

# PLANNERS NETWORK

Don't forget: PN '96  
June 14-16, Brooklyn, NY

May, 1996

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Resources  
guide.

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Congress  
deliberates  
dangerous  
housing bill

In this issue, we are printing excerpts from three working papers that will be presented at the Planners Network Conference, June 14-16: Tom Angotti on **Globalization** (pg. 2), Peter Dreier on **National Urban Policy** (pg. 2), and Marie Kennedy on **Community-Based Planning** (pg. 12). The papers are intended to kick off discussions on the role of progressive planners today, culminating in sessions about PN initiatives.

## Dots crying in the wilderness

Planning gets lost in translation from urban to rural

by Jean Garren

Roughly a quarter of the nation's population lives in rural areas. Actually, most people think that roughly three-quarters of the nation's population live in *urban* areas, for that is how the data is normally presented. Thus, we in that "other" category conceptually disappear behind rings of suburbs, walls of skyscrapers, miles of asphalt, and inner-city chaos. Rural America comprises a racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse -- and largely ignored -- invisible minority under siege.

Perhaps the operative word is "invisible," for rural America is not labeled on maps; it is, when one thinks about it, only noticeable through absence. A tiny dot -- or no

dot at all -- may mark a rural center whose constituency lies scattered in many directions for many miles, off the highways on rough dirt roads, behind hills or at sparse intervals across an empty horizon. Because it is invisible, rural America is at the mercy of the collective imagination and myth-formation of the urban majority, for, despite its invisibility, rural America is highly visible. Every *Dances with Wolves*, every 4x4 crashing through the empty terrain of a television commercial, every rugged lonesome handsome Marlboro man, every "Colorado Rocky Mountain High," every tourism Get-Away-From-It-All brochure, sends the message that out "there," where people are *not*, is where one wants to be. I am bemused by neo-Victorian architecture and neo-traditional town planning, and tend to agree with

those who consider them manifestations of an urban wish to escape to sometime past, anywhere else. And escaping to rural America they are, in droves. It's the "quality of life." It's not, however, the *way* of life.

I confess to living in an attractive, rather isolated county of still less than 18,000 people. Originally settled around 1875, it has four incorporated towns (the core with a

population of around 8,000, the peripheral rest smaller by great magnitudes) and a quota of "blink and you've missed it" unincorporated dots. I confess to tenantry from a rancher and a coal miner whose family homesteaded here eighty-some years ago. And I

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confess to believing that between those who have lived their generations on the land and those who have not, there are fundamentally different ways of being in the world. Where I live -- and, from having read journal articles and APA newsletters from around the country, elsewhere as well -- the two are becoming less and less compatible, more and more at conflict. Planning literature speaks much about preserving the *form* of rural life -- cluster development, open space preservation, and other "design solutions" -- and little about preserving its *substance*. Even the word "rural" itself has defied academic definition; nor do traditionally rural people tend to define themselves as "rural." From out here, then, it often seems as

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# Confronting Globalization: The Role of Progressive Planners

*Discussion Paper prepared for the Planners Network 96 Conference*

*by Tom Angotti*

Thinking global these days can make you gloomy.

All the progress made empowering communities and making national governments more responsible is threatened by the latest wave of globalization. Giant transnationals are moving capital around the globe at lightning speed, beyond the pale of government regulation and local activists. They're closing factories, downsizing, and abandoning workers and their communities in the North; they pillage and pollute in the South. They seem to be accountable to no one. They are using new information technology to expand the global assembly line and conquer every corner of the earth without a fast food outlet and ATM.

It also seems that with capital's new-found mobility there are relatively more constraints on labor. Labor protections are being undermined and regulations governing the quality of life in working class communities are under siege by right-wing ideologues. "Free trade" agreements like NAFTA spur the mobility of capital across borders but place greater penalties on the free movement of labor. And with the collapse of the Soviet Union, we are being told that all thoughts about an economic system based on labor are utopian, the market is supreme, socialism is dead, and government, anyway, is socialism.

At the same time, global inequality is growing. Hunger, shantytown housing, polluted air and water, traffic-clogged streets, crime and violence are the reality for a majority of the world's urban inhabitants, who live in the former colonial countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Western world, with the United States in the lead, is having a grand banquet, consuming far more than its share of the world's resources and

living off the surplus drained from the rest of the world. The Western world, Japan and a handful of "newly developed" countries continue to hog the lion's share of capital and commodities. This feast is warming and fouling the globe. And the most powerful of the onlookers are waiting to sit at the same table instead of planning a more sustainable menu.

But we have to go beyond this gloomy outlook. Things are bad, but not that bad.

We are two decades into a new phase of globalization (it all began at least 100 years ago) and much remains of the social reforms and welfare state institutions erected in response to early unbridled capitalism. Even in this North American free market paradise, the major New Deal reforms, though seriously threatened by the insurgent right wing in Congress, remain intact. More importantly, communities all over continue to build social relations based on cooperation instead of competition, social need instead of profit, people instead of property. Maybe it doesn't add up to a full-blown alternative like socialism. But it also cannot be said that within capitalism all social relations are based on profit and greed. In brief, confronting today's globalization there are yesterday's labor victories and many nascent alternatives.

The myth of the monolithic global market tends to paralyze political action and limit our ability to organize and plan for alternatives. And when we do act, we too often limit ourselves to the local level. It is easiest for planners to think locally and act locally. Planners growing up in the tradition of plain old pragmatism find it tempting to get lost in our own grass roots. What we need to learn how to do is to help build the power of historically disenfranchised communities, while fighting for national reforms and global alternatives.

***Globalization / page 3***

## The Struggle for Our Cities: Putting the Urban Crisis on the National Agenda

*Discussion Paper prepared for the Planners Network 96 Conference*

*by Peter Dreier*

For years, urban scholars and activists warned that our cities were ticking time bombs, waiting to explode. When the Los Angeles riots erupted in April 1992 (the worst civil disorder in American history) many hoped that it would catalyze a major national commitment to revitalize the cities -- an urban Marshall Plan.

The timing seemed perfect. The Los Angeles riots coincided with the end of the Cold War. When the Berlin Wall fell, and the Soviet Union collapsed, there was much public discussion about the prospects for a "peace dividend" to reorder national priorities and address long unmet domestic needs. Moreover, the riots occurred in the midst of a national election for President and Congress. For a few weeks following the riots, America's urban crisis became a hot topic. But soon the plight of America's cities returned to political obscurity.

### Urban Policy on the Margins

Today, more than four years after the L.A. riots, our urban crisis remains marginal to the political debate in this country. No other major industrial nation has allowed its cities to face the type of fiscal and social troubles confronting America's cities. Other industrial nations do not permit the level of sheer destitution and decay found in America's cities. Compare, for example, cities in Canada -- which has a similar economy and distribution of wealth -- with our own. We see the conse-

quences every day, from the deadly levels of crime and violence, to the Third World levels of infant mortality, to the growing army of homeless people sleeping on park benches.

In seeking explanations for this condition, progressive scholars and activists tend to focus on large-scale economic forces. The globalization of the economy. The deindustrialization of our economy. The widening gap between rich and poor. The persistence of racism, especially among lenders, landlords and realtors.

We also look at the impact of public policy, usually federal policy, on the conditions in our cities. We're all familiar with that litany. In the postwar era, federal government policies both pushed people out of cities and pulled them into suburbs. These included highway-building policies that opened up the hinterlands to speculation and development; housing and tax policies that offered government-insured mortgages and tax breaks to whites in suburbia (but not in cities); and bulldozer urban renewal policies that destroyed working class neighborhoods, scattering their residents to blue-collar suburbs, to make way for downtown business development. Since the late 1970's, the federal government has been shredding the social safety net. Most federal programs that serve cities -- whether "people" programs or "place" programs -- suffered dramatic cuts. Revenue sharing. Housing subsidies. AFDC benefit levels.

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## Globalization / continued from page 2

### Global Action

There now exists an alternative network of community-based organizations and planners that is helping to build community power, national reforms and global alternatives. We should join it. This is a loose network like Planners Network that brings together professionals and communities struggling against displacement and eviction, for better housing, health care, and education, and for a better quality of life. Part of this network has come together to participate in Habitat II -- the second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements held in Istanbul in May/June 1996. During over a year of preparatory conferences and sessions, thousands of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from around the world came together to pressure governments and international agencies to pay attention to the needs of historically disenfranchised neighborhoods.

As a whole NGOs have helped to brake the neo-liberal escape from government responsibility. But not all NGOs, and the policies they advocate, are progressive. Indeed, some of them help reinforce the neo-liberal agenda of government downsizing by giving credence to the conservative myth of self-help. They offer themselves up as shining examples of the myth that unassisted self-help is the solution to urban problems.

### The Myth of Self-Help

At international forums like Habitat II, the U.S. is a major advocate of self-help. The many grassroots efforts in the U.S. are offered as an example of the merits of local action. They glorify grassroots activism -- not to help empower the poor but to deny them any assistance from the powerful. This is a cover for national government disinvestment, downsizing and deregulation. It takes the pressure off international lending agencies (which are dominated by the U.S.) to back government expenditures that benefit the poor. Progressive planners need to contest this distorted view both at home and abroad.

The U.S. advocates of local action leave out any mention of the history of U.S. government subsidies of urban development. Through highway and infrastructure development, loan guarantees, and tax benefits, government intervention in the U.S. is plentiful and favors the wealthy. The public-private partnerships favor the private; the public is usually the junior partner.

In reality, self-help is a survival strategy for the majority of the world's urban population. It describes the way most poor people are forced to act because they don't have the resources available to buy urban services in the marketplace. It is telling that most progressive NGOs are in fact committed to political agendas that call not for self-help but for greater government aid to grassroots efforts.

### Decentralization and Local Control

Another crusade led by the U.S. is for decentralization and local government control. While real decentralization of power is sorely needed everywhere, for the most part the U.S. and the global aid establishment propose decentralization as a cover for national government downsizing, privatization and withdrawal of assistance to low-income communities.

The U.S. federal system is often seen as a model for decentralized government. Home rule is equated with democracy. Not discussed is how powerful central government policies support private growth. Nor are the racial and class divisions between central cities and suburbs that are reinforced by local home rule.

Local and national efforts to improve cities need to be informed by a global vision or we can easily end up endorsing simplistic calls for decentralization and grassroots initiative. Progressive planners should find ways to support local efforts in community development and planning that contribute to broader structural change at the national and global levels. If we are not aware of the global trends and do not act to confront them, our local efforts can solidify the international structure of poverty and inequality.

### Unsustainable Sprawled Growth

The urban agenda needs to be strongly linked with the global environmental agenda by pointing to the wasteful process of urbanization propagated in the West. This is an issue that planners should be especially concerned with for it directly concerns the work we do.

Urban development and planning in the U.S. are dominated by a pro-growth mentality, spurred by the real estate, auto and oil industries. Metropolitan growth is sprawled to accommodate the private auto as the main transportation mode. Urban sprawl consumes large amounts of land and encourages higher rates of energy consumption and waste than more compact forms of development. In large part because of its sprawled metropolitan regions, the U.S. is the largest source of carbon dioxide in the world, and a major contributor to global warming.

Reliance on the auto not only wastes energy and pollutes the environment, but wastes human resources because people spend excessive time in traffic. In international forums, the U.S. is relatively silent about sprawl. The main strategies it advances for dealing with its consequences is treatment of tail-pipe emissions and alternative fuels. By themselves, these strategies can help rationalize sprawled growth and permit greater auto use without necessarily lowering pollution levels.

### Join and Build the Progressive Network

After Habitat, new ways should be sought to build the network of progressive NGOs. Progressive planners in North America can play an important role. We can question our own government's behavior from the inside while building ties on the outside. We can learn from the experiences in countries, like Mexico and South Africa, where large coalitions of grassroots organizations play major roles in national decisionmaking. We can build ties to the women's, environmental and shelter rights movements.

We can take some modest steps towards networking with progressive communities and planners in places close to home where we already have ties. A first priority should be to expand Network ties in Canada and Mexico. PN on the East Coast can strengthen ties to the Caribbean, especially Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Cuba.

*Tom Angotti is Co-Chair of Planners Network and will represent PN at the Habitat II Conference in Istanbul.*

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# Resources

## ECONOMIC AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

- **Bay Area.** The National Economic Development and Law Center is starting the Community-Based Economic Development Support Collaborative (CEDSCO), a regional support program for Bay Area nonprofit community-based organizations engaged in economic development activities. For more information contact the Center, 2201 Broadway, Ste. 815, Oakland, CA 94612; 510/251-2600.
- **Economic Development Resources.** *City Limits* magazine's April issue featured "The Work Book: A Resource Guide to Community-Based Economic Development." It's a networking sourcebook of neighborhood-building business strategies for community groups and entrepreneurs. It's available for \$5 from City Limits, 40 Prince St., New York, NY 10012; 212/925-9820.
- **Arts.** A paper entitled "How Do the Arts Build Communities?" documents the projects that Peoples Housing, a Chicago organization, engaged in, including renovation of an old movie theater, and the Tile Project, in which youth from the neighborhood manufactured ceramic tiles for use in the Peoples Housing office and for sale to the public. It's available on the internet at <http://h-net.msu.edu/~urban/comm-org>, or from Thomas Tresser, Arts Partners, 1150 N. Lake Shore Dr., #13D, Chicago, IL 60611; 312/280-1160.
- **Industrial Jobs.** PN'er Isabel Hill's hour-long documentary video, "Made in Brooklyn," tells the compelling stories of factories that flourish in Brooklyn, NY and challenge the notion that manufacturing is dead in America. Workers reveal how their jobs bring not only regular paychecks, but meaningful relationships, enhanced self-esteem, and pride in themselves and their products. "Made in Brooklyn" has lessons about the economy for the entire nation. It's available from Isabel Hill Productions at 718/768-6757.
- **Lending.** The New York Law School Community Reinvestment Clearinghouse announces the availability of *The Community Reinvestment and Fair Lending Training Manual*. The philosophy behind the manual is that communities can do something about Community Reinvestment and Fair Lending by using federal law. The manual can be ordered for \$10, or \$2 on disk, from the New York Law School Clearinghouse, 57 Worth St., New York, NY 10013, Attn: Richard Marsico.
- **Reexamining Suburbs.** The Spring issue of *Planning Commissioners Journal* takes a look at "Center-ing our Suburbs," examining how existing underutilized shopping areas can be converted into mixed-use centers that help reduce dependence on the automobile. It's available for \$45 for a 4-issue, 1-year subscription from PCJ, PO Box 4295, Burlington, VT 05406.
- **North Carolina.** The 20th anniversary issue of *Carolina Planning* looks back at twenty years of North Carolina's economic development policies, technology and planning, and planning and the environment. It's available for \$6 from Carolina Planning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Campus Box #3140, New East Building, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3140.
- **Policy Organizing.** The Center for Community Change has published "How -- and why -- to influence Public Policy: An Action Guide for Community Organizations," a special issue of their regular publication *Community Change*. The 40-page booklet is available for \$5 from the Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20007.
- **Overthrowing Corporate Power.** The theme of the March/April issue of the *Grassroots Economic Organizing (GEO) Newsletter* is "Making the 21st Century Ours," and focuses on "winning back our planet from corporate domination. It features some words from Ralph Nader, a piece about the New Party, and resource listings "for resisting and transforming the 'corporate plutocracy.'" It's available from GEO Newsletter, POB 5065, New Haven, CT 06525 for \$15 per year.
- **Planning Awards.** The April issue of *Planning*, the American Planning Association's monthly magazine, features descriptions of two dozen award-winning planning projects from around the country. It's available from APA, 122 S. Michigan Ave., Ste. 1600, Chicago, IL 60603-6107, for \$4.
- **Community Policing.** "Excellence in Community Policing" is a new National League of Cities project "to identify innovative & exemplary local public safety programs that demonstrate strategies & techniques of community policing." A nationwide award competition is involved; application packets (May 31 deadline) are available. Info. from William Whiteside, National League of Cities, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20004; 202/626-3136.
- **Supermarkets.** "No Place to Shop: Challenges & Opportunities Facing the Development of Supermarkets in Urban America" addresses industry considerations on doing business in the inner-city & consumer concerns on improving food access for low-income persons. \$20 from Public Voice for Food & Health Policy, 1101 14th St., NW, #710, Washington, DC 20005; 202/371-1840.
- **Comprehensive Community Building.** "Core Issues in Comprehensive Community-Building Initiatives," Rebecca Stone, ed., is available from the Chapin Hall Center for Children, University of Chicago, 1313 E. 16th St., Chicago, IL 60637; 312/753-5900; [rstone@chmail.spc.uchicago.edu](mailto:rstone@chmail.spc.uchicago.edu)



## ENVIRONMENT

- **Sustainability.** *The Earth Times*, a semi-monthly newspaper published (advertising-free) by the Earth Times Foundation, features international news on issues of sustainable development, poverty, and the environment. It's available for \$36 per year from The Earth Times Foundation, 205 E. 42nd St., Ste. 1316, New York, NY 10017.
- **Green Cities.** "The City In Bloom: Creating Parks, Markets, Gardens & Other Green Spaces" is the theme of the May/June issue of *The Neighborhood Works*, available for \$3.50 from TNW, 2125 W. North Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.
- **Energy Efficiency Publications.** The American Council for an Energy-Efficient Economy's 1996 Publications Catalog is available from ACEEE, 1001 Connecticut Ave., NW, Ste. 801, Washington, DC 20036. It features such publications as "Improving Energy Efficiency in Apartment Buildings" and "Transportation and Energy: Strategies for a Sustainable Transportation System."
- **Open Space.** "Municipal Open Space Acquisition: Preparing and Funding Special Projects" will be offered by the Lincoln Land Use Institute of Land Policy on June 25 at the Sturbridge Host Hotel in Sturbridge, MA. The program will examine innovative and conventional techniques for planning, funding and acquiring land for open space conservation. Registration is \$65. For more information contact the Institute at 800/LAND-USE.
- **Green Policy.** PN'er Michael Black's new book, *Greening Environmental Policy: The Politics of a Sustainable Future*, has been published by St. Martin's Press in New York. Edited with Frank Fischer, the book looks at sustainable development issues such as environmental values, institutions, and participatory practices. Michael can be contacted at 756 20th Ave., San Francisco, CA 94121; 415/668-2370.
- **Lead Poisoning.** Subscriptions to *Lead Inform* are now available. This quarterly newsletter provides information to child-care and healthcare providers about current lead poisoning prevention activities and resources. To subscribe, send name, address, and affiliation to National Lead Information Center, 1019 19th St., NW, Ste. 401, Washington, DC 20036; 202/833-1071.
- **Sustainability.** *SA Talks* is the new newsletter of Sustainable America. Contact them at 350 5th Ave., #3112, New York, NY 10118-3199; 212/239-4221; sustainer@igc.apc.org.

## HOUSING

- **Housing Advocates.** "1996 Advocates' Resource Book" is available for \$20 from the National Low Income Housing Coalition, 1012 14th St., NW, Washington, DC 20005; 202/662-1530.
- **Housing Organizing.** The March/April issue of *Shelterforce: The Journal of Affordable Housing Strategies* features articles about successful organizing campaigns, and how housing groups can make a difference in Campaign '96. Subscriptions are \$18 for individuals, \$30 for organizations, for a 6-issue, 1-year subscription, from Shelterforce, P.O. Box 3000, Denville, NJ 07834.
- **Housing Cooperatives.** *The Hidden History of Housing Cooperatives*, Allan Heskin and Jacqueline Leavitt, editors, is available (\$38) from the Center for Cooperatives, UC Davis, Davis California, 95616; 915/752-2408.
- **Women's Housing.** The Center for Community Change's Spring *Strategy Alert* focuses on women's housing issues, with articles from the McAuley Institute, a national, non-profit organization which assists local organizations in developing affordable housing projects. It's available from the Center for Community Change, 1029 Vermont Ave., NW, Ste. 710, Washington, DC 20005; 202/628-2981.
- **Tax Credits.** PN'er Joe Guggenheim's "Tax Credits for Low Income Housing: New Opportunities for Developers, Non-Profits and Communities Under Permanent Tax Act Provisions" is now in its ninth printing, and is available from Simon Publications, PO Box 229, Glen Echo, MD 20812; 301/320-5771. The softcover edition is \$66 plus shipping, and the loose leaf edition with three supplements is \$175 plus shipping.
- **Public Housing.** "Save the Brooke Amendment: Keep the Cap on Public Housing Rents" is a fact sheet and action kit available (likely free) from Deepak Bhargava, Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20007; 202/342-0519.
- **Children and Housing.** "Housing America's Future: Children At Risk," by Tracy Kaufman (37 pp., 1996) is available (\$25) from the National Low Income Housing Coalition, 1012 14th St. NW, #1200, Washington, DC 20005; 202/662-1530.
- **Housing Impacts.** "There Goes the Neighborhood? The Impact of Subsidized Multi-Family Housing on Urban Neighborhoods," by Edward Goetz, Hin Kin Lam & Anne Heitlinger (94 pp., 1996), is available from the Ctr. for Urban & Regional Affairs, 330 HHH Center, 301-19th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55455; 612/625-1551.

## MISCELLANEOUS

- **Gays and Lesbians in Planning.** Gays and Lesbians in Planning (GALIP), a national network of 650 gay and lesbian planners and related professionals publishes a quarterly newsletter and sponsors social/networking functions at APA and other national events. They have about eight local chapters, including one in Washington, DC which sponsors discussions and tours. For more information contact Randy Gross, 1705 Lanier Pl., NW #402, Wash., DC 20009.
- **New York Resources.** The Community Service Society of New York has published the third edition of "Resources: A Directory of New York City Directories." The 69-page directory is available for \$9 from The Community Service Society, Office of Info., 105 East 22nd St., New York, NY 10010.
- **Save Tranet.** *Tranet*, "a bi-monthly digest for people who are creating the new social paradigm - people who are changing the world by changing their own lives - people who are adopting appropriate technologies and lifestyles," may not make it past its next issue, as 20-year, 100-issue editor Bill Ellis takes a break to write a book. If you're interested in helping keep this valuable publication alive, contact the interim team at Box 567, Rangeley, ME 04970-0567; 207/864-2252; tranet@igc.apc.org.
- **Corporate Power. Tyranny of the Bottom Line: Why Corporations Make Good People Do Bad Things,** by American University Business Professor Ralph Estes (Dec. 1995) is available (\$27.95) from Berrett-Koehler Publishers; or from the Center for Advancement of Public Policy, 1735 S St. NW, Washington, DC 20009; 202/797-0606.
- **New York Activism.** "Finding the Grassroots: A Directory of NYC Activist Organizations" is available (\$13) from the North Star Fund, 666 Broadway, 5th flr., New York, NY 10012; 212/460-5511.
- **Affirmative Action.** An Organizing Kit to Fight Anti-Affirmative Action Measures at the Grassroots Level has been produced by Women Employed, 22 W. Monroe St., #1400, Chicago, IL 60603; 312/782-3902.
- **Homelessness.** *The New Poverty: Homeless Families in America*, by Ralph da Costa Nunez (254 pp., 1996) is available (\$16.95) from Insight Books, 233 Spring St., New York, NY 10013; 800/221-9369.
- **Rural Development.** "Rural Development Research: A Foundation for Policy" has been published as "an information base that can serve as a foundation for rural development policy," and deals with education, entrepreneurship, and physical and social infrastructure issues. It's available for \$65 from Greenwood Publishing Group, 88 Post Road West., PO Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881-5007; 203/226-3571.
- **Rural Development II.** "Creating the Countryside: The Politics of Rural and Environmental Discourse" has been pub-

lished by Temple University Press. "Active regional environmentalists discuss the destruction, conservation, and creation of the countryside." It's available for \$22.95 from Temple University Press, Broad and Oxford Streets, Philadelphia, PA 19122; 215/204-1099.

- **NAFTA.** "NAFTA's First Two Years: The Myths & the Realities," Sarah Anderson, John Cavanagh & David Ranney, eds., is available from the Institute for Policy Studies, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C., 20009; 202/234-9382 x227.

## CALLS FOR PAPERS / ASSISTANCE

- **International Planning.** Over the last decade, *Planning Practice and Research* has carried articles on aspects of many different planning systems across the world. Over the coming years PP&R will be encouraging submissions of articles exploring the distinctive features of planning practice and policy in different countries, in an effort to meet the demand for a transnational exchange of ideas on planning systems and practice. Articles on land use, housing, transportation, infrastructure, planning, environmental planning, and social services are particularly welcome. For more information about solicitations, contact North American Editor (and PN co-chair) Tom Angotti, Pratt Institute, Graduate Center for Planning and the Environment, 200 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205; 718/399-4391.
- **Community Development Curricula.** Victoria Missick writes that she is compiling resources for community development curricula appropriate for students in grades 7-12. "I would appreciate your assistance in locating curricula, literature, and other materials in urban planning, urban studies, architecture and the built environment, environmental science, and community economic and social development. I am also looking for lesson and unit plans, as well as curricula that are interdisciplinary." Contact Victoria c/o PICCED, 379 DeKalb Ave., 2nd Floor, Brooklyn, NY 11205; 718/636-3468, x6441.
- **Housing Segregation.** For a study, commissioned by the Poverty and Race Research Action Council, of government's role in creating racially segregated housing patterns and their impact on schools, we are seeking copies of or references to relevant reports, theses, etc. Please contact Prof. Arnold Hirsch, Dept. History, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70148; 504/286-6884; arhhi@uno.edu.

## FUNDING / FUNDRAISING

- **Community and Economic Development.** "Funding Sources for Community and Economic Development: A Guide to Current Sources for Local Programs and Projects" has been published by Oryx, and has been updated for 1996 with over 300 funding opportunities. Contact Oryx, 4041 North Central Ave., Ste. 700, Phoenix, AZ 85012-3397; 800/279-6799; <http://www.oryxpress.com>

# Conferences and Workshops

- **Community Development.** The Lincoln Filene Center of Tufts University presents the Management and Community Development Institute at the Tufts University campus in Medford, MA, **June 2-7**. This conference, now in its thirteenth year, offers technical support and training to organizations and individuals in the nonprofit sector. For more information or an institute brochure and registration materials call 617/627-3549.
- **Labor Party.** The founding convention of the Labor Party of the United States will be held **June 6-9** in Cleveland, OH. For more information, call 202/234-5194.
- **Homeownership.** The National Homeownership Summit will be held **June 6-7** in Washington, DC. It's free. Registration info. from 301/251-5650; pharris@aspensys.com.
- **Affordable Housing.** "America's Commitment to Affordable Housing: Today & Tomorrow" is the 1996 Spring Convention of the National Housing Conference, **June 13-14** in Washington, DC. Info. from the Conference, 815 15th St. NW, #711, Washington, DC 20005; 202/393-5772.
- **The Place to be.** If you haven't registered yet for the Planners Network Conference, to be held **June 14-16** in Brooklyn, New York, turn the page for details, and send in the registration form today.
- **Homelessness.** "Building Our Future: Organizing to End Homelessness in a New Era" is the 4th annual conference of the National Alliance to End Homelessness, **June 19-21** in Washington, DC. Info. from the Alliance, 1518 K St. NW, #206, Washington, DC 20005; 202/638-1526.
- **Housing briefings.** The National Low Income Housing Coalition and the National Congress for Community Economic Development are sponsoring one-day housing and community development policy briefings in Philadelphia on **June 20** and Boston on **June 28**. The fee is \$50 for nonprofits, \$125 for government and for-profits. Call NLICH at 202/662-1530 for more info.
- **Human Rights.** "Raising Voices, Demanding Rights: Toward a Human Rights Agenda" is the theme of this year's Bertha Capen Reynolds Society National Conference, to be held **June 28-30** in Philadelphia. The program's goal is to develop a program and strategies for a human rights agenda grounded in an understanding of the interrelationship of racism, sexism, homophobia, and classism. For information contact BCRS Conference, c/o Sandie Bauman, University of PA, School of Social Work, 3701 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, PA 19104; 215/898-5502.
- **Sustainable Communities.** The E.F. Schumacher Society Decentralist Conference will be held **June 28-30** at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts. The conference will focus on the how-tos of community based processes of building sustainable communities. More information is available from E.F. Schumacher Society, 140 Jug End Rd., Great Barrington, MA 01230.
- **Jobs.** Jobs with Justice will hold their annual meeting **June 28-30** in Seattle, Washington. The weekend is full of skill-building workshops, speakers, direct action, and open discussion, all focused on forging solidarity and building Jobs with Justice. For more information, contact Jobs with Justice, 501 Third St., NW #872, Washington, DC 20001-2797; 202/434-1106; fazcarat@cwahqgat.compuserve.com
- **Domestic Violence.** The 7th National Conference of the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence will be held **Aug. 4-7** in Charleston, SC. Info. from the Coalition, PO Box 18749, Denver, CO 80218; 303/839-1455.
- **Eco-Cities.** The Institute for Bioregional Studies, located on Prince Edward Island, Canada, will host "Eco-Cities Design Colloquia: Designing Sustainable Communities," **August 18-21**. A group of facilitators will work with participants to develop a model eco-city along the Charlottetown waterfront, on lands the city is currently soliciting proposals for. For more information contact Phil Ferraro, Dir., Institute for Bioregional Studies, 449 University Ave., Ste. 126, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada, C1A 8K3; 902/892-9578.
- **Women and Economic Development.** Ms. Foundation for Women presents its 8th Annual Institute on Women and Economic Development, **September 5-8**, Peachtree City, Georgia. This training brings together grassroots women experienced and new to the field of economic development. Choose from 14 different classes, network informally with peers from throughout the United States, celebrate and relax. Contact Dana Veerasammy to receive a brochure and registration form. 212/742-2300, x317.
- **Neighborhood Revitalization.** The "Vital Communities Conference," highlighting Minneapolis' revitalization efforts and featuring workshops on models of neighborhood planning, designing community safety initiatives, and laying the foundation for housing options, will be held **September 12-13** in Minneapolis, MN. Pablo Eisenberg, Executive Director of the Center for Community Change, will be the keynote speaker. For more information contact Hillary Freeman at the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP), 105 5th Ave. S., Ste. 245, Minneapolis, MN 55401-2585; 612/673-5140.



renewing

**HOPE**

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**VISION**

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**Progressive Planning in our Communities**  
**June 14-16, 1995 • Pratt Institute • Brooklyn, NY**

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**Draft Conference Program****Saturday June 15****Thursday June 13**

9:00 am - 8:00 pm Registration  
Exhibit of community plans  
Pre-Conference walking tours (Advance registration req. - \$10 each)  
9:00 am - 1:00 pm Harlem • Lower East Side • South Bronx  
5:00 - 7:00 pm PN Steering Committee Meeting  
6:00 - 7:00 pm Facilitator Orientation  
8:00 - 9:00 pm Opening reception  
9:00-10:30 pm Videos: *Squatters: The Other Philadelphia Story*  
*Holding Ground*

**Friday June 14**

8:00 am - 7:00 pm Registration  
Exhibit of community plans  
9:00 am - 2:00 pm Community workshops  
3:30 - 5:30 pm Plenaries: Presentations of working papers  
7:00 Keynote speaker: Luis Garden Acosta,  
El Puente Academy  
9:00 - 11:00 pm Movie: *Delivered Vacant*

8:00 am - 6:00 pm Registration / Exhibit of community plans  
9:00 - 10:45 Workshops  
11:00 - 1:00 pm Workshops  
2:30 - 3:30 Movie: *Bordersville*  
3:30 - 4:00 Movie: *The Global Assembly Line*  
2:30 - 4:00 Strategies for Progressive Planners Today:  
Follow-up discussions of working papers  
4:15 - 6:00 Workshops  
6:30 - 9:00 Keynote Speaker: Ruth Messinger,  
President, Borough of Manhattan  
Tribute to Mel King  
9:00 - 11:00 Music and dancing with La Borinqueña

**Sunday June 16**

9:30-10:30 Plenary discussion:  
How to promote progressive planning in the 1990s  
10:30 - 11:00 PN Steering Committee Report  
11:00 - 12:30 PN Action Agenda Workshops  
2:00 pm Post Conference Tours  
(Advance registration required - \$10 each)  
Brooklyn Bicycle Tour • Brooklyn Bus Tour • Brooklyn Subway Tour

*Please let us know if you have accessibility or child care needs.*

**Workshop presenters include:**

Chris Tilly, Russell Sage Foundation  
Ron Shiffman, Pratt Institute  
Sarah Anderson, Institute for Policy Studies  
William Tabb, Queens College  
Eddie Bautista, NY Lawyers for the Public Interest  
John Kaehny, Transportation Alternatives

**Video Screenings will include:**

*Troublemakers*  
*Made in Brooklyn*  
*Bordersville*  
*The Global Assembly Line*  
*Building Hope*  
*A Practical Man*

Close to 40 workshops are being organized for the three sessions on Saturday, including:

- Equity and Participation in the Changing Community Development Environment
- The Roofless Women's Action Research Mobilization (RWARM) of Boston
- The Restructuring of the World Economy: Global Forces and Local Human Responses
- Regionalism and the Distribution of Race and Class in the American Landscape
- Racial Conflict & Government Responses
- Developing Success Measures in Community Development
- Mutual Housing Associations and Community Land Trusts
- Planning from a Puerto Rican Perspective
- Roundtable Discussion on Environmental Issues
- Community Responses to Globalization

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**Facilitators wanted**

Some planners are notorious for their ability to talk. Others just listen. We hope to encourage everyone to do some talking and listening by having discussion facilitators everywhere and by promoting a culture of participation and inclusion.

If you have abilities and/or interest in facilitating productive discussion and you are willing to spend a little time during the conference helping make it happen, please call Billie Bramhall at 303/329-6964, or Winton Pitcoff at 718/636-3461.

# PLANNERS NETWORK '96

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## Progressive Planning in our Communities

**June 14-16, 1995 • Pratt Institute • Brooklyn, NY**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Title/Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_ Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (days): \_\_\_\_\_ Fax: \_\_\_\_\_ E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

### Registration Fee

(full registration includes all conference events and some meals)

General: \$95 per person \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Student/Unemployed: \$50 per person \$ \_\_\_\_\_

One day registration: \$25 per person per day \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Tours: \$10 per person for Thursday or Sunday tours (circle below) ( \_\_\_\_\_ tours x \$10) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

#### Thursday 6/13 Walking Tours

Harlem (9a.m. - 1p.m.) • Lower East Side (9a.m. - 1p.m.) • South Bronx (10a.m. - 3p.m.)

#### Sunday 6/16 Tours (all 2 - 5p.m.)

Bicycle Tour • Brooklyn Bus Tour • Subway Tour

Total: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Full payment must accompany registration. Please make checks payable to Planners Network. Send to:

**Planners Network/Pratt GCPE • 379 DeKalb Ave. • Brooklyn, NY 11205**

**FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL WINTON AT 718/636-3461**

### Room reservations

There are a limited number of single and double dormitory rooms available on campus at Pratt.

#### Single rooms:

Total persons: \_\_\_\_\_ Arrival date: \_\_\_\_\_ Departure date: \_\_\_\_\_ Number of nights: \_\_\_\_\_  
@ \$35 per person, per night, amount enclosed: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

#### Double rooms:

Total persons: \_\_\_\_\_ Arrival date: \_\_\_\_\_ Departure date: \_\_\_\_\_ Number of nights: \_\_\_\_\_  
@ \$25 per person, per night, amount enclosed: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Linens: (sheets, towels, blankets) @ \$10 per set, duration of conference, amount enclosed: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

If there is someone else registering for the conference who you would like to room with, please let us know who:

If not indicating a specific roommate, please let us know your preferred roommate characteristics: Gender ( M / F ) Smoker ( Y / N )

## ***Rural / continued from page 1***

though we, the minority, are being invaded by foreigners hell bent on parodying, commodifying, and destroying our customs and cultures, and usurping our lands.

Over the past five years my county has grown by 15% -- faster than Africa. Over the past ten years, use of our adjoining National Forest has exceeded projections by 300%. Better than 3,000 acres per year (around 38,000 cumulative) are losing traditional uses, most recently to 35-acre building sites for the very rich who are able to retain a preferential agricultural tax rate. Eroding roads have been blazoned across our hillsides; castles built on our river banks and fragile ridges, and in the middle of our critical wildlife habitat. Under our state's statutes, enacted primarily by urban legislators, we have little power to do much about it. So, we battle live-stock-harassing dog packs, cut fences, ditch destruction, flagrant trespass, proliferating noxious weeds -- as well as the normal hazards of fluctuating markets, agribusiness conglomerates, and a welter of regulations. Beleaguered, since the value of our land for trophy homes far, far exceeds its value for agriculture, we capitulate to the 35-acre projects.

It is, however, the concomitant and crippling local and national economic shift that may, in the long run, be most insidiously destructive. As Rural America is "discovered" by the affluent, Service America finds us, too. One can talk about urban corporate layoffs; the past ten years have seen virtually all of our good-paying mining jobs disappear. For agriculture it's a double whammy: a century-long supportive symbiosis between the two has been erased. For those whose forefathers were miners and who themselves have been miners all their lives, the loss is severe. Along with no historical memory, Urban Cowboys, "hummingbirds" and "lone eagles" bring no jobs but low-wage jobs for those with rural skills. If one chooses not to sell out, what jobs are there in the increasingly high-priced tourism/recreation-oriented core, many miles away? And the socio-economic cost to labor of their labor is not calculated

by employers. The small dots, once our social, cultural, and modest economic support systems, are becoming rising-cost bedroom towns of the core. Our schools are hard becoming overcrowded, our roads increasingly ill-maintained, and the county's "tax reform" budget follows the demands of urban money and power -- it cannot keep up with our growing rural needs.

And rural America needs. Above all, we need the assistance of those who are *not* urban graduates of urban planning programs conceptualizing in terms of urban solutions for urban problems - - and there doesn't seem to be a Department of Rural Planning around. Although much can be learned from urban planning, there is much urban planners need to *unlearn* when they come to rural areas -- primarily that rural planning is not about design,

and that rural customs and cultures are surely not those of the urban world. If rural America is to be *functionally* saved, if our customs, cultures, lands and children are not to be ousted by "foreigners," rural planning foremost needs to be about resistance mechanisms and about acquiring the time to accommodate change with dignity, hope, and economic resilience. It needs to be about fundamentally rethinking regulatory schemes for the benefit of those who are here rather than coming. It needs to be about job retraining and economic development unrelated to exploitative industries. And, it needs to be

***Above all, Rural America needs the assistance of those who are not urban graduates of urban planning programs conceptualizing in terms of urban solutions for urban problems -- and there doesn't seem to be a Department of Rural Planning around. Although much can be learned from urban planning, there is much urban planners need to unlearn when they come to rural areas -- primarily that rural planning is not about design, and that rural customs and cultures are surely not those of the urban world.***

about advocacy in the public arena and above all about sensitivity and balance. For us all, it's a formidable challenge.

*Jean Garren has spent about half her life in rural environments. She has a master's degree from UCLA, has taught in the arts and humanities and other fields, has owned her own business, and is presently enrolled in the University of Colorado's MURP program. She's been active in planning and land use issues affecting her county for about ten years and a member of its Planning Commission for over four, representing an almost wholly rural district.*

**Don't Forget!**  
**PN '96 • June 14-16 • Brooklyn, NY**  
*(Registration materials are one page back)*



## National / continued from page 2

Many progressive activists hoped that Bill Clinton's victory in November 1992 would usher in a new era of hope for the nation's cities. His victory was viewed as a mandate for a more activist government. But Clinton was elected without a majority mandate. He received only 43% of the overall vote. Equally important, his own party, while capturing a majority of the seats in Congress, was deeply divided, with many members closely linked to big business interests who oppose progressive taxation, Keynesian pump-priming, and social spending. Early in the Clinton administration, Congress thwarted the president's efforts to enact a modest public investment plan, universal health insurance, and even a child immunization program. The Republican takeover of Congress in November 1994 exacerbated the political isolation of cities, symbolized by Clinton's proposal a month later to dramatically cut the HUD budget.

It is easy to bemoan this reality. It is, indeed, a scar on our national conscience. But if progressives want to address America's urban crisis, we must be clear-eyed about the basic causes of our cities' plight as well as about the political obstacles and opportunities involved in putting urban American closer to the top of the nation's agenda.

Equally important, we have to ask ourselves some very hard questions about two things: political strategy and urban policy. What lessons have we learned in the past, say, 20 years that we can apply to these issues? What should we -- planners, organizers, activists, scholars, teachers -- be doing differently?

### Rethinking Suburbia

We have to face an important reality: America is now a suburban country. This has very important political consequences.

Today, more than three-quarters of all Americans live in metropolitan areas. Two-thirds of them -- in other words, about half the nation's population -- live in suburbs. Moreover, in every region of the country -- even where city populations are increasing -- the fastest-growing parts of the metropolitan areas are the surrounding suburbs.

As a result, America's cities now face a shrinking tax base and fiscal traumas. In the postwar era, the disparity of median incomes of cities and suburbs have widened. In 1960, the per capita income of cities was 5% greater than their surrounding suburbs; by 1989, it had fallen to 84% of suburban income. In some metropolitan areas, the economic disparities between city and suburbs are much wider.

### Demystifying Capital Mobility

All progressive urban activists face a serious dilemma: Businesses can move, but politicians usually stay in one place. If local public officials move too aggressively to tax or regulate the private sector, business can threaten to pull up stakes and take their jobs and tax base with them. Federal laws actually promote bidding wars and competition between cities, regions, and states. From the perspective of national politics and federal policy, the question: Should we change some of the groundrules that allow companies unfettered capital mobility? Should our tax laws, environmental laws, labor laws, and other laws be reformed to make it more difficult for companies to play Russian roulette with our cities? The answer is to enact a common national standard and create a more level playing field.

### Converting the Military Industrial Complex

We will never solve our domestic problems, including our urban crisis, as long as we continue to spend such a large part of our federal budget on national defense. But today, several years after the end of the Cold War and all the talk about a "peace dividend," our country has not significantly reduced its reliance on military spending. This has two seri-

ous consequences. First, there isn't enough money in our federal budget for domestic economic and social programs, such as housing, education, infrastructure, etc. Second, our private economy is still dominated by military research and production, which means we divert much of our scientific and technical expertise and invest too little in civilian industries. Rather than employing research and development funds to help modernize the nation's basic manufacturing industries, for example the steel and automobile industries, or developing new civilian industries to make the U.S. more competitive internationally, for example, high speed rail, the Pentagon's priorities helped undermine key industrial sectors and the cities where they were located.

### Telling Our Success Stories

Progressives have to seriously address Americans' skeptical or hostile views about government and about our capacity to solve urban problems. When conservatives attack "big government," they aren't talking about the Pentagon. When they talk about the federal budget deficit, they don't focus on the key role that the Reagan military build-up played in putting America in the red. When Bob Dole complains about the "last bastion of socialism," he's talking about public housing, not defense contractors who depend on the Pentagon to survive. When they talk about welfare reform, they aren't talking about corporate welfare for Boeing, Lockheed, and Raytheon.

### Developing a Progressive Political Strategy

For the past several decades, progressive activists have made significant headway in urban politics. They have generally three, often overlapping, strategies: community organizing, labor organizing, and electoral politics. In the mid-1970s, hoping that a combination of community organizing and electoral work could create a growing progressive presence that would somehow jell into a national movement, some of these activists created several networks, including the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policy (CASLP) and the Planners Network. After a few years CASLP folded its tent, while the Planners Network continues primarily as a newsletter linking urban activists.

Policy wonks like to debate urban policy prescriptions. The truth is, these debates are irrelevant so long as we lack the political will to address the urban crisis. The reason that cities have long been off the policy agenda is not because urban policy experts have lacked good ideas for programs and policies. It is because cities -- where most poor, working class and minority people live -- lack political power.

The bottom line is that we need to create a Congressional majority to address the problems of cities. We need issues and campaigns that can help unite the diverse progressive activist struggles around the country. I call these "mobilizing reforms" -- changes that will help level the political playing field and help to develop an electoral and governing majority to help America's cities. These include:

**Campaign Finance Reform:** We need to remove the legalized bribery system that currently makes it impossible to deal constructively with urban problems.

**Expanding the Urban Electorate:** Using the Motor Voter Law, mayors, community and labor organizations, and the Democratic Party need to mobilize potential voters around issues.

**Labor Law Reform:** A key goal of urban policy should be to increase the incomes of the growing sector of the "working poor" concentrated in central cities and inner suburbs.

*Peter Dreier is E.P. Clapp Distinguished Professor of Politics and director of the Public Policy Program at Occidental College in Los Angeles.*

# Transformative community planning: Empowerment through community development

*Discussion Paper prepared for the Planners Network 96 Conference*

by Marie Kennedy

## What is community development?

I'm going to share some thoughts about some of the elements of effective planning for community development--a planning practice that I sometimes call transformative community planning.

I see real community development as combining material development with the development of people. Real development, as I understand it, necessarily involves increasing a community's capacity for taking control of its own development--building within the community critical thinking and planning abilities, as well as concrete skills, so that development projects and planning processes can be replicated by community members in the future. A good planning project should leave a community not just with more immediate "products" -- e.g., housing -- but also with an increased capacity to meet future needs.

Effective community development planning takes a comprehensive approach to meeting community needs -- an approach that recognizes the interrelationship of economic, physical and social development. Community development is linked to empowerment and to valuing diversity of cultures. This is true whether you are talking about planning in materially underdeveloped communities in the United States or in the so-called developing world.

Manning Marable, an African-American scholar and commentator, in his 1992 book, *Crisis of Color and Democracy*, offers a concise definition of empowerment, one that I think is particularly apt for planners:

*Empowerment is essentially a capacity to define clearly one's interests, and to develop a strategy to achieve those interests. It's the ability to create a plan or program to change one's reality in order to obtain those objectives or interests. Power is not a "thing", it's a process. In other words, you shouldn't say that a group has power, but that, through its conscious activity, a group can empower itself by increasing its ability to achieve its own interests.*

And, Kari Polanyi Levitt, an economist working in the Caribbean, in a lecture a couple of years ago to the Association of Caribbean Economists, took on the individualism, selfishness and greed typical of what she calls the "market magic" paradigm, arguing that:

*Any meaningful notion of "sustainable development" must begin with the recognition that the diversity of cultures which nourish human creativity is as precious an inheritance as the diversity of plant and animal life.*

She goes on to say,

*Development cannot be imposed from without. It is a creative social process and its central nervous system, the matrix which nourishes it, is located in the cultural sphere. Development is ultimately not a matter of money or physical capital, or foreign exchange, but of the capacity of a society to tap the root of popular creativity, to free up and empower people to exercise their intelligence and collective wisdom.*

## Role of the planner

Unfortunately, in most places, public policy and planning practice don't reflect this understanding of community development. And, in my view, that's why we have so little of it, especially in materially underdeveloped communities.

Most of my experience has been on the community level and it's at this level that you will find most of the practitioners who are trying to work in a transformative way. However, what often blocks success for transformative planners at the community level are decisions taken by planners at the city, state, national or even international level. For transformative planning to work on the community level, planners at all levels, who are framing public problem definitions and policies, writing legislation, designing governmental programs, prioritizing funding targets for private foundations and governmental agencies, or preparing requests for proposals, have to share an understanding of what constitutes community development.

## Measuring success

Measuring success primarily, or even exclusively, by the numbers -- the number of houses built or the number of clients served or the number of jobs created, or even the number of people whose income has risen above the poverty level, the increased number of high school graduates, the number of rivers cleaned up -- describes important outcomes, but outcomes insufficient for community development in the sense that I have defined it. If we measure success by the numbers alone, no matter how laudable our long range goals, we're going to plan, research, and design and lend our support to policies and programs that we think are going to be successful in terms of those numbers. Rational, right? Circular, too. If we don't include less measurable goals (or at least presently less measured goals) in our criteria for success -- goals that have to do with empowerment as Marable defines it -- we're likely to meet our goals while our communities are increasingly underdeveloped.

If, on the other hand, we have a different version of what constitutes success:

- that does include products of development, but which rests primarily on power and control being increasingly vested in community members;
- that is measured by the number of people who have, in the planning process, moved from being an object of planning to being a subject;
- that is measured in terms of increasing numbers of confident, competent, cooperative and purposeful community members;
- that is measured in terms of the ability of people involved in the planning process to replicate their achievements in other situations;
- that is measured in terms of movement towards realizing values of equity and inclusion;

then, we're going to have very different sorts of policies, programs and practices. And, our roles as planners will also be very different.

Transformative planning joins participatory action research in the assumption that possession of knowledge is the critical basis of power

**Transformative / page 11**

## Transformative / continued from page 13

and control.

There's a tension built in here for the transformative planner to work with. A central dilemma for the transformative planner is the task of finding a balance between assuming that oppressed people fully understand their own oppression and the planner does not, or conversely, that the planner fully understands the truth (or has the research and analytical tools to get at the truth) about people's oppression and that the people do not.

The process of achieving this balance isn't mystical, but it does require an ongoing process of evaluation of the actual circumstances in each community planning project undertaken. And it requires a real commitment to community development as I outlined at the beginning of this paper.

A successful transformative planner must carefully listen and respect what people know; help people acknowledge what they already know; and help them back up this "common sense" and put it in a form that communicates convincingly to others. The planner's role in this type of process is critical, but so is the role of the indigenous population--their "common sense" about the situation and their ability to mobilize for change.

Successful transformative planning also means planners who are willing to acknowledge that into each planning situation we bring with us our own attitudes and biases--biases that flow from our own class background and location, our own gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and so forth. And, along with acknowledging the baggage we bring with us, we must recognize that our preferences for certain planning and development outcomes are typically based, at least in part, on these biases and that they're not always (or even often) about being "right." It's not about the "right way"--our preferences are just that, they're our preferences.

Successful transformative planning means wielding our planning tools in a way that frames real alternatives; that elaborates the trade-offs in making one or another choice--that puts real control in people's hands. It does not mean making everybody a professional planner--a possessor of the particular set of skills that planners have developed through professional education and practice. It does mean using our skills so that

people can make informed decisions for themselves. And it means including in the trade-offs the consequences of different decisions in terms of overarching community values. It means challenging people on exclusionary, narrow-minded thinking; having enough respect for people to challenge them. It means framing alternatives that include organizing strategies, political strategies, education strategies, as well as the more traditional planning outcomes--programs, buildings, businesses and so forth.

Successful transformative planning means extending our definition of the planning process to include a capacity building and education/outreach phase on the front end and an evaluation period on the back end. And, it means fighting for funding for this extended process.

In short, it means working with communities in a way that's sensitive, supportive, inquiring and carefully analytical, challenging but not directive or patronizing. Although this may sound like "mom and apple pie," it's all too rare in practice.

*This paper has been presented in various versions in lectures at Cornell University (September 1993), the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (May 1993), and the Grupo Para el Desarrollo Integral de la Capital, Havana, Cuba (July 1992). Published versions are forthcoming in New Solutions (summer 1996) and Indigenous Planning Times (fall 1996).*

*Marie Kennedy teaches community planning at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. Combining the roles of activist and scholar, she has taught, worked on and written about community development, planning education and participatory action research.*

## PLANNERS NETWORK AT APA

Disneyworld, the headquarters for bottom-line land use planning, hosted the American Planning Association annual conference this year. Surrounded by Mickey Mouse and Michael Graves, the nation's leading planners probed issues of serious moment. A modest but surprisingly significant number of Planners Network sympathizers decided to check out the environment inside the belly of the beast. A hundred or so went to the reception co-sponsored by PN and Pratt Institute's Graduate Center for Planning & the Environment.

During their business meeting, the APA Executive Committee approved a resolution affirming the right to housing, and called on the United States delegation to Habitat II to do the same. APA Executive Committee member Norman Krumholz expressed his gratitude for the work done by PN and ADPSR (Architects Designers Planners for Social Responsibility) on the issue of housing rights.

## PLANNERS NETWORK AT HABITAT II

At least ten PN members will be attending the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul May 30 to June 14. PN has proposed to host four workshops on the following dates between 11:00 am and 12:45 pm:

- June 4 - Community Planning from a Global Perspective
- June 6 - Housing as a Right
- June 7 - Housing Segregation and Ghettoization
- June 11 - The U.S. National Urban Policy

Location has not been determined. PNers we know of who will be there are: Tom Angotti, Prentice Bowsher, Florence Elie-Duke, Peter Marcuse, Tony Schuman, Ken Reardon, Ron Shiffman, Yvette Shiffman, Sherif Yaziciouglu, and Ayse Yonder. Other PNers who plan to be at Habitat II and want to participate, contact Tom Angotti (718-399-4391) before May 30.



# Housing Rights in Danger with New Legislation

The US House of Representatives has passed a disastrous bill (HR 2406) that would repeal the 1937 Housing Act, raise rents on working families, completely deregulate 300 PHAs, and establish time-limited leases.

The Senate bill (S. 1260), which is less radical than the House bill, passed the full Senate in January. A conference committee will meet to negotiate one final version of the bill, possibly as early as the week of June 3, but may not begin until mid-June.

The House conferees are: Republicans - Lazio [NY], Leach [IA], Castle [DE], Baker [LA], and Bereuter [NE]. Democrats - Gonzalez [TX], Vento [MN], Kennedy [MA].

The Senate conferees have not been officially appointed yet, but are likely to be: Republicans - Mack [FL], D'Amato [NY], Bond [MO]. Democrats - Sarbanes [MD], Kerry [MA].

Housing advocates met in early May with Senate Banking Committee Democratic staff, who indicated that the Senate

Democrats are committed to fighting to improve the bill. They indicated that it will be difficult to push for better than the Senate position on the Brooke Amendment (the Senate bill repeals Brooke for those above 50% of area median income) without Clinton Administration support or specific examples of the impact of partial repeal in key districts. However, the Dems will fight for income targeting provisions for tenant-based section 8 that are better than either bills' provisions.

The threshold issues for Senate Dems that will determine whether they hold the bill or let it be voted on are: section 8 targeting, minimum rents, the Brooke Amendment, self-sufficiency contracts, and repeal of the 1937 Housing Act. They indicated that other areas of concern are: public housing targeting, deconcentration, fair market rents, portability, labor standards, CDBG sanctions, Indian housing, manufactured housing, occupancy standards, food stamps/income exclusion, and pets. Also, there is a possibility that Republicans will attempt to add some sort of mark-to-market/portfolio re-engineering plan for project-based section 8 to the final bill.

Housing advocates also met with top HUD staff, and expressed their dismay that Secretary Cisneros appeared to publicly show support for the House bill. HUD staff indicated that the agency supports the Senate version of the bill, and specifically opposes the 300 PHA demonstration project and the self sufficiency contracts (also called PIPs - personal improvement plans). Advocates called for a strong communication from the White House specifying the conditions for a presidential veto.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:  
Lisa Ranghelli at the Center for Community Change, 202/342-0567, hn0688@handsnet.org

Reprinted from the Center for Community Change's Policy Alert #59, May 20, 1996. Call 202/342-0567 to subscribe.

Introducing

**<http://www.pratt.edu/picced>**

## Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) World Wide Web Home Page

### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

- Description of planning and architectural services offered by PICCED's Planning and Architectural Collaborative
- Portfolio of recent and current projects undertaken by PICCED

### EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- Graduate programs in City and Regional Planning at Pratt Institute
- Pratt Community Economic Development Internship
- Community-based Housing Development Organization Workshops

### POLICY ANALYSIS AND ADVOCACY

- "Building Hope: Community Development in America," a Ford Foundation sponsored Oral History Project
- Articles written by PICCED staff members

### NEWS

- Regular policy alerts on national policy issues from the Center for Community Change
- Weekly New York Affairs updates from *City Limits* Magazine

### RESOURCES

- Links to other organizations and associations affiliated with and doing work similar to that of PICCED

For more information, contact Winton Pitcoff at:  
PICCED • 379 DeKalb Ave., 2nd Fl. • Brooklyn, NY 11205  
718/636-3461 • 718/636-3709 (f) • wintonp@ix.netcom.com

The new PICCED site includes space for PN's home page (still in development). Follow the "Resources" thread from the main page.

# PLEASE WRITE!

The surest sign of an effective network is as much participation as possible. As we strive to fill *Planners Network* each month with information and resources, we can only do so much without your help.

## Send us your:

Resource listings • Job Postings  
Article ideas (or articles, even) • Suggestions, comments, critiques of the newsletter.

## The Planners Network

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 believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, shelter, 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.

The Planners Network Newsletter is published six times a year as the principal means of communication among Network members. Annual financial contributions are voluntary, but we need funds for operating expenses. The Steering Committee has recommended the following amounts as minimums for Network members: \$15 for those with incomes under \$25,000, students and unemployed; \$25 for those between \$25,000 and \$50,000; and \$45 for those over \$50,000. Organizations may subscribe for \$30.

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## ***Moving?***

Please make sure to let PN know if you're moving. It saves us money and helps ensure that you don't miss an issue!

***Don't forget to register for the 1996 Planners Network conference! Information and registration materials are on pages 8-9.***

## ***NEXT ISSUE***

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379 DeKalb Ave., 2nd Floor.  
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718/636-3461; fax: 718/636-3709**

As always, our thanks to those who can type their notes. It reduces our chances of misreading what you write. Feature articles of 500-1,500 words are always welcome; a diskette is greatly appreciated.