

# PLANNERS NETWORK

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## EIGHT MYTHS OF TRAFFIC PLANNING

by Roger Baker

A growing number of planning experts realize that current trends in transportation are unsustainable. Like an addictive drug, a transportation policy oriented around the private automobile dictates urban policies in a way that can seem deceptively sensible.

In the short term, automobile-oriented land-use patterns encourage economic segregation into wealthy suburbs in conflict with a struggling core city economy. In the longer run, they slowly drag down the livability of the entire metropolitan area.

Urban growth policies dictated by the automobile are gradually making many cities in the United States uncompetitive with other areas in the United States and in the larger global economy. Here are the contradictions that lie behind the comfortable myths used to justify a losing battle to keep up with the endless demands of the car:

### **Myth 1: Traffic projections are important in deciding what roads are needed.**

While such an assumption looks reasonable at first glance, such a computer-oriented projection of past trends assumes first that current trends are healthy, and second that pre- *continued on page 6* >

## SPECIAL FOCUS | TRANSPORTATION PLANNING: *Challenging Auto-Dependency*

### TRANSPORTATION STRUGGLES IN THE POST-APARTHEID CITY

by Jon Orcutt

The transportation system most South Africans face today is a mixture of patched-up, third-rate public transport inherited from apartheid and a chaotic, unregulated minibus-taxi system that is a source of swelling public complaint.

But political transformation in South Africa has opened the door for equitable and sustainable transportation policies. New government policies seek to reverse apartheid policy by dramatically expanding and improving public transport and discouraging urban motoring. But the application of these policies across the country is uneven, and possibly in serious jeopardy.

The evolution of South African transportation policy is not only of great concern to South Africans seeking to integrate their badly fragmented cities. It is also of interest to transportation advocates globally, because:

- The combination of high social wealth, huge transit-dependent populations and a political mandate for sweeping change contains very strong potential for the development of modern transit- and pedestrian-based cities
- In one major metropolis, policymakers are advancing principles that western environmentalists and transit advocates have succeeded in advancing only slightly — financing a “transit first” policy by taking urban motorists for the congestion, pollution, and other harms they cause.

- In the many cities where transportation reform is receiving little or no political attention, growing grass-roots action in the townships could produce transportation policy insurgencies by poor and working class people on an unprecedented scale.

Rising incomes and redistribution of wealth are likely to produce fast growth in South African households with access to a car. South Africa's per capita income is indeed approaching a level that, in other countries, has touched off rapid motorization. The growth of motorists as an interest group will complicate the politics of transport and may dull the urgency of adopting “public transport first” strategies. That in turn will perpetuate the profound have/have not gulf and leave South Africa's cities blighted and deserted.

### **Background: The Apartheid City**

Apartheid required a massive program of spatial engineering. Establishment of largely rural African “homelands” or bantustans and internal passports attempted to control urbanization so that black “influx” was tailored to the labor needs of white-controlled industries. In the cities, black populations were restricted to residential townships on the metropolitan fringe, necessitating long trips to work and other destinations *continued on page 14* >

Let your fellow PNers know what you are up to — Send your PNER Update in today! Send us mail, or email to <pn@pratt.edu>.

**Steve Richardson**, longtime activist and former Executive Director of The Environmental Action Coalition in New York died at the age of 53 after a two-year struggle against cancer. Steve was a panelist at the 1994 PN conference in Washington, D.C. For information on a memorial service in New York on November 1st, contact the PN office.

**Jim Cohen** <jkcj@cunyv.cuny.edu> is Chair of the High Speed Ground Transportation Chapter of Transportation Research Forum and a Professor affiliated with City University's Institute for Transportation Systems. He is currently researching the successes and failures of high speed rail planning in the United States (e.g., Florida, California, NE Corridor). He would appreciate suggestions, references, leads or contacts that his fellow PNers could provide.

**Larry Bennett's** new book, *Neighborhood Politics: Chicago and Sheffield*, has just been published by Garland Publishing. His book examines "neighborhood-level politics in Chicago, Illinois and Sheffield, England. The focus in each case is on local opposition to a city-mandated renewal program — a 1968 redevelopment plan for the Chicago neighborhood known locally as Uptown, and a 1971 redevelopment plan for the Sheffield neighborhood of Sharrow." Larry's book is the first detailed cross-national survey of local politics and grassroots political behavior.

**Duane Bay** <bay@parcplace.com> says: "Thanks: Issue #124 was great reading. I should be able to get a couple of new PN subscribers out of it from a 'sustainability' discussion group I sit in on out here in San Mateo County (CA) Help: I'm a city council member in East Palo Alto. Wal-Mart is courting us. I have Wal-Mart filed mentally under 'trouble,' but I'm looking for some objections a bit more substantial. I'm not interested in the Mall vs Mainstreet debate this time, but rather

unfair labor practices, poor 'partnership' with host city and things like that. Can you suggest how I might poll the collective wisdom of PNers on this topic? Any leads you have will be most appreciated."

**Robyn Bancroft**, PN member since 1994 and a neighborhood planner in Rockford, IL, earned her AICP certification this year. Congratulations, Robyn!

**Donna Dyer** writes: "Suffering from burnout, I have left affordable housing work after 15 years. My new job is to help students in the Sanford Institute of Public Policy at Duke University find meaningful summer internships and permanent jobs in public service. Many of these students are interested in nonprofits and other non-traditional forms of service, and most of them want to go to D.C. or NYC for the summer. Let me know if you have any good projects for our students!" Contact Donna at: Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Box 90247, Duke University, Durham, NC 27708-0247. PHONE: (919) 613-0247. EMAIL: <dyer@pps.duke.edu>

From **Louise Dunlap**: "As of now I am very involved with (a) writing my book on Writing for Social Change, and (b) struggling against rent hikes and evictions (forced removals) with our Cambridge, MA, group, The Eviction-Free Zone. Goodbye & thanks to Winton!"

**Paul Niebanck** is one of seven Evergreen State Award recipients this year, "for creatively assisting in the formation of the Pioneer Square CDC... bringing many contentious factions together on behalf of a stronger neighborhood."

**Michael J. Shannon** wrote to say he "enjoyed the July issue. I like the new look, more articles and theme organization." He suggests those interested in sustainability find out about The Natural Step, an organization that seeks to build consensus on sustainable development.

## Welcome... new PLANNERS NETWORK members!

Victor Beauchamp, Paul Bennett, Alex Campbell, Timothy Forker, Doug Greenfeld, Joe Grengs, Tasha Harmon, Heinrich Hock, Cinda K. Lester, Deena Parham, Sofia Quintero, Joel Rast, Dadisi Sanyika, Marc Silver, Mitchell J. Silver, Joseph A. Torres, Cor Trowbridge, Andrew Weaver, Matthew Witt.

## ...Thank You renewing members!

Rachel Beadle, Scott Bernstein, John T. Best, Donna Bird, David Birnbaum, Shirley A. "Billie" Bramhall, Eva M. Brown, Dennis Brunn, Robb Burlage, John T. Cabral, Stella M. Capek, Tina Chiu, R. Wayne Clark, Leigh A. Coop, Cassandra Ecker, Marshall Feldman, Cynthia Ghorra-Gobin, William John Hanna, Mona Haywood, Arlene Hopkins, Sarah Hovde, The Information Exchange, Thomas P. Kegelman, Joochul Kim, Benjamin Kleinberg, Thomas R. Knoche, Felix Kramer, Conrad Levenson, Richard Mandel, Xavier Morales, Milton R. Ospina, Charles Pill, Denise S. Poloyac, Gail Radford, Shanna Ratner, Michael Replogle, Marsha Ritzdorf, Leticia Rivera-Torres, Bruce Rosen, Nancy Sackman, Thomas W. Sanchez, Richard M. Schultz, Richard Simpson, Rebecca Smith, Jason Steffensen, Mary Tippens, Thomas Rocky Wade, Dinah Wayne, Rosalind F. Williams.

For more info, contact them at 4000 Bridgeway, #102, Sausalito, CA 94965.

Thanks to the PNers who wrote in during the last two months. As you read this we are beginning work on the next issue with the help of new staff members drawn from the ranks of Pratt Institute's graduate planning program. Complete contact information for the new staff will be printed in the next issue. We are also searching for PN local correspondents, who are willing to contribute news from their neck of the woods. If you are interested, call or write and we can tell you more.

—John McCrory

SPECIAL  
FOCUS:

# Transportation NEWS

## MORE ROAD RAGE, MORE ROAD DEATHS

The U.S. DOT announced last month that traffic deaths had increased again over the past year, marking the fourth annual increase in a row. Road fatalities rose to 41,907 in 1996, up one-quarter of one-percent over the 1995 figure of 41,789. National Highway Traffic Safety Administration director Ricardo Martinez attributed the death toll to rising traffic and congestion levels, noting the 35% increase in traffic since 1987. He also told a Congressional panel this week that up to two-thirds of the deaths involved "road rage" or aggressive driving.

As in most discussions of traffic safety, a strong note of sophistry has already entered the public discussion. Commenting in the *New York Times*, Alan Hoskin of the National Safety Council expressed relief that road fatalities per mile driven were falling, thanks to the rapid increase in vehicle-miles-traveled (VMT). By this logic, often noted by highway officials when crash numbers look bad, the transportation system is "safer," even though more people have been killed. Some Congressmen, including House Transportation Chair Bud Shuster, also cited in the *Times*, said the evidence of growing "road rage" pointed clearly to the need for more and wider roads. A wire service report attributed the same sentiment to Martinez: "[He] urged building new roads and adding lanes to existing highways to reduce congestion and driver stress." A psychologist interviewed by the *Times* described "road rage

disorder" as a problem treatable through individual therapy, and strongly implied that it was hereditary.

A safer and more efficient transportation system will be achieved by reducing car dependence, not accelerating it. Representative Earl Blumenauer of Oregon suggested that building more roads to alleviate road rage "would be the equivalent of giving a wife beater more room to swing."

Elected officials and organizations that promote auto dependence and block traffic calming and pro-transit policies should be held responsible for road deaths. Top transportation officials who preside over increases in road fatalities should be dismissed. **PN**

## FREE PARKING

The balanced budget/tax legislation signed into law by President Clinton last month changes the tax code to permit employees to choose cash in lieu of parking benefits.

Effective during tax years beginning after December 31, 1997, employees may choose to receive either untaxed free parking or extra taxable salary. Previously, employers who gave employees the choice between extra cash or a free parking spot were not allowed to offer the parking as a tax-exempt fringe benefit.

The change in the tax code will encourage more employers to offer the choice, giving employees greater freedom to choose how they commute to work. Employees whose only transportation benefit is free parking can now accept a salary increase and apply some of it to

using mass transit, or simply be rewarded for bicycling or walking to work. Nevertheless, parking experts say a bigger change in automobile congestion could be realized if the parking subsidies were made taxable as well. **PN**

## POST-CAR ECONOMICS?

*The Economist's* May 10/16 cover story, "Car Crash Ahead: The Global Pile Up," documented growing overcapacity in the world's automobile industry. The condition is expected to grow worse, perhaps leading to a world-wide shakeout of less efficient car companies. By 2000, the auto industry will have the ability to make 22 million more cars per year than people will buy. "In other words, every car plant in America could close, and the world would still have too many cars," said *The Economist*.

Reasons for the glut include the saturation of markets and the growing recognition of auto-dependency's effects in parts of the developed world, plus an entrenched auto-nationalism. The industry is not only driven by economics: "developing countries from Brazil to Indonesia continue to see their car makers as a symbol of industrial virility to be nurtured by government investment..." The sentiment is also rife in Europe — France, Spain, and Italy are subsidizing trade-in of old cars for new to prop up domestic industries. But, says *The Economist*, "The notion that cars must form the center of every industrial economy looks pretty quaint given that the combined **continued on page 4 >**

# NEWS ...continued

< continued from page 3 market value of Detroit's Big Three is dwarfed by Bill Gates's Microsoft."

For this reason, China may be rethinking the auto's role in its industrial strategy. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported last December that Chinese leaders had "ceased calling its car industry a 'pillar' of the economy. The move came during an annual four-day economic plenum attended by top leadership... [who] allowed the car industry's status to crumble after it became obvious that the goal of an affordable car for all families would mean national gridlock. But the *China Daily* reported in February that a high-ranking official said China must forge ahead to meet its goal of car production despite the criticism during 1996. PN

## CAR TALK: HOV DOUBLESPEAK

Transportation agencies bent on widening highways have recently been using High-Occupancy-Vehicle (HOV) lanes to justify adding new lanes. HOV lanes win Federal approval more easily than other lane expansions by masquerading as a method for encouraging car pooling. But in most of the U.S., these new lanes are only designated HOV during rush hour in one direction, and the end result is more overall highway capacity and more single-occupancy-vehicle use.

DOTs who have built the HOV lanes are now finding them a political liability: construction of the new lanes diverts traffic from the highways, and congestion disappears. In Northern New Jersey, for example, an existing 12-mile HOV lane on I-287 is being extended an additional 8 miles. The new construction is causing

# ISTEA: HOUSE COMMITTEE SEEKS TRANSIT FUNDING INCREASE

Chairman Bud Shuster (R-PA), ranking Democrat James Oberstar (D-MN), and other members of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee unveiled a draft bill to reauthorize federal surface transportation programs at a September 4 press conference. The Building Efficiency Through Surface Transportation Equity Act, or "BESTEA," would authorize \$103 billion for highways and transit over three years (Fiscal Years 1998-2000). Though criticized as a budget breaker by House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA), it is the starting point for reauthorization of federal transportation spending.

## ISTEA Structure, Principles Retained

The bill preserves many of the principles included in the landmark 1991 ISTEA legislation. Flexible funding, comprehensive planning, public involvement, and the federal-state-local partnership are among the key elements of ISTEA that are retained. The bill would reauthorize the existing transit formula program, the major capital investment program (formerly Section 3), and the planning and research programs.

## Formula Program Changes

Transit systems in urbanized areas (UZAs) with populations under 200,000 could use all formula funds for operating or capital purposes. As expected, the bill would eliminate operating assistance for systems in UZAs of more than 200,000. In all UZAs, formula funds could be used for "preventive maintenance," defined as

"a major activity intended to improve or upgrade a transit vehicle or facility or repair or replace a damaged, malfunctioning, overaged, or outmoded transit vehicle or facility system, subsystem, element, or component."

Total spending on preventive maintenance and small UZA operating assistance could not exceed \$400 million annually. Expenditures for the capitalized portions of vehicle maintenance and overhaul that are permitted under current law would be permitted under the bill and would not be counted against the \$400 million cap.

## Major Capital Investment Program

The bill retains the 40/40/20 funding ratio for the New Start, Fixed Guideway Modernization, and Bus/Bus Facility programs. Ten percent of the bus program funds would go to a new "bus technology pilot program" for testing and deployment of new bus technology, including clean fuel and alternative fuel technology.

Although the measure does not include authorizations for new start projects, which are expected to be added by amendment when the bill is marked up in full committee, such projects would have to be authorized for final design or construction before the Department of Transportation (DOT) can enter into a full funding grant agreement. No more than 8% of New Start funds can be used for activities other than final design and construction. DOT would be directed to submit an annual report evaluating and rating potential projects, which would be updated halfway through the year.

## Access to Jobs Program

The bill establishes an "Access to Jobs" pilot program which would fund 10 projects that are designed to give welfare recipients access to jobs. Funds could go to government entities or non-profit organizations. The program is authorized to receive \$42 million per year in General Fund revenue. The federal share of project costs would be 50%; the 50% local match could be paid for with federal funds that do not come from U.S. DOT. Of the 10 projects, two must be in rural areas, two in UZAs with fewer than 200,000 people, and six in UZAs with more than 200,000 people.

## Minor Change in the Planning Process

ISTEA requires that metropolitan area planners consider 15 relatively specific planning factors; BESTEA would replace them with seven more general factors similar to those proposed by the Clinton Administration.

## Transit Research

The bill retains existing transit planning and research programs but limits transportation research centers and ISTEA institutes to a two-year grandfathered authorization. The bill provides for the creation of joint public-private partnerships for deployment of innovation, and international mass transportation activities.

## New Transit Enhancements Program

UZAs with more than 200,000 people would be required to use at least 2% of transit formula funds for "enhancements," such as historic preservation, landscaping, artwork, bicycle and pedestrian access, and safety/security. The program parallels the existing Highway Enhancements set-aside, which receives 10% of funding from the Surface Transportation Program.

## Mass Transit Account Spending

The bill funds a much larger share of the transit program from the Mass Transit Account (MTA) of the Highway Trust Fund and reduces the transit program's reliance on General Fund revenue. By FY 2000, the entire transit program except the \$42 million Access to Jobs program will be funded with MTA resources.

## Flexible Surface Transportation Programs

The bill retains flexibility under the Congestion Mitigation and Air Quality (CMAQ) Program and Surface Transportation Program (STP), but it does make several changes to the CMAQ program. It does not significantly change requirements relating to the suballocation of CMAQ and STP funds to urbanized areas and it generally retains requirements that states and localities produce transportation implementation plans (TIPs) and that such TIPs govern the use of funds under these programs. It does allow the use of CMAQ funds for projects that provide capacity to single occupancy vehicles if such projects meet all other CMAQ requirements. The measure also permits states to transfer up to 50% of the increase over the FY 1997 level of the state's CMAQ apportionment to the National Highway System program or the STP, but it requires that such funds still be spent in non-attainment areas.

## Trust Funds Off-Budget

The bill would take transportation trust funds off budget as provided in HR 4, the off-budget legislation introduced previously. **PN**

*Thanks to the Tri-State Transportation Campaign, <<http://www.tstc.org>>, and the American Public Transit Association, <<http://www.apta.com>>, for providing these news items. Send your news for future issues to: <[pn@pratt.edu](mailto:pn@pratt.edu)>. —Ed.*

drivers to use roads other than I-287 or to use mass transit instead. The consequent lack of congestion has eliminated any incentive for drivers to car pool and use the existing HOV lanes. Motorists, newspapers and politicians have begun complaining about the tax dollars wasted on this unneeded extra lane, but New Jersey Transportation Commissioner John Haley's response last month was to apply to the Federal Highway Administration to suspend the HOV rules until construction is done. At that time, he argues, drivers will stop avoiding I-287, the regular lanes will become congested again, car poolers and buses will whisk down the road, and HOV will be a success.

But as, the Tri-State Transportation Campaign points out, by this same logic, a simpler solution to congestion would be to plant more grass in one of the regular traffic lanes and forget about HOV altogether. Everyone will continue finding alternatives to I-287 and today's surprise congestion relief will continue into the future.

Changes in federal transportation policy are fueling the new interest in HOV, formerly unpopular with many transportation officials. Under ISTEA, there is now a larger pot of money targeted to HOV while funds for general purpose lane construction are shrinking. HOV expansions usually do not require the environmental impact studies that most other highway projects do. HOV is also more politically viable — it puts a positive environmental spin on the highway widenings voters are now suspicious of and sometimes oppose.

Although the rationale behind HOV is that it reduces air pollution, there is much evidence to the contrary. Most HOV lane construction involves adding a lane to an existing highway, rather than converting a lane for HOV use. In addition, in most places, HOV merely requires 2 people per vehicle. Christopher Leman points out in *Rethinking HOV*, a 1994 report by the Chesapeake Bay Foundation, "a date is not a car pool," **continued on page 7 >**

# Eight Myths of Traffic Planning

< *continued from page 1* sent travel habits are worth projecting into the future. The computer models rarely if ever look at the side-effects of the projected roadway policies they justify. This myth is closely tied to myths 2 and 3.

## **Myth 2: Planners are not responsible for how much people want to drive.**

In every city of the world the volume of traffic is limited, intentionally or unintentionally, by government policies. For example, Houston residents use six times more gasoline than London residents and eight times more than Amsterdam residents. Past and current infrastructure policies affect current and future travel patterns and are subject to change. People don't love their cars any more than politicians love to keep raising gas taxes to try to keep building roads to keep up with ever-increasing demand.

## **Myth 3: Predicted traffic growth must be provided for.**

In practice, there is a sort of Parkinson's law that peak-hour traffic almost always expands to fill available road space. Bigger roads act like magnets to attract and generate traffic for the following reasons:

First, new trip destinations are made practical. Second, the frequency of some trips increases because access becomes easier. Third, people take jobs farther from home. Fourth, some people shift from mass transit to private cars. Fifth, the reduction in mass transit ridership encourages land-use patterns oriented to car travel. Each increase in capacity ratchets up demand, attracts more traffic, and thus "justifies" further increases.

## **Myth 4: Bigger roads are safer.**

Since more and bigger roads generate their own increasing demand, the important consideration is per-capita roadway mortality. Yet the death toll keeps increasing despite decreasing mortality rates per mile because of more miles driven. Bigger roads also tend to encourage higher speeds and faster driving until the roads become as unsafe as ever. During the 1974 fuel crisis, speed limits were reduced with an estimated saving of 3,000 to 5,000 lives per year.

## **Myth 5: Bigger roads increase mobility.**

With bigger roads we are obliged to use more time to reach fewer and fewer destinations; we have to run faster to stand still. Bigger roads encourage sprawl and longer trips. Also, small, functioning communities are destroyed by roads so that local stores are replaced by big-box "category-killing" chain stores, shopping centers, etc. Each new car requires 30 times as much roadway space as the transit it replaces, encouraging low-density, high-cost suburban sprawl. Mobility should be redefined as being able to reach desired destinations rather than average speed or how far it is possible to travel.

## **Myth 6: Bigger roads help more people than they disadvantage.**

Clearly, an emphasis on automobile-related urban development disadvantages those without cars — in particular the poor, the elderly, the disabled, and children. In addition, heavier traffic disrupts local communities and small business viability and sprawl makes cities spend more per capita on infrastructure. The end result is that bigger roads disadvantage everyone and benefit only the narrow range of those who directly profit from roads and automobiles and are an inherently more expensive mode of land development.

## **Myth 7: It is not the job of traffic planners to look at the wider social, political, and environmental trends implied by transportation policies.**

Roadway planners and traffic engineers are trained to focus their attention solely on moving cars faster and farther. They are not taught to consider the results such as global warming and other subtle social, economic, and environmental side-effects of their policies. Planning that reacts to past needs is ill-equipped to respond to the patterns of the future. Not only do traffic engineers fail to focus on these current problems, but current policies fail to anticipate the real likelihood that oil shortages or economic downturns may have an unexpected but catastrophic effect on future mobility, as did the fuel crisis of the 1970s.

## **Myth 8: Planning should be left to the experts.**

The community should have an opportunity to undo past mistakes and shape the future. The most important questions that arise in urban policy are not matters of expertise, but rather the general goals of what the community should be like in 20 years.

The choices and decisions should be determined by a well-informed public able to understand the implications of current policies and trends. The results are now all too often the hidden consequences of roadway policies implied to be inevitable using projections generated with a computer based on current trends. **PN**

*Roger Baker is a long-time Austin, Texas-based transportation activist. He rewrote and edited these myths based on a broadsheet that has been making its way around the world on paper and the internet. You can contact him by email at: <RCBaker@eden.com>.*

On Saturday, July 12th of this year, I was performing my daily jogging ritual in Prospect Park, Brooklyn's great green space, when I came across a biker laid out on the park roadway. She had been hit by a van using the roadway as a shortcut. The van had been doing 40

mph, separated from a stream of joggers and bikers by a thin white line on the pavement. This particular section of the park roadway is open to vehicles at all times, though most of the park is closed to traffic on weekends. For years Transportation Alternatives and other advocacy groups have been after the City to keep cars out of the park. After all, whose idea was it to let these 3,000 pound weapons with wheels get so close to walkers and baby carriages in the first place?

The biker later died. She was Dr. Rachel Fruchter, a physician and activist who supported many progressive causes. She was a panelist the PN 96 Conference in Brooklyn.

Rachel Fruchter became one of the 250 or so bikers and pedestrians killed by automobiles each year in New York City. The driver of the van got off with a ticket for a cracked windshield. The cops and the Parks Commissioner said it wasn't their fault, either.

In a world where cars are worth more than people, the insurance companies pay and close the case. No one's responsible. Assaults by people in autos are considered "accidents." It's not the fault of the driver, or of the traffic engineers and planners or elected officials who would move traffic at all costs.

Too many planners and local governments in the United States are as car crazy as the American Automobile Association. They foster auto-dependent development by requiring excess roadways and parking and ignoring mass transit, pedestrian and cycling options. They usually overlook simple devices to prevent "accidents" —

such traffic calming techniques as neck-downs and speed bumps.

Not to thrash the planners too much. Local planners have to deal with a national government that's been so drugged by oil and auto monopolies that it giddily fuels the gas habit with copious road subsidies. All the more reason for planners to join the transportation advocacy and environmental groups pressing for a shift in national priorities.

Some say that drivers should be forced to pay the real social cost of driving (including losses due to "accidents," air pollution, runoff, and the huge public expenditures for road maintenance). William Vickery, the Nobel prize winner who died this year (and who was an occasional visitor to the PN New York Forums), developed the idea of "congestion pricing" — using higher prices to make auto users pay for the mess they cause. I don't think, though, that making auto users pay their fair share is good enough. As in the rest of the world that is not yet auto-crazed, the rich will drive and the rest of us will have to hoof it in cities made for cars. Equity and really sustainable transportation planning have to be part of the same package.

—Tom Angotti

## PN Tax-Deductible

Planners Network is now a non-profit corporation registered in the State of New York. This means that your contributions to PN will be fully tax-deductible. If you haven't made a contribution in the last year, please send a tax-free check now. Members are the sole source of revenues for PN.

While becoming a non-profit corporation, the Steering Committee developed, for the first time, by-laws to govern the organization. In the next issue, we'll publish the by-laws (this issue is too full!) and ask for your comments. **PN**

# THE SEVENTH GENERATION

< *continued from page 5* adding that "it is almost Orwellian to use the term 'high-occupancy' to refer to a vehicle with only two occupants." (Buses are the original and real high-occupancy-vehicles, he says.) The typical HOV lane simply clears up congestion in general purpose lanes, encouraging more single-occupancy vehicles to use the highway. Often, these new car poolers and drivers are only cannibalized from bus and rail transit. Finally, HOV lanes are still highways; they encourage sprawled land use and the longer and increased number of car trips it requires of each driver.

HOV lanes that are designated bus- and emergency-only, however, can be cost-effective ways to reduce congestion and pollution, particularly when these lanes are converted from general purpose use rather than new construction, and when they are separated from general purpose traffic by a physical barrier. New construction can cost as much as 700 times what conversion does. Bus lanes also have lower accident rates than general purpose lanes, whereas the typical HOV lanes actually have *higher* accident rates than general purpose lanes.

Much of the more than 350 miles of HOV lanes in North America has been poorly planned and executed, subject to "empty-lane syndrome" and eventually, downgrading of HOV requirements to fewer persons per vehicle. Recent history also shows that HOV lanes often backslide; many HOV lanes built with specially targeted funds have since been converted to general purpose use — for which there is currently no penalty, or "money-back guarantee."

Transportation reform advocates throughout the country have been opposing HOVs because they are thinly veiled highway expansions. As Leman writes, "HOV lanes are a successful con game to get more road capacity and try to avoid a serious discussion of its environmental impacts." **PN**

# ARE WE THERE YET?

by Lisa Schreibman

Federal rules require public involvement in transportation planning. So far, it looks like we have another participation game and the big decisions are still made in a closet.

The 1991 amendments to the federal surface transportation program, known as the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, (ISTEA), were to have changed the transportation planning process. ISTEA for the first time required public involvement in all plans to develop, rehabilitate and maintain the transportation system. ISTEA required that all urbanized areas (places with at least 200,000 residents) set up a metropolitan planning organization (MPO), which would create both a long-term 20-year transportation plan and a short-term 3-year transportation improvement plan (TIP). Three documents must be created with public input — the plan for public involvement, the long-range plan, and the TIP. According to the U.S. Department of Transportation (USDOT), desirable outcomes of public involvement include:

- Informed and involved citizens who have access to public records and the decision making process
- A planning approach that is proactive and open to participation by all
- A process that not only encourages broad public participation but also considers and responds to public input
- Ample opportunity for public comment when the final plan or TIP differs from the draft — at least one public meeting must be held

An MPO which does a poor job of public participation can, in theory, lose certification and with that all federal highway and transit funds.

So, has the public participation requirement of ISTEA been effective?

What standards does USDOT have for the MPOs? Do people have better access to long-term and short-term transportation?

To date, no MPO has been decertified

## Is There Real Public Participation Under ISTEA?

for lack of adequate public participation although a few, including New York City's, have been reprimanded. One could, therefore, conclude that public participation is generally being used well by the MPOs. Yet, the models which USDOT has highlighted as participation successes are not comprehensive enough to fulfill the list of desired outcomes of ISTEA that they themselves identified.

### Satisfying the Requirements

For instance, Albuquerque has four methods of including the public in the decision making process. Coinciding with the annual review of the TIP, the MPO holds a public meeting in which there is a 'public hearing' section on the agenda. The MPO announces the meetings using standard procedures for formal public hearings, including legal notices in newspapers. Secondly, the public may comment during a 'public comment period' held at the beginning of each technical advisory committee (TAC) meeting. However, the MPO does not require that TACs be formed nor that they formally announce their meetings. Thirdly, the Albuquerque plan permits but does not require citizen advisory committees (CAC): 'From time to time, there are issues of sufficient magnitude that adviso-

ry committees are formed on which citizens are invited to participate directly.' Even here, the committees' work is not binding, but is subject to review by the Board of Directors of the MPO. Finally, there is a public comment period for both the draft and final plans.

Albuquerque's only required public involvement is an annual public meeting and a review period of the draft and final plans. Although these ought to be part of any planning process, they are not sufficient to attract a broad cross section of the affected public. Even if the TACs and CACs were required parts of the public participation process, these groups' work would be insufficient to insure participation by any but a select group of people who have a direct interest in the issues.

The inadequacy of the public involvement process is not limited to the plans for public participation. The federal government reviews MPOs' TIP and Long Range Plans for public participation activities. In the past half dozen years since the establishment of ISTEA, the 'success stories' that USDOT has touted actually show the failure of the process.

For instance, the Little Rock, Arkansas MPO, Metroplan, developed a long range plan on which less than five-hundredths of a percent of the region commented. Metroplan, which covers an area of 550,000 people, used a variety of methods for public involvement including public hearings, local meetings, display ads, vision surveys, focus groups, newspaper inserts and workshops to elicit public comment. The inserts had the greatest potential to reach a large audience since they were placed in a newspaper with a circulation of 225,000. Yet, only 70 peo-



ple used the mail-back coupon included in the insert. The focus groups reached a total of 45 people. At the public hearings on the plan, 116 people attended of whom 38 spoke and an additional 32 submitted written testimony. USDOT deemed this plan 'robust.'

### Designed for Failure

The central problem with all the MPO's public involvement efforts is the structure of the MPO which, from Albuquerque to Little Rock to New York City, is basically the same. The voting members are the directors from the implementing agencies (usually the state and city departments of transportation and any local authorities) plus county executives and mayors of large cities. They and their staff ultimately decide the content of both the draft and final plans of the TIP and the Long Range Plan. Since members of the public are not voting members of the MPO, their input, even when voiced at sanctioned meetings, can be ignored. Many people do not bother to give input because they feel it will be disregarded.

ISTEA attempted to address the problems that arise because agency heads alone decide the fates of communities' transportation networks. ISTEA changed transportation planning by seating elected officials on MPOs and by requiring public participation in the planning process. However, the addition of elected officials to MPOs has proven insufficient to substantively change the process. The requirements for public participation are too vague to have any long-lasting effect. Therefore, people are only marginally more able to influence their transportation choices now than they were before the passage of ISTEA. **PN**

*Lisa Schreiberman received her M.U.P. from Hunter College earlier this year. An organizer for community gardens for five years in New York City and Newark, she now works as a planner for Howard/Stein-Hudson in their New York Office.*

# Making Tracks for Justice

by John Anner

"What this fight is really about," James Morris says suddenly, in the middle of a discussion about transportation policy in Milwaukee, "is a city-versus-suburb thing. What the central city needs and what the suburbs want are two different things."

## The Campaign for Fair Transportation in Milwaukee

Morris is the lead organizer for the Central City Transit Task Force, an organizing project attempting to improve public transportation by building a light-rail system ("light-rail" refers to trolley cars that run on tracks on city streets) for residents of low-income areas of the city. They argue that because a majority of the poor and unemployed in Milwaukee's central city lack cars, they need public transportation to get to where the jobs are. And in the Milwaukee region, most of the new job growth is in the suburbs.

Looking at the issue from the shady streets of suburbia, the problem seems a bit different. Milwaukee's suburban commuters mostly want to get downtown as quickly as possible. And they don't necessarily want residents of the central city — which is 90 percent African-American — showing up in their town looking for work. "Light-rail brings in strangers who are not only a threat to your property, but to your children," announced George Watts, a prominent businessman, at a public hearing in late 1996.

"Race underlies the aversion to light-rail," says activist Mileka Aljuwani. "The folks in the suburbs think we might go out there and steal their cars, rob their homes,

or even worse, want to move there." Aljuwani works with the African American Chamber of Commerce and the Ujamaa Project, an economic development cooperative, as well as with the Central City Transit Task Force. Although Aljuwani is not, as she puts it, "totally for light-rail," she does believe that most central city residents favor expanded public transportation, and the polls support her. Recent surveys show a clear majority of Milwaukee residents favoring light-rail.

### Just Part of the Picture

The problem is, Milwaukee is just part of the transportation picture. According to federal guidelines for the use of interstate transportation funds, local counties have to come up with a compromise agreement among themselves before the feds will cut loose with the money, which in this case will total nearly \$500 million. The guidelines also require public input, something the Task Force says has been hard to deliver since the public meetings have been infrequent and poorly advertised by the state DOT.

Milwaukee County — thanks in part to the organizing work of the Central City Transit Task Force and its allies — wants to use part of the money for a light-rail system. Surprisingly, during an April 1997 board meeting, county supervisors in suburban Waukesha County agreed (by passing a resolution "accepting" light-rail) that a mix of highway improvements and light-rail was the best overall use of the federal money. But before the ink was dry on the "preliminary engineering plan" approved by the supervisors, Waukesha County executive Dan Finley vetoed it, saying that a **continued on page 10** >

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< continued from page 9

light-rail system was out of the question.

## Back to the Drawing Board

The Central City Transit Task Force had worked long and hard to get county supervisors in Milwaukee and Waukesha Counties to agree to add light-rail to the mix of new transportation projects for the region. The group's strategy was based on mobilizing community support in Milwaukee's central city to bring political pressure to bear on county supervisors. And since federal regulations require public presentation and discussion of any proposals that involve the use of federal money, supervisors had a compelling reason to listen to what Task Force members had to say.

When asked how the organizing strategy of the Central City Transit Task Force is going to change now that Waukesha County has refused to go along with light-rail, Bill Dempsey, the director of the Campaign for a Sustainable Milwaukee, which sponsors the Central City Transit Task Force, notes that although the Task Force might have lost momentum, it still has a strong position.

"The process [of deciding on a transportation plan] requires public input," he explains, "and we are the only group that really has a base of people that we can turn out for public hearings." Because of the requirement that a compromise agreement be reached between the counties, as long as the Task Force can keep light-rail in the package, Waukesha County will be forced to keep negotiating. That gives organizers time to bring additional pressure to bear. In the long run, Dempsey insists, "This issue is winnable."

It didn't always seem that way. According to Task Force organizers, longtime Milwaukee activists warned the group to stay away from the transportation issue. "Nobody's interested in it," they were told. "There are no good handles. You can't win. It takes too long."

But Sustainable Milwaukee's approach is slightly different from those of traditional organizing projects in Milwaukee. Rather than building community power through a series of incremental wins, the group simultaneously runs a number of different projects that combine economic development and organizing. Sustainable Milwaukee currently maintains a "workers center" that links job seekers and contractors; is running a campaign for a city-wide "livable wage"; and is fighting to

***"Fifty-eight percent of the people in the central city do not have cars. How are we supposed to get to work?"***

ensure that low-income workers from communities of color are given a fair chance at jobs in a new stadium construction project.

The Central City Transit Task Force was formed after Sustainable Milwaukee did an "inventory of local funds" for possible economic development in the central city and discovered that federal transportation subsidies were one of the largest pots of money available. After researching various uses for the money, the group found that while there might be other ways of moving people around and getting them to where the jobs are, light-rail has the best potential in aiding in economic development.

"The transportation debate is really about economic development, says Rob Henken, executive director of the Alliance for Future Transit. "The biggest advantage light-rail has over other transportation options [in the central city] is the development potential. Since the stations are fixed, each station location is a possible opportunity for redevelopment and renewal" of the surrounding area.

Other cities with recent light-rail projects have seen significant development along trolley lines. Portland, Oregon,

claims that \$1.3 billion has been invested in new development along the light-rail tracks, while St. Louis and other cities have seen similar results.

Opponents of Milwaukee's light-rail proposal say these numbers are nonsense. According to Wendell Cox, a Milwaukee public policy consultant, it's impossible to prove whether economic development in St. Louis, San Diego, or Portland is a direct result of the light-rail system. "The dynamics of urban development are so complex as to render transit improvements an insignificant factor," he says. Other opponents argue that the reduction in commuting time and the ability to get to suburban jobs are insignificant compared to the cost of building the system.

But for Martha Toran, a self-described "senior citizen community activist" and chair of the Central City Transit Task Force, this is all so much hot air. The reality, she says, is that all the federal transportation money floating around has to go somewhere, and why not to the central city? "We are not just going to give up and die by the wayside," she says. "Fifty-eight percent of the people in the central city do not have cars. How are we supposed to get to work? You can't tell me a light-rail system won't help people in the community get to the jobs [and] get there faster and easier."

## The Key to Winning

Toran and other members of the Central City Transit Task Force have been patiently building community support for the light-rail proposal, and they see base-building as the long-term key to winning on the issue. The methods are drawn from the classic tools of community organizing: public meetings; visits to community members who seem particularly interested and willing to provide leadership; knocking on doors in the central city and calling people on the phone to turn them out for meetings; endless meetings with potential allies such as labor unions,

churches and local businesses to inform them and garner their support; and direct confrontations between central city residents and decision-makers like Waukesha County executive Dan Finley.

For example, after Finley vetoed the plan containing the light-rail proposal in late April, Morris and several dozen Task Force members went to Waukesha to confront Finley, an action that received coverage on every TV station in the area. If they could not convince Finley to change his mind (they knew this was unlikely), they at least wanted him to be put on notice that the central city was organized and ready to fight over the issue.

Morris points out that the way transportation money is usually allocated is inherently discriminatory, because the vast majority of it is spent downtown or in the suburbs. "The bus routes themselves are discriminatory," he says, pointing out that in low-income communities people generally have to walk farther and wait longer to catch a ride. In addition, even though Waukesha County's population represents only 15 percent of the total population of the two counties, Waukesha gets an equal say with Milwaukee County in what the federal interstate money will be used for.

One strong possibility is that the Task Force could use the Office of Civil Rights in the federal Department of Transportation to file a complaint alleging that the Wisconsin DOT has deliberately discriminated against poor communities of color by not advertising the public meetings in the Central City. "We can tie this thing up forever," says Morris.

According to Toran, even if the central city never gets light-rail, the fact that the community is becoming gradually more involved in the debate is a very hopeful sign. "We have to have a voice to deal with the powers that be," she says. **PN**

*John Anner is Editor of Third Force. Reprinted with permission. Originally published in Third Force, Volume 5, #3, July/August 1997.*

## A Call to Planners from the LABOR PARTY

The Labor Party, founded in 1996 by unions and allied organizations numbering some 1.2 million members, invites planners to join with other working people, and to bring the special skills of participatory planning into the work of building a grassroots political party.

Labor Party work concentrates on talking to workers in their unions, in workplaces of all types, and door-to-door in neighborhoods about the need for a working peoples' alternative to the corporate-dominated political and economic agenda.

A pivotal element in developing both a grassroots organization that is convenient to peoples' participation, and a working class program is the Party's campaign to amend the U.S. Constitution with the straightforward proposition that "Every person shall have the right to a job and to receive a living wage for their work." When this campaign is combined with the LP's insistence on door-to-door organizing in working class neighborhoods, it often results in Labor Party neighborhood clubs and committees.

Although still at a very early stage, the neighborhood Labor Parties quickly take up the key issue of what jobs need doing *in my neighborhood to make this a better place for me and my family to live. And it is right at this point* that Labor Party members who are also experienced community-based planners can help their sister and brother members frame a job-creating community plan.

The Labor Party suggests 3 immediate roles for planners: participate as members; convene small, informal regional meetings of like-minded planners to talk over how community planning contributes to building a working peoples' party; participate in the 28th amendment campaign, *right now* in a neighborhood club and on the broader question of job-creation tied to neighborhood renewal.

Those interested should contact Campaign Coordinator Ed Bruno at the Labor Party, New England Regional Office, 197 Friend Street, 9th Floor, Boston, MA 02114. (617) 531-0901. FAX: (617) 531-0902.

# EAST ST. LOUIS CITIZENS PUT TRANSPORTATION PLANNERS ON THE RIGHT TRACK

by Patricia A. Nolan

In 1993, St. Louis launched its 18-mile regional light rail system, named MetroLink, which has since become a tremendous success. MetroLink's 31-vehicle fleet transports as many as 100,000 people per day to and from all of the region's major centers along the 18-stop MetroLink route.

Following MetroLink's quick success, the Bi-State Development Agency, the region's public transit operator for MetroLink, buses and para-transit service, began working with planning organizations and government officials to expand the light rail system into other areas of the region. According to the original plan, the next phase of MetroLink is to be an extension into St. Clair County, Illinois, a project that was approved by voters of the county's Transit District in late 1993. The route will begin at an existing MetroLink station in East St. Louis and end at the Mid-America Airport in neighboring Belleville, IL. Twelve stations are planned along the extension which is approximately 27-miles long and passes through East St. Louis on the south side of a major interstate which has historically divided the city.

Residents of the East St. Louis neighborhood of Emerson Park first learned through an article in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch that one of the planned stations was to be located near their neighborhood, but separated from the center of their community by the interstate. A local community-based organization, the Emerson Park Development Corporation (EPDC), immediately recognized that the proposed plan failed to coordinate with ongoing redevelopment plans for the neighborhood. In addition, local residents

feared that the extension's proposed route would be unsafe. It would travel through residential areas where children would find themselves playing near the tracks and it would be crisscrossed by streets where cars might run a grade crossing. Finally, the proposed station was designed to serve suburban commuters who could access it from the interstate, but ignored the transit needs of local residents.

***The proposed station was designed to serve suburban commuters, but ignored the needs of local residents.***

EPDC was first organized in 1985 when neighborhood residents began undertaking neighborhood self-help projects in conjunction with the local settlement house. Today it is a 50-member 501(c)3 non-profit with a 150-page neighborhood improvement plan, an executive director, several environmental improvement projects, rehab projects new home construction projects for low-income families in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood of Emerson Park has suffered many of the same devastating trends as the rest of East St. Louis, but in many ways has been hit the hardest by the decline. Between 1970 and 1990 the Emerson Park neighborhood lost more than 75% of its population, and additional population loss has occurred since then. Official unemployment is high — 33.7% as compared to 14.4% for the county. In Emerson Park, over 58% of the families are living below poverty level.

When it became clear that the East-West Gateway Coordinating council and

other agencies and officials were turning a deaf ear to Emerson Park's concerns, EPDC decided to make the MetroLink project a priority. To help them develop an effective campaign for an alternative route, EPDC enlisted the University of Illinois's East St. Louis Action Research Project. With the help of the University's planners and architects, EPDC crafted a proposal that would route the rail along

the interstate and crossing over to the north side. They argued that the south side route did not have an adequate amount of land available for redevelopment activities and commuter parking which would be required for the station. Furthermore, the alternative route would be less expensive to build than the route initially proposed.

The alternative route would enable a station to be sited where it would better serve local residents, who desperately needed better access to mass transit. Moreover, EPDC recognized that the construction of a light rail stop in their neighborhood would be a strong incentive for future redevelopment projects in Emerson Park.

## **Emerson Park's Campaign**

In order to strengthen their voice, EPDC conducted an aggressive advocacy campaign to local, state and nationally elected officials. By gaining the support of legislators, EPDC found a way to be

heard by agencies like the Bi-State Development Agency, East-West Gateway and others involved in the planning of MetroLink.

The citizens of Emerson Park testified to local officials that they "wanted those making the decisions to realize that the expansion of MetroLink through East St. Louis is an investment not just in transit, but also in neighborhood economic growth and revitalization."

At countless city council meetings and public hearings, EPDC focused on the following three points:

1. The advantages of the north side alternative transit route.
2. The revitalization impact upon residential neighborhoods was inadequately considered as part of the preliminary engineering review, which focused on how and where suburban commuters could access the system — locating the stops adjacent to the highway. Little analysis was made of the transit needs of East St. Louis residents. Because of their low incomes and area disinvestment, they are less likely to own automobiles but are more likely to travel out of their community for employment.
3. Concerns that the future citizen participation process would be too limited and result in inadequate representation of neighborhood concerns.

The common method of holding public hearings without the public having any real input or control in the planning process before the hearing would not suffice in this instance. EPDC demanded that neighborhood organizations be given representation on the planning committee for the extension. As an official part of the planning committee EPDC would be able to share its concerns and offer suggestions for improvement in a timely and effective manner.

### Lessons Learned and Future Challenges

In the spring of 1995, after months of talking with local officials and developers, EPDC's message was finally heard and

affirmed by the announcement that the north side route with the 15th Street station had been officially adopted.

It would be nice if that is where the story ended. However, EPDC now faces additional challenges in getting the local government to commit its share of resources to making the 15th Street station more than a slab of concrete. MetroLink's extension required each Illinois municipality where a stop is located to contribute at least \$1.5 million to the development of the station. At this point, East St. Louis has refused to commit any funding to the Emerson Park station.

Although the city is facing tough financial times and has only recently begun to provide many essential services, the city does have the funding needed for the station in its Business and Economic Development and Community Development Block Grant departments.

One member of the EPDC stated that by refusing to fund this type of project the city is "making it look like they are fair and equitable by doing nothing for any neighborhood."

In its struggle to get the city to support the station, Emerson Park has been recruiting other neighborhood organizations so that they can build the necessary numbers of people and votes that will gain the attention of elected officials.

On the positive side, Emerson Park has been a focal point for many of the city's redevelopment activities, including a recent application to HUD for the Homeownership Zone program announced in July of this year. Also, within a half-mile of the proposed station Emerson Park has witnessed record numbers of demolitions of vacant and dangerous structures, clean-ups of vacant lots, several rehabs of homes and, for the first time in twenty years, the construction of two new homes.

In addition, the value of property has increased in anticipation of the MetroLink extension. A month before the route was

officially announced one was able to purchase a parcel for \$250, a month later that same parcel went for no less than \$2,000.

In the end, the most important success from this endeavor was the ability of regular citizens, through organized and logical thinking and action, to make their case and ensure that the train did not leave the station without them. **PN**

*Special thanks to all the members of the Emerson Park Development Corporation, Dan Hoffman, Prof. Robert Selby and the Bi-State Development Agency for contributing to this article.*

*Patricia A. Nolan is the planner for the University of Illinois' East St. Louis Neighborhood Technical Assistance Center. For more information, write ESL NTAC, 348R Collinsville Avenue, East St. Louis, IL 62201 or call (618) 271-9605; EMAIL: <panolan@primary.net>.*

### NEW ISSUE!

## Indigenous Planning & Development Times

The 3rd issue of *Indigenous Planning & Development Times* is now available! The magazine seeks to promote discussion on alternative forms of development, with particular emphasis on the concerns of women, people of color, and indigenous communities. Issue #3 focuses on "The Rediscovery of Power": the Struggle is not to switch places with the oppressor, but is to generate new notions of Success, Strength, and Non-Brutal Living. We feature articles by environmentalists, Indians, planners, and theoreticians. Order by sending a check for \$5 to *IP Times*, c/o Pratt GCPE, 379 DeKalb Avenue, 2nd Floor, Brooklyn, NY 11205.

## Transportation Struggles in the Post-Apartheid City

< *Continued from page 1* on white-controlled transit systems. The establishment of legislated apartheid after 1948 accelerated the destruction of black settlements near urban centers and the removal of their populations to the urban periphery. The razing of Sophiatown, one of the most culturally and politically vibrant black communities in Johannesburg, and the removal of its population to an area south of Johannesburg's mining belt in 1955 was only one notable case. In other cities, industrial zones, transportation corridors or other barriers separated black townships from white commercial and residential areas.

### Apartheid Transport

The blueprint for post-apartheid development issued by the African National Congress and its allies, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), notes:

*The policy of apartheid has moved the poor away from job opportunities and access to amenities. This has burdened the workforce with enormous travel distances to their places of employment and commercial centres, and thus with excessive costs. Apartheid transport policy deprived the majority of the people of a say in transport matters; exposed commuters to vast walking distances and insecure rail travel; failed to regulate the kombi-taxi industry adequately; largely ignored the country's outrageous road safety record; paid little attention to the environmental impact of transport projects, and facilitated transport decision-making bodies that are unwieldy, unfocused, unaccountable, and bureaucratic.*

For these reasons, transportation has a prominent history in township and anti-apartheid politics. Nelson Mandela's first

political action was participation in a 1943 mass march supporting a bus boycott in Johannesburg's Alexandra Township — the boycott effectively rolled back a fare increase. The 1955 Freedom Charter, which launched the African National Congress on its 35-year drive to end minority rule, specifically called for the provision of public transport adequate to serve all urban dwellers.

The transportation void was filled by 12-20 seat minibus taxis, or "kombis." The government encouraged small black capital to invest in minibuses as it retreated from its investment in public transport. At the same time, the reality of accelerating urban migration led to the formal abandonment of "influx control" in the mid-1980s. Burgeoning squatter settlements on the edge of already marginal townships had no access to formal services, and even residents in long-established townships increasingly had trouble reaching destinations as jobs and white populations began to move away from central cities.

### Kombis: "Economic Miracle," Transport Chaos

The kombis were thus well-suited to navigate the increasingly complex and de-centered metropolitan areas of the late 1980s and 90s. They are now the central feature of South African urban transport, accounting for up to 50% of many urban transport markets and competing with buses and trains on major routes. Taxi industry growth was fueled not only by need, but also by the barriers black capital faces elsewhere, and because driving is a relatively ubiquitous skill in the townships.

The unfettering of private transport services produced the first major black-run South African industry, but the absence of regulation also promoted chaotic service and schedules, the absence of safety standards or accountability, unregulated fares and the operation of

hundreds of vans in major corridors served more effectively by buses and trains.

Worse still is the violence between rival companies or associations vying to control over-supplied routes and stations. National, provincial, and metropolitan government initiatives to bring stability and regulation have fallen short. Though some measure of peace seemed to have been established in early 1996, violence in several cities flared again later in the year. Official efforts have generally not sought to situate the kombis within an overall passenger transport plan based on expanded public transport, and have failed to address fundamental problems of regulation and oversupply. But the unabated conflict has fed growing public support for revival of traditional public transit.

### Cape Town: Transit First

The RDP's recommendation for a strong "transit first" investment policy is being developed into a metropolitan action plan in Cape Town. The Provincial (Western Cape) Transport Minister, Leonard Ramatlakane, has proposed a series of parking and road levies to reduce the impacts of urban driving and generate revenue for expanded public transport. In a recent opinion piece, Ramatlakane wrote that dramatically expanded public transport was essential to overcome the legacy of the apartheid city and that motoring taxes are "to make [motorists'] costs closer to the costs they impose on society. These costs include congestion, pollution, traffic enforcement and road accidents." The minister, a former trade union activist, is working to broaden support for the strategy by using the media and recruiting support among other provincial and municipal officials. Cape Town's new regional transport plan aims to reduce car commuting by 20%.

Ramatlakane has also made a priority of changing a monopolistic bus company concession policy that has inhibited new

service in cities around the country. A new plan to significantly increase the metropolitan passenger rail system's capacity will be released next year. It dovetails with Cape Town's "Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework," which restricts new development at the urban periphery to promote higher density and contain sprawl. It also designates established transport corridors as recipients for new business "nodes" and much-needed new public housing. Cap Town also looks likely to be the first region to integrate policy-making and resource allocation among its various transportation agencies

industry, transport issues seem all but ignored by top leadership.

On the streets, levels of bus service have remained static since the last years of the apartheid regime, while capital investment in the commuter rail system — with the exception of a few high-profile projects like the renovation of Johannesburg's central train station into a regional intermodal bus/train/taxi hub — is barely sufficient to repair old infrastructure. Regional planners saw that rail station upgrades in the townships are not being carried out in coordination with other metropolitan transportation and land

grassroots civic associations (many of which are integrated into a national organization, the South African National Civic Association), rail passenger groups, local political organizations, and environmental groups.

The key issues for launching potent grassroots transportation improvement campaigns include listed below. Modest research and organizing capacity could turn each of these areas into a major arena for significant public mobilization:

- Regional fair-share campaigns for public transport, especially serving townships vs. roads that benefit rich car owners. One estimate says South Africa spends about \$18 billion on cars every year, so the problem is not lack of money, but the political power to channel it where it is most needed. Advocates should support efforts like Cape Town's policy of using motorist user fees to boost public transport.
- Fair share campaigns for pressing township infrastructure needs like pavement, drainage, sidewalks, lighting and better transit stations vs. high per capita investment in well-off, infra-structurally rich communities.  
An important component of this need is reflected in pedestrian safety. 50% of black traffic fatalities are pedestrians, in large part because of nonexistent or poor walking facilities.
- Structuring metropolitan planning and resource allocation to recognize the full fiscal, social, and environmental costs of the automobile/highway system and to prioritize the needs of the transit-dependent. Intervention in the formation of the mandated Metropolitan Transit Authorities presents an opportunity for grassroots initiatives to heavily influence the direction of future policy. **PN**

*Jon Orcutt is an editor of Mobilizing the Region, the weekly bulletin of the Tri-State Transportation Campaign. 281 Park Ave. So, 2nd Floor, NYC NY 10010.*

## ***The growth of motorists as an interest group will complicate the politics of transport.***

into a new "Metropolitan Transport Authority," as required by national law. If structured and managed effectively, the MTAs could be critical mechanisms for reorienting transport policy along the lines described in the RDP.

### **Johannesburg: Disarray**

But Cape Town appears to be the exception among South Africa's major cities. In Johannesburg, by far the country's largest city, no public figure has emerged to put transportation on the public map the way Ramatlakane has done for Cape Town. On the contrary, Johannesburg's most well-known transport figure of late is a mid-level bureaucrat who unilaterally altered many bus routes and schedules without any public notice. Other than problems in the taxi

use planning initiatives. Meanwhile, a number of expensive highway expansion projects are underway. Institutional competition and resistance, as well as political inattention, is hampering the formation of an effective Metropolitan Transport Authority. The provincial (Gauteng) Transport Ministry, traditionally in charge of highway construction and operation, favors a provincial scale MTA, encompassing Johannesburg and Pretoria, while Johannesburg municipal and metropolitan governments favor MTAs for each city.

### **Mobilizing the Masses**

Growing popular discontent with bad conditions and the pace of change has the potential to make transportation reform a serious social movement in South Africa. Key roles would likely be played by

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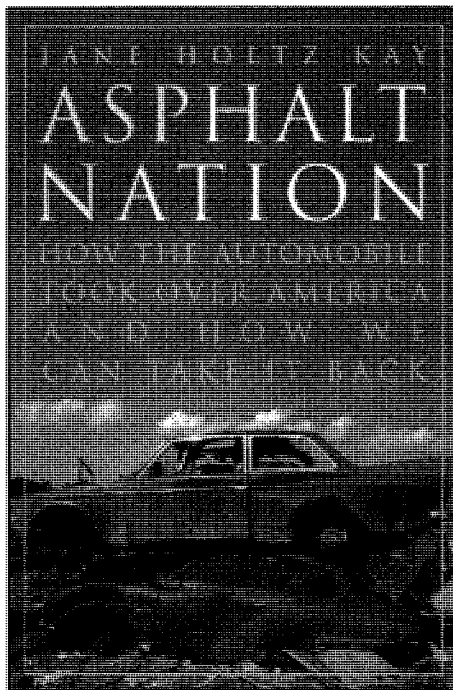
# Asphalt Nation by Jane Holtz Kay

Review by James Miraglia

Imagine if 120 or so people died in a horrendous plane crash today. Then imagine 120 people lost their lives every single day of the year in a plane crash. Do you think there might be a little public outcry? Or a tremendous outcry — boycotts, congressional investigations, wall-to-wall television coverage?

Yet this is precisely what happens each day on America's roads and highways — a daily death toll by automobile which adds up to almost 45,000 a year. Does that figure ring a bell? It is approximately the total number of American casualties during the Vietnam War. This incredible number is just one fragment from the extensive documentation provided by *The Nation's* architecture critic, Jane Holtz Kay, in *Asphalt Nation*, where she shows the environmental, social, physical, economic, and aesthetic damage inflicted on America by its love affair with the automobile. A love affair, she points out, that has more to do with government aphrodisiacs in the form of numerous and immense subsidies, than with true love. "People are not 'voting with their gas pedals,' not victims of a born-to-lose 'love affair,' not opting for exurban flight out of pure passion or even a clear preference. They are responding to a rigged market."

As she demonstrates in this clear and readable book, America's love affair with the auto has everything to do with price supports for highways and freeways, military protection of the world's oil supplies (who paid for the \$90 billion Persian Gulf Oil War? Not the people at the pump!), free parking, tax incentives for far-flung development, an economy dependent on news of new housing starts, the post-war Federal Housing Act which made mort-



**Asphalt Nation:** *How the Automobile Took Over America and How We Can Take it Back* ©1997. Random House. US\$32.95

gages affordable for the first time, but only for new suburban housing — and the damning list goes on and on. People are reacting to a market that is as far from the "ideal" neo-classical free-market as any centrally-controlled economy.

Kay divides *Asphalt Nation* into three parts: "Car Glut: A Nation in Gridlock," on the costs of car culture; "Car Tracks: The Machine That Made the Land," dealing with history of car culture; and "Car Free: From Dead End to Exit" which offers solutions.

One important chapter in the first section, "The Geography of Inequity," exhaustively catalogs the social costs of car culture. By "car culture," she means not simply a transportation system monopolized by automobiles, but the land

use patterns it forces on us, and the actual limits on freedom and mobility we unconsciously accept for lack of any alternatives. For example, she explains how auto-dependent suburban enclaves discriminate and segregate by race, disability, and age. She shows how the prohibitive cost of car ownership maroons people on an economic and social island. The urban and rural poor in particular can't get to jobs and services. Those too young or too old to drive a car can't get to the store for a loaf of bread, and can't get to the "local" school on their own for sports programs or to vote. Many persons with disabilities who cannot drive are unable to live independent lives.

Another important chapter, "The Road to Environmental Ruin," details car culture's many destructive effects on the natural and built environments. The indicators of an unsustainable car culture are many: asthma from tail-pipe emissions, loss of diversity due to habitat fragmentation, global warming, industrial pollution, pollution from oil exploration and refining, and the salination of freshwater ecosystems by road salts, and outright loss of natural habitats due to sprawled development.

Yet at times in this chapter, and elsewhere in this otherwise thoughtful book, Kay verges on a scattershot critique that bloodies almost everyone in sight, but misses some of the most deserving targets. For example, referring to the endangered Florida Panther, she says, "The Florida Panther dwindles. . . as a result of Interstate 75. . . while 'sportsmen' in off-road vehicles...launch their brutal odyssey and wreck more habitat." Brutal odyssey? Hunting has been part of



human culture since the beginning of our species. Besides, hunters tend to go on foot; the drivers of off-road vehicles who careen through the wilderness are not hunters but joy-riders filling out yet another new market created by automobile companies. Interstate 75, not sportsmen, fragmented the Panther's main habitat, causing "genetic sink." If there is an additional factor that has all but killed off the beautiful cat, it's the pesticide run-off from sugar plantations — not additional roadside parking for hunters, but America's Twinkie addiction.

The last section of the book, comprising Kay's proposed solutions, is the smallest section, and the weakest. This may reflect the complexity and difficulty of changing an economy and society so completely awash in petroleum. Kay's main solution is right on the money: make petroleum users pay the full cost of their habit, including negative externalities like

pollution and health care. She calls for equalizing the level of taxpayer support for mass-transit, noting that we call spending on highways and airports "investment," but "subsidize" mass transit. The point here is not to outlaw or abolish the automobile, but to bring some sense and fairness to transportation spending and to create a "market" that offers real alternatives.

If I am partly dissatisfied by Kay's solutions, it is because she fails to fully recognize how car-dependency and petroleum addiction are, in a sense, only symptoms — albeit major ones — of the larger problem: an essentially unsustainable and unfair economic system. For example, she does not address the issue of oil supply. Some estimates show a supply crisis in only thirty years if current consumption rates continue. What will happen then? Electric cars? Greater investments in mass transit? Desertion of far-flung sub-

urbs? If there is to be any hope of reversing the massive damage and inequity of auto-dependency, it will have to come by confronting the larger reality, of which transportation and land-use are key, but only partial, ingredients.

*Asphalt Nation* is worth the price of the hardcover just for the amount of current data it provides. Kay's argument is cohesive and strong except for occasional politically-correct digressions that really do not belong in such a well thought-out book. It makes a great resource for progressive planners, environmentalists, and activists, and is an important start in the search for an alternative and sustainable future. **PN**

*James Miraglia coordinates the Discovery Program at the Brooklyn Botanic Garden. He is also a student at Pratt Institute's Graduate Center for Planning and the Environment.*

# RESOURCES

## CONFERENCES, CONVENTIONS, WORKSHOPS, SEMINARS & EVENTS

• **October 3-5, 1997.** Arlington, VA. **CCHW Center for Health, Environment, and Justice 1997 Convention: "Winning Justice Step by Step."** Over 1,000 grassroots activists from across the country will gather for workshops, speeches, exhibits, share ideas, and build stronger ties in the environmental justice movement. For more information and a registration packet contact CCHW Center for Health, Environment and Justice, P.O. Box 6806, Falls Church, VA 22040. (703) 237-2249. EMAIL: <CCHW@essential.org>. WWW: <<http://www.essential.org/cchw>>.

• **October 6, 1997.** Lynne Elizabeth will share her plans for a new journal that will be published by Architects, Designers &

Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR) called "New Village: Building Sustainable Cultures." Noon, Wurster Hall Room 314B, U.C. Berkeley campus.

• **October 16-18, 1997.** The Annual Meeting of the Transportation Research Forum, an organization of academics and practitioners representing all transportation modes, holds its 1997 Annual Meeting in Montreal, Canada. For further information, contact TRF National Office at: 703-437-4377. If anyone is particularly interested in the panel on high speed rail, contact Jim Cohen at <jkcjj@cunyvm.cuny.edu>

• **October 19-23, 1997.** **Co-ops in the Northeast Leadership Tour.** Learn about the ways cooperatives and credit

unions build community in the Northeastern United States. Tour agricultural, consumer, financial and employee co-ops who are really making a difference. Cost: approximately \$900; includes travel, food, and hotel. Contact: Lynn Benander, Cooperative Development Institute, 50 Miles St., Greenfield, MA 10301. (413) 774-7599 ext. 11. FAX: (413) 774-6432. EMAIL: <lbanande@mhc.mtholyoke.edu>

• **October 23.** GIS Applications Fair. 2:00 - 6:00 pm. See how GIS is being used by real practitioners. Demos, Q&A, and related literature. Refreshments. 22 Reade St., Spector Hall, Manhattan, New York. Co-sponsored by GISMO and the New York Metro Chapter of the APA.

• **October 23-25, 1997.** "We're All in This Together." 1997 Community Land Trust Conference. Durham, NC. Sponsored by the Institute for Community Economics. Contact Julie at ICE: (413) 746-8660. EMAIL: <JOrvisICE@aol.com>.

• **November 6-9, 1997.** The Livable Cities for All / Ciudades Confortables para Todos conference will be held this year in Lima, Peru. Organized through

# RESOURCES

## CONTINUED

the cooperation of ARC • PEACE Peru, the Colegio de Arquitectos del Perú and the Secretariat in Stockholm, this year's conference will feature keynote speakers Erik Vittrup, chief technical adviser at the Habitat Centre in Costa Rica, Aliye Celik of the Habitat office in New York, Geoffrey Payne, a housing and urban development consultant in London, and a World Bank expert in the Habitat Agenda. Participants will focus on seven themes: Recovering historic cities; Local building materials for housing; Housing for production at home; Sustainable infrastructure for third world cities; Cities and health. Can cities be designed for better health?; How do new technologies influence architecture and city planning?; Education for social responsibility. Contact ARC • PEACE, c/o BBA Dept. of Architecture & Town Planning, Royal Institute of Technology, S-10044 Stockholm, Sweden. PHONE: 46 8 7908522. FAX: 46 8 7908580. EMAIL: <dickurba@arch.kth.se>. WWW: <<http://www.arch.kth.se/hemsidor/other-home/arcpeacehome/arcpeace.html>>

• **November 12-15, 1997.** National Association of Community Development Loan Funds' 13th Annual Conference. "Changing Communities, Changing Needs." Burlington, VT. Contact NACDLF: (215) 923-4754. FAX: (215) 923-4755. EMAIL: <nacdlf@aol.com>. WWW: <<http://www.nacdlf.org>>.

• **December 4 and 5, 1997.** Center for Urban and Regional Studies, Center for Advanced Studies, University of Buenos Aires. "Argentine Cities and Regions in the Nineties: Who are the Winners and Losers in the Structural Adjustment Process?" The seminar will be in Spanish. All contributions to the seminar will be collected in a book to be published in the Spring of 1998. Contact: Mr. Alejandro Rofman, Director, Center for Urban and Regional Studies, Center for Advanced Studies, 950 Uriburu St., 1st Floor, (1114) Buenos Aires, Argentina. PHONE: 54-1-963-6958/59. FAX: 54-1-963-6962. EMAIL: <ceur@cea.uba.ar>.

• **March 4-8, 1998.** Environmental Design Research Association Annual

Conference. "People, Places, and Public Policy." St. Louis, MO. Contact: EDRA 29, EDRA Business Office, P.O. Box 7146, Edmond, OK 73083-7146. (405) 330-4863. FAX (405) 330-4150. EMAIL: <edra@telepath.com>. WWW: <<http://www.aecnet.com/EDRA>>.

• **March 30 to April 3, 1998.** The SHELTER AND REVITALIZATION OF OLD AND HISTORIC URBAN CENTRES International Conference, Havana, Cuba. The thematic focus will include: Economy; Conservation and public space; Urban management; Environment and appropriate infrastructure; Social development; Legal aspects and standards; Benefits and limitations of alternative tenure forms home ownership, renting, leasehold, co-operatives, informal occupation, etc. For further information, write to TRIALOG, c/o Lehrstuhl fuer Staedtebau und Entwerfen, Universitaet, Raum 11.40 - G/009, D-76128 Karlsruhe, Germany; FAX: +49-721-608-3734. EMAIL: <havana.congress@usa.net>.

## CALLS FOR PAPERS

For the 1998 edition, published in the spring, COLLOQUI (Cornell University's journal of planning and urban issues) is seeking case studies and analytical or policy-oriented papers on any topic of interest to those within the planning field. In addition, they seek articles for a special section with the theme "EQUITY, ECONOMICS AND THE ENVIRONMENT" How can planners bring considerations of equity into policy discussions dominated by the language of economics? Can a sustainable environment coexist with economic growth? Can there be environmental justice for all? ABSTRACTS will be accepted until October 24, 1997 via mail or e-mail. Full papers will be requested shortly thereafter and must be received by November 14, 1997. For more information, call (607) 255-1815, e-mail <colloqui-mailbox@cornell.edu>, or write to: *Colloqui*, 106 W. Sibley Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

## PUBLICATIONS

**Emerging Issues in Learning Communities.** By Shanna Ratner. Published by Yellow Wood Associates. \$22.00. This paper explores the concept of learning communities and the shifts in

concept and practice required to bring them about based on emerging ideas in the physical sciences, leadership training, learning theory, rural development, public work, organizational learning, systems thinking, and community capacity building. The major shifts in concept include changing assumptions about people and human nature and changing definitions of community and development. The major shifts in practice include creating multiple spaces for public deliberation and removing barriers to action and reflection. This paper is based in part on work that was conducted on behalf of the Appalachian Regional Commission by Yellow Wood Associates, Inc. Contact Yellow Wood Associates: (802) 524-6141.

**Linking Human Services and Economic Development.** Reports on Economic Development and Jobs Series, Center for Community Change. This report examines how the delivery of human services is changing in an era of "reform," cutbacks, and restructuring. It analyzes what these changes will mean for community organizations interested in using human services to create jobs and help their low-income communities develop economically. Contact Center for Community Change: 1000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20007. (202) 342-0567.

## FUNDING

**The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation** is seeking proposals to establish "sectoral initiatives" that link low-income people to decent employment. Such initiatives target a particular occupation within a local industry. However, rather than temporarily provide incentives for businesses to hire low-income persons, sectoral interventions can actually change the structure/habits of businesses in the local industry, opening a long-term, mutually beneficial relationship. Applicant organizations will seek to either increase access to "good" jobs, or restructure poor-quality jobs. To learn more, read "Jobs and the Urban Poor: Privately Initiated Sectoral Strategies" available free from Mott, 800-645-1766. Ten grants will be awarded to 501(c)(3) nonprofit organizations. Each grant will range from \$300,000 - 450,000 over a three-year period. Proposals must be received by Oct. 31, 1997. Contact C.S. Mott Foundation, 1200 Mott Foundation Building, Flint, MI 48502-1851; PHONE: (810) 238-5651 or surf to: <<http://www.mott.org/rfp>>

# JOBS

**Community Development Senior Planner.** Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) seeks an experienced planner to provide neighborhood planning assistance, project-specific technical assistance and training in planning, development finance and project management to nonprofit community-based development organizations in NYC and vicinity. M.S. in planning, plus five years experience in hands-on low-income community development and related policy issues (or equivalent combination of education and experience) and facility with planning and development computer applications required. Spanish speaking a plus. Salary to \$40,000 plus benefits for this grant-funded position. Résumé to: PICCED (Dept. UP), 379 DeKalb Ave., 2nd floor, Brooklyn, NY 11205.

**Senior Planner for Economic Development.** The City of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Salary range is \$12.12 to \$20.00 per/hr. Minimum qualifications are Masters in Planning or related field and one year of work experience. If interested, contact the City of Santa Fe Personnel Dept. at 505-984-6597 or write to them at P.O. Box 909, Santa Fe, NM, 87504-0909 for a complete job description and application form.

**City Planner II (Area Design).** The Philadelphia City Planning Commission has two vacancies for planners to engage in Neighborhood Planning on behalf of the City. Bachelor's degree in a planning, architectural design or related program, and two years of planning or related experience required. Note: Completion of a two-year master's degree program in a field determined to be acceptable will meet all requirements. Design skills & people skills a must. Strong writing, oral and analytical skills. Salary: \$33,400 (starting) to \$43,000, and a complete benefit package. Send résumés to: Joseph Leonardo, Chief, Community Planning Division, Philadelphia City Planning Commission, 1515 Market Street, 17th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19102

**Director Of Organizing.** NYC Parent Organizing Consortium, a city-wide con-

sortium of community organizations organizing parents for school reform, seeks Director of Organizing. Call for more info or send résumé. Barbara Gross, 718-842-2224 c/o Mothers on the Move, 928 Intervale Ave, Bronx, NY, 10459.

**Community Organizers.** The Training Institute for Careers in Organizing seeks people eager to fight for social justice as Community Organizers. TICO is a 12-week, full-time apprenticeship providing field and classroom experience. Stipend \$920/month. Runs January through March. Permanent positions available at end of program. Application deadline September 30, 1997. Call TICO at (718) 584-0515.

**Organizers and Policy Advocate.** Transportation Alternatives. Promote community based traffic calming strategies and other improvements to New York City's walking and bicycling environments. Mobilize volunteer advocates and represent T.A.'s positions to public officials, community groups and the media. Strong self-motivation, commitment to the issues and excellent speaking and writing skills required. Salary \$26-\$33k with HMO coverage and 3 weeks vacation. Mail or fax cover letter to Transportation Alternatives, 115 West 30th Street, #1207, NYC 10001 FAX: 212-629-8334.

**Organizer/Activist with NJ Citizen Action,** state's largest consumer watchdog coalition, working on multi-issue campaigns. Qualifications include: experience in community, student, church, political organizing; good writing, phone and computer skills; interest in health care or lead poisoning prevention a plus. Car required. Salary high 20s., plus good benefits. Send résumé: AW, NJCA, 400 Main Street, Hackensack, NJ, 07601

**Assistant Professor and Associate Professor.** The Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba invites applications for two full-time, tenure track positions to be filled on July 1, 1998. Requires a Ph.D. in planning or a related field and eligibility for membership in the Canadian Institute of Planners. Professional work experience would be a definite asset. The areas of expertise we are seeking include: planning theory and history; housing, urban revitalization and community development; and urban ecology and environmental management. Salary range \$45,000 - \$50,000 for Assistant Professor; \$50,000 - \$55,000 for Associate Professor. Positions open to

Canadian citizens and permanent residents, and are subject to final budgetary approval. Submit a letter of application, curriculum vitae and the names and contact numbers of three referees by October 17 to: Ian Skelton, Head, Department of City Planning, 201 Russell Building, The University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3T 2N2. For more information, PHONE: (204) 474-6417. FAX: (204) 474-7532

**Assistant Professor.** University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Urban and Regional Planning. Full-time tenure track appointment beginning in fall 1998. Candidates must have at least one graduate degree in the field of planning; if applicant has a master's degree in planning, then the Ph.D. may be in planning or a closely related field. This position is open to candidates with both domestic and international interests. Salary: \$32,000-\$40,000 negotiable, depending on experience. Send letter of application, vitae, evidence of research and/or teaching experience and orientation, and at least three references to: Prof. Harvey M. Jacobs, Chair, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 925 Bascom Mall/Old Music Hall, Madison, WI 53706, PHONE: (608) 262-1004; FAX: (608) 262-9307. Application deadline is November 30th.

**Assistant Professor Urban Policy Analysis.** New School for Social Research. Assistant Professor with primary teaching and research interests in community economic development and with ability to teach basic economic analysis, program evaluation, and/or research methods. Ph.D. required and experience with funded research and/or community groups preferred. Send letter of application, curriculum vitae, and names of three references to: Urban Policy Search Committee, Milano Graduate School of Management and Urban Policy, 66 Fifth Avenue, New School for Social Research, New York, NY 10011. All materials should be received by December 1, 1997.

**Professor / Associate Professor of Planning.** State University of New York at Albany, Department of Geography and Planning in the College of Arts and Sciences. Tenurable position, appointment is anticipated on or before September 1st 1998. The appointee must have a Ph.D. in Planning, or other closely cognate qualifications, with a clear specialization in Urban and Regional Planning. Interested candidates should write to Dr. Ray

# **JOBS**

**CONTINUED**

Bromley, Chair, Planning Search Committee, Dept. of Geography and Planning, University at Albany-SUNY, Earth Science 218, Albany, NY 12222. Phone (518) 442-4766. FAX: (518) 442-4742; E-mail: <rb438@cnsvox.albany.edu>. Review of applications will begin on November 15th 1997.

**Assistant Professor in Urban and Regional Planning.** The Department of Urban Affairs and Planning at Virginia Tech invites applications for a tenure-track position that begins August 1998. Applicants will be expected to teach graduate and undergraduate courses in land use and environmental law and legal foundations of planning practice. A Ph.D. and/or J.D. is required. Applicants with only a J.D. must present evidence of scholarly and teaching qualifications and must have significant experience as a planning practitioner. Application review will begin on December 1, 1997. Send a letter of application, curriculum vitae and the names and addresses of three references to: John Browder, Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Tech, 201 Architecture Annex, Blacksburg, VA 24061-0113. Individuals with disabilities desiring accommodations in the application process should notify Professor Browder at (540) 231-6217 before December 1, 1997. WWW: <www.arch.vt.edu/caus/ua/uapintro.html>.

**Assistant Professor.** Loyola University Chicago invites candidates to apply for a tenure-track appointment in Sociology with specialization in race and ethnicity and/or urban social policy, beginning August 1998. Applicants must have a Ph.D. in sociology, be able to teach graduate and undergraduate courses, be committed to quality teaching, and show evidence of, or potential for, significant scholarly contributions. Review of applications will begin November 15th. Send a letter describing teaching and research interests; vita; samples of scholarly work; and three letters of recommendation to Peter Whalley, Chair, Department of Sociology-Anthropology, Loyola University Chicago, 6525 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago, IL 60626.

**Training Specialist.** Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation. Plan/evaluate community development training sessions. Must have strong background in multifamily affordable housing development, construction management, financial feasibility analysis. Ideally 3 years experience daily project management and working knowledge of single-family acquisition/rehab processes. Understanding of national housing policy, tax credit syndication, construction policies and procedures a plus. Starting salary competitive. Excellent benefits. Résumé to: 1325 G Street NW, #800, Washington, D.C. 20005, Attn: Human Resources.

**Community Development Lenders, Community Development Technical Assistance Officers, Senior Management.** New Jersey Community Loan Fund. NJCLF seeks individuals with experience in one or more of the following areas required: affordable housing lending; community development finance; commercial or small business lending; technical assistance or training of community economic development or small businesses; business or nonprofit management. Good benefits. Salary commensurate with experience. Résumé and cover letter to: Anne S. Li, Executive Director, New Jersey Community Loan Fund, One West State Street, P.O. Box 1665, Trenton, NJ 08607. (609) 989-7766; FAX: (609) 393-9016.

**Government/Community Relations Officer.** Manage and maximize CRA objectives, community relations programs and Citibank corporate citizenship in North Manhattan/Bronx. Develop innovative programs with Citibank and community development organizations. Maintain excellent relationships with community leaders, especially elected and appointed government officials. Through technical assistance and grants, work with nonprofits to affect community change. Requirements: Strong connections with North Manhattan/Bronx community leaders, nonprofits; familiarity with area's diverse communities. Pluses: knowledge of CRA, broad-based understanding of Citicorp/Citibank range of products and services, Spanish. Fax résumé to Jeffrey Friedman, 718-248-1717.

**Employment Development And Placement Coordinator.** The Fifth Avenue Committee, a housing and community development organization in South Brooklyn, seeks to fill a training/human services position related to the organization's local business ventures.

Responsibilities: design of recruitment and pre-employment training; provision of tailored individual counseling, support and career planning to employees; development of innovative training and employment opportunities. Requirements: BA or equivalent. exp.; successful job placement and individual/group counseling exp.; experience working with low income population; motivated, creative, well-organized. Bilingual a plus. Résumé/letter to Aaron Shiffman, FAC, 141 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11217. Fax (718) 857-4322. EOE

**Business Development Manager.** The Fifth Avenue Committee, a housing and community development organization in South Brooklyn, seeks a social entrepreneur to manage the development and marketing of an innovative temporary staffing services enterprise designed to offer labor market access to low-income individuals. Responsibilities: coordination of all business pre-startup work; development of relationships with potential clients; assistance with business plan. Development manager may become mgr. of business. Creativity and people skills essential. Salary and benefits competitive depending on experience. Résumé and letter to Aaron Shiffman, FAC, 141 Fifth Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217. Fax 718- 857-4322. EOE

**Program Manager, Program Counselor, Rehab Specialist.** The Community Builders, a non-profit community development organization, seeks to hire three highly motivated, experienced housing professionals to implement the residential component of a comprehensive neighborhood development strategy in Philadelphia. These newly created positions will implement a new program of homebuyer assistance, homeowner rehabilitation of 1-4 family properties in an architecturally significant community. This unique opportunity offers competitive salary and benefits. Forward résumé and cover letter with salary requirements to: The Community Builders, 100 N. 17th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103, Attn: Search Committee. FAX: (215) 246-0540. EMAIL to Leo Quigley at <leoq@tcbinc.org>.

**Project Manager.** The Bushwick Local Development Corp., a community-based, not-for-profit economic development program serving Bushwick, Brooklyn (NY). Job responsibilities include community outreach to both existing businesses and entrepreneurs, small business counseling (to help businesses locate and secure

resources), and the design and implementation of programs to improve local business conditions (for example, anti-graffiti and anti-crime). Salary \$28,000 to \$30,000, depending on experience. Résumés can be faxed to (718) 366-8740, or mailed to: Bushwick Local Development Corp., 217 Wyckoff Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11237. EMAIL: <mfeldman@bushwickldc.org>. WWW: <http://www.bushwickldc.org>.

**President and CEO.** The Board of Directors of ACCION New York seeks a highly motivated professional to lead ACCION New York, one of the largest microlending organizations in the United States. ACCION New York is a private, non-profit organization dedicated to providing loans to low-income self-employed individuals and families who have limited or no perceived access to bank business credit. Applicants should have at least five years experience in banking, credit analysis, finance, or micro/small business lending and be bilingual in English and Spanish. Contact: ACCION New York Search Committee, ACCION International, 120 Beacon St., Suite 201, Somerville, MA 02143, Attn.: Rosa Douglas. FAX: (617) 876-9509. EMAIL: <RDouglas@accion.org>.

**Technical Assistance Provider** for national community development organization. Assist community land trusts with all phases of community based housing development, including organizational and project development. Requires three years housing development, organizing and teaching/training experience; excellent communication and analytical skills; significant travel. Cover letter and résumé to: Carol Lewis, Institute for Community Economics, 57 School Street, Springfield, MA 01105.

Aspen Systems Corporation, an employee-owned information management company, has the following openings in its Housing Division. Send résumé, writing samples, and cover letter with salary requirements to: Aspen Systems Corporation Attn: (Appropriate Reply Code), 2277 Research Blvd. Rockville, MD 20850. FAX: (301) 519-5445.

**Database Coordinator.** To expand and maintain popular online and print database of research literature on housing and urban development topics. Excellent bibliographic research skills and thorough knowledge of concepts and issues in housing, community and economic development, planning, real estate finance, and

related fields are essential; graduate degree in housing-related field is strongly preferred. Reply HM-HDC.

**Senior Research Analysts.** One position will coordinate research and policy development projects on a variety of housing-related topics and other urban issues. The other position will undertake policy and public education writing assignments on housing-related topics. Excellent writing skills and in-depth knowledge of national housing/urban policies and programs are essential. Both positions require min. 3 years experience on housing-related issues in academic or public policy setting, excellent writing skills and advanced degree in urban studies, planning, or related field. Reply HM-SRA.

**Executive Director** sought by young and exciting economic development corporation in the Greater Humboldt Park area of Chicago. An advanced degree in community economic development, housing finance, urban planning, public administration, or a related field. Experience along with bilingual/bicultural in Spanish preferred. Salary commensurate with experience. Send cover letter and résumé to: Search Committee Humboldt Park Economic Development Corporation 2150 W. Armitage Avenue Chicago, IL 60647

**Executive Director.** Progressive community development corporation serving an area of over 75,000 people seeks person to be responsible for the effective, efficient and profitable operation and growth of the organization. Knowledge and experience in the fields of affordable housing development, community planning, economic development and community organizing. Successful experience in grant writing, fundraising and exceptional verbal and written skills. Strong supervisory skills and capacity to work with diverse groups. At least 3 to 5 years experience in community development, human services or business management. B.A. or combination of post secondary education and experience required, advanced degree preferred. Salary : Mid to high thirties. Exc. benefits. Résumé to : Search Committee, Twin Cities CDC, 1 Oak Hill Rd., Fitchburg, MA. 01420

**Executive Director.** National Fuel Funds Network (NFFN), a small, national non-profit, philanthropic association. Candidate should possess at least BA/BS and 5-10 years of progressive responsibilities. Experience in non-profit management, fund raising and membership development is required. Experience in low-

income energy issues, networking and member services is preferred. To apply: Send cover letter and résumé to: E.D. Search, NFFN, P.O. Box 7171, Silver Spring, MD 20907-7171.

**Executive Director.** Citizens For the Future, Inc. Exciting opportunity to start up and lead largest not-for-profit provider of low-income housing in East St. Louis, Illinois with recently acquired large inventory of occupied and abandoned bond-for-deed properties. Develop and manage home ownership counseling program for residents and program for rehab and redevelopment of abandoned properties, manage existing properties and loan servicing, and secure funding for future affordable housing development. Very strong housing development/financing skills required; property management and grantsmanship experience and experience working with a not-for-profit board of directors strongly preferred; minimum of two years of experience. Full-time twelve month appointment with possible extension subject to funding availability; salary \$30,000-\$35,000 plus benefits. Please send résumé, cover letter and three work references by closing date of October 15, 1997 to: Citizens for the Future, Inc., P.O. Box 2678, East St. Louis, IL 62202.

**Associate Director.** Iowa Coalition for Housing and the Homeless. Individual should have 6+ years of nonprofit housing experience. B.A. or higher required. Must have writing, communication, and administrative skills. Salary: \$30,000 plus benefits. Résumé to: Loyd Ogle, Iowa Coalition for Housing and the Homeless, 205 15th St., Des Moines, IA 50309. FAX: (515) 282-1810.

**Economic Development Project Manager.** The Women's Institute is a 16-year-old organization dedicated to creating affordable housing and economic opportunity with and for low income women and their families. Qualifications: Adult training/education experience, and 5 years economic development experience required. Training in popular education preferred. Grassroots experience in communities of color. Graduate degree in planning, community development, business, or other relevant field desired. Salary: \$32,000 - \$42,000 plus benefits. Send résumé to: Economic Development Search Committee, Women's Institute for Housing and Economic Development, 14 Beacon Street, Suite 608, Boston, MA 02108.

## Planners Network Steering Committee

**Ann Forsyth**, Co-Chair  
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# The 1998-2000 Steering Committee Election — Nominations are open!

The new PN by-laws (which will be published in the November issue) call for a Steering Committee election every two years. The current Steering Committee was formed shortly after the 1994 PN Conference. Please send nominations for the new Steering Committee to the PN Office in Brooklyn no later than November 1, 1997. If you would like to help organize PN events, work on the newsletter and other publications, and generally promote a progressive planning agenda through PN, please nominate yourself. A ballot will be included with the November newsletter. The new Steering Committee will meet early in 1998.

## UPCOMING ISSUES

**November Issue, Number 126**

**Public Housing: What are Progressives to Do?**

COPY DEADLINE: Monday, October 27th

Please submit articles, notes, updates, and resources typed and double-spaced. Feature articles of 500 to 1,500 words are always welcome. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. All electronic submissions should be sent as ASCII text. Send your submission to John McCrory at the address given at left.

## *Planners Network on the Internet*

The PN web site contains case studies, working papers, and more.  
Surf to: <http://www.picced.org/resource/pn>

To subscribe to our listserv, email: [pn-net-request@pratt.edu](mailto:pn-net-request@pratt.edu)  
with the body blank and the subject: **subscribe your-email-address**

FOR MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning and social justice. PN's 1,000 members receive this bimonthly newsletter, network online with PN-NET, 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 and American Collegiate Schools of Planning.

The PN Conference has been held annually each spring 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 Washington, D.C., East St. Louis, IL, Brooklyn, NY, and Pomona, CA.

Whether face-to-face, in print, or over the internet, PNeters are part of a network that shares progressive ideas and experiences. Join Planners Network and make a difference while sharing your ideas and enthusiasm with others!

Annual financial contributions are voluntary, but we need funds for operating expenses. The Steering Committee recommends the following amounts as minimums for Network members:

- \$15** for those with incomes under \$25,000, students and unemployed
- \$25** for those earning between \$25,000 and \$50,000
- \$45** for those earning over \$50,000
- \$30** for organizations and libraries

# 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. This includes opposition to racial, economic and environmental injustice, and discrimination by gender and sexual orientation. 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.

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

I'm a renewing member — Keep the faith!

Enclosed is my check payable to **PLANNERS NETWORK** for \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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379 DeKalb Ave.  
Brooklyn, NY 11205**

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**NOTES:** Your contribution is now tax-deductible!

If you are located outside the United States, please take care to ensure your payment is in U.S. dollars — we are unable to deposit any other currency in our account. Thanks.

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## SPECIAL FOCUS

# Transportation Planning: *Challenging Auto-Dependency*

## In this Issue:

- 1 Transportation Struggles in the Post-Apartheid City
- 1 Eight Myths of Traffic Planning
- 3 Transportation News
- 8 Public Participation Under ISTEA
- 9 The Campaign for Fair Transportation in Milwaukee
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- 16 A Test-drive in Jane Holtz Kay's *Asphalt Nation*
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## YOUR LAST ISSUE?

Please check the date on your mailing label. It indicates the month your current membership expires unless we hear from you soon! See page 22 for contribution suggestions.