test whether such a rate structure combined with quality information about price increases could save consumers money and reduce consumption. Results from the program have been promising, and the governor just signed a bill paving the way for the program's eventual expansion.

Gentrification and Affordable Housing

Cabrini-Green. Robert Taylor. Stateway Gardens. Chicago's public housing projects gained national infamy, becoming a symbol, [Cont. on page 8]

**PROGRESSIVE
PLANNING**

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Note: All articles in this issue, except for the Jane Jacobs reflections, are based on presentations and tours at the 2006 Planners Network Conference, in Chicago, Illinois on June 9-11, hosted by the University of Illinois at Chicago, College of Urban Planning and Policy.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES: The Planners Network is an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social, economic, and environmental planning in urban and rural areas, who promote fundamental change in our political 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 sexual orientation. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, jobs, safe working conditions, and a healthful environment. We advocate public responsibility for meeting these needs, because the private market has proven incapable of doing so.

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.

Why The Midwest Needs Local and Organic Food

By Lynn Peemoeller

These days it's easier than ever to find organic food at your local grocery store. Move over Annie's and Newman's Own; brand names like Heinz, Tyson and Frito Lay are entering the organic foods sector.

While not every consumer may have a taste for organic Doritos, a market study in *USA Today* showed that consumers are demanding more organic food, with organic meat, fish and poultry most in demand, followed closely by organic snacks. With this increase in demand for organic food, small family farmers are struggling to keep up with "Big Agro," which can easily develop products to supply the market. Yet it's the small family farmers, ironically, who could most use the organic boom to forestall their own potential extinction.

Over the past three years, the Chicago non-profit Sustain has examined organic production and processing in the Midwest, specifically comparing Illinois and Wisconsin, and has concluded that Illinois in particular is not achieving its potential in the organic food sector. While there are a few Illinois companies and farmers doing exceptional work in organics, Illinois has a long way to go to become an industry leader.

Local Farmers Can't Survive on Farming

Given the current state of agriculture, there is little for Midwestern farmers to be optimistic about. The USDA Economic Research Service indicates that in Illinois, 41 percent of farm sales are less than \$9,999 per year; sales are just slightly better in Wisconsin, at 54 percent. This means that almost half of the farms in Illinois and Wisconsin cannot support a full-time farming occupation. This may explain why 1,217 farms *per year* on average have disappeared in Illinois between 1997 and 2002 (compared to 482 per year in Wisconsin for the same time period). At the same time, the average age of farmers is fifty-four, an indication that there are more older farmers than younger ones, as suc-

ceeding generations have chosen different, more lucrative and less taxing career paths.

What does this say about the future of agriculture in the Midwest? In order for Illinois and Wisconsin to retain their agricultural identity and economy, there need to be more new opportunities in farming.

Increased Demand and Value-Based Consumers

The Midwest has some of the most fertile farmland in the country, yet most food travels about 1,500 miles to get to the Midwestern table. Despite this, according to a 2003 study at North Carolina State University, 71 percent of people, when asked, said they would buy food produced locally if given the choice. The problem, however, is that people aren't really being given the choice, at least not at conventional supermarkets. Fortunately, consumers can buy local food directly from farmers at farmers markets. In fact, the popularity of farmers markets has steadily increased over the past twenty years, making it a viable and profitable option for small-scale family farmers.

Value-based consumers prefer to make purchases from companies that share their values. Many are willing to pay a premium for products and services considered to be sustainable. Value-driven consumers want: to support family farmers; buy local food free from pesticides antibiotics and synthetic hormones; support fair trade and fair wages; and to see the humane treatment of animals. Such consumers support local food for a variety of reasons: it doesn't have as far to travel and retains its freshness and flavor; it supports the local economy and family farmers; and it helps save farmland from development. Other values associated with local food include that it is usually produced on a smaller scale than conventional agriculture, that family farmers are more inclined to pay fair wages than big agribusiness and that local food keeps people in touch with the seasons.

Growing Demand for Organic Food, Inadequate Local Supply

Throughout the U.S., there is one piece of good news in farming—the consistent growth in the organic food industry. The Organic Trade Association estimates that in 2005, organic food sales topped \$14.5 billion and that the organic food sector has been growing at a rate of 20 percent annually, or roughly a billion dollars a year, for the past *fifteen years*. The USDA reports that even though less than 1 percent of farms in Wisconsin are certified organic (in 2002), the total value of their production was almost \$21 million, which averages out to over \$37,000 per farm. In Illinois, which also has less than 1 percent of farms certified as organic, the total value of production was \$1.78 million, or just under \$12,000 per farm. These numbers indicate that with the development of the organic agriculture sector, farmers have the potential to get a bigger piece of the pie. Farming could actually be lucrative again.

With the increased popularity of local food, organic food is also becoming mainstream. Organic is, in fact, the fastest growing sector in the entire food industry. A recent Con Agra study showed that 23 percent of consumers buy organic products on a weekly basis. Organic food is now available in 73 percent of conventional supermarkets. The 2004 Hartman Group Study reports that “a surge in organic shoppers has been largely driven by increased access to organic products in mainstream markets, heightened concern about health, gradual emergence of organic alternatives in mainstream brands and an increase in information sources. Lifestyle, rather than demographics, is driving organic purchases.”

According to organic food trend trackers, the top three reasons that people buy organic are avoidance of chemical pesticides, freshness and health and nutrition. Additionally, organic foods do not contain any synthetic ingredients or genetically modified organisms. So who are these organic consumers? It might be surprising. Asians, Latinos, and African Americans consume organic food at levels higher than whites, and many core organic consumers have a yearly income under \$30,000 per year.

In the Midwest, organic food sales are over \$2 billion, upwards of \$500 million in Illinois alone. Still, only 5 percent of organic produce sold in Chicago

comes from the Midwest. While there is obviously a potential lucrative market for local organic food, almost half of Illinois farms stick to an agricultural model from the mid-twentieth century: using unsustainable commercial farming practices; producing commodity crops like corn and soy that are supported by subsidies and shipped overseas; and in the end earning less than \$10,000 per year.

This doesn't make any sense for two reasons. First, conventional farming is unsustainable. It consumes a tremendous amount of costly and polluting petrochemicals while it depletes the earth of its natural biodiversity. Second, farmers aren't getting rich off of corn and soybeans. In a market-driven economy where organics are the big boom, we should be helping local farmers and legislators to readjust their thinking so we can build the organic food industry here in Chicago.

Over the past three years, Sustain has been working on a USDA-funded feasibility study to build the local and organic food movement in the Midwest. We created an Action Plan for Illinois, addressing six critical issues: more organic farmers; farmer training and development; marketing support; distribution infrastructure; access to capital; and public support.

More Organic Farmers

First and foremost, the Action Plan identifies the need for more organic farmers in Illinois and throughout the Midwest. Midwestern organic business leaders would much rather buy from local sources than import from California or overseas. “Illinois farmland produces some of the finest organic grains in the world, and we have many excellent organic producers,” says Lynn Clarkson, CEO of Clarkson Grain Company located in Cerro Gordo, Illinois. “Our biggest problem is that we don't have enough American organic grain. As a result, producers from Chicago and Brazil are beginning to fulfill the huge demand.”

Chicago-based Goodness Greeness is the second largest organic produce supplier in the US, selling to hundreds of supermarkets and retailers throughout the Midwest. While Goodness is committed to buying as much local food as possible, it can't fill all its orders because there simply isn't enough ⇨

product to meet demand. “We are actively recruiting regional organic producers,” says CEO Robert Scaman. “It’s hard to believe we don’t have more farmers that want the substantial price premiums offered in the organic world.”

Sustain and the FamilyFarmed.org Program

Sustain’s goal is to use the *Organic Harvest* report (posted at www.FamilyFarmed.org) and the Action Plan to move Illinois and the greater Midwest towards national leadership in the organic sector. Many of the tools for this kind of work already exist. It will be through collaborative work with our partners and public support that we will begin to see real change to make the food system more healthy, just and sustainable.

Sustain encourages environmentally-sound economic development that creates jobs and revitalizes communities. Since 2000, Sustain has been a leader in efforts to build a regional food system in the Midwest. In recent years, Sustain’s FamilyFarmed.org program has become a national model of building the capacity of local organic farmers, food processors and distributors.

FamilyFarmed.org is a website, food label and EXPO that connects regional organic farmers with consumers and commercial buyers. In 2005 and 2006, thousands of people attended the EXPO to do business, meet farmers and hear nationally recognized speakers. The website is at the center of the project. This is where consumers “meet” their farmers and begin to re-establish connections with their food, their community and the land by gaining access to information about where their food comes from and how it is grown. The food label is not yet reality, but is expected to launch in 2007. It is intended to help create a more transparent food system by providing consumers with information about the people growing their food. Sustain is also working with partners to fund a new-farmer training program to link immigrants with agrarian roots to farming opportunities; to create a farmer wholesale and training manual; and to build support for the Chicago Food Policy Advisory Council.

Farmer Training and Development

Organic farming is a great way to turn around or start a farming career. In order to learn organic farming skills, people must often look outside tra-

ditional classroom offerings available at the major Midwestern agricultural universities. The Action Plan identifies many alternative emerging-farmer training programs that focus on organic and sustainable agriculture.

In addition to good training programs, farmers need access to affordable land. This is a big challenge in the urban periphery as farmers must compete with developers, often losing out because land values are too high. The Chicago Area Organic Farmland Preservation Strategy Task Force is developing a strategic plan to make 7,000 acres available for organic farming by 2020. To realize this goal, innovative programs to protect farmland can be implemented. Such programs might include land trusts, Forest Preserve Districts, Township Open Space Districts, conservation easements and purchase of development rights, in addition to fee simple purchases with leasebacks.

Marketing Support

Once farmers get access to land and learn how to farm, they need to learn the business of farming. The USDA has developed many different kinds of marketing support programs. For non-commodity farmers, most of the support comes by way of direct marketing, which is when farmers sell directly to consumers, and includes farmers markets, Community Supported Agriculture farms (CSA), mail order programs, internet outreach, agro-tourism and other clever ways for farmers to interact with consumers. For years direct marketing has been touted as an alternative to conventional agriculture markets and has become a significant source of income for many organic and diversified farmers. The difficulty of direct marketing, however, is that farmers must contribute much of their own labor in addition to the farming.

As an alternative to direct marketing, the Action Plan recommends building direct connections between farmers and wholesale markets—in other words, strengthening the middle of the food chain. Illinois farmers are in direct competition with the global food system in the wholesale market. In order to build local capacity, farmers need to be trained in post-harvest handling techniques so that harvested food is safe and fresh to eat by

the time it reaches the consumer. They also need to identify outlets for their produce. A significant accomplishment would be to create a database of Midwestern wholesale and processing outlets. Additionally, universal packing standards need to be developed and shared with farmers.

Distribution and Infrastructure

The Action Plan recommends the full development of a distribution and marketing infrastructure as a key component of building a regional food system. This includes urban and rural warehouses, storage facilities, packing facilities and farmer-owned cooperatives. Such a system existed in the Midwest fifty or more years ago when Illinois and neighboring states produced much more of the fresh food consumed in the region. In order to maximize the production, processing and sales of local and organic food, key elements of the system will need to be strengthened by bringing twentieth century technology and supply chain management skills. There is a good opportunity for investors to strategically work with this system.

In Illinois, there is also an immediate need for a meat and poultry processing facility that is licensed as organic and able to handle product from small independent farmers. The only remaining poultry facility will be closing in the summer of 2005, and to process livestock, farmers have to truck it as far away as 100 to 200 miles to have it processed and then shipped back to store and sell. In order to meet consumer demand for local and organic animal products, the Action Plan proposes a multi-species meat and poultry processing plant in downstate Illinois that would have capabilities for extensive traceability, accurate labeling, state-of-the-art sanitation, certified organic handling and value-added products like animal food. Construction of a facility like this has the ability to boost and retain entrepreneurial small-scale livestock production and provide jobs.

Access to Capital and Financing

Access to capital and financing plays a big role in the development of farm businesses. Through the Farm Credit System, banks need to increase lending to organic and diversified farmers instead

of categorizing such lending as an increased risk, as is the general practice. Small-scale organic farmers use capital as cash flow to help sustain operations while targeting direct markets and mid-level markets. These farmers need more financing opportunities because as organic growers they don't have access to USDA crop subsidies, price supports or disaster payments associated with commodity crops.

Public Support

Public support is needed for the local and organic food system. USDA and state agriculture funding can encourage organic and small-scale production and support the transition from conventional to organic agriculture. The state-funded extension service can increase its support and knowledge base for organic and diversified crops, while urban planners can help protect farmland by working with local developers and land trusts. State and local food policy councils are another avenue of public support that involves people in the community who are concerned with food and sustainability, economic development and food access. To accomplish these goals, there needs to be collaboration between academics, NGOs, retailers, restaurants, distributors, processors, policymakers, supermarkets, natural food stores, co-ops and buying clubs.

One important development in Chicago has been the idea of a permanent downtown public market. Mayor Richard Daley is interested in this as a legacy project and the planning process has already begun. Civic investment in a year-round public market would support local farmers and be a draw for residents and tourists.

Adapted from a presentation entitled "Organic Harvest: An Action Plan for Local, Organic and Family Farmed Foods in Illinois" in the "Restoring the Urban Foodshed" conference session at the Planners Network 2006 Conference. Lynn Peemoeller is program director at Sustain, where she works on projects that support sustainable agriculture, strengthen the local food system and encourage environmentally sound economic development. She is also an officer of the Chicago Food Policy Advisory Council.

7th Generation cont'd from page 2

especially favored by the Republicans, of all that was wrong with urban America. That symbol has almost disappeared from Chicago's landscape. In its wake there are new mixed-income, mostly low-rise, neighborhoods, funded by HUD's HOPE IV program, and on a scale seen nowhere else in the country. While many neighborhoods are seeing new public and private investment for the first time in years—in schools, grocery stores, libraries and other such facilities—many of the residents who might have reaped the benefits of

of these neighborhoods that means primarily Latinos—have felt their communities and cultures threatened. Particularly at-risk are those of modest incomes, given the city's dearth of affordable housing options. A recent study found that a third of all households in Chicago are cost-burdened because of high housing costs. This includes almost three-quarters of those earning less than 30 percent of the Area Median Income (AMI); half of those earning between 31 percent and 50 percent of AMI; and just under one-third of those earning between 51 percent and 80 percent of AMI. Another study found that among just working families, those earning between \$20,000 and \$50,000, half find themselves living in places made more expensive by transportation costs. For these families, the best case scenario shows them paying about 53 percent of their income on housing and transportation combined. For many others it's closer to 60 percent.

Photo: Tom Angotti



A bicycle tour of Chicago neighborhoods was one of the many Friday tours offered as part of the Planners Network 2006 Conference.

such investment have moved on, priced out of and displaced from their former neighborhoods as subsidized units have been replaced by market-rate ones.

While entirely new neighborhoods are rising from the ashes of former public housing sites, many existing neighborhoods are also experiencing rapid change. From Pilsen and Little Village on the south side to Logan Square and Humboldt Park on the west side to Uptown on the north side, the wave of gentrification pressure continues to radiate outward from the downtown core. As new populations of greater economic means have moved in, existing populations—in most

Sustainable Transportation

In late 2005, legislation was passed to merge the Chicago region's land use and transportation planning agencies to form one agency, something local groups had been advocating for over a decade. The agency, just renamed Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, or CMAP, has its work cut out. Though the region has the second largest mass transit system in the country after New York City, it also usually winds up near the top of the list year after year for places with congestion problems, and sprawling development continues to go unabated. A funding crisis last year saw the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) threaten to slash service and raise fares. The legislature finally came through with a bailout, but the solution was only temporary and long-term solvency remains an issue, though structural solutions—revising the funding formula for transit—are being considered. Despite funding issues, a controversial new rail line was just launched in June by the CTA with the intent of improving service to parts of the West Side, but it's come under fire from those residents who are now seeing less frequent service as a result.

But there are some positive signs on the transportation front. The region just completed a successful public involvement process to

get feedback about what transportation projects should be priorities in the coming years. Alternative transportation is catching fire. Chicago is developing an extensive network of on-street bike lanes. Car sharing, which first came to Chicago in 2002 in the form of the non-profit I-GO, is seeing a new player, ZipCar, enter the market, and I-GO has been experiencing record growth. And as for cyclists, especially those commuting, they seem to be more visible this year than ever. And development that makes better use of the region's transit assets in the form of transit-oriented development seems to be picking up steam. This is especially the case in some of the suburbs, but also in the city, as the impressive Bethel Center models on the West Side's Garfield Park neighborhood.

The Conference in the Neighborhoods

Against this backdrop, the 2006 conference drew hundreds of students, practitioners, activists, and academics from across the US and Canada, and some from as far away as Argentina, England, Lebanon and Mexico. On Friday, attendees could choose from seven theme-based or neighborhood-based tours, affording them opportunities to learn about issues like Chicago's labor history, public art and cycling in Chicago, in addition to those issues highlighted above.

After a day of tours, attendees were treated to a taste of one of Chicago's neighborhoods rich in history, Pilsen, on the near Southwest Side. Pilsen, first settled by the Germans and Irish who came to work on the railroads and canals in the 1840s, was eventually given its name by the Bohemians who came to call the neighborhood home toward the latter part of the nineteenth century. The working classes who populated the neighborhood over the years had a strong sense of worker's rights and activism, and as a result Pilsen played an important role in the birth of the Labor Movement in America.

After becoming a neighborhood home to many ethnic groups, that Mexican population took hold in the 1950s and 1960s, in part from the nearby expansion of the University of Illinois and residential displacement it caused. Displacement is a

threat again, however, as higher-income households, many white, many artists, have moved into the neighborhood seeking low rents and proximity to downtown.

The Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum, where Friday night's activities were held, was founded in 1982 out of a desire to stimulate and preserve the appreciation of the Mexican culture within the city's large Mexican com-



The Urban Conservancy's Edward Melendez speaks at the Planners Network 2006 Conference Plenary about the issues facing planners and advocates working to rebuild in New Orleans and the rest of the Gulf region after hurricanes Katrina and Rita.

community, and to educate those outside the community. Today it is the nation's largest Latino arts institution and the only Latino museum accredited by the American Association of Museums. At the museum, participants had the opportunity to dine on traditional Mexican fare and hear from a local Latino leader, Juanita Irizarry. Juanita, who is leaving a post at Latinos United, Chicago's Latino fair housing group, discussed her thoughts about and relationship with the planning field over the years. Juanita was followed by Columbia University's Peter Marcuse, who gave brief remarks about progressive planning and about what a progressive planner is—foreshadowing a conference session on the same topic that ended the conference. And lest the content of the evening be considered too heavy, the professional break dancing crew Brickheadz treated attendees to a spirited performance. ⇨

Conference sessions got underway on Saturday, and if the topics of conference sessions are any indication of their relative importance, housing, community development and gentrification collectively proved to be the most important. Ten sessions were devoted to this category, while other conference sessions seemed to cluster in a number of other areas: planning education and university-community partnerships (4 sessions); participatory planning (4 sessions); and transportation (3 sessions).

Photo: Tom Angotti



The Planners Network organizing meeting at the 2006 conference. For more details about the issues discussed at this session, see the wrapup on page 26 of this issue.

On the Ground in New Orleans

Saturday's plenary session provided attendees with an on-the-ground snapshot of what has been transpiring in New Orleans with regard to rebuilding. First Geoff Coats and Edward Melendez, co-founders of the Urban Conservancy (UC), talked about the climate of the city before and immediately following Hurricane Katrina, as well as the history of the UC and its current work as it relates to Katrina. The UC was founded in 2001 to carry out research, education and advocacy to promote the wise stewardship of the urban built environment and local economies.

Ed talked about the road that led to his founding of the UC, a fight over a proposed Walmart

that would use city tax dollars, squander limited riverfront real estate and displace thousands of public housing residents. The fight was ultimately lost, but important lessons were learned in the process and then applied by the UC to other issues, including defeating attempts to privatize the New Orleans water supply, in coalition with Public Citizen and ACORN; advising neighborhoods on how to require developers to submit to design reviews; and developing a campaign called Stay Local! to support locally-owned businesses.

Geoff Coats detailed the Stay Local! effort in more detail. He said it is based around the idea of sustainable economics and UC's understanding of what that might look like in the unique environment of New Orleans, where locally-owned businesses, many of them small, occupy a critical economic and cultural space, and where challenges existed even prior to Katrina. UC has been targeting several neighborhood corridors, creating tools and processes that could be quickly and easily adapted and scaled to other areas, and building coalitions that could work with the city and state leadership to create an environment more amenable to locally-owned and operated businesses.

Dan Etheridge closed the plenary with a discussion of post-Katrina rebuilding initiatives. Dan directs the Tulane City Center, which houses the School of Architecture's urban research and outreach programs. The City Center houses URBANbuild, a community design and construction program that is supporting grassroots post-Katrina rebuilding efforts. Dan discussed the progress of URBANbuild, as well as the leadership role it has taken in consolidating Tulane's academic resources and connecting them to the efforts of community organizations as well as local, regional, and national governmental authorities.

The conference ended on Sunday with a well-attended session on PN organizing. In break-out sessions, attendees discussed membership, chapters, conferences and publications. More details about this session can be found in the wrapup article on page 25 of this issue of Progressive Planning Magazine.

Zelchenko cont'd from page 1

The Past: Healthy Skepticism About Food Systems

Skepticism about food systems is not a new trend. Its roots go back to the Industrial Revolution. By the mid-nineteenth century discontent with company food store pricing and quality led garment workers to form the first food cooperatives in England. A century later, America's social democratic movement of the 1930s brought us our own food co-ops. By the 1960s and 1970s, a back-to-the-land counterculture was accompanied by an urban organics movement that entered mainstream culture, the vestiges of which remain in the form of such products as granola, yogurt and tofu—food items virtually unheard of in America in the 1950s.

In the last twenty years, as urban areas have experienced new reinvestment, the middle class has seen a visible rekindling of interest in good quality food. Everywhere we are seeing green markets, local-foodshed organics and slow food, and in every American city there are people and institutions who have served as linkages from period to period, almost monastic devotees to tradition.

Present: Apples and Oranges

This latest period has raised awareness about the weak nature of healthy food access and food education for the poor. This has led to the identification of a “dietary divide,” yet another setback factor for the underprivileged, alongside inadequate access to education, housing, transportation and jobs, to name a few. This demographic is also considered highly vulnerable to suggestion by corporate marketing and without the time it takes to plan and prepare healthy meals.

Near Chicago's infamous housing projects along the Dan Ryan Expressway, the only grocery store within walking distance has an entire aisle that is supposed to be for fresh fruits and vegetables, but the shelves contain not a single vegetable, only a few gallon jugs of a colored sugar water and citric acid mixture labeled “fruit juice.”

When I asked recently why they have no apples or oranges, the owner replied, “They don't sell.” Even in poor areas where there are apples and oranges, they are often overpriced and of low quality, according to Daniel Block, the Chicago State University demographer who has studied the West Side neighborhood of Austin.

A recent high-profile study in Chicago, done by the Metropolitan Chicago Information Center, showed food-access “deserts” in the poorest areas where there is crippling supermarket disinvestment. The study, bizarrely enough, went on to argue that the solution was more large, nationally run “hypermar-



Edmar, in business since 1984 with two locations in Chicago's West Town, ceased operation in June to make way for a Safeway-Dominick's store three times its size. The new store will feature a Starbucks, a bank, a bakery and a florist. Edmar will lease the land to Dominick's. While deftly navigating a public relations minefield, Dominick's and the alderman revealed a community benefit plan for only \$50,000 over five years, which amounts to \$10,000 per year.

kets.” Many planners would argue that such a solution is not in line with the new urbanist commitment to appropriate scale and locality, and to building a local economy. To put this all in perspective, around 1914 there were an estimated fifty neighborhood food stores per square mile, an average of one on almost every street corner. In the 1930s, there were twice as many per square mile. Today, in ⇒

our so-called retail deserts, we count ourselves fortunate if there is even one.

The Future: Food Access Planning

On the recent recommendation of numerous academics and activists, who expressed concern about the fate of food access in Chicago, city officials convened a commission whose task it is to study these problems in greater depth. Although our vaunted Supermarket Task Force

Photo: Peter Zeichenko



Artificially flavored fruit juice dominates the vegetable aisle at the very popular Primeway on South State Street. In the shadows of the projects, Primeway is the only local grocer. When asked why they don't sell fruit like apples and oranges, the management told me, "It doesn't sell."

has already lost much of its steam, it may represent the first glimmer on the waves of American municipal governments taking some leadership role in solving problems of food access.

The most promising activity in Chicago has been on the ground. Activism and education are taking root in even the most at-risk neighborhoods. While strains of the 1960s "yogurt culture" have survived within America's largely white middle class, groups coordinated by the Consortium to Lower Obesity in Chicago Children (CLOCC), based at Children's Memorial Hospital, have been taking the healthy food dialogue to inner-city families. CLOCC's 1,000+ participant organizations are attempting to promote healthy eating in the trenches of Chicago by conveying

positive messages about healthy food to children between three and five years old, directly through children's schools and their parents. CLOCC is also promoting breastfeeding.

Inequities in Access

In my own contact with many poor African-American families, I have seen that food habits are based very little on nutritional value, much more on cost and ease of preparation. Still, grandparents understand the foodways of the old South and have great reverence for traditional foods like collard greens, legumes, humble cuts of pork and whole grains. These products can be had cheaply enough in most cities by the savvy shopper—yet they need to be prepared consistently enough to compete with a Burger King Whopper. But how exactly does one market such a food to grandkids, especially when such food, and much of the food of slaves and poor *campesinos*, is also often the most difficult to prepare? Greens, for example, take hours to stew tender, and a white activist, bent on promoting crunchy greens quick-chowed in canola oil, will never convert a black grandfather from his time-honored ways involving hours at the stove with pork fat, vinegar and brown sugar. His is still an enormously healthful product, and comforting to the weary soul.

Grandparents are still willing to buy and prepare traditional foods—and in many families they still do—but to find the products they need at a good value near their homes is becoming increasingly difficult. The problem is especially pronounced among African Americans, but Latinos also have less access and a great deal of child-oriented marketing to contend with. The point, however, should be clear: a significant number of families have some of the resources to help spark a cultural change.

The challenge standing in the way of healthy eating is not in what we serve on special occasions, but in what we serve every day. How can we bridge this dietary divide, merging the heart of food activists with the science of progressive planning towards praxis that is useful to those most at risk?

Very slight modifications to favorite recipes still result in products of almost identical flavor, with improved health benefits. Prepared greens, for example, already an ideal source for vitamins, iron and calcium, can be made with more canola oil and less pork fat. Delicious refried beans, an otherwise unbeatable source of fiber and protein, can be made with olive oil for everyday use, and *abuelita* can still use her *manteca*, the prized pork fat, for special occasions. Here is the key: moderation, through the will to re-elevate things to a special place.

The solution lies where the rubber meets the road—the food on the table—and the culture of acceptance and the discipline to consume it must come from family and school. From a marketing standpoint, this is doable, as groups like CLOCC are proving. Healthy products, from scratch ingredients or prepared, must be made readily available and priced as competitively as the always readily available unhealthy food. From a political-economic standpoint, this is also doable, but it must be supported through public policies.

Towards Supply Equity

My own involvement in this area has been twofold: first, to attempt to craft public policy that brings basic services like healthy, affordable supermarkets and restaurants to at-risk communities; secondly, to explore how homemade food, from basic ingredients, can again be made a self-righteous claim in respectable households.

Getting good supermarkets and restaurants into a neighborhood requires public pressure. Flying under the radar of many planners are the maverick independent supermarkets of 10,000 to 20,000 square feet, which evolved from the mom-and-pop corner stores of the early nineteenth century. These stores achieve economies of scale as members of wholesale buyers' clubs, which provide house brands and competitive discounts for many staples. Several studies, including two of my own, have confirmed that these local independent stores are around 20 percent cheaper than the large stores run by national chains such as Safeway, Albertsons and Wal-Mart.

These local independents are owner operated and often family run, and they typically own their land. Accordingly, in the gentrifying ring around Chicago's downtown core, they are dying off as retiring owners sell or lease their land—the land grab is less of a hassle than coaxing wayward children to take over the family business. Hypermarkets of 60,000 square feet and up (called “small” among national chain execu-



Photo: Peter Zelchenko

On an earlier visit to Primeway, there were only a few cucumbers. Now, at summer's peak, there are about 15 pounds of vegetables sequestered in a meat cooler in the rear of this popular store. The shipment - well below the recommended weekly intake for a single family of four - are all that is available to the 2,700 residents of the surrounding projects. Prices range around three times what one can find at a discount fruit stand, and a special request must be made to have someone retrieve these from the cooler.

tives) have been supplanting these neighborhood stores, a trend supported by city development policy. In June, Edmar Groceries, the last affordable independent in Chicago's 30 square-mile ring of gentrification around its central city, closed its doors. On its footprint will be a luxury Safeway Dominick's store more than three times Edmar's size, with a massive parking lot on the roof and a Starbucks inside. In an odd twist, Edmar's owners, veterans of the grocery industry, will now become landlords to Safeway—burying their collective 150 years of experience underneath the foundation of a new building. Notwithstanding the fate of Edmar, there are still many of these smaller independents thriving just outside the ring of gentrification. ⇨

This suggests that the business model of locally owned independents is still quite viable if only the cost of land can be dealt with.

I am working with Mrs. LaDonna Redmond of the Institute for Community and Resource Development to draft a plan to encourage right-sized grocery players to lease land in mixed-income areas and to enter blighted areas. In our plan, the city will consolidate some of its land

dromats, gas stations, even restaurants focused on serving healthy food—may be included in the plan. Density will be a key factor: to spur walkable competition, two of any type of institution, ideally, should be sited within a half-mile walk of any point in the city.

Picture a CDC leasing its 30,000 square-foot parcel to an independent grocer. The grocer commits to the city that it will sell 100 essential foodbasket items at or below the city's average price. The grocer also commits to the CDC that it will always stock certain specialty items, such as our collard greens, at or below the city's average price. It also promises to maintain a kitchen for free public cooking demonstrations sponsored by the CDC, restaurants and service agencies.

Cooking by Heart: Expelling the Market Toxins

My other effort has been to attempt to reconnect people with the experience of everyday food preparation. Americans are taught through commercial folklore to stick with prepared foods, and to leave the cooking and packaging to the experts. This phenomenon has crept into the culture so completely that now even water is bottled, and there is actual, palpable fear of drawing water from a tap. Don't even think about buying a bag of flour, unless it is to slavishly follow a specific cookie recipe once a year. Try not to concern yourself with the flour's true nature, and for heaven's sake stay the hell away from yeast! This is the sad flip side of marketing prepared food.

My experience has been that when ingredients and processes are once again demystified, a new satisfaction will come from knowing about cooking. Again, the problem is connected with popular cultural perceptions. For example, whereas twenty years ago the cooking shows on public television, such as *The Frugal Gourmet* and others, patiently took the mystery out of simple, everyday food preparation, most programs on today's Food Network seem to promote a culture of paralysis, where it is less taxing to sit on the couch and watch overhyped, high-class aficionados whip up fancy food than to get into the kitchen oneself. Even the ostensibly "do-it-your-

Photo: Peter Zelchenko



Business is booming for Primeway on Chicago's Near South Side, in the heart of Chicago's infamous housing projects. But just a few bags of potatoes and onions occupy the store's vegetable aisle. What is promoted in the store are cheap bags of snack chips, fruit juice, white bread, and an entire aisle of sugar-sweetened breakfast cereals. But even these are offered at vastly inflated prices, because Primeway has an effective monopoly on the area.

holdings into larger parcels sited in places of greatest need, typically where the land values have gone too high or too low for investment. The parcels will be bound by covenants on their use, based on specific public need. The land will be entrusted to community development corporations (CDC) who will bind their leaseholders with further covenants, in exchange for leasing the land to them at below-market prices and city-financed tax incentives.

Preference will go to locally owned businesses and priority will be given to firms that commit to minority hiring. Healthy, affordable food access will be priorities for the city and the CDCs. Other essential businesses—pharmacies, laun-

self” types like Rachael Ray and Alton Brown seem to numb the senses unaccountably.

I prefer to show students that cooking can be very easy and uniquely satisfying once we are comfortable with just a few basic tools and emboldened by knowledge about the ingredients. We look at grains, legumes, vegetables and meats in an effort to understand just what they are and how and why they need to be prepared. We’ve learned that the tedious prescribed measuring typical in recipes is rarely absolute. Even things like baking powder, yeast and salt can usually be estimated. We’ve recaptured a “feel” for food preparation and taken pride in that knowledge, in addition to learning that hundreds of foods can be made easily from a few basic ingredients.

To connect this to food access, I have been quite sanctimonious about our right to get healthy ingredients at rock-bottom prices. Once a cook is not intimidated by cooking from scratch, once a cook understands the nature of, say, grains, he or she can tend to disregard three-quarters of the typical supermarket—the cookie, bread, pastry and cold cereal aisles—and for the most part monitor only the price of a few old-fashioned “dry goods” like flour, rice, corn meal and rolled oats. And, when they understand the food preparation process, they become experts

when they do consider purchasing packaged food: Why must I buy these oatmeal cookies, encrypted in three layers of plastic, for \$3.50 when I can make better ones this weekend with my children for 35 cents? From simple ingredients, and with increasing confidence, a hundred ideas and choices come into the cook’s head, and even cookbooks become almost irrelevant. Knowing the true secrets of cooking is a point of great pride for many people.

Healthy eating is a basic right as well as a responsibility. A subversive, practically militant, attitude about access to affordable, healthy food has periodically pervaded the counterculture. Translating this to America’s urban mainstream, particularly its most at-risk populations, is not easy, but it is what we as planners must do to bridge the “dietary divide.”

Adapted from a presentation entitled “Supermarket Gentrification” in the “Restoring the Urban Foodshed” conference session. Peter Zelchenko is a Chicago-based writer and columnist who is running for alderman of Chicago’s 43rd Ward in 2007. From 2000 to 2005, Peter led a grassroots campaign to stop the closing of the last affordable supermarket on Chicago’s Near West Side. Since then, he has persuaded officials to consider food access planning in Chicago. He can be reached at pete@printchicago.com or at <http://zelchenko.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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Touring Sustainable Chicago

By Sarah Morton

At this year's Planners Network Conference in Chicago, the Green Sustainability Tour gave real meaning to the conference slogan, "Tending the Garden: From Grassroots to Green Roofs" literally. The goal of this tour was to showcase how Chicago utilizes green design—from cutting edge technology to simple energy-saving techniques that anyone can use at home.

The first stop on the tour was the Chicago Center for Green Technology (CCGT), one of Chicago's two LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) Platinum-Certified

dollars. One of the CCGT's goals is to instruct architects and homeowners about how to incorporate green design in their own buildings.

One of the highlights of this tour stop was observing various types of green roofs, followed by a visit to the building's actual green roof. Tour participants got to see not only the green roof at work, but a stunning view of the Chicago skyline and a panoramic view of the industrial West Side, which stood in sharp contrast to the gardens populated by native plants and synthetic wetland that collects and filters the runoff from the parking lot and the downspouts. At one point during the tour, the guide pointed out a Killdeer, along with other various forms of wildlife, that had found refuge on the property. Our guide noted that while Chicago is a dense, sprawling metropolis, the large parks that ring the west side—Garfield, Humboldt and Douglas—are a great resource for migrating animals. But as we drove away from CCGT, it was hard to imagine how the Chicago Department of Environment, the building's operator, was able to achieve such peaceful serenity on the grounds only yards away from the frantic traffic on Sacramento Avenue.

The next stop on the tour was the Garfield Park Conservatory. Designed by famous Chicago architect Jens Jensen, the Conservatory was built between 1906 and 1907. Our guide, Harmony Picciuca, led us through rooms full of exotic palms and ferns in order to reach the more common, but practical and delicious, plants in the urban demonstration garden. Harmony oversees the Demonstration Garden and has worked as a master gardener with the City of Chicago. She taught the group the importance of monitoring contaminants in the soil, how to build an elevated plant bed and other helpful urban gardening tips. For example, the group learned that the worst place to plant a garden is near a house because of the

Photo: Sarah Morton



Sarah Moloney describes various permeable paving surfaces at the Chicago Center for Green Technology, a program of the Chicago Department of Environment.

buildings. LEED, overseen by the US Green Building Council, is a voluntary, consensus-based national standard for developing high-performance, sustainable buildings. Using green technology the City of Chicago renovated the site of a former demolition and construction waste disposal site at a cost of several million

potential for lead paint contamination. Also, the worst plants to grow in an urban garden are leafy plants like lettuce and cilantro because most of the lead goes straight into the part that we eat. On the other hand, it's OK to plant fruit-bearing plants like tomatoes because contaminants are filtered out.

In addition to learning helpful gardening tips, we also saw some interesting sights, including a real asparagus plant—an unusual sight for city folks. While most people assume that gardens require lots of land, one of the interesting things about the demonstration garden is its size. It has the same dimensions as a typical Chicago lot, proving that you can fit a lot of garden into a little bit of space. Even smaller-scale gardening, like windowsill herb gardens, provides another way for city-dwellers to become green thumbs.

After eating lunch at the Conservatory, we were especially aware of just how hard it is to practice green habits in every day life. The boxed lunches that we ate were delicious, but they left us with enough waste to fill a large trash container. At least we were able to salvage aluminum cans for Harmony to recycle in the employee lounge. We could have used a compost bin, one of the innovations found at our last stop, the Center for Neighborhood Technology (CNT).

CNT, located in Wicker Park, is located in Chicago's other LEED Platinum-Certified green building. While the City of Chicago had access to the best technology possible to renovate CCGT, CNT had to work creatively and with a limited budget to meet the certification guidelines. CNT made use of some public and private grants for some innovative technologies—for example, the cooling system, which relies on thousands of plastic liquid-filled balls that are frozen during off-peak hours when electricity is cheap and then flow through the pipes during the day. But CNT also relied on creative, budget-friendly solutions, like turning an old marble wall from a bathroom stall into a conference table or using leftover carpet scraps from a green manufacturer. While a drawback of that resourceful-

ness may be the odd patterns and color combinations that the scraps create, on the plus side, according to our guide, Sharon Feigon, stains can be worked out easily. Sharon was with CNT through the entire renovation process. She said that there were some concerns about designing a non-traditional office space, but the organization worked through it like a



Photo: Donovan Finn

Elements of the Urban Demonstration Garden developed by Harmony Picciuca at Chicago's Garfield Park Conservatory.

true community. Though the building is LEED Platinum-Certified, the renovation cost only about \$70-\$80/square foot, approximately the same as for a typical renovation.

At the end of the tour, one of the conference goers asked Sharon the question that was on everyone's mind: If using energy-saving, sustainable materials is economically feasible, why aren't more people doing it? Her answer was that it takes extra planning.

But any group that has the commitment to see it through can help create an earth-friendly built environment. Hopefully, we'll be able to take the lessons of sustainable design we learned in Chicago and apply them in our own work, wherever it may be.

Sarah Morton recently moved from Salt Lake City, Utah to attend the urban planning and policy program at University of Illinois at Chicago.

Where Are Poor People to Live? *Transforming Public Housing Communities*

By Larry Bennett, Janet L. Smith and Patricia Wright

Where Are Poor People to Live? shows how major shifts in federal policy are spurring local public housing authorities (PHA) to demolish their high-rise, low-income developments and replace them with affordable, low-rise, mixed-income communities. It focuses on Chicago and that city's affordable housing crisis, but it provides analytical frameworks that can be applied to developments in every American city.

Where Are Poor People to Live? provides new empirical information on public housing, framed by a critical perspective that shows how shifts in national policy have devolved the US welfare state to local government while promoting market-based action as the preferred mode of public policy execution. We share a concern with chapter authors that proponents of public housing restructuring give little attention to the social, political and economic risks involved in the current campaign to remake public housing. At the same time, the book examines the public housing redevelopment process in Chicago with an eye to identifying opportunities for redeveloping projects and building new communities across America that will be truly hospitable to those most in need of assisted housing.

As the book traces the story of public housing in Chicago—both in the long- and short-term—it is evident that there currently is no clear answer to the question: Where are poor people to live? There is no reason to believe public housing, even in the current environment of public opinion and given trends in national political leadership, will be completely eliminated. However, all signs indicate that the scale of public housing, like other long-standing domestic social welfare programs, will be reduced and subject to the continuing claim that a public sector “solution” may not even be necessary. Housing advocates seeking to reverse these trends are

further inhibited by fiscal constraints at both the federal and state government levels, which in turn reinforce political elites’—Democratic and Republican alike—disinclination to reconsider the social welfare rollback of the last two decades. For affordable housing advocates, much hope is pinned to the prospect of establishing a National Affordable Housing Trust Fund that would have \$5 billion to build and rehab over a million units of affordable housing for very poor families, as well as those with more moderate incomes. While the implementation of this program would generate new affordable housing for the poor, it would not help improve or preserve existing public housing. At a minimum, at least \$40 billion is needed to just deal with deferred maintenance in public housing structures across the country that are not slated for demolition—an amount greater than the entire HUD budget in 2005.

Beyond such fiscal considerations and alternative housing strategies, a more expansive vision of the future of public housing is needed. In Chicago, public housing activists organized by the Coalition to Protect Public Housing (CPPH) are linking the plight of local public housing residents to the international human rights agenda. CPPH is joining forces with activists around the country and world to build an alternative social vision based on the dignity of human life. They have been successful at soliciting the support and understanding of the United Nations Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, Mr. Miloon Kothari. In his 2004 Human Rights Day solidarity statement to the Chicago public housing activists, Kothari said:

What we are witnessing in Chicago today is occurring all across the United States, and in fact, across the world. Governments

are dismantling social housing, housing subsidies and affirmative actions for low-income people in the name of liberalization and are placing the primacy of the market and privatization as the panacea to solve the global crisis of millions living in inadequate and insecure housing. The US has been the main 'ideologue' behind these policy directives that are increasingly reflected in housing policies and legislations of countries across the world. Such policies are a clear violation of the commitment of states across the world to international human rights instruments.

For obvious reasons, the discourse on human rights in the United States—and specifically recognition of the barriers limiting universal access to human rights within this country—has been slow to take hold among policymakers and government elites. It is, nevertheless, the intention of CPPH to amplify the discussion of human rights in the United States, and particularly in the city of Chicago. The coalition plans on doing this through an educational and organizing campaign based at the Cabrini-Green housing project. In the coming years, CPPH will expand its advocacy of the right to adequate housing as laid out in the goals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which the United States was a principal drafter. As the Universal Declaration states: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including...housing." The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, to which the United States is also a signatory, further "recognize[s] the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living...including adequate...housing." The CPPH will build on the ideas and principles embodied in these international documents to press for a new conversation on housing needs and appropriate policy adjustments at the local level in Chicago, and as well, join forces with other groups throughout the country to eventually affect a national discussion in Washington DC.

An immediate concern, as expressed by the ongoing CPPH discussions, has been the treatment of public housing residents in conjunction with the redevelopment process. A 2004 report, issued jointly by the Brookings Institution and the Urban Institute, points to a consistent cluster of problems associated with producing mixed-income developments across the United States, mostly involving resident relocations and direct-



PNer's on one of Friday's tours witnessed the massive scale of transformation that Chicago's public housing is undergoing, in this case Cabrini-Green, on Chicago's North Side.

ly paralleling the experience of Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) residents. These problems include: 1) the failure of relocation planning to effectively support residents, particularly those who are most impoverished; 2) the mixed experiences of people who have relocated with vouchers, i.e., while many are in marginally better communities, they are often still highly segregated ⇒

by race if not also by income; 3) insufficient relocation options for relocatees, especially large families, people with disabilities, custodial grandparents and people with multiple problems; and 4) the failure of some PHAs to implement their HOPE VI redevelopment plans effectively. This last finding is illustrated by the experience of the Cabrini-Green development, the redevelopment of which has been slowed by lawsuits.

Photo: Josh Lerner



Mixed income housing developments in the area formerly home to Chicago's Cabrini Green housing projects.

Cabrini-Green Redevelopment

We believe that the ongoing and sometimes contentious negotiations between Cabrini-Green resident leaders and public officials have, in fact, produced a better collective outcome for this site's public housing population. While relocation efforts clearly need to be improved, residents also need to gain more control in and over the redevelopment process. The Cabrini-Green settlement gives residents legally binding powers and prescribes specific outcomes that the parties involved must produce. Both are critical in making sure public housing residents have a specific level of control over the redevelopment process. One critical component is the *minimum* number of public housing units to be included in the mix, which is independent of the developer's plans or financing needs. Another is that relocation cannot occur until an approved plan is in place and some replacement housing has been built. The Cabrini-Green case also demonstrates that income mixing does not have

to stop at the formal redevelopment boundaries of the public housing site. When expanded to include the surrounding neighborhood—about 340 acres—the consent decree requires some replacement public housing units be mixed into the new market-rate housing being developed outside the original borders of the Cabrini-Green development.

Ultimately, however, rejuvenating the public housing that will remain in the US and ensuring that affordable housing overall—at public housing sites, in mixed-income developments produced by some variety of public-private partnership and in non-profit residential properties—is maintained as quality housing requires more than improved planning, consultation and management procedures. Affordable housing activists in Chicago and elsewhere are engaged in a variety of sophisticated campaigns aimed at broadening public and elite support for new housing construction and existing housing maintenance aimed at meeting the needs of very poor and working poor populations. In the current political environment, such efforts would appear to be swimming against a powerful tide of anti-government sentiment. Nevertheless, we take some comfort in the consensus among public policy historians that the United States has always moved grudgingly when directing government support to the indigent, and that even at the high water mark of popular approval for government-sponsored social welfare initiatives, a strong conservative backlash persistently claimed that money was being wasted, socialism was being advanced and individual moral fiber was being sapped. In short, realism in the face of the current political climate allows us to think strategically about broadening the recognition that Americans cannot forever think of themselves as flourishing when a quarter or more of the nation's population faces day-to-day challenges in obtaining decent-paying employment, adequate housing and routine medical care.

Insuring Universal Access

Without question, the high water mark in public support for government initiatives to protect the poor was the Great Depression, and the

partial consensus that sustained the Roosevelt-era social safety net into the 1970s was based on the widespread memory of the economic crisis of this era. We think that a newly emergent crisis—the crisis of American legitimacy across the globe—might be used to leverage broader public commitment for contemporary initiatives to aid America's poor. We further acknowledge that the particular institutional means used to deliver the bundle of social services once provided by Social Democratic governments in Europe, as well as by the somewhat more complicated system of federal/state/local service/benefit delivery in the post-New Deal United States, was due for an overhaul probably as early as the 1960s.

This book does not advocate public service privatization, but rather more creativity in thinking about the best institutional means to ensure universal access to good schools, housing and other social services. National commitments—that is, federal government legislation—that promote universal access to such programs and benefits is viewed as essential.

We close with a rationale for connecting a progressive, consensus-seeking national housing policy to the global crisis of the early 2000s. In much of the world, the United States has come to be viewed as an arrogant military power whose economic and governmental elites are content to export fast food chains, emotionally and morally stunted popular culture products and a simpleminded ideology of personal achievement to the residents of Europe, Africa, Asia and beyond. And when confronted with a challenge, such as the last decade's emergence of Islamic fundamentalism, these same elites are viewed as having offered but one answer, the application of overwhelming military force. This portrait of the United States is a vast oversimplification, but government elites and much of the public that has brought the elites to power have given insufficient attention to the growing reach of this oversimplified picture of America.

Even as local activists in Chicago and other cities advance the argument that fundamental human rights have been undermined by recent

trends in US public housing policy, thoughtful consideration of the contemporary global context might well become a tool for bringing both the US public at large and government elites to the following recognition: that it is time for the United States to recommit itself to its long-standing promise to provide an adequate and hospitable way of life for all its residents. Using the experience of the last generation to develop



Photo: Josh Lerner

Images of the reconstructed Cabrini Green area, from a Planners Network Conference Friday tour led by Janet Smith.

new housing programs that meet the needs of America's low-income population via locally sensitive, publicly responsive institutional mechanisms actually looks like a meaningful, manageable step in reconstituting US public policy. A rejuvenation of egalitarian public policy within the United States is a potentially popular, worthy way to begin reconstructing our country's international image as well.

Adapted from a presentation entitled "Where Are Poor People to Live?" the focus of the "Public Housing Transformation in Chicago" conference session. The presentation was based on the book, Where Are Poor People to Live? Transforming Public Housing Communities, edited by Larry Bennett, professor of political science at DePaul University; Janet L. Smith, associate professor of urban planning at University of Illinois at Chicago; and Patricia Wright, former director of the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement at the University of Illinois at Chicago. M.E. Sharpe Inc. (Cities and Contemporary Society Series), 344 Pages, March 2006.

Urban Planning as a High School Theme in Brooklyn, New York

By Meredith Phillips

Adapted from a presentation entitled "Urban Planning Curriculum for High School Students" from the "Training Young Planners" conference session.

At the Academy of Urban Planning in Brooklyn, a theme-based curriculum taps into the curiosity of high school students about their environment, teaches skills needed for modern careers, and moves the students forward on a path aimed towards higher education and the skills required by modern careers. As a program manager at this new school, I have seen how unique partnerships with community organizations, planning agencies and institutions of higher learning, students are learning how they can use their urban planning knowledge and GIS skills to advocate for community improvements. They also benefit from unique partnerships with community organizations, planning agencies and institutions of higher learning.

Partnership With History of the Center for Urban Environment Academy of Urban Planning

The Academy of Urban Planning (AUP) in Bushwick, Brooklyn was formed as part of the New Century High School Initiatives, which aims to reform large traditional urban high schools and transform them into smaller learning environments. The concept and proposal for AUP was developed by a team of educators, parents/guardians, consultants and the Brooklyn Center for the Urban Environment (BCUE), the school's lead partner, in October 2002. The school opened its doors to students in September 2003. Those same students will begin their senior year in fall of 2006, when the school's total population will reach approximately 475 students.

For over twenty-five years, the Brooklyn Center for the Urban Environment has engaged young minds in activities that promote curiosity and

exploration of New York City's urban environments. The Center delivers programs on the built and natural environment for nearly 100,000 students and adults each year in all five boroughs of New York City, celebrating and encouraging stewardship of urban waterways, landscapes, architecture and life.

The Center is the lead partner for three New Visions high schools: the Academy of Urban Planning, Academy of Environmental Leadership and the Green School: An Academy for Environmental Careers. As AUP's lead partner, the Center provides support through staff training, workshops for students and parents, and theme-integration programming.

AUP's Mission

The mission of the Academy of Urban Planning is to help students use their leadership abilities to achieve academic success. With support from educators, parents and guardians of diverse races, ethnicities and cultures, AUP is working to forge a lasting spirit of community. We strive to be a school where students and parents are welcome; where teachers and staff work collaboratively; and where parents are engaged as partners with the school to provide an exemplary education for students. We empower students to acquire the academic and social tools they need in order to pursue their interests by stimulating their interest in learning, discovery and self-expression.

Why Urban Planning?

The urban planning, theme-based curriculum draws students out of the classroom and into their communities to develop skills that will move them toward higher education and careers, utilizing their natural desire to explore and create.

When students arrive at AUP, they are not necessarily interested in pursuing a career in urban planning or even a related field. We develop our programming with the following questions in mind:

- What skills do students need to succeed in high school, college and beyond?
- How can we create an academic experience where students are excited about learning?
- How can we use the laboratory of our community, urban planning issues and local resources to achieve our goals?

Our answers to these questions have guided the development and implementation of a scaffolded 4-year program that incorporates technology skill-building, service learning, civic engagement and community advocacy.

Theme Integration Model

Class Projects: We create projects that connect regular subject area curricula with urban planning and urban studies issues, concepts and vocabulary. For example, 9th grade students participated in one of the following projects as part of the English Language Arts or English as a Second Language classes.

- Urban Planning Project:** In partnership with the BCUE, students studied redevelopment in Williamsburg using zoning maps and walking tours. They created new maps that illustrated development patterns that would benefit different stakeholder groups. They applied this knowledge to Bushwick, creating a walking tour that emphasized opportunities for development in our own community.

- Urban Studies Projects:** Using neighborhood explorations, interviews and photographs, students learned to communicate information about their neighborhoods by creating presentations focusing on an urban issue of their choice. This project was also led by BCUE.

- Design Introduction:** In this project led by the Center for Urban Pedagogy teaching artists, students are learning basic architecture and design principles by designing

and building a nomadic classroom from unlikely materials.

Course Electives: These courses meet every day, offering the opportunity for more advanced study and analysis of urban issues through experiential learning.

- Advanced Art Seminar: Art, Architecture and Urban Design in New York City (10th grade).** In this course, students use architecture and urban design in New York City to inspire multi-media art projects. Students visit relevant locations, listen to presentations from professionals and participate in hands-on design workshops. Students learn architectural history and experience New York while gaining skills in observation and architectural drafting, design and construction and multimedia presentation. Throughout the semester, students build a portfolio of their work. Course topics include: bridge design and construction (a project with the Salvadori Center, a design center for youth); public space and public art; architectural design for housing; and architectural interventions (a project with the Center for Urban Pedagogy).

- Geographic Information Systems (GIS) (11th Grade).** We use GIS to view and analyze data such as race, education and economics from a geographic perspective. In this course, students learn how to use software to create maps that describe neighborhoods, depict change and predict future conditions. Students also learn how mapping influences urban policies and how those policies affect their daily lives.

- The Social Pulse of a New York City Neighborhood (10th Grade).** Using a multimedia approach that includes novels, short stories, poetry, film, photography and site visits, this unit acquaints students with the “social” anatomy of a New York City neighborhood in 10th grade English classes. Our neighborhoods are not only rich in history and culture, they pulse with the energies created by the ebb and flow of immigration, the collision of disparate cultures, complicated intergenerational and racial relationships and the pressures of an ever-shifting economy. These tensions continue to inspire artists ⇨

and writers to tell the stories of the complex characters that bring life to these places, creating meaning for the word “neighborhood” that runs deeper than geography.

- Public Health and the Urban Environment (9th and 10th Grade). In this course, students learn about the role of urban planning and urban design in decisions and how they affect health, nutrition, obesity and physical activity—as well as bigger issues like environmental justice and economic development. The course focuses on issues like the incidence of asthma in city neighborhoods, the connections between street trees and air quality, the proliferation of fast food restaurants and other factors that impact adolescent health.

Extracurricular activities: We are lucky to have access to many fantastic programs offered by non-profit and educational organizations throughout New York City. These programs often incorporate neighborhood exploration, design, leadership development and community activism, as well as complement our own theme-related programs.

- A Day at the Municipal Arts Society. Urban planning students were hosted by this organization’s Planning Center for a day of presentations and tours with real life urban planners.

- Barcelona to Brooklyn Studio at the Center for Architecture. Using Barcelona’s exemplary and progressive urban planning projects as a starting point, students were challenged to rethink how small design and planning changes implemented along the Greenpoint-Williamsburg waterfront could lead to major community enhancement.

Jobs and Internships: The most authentic experiential learning opportunities occur when students can apply the skills and knowledge they learn in courses and projects in the field or workplace. Below are a few examples of student internships.

- Growing Up in New York City (GUiNYC). GUiNYC is part of a larger series of projects called Growing Up in Cities, supported by UNESCO and Cornell University. The purpose

of GUiNYC is to engage young participants (9-14 years old) in exploring and researching their neighborhoods using photography, mapping and other information-gathering activities. Two AUP students work in collaboration with other staff members to plan and implement the program, leading activities and accompanying groups of young people as they go out into the neighborhood, helping them develop an action plan and project.

- My CITI Interns. After an application process that includes mapmaking and an interview, AUP students are selected as mapping technician interns for Community Boards 3 and 4 in Brooklyn. The CITI program, which teaches high school students to use mapping technology to investigate their neighborhoods, provides community boards with direct access to mapping technology during meetings and engages students in local decision-making while gaining technical skills and earning income.

How Does it Work?

We owe all of our successes to the willingness of our students to look at change in their communities with fresh eyes, and the willingness of our teachers to learn about urban planning issues and trends and to open their classrooms to partners and supporters. We provide training and orientation to our faculty and staff, since most of them arrive with little experience or exposure to urban planning (but with a desire to learn!), but the most important piece of our theme integration model is partnership. Our collaborations with community organizations, planning agencies and institutions of higher learning provide authentic hands-on experiences for our students as well meaningful professional development for our staff.

Adapted from a presentation entitled “Urban Planning Curriculum for High School Students” in the “Training Young Planners” conference session. Meredith Phillips is a program manager at the Academy of Urban Planning. To find out more about the Academy, please visit www.aupnyc.org, or contact Meredith at meredith@aupnyc.org. For more information about the Brooklyn Center for the Urban Environment, please visit www.bcue.org.

Planners Network Strategy Session

On Thursday, before the official start of the conference, members of the Planners Network Steering Committee and Editorial Board, chapter representatives, founding members and other long-time Planners Network supporters met to discuss the state of progressive planning and Planners Network today. The purpose of the meeting, the first such one in about ten years, was to develop future strategies, especially in light of recent growth and changes PN has been experiencing. Tom Angotti, Kara Heffernan, Josh Lerner, and Richard Milgrom, and Alex Schafran helped prepare the following summary of the meeting.

A Progressive Planning Timeline

After a round of introductions and expectations of the day, attendees completed a timeline beginning in the 1950s that included events in Planners Network history as well as relevant events in progressive planning and world history. The timeline highlighted a constant tension within PN—between the idea that it is a merely a network and the notion that it is an activist organization that engages in broader political and social movements. The timeline also spurred a conversation about the changing nature of what it means to be progressive. One conclusion was that it is not as cut and dry today as it was back in the 1960s when the Civil Rights movement was a major point of reference for progressive social movements. It also highlighted tension over the use of the word diversity among planners and in academia. Some felt that the term is overused and can obscure real racial, class, and other inequalities. Most wanted to see a wider range of groups represented in planning, and in PN.

Current PN Activities

PN's current activities were reviewed, with reports about membership, the magazine, the e-newsletter, local organizing and conferences. Following are some highlights.

- **E-Newsletter:** The e-newsletter is produced monthly in PDF format by new editors, Jason Blackman from University of British Columbia

and Guillaume Neault from Queens University. It is emailed to all members who elect to receive it, and they can also get access to it on the PN website. There was interest in getting more updates from members for the newsletter. Members can send information about their work to newsletter@plannersnetwork.org.

- **Membership.** A membership directory is now available on the website, and website improvements in general seem to have improved membership activity, as had the movement of the membership office to Minneapolis.
- **Magazine:** Magazine submissions are on the rise and theme issues are going well. A future challenge is to increase subscriptions.
- **Local Organizing:** This has been an especially active area of PN. Twenty local chapters have organized over the past few years, although not all still exist. There are now PN representatives at forty-seven universities and a Disorientation Guide for use on campuses has been published and is available on the website. There is also a PN listserv just for students. A concern that was raised is that local members have not necessarily been joining PN, only their local chapter.
- **Conferences:** While there has been a yearly conference almost continuously since 1995, there are no guidelines in place for how to organize conferences, nor on how the larger body will interact with and support local conference organizers.

Financials

Our financial situation is relatively stable, although there were concerns about the future. PN memberships do not cover costs, and in the recent past the Fannie Mae Foundation has been a major ⇨

source of support to help plus the gap. However, Fannie Mae funding is approved on a year-by-year basis and there are concerns about recent changes in Washington that call into question its continued viability. PN has no paid staff. Printing of the magazine is the single largest expense, and there was some discussion about whether an on-line-only publication made sense. Sentiment at this point favored the continuation of paper publication and boosting efforts to increase circulation. The conferences, which generally cost \$25-40,000 to hold, do not appear in the annual budget as they are largely paid for by registrations, local fundraising, an allocation from the Fannie Mae Foundation, and support by the host organizations. The financial discussion emphasized the need to increase membership and subscriptions, which are the primary source of income for the network.

Other Planning Organizations

Ted Jojola spoke about the American Planning Association (APA), its recent emphasis on “diversity,” the founding of the Indigenous Planning Division, which he chairs, and a new initiative on Latinos in Planning. It appears as if APA’s efforts in favor of diversity are mostly responding to the broader trends towards a nebulous and undefined “diversity,” including campaigns in the New Urbanists and American Institute of Architects (AIA). There was also dissatisfaction with the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) approach to “diversity” and its governing body’s failure to honor the NAACP’s boycott of conferences in South Carolina.

Issues to Flag for PN Strategic Planning

Based on the morning’s discussions, attendees listed key issues PN needs to consider and address in its strategic planning:

- PN’s position on race and diversity
- PN’s relation to other planning organizations like APA, CIP, AICP, etc.
- PN’s relation to practitioners and activists, international/non-North American groups and grassroots social/environmental justice groups
- Diversifying the funding base
- Improving membership recruitment and retention
- Decentralization and improving relation-

ships between the local groups and the Steering Committee and main PN initiatives

- Decision-making and governance
- Clarifying the meaning of progressive planning

Challenges and Direction for Progressive Planning

With these issues in mind, the discussion moved briefly to the challenges and directions of progressive planning as a whole, not just PN. What do we mean by progressive planning? Some advocated for concrete critiques of neoliberal planning, individualism and opportunistic planning; others echoed the motto of the World Social Forum, that Another World is Possible. The need to refocus on race and class, especially in the wake of Katrina, was a common theme throughout, as was the need for improved forms of democracy, including within our own organization. The question of who plans and who controls access to resources came up regularly during this section.

Questions about sustainability, and the inclusion of equity in the true definition and practice of sustainability, were brought up, as was the need to think and act strategically. The discussion was focused much more on PN’s direction rather than on definitions or core values, though some felt the need to explore basic principles more deeply. The context in which we work – whether it be global or local, regional or national – came up often.

PN Goals and Plan

The primary focus of the afternoon session, and the major work product, was the 5-year planning chart. Participants brainstormed key places where they felt PN should be and the challenges and directions of progressive planning. These goals were then broken down into five main categories: Offerings (publications, resources, web, etc); Professional Organizations (relationships to APA, ACSP, etc.); Decision-Making Structure (Our internal democracy); Actions & Campaigns, and Membership.

Finally, this chart formed the basis of our planning for the traditional Sunday organizing meeting. It was decided that we would go over the chart at that point, and make any additions that Sunday members suggested. The chart below reflects those additions.

Planners Network Visioning Chart from Strategy Meeting – June 8, 2006

(All items were written on post-it notes by participants and posted on a flipchart)

Category	Next Steps / 2 Months	6 Months	Resources	1 Year	2 Years	5 Years
Offerings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordination volunteers • Expanding PN website in order to easily facilitate access and communication to information and local/student chapters; restructure the links for local chapters/ student chapters indicating US-based, Canadian & international; each chapter can create a web page indicating the work being done; members, links to progressive planning initiatives in their local chapter level • Structure proposal (website → chapters) PN website (Main) → local chapters/student chapters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve promotion: flyers → what is PN? Why join? To replace PN postcards • Toolkit for outreach for PN local chapters & members to use locally (add to dist. guide) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many volunteer activity coordinators • 1-2 FTEs – Mainly web 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IMAG → whole region or new 1 month lag, conference packed to publicize; Send to lists get on resource pages; house ads; description info; sell to activists • Coordinators get mini-projects → syllabus bank; education modules/planning practice guides; speaker's bureau (+ traveling workshop) • We are dubious about PN sponsored studies in the near term • PN has resources for non-planners • PN has clearing house for info & people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer/coordinate progressive planning trainings/workshops • Speakers bureau 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Double magazine subscriptions • PP magazine paid circulation of 1000 • Make peace with academic aspect of organization and develop offerings to assist that community • PN is the go to organization for progressive information, speakers on key planning issues • Be a group people turn to for innovative/progressive • A bridge between the various communities in struggle and the resources of the academic and philanthropic communities to: • A) bring the issues, concerns, stories/diving/joining CBO's • B) establish protocols for responsive/specific collaborations • C) sponsoring mentorship/apprenticeships for youth in affected communities • D) affecting the tone/language of discourse on community change
Professional Organizations		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pull PN members about memberships in professional organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current PN members • Chicago PN chapter as local contact for APA national 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact APA president about options for PN participation in their conference development • Explore options w/ACSP – other ACSP members could organize panels, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify lesson to each org that will report via list-serve and magazine • Implement strategies • Bring know/ongoing outreach should take care of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PN pushes APA, OIP to get serious about environmental justice in planning • Appt. lessons to other key orgs • PN is a major progressive voice in APA, ACSP, etc. • Be recognized in all planning schools and among professional planners and activists • Have sponsored sessions at relevant associational mtgs → APA, ACSP, World Planning Congress, others
Decision Making Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elections at conference! • Monthly conference call • Instant messaging • Other committees? • Publications committee (magazine, e newsletter) • Chapter committee • Conference committee • Fundraising/resources committee • Post SC minutes on website • Clear connections between chapters, individual members and (inter)national organization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop terms of reference/rules of SC (quorum issues) • Process for developing positions/statements • Develop rules/terms of reference for committees + local chapters (publicly available) • Some of budget + responsibility for funds allocated to committees → programming & initiatives • Provides a network for progressive planners/activists/academics • Chapter representation in PN decision-making ("chapter committee") chair of chapter committee on Steering committee 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full time staff person (outreach, assist steering committee, etc.) • Full-time staff to coordinate elected SC, magazine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides a forum for exploring and defining issues • Local chapters functioning as "organizers" → link up with local/global campaigns • Multiple levels of democratic representation, from local chapters to steering committee • Have a paid core staff • PN budget decided by participatory budgeting • Very broad thematic sections → equity, enviro, participation, global context
Actions & Campaigns		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taste articles in "mainstream" publications → outreach to professionals • Guidelines/active notes for individuals on how to be progressive in your work (similar to disorientation guide) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staff • More members including one to act as coordinator 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize member group • Organize/colect resources • Develop contacts/links with other org's • Have progressive planning awards contests • Organize house parties 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing oriented campaign – local & intl focus • Planning for peace • Press release/position statements on issues • PN plays a leading role in global/local campaign • Formal links with like-minded orgs in global south • Organize a mega-conference to demonstrate that 1000's of planners are concerned w/ social justice • 1-2 mini-campaigns per years (not initiated by PN, but PN participate as FN) • Able to take positions on issues (national, global) that connect to core values of the organization • Clarity of core values, clear strategy for opposing neoliberal agenda

Jane Jacobs, New York Rebel

By Tom Angotti

Jane Jacobs left New York City in 1968 and went into self-imposed exile in Canada. Yet when she died April 25 at the age of 89 in Toronto, she was remembered as one of the greatest advocates of New York City's urbanism. While the rest of the country thought of New York as too densely developed, overcrowded, and dangerous, Jane Jacobs wrote passionately about how its density and diversity made the city livable and exciting.

In a nation that was mostly rural in 1898 when the City of New York was created, the American Dream was small town America and the big city was its nightmare. Jane Jacobs helped retire the myths of the big city.

Jacobs didn't just wake up one morning in 1961 and write her classic book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* – today, required reading for architects, urban planners and everyone who studies cities. Her ideas arose from her lived experience on Hudson Street, in Manhattan's West Village, and from her years of active struggle to protect her neighborhood from the city's grandiose urban renewal plans. A nemesis of Robert Moses, the city's development czar, she saw the city's planners call lively human-scale neighborhoods "slums" and "blighted," then bulldoze them. They were replaced by dull high rises set in wide-open wastelands without a street life – the modernist model of the "tower in the park." She fought and helped kill the Lower Manhattan Expressway and an urban renewal plan for her own neighborhood. Her book, released in 1961, resonated with the thousands of activists who were fighting battles against urban renewal, highways that cut through the hearts of cities, and grandiose megaprojects. Thus, her brilliant insights are best understood in their historical context, as contributions to the struggles to save neighborhoods from orthodox urban planning.

Jacobs saw incredible richness and diversity in neighborhoods that development-hungry planners disqualified as chaotic and dysfunctional. Of

course, she had no financial stake in seeing her neighborhood leveled, and perhaps because of that there was a fundamental difference in the way she perceived the city. Cities aren't just physical forms but rich landscapes for social and economic relations among people. How do people use the streets and sidewalks? How do the people who work in industries, retail customers, tenants and homeowners interact and coexist with one another? By asking these questions she came upon principles of physical planning that were embedded in the built environment. These relations, which at one point she likened to a "symphony," and not the abstract visions of planners and developers, were for her the starting point for planning.

Jane Jacobs' remarkable catalog of urban treasures has inspired generations of urban professionals searching for alternatives to the modernistic bombast and monumentalism that created sterile downtowns, isolated public housing, and sprawled suburban enclaves. Her work contributed to the flourishing of the neighborhood preservation movements, and influenced many other progressive New York urbanists including City Planning commissioners from Beverly Moss Spatt in the 1960s to Ron Shiffman in the 1990s, both advocates of decentralized planning involving neighborhoods. Author Roberta Gratz (*The Livable City*) and William Whyte, founder of Project for Public Spaces, carried forward many of her ideas. Indeed, there aren't too many professional planners of all stripes who don't acknowledge in some way her important contributions.

The city's fiscal crisis in the 1970s and the federal government's withdrawal of funds for large urban renewal and public works projects created fertile ground for Jacobs' alternative way of seeing the city. After Robert Moses retired, government austerity left no money for ambitious public projects or for aggressive urban planners that would reincarnate the master builder. With widespread neighborhood abandonment, professionals had to search for

ways to improve communities using the resources that were already there. Organizers and activists in community-based organizations, consciously or not, followed Jacobs' approach of strengthening the human bonds in neighborhoods and building on existing assets. The city's housing agency created neighborhood preservation programs. The city created a Landmarks Commission in 1965 that would help protect historic buildings and districts. And the City Planning Department later initiated contextual zoning to encourage new development in context with the existing built form. While all of these initiatives have their limitations, and some of them are used mostly to protect exclusive enclaves, they are part of a toolkit of measures that can be used to protect everything valuable in neighborhoods.

One area in which Jacobs' admonitions have been mostly ignored is in planning for streets and sidewalks. She showed how mixing pedestrians, cars and bicycles and encouraging an active street life was important to livable neighborhoods. The city's Department of Transportation, however, is mostly dedicated to moving as many vehicles as quickly as possible through streets. For the most part, the same logic applies to sidewalks. Jacobs felt that having many "eyes on the street" contributed to a lively and safe environment. That means encouraging people to move slowly, stop, talk, and "hang out," and slowing vehicular traffic.

As happens with many great thinkers, Jane Jacobs is cited by real estate developers and planners who interpret her work in ways she might well question. For example, Alexander Garvin, influential urban planner in New York City, was quoted in the April 27 *New York Times* as saying *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, "changed my life." Yet Garvin's reputation is as a pragmatic planner who tries to find better ways to accommodate new

development, not community preservation. For example, he was the author of the city's ambitious Olympics 2012 plan that would have created sports venues sharply disconnected from neighborhoods. Jane Jacobs on many occasions spoke up against such megaprojects in Toronto.

The New Urbanism is a recent trend in urban planning and architecture that proposes re-creating traditional, walkable communities following the model of 19th Century small-town America. But contrary to many of her critics, Jacobs wasn't a nostalgic looking to idealize the old. The sterile New Urbanist experiments like Seaside and Celebration in Florida are a far cry from the bustling diversity that Jacobs saw in her West Village.

Jane Jacobs was hardly a traditionalist. She was truly a rebel. She dared to look lovingly and with care at her neighborhood. She stood up to the powerful Robert Moses. She criticized racial discrimination in housing and employment (for example, in her book *The Economy of Cities*, she cites W.E.B. DuBois and goes on to criticize the inadequacy of programs to aid minority contractors). Her family's opposition to the war in Vietnam drove her to self-exile in Canada. And ever since then she supported progressive planning, and good hearty urban protest, throughout North America. She most recently sent a message of solidarity to community groups in Greenpoint/Williamsburg (Brooklyn) fighting the city's massive waterfront rezoning project. Jane Jacobs was a true New Yorker and a true rebel.

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Bottom-Up Planning: Lessons from Latin America's Third Left

By Marie Kennedy and Chris Tilly

For the last fifty years, two major versions of the left dominated the progressive end of Latin America's political spectrum. One was the armed guerilla movements, inspired by the Cuban revolution, but now largely extinct (with Colombia as the main exception). The other was the mass populist movements linked by patronage or party discipline to left or center-left electoral parties. While the *guerrilleros* have declined, the left parties, on the other hand, have surged in the last several years across much of Latin America.

Both of these lefts have helped make positive changes in Latin America—challenging inequality, attacking illiteracy, improving services to the poor, redistributing land, and mobilizing ordinary people to defend their rights. But neither has had a strong tradition of bottom-up planning. The military model at the core of the guerilla insurgencies and the model of charismatic leadership at the core of electoral leftism are centralized, top-down models—structures that can represent the interests of poor majorities, but usually without directly involving them in the decisions that affect their lives.

But there is a third left stirring in Latin America. Like the other two, it makes demands for economic justice and human rights. But even more centrally, it strives for the transformation of *people*—“self-management, independent thought, and self-construction,” in the words of social psychologist Maiqui Pixton, who works with housing cooperatives in Buenos Aires. The third left avows autonomy from the state rather than pursuing state power and promotes bottom-up decision-making. Latin America's third left has received far less attention in Northern media than the first two. But its accomplishments hold important lessons for North Americans trying to carry out progressive planning within hostile policy environments.

The the rise of autonomy

The boundaries of this third left are debatable. We would include Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement (MST), Argentina's *autonomista* current of workplace and community organizations, and Mexico's Zapatista movement, as well as varied other groups in just about every country in Latin America (we wrote about many of these movements in *Progressive Planning* Nos. 154, 156, 160, 164, and 167).

The military dictatorships and authoritarian regimes that dominated the area in the 1980s have given way to competitive elections and relative freedom to dissent (again, Colombia is the key exception). At the same time, U.S.-backed neoliberal policies of free trade, balanced budgets, privatization, and reduced government intervention in the economy continue to fuel the “incredible shrinking state” (a current exception is Venezuela, where oil wealth is allowing a left government to expand the state).

The two older lefts emphasized making demands on the state with the goal of taking it over. But in the context of states with shrunken capacity, this approach falls short. The third left instead pursues autonomy—still making demands on the state, but with much more focus on organizing people to do things for themselves. This includes economic, political, and cultural autonomy. In the economic sphere, MST settlements in Brazil farm previously unused agricultural land they have occupied. In Argentina workers take over and run bankrupt enterprises. And Mexico's Zapatistas carry out subsistence agriculture as well as producing fair trade coffee and indigenous crafts for sale. All seek to link scattered productive projects into a broader “social economy” prioritizing human needs rather than profits. In many cases, environmental sustainability is part of the package: for example, the Zapatistas grow organic coffee and deploy a corps of agroecology advisors to help peasants farm sustainably.

Political autonomy means independence from the state and political parties. The degree of independence varies. As Lula wound up his successful 2002 run for the presidency, MST organizer Jonas da Silva in 2002 told us, “We are critical of Lula, but we’re campaigning for him. What matters is not the election, but democratizing the media and breaking up the large land-holdings.” When Lula won the MST challenged him with an accelerated program of land occupations. In contrast, the Zapatistas declined to support center-left populist Andrés Manuel López Obrador in the recently concluded Mexican presidential elections, arguing that his program simply put a kinder face on a brutal system. The MST demands government funding to buy agricultural inputs and create community infrastructure; the Zapatistas refuse all government aid (but “tax” the government and NGOs for projects they carry out on Zapatista turf). Other organizations walk a fine line: for example, Argentina’s Unemployed Workers’ Movement (MTD) of La Matanza seeks government funds for projects, but refuses the patronage-linked welfare checks that have “destroyed many organizations,” in the words of activist Soledad (who prefers to be identified only by her first name). All of these organizations couple building broad alliances with maintaining independent politics, including the right to criticize any party as well as the state itself.

To build cultural autonomy, Latin America’s third left places enormous emphasis on education. The MST and the Zapatistas both take over the schools in their communities, train their own teachers, and implement their own curriculum. *Autonomista* workplace and community organizations in Argentina typically require members to take classes in principles of cooperativism, and quite a few of the worker-run businesses host community cultural centers. Activists from Haiti to Chile use low-powered, local FM radio stations to promote discussions about social justice and give voice to the voiceless.

Bottom-up planning

In addition to autonomy, the other axis of Latin America’s new left is *horizontalidad*, a word that translates rather poorly as “horizontality”—in contrast with the top-down *verticalismo* that con-

tinues to characterize much left activity in Latin America (and elsewhere). This means “having *everybody* decide,” says Argentine social psychologist/activist Pixton. The specifics vary. The Zapatistas use village-wide meetings to decide local issues, rotate regional leaders, and use intensive consultation to reach movement-wide decisions. The MST uses a more traditional set of pyramidal elected councils (with some less traditional aspects, such as mandating an equal number of women and men representatives at every level). Argentina’s worker-run companies typically combine frequent workplace-wide assemblies with an elected management council that has executive powers. Housing cooperatives in Argentina bring together coop members and skilled professionals (architects, psychologists, and others) in participatory design and planning. But in every case these organizations are committed to broad participation, bottom-up decision-making, and transparent governance. This is participatory planning in practice, with plenty of imperfections but a genuine effort to shift power downward, and a goal of empowering people to move beyond the immediate project to tackle other issues in their lives. Again, education is a key ingredient: activists seek to give people the tools to participate meaningfully—to break dependency and transform themselves into decision-makers.

Horizontalidad is an ongoing experiment. According to Soledad, “When a small group of us was dreaming about a community center, we had a lot of prejudices. We doubted that the community would accept the values and principles that we had agreed on. But we were wrong—the community was able to contribute.” She laughed, “When we formed the ‘educational community’ to govern our day care center, we feared that the parents wouldn’t speak up. The other day, one of the mothers said, ‘Now, you can’t get us to shut up, can you?’”

Autonomy and *horizontalidad* complement each other. Fewer strings leading to the economic and political centers of power means more room for input from people at the base. On the flip side, autonomy is a hard road, and mass participation increases the chance of success. “None of us alone is as good as all of us together,” declared Soledad, quoting a movement slogan. ⇨

Lessons for the North

Is the idea of transferring some of this third left energy to the United States and Canada just a pipe dream? In fact, many of the ingredients are present in the North as well. Traditions of autonomy and participation in the United States and Canada extend back to early cooperative movements and the New England town meeting. These traditions enjoyed a revival in the 1960s and 1970s in settings ranging from food coops to the black liberation movement, and activists and organizations with roots in that seedbed are still around. We may not have laws that endorse expropriation of land or factories not being put to productive use, as in Brazil and Argentina, but eminent domain laws—much under attack recently for misuse on behalf of large corporations and developers—embody the principle that the public can take property for the social good. And one hidden asset is millions of Latin American immigrants who have been exposed to the third left in their home countries.

The two main arms of community-based planning in Anglo-America today are community development corporations (CDCs) and Alinsky-style organizing. Both have done much to advance com-

munity interests; neither model embraces autonomy or *horizontalidad*. But faced with neoliberal federal and state governments rolling back many of the gains of the 1930s and 1960s waves of reform, new experiments are sprouting. Local groups (including some CDCs and organizations coming out of the Alinsky tradition) are pushing participatory planning and budgeting. Community-supported agriculture projects promote local food self-sufficiency. Neighborhoods declare themselves “empowerment zones” *without* funds from the federal government, and community organizations fight for “moral site control” in a way that echoes Latin American land takeovers. If we want these initiatives to survive and spread, we should build stronger ties of communication, learning, and solidarity with Latin America’s third left.

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Student Disorientation Guide

The how-to guide for a progressive planning education

The PN Disorientation Guide is now available online, in time to reach out to students puzzling over the content of their planning education. Compiled through the collaborative efforts of a team of PN students and activists, the guide reflects many of the issues and challenges each generation of would-be planners encounters as they begin in the field.

Along with articles that challenge current planning and educational paradigms, it also contains dozens of ideas for events and activities. Students and professors are encouraged to print out and distribute copies at orientation sessions and organizing meetings.

The guide can be downloaded in PDF format at:

<http://www.plannersnetwork.org/publications/disorientation.html>

Please print, share, and distribute!

RESOURCES

PN MEMBER UPDATES

Teresa Vázquez received the John Nolen Research Fund to carry out research at the Cornell Library Nolen Collection.

PNer Ute Lehrer has recently published (2006) "Willing the Global City: Berlin's Cultural Strategies of Interurban Competition After 1989", In: N. Brenner and R. Keil (eds.), *The Global City Reader*, Routledge, 332-338.

From David Kovacs:

I have been a member of PN since the mid-1970s. I have paper copies of 90% of the *PN News* from then until a year or so ago - they are free for the asking if anyone would want to do a research project on how the content and issues (subjects/focus) has changed over time. djksocial@comcast.net (804) 273-0126.

PUBLICATIONS

"My Face Is Black Is True: Callie House and the Struggle for Ex-Slave Reparations," by Mary Frances Berry (314 pp., 2005, \$26.95), has been published by Alfred Knopf.

In **"Planet of Slums"** Mike Davis explores the future of a radically unequal and explosively unstable urban world (228 pp., 2006, 26\$), published by Verso Books.

"In the Eye of the Storm: How the Government and Private Responses to Hurricane Katrina Failed Latinos" (2006) is available from National Council of La Raza, 1126 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202-785-1670, jmurguia@nclr.org, <http://www.nclr.org/>

"The Silent Epidemic: Perspectives of High School Dropouts" (March 2006), from

Civil Enterprises, is available at www.civcenterprises.net/pdfs/thesilentepidemic3-06.pdf

"Forgotten Families: Ending the Growing Crisis Confronting Children and Working Parents in the Global Economy," by Jody Heymann (328 pp., 2006, \$27.50), has been published by Oxford U. Press, <http://www.oup.com/>

"Costly Credit: African Americans and Latinos in Debt" (13 pp., May 2005) is available from Demos, 220 Fifth Ave., 5th floor, NYC, NY 10001, 212-633-1405, <http://www.demos.org/pub529.cfm>

"Rural Voices," the quarterly magazine of The Housing Assistance Council, devoted in Summer 2005, 24-page issue to "Farmworker Housing: Turning Challenges Into Successes." Contact HAC at 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, #606, Wash., DC 20005, 202-842-8660, hac@ruralhousing.org

"Art that Works: T. Allan Comp and the Reclamation of a Toxic Legacy," by Erik Reece. A profile of the founder of AMD&ART (Acid Mine Drainage & Art) and his organization's effort to work with the community of Vintondale, PA to reclaim and renew what the coal mining industry left behind. The result is a perfect synthesis of art, science, and community design. Free download from the Center for Arts Policy at Columbia College Chicago: <http://artspolicy.colum.edu/DVProfiles5.pdf>

"Immigrants, Unions and the New U.S. Labor Market," by Immanuel Ness (230 pp., 2005), has been published by Temple University Press.

"Thirsty for Justice: A People's Blueprint for California Water" (132 pp., June 2005) is available from the Environmental Justice Coalition for Water, 654 13th St., Oakland, CA 94610, 510-286-8400, downloadable at www.ejcw.org/blueprint.html →

“Urban Nightmares: The Media, the Right, and the Moral Panic over the City” by Steve Macek (360pp. 2006) published by University of Minnesota Press. For more information: http://www.upressumn.edu/Books/M/macek_urban.html

“The New Homeless: Preventing Mass Evictions on the Gulf Coast,” tells the stories of low-income tenants threatened with evictions by their landlords in southern Mississippi. The combination of unscrupulous landlords and a shortage of affordable rental housing have been devastating for thousands of renters on the Gulf Coast. The video, produced by the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, can be viewed, along with an article on the evictions crisis at: www.nhi.org/online/issues/thenewhomeless.html

EVENTS

September 13-15, 2006. “Retrofitting the Suburbs: New Urbanism in the Midwest,” a Seaside Institute event, will be held in Carmel, IN. Website: <http://theseasideinstitute.org/net/content/item.aspx?s=40088.0.79.7801>

October 19-21, 2006. “Place Matters 06: A Creative Planning Collaborative for Sustainable

Communities” in Denver, CO. Website: www.placematters.org

October 18-21, 2006. “Transforming Communities through Culture,” the Creative City Network of Canada’s 5th annual conference will be held in Toronto, ON. Website: www.creativecity.ca/conference-events/2006/schedule-program.html

October 24-27, 2006. “National Conference on Cultivating Creative Communities: Local Solutions for Global Success”, a Partners for Livable Communities event, will be held in Charlotte, NC. Website: www.creativeconf.org/home.shtml

October 25-27, 2006. “Play a Lead Role in America’s Communities: 2006 Enterprise Network Conference,” an Enterprise Community Partners event, will be held in Los Angeles, CA. Website: www.enterprisemeetings.org

November 9-12, 2006. “Borders and Cores: What is planning in the global era?” ACSP 47th Annual Conference will be held in Fort Worth, TX. Website: <http://www.acsp.org/events/conferences.html>

The Progressive Planning Reader

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

Politics and Planning • Urban Design
Planning Education • Race, Gender and Diversity
Community Planning • Sustainability, Environment and Health
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See the *Planners Network* website for more information.

Join Planners Network

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

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

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

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

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

Canadian members see column at right.

Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

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

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

Make cheques in Canadian funds payable to: "Planners Network" and send w/ membership form to:

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

Please use the form below and include your email address.

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

You can join PN or renew your membership, and pay dues via PayPal, from the website.

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

Progressive Planning ADVERTISING RATES:

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

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

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

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We are unable to accept payment in other currencies. Thanks.

In This Issue

Grassroots Chicago

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Jane Jacobs

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Latin America's Third Left

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Urban Planning High School
in New York City

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Address Correction Requested

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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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