

PLANNERS NETWORK

Sept./Oct. 1999

A Publication of Planners Network, Inc.

No. 137

THE SEVENTH GENERATION

In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations.

- From the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy

ALTERNATIVES TO THE GROWTH MACHINE

By Dick Platkin and Ben Rosenbloom, Guest Editors

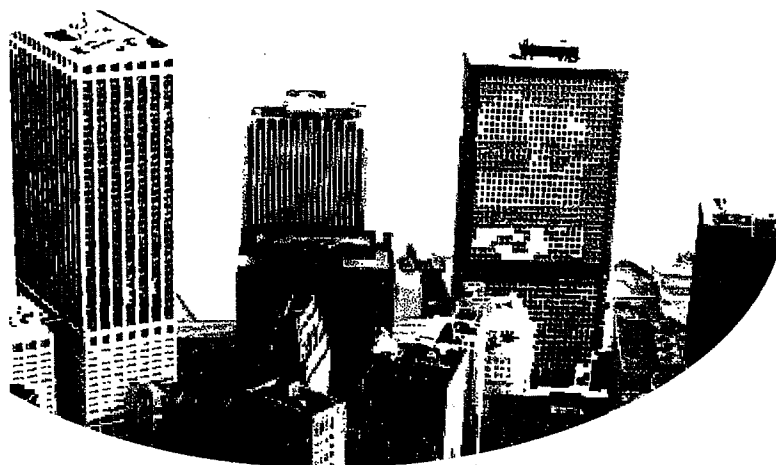
This issue of Planners Network is on the Urban Growth Machine, a popular model for understanding the development of land under capitalism. As presented by William Fulton in *The Reluctant Metropolis*, the growth machine is a cabal of lenders, local boosters, newspaper editors, home builders, contractors, construction unions, Democratic party officials, and public agency managers who work in concert to promote continued suburban and urban real estate projects.

Although the growth machine is associated with suburbia, it also contains a lesser known but growing central city component. In the shadows of relentless suburban sprawl, the central city component has escaped serious analysis, even though its

Continued on Page Six

THE GROWTH MACHINE

What Drives It, How to Stop It



THE GROWTH MACHINE GOES TO THE INNER CITY

By Dwayne Wyatt

The Growth Machine that gave us suburban sprawl is going to the inner city. But the benefits of the new urban megaprojects are bypassing most central city residents. And the costs are falling on urban taxpayers, deepening the fiscal crisis.

For the first time since the rebellions of the 1960s, corporate investment is flowing into Harlem. So far \$550 million has been committed from the public and private sectors, including projects by Disney, Cineplex Odeon, and Starbucks. In Los Angeles, Magic Johnson has become the Pied Piper of new investment in old neighborhoods. Encouraged by the success of his cinema complex in the Los Angeles Crenshaw district, supported by \$150 million from the California Public

Continued on Page Four

3 The Auto Drives the Growth Machine
Aaron Golub

7 Profit Drives the Growth Machine
Rodney D. Green

10 Race and Sprawl
Karina Ricks

14 Resources: Jobs, Events, Publications

Planners Networker UPDATES

Thanks to all the PNers who sent in news this month. Let your fellow members know what you are up to — send in your update today!

Planners Network
379 DeKalb Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11205
Fax: 718-636-3709
<pn@pratt.edu>

Suzanne N. Ise has accepted a new position as a planner with Denise Duffy & Associates in Monterey, CA. The firm does environmental planning in the Monterey Bay area.

Thomas Bishop is a new PN member and is part of a new organization called the World Village Foundation in Taipei, Taiwan. The WVF promotes sustainable development practices and integrates economic objectives with the enhancement and protection of natural resources. If you have questions or comments for Thomas and/or the WVF, email him at <worldvillagefnd@hotmail.com>.

In New York city, PN'ers **Jocelyne Chait** and **Margaret Seip** have been working with Bronx Community Board 3, community gardeners, housing groups, and community residents and organizations on a strategic planning study sponsored by the Design Trust for Public Space and the Trust for Public Land. A workshop is planned for October that will yield a series of design guidelines for development in the area. By winter the team will produce a series of tools that the Community Board and others can use to guide the evolution of the area and cultivate and protect open space while encouraging new housing development.

The Burlington Community Land Trust has retained the services of **Yellow Wood Associates, Inc.** to work with potential vendors of the Burlington Public Market to form cooperative marketing arrangements.

WYA will provide facilitation and other support services as needed to ensure readiness to participate on opening day. See www.together.net/~yellow.

Planners Network is a member of the Habitat International Coalition. This came from the HIC Secretariat:

We take this opportunity to invite you to the **HIC Annual General Meeting** to take place from the 4th to the 6th of October 1999 in South Africa. The AGM will be a strategic planning meeting, where members, together with the Board and the General Secretariat, determine the way ahead for the Coalition. Please confirm if you are considering participation and we will send you more information as soon as possible. Eldridge Jerry, General Secretary Habitat International Coalition PO Box 34519 Groote Schuur 7937 Cape Town, Republic of South Africa
27-21-447-4704
27-21-447-4741 (fax)
<hic@mweb.co.za>

CORRECTION

In Laura Liu's article, "Contesting Mythic America: Community-Based Citizenship Education for Immigrants" in the last Planners Network (#136), the sentence citing the colors of the U.S. flag should read "white for truth, blue for justice," and Patrick Henry's famous words should read "Give me liberty or give me death."

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

The Planners Network Web site is:

www.plannersnetwork.org

Welcome ...

NEW

PLANNERS NETWORK *members*

Jennifer Amory, Katherine Coit, Matthew Dalbey, Allen Graubard, Chun-I Lu, James Miraglia, Michael Morin, Anna Laura Powers, Libardo Rueda, Morris Zeitlin

Thank You

RENEWING MEMBERS

Marcia Caton Campbell, Daniel Carr, Elfi Chery, Fred Cooper, Marshall Feldman, Glance & Associates, Cinda Lester, Alan Spenser Mabin, Milton Ospina, Gail Schechter, Gary Shaff, Kirsten Shaw, Shirley Siegel, David Smole, University of California at Berkeley, University of North Carolina

... and Special Thanks!

SUSTAINING MEMBERS

Tom Angotti

Thanks for supporting PN. The only source of funds for PN is membership contributions. We have no corporate donors or wealthy angels. Contributions are tax deductible to the extent permitted by law.

THE AUTO DRIVES THE GROWTH MACHINE

By Aaron Golub

Nothing defines and shapes post-war urban transportation in the United States more than the automobile. The strong links between transportation, land use, and urban development affect nearly every aspect of the urban environment. Planners now find that providing for the circulation and storage of automobiles is an integral part of their jobs. How did the automobile become so central to urban America, and what does this mean for the urban development process referred to as the Urban Growth Machine?

The Auto as Commodity

The automobile is a commodity, and its production and sale are motivated and historically constrained by the social and economic framework of the capitalist order. The economy in the United States changed into a form of monopoly capitalism with the post-Depression concentration of industrial, banking, and insurance assets, along with the ballooning federal expenditures associated with the New Deal's Keynesianism. This transition to monopoly in many key industries ushered in a new set of demands on society as a whole. In the automobile industry, monopolization meant an explosion in production technology, a growth in the size of firms needed to manage such complexity, and an increase in the amount of capital demanded and risked.

As the automobile industry grew and arrived at the apex of interlocking industrial monopolies, its needs shifted from battling competition to careful planning, controlling markets, preventing consumption from stagnating, eliminating competition from other transportation modes, and deterring city planning alternatives which infringed on automobile usage. This transformation played a major role in the development of the Urban Growth Machine.

The Auto and the Growth Machine

The industry nourished the Urban Growth Machine as an integrated system of land development and auto consumption. This nexus was necessary for the auto manufacturers and their related suppliers, for whom the Growth Machine was a national "car buying" machine guaranteeing return on their increasingly expensive investments. Urban public transit systems were torn up, in part because of direct intervention by the automobile industry and in part because cars clogged narrow streets and there was no longer enough street capacity for at-grade trolley systems. Pedestrian areas were taken over by more and wider streets and movement became more difficult in the growing traffic. The growth of automobile usage also meant

that each car needed space to park, thus favoring lower density development. This spurred strip, big box, and mall type commercial development with ample parking and more streets and freeways. The auto also facilitated commuting longer distances to more remote and sprawling developments built along a highway system supposedly designed for interstate travel in the event of a national emergency or foreign invasion. In short, the traditional dominance of public space over circulation space was inverted. Many cite the "conspiracies" that were revealed in the anti-trust suits against General Motors. But these suits were the more obvious expressions of the complex process in which the industry steered the country's development through:

- Public policy making and investment
- Private investments
- Mass consumer culture
- Engineering and science education

By the fifties, the question became not whether to build urban freeways, but how to displace thousands of families for freeway construction in existing cities, how to spend many hundreds of billions, and how large to construct the new freeway system. The prior federal and state transportation commissions became "highway" commissions and were typically made up of representatives from the automobile, construction, and engineering industries. Decision-making moved out of the hands of local bodies and into ones comprised of professionals and experts. There are even reports of hired hecklers putting down dissent in those rare public meetings held during planning processes.

Through the Urban Growth Machine the automobile industry helped support the post-war economy. In

The industry nourished the Urban Growth Machine as an integrated system of land development and auto consumption.

Keynesian fashion, public investment facilitated production and nurtured consumption by subsidizing home mortgages and highway construction. It would directly or indirectly

consume millions of acres of land, pollute countless ecosystems, devastate communities, mine countless hillsides, and pump billions of gallons of oil from the ground. Most importantly, it would sustain the post-war economy for 30 years, employ millions of engineers and auto workers, and keep developers, auto makers, and oil producers wealthy and powerful.

The Costs of Growth

This growth could only last so long, and since 1975 the bottom has begun to fall out. Congestion costs urban regions billions every year, air pollution and runoff have grown to unacceptable levels, and inner cities have become cash-strapped wastelands. Efforts to stop highway construction, encourage mass transit, pedestrian, and bicycle modes are meeting with some success and growing. Furthermore, there are profound international political and economic implications because the stability of oil imports, the potential for war, and the role of oil-based

Continued on Page Nine

Wyatt/Continued from Page One

Employees Retirement System, and backed by partnerships with Sony and Starbucks, Johnson Enterprises has embarked on an ambitious strategy of investing in urban neighborhoods across the country. Communities mostly noted for their crime, drugs, and persistent urban blight have suddenly become competitive candidates for investment.

Why is this happening now? Until recently investors considered the profit potential of the inner city to be insignificant.

The Development of Underdevelopment

First of all, investment capital is moving away from some suburbs due to acute suburban overdevelopment, the corresponding increase in the cost of suburban land, and the anti-sprawl movement. To maintain a competitive rate of profit, investors have to develop alternative markets as an outlet for increasing levels of capital accumulation.

Secondly, central cities offer unique advantages to suburban investors. They see them as underdeveloped third world markets within commuting distance. The investors' strategy can be summed up as follows:

Inner city neighborhoods are *strategically located* at the geographic hub of metropolitan regions. They are at the core of commercial, cultural, communication, and transportation facilities, all pre-existing investments that could reduce the up-front development costs of inner-city developments.

Inner city neighborhoods have an *underutilized, minority workforce* which will account for over 54% of workforce growth in the next decade.

Inner city neighborhoods have *underserved local markets*, some with substantial purchasing power. Inner city residents account for at least \$85 billion, or 7 percent, of annual retail spending in the United States. More importantly, about \$20 billion of that demand is not currently being met by neighborhood retailers.

Inner city neighborhoods are victims of private and public institutional disinvestment, which provides a competitive advantage: depressed *land values*.

Who Benefits from New Investment?

The new ventures of the suburban growth machine in central cities are large, capital intensive, and demand considerable public subsidies. Sometimes they involve sizable public improvements, such as subway construction through old neighborhoods. Local boosters, private sector unions, and elected officials love these projects, with their lofty promises of jobs and increased local tax revenues. At first glance they do, in fact, look very promising.

In Los Angeles alone there are five current projects valued at over \$300 million. The \$380 million Trizec Hahn retail/entertainment complex in Hollywood is now under

construction. The proposed \$1 billion Playa Vista mixed use project in the Ballona Creek wetlands has encountered considerable opposition due to its traffic and environmental impacts. The Staples Center is a \$350 million sports arena in the heart of downtown. It is scheduled to open in October 1999 with two professional basketball teams and a hockey team. The Los Angeles Coliseum, whose reconstruction is still being negotiated, would house a National Football League expansion football team. In combination, these projects and others in the wings forcefully demonstrate the heightened pace at which investment dollars are being redirected to the urban core of Los Angeles.

Who will benefit from these projects? Obviously landlords, team owners, elected officials, retailers, contractors, lenders, and union officials will benefit. But what about the working class communities in the shadow of these projects? A few residents will get temporary construction jobs, but most of the employment created will be minimum wage (e.g., retail clerks) or seasonal (e.g., hot dog vendors). Thus, the low wage workers living near or employed by these developments won't attend the games. They won't frequent the new upscale restaurants or reside in the newly built apartments, condos, and hotels.

Though the city of Los Angeles may receive some revenue from sales and property taxes, these benefits will be offset by subsidized infrastructure construction, municipal permit fee waivers and tax breaks. For example, the Los Angeles City Council approved \$90 million to subsidize the Trizec Hahn project and over \$70 million each for the Playa Vista and Staples Center projects.

The National Football League also demanded \$150 million in public funds for the Coliseum project.

And what of the smaller infill development projects? In Harlem, a coalition of community groups and local merchants waged a four-year battle to block an upscale market from locating on 125th Street. Some merchants viewed new corporate investment into Harlem as a covert effort to move small merchants out. Local residents also felt threatened by the new commercial investment. They knew that the economic interests behind these projects were the same ones whose redlining and disinvestment caused their community's blight. Though the dollars invested may be smaller, the fundamentally exploitative economic relationship remains the same. Public subsidy dollars would be used as incentives, the new upscale national chain stores would hire local youths at minimum wage, and local merchants would be priced out of their stores. And, while this is going on the wealth created by these new developments will trickle up to the members of this reinvented growth machine, none of whom reside in inner city communities.

Projects Aggravate the Fiscal Crisis

Since the urban rebellions of the 1960s, local

The wealth created by these new developments will trickle up to the members of this reinvented growth machine, none of whom reside in inner city communities.

Continued on Page Five

governments have been hard pressed to do anything except provide basic municipal services. The manufacturing base and much of the middle class left central cities, precipitating the fiscal crisis. Federal block grants and state aid programs provide some support, but not enough to counter the effects of their diminished tax base. It is no wonder that most local elected officials support large developments when they promise jobs and tax revenues.

But what do these large development projects actually cost a municipality? The salient aspect of the new urban growth machine is that local government through infrastructure construction, direct subsidies, bonds, and tax forgiveness programs underwrites development costs. The fiscal impact of these subsidies on strapped city budgets should be obvious. In Los Angeles, for example, the old "we have no money" shuffle could be replaced with several hundred million dollars for such inexcusable deficiencies as spotty enforcement of city building codes.

Economist James O'Connor describes this tendency for government expenditures to outstrip revenues as the fiscal crisis of the state. Municipalities increasingly operate under a budget deficit, balance their budgets by neglecting the needs of neighborhoods, defer infrastructure maintenance, and underinvest in schools, open space, and medical and recreational facilities. In Los Angeles these trends have produced a projected \$33 billion infrastructure deficit, including a \$7 billion backlog of critical street, sidewalk, and sewer line repairs. Even if the heavily subsidized projects discussed above are financially successful, the neighborhoods adjacent to them would still suffer from dilapidated housing and schools, inadequate park and recreational facilities, cracked streets and sidewalks, rampant zoning and building code violations, redlining, and gangs and drugs.

This urban fiscal crisis is not just an inherent feature of capitalism nurtured by the growth machine. It is also an issue of political choice. City councils choose to divert public assets to developers and corporations at the expense of the quality of life for residents. Alternatively, cities can pursue more thoughtful and rational development strategies, which place residents and neighborhoods at the center of the development process.

Alternative Strategies

A comprehensive neighborhood economic development policy that considers local working class residents and employees as the main beneficiaries of government activity could be developed in a different political climate. It could be the basis for a new urban development strategy. Governments would have to reorder their priorities and assumptions. They would have to direct benefits to neighborhoods with the greatest need by strengthening local economic institutions and reversing decades of disinvestment. Municipal programs could include a repair and upgrading program for public infrastructure, a comprehensive inventory of workforce readiness and training

This urban fiscal crisis is not just an inherent feature of capitalism nurtured by the growth machine. It is also an issue of political choice.

opportunities, a capital and technical assistance program for local merchants, and a process for brokering agreements between neighborhoods and developers who request public subsidies for neighborhood based projects.

Thus, two critical pieces of an effective response are to disclose the true costs of the reinvented growth machine and envision alternative policies. The next step is, however, more difficult. It is waging the political struggle to implement these policies.

Dwayne Wyatt is a city planner in Los Angeles. He can be reached at dwyatt@altavista.net.

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

The Planners Network Web site is:

www.plannersnetwork.org

To subscribe to the Planners Network email list-serv, send an email message to:

pn-net-request@pratt.edu

with the body blank and the subject:

subscribe your-email-address

Still Available!

T-Shirts from the PN 99 Conference in Lowell, Mass.

***WORKING FOR A DECENT LIVING:
BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN
LABOR AND COMMUNITY***

\$7.50 each

*Payable to Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Ave.,
Brooklyn, NY 11205*

Seventh Generation/Continued from Page One

projects could offer local and regional benefits because of higher urban densities. Our contributors demonstrate, however, that this trend is hardly intended to create a more sustainable city. Nor does it signal a change in the capitalist imperatives to maximize profit and maintain continuous growth. Rather, the shift towards the central city derives from growing barriers to suburban investment and increased public subsidies for central-city investments.

Our contributors elaborate on this critique of the growth machine. Dwayne Wyatt discusses the changing economic situation facing real estate investors in New York and Los Angeles and the growth machine's response: the 'discovery' of central city sites for infill shopping centers, amusement parks, and replacement athletic stadiums. Aaron Golub reports on the critical role the U.S. automobile industry played nationwide in fostering the suburban and urban growth machines. Rodney Green brings the field of Marxist political economy to bear on the growth machine, demonstrating how it operates under the strictures of capitalism and how radicals can successfully, but not easily, take on the growth machine. Karina Ricks shows how race, and the failure to confront it, is a factor in the regional movements that would regulate growth.

Opposition to the Growth Machine

The contributors offer a critical view of the growth machine and guide the reader to liberal or radical opposition. We would like to argue that even the most successful forms of liberal opposition cannot result in cities and regions that meet human needs.

The primary liberal approach to counter the growth machine accepts its underlying premises while extracting concessions, such as local jobs, higher design standards, and offsite traffic mitigation. While this strategy is sometimes expedient, its project-by-project tactics leave the systematic irrationality of urban development unscathed. Although these reforms may present models for redeveloping cities and regions, they actually have a regressive impact. They reinforce metropolitan fragmentation and uneven development, increase cleavages between have and have-not areas, and buttress the illusion that the city can be reconstructed locally, without addressing regional issues and the fundamental social, economic, and political relations of capitalism.

A variation of this approach at the national level is the incorporation of antisprawl rhetoric in the campaign of Vice-President Al Gore. Linked to his themes are advocates of the New Urbanism and the heavily publicized Smart Growth movement. They counter urban sprawl through private projects based on higher densities, mixed use, pedestrianization, public open space, and sustainable design.

Some public sector unions have broken ranks with organized labor and switched allegiances from pro-development elected officials to community groups critical of the

growth machine. This political turn pulls the unions away from the growth machine by realigning them with its critics. Environmental groups such as the Sierra Club have increasingly opposed selected growth machine projects, both suburban and urban. A notable success is the creation of the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy, which added acres of parklands to Los Angeles' severely limited stock of public recreational areas. Homeowner groups from affluent neighborhoods often oppose infill projects because of traffic congestion and threats to small businesses. They are matched by community groups from poor neighborhoods which sometimes oppose infill projects because they bring no community benefits.

A second kind of liberal opposition comes in the form of proposals for structural change in municipal finance, automobile subsidies, and regional governance and planning. These reforms, which must be implemented on a regional level, are the structural preconditions for any sustainable urban reconstruction. They would have a far greater impact than any local initiatives. One example is the creation of regionwide planning mechanisms to allocate private and public investment in light of local needs and impacts. Land use and transportation planning would, therefore, be linked as a truly unified process. Regionwide public transportation systems would re-densify development along fixed-route lines, while serving suburban areas with a mixture of modes. Another example is the elimination of public subsidies to private cars so automobile use would be accurately priced and demand for public transportation would increase. Other proposals for structural change include the creation of metropolitan and state level planning processes, such as those already functioning in Toronto, Portland, Seattle, and Vancouver, and the establishment of revenue sharing between cities and sub-regions, as in the Minneapolis-St. Paul region.

Limits of the Liberal Approaches

The potential power of liberal reforms can be seen in these rare cases. But even though these reforms occasionally impose constraints on the growth machine, their failure to do so broadly is no anomaly. It stems from several inherent weaknesses. First, the advocates of structural reform offer no political program for their implementation.

Secondly, like the liberals who opt for concessions from growth machine projects, they also offer no explicit critique of the growth machine's economic roots in capitalism. This is no small omission because human settlements which meet human needs are rare under capitalism; they run contrary to the need to maximize profit.

Third, the site-specific liberal approaches do not make major contributions to housing affordability, racial and economic integration, or public sector investments in long-neglected communities. Instead, they make large, new private projects more attractive and allow them to work financially. Meanwhile, nearby neighborhoods suffer from the typical deficiencies of big cities: inadequate

Even the most successful forms of liberal opposition cannot result in cities and regions that meet human needs.

schools and parks, treeless parkways, rampant zoning and building code violations, and gangs and drugs. Thus, well designed projects condemn cities like Los Angeles to become deserts of urban decay with oases of new development.

Towards a Radical Critique and Program

The mere advocacy of thoughtful planning policies and programs is inconsequential when disembodied from an analysis of capitalism and a program of action. Opposition cannot be reduced to describing the growth machine, fine tuning its projects with esthetic and environmental veneers, or prescribing structural fixes. At best such approaches only yield modest results when they coincide with market trends (witness the Smart Growth slogan). At worst, they produce deep cynicism and paralysis. In either case, these trends do not constitute a coherent critique or a well organized, longterm program to negate the growth machine.

It is difficult to develop a convincing left response to the growth machine because of the overlap of liberal and radical critiques. Their shared concerns for creating sustainable environments and reconstructing community can easily confuse the major differences between the two approaches. The radical critique of the growth machine argues that project-specific concessions do not alleviate the broad regional damage of the growth machine. The alternative, structural changes, can only be achieved in a postcapitalist planning environment.

The focus of the left should therefore be based on advancing the anticapitalist content of antigrowth movements, not simply reaching compromises with developers and politicians. The left's approach must include the growth machine and broader urban problems in an integrated critique of the social and economic relations of capitalism. This critique should target the commodity and consumerist cultures and demonstrate how they are antithetical to sustainability. It would also have to counter the despair of popular culture and much academic discourse. Finally, it must be able to address and co-opt the ideology of "freedom" held dear by so many Americans.

For starters, we need to agitate to publicly expose the capitalist mechanisms responsible for the growth machine, including the way land is used and abused, the nature and costs of capital flight, and the causes and consequences of public underinvestment. We need to engage in informed finger pointing at those politicians and lobbyists, regardless of their political affiliation, who promote growth machine projects.

Beyond this lies a great amount of thought and action in constructing a coherent radical view and movement. In this vein we have tried to spark a dialog among left-liberals and radicals about reformist and radical strategies for opposing the growth machine. It is our modest hope that this special issue of Planners Network is a step in that direction. Our success will be measured, in part, by your comments and contributions.

Dick Platkin <rplatkin@aol.com> is a city planner in Los Angeles and member of the Planners Network Steering Committee. **Ben Rosenbloom** <benrose@aol.com> is a city planner and architectural designer in Los Angeles.

PROFIT DRIVES THE GROWTH MACHINE

By Rodney D. Green

Profit maximization is at the heart of the Growth Machine. But the growth machine isn't strictly a local or regional phenomenon, as suggested by urban planners who rely on the growth machine model. It operates according to the global imperatives of capitalism.

The urban growth machine merely reflects the current operation of capitalism in the field of real estate development. Despite our interest in the phenomenon, it has few historically unique characteristics. The growth machine (as supported by most of organized labor) is merely the way that an organic profit-maximizing system, in the presence of a variety of practical constraints, has taken pernicious shape in the contemporary United States.

The growth machine is an aspect of the *social structure of accumulation* described by Bowles, Gintis, and Weisskopf in their seminal book *Beyond the Wasteland* over a decade ago. They pointed out how labor collaborated with capital in the special historical circumstance of a capitalist world dominated by the U.S. after World War II. This economic success allowed capital to sweep a few crumbs off the table in exchange for labor peace. Meanwhile, popular movements against private urban development and the supporting infrastructure projects (such as urban freeways) emerged. Workers, their allies, and competing capitalists resisted the degradation of their physical and social environment based on their place of residence, rather than on the traditional nexus of struggle, their place of work.

Community Planning Faces the Growth Machine

Profit maximizing by private capital is an inexorable impulse. Space is used and reproduced to facilitate a profitable return on investment. True, popular movements can nibble around the edges of this process, and even at times curtail a particular land use or public project inimical to the interests of workers. Sometimes zoning decisions and environmental mitigation work, at least for a time. But, like a clown squeezing a balloon, the relentless pressure of profit-maximization makes the balloon bulge elsewhere, creating another monstrosity in another locale.

Federally subsidized road building and mortgages led to the desertion of the central city and the suburbanization of jobs and homes that we associate with the growth machine. This was followed by gentrification, urban infill, and suburban ghettoization as central city market forces offered investors the prospects of competitive profit. *Community* gets left out of this ironically labeled *community development* process, as capital flows back into the inner city with the blessing of elected officials,

Continued on Page Eight

Green/Continued from Page Seven

investors, contractors, media boosters, and construction unions. The skills of these growth machine actors are well honed, and they can usually co-opt opponents with the offer of jobs for local residents, meeting rooms, streetscape programs, and minor architectural adjustments.

If community development planning is, therefore, a Sisyphean task in the face of the power and skill of the evolving growth machine, what is the alternative?

Socialist and Communist Planning Models

Some planners believe that the alternative to the growth machine lies with planning under socialist and communist governments. From the days when Parisian architects took charrettes to the masses, progressive planning has attempted to reshape space to meet the needs of the people. But such efforts are inevitably constrained by the larger systemic forces in society, in particular the subordination of land use to the maximization of profit. In social democracy, while social benefits are typically greater, profit maximization remains the core driver of the economy; most real community development is hindered.

In Leninist socialism, most accurately termed state capitalism, private profit maximization was largely suppressed. But it was replaced by the goal of production-maximization based on a reformed, but still intact, individualist wage system. While there were many social benefits in this system, the priority of enhanced production -- a reasonable goal in societies suffering from privation -- was placed ahead of the political goal of achieving human equality and community. Centralized decision-making placed technical production needs ahead of collective and cooperative human interaction. As a result, it neglected the construction of human social spaces which enhanced well-rounded human development. Moreover, the maintenance of an alienating wage system reinforced the separation of people from each other through individualism and even competition, hindering the social processes that serve as a counterweight to one-sided production-maximizing decisions. Thus, socialism-in-practice, like capitalism, maintained barriers to fully empowering community development and planning. It contained its own obstacles to achieving communism and was a vehicle for the transition back to capitalism.

A Radical Strategy for Opposing the Growth Machine

So what is a progressive planner or community development advocate to do in response to the growth machine? Obviously, we must still push the stone up the hill, but at the same time we should hone and share our views of a *qualitatively* different future. Who else will take up the task of truly transforming society so that community development planning becomes a meaningful and

rewarding activity, not just a euphemism for real estate investment and a strategy for capital to cultivate boosters among leaders of minority and immigrant communities?

An alternative strategy must pose and then answer two questions:

Can progressives concerned about local land use and environmental issues emanating from the urban growth machine succeed in the face of capital?

Must capitalism itself be confronted and defeated for this progress to occur, especially given the left's demoralization following the collapse of the Soviet Union?

The answers reveal themselves in our daily reform struggles, in which we must never lose sight of the big picture, even if it seems distant from today's realities. Many people who are willing to fight the growth machine already share some of the basic human values of communism and socialism. They cannot usually articulate them, are not fully conscious of them, but when probed they favor a classless society, an end to wasteful and alienating competition, egalitarian access to goods and services to meet everyone's needs, and democratic decision-making at every level of society. Many would prefer to replace top-down, expert-driven planning, constrained by the goals of maximizing private profit or production, with a social planning process based on humanistic principles.

Not all activists feel this way, of course. In many community organizations, individualist ambitions to become the strongest and most financially able CDC or CBO mimic larger capitalist developers. Often, apparently

democratic demands for a "seat at the table" reflect a conflict between small and large capital, not a struggle for new human relationships in production, space, and land use.

The social planning process that many people prefer contrasts powerfully to the growth machine of

modern capitalism. It considers the many-sided well being of humanity in places of residence, work, and recreation, and is driven by genuinely empowered community members. Achieving this model means replacing the various forms of modern capitalism with a humanistically based communism as a necessary condition of community development. While the prospects of achieving communism may seem remote today, especially in light of the failures of the revolutionary movements of the 20th century, and while this vision appears quite radical to many, a vision of what *could be* is a necessary part of our struggle for community development. Indeed, such a long-term, holistic viewpoint in which human relations, not property relations, are primary, prevents us from losing our focus when we participate in demoralizing reform struggles over local land use and infrastructure issues.

In the next wave of upheaval against capitalism's wars, economic dislocation, racism, and massive inequity, we should place the struggle for humanistic communist values at the heart of struggles for social transformation. Then the working class can sort out the debris of the urban growth machine. It can determine what, if anything, to retain, when we rebuild society. Shouldn't we render obsolete the deals and tactics we use -- largely in vain --

The answers reveal themselves in our daily reform struggles, in which we must never lose sight of the big picture, even if it seems distant from today's realities.

to stem the tide of those capitalist-driven initiatives which devastate our communities? Capitalism's values are not hardwired into our beings; we can surely do much better as we struggle to achieve social progress.

Rodney Green teaches economics at Howard University in Washington, D.C. This article is based on remarks presented at the 1996 conference of the Planners Network at Pratt Institute. He can be reached at alaec06@aol.com.

Golub/Continued from Page Three

corporate profits are ever more important and problematic for capital. The changing global economy makes fresh demands on industries worldwide, and has placed the automobile industry in a new role. Just as the emergence of monopoly altered the development of urban areas, these new changes within capitalism will be felt as well. As centers of capitalist growth and activity, redesigned forms of the Urban Growth Machine will take on new roles in response to traffic congestion, pollution, and the global politics and economics of petroleum. This next stage is now unfolding, and we can count on the automobile industry to play a powerful but modified role in both economic development and related planning efforts.

Aaron Golub is a doctoral student at UC Berkeley's Institute of Transportation Studies. He can be reached at goluba2@yahoo.com.

ACT NOW FOR EAST TIMOR

Grassroots International announces the launch of *Act Now for East Timor*, a humanitarian aid and policy advocacy campaign in support of the people of East Timor and their aspiration for independence.

Since the August 30 referendum in favor of independence, hundreds of thousands of East Timorese have been brutally murdered or driven from their homes for their support of independence. A clear, firm U.S. policy based on the human rights of the Timorese people rather than U.S. economic and geopolitical interests in Indonesia could have avoided this humanitarian disaster.

The scale of the disaster and the nature of U.S. involvement in this situation demand that we respond. Act Now for East Timor will help the East Timorese reconstruct a society and construct a new, independent state.

The campaign will seek private funds from U.S. sources for an East Timor Relief and Reconstruction fund. At first, the fund will prioritize aid to the up to 300,000 East Timorese people displaced by the violence within East Timor. If possible, it will also provide appropriate humanitarian assistance to refugees in camps in West Timor. Those camps are currently under Indonesian military control and the question of humanitarian access is far from settled. In any case, work with refugees must focus on creating the conditions for their eventual safe return to East Timor.

The brutality of the Indonesian military and its militias has left the organizations of the Timorese independence movement scattered, with many of their leaders assassinated or in exile. In the medium to long term, Grassroots International will provide aid to help Timorese social organizations regroup and resume the work of service to their

communities.

In coordination with the East Timor Action Network (ETAN), the campaign will pursue a U.S. policy agenda designed to exert maximum pressure on Indonesia to end the orgy of violence and to withdraw its military forces from East Timor. To this end, campaign supporters will work to influence U.S. government policy and that of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. *Act Now for East Timor* will also join those who seek to ensure that the international peacekeeping force does not in any way impede the realization of Timorese independence.

Grassroots International is a private human rights and development organization that supports movements for social change in Brazil, Eritrea, Haiti, Mexico and Palestine, and does advocacy and educational work in the United States.

For more information, or to get involved in this campaign, visit their website at:

<<http://www.grassrootsonline.org>>

They can also be reached at 617-524-1499 and <mailto:grassroots@igc.org>

Tax-deductible donations should be marked *Act Now for East Timor* and sent to:

Grassroots International
179 Boylston St., 4th Floor
Boston, MA 02130

Leaders, Followers, Race and Sprawl

By Karina Ricks

Urban sprawl is gaining notoriety as the issue du'jour for state and national leaders, legislators, environmentalists, and suburban citizen activists. Proposals for curbing unmanaged, low-density growth, promoting growth boundaries, and preserving open space are cropping up across the country. The anti-sprawl policies of Republican Governor Whitman in New Jersey and Democratic Governor Glendening in Maryland demonstrate that sprawl is a cross-partisan issue. Farmers, developers, and policy makers have also entered the fray. And the federal government recently announced an initiative to promote growth control measures.

This new trend is going by the name of "smart growth." The motives driving smart growth vary. The popular press reports on concerns over the number of hours lost in traffic congestion, the thousands of acres of farmland lost to development each year, the lack of community in pedestrian-hostile neighborhoods, and the dwindling open space that once characterized the "American Dream." These concerns are predominantly the domain of the suburban elite, but sprawl also causes serious, compelling, and complicated problems for low-income, central-city communities. Less well addressed in popular media are the ways in which sprawl has encouraged and exacerbated racial segregation, limited opportunities for communities of color, produced spatial mismatches of employment and residence, and driven families, jobs, and resources from central-city neighborhoods.

The movement for smarter growth is young, and fortunately still impressionable. Who will take leadership of this movement? Will it be developers, politicians, or community members? It is crucial that central city activists assert themselves in the sprawl debate to ensure that any move for smarter growth serves their needs and not only the concerns of suburban elites.

Smart Growth and Central Cities

The tenets of smart growth speak to the interests of central city communities. Investment on the urban edge changes the direction and pattern of growth in the urban core. It fuels the exodus of people from the central city, influences the location decisions of industry, and encourages the spatial separation of people by race, class, and employment status. People who are unable to move to take advantage of new development are left behind, or actively restricted, in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty where they are socially, politically, and economically isolated.

Smart growth encourages public transportation, rein-

vestment in existing areas, compact development, mixed uses, and citizen collaboration in development decisions. However, like urban renewal before it, smart growth poses a grave danger for traditionally disadvantaged communities if the movement is unaware of, or chooses to neglect, their needs and conditions.

While central city reinvestment may improve urban neighborhoods, cities must take measures to ensure that current residents are in a position to benefit from the increased property values and quality of life. Urban misinvestment may lead to gentrification and the displacement of stable communities as has happened in San Francisco and other rapidly developing cities. Mixed use can mean that inner city communities will get desperately needed grocery stores, pharmacies, and businesses, but it can also mean that dense communities are saddled with small, unregulated industrial sites and other environmental hazards. Investment in public transportation can actually increase urban inequities if it primarily finances transit modes that service wealthier outlying suburbs at the expense of services to needier inner-city communities.

Smart Growth and Race

Many central city leaders resist entering into regional debates fearing that the minority voice will be lost in the larger, predominantly white, regional metropolis. But smart growth presents both an opportunity and a challenge to minority leaders and metropolitan planning officials. Leadership by low-income and minority leaders is essential if smart growth is to build on existing city resources, encourage more even urban investment, and serve the needs of current urban residents. This is a difficult task given that local community organizations are overburdened, underfunded, and understaffed as it is. They are engaged in an overwhelming number of problems in their own neighborhoods, and past experiences give them little faith that their involvement will lead to change. Nevertheless, growth that proceeds without the input and leadership of existing low-income and minority communities is no smarter than the growth that we have seen over the past several decades. Central city activists will not join regional, smart growth discussions unless their participation is meaningful. The onus, therefore, is on city officials to take measures to ensure that there is real collaboration. Smart growth, if it is to be something truly different, needs to be an equitable partnership of metropolitan leaders and central city residents.

Growth that proceeds without the input and leadership of existing low-income and minority communities is no smarter than the growth that we have seen over the past several decades.

Sprawl has encouraged and exacerbated racial segregation and limited opportunities for communities of color.

Followership is a difficult skill to master. It is even more difficult when it means recognizing the racial and ethnic biases that have separated and suppressed inner-city communities of color from the decision-making elite. If there is any hope of avoiding the errors of urban renewal, the traditional "growth coalition" should learn to take its cues from low-wealth central city communities who are undoubtedly affected by any urban investment decisions. Too many examples illustrate that while rhetoric advocating for minority leadership and participation is common, majority followership remains rare.

Central city and minority communities have an opportunity to seize leadership in the smart growth movement. Their guidance is crucial to make sure that smart growth means not only curbing urban sprawl but also directing urban reinvestment so it is not misinvestment. Any vision for a smarter kind of growth must have the involvement and leadership of low-income and minority urban communities or it will breed resistance, exacerbate urban ills, and resurrect the errors of urban renewal.

Karina Ricks currently lives and works in Washington, DC. She holds a Masters of Regional Planning from Cornell University.

The Los Angeles Growth Machine

The City General Plan, made up of state mandated plan elements and city generated community plans, was used by local communities in the 1970s to keep large-scale development from enveloping single family residential areas. Modest victories were red flags to the Growth Machine, which hoped to break these populist barriers to development. They sought to change the Los Angeles City Charter and weaken the General Plan. The old City Charter, a product of the progressive era, was revised in June. The new Charter shifts participation from the community plans to neighborhood councils without power. The lobbyists and City Hall cronies guided personally by wealthy corporate Mayor Richard Riordan appear to have won the day. In response some suburban voters are attempting to secede.

-- Sue Nelson

GOVERNMENT MISSED THE BOAT FOR SMART GROWTH

By Michael A. Morin

(PNer Michael Morin sent us a copy of his letter to the New England Regional Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. An excerpt from that letter follows.)

As a student of planning issues for almost twenty-five years, it is strongly evident to me that we missed the boat on smart growth about fifty years ago. Therefore, I must strongly protest that three million dollars is a ridiculously insignificant amount to dedicate to reversing the trends of the last century based on cheap, plentiful oil and the unbridled, subsidized, entropic growth of the automotive culture. I recognize that there is a limited amount of funds allocable to the EPA for dealing with the situation. However, coordinated efforts, underlaid by comprehensive policy principles, with the departments of Housing and Urban Development, Health and Human Services, Energy, Agriculture, and perhaps most importantly, Transportation, should be initiated and carried forth to raise funding by quantum levels. I would suggest that at least a hundred-fold increase (i.e., a minimum of \$300,000,000) be dedicated to this most important effort.

Such a coordinated economic growth program should be based on the solid principles of economic equity and sustainability. Ideally, all efforts should be made to incorporate cooperative economic principles and community stewardship into such a program. This would require a new and newly accepted role for government with respect to economic policy and planning. The major impediment to such progress would be the interests of "private" concerns. Whether or not such is reconcilable, given the short-term perspectives inculcated into a means-oriented society and the special economic interests of the status quo, is problematic. Any efforts, however, must not stop short of dealing with the fundamental issues at hand.

The National Neighborhood Coalition is currently engaged in an information-gathering project together with the Smart Growth Network. NNC is seeking examples of inner-city neighborhood leadership in regional growth planning.

Contributors may contact Betty Weiss, NNC Executive Director, 1875 Connecticut Ave., NW Suite 410, Washington, DC 20009, ph. 202-986-2096, nncnnc@erols.com.

New Urban Spaces

Book Review

By Catherine Diaz

Possible Urban Worlds: Urban Strategies at the End of the Twentieth Century

Edited by Richard Wolff, Andreas Schneider, Christian Schmid, Philip Klaus, Andreas Hofer, and Hansruedi Hitz. 1998.

Available from Birkhauser Verlag, PO Box 133, CH-40010, Basel, Switzerland.

The end of the 20th century has both real and symbolic connotations for almost everyone. The most palpable experiences for many are in cities, but the identity of cities everywhere is being challenged by global restructuring and the escalating marginalization of low-wage workers and minority groups. One of the ways community groups have challenged this process is to reclaim neglected public and private land for communal use. *Possible Urban Worlds: Urban Strategies at the End of the 20th Century* is a selection of stories about community groups throughout the world and their methods of redefining urban space.

The book is the product of the seventh conference of the International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA), held in Zurich in the summer of 1997. INURA is a network of academics and community residents that fosters links between theoretical and practical knowledge as they apply to alternative urban strategies. People of diverse social and professional backgrounds come together to explore theoretical and practical concepts and specific forms of action for each locality. *Possible Urban Worlds* is an excellent combination of theoretical interpretations of current urban landscapes and the experiences of groups that are on the front lines of alternative strategies.

In the chapter "Globalization and the Body," David Harvey discusses why it is easy to connect Volume I of Marx's *Capital* to contemporary daily life. According to Harvey, "Marx provides a coherent theory of the bodily subject under capitalism. It is limited in its purchase but powerful as a tool for understanding the social production and reproduction of bodies and subjectivities within the dynamics of capital accumulation." In another chapter, Alberto Magnaghi, Professor of Architecture at the University of Florence, states "A strong process of decentralization is necessary which will strengthen the practices of cooperation, which will develop new forms of community; which will guarantee, in their turn, new processes of accumulation of capital." These are examples of some of the theoretical discussions in this volume.

The groups selected for this book are examples of a powerful new political trend. For example, in Britain there is the Exodus Collective, or Jah People. They are

united around a spiritual belief in communal development as opposed to the competitive interest of private ownership. They achieve this by "occupying decaying local properties on a permanent basis for free community use." The group built new housing using material from dilapidated structures, and reclaimed vacant land for use as a community farm. They hold 'raves,' or community dances, as a way to raise money from voluntary donations and to provide an inclusive environment for the surrounding community. The collective has become a focus for sustainable development for youth and unemployed craft workers that have been otherwise discarded by the dominant society.

The Green Work Alliance (GWA) of Toronto works to expand organized labor's demands for fair and healthy employment to include environmental justice for working class and poor neighborhoods. The chapter, "Making A Difference -- Making Green Work," discusses how a coalition of labor, environmental, and anti-poverty groups have united to reject the impossible choice of jobs or environment that poor communities are often forced to make. Their slogan "a greenbelt not a rustbelt" deals with the issue of creating production that invests in the economy and ecology. Three factors led to the emergence of this alliance: the closing of a Caterpillar plant in 1990 after it moved operations to the United States; issues and conflicts around health and safety for the Canadian Auto Workers Local (CAW); and the demonstration by a group of visiting Japanese workers of alternative product designs that could benefit the community. The GWA was convinced that only a comprehensive strategy that aligned workers and social justice movements could address the entire issue of economic revitalization in a way that did not strip communities of healthy living space. "The GWA has been able to liberate the imagination of workers by presenting a viable alternative of redesigning the production process; it showed them how they could be part of and even be the key to this process."

Struggles involved with private property and the lack of public space, and unmet social needs, have spurred hundreds of squats across Italy. In the chapter entitled "Liberated Spaces -- Possibilities for Liberating Everyday Life," the squatted social center *Forte Prenestino* is highlighted. This is a real fort, built as a medieval castle on the outskirts of Rome. It stands in an almost abandoned park on the periphery of the city. The occupation of this structure by squatters began on May 1, 1986, after a big event called the 'No Work Party' in the park outside the fort. Since many social and economic questions were not being addressed by the government, social groups addressed their own needs by forming collectives, and began to occupy empty, unused buildings. The result was communities that functioned as comprehensive social centers comprised of people from a wide variety of backgrounds and interests. Alternative communities, however, are not without their problems. There has been ongoing debate about decision-making models, and the rotation of roles. "The production of culture is a basic requirement. We need to search for new values, criticize existing social

The groups selected for this book are examples of a powerful new political trend.

models, fight prejudice and stereotypes, create original viewpoints and individual perspectives, look at things differently. Culture is essential nourishment for the mind."

Another chapter examines the struggle in Berlin against a repressive campaign to limit individual activity in public space. "Inner! City! Action! Crowd Control, Interdictory Space and the Fight for Socio-Spatial Justice," is an account of an organized coalition that literally seeks to take back the streets from state control. Certain groups in Berlin have been banned from public squares and the transportation infrastructure. Panhandlers, prostitutes, and homeless newspaper sellers have been banned from downtown "inner city" spaces. At the same time, immigrants and youth on the outskirts of the city have been abandoned by the police. Many disenfranchised groups must depend on the informal exchange of resources that a downtown area affords. The state and private business groups have used the police and private security agencies to remove unwanted social groups from public spaces. "The public transportation agency alone placed 160,000 bans in only 12 months This does not mean that 160,000 persons were expelled and then forbidden to re-enter the stations, but represents repeated action against the same people in their everyday struggle for their living and work places." Around most train stations and public squares, social workers are allowed to negotiate public space if they render themselves invisible, by siting their services behind the train stations to separate themselves from travelers. Some of the direct actions in Berlin include staging public parties in bank vestibules after business hours. These demonstrations defy mass arrests, because police are unable to pinpoint organizers due to the wide participation of random passersby.

There are many vibrant examples in this book of groups that are redefining urban identity through politics, and reclaiming public and private space. It is an excellent source of a wide array of international perspectives on the increasingly local interplay of theory and action, and the inevitable confrontations that ensue.

Catherine Diaz is a student in the Pratt Institute Graduate Center for Planning and the Environment.

PN AT ACSP

RECEPTION

Friday October 22, 8:30 PM

Miller's Pub
134 So. Wabash, 2nd Floor
Chicago

Open to everyone attending the annual conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning

PLANNERS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY REUNION

When: October 15-16, 1999

Where: Pratt Institute/Manhattan
295 Lafayette St. (corner Houston)
2nd Floor

Preliminary Program:

Friday, October 15

2:30-5:30 PM Tour of E. New York
5:30-8:00 Empowering Low Income Communities (joint session with Planners Network)
Chester Hartman
Frances Fox Piven
Leo Lillard
Ron Shiffman
Perry Winston

Saturday, October 16

8:30-9:15 am Registration/Coffee
9:15-9:30 Welcome - Walter Thabit
9:30-10:30 Self-introductions
10:30-12:30 Plenary Session on Racial Discrimination:
Chester Hartman
Frances Fox Piven
Yale Rabin
Walter Thabit
12:30-1:30 pm Box lunch
1:30-3:00 Workshops:
Globalization
Environmental Justice
National Urban Policy
3-5 Plenary Session
Planning for the 21st Century:
Ken Reardon
Lew Lubka
Norm Krumholz
Lisa Peattie
5-6:00 Summation
6:30-7:30 Social Hour
7:30-9:30 Dinner at Pierino Restaurant

For registration information contact Walter Thabit: 212-477-3694.

Resources

Jobs

CALIFORNIA

The Northern California Land Trust is looking for an **Executive Director**. NCLT is a Berkeley-based nonprofit housing developer specializing in neighborhood revitalization without gentrification and innovative homeownership programs. Lead 7-person staff plus organizational development, housing development, community relations, board relations and daily business. Salary is \$50-60K plus benefits and performance bonus. Call 510/548-7878 x343.

Chinatown Community Development Center seeks a **Resource Development Coordinator**. Must be highly organized and able to meet deadlines. Must have degree or demonstrated equivalent experience, one year nonprofit administration, including planning, volunteer supervision, and financial management, computer skills in Microsoft Word and Excel. Provide administrative assistance in major donor program, special events and direct mail program. Salary is \$20-30K. Mail resume to CCDC-RDC, 1525 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94133-3323 or fax 415-362-7992.

Chinatown Community Development Center seeks an **Administrative Assistant/Property Manager**. Capacity to work independently, under pressure, with strong problem solving skills. Must have 2 years experience as administrative assistant or property management assistant, extensive experience with Microsoft Word and Excel, excellent written and verbal communication skills and ability to train other staff on software applications, and typing speed of 50 words per minute. Salary is \$20-30K. Mail resume to CCDC-PMAA, 1525 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94133-3323 or fax 415-362-7992.

The Sustainable Transportation Program of the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) is seeking a **Program Assistant** in its Berkeley office. Support local government efforts to reduce the environmental impacts of transportation. Work with local governments to support the devel-

opment and implementation of Local Action Plans to reduce transportation and related greenhouse gas emissions. Must have Bachelor's degree. Salary is \$32-36K. To apply, mail, fax or email a resume and cover letter to: Matt Nichols, Program Coordinator, ICLEI-U.S., 15 Shattuck Square, Suite 215, Berkeley, CA 94704 or phone 510-540-8843 or fax 510-540-4787 or email <mnichols@iclei.org>.

MARYLAND

The Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation is seeking a **Management Consultant** to be based in Baltimore. Work with district field staff and network leaders on needs for loan products, fees and equity. Assist in structuring deals involving NeighborWorks Organizations and financial institutions. Must have substantial experience with financial services industry and demonstrated commitment to enhancing lending opportunities for low-income communities. Travel is required. For more info or to respond: NRC, 1325 G St. NW Ste. 800, Washington, DC 20005 Attn: Human Resources or email <sharvey@nw.org> or fax 202-376-2664.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Institute for Community Economics is looking for a **Director of Operations and Finance**. Manage operations including financial oversight, human resource management, information and office systems. Must have 5 years financial management, 2 years supervision and nonprofit management, excellent communication skills, expertise in personnel relations, budgeting, administrative systems, and computer applications. Apply to Sarah Page, ICE, 57 School Street, Springfield, MA 01105.

The Hazardous Waste Worker Training Program at the University of Massachusetts Lowell seeks a **Marketing/Outreach Coordinator**. Must have 3-5 years marketing experience, demonstrated coordination skills, (experience with unions and the New England Environmental Justice movement preferred), familiarity with environmental health issues, experience writing grant proposals. Masters degree in Public Health, Human Services, Business, Education or related field under-

graduate degree acceptable with at least 5 years related field experience. Salary is \$38-43K DOE. Send cover letter, resume, and writing samples showing ability to write memos, letters, bids, and promotional materials to: Helen Butler, Dept. of Work Environment, Umass Lowell, 1 University Ave., Lowell, MA 01854.

NEW JERSEY

The Affordable Housing Network of New Jersey seeks a **Community Economic Development Specialist**. Responsibilities include providing assistance to community-based organizations, planning and implementing a comprehensive community economic development training program, and other new economic initiatives. Must have 10 years demonstrated experience in community economic development, experience providing training and technical assistance to CBOs, a Masters Degree or equivalent experience. Send resume, cover letter, and salary requirements to Diane Sterner, Executive Director, AHN of NJ, PO Box 1746, Trenton, NJ 08607.

The St. James Community Development Corporation is seeking **Housing Project Manager**. Newark-based non-profit seeks manager to implement strategic, multi-year housing production pipeline from project coordination conception to completion. Degree required and 3 years housing related experience. Fax resume to 973-482-0176.

The St. James Community Development Corporation is seeking an **Urban Planner**. Newark-based non-profit seeks planner to develop neighborhood improvement plans and strategies. Analyze existing housing, retail, commercial and environmental inventories and develop plans with new urbanism design principles. Master Degree, 3 years experience and GIS proficiency required. Fax resume to 973-482-0176. For more info contact Jesabel Cruz at SJCDC, 260 Broadway, Suite 300, Newark, New Jersey 07104; phone 973 482-5700.

Isles, Inc. is seeking a **Home Ownership Program Manager**. Responsibilities include marketing, screening, counseling, training and sales of homes. Must have 3 years relevant experience including real estate sales or brokers license, management and working with low-income populations. May need to be a HUD certified counselor. For more info phone 609-393-5656x33. Resume to Housing Director, Isles, Inc., 10 Wood Street, Trenton, NJ 08618 or fax 609-393-2124.

Isles, Inc. is seeking a **Home Ownership Counselor**. Full-time or part-time position. Prefer 3 years of relevant experience and successful completion of housing counseling course-work. Will train. Should be familiar with residential sales or mortgage lending. Excellent opportunity to assist low and moderate income families to purchase homes. For more info phone 609-393-5656x33. Resume to Housing Director, Isles, Inc., 10 Wood Street, Trenton, NJ 08618 or fax 609-393-2124.

NEW YORK

NYPIRG seeks a **Computer Mapping Analyst**. Responsibilities include providing GIS services to client base, working with director and programmer to coordinate projects, and helping maintain extensive GIS files. Must have 2 years experience with ArcView and/or MapInfo, familiarity with WindowsNT, experience with nonprofits, and understanding of New York geography. Send cover letter, resume, and mapping samples to GIS Analyst Search, NYPIRG CMAP, 9 Murray Street, 3rd Floor, NY, NY 10007 or email <cmajob@nypirg.org>.

Common Ground Community is looking for a **Rent Administrator**. CGC operates The Prince George, a supportive housing residence for 416 single adults. Duties include maintaining rent accounts, working with residents to resolve any rent arrears, and representing management in housing court. Experience with special needs populations preferred along with strong oral & written communication skills, excellent organizational skills, proficiency in spreadsheet software and familiarity with landlord-tenant procedures. Salary DOE. Fax resume and cover letter to Caroline Chambre, Director of Tenant Relations at 212-768-8492.

Mothers on the Move is seeking an **Environmental Justice Organizer**. Coordinate direct action campaign to fight environmentally harmful facilities. Duties include providing staff support for neighborhood committee, analyzing solid waste policy and corporations, developing campaign strategy and building the base. Requirements are 2 years organizing experience, commitment to organizing as a means to build power, and bilingual English/Spanish. Salary DOE, plus benefits. Send resume and cover letter to MOM, 928 Intervale Avenue, Bronx, NY 10459 or fax 718-842-2665.

The New York Landmarks Conservancy is looking for a **Fundraising Manager**. NYLC seeks a development team member to steward and expand \$1 million annual support base. Responsibilities include grant writing, interaction with foundations and corporations, coordination of corporate membership programs, cultivation events, and prospect research. Excellent writing, editing, interpersonal and organizational skills required. Salary DOE, generous benefits. Cover letter and resume to Director of Development, NYLC, 141 Fifth Avenue, NY, NY 10010.

NORTH CAROLINA

The North Carolina Association of CDCs seeks a **President/CEO**. Provide statewide support services to community development corporations. Responsibilities include the management of all aspects of the organization's projects and initiatives such as training, public policy, technical assistance, fundraising, member services, etc. Previous CEO experience as well as significant administrative and legislative advocacy skills required. Based in Raleigh, NC. Send resume and cover letter to NCACDC, Search Committee, PO Box 26208, Raleigh, NC 27611.

PENNSYLVANIA

Project H.O.M.E. is looking for a Director of Housing & Community Development. Responsible for managing all pre-development and construction activities, including preparing development and operating pro-formas, preparing RFP's and managing contracts for architectural, construction, and consulting work as well as coordinating debt and equity closings. Must have demonstrated leadership, strong financial skills, supervisory experience, MA preferred, and 5 years experience. Contact PHOME, 1515 Fairmount Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19130 or email <joeweinhardt@erols.com> or fax 215-382-7633.

TEXAS

House of Neighborly Service is looking for an Executive Director. Must have 3-5 years experience in a related area and degree in social work, human services, business, or comparable area, or equivalent experience. Bilingual Spanish/English preferred. Salary is \$30-40K. Send resume to Search Committee, HNS, 407 North Calaveras, San Antonio, TX 78207.

WASHINGTON, DC

Environmental Support Center is looking for an **Organizational Assistance Manager**.

Must have degree and experience providing organizational development training and technical assistance to nonprofit organizations as well as experience in diagnosis of organizational development needs for nonprofits essential. Experience should include working with groups that have modest budgets and/or groups representing and serving low-income people and people of color. Understanding of environmental issues and WordPerfect. Salary is \$40-50K. Send resume to Environmental Support Center, 4420 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 2, Washington, DC 20008 or email <jabernathy@envsc.org> or fax 202-966-4398.

EVENTS

October 1-31, 1999: The NYC leg of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union's "March of the Americas" is marching from Washington, DC to NYC. They are leaving Washington on the 1st and arriving in NYC on the 31st. The human rights abuses that they document on this march, and the testimonials of the people, will be presented to the United Nations on November 1st. The Urban Justice Center is organizing the New York leg. For more info visit <www.libertynet.org/~kwru> or phone 215-203-1945. Or, you can contact Heidi Dorow at the Urban Justice Center at <hdorow@urbanjustice.org> or phone 212-533-0540.

October 6, 1999: Striking Gold Through Smart Growth: Sustaining Prosperity in Southern California. Presented by the California Futures Network. This one-day, intensive Symposium will held at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles. For more info call Kristen Paulsen, event consultant, at 530-792-1751 or email <kristen@cbdcom.com>. Contact the California Futures Network at 510-238-9762.

October 21-23, 1999: Global City-Regions Conference in Los Angeles. Hosted by the UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research, the conference will provide three days of intensive dialogue on global city-regions and an increasingly integrated world economy. For more info phone 310-794-5477 or email <globalcityregions@spps.ucla.edu> or <www.spps.ucla.edu/globalcityregions>.

October 21-24, 1999: Urban Segregation and Value Capture Roundtables: Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Annual

Resources

Continued

Conference in Chicago, Illinois. Contact Pat Jackson Gleason at 850-907-0092 or email <pgleason@acsp.org>.

October 31- November 2, 1999: 20th Annual Affordable Housing and Community Development Conference in Albany, New York. For more information contact the New York Rural Housing Coalition, Inc., 879 Madison Avenue, Albany, NY 12208; 518-458-8696; <www.ruralhousing.org>.

November 1-2, 1999: Networks For People, a free forum by the National Telecommunications and Information Administration to discuss the connections of people, information technology, and services transforming American life will be at the Key Bridge Marriott in Arlington, Virginia. For more info visit <www.ntia.doc.gov> or call 202-482-2048.

November 3-6, 1999: Toward Sustainable Communities: 21st Century Urban Issues and Sustainable Cities Symposium in Quebec City, Canada. For more info and to register visit <www.mediom.qc.ca/cicv21/> or contact the Symposium Secretary, 1085 de Salaberry, Room 313, Québec, Canada G1R 2V7; phone 418-522-0011 or email <cicv21@mediom.qc.ca>.

November 5-7, 1999: Northeast Regional Workshop on Education for Sustainability Shaping the Future: Best Practices in Higher Education. Presented by Second Nature at the Trinity Conference Center in West Cornwall, Connecticut. For more info visit <www.secondnature.org/register> or call 617-292-7771 x131 or email <workshops@secondnature.org>.

November 11-14, 1999: The Association for Women in Development presents the 8th International Forum "Leading Solutions for Equality and Justice" to be held in Alexandria, Virginia. For more info <www.awid.org> or <awid.info@reply.net>.

November 18-21, 1999: Eighth Biennial Conference on Planning History in Washington, DC. The conference is on all aspects of the history of urban, regional, or community planning. For more info: Prof. Christopher Silver, Department of Urban and

Regional Planning, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; 111 Temple Buell Hall; Urbana, IL 61280. Phone 217-333-4555; Email <silver@uiuc.edu>.

December 6-8, 1999: United States Environmental Protection Agency's Brownfields '99 in Dallas, Texas. Alliances for 21st Century Livability Environmental Challenges and Solutions. For more info visit <www.epa.gov/brownfields/> or phone 877-343-5374.

April 4-7, 2000: The International Eco-Cities Conference in Curitiba, Brazil. For more info visit <www.unilivre.org.br/> or contact Clovis Ultramari, Cleon Ricardo dos Santos, Unilivre, Open University for the Environment, Rua Victor Benato 210, Zip 82, 120-110, Curitiba, Parana, Brazil or <unilivre@unilivre.org.br>. The U.S. organizer is Richard Register of EcoCities Builders at <ecocity@igc.org>.

May 10-14, 2000: Building Bridges: Connecting People, Research and Design by the Environmental Design Research Association. The conference will be held in San Francisco, CA and is interested in the connection between human behavior and the built environment. For more info phone 405-330-4863 or email <edra@telepath.com> or visit <www.telepath.com/edra/home.html>.

PUBLICATIONS AND VIDEOS

The Planning Report is the Insider's Guide to Managed Growth in Los Angeles. Request a free issue online at <www.ablinc.net/tpr/>. To subscribe to The Planning Report News Headlines by email visit website and select "News Headlines By Email." To subscribe to print magazine visit website and select "Subscribe / Free Issue." The Planning Report, Published by ABL, Inc., 811 West Seventh Street, Suite 900, Los Angeles, CA 90017 or phone 213-629-9019.

The National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC) will release **Out of Reach: The Gap Between Housing Costs and Income of Poor People in the United States**. The report is an analysis of the relationship between rental housing costs and incomes in every state and local jurisdiction in the United States. The research finds that nowhere in the country can a full time minimum wage worker

afford the cost of housing at the fair market rent. The report is available on the NLIHC website <www.nlihc.org> and can be ordered for \$35 (non-NLIHC members) or \$25 (NLIHC members) from <info@nlihc.org>.

The Kensington Welfare Rights Union has released the video **Outriders** about last summer's "New Freedom Bus" tour of the United States. The 30 cities in 30 days tour addresses the issue of economic human rights in the United States -- rights that are guaranteed to all human beings in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The documentary is available from Starlight Pictures at 212-947-5333.

The Independent Press Association has released **Pulp Non-Fiction** about printing alternatives to promote environmental responsibility. IPA proves that it is possible to publish tree-free and chemical-free publications. For more info contact Anita Gutierrez at 877-463-9624.

MISCELLANEOUS

CommunityCartography, Inc. is a newly formed entity whose mission is to provide affordable geographic data and mapping services to a broad variety of users in the New York metropolitan region by making data and maps available on CD-ROM or over the internet. They also offer a free, public-access website <www.ComCart.com> where browsers may use interactive maps on their neighborhoods. For more info or to get a free sample, contact Gary Ostroff or Benjamin Miller at 877-MakeMaps or email <info@ComCarto.com>.

The United Nations Center for Human Settlements and Columbia University have developed the **Urban Habitat Project** which will foster international research, training and the dissemination of information on innovative approaches to the crises of urbanization. The web-based Clearinghouse is a free-to-use digital directory for the field of urbanization. For more info on this and other programs contact UHP, Mark Gordon, 420 West 118th Street, Room 1305, NY, NY 10027 or phone 212-854-4686 or email <habitat@columbia.edu>.

PLACE YOUR AD IN PN
Contact the office for rates

PLANNERS NETWORK NEW YORK

FALL FORUM SERIES

October 15 EMPOWERING LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES

A joint session of Planners Network and Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO), the predecessor to PN (1964-1974). This is the opening session to the PEO Reunion (see page 13 for details).

The changing theory and practice of community empowerment since the 1960s. What have been the gains and losses? What have we learned? Where are we headed?

Chester Hartman, Director, Poverty & Race Research Action Council
Frances Fox Piven, Professor, CUNY Graduate Center
Leo Lillard, 1960s Housing Activist
Ron Shiffman, Director, Pratt Institute Center for Community & Environmental Development
Perry Winston, R.A., Pratt Planning & Architectural Collaborative

November 12 THE FIGHT TO SAVE COMMUNITY GARDENS

Community gardens organized to stop a major auction of their land by the City of New York. What are the lessons for the planning of open space and future struggles to protect it?

Leslie Lowe, Director, NYC Environmental Justice Alliance
Dave Lutz, Director, Neighborhood Open Space Coalition
Federico Savini, Forsyth Garden Conservancy/Huamei Garden
Tom Angotti, Pratt Institute Graduate Center for Planning & Environment

December 15 IT'S THE WAGE RATE, STUPID!

Grass roots organizers and legislative specialists will discuss recent efforts to legislate fair wages and working conditions, the Empire State Jobs Program, and the NYC Transitional Jobs bill.

Gail Aska, Cho-Chair, Community Voices Heard
Sumner Rosen, Five Borough Institute

All Forums are at the Pratt Institute/Manhattan campus, 295 Lafayette Street @ Houston
Wine & cheese reception begins at 5:30 pm. Program 6-8 pm.

Cosponsored by Pratt Institute Graduate Center for Planning & Environment

PLANNERS NETWORK

379 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205
 http://www.plannersnetwork.org
 Email: pn@pratt.edu
 Tel: 718-636-3461 Fax: 718-636-3709

EDITOR

Tom Angotti tangotti@pratt.edu

EDITORIAL STAFF

Eve Baron 70373.2576@compuserve.com
 Kellie Harrison Kellie_Harrison@hotmail.com
 Stephen Johnson sjohnso2@pratt.edu

Planners Network is published six times a year by Planners Network, Inc., a non-profit corporation in the State of New York.

Copyright 1999 by Planners Network. Reprinting and distribution of portions of this magazine for non-commercial purposes are encouraged. Reprints for commercial purposes require written permission from the publisher.

Steering Committee

Tom Angotti Brooklyn, NY
 (718) 399-4391 tangotti@pratt.edu

Teresa Córdova Albuquerque, NM
 (505) 277-7535 tcordova@unm.edu

Dana R. Driskell Brooklyn, NY
 (718) 636-3829

Chester Hartman Washington, DC
 (202) 387-9887 chartman@pratt.org

Marie Kennedy, Co-Chair, Boston, MA
 (617) 287-7262 marie.kennedy@umb.edu

Patricia Nolan, Co-Chair Chicago, IL
 (312) 939-7198 panolan@ncbg.org

Winton Pitcoff Washington, DC
 (202) 662-1530 x223 win@change.org

Richard Platkin Los Angeles, CA
 (213) 473-3932 rplatkin@aol.com

Barbara Rahder Toronto, Ontario
 (416) 736-5252 rahder@yorku.ca

Ken Reardon Urbana, IL
 (217) 244-5384 kmjr@ux1.cso.uiuc.edu

Arturo Sanchez Queens, NY
 (718) 426-7081 ais11@columbia.edu

Peg Seip Montclair, NJ
 (973) 655-9198 schuman@tradewind.net

Gwen Urey Pomona, CA
 (909) 869-2725 gurey@csupomona.edu

Ruth Yabes Tempe, AZ
 (602) 965-7188 ruth.yabes@asu.edu

PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

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

\$25 for students, unemployed and those with incomes <\$40,000
 \$40 for those with incomes between \$40,000 and 80,000
 \$70 for those with incomes over \$80,000
 \$150 for sustaining members

Make cheques in Canadian funds payable to: "Lester de Souza in Trust for Planners Network" and send with membership form to:

Lester de Souza
 181 University Ave., Ste. 2200
 Toronto, ON M5H 3H7

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

Future Issues

Jan/Feb. 2000 Indigenous Planning
 Guest Editor: Eve Baron

Ann Forsyth will guest edit a future issue on Technology. A special issue on The New York Region will appear next year.

We are looking for articles on the following topics:

Environmental Justice
 Rural Planning
 Planning the Prison-Industrial Complex
 Charter Schools
 Healthy Cities Initiatives
 Auto Dependency

Feature articles of 500 to 1,500 words are always welcome. Please submit articles, notes, updates, and resources typed and double-spaced. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. Send to the Editor at <tangotti@pratt.edu> or Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205. Fax: 718-636-3709.

FOR 25 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, PNers 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!

All members must make an annual financial contribution. 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
- \$50 for organizations and libraries
- \$100 Sustaining Members -- if you earn over \$50,000, won't you consider helping at this level?

Canadian members: See Page 18

Your contribution to Planners Network is tax deductible to the extent permitted by law.

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 and work towards fundamental change.

I'm a renewing member — Keep the faith!

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

MAIL THIS FORM TO:

**PLANNERS NETWORK
379 DeKalb Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11205**

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

NOTE: Your contribution is tax deductible to the extent permitted by law.

INTERNATIONAL MEMBERS: Please send a check in U.S. funds as we are unable to accept payment in other currency. Thanks.

IN THIS ISSUE

THE GROWTH MACHINE

2

Planners Networker Updates

3

Auto Drives the Growth Machine

7

Profit Drives the Growth Machine

10

Race and Sprawl

12

New Urban Spaces

14

Jobs, Events and Conferences, Publications, and Videos

YOUR LAST ISSUE?

Please check the date on your mailing label. If it is **AUGUST 1998** this will be your last issue unless we hear from you **RIGHT AWAY!** See page 19 for contribution suggestions.

MOVING?

Please send us your new address



PLANNERS NETWORK
379 DeKalb Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11205
Address Correction Requested

First Class - Do Not Delay

PRE-SORTED
FIRST CLASS MAIL
U.S. Postage
PAID
Bellmawr, NJ
Permit No. 240