PLANNERS NETWORK

September/December 2001 Double Issue

The Publication of Progressive Planning

No. 149

THE SEVENTH GENERATION

n our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven years thans.

Tom the Great Law of the frequests Confederate

The September 11 attacks on New York City and Washington brought horror and death and there is no moral or political justification for them. We are concerned that the cries for war arising in the U.S. will lead to more atrocities, the suppression of civil rights, legitimation of racial profiling, and militarization of everyday life. For people in the U.S. "globalization" now has a new meaning. It is time for new reflections on the connections between U.S. foreign policy and terrorism.

Here are some initial reflections sent to PN or picked up on the Internet.

Saskia Sassen:

The attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon brings home more clearly than ever, that we cannot hide behind the walls of our peace and prosperity. The horrors of other wars and other deaths far away in the global south simply do not register.

Globalization has not only facilitated the global flows of capital, goods, information and business people. It has also facilitated a variety of other entan-

AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

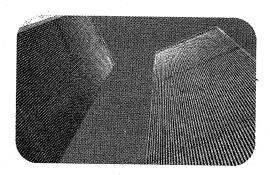
GLOBAL MEETS LOCAL

Urban Life Will Change: Proposals for Rebuilding

By Peter Marcuse

re are all of course trying to come to grips with what the events of September 11 mean, and will mean. It has been a terrible disaster, and the immediate loss of life is incredible.

But I think it will have a major long-term impact on life here, morally, economically, politically, urban life, all for the worse. The retribution/vengeance sentiment is overwhelming, and so far few are asking serious questions about causes. Our country hardly has clean hands when it comes to morality in its international conduct, but immoral acts such as terrorism look very different when you are its victims. Justice must be done,



Planning to Rebuild: The Issues Ahead

By Tom Angotti

he attacks on the World Trade Center brought horror, fear, death and anger to many New Yorkers. In the weeks after the attacks, government at all levels and many brave volunteers took care of the urgent tasks of relief and the search for victims.

As things begin to get back to something close to normal, government faces the new issues and challenges of planning for reconstruction. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has already asked displaced businesses what the city can do to help them rebuild and relocate in Manhattan. The Mayor

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Planners Networker UPDATES

Let your fellow members know what you are up to — send in your update today!

Norma Rantisi, Updates Editor Planners Network 379 DeKalb Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11205 Fax: 718-636-3709 norma.rantisi@utoronto.ca

MEMBER PROFILE: WILLIAM W. GOLDSMITH

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William W. Goldsmith is Professor of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University. He is Director of the undergraduate Urban Studies program and of the study-abroad program in Italy (each spring in Rome), still working about half-time on issues of racial segregation in U.S. cities and the other half on urbanization and regional inequality in Latin America, mostly in Brazil. Below he talks about his involvement in helping to initiate and sustain Planners Network, and how he has benefited from his membership.

I was a founder of PN, well, right after Chester, on the first steering committee I think, and on it for a long time. At the time I was looking for like-minded, left-wing planners and professors who needed to talk, to collaborate, to share experiences, opportunities, problems.

PN saved me. Part of the beginning was a "little" left meeting Pierre Clavel, John Forester, and I organized at Cornell (a year after Bob Beauregard had one at Rutgers) at which huge numbers of people showed. Some of the results of that wonderful meeting appear in *Urban and Regional Planning in an Age of Austerity* (1980). I think I would have looked for another calling, but for the wonderful support from PNers around the country.

In the days of new misery and war, that sort of support will be more important than ever.

MEMBER NEWS

Mary Gail Snyder has recently been hired as Assistant Professor in the College of Urban and Public Affairs, University of New Orleans. Previously she was a PhD student at UC Berkeley and a lecturer at San Francisco State University.

Chester Hartman recently received the 2001 Robert & Helen Lynd Award from the Community & Urban Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association. Later this year, University of California Press will publish City for Sale: The Transformation of San Francisco, an update of his 1984 chronicle of development politics in that city.

Butterfly Democracy is a new publication by Ron Morgan. One aspect of Charlotte's emergent experiment in participatory democracy, the Queen City Congress, has metamorphosed into a mayoral campaign to promote a radical restructuring of local government. This call for a new citystate evolved from the observation that Charlotte's inner neighborhoods were precluded structurally from effective representation, and that natural systems too were relegated to the status of externalities. The candidate for Mayor, Ron Morgan, is a communityby-design facilitator with a strong resume in architecture, urban design, development, and community based direct political action. His mayoral campaign is being financed entirely by grassroots donations and by the sale of his book, Butterfly Democracy. For more information about how you can purchase this book and to learn more about the campaign and the Queen City Congress, visit www.morganformayor.com or www.charlottedemocracy.org.

PN LISTSERVE AND EMAIL ADDRESS ARE BACK UP!!

The PN Listserve and PN email address (pn@pratt.edu) are both on the Pratt Institute server, which was down for two weeks as a result of the September 11 attack in New York City. We hope there will be no further interruptions. If your email messages come back and you need to communicate with the PN office on membership matters, write to:

Indradeep Chakrabarty

<indradeepc@yahoo.com>.

For editorial matters, write to Tom Angotti: <angotti@hunter.cuny.edu>.

FROM THE EDITOR

This is a double issue for several reasons. First, we have a wealth of good material to publish, as more people are sending us material and our new Editorial Board is increasingly active. Secondly, our July/August issue was late because of the June conference and vacations. Third, this turned out to be a chance to try out our plan to publish quarterly instead of bi-monthly. As the publication grows, the task of putting out six issues a year is, at this time, simply too much for our slim volunteer staff. The next PN issue covering the first quarter of 2002 should reach you in February.

Welcome to Amanda Christon, a Hunter College planning student who is the new PN Editorial Assistant. She will help me and the Editorial Board in a variety of ways. I will be in Rome, Italy the first half of next year and continue to edit PN, but Amanda and the other members of the Editorial Board will step in to fill some critical gaps.

Welcome ...

NEW PLANNERS NETWORK MEMBERS

Marsha Gordon, Karen Sun, Laura Y. Rodriguez, Michael Pierce, Enrique H. Trejo, Ryan Walker, Christy Doyle, Jeffrey Patterson, Don Alexander

RENEWING MEMBERS

Norma Rantisi, Sidney Socolar, Michal Aronson, Matthew Dalbey, Kate Foster

... and Special Thanks! SUSTAINING MEMBER

Chester Hartman

Get your tax refund yet? Want to show George Bush where his surplus ought to go? Make a contribution of at least \$100 and become an honored PN Sustainer.

Thanks for supporting PN. PN relies heavily on membership contributions. Contributions are tax deductible.

PLANNERS NETWORK

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The Planners Network is an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social economic, and environmental planning in urban and rarad 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 curronment to climinate the great inequalities of weath and power in our society, rather than to maintain and justify the status quo. This includes opposition to raird, economic, and environmental injustic, and discrimination by gender and sexual orientation. We believe that planning should be used to assore adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care, jobs safe working conditions, and a healthful environment. We adeocate public responsibility for meeting these needs, because the private market has proven incapable of doing so.

PLANNERS NETWORK

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Planners Network seeks articles that describe and analyze progressive physical, social, economic and environmental planning in urban and rural areas. Articles may be up to 1,500 words. They should be addressed to PN's broad audience of professionals, activists, students and academics, and be straightforward and jargon-free. Following a journalistic style, the first paragraph should summarize the main ideas in the article. A few suggested readings may be mentioned in the text, but do not submit footnotes or a bibliography. The editors may make minor style changes, but any substantial rewriting or changes will be checked with the author. A photograph or illustration may be included. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. Send to the Editor at pn@pratt.edu or Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11205. Fax: 718-636-3709. The deadlines are the first day of the first month of the issue (e.g., May 1 for the May/June issue; July 1 for the July/August issue).

UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES [Articles welcome]:

Youth and Community
Just and Sustainable Transportation
A Critical View of Community/University Partnerships
Is There an Energy Crisis and Why?
The New Urbanism



Report from Rio

By Barbara Rahder

y friends warned me about Rio, and in the same breath swore I would love it. I was struck by the contrast, not only in their words, but in Rio itself. Breathtaking natural beauty and polluted beaches. Precious gem shops and abject poverty. Warm people taking me in like an old friend and making sure I always felt safe moving around this notoriously dangerous city both day and night. Gated, guarded citadels and sprawling *favelas*. It was "fall" in Rio but wonderfully warm, even hot, for a Canadian.

I-was there representing PN at the IX Encontro Nacional da ANPUR (Associacao Nacional de Pos-graduacao e Pesquisa em Planejamento Urbano e Regional) — the equivalent of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) in the U.S. — from May 28 to June 1, 2001. My generous hosts were Carlos Vainer, coordinator at Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), and Fabricio Leal de Oliveira and Fernanda Sanchez from the Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano e Regional (IPPUR-UFRJ). I want to thank them all, and PN member Johanna Looye (Ohio), at the conference representing ACSP, for making this an incredibly eye-opening and wondrous trip.

The main events included two keynote speakers, who couldn't have been more different: Bishwapriya Sanyal (MIT) and Erik Swyngedouw (Oxford). The title of Sanyal's opening address "Globalization, Planning and Ethical Compromise" called on planners to be the compromisers between "globalization cheerleaders" and the "moral left." He argued that communicative action theory has no rules and that it is merely dealmaking. He called on planning educators to teach students to be flexible when it comes to moral and ethical choices, suggesting that there are benefits even for low-income groups in the "developing" world if they are willing to compromise their principles in order to serve their own interests. As you might imagine, his talk left an unpleasant taste in my mouth.

Swyngedouw's closing address to the conference was a welcome contrast to Sanyal's opening message. His presentation, "A Tranquil Totalitarianism: Globalization and the Erosion of Democracy," focused on the political reconfiguration of the state and civil society that accompanies economic globalization. Globalization is a myth, he asserted, that in reality is nothing more than the ideology of liberalism. In practice, it means global exploitation of increasing numbers of people around the world. The global agenda is being set by not by states but by "stakeholders"--FTAA, the World Bank, etc.—where money is the only thing that counts.

Meanwhile, on the local scale, states are downscaling, downsizing, privatizing, creating public-private partnerships and NGOs, etc. as if reducing local government services is an inevitable outcome of globalization. He called on planners to de-naturalize globalization and to use their imaginations to create a different, more democratic view of the public sphere at the local, national, and global scales. He called "for courage to think about utopia." Swyngedouw's let's-change-the-agenda planning was a welcome contrast to Sanyal's let's-make-a-deal planning!

I was invited to Rio to participate in a roundtable session on "Critique and Action in the City: Consolidation of a Space Bringing Together Researchers, Activists and Urban Planners in Brazil." This was a follow-up to PN members' visit to Porto Alegre and Sao Paulo in December 1999. My visit was to further links between progressive planners in the North and South, to provide support for the organization of progressive planners in Brazil, and to help plan a meeting in Belem involving progressive planners from across Brazil and PN members from throughout the Americas. At the roundtable I gave a very brief history of PN, focusing on its principles and those aspects of our organization that have been particularly successful, like the newsletter and conferences, and touching on problems associated with sustaining PN, like burn out among those coordinating activities at the local, national, and international levels.

Our roundtable also included a presentation by the Secretary of Planning in Belem on the participatory budgeting and policymaking processes that the PT (Workers Party) is using to develop Belem's municipal budget and social policy. She described in detail how the City hopes to involve the grassroots in discussing themes from economic solidarity, social inclusion and cultural citizenship to the quality of public services, human rights and the special needs of children and youth. These discussions will culminate in a City Congress in October 2001, after which a

municipal council will be elected to formulate and implement policies based on this participatory process. She concluded that it is a "messy, complicated process—slow, hard, full of conflict—as it should be."

Then, to inaugurate the new Brazilian organization of progressive planners, Carlos Vainer talked about "next steps." He emphasized the value of networking and the need for planners and academics to think and talk together about issues facing Brazilian cities, noting that there was a lot that could be learned from the experiences of Porto Alegre and Belem; i.e., there are grassroots alternatives to globalization from above. Someone read out a proposal for by-laws, based on PN by-laws, and the Brazilian network, including planners, academics and activists from Rio, Sao Paulo, Porto Alegre and Belem, was well under way.

Fabricio Leal de Oliveira and Fernanda Sanchez gave me a tour of the city and suburbs, including several *favelas*, just before I left. Fabricio tried to find a guide to take me to see redevelopment sites in the *favelas*, and though I met some planners who had worked on and talked about these sites, none was willing to do this. I was told that drug dealers control these area. So instead we drove through a few *favelas* that have grown up along the sides of existing roads.

These neighborhoods were very crowded, dogs wandered about, some sleeping in the street, and garbage was everywhere. We drove through without stopping or taking pictures, though the images are still very clear in my mind. Then we drove south through suburbs that looked as if they had been reassembled from some Hollywood set with swanky malls and a mini Statue of Liberty. The contrast between appalling poverty and nauseating extravagance side-by-side was astounding.

I left Rio with a fistful of Brazilian CDs, and with the certainty that despite all the difficulties of poverty and inequality, irregular settlements and pollution, the Brazilian people are creating participatory planning processes and agendas that can directly and creatively address these for themselves. We should offer our support, in whatever way we can, and we should learn from their experiences, but we should not be the compromisers, as Sanyal would have us, but rather those who help create spaces for democratic processes to emerge. I look forward to hearing about the meetings in Belem, and the decisions made at their City Congress.

Barbara Rahder is Co-Chair of Planners Network and the Graduate Program Director in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University in Toronto.

PN@CIP

By Barbara Rahder

he program could have thrown anyone off. PN Toronto organized a panel at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of Planners (CIP) in Ottawa in July 2001. But instead of announcing a panel sponsored by Planners Network with our title, "Some Alternative Roles for Progressive Planners in the 21st Century," the program called our session "A Planner by Any Other Name" and claimed that we were "sponsored by Public Works & Government Services Canada." Not a great beginning, but it got better!

The conference theme was "2001: A Spatial Odyssey: Transforming Cities / Transforming Planning," and we were in the "Transforming Planning Practice" stream. Historically, CIP has reflected the interests of land-use planners working within Canadian municipalities or in the private sector. Planners, particularly progressive and/or non-traditional planners, are increasingly finding themselves cut out of the public sector and finding jobs in the private and not-for-profit sectors, or outside Canada, in a broad array of fields, from community development to environmental protection. Our panel explored some of these contexts, focusing on our own experiences with non-traditional roles:

Jen Keesmaat, a planner with Urban Strategies in Toronto, described some of the forces pushing progressive planners out of municipal government in the newly amalgamated City of Toronto, as the Province of Ontario downloads increasing numbers of services and costs to the municipal level.

Satya Ramen, the Executive Director of the NGO Greenist City in Toronto, described struggling with community members to create opportunities for meaningful participation and change. She also explored ways to work with increasingly constrained municipal planners to bridge continuing gaps.

Hon Lu, a York University student who has traveled and worked in many different parts of the world, talked about strategies of survival used by disadvantaged and excluded groups in India, Mexico, Vietnam and Canada. He argued that working overseas, particularly in "Third World" settings, can inform work in Canada by opening up our understanding of how cities like Toronto are changing through immigration.

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I concluded the presentation by focusing the discussion on the questions raised about the ways in which we understand planning and/or categorize ourselves as planners. As planning jobs shrink in the public sector, they are opening up in a wide array of non-traditional roles in community development, environmental protection, and in a variety of other sectors and settings. I described PN as a network that recognizes, supports, and fosters alternative roles for planners, explicitly encouraging planners to promote social and environmental justice in the process.

During the discussion that followed, many of the participants told us how the presentations resonated with their own experiences, and how marginalized they felt within CIP. Our audience was small, just over twenty people, but included planners doing social policy work, environmental and rural planning, regional planning, community services planning, and participatory and community-based planning, including planning with First Nations communities. One person urged us to publish our presentations in the CIP journal *Plan Canada*, so that all CIP members might hear these alternative voices. Others joined PN.

Barbara Rahder is Co-Chair of Planners Network and the Graduate Program Director in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University in Toronto.

PLACE YOUR AD IN PN

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

Send file via email to <pn@pratt.edu>, or mail camera-ready copy by first day of the first month of the issue (e.g., April 1 for the Spring issue).

Attention!

2001 ACSP Conference Attendees

Planning students and faculty who will be attending this year's Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Conference scheduled for November 8-11 at the Sheraton Cleveland City Center Hotel are cordially invited to attend the Planners Network Reception on Friday, November 9, 2001 at 6 pm. The reception will be held at the Conference Hotel in a meeting room to be announced. The reception will give us the opportunity to introduce new people to PN, update existing members who were unable to make our Annual Conference regarding upcoming events, and discuss what PN, as an organization, may wish to add to the current national discourse regarding the nation's response to the September 11th events in NY, DC, and PA. If you are planning to participate in this year's ACSP event, please join us for the reception. Also look in the program for two panels sponsored by Planners Network.

2002 APA Conference in Chicago

During our recent PN Annual Conference in Rochester we discussed the possibility of organizing a panel on progressive planning policies and practice for the upcoming conference of the American Planning Association (APA) scheduled to take place next Spring in Chicago. We also discussed the idea of organizing a modest piece of "street theater" aimed at encouraging our sister organization to become a bit bolder in their support for progressive planning ideas and action. Marie Kennedy, George Cheung, and myself agreed to work on these activities. We are currently seeking mirthful "coconspirators" who are interested in breathing a bit of progressive life into our next APA conference. If you are planning to attend next year's APA meeting and are interested in joining us in organizing these activities, please email me at: kmr22@cornell.edu.

-- Ken Reardon

Leveling the Field: City Realities versus Anti-Urban Myths

By William Goldsmith

Adapted from the keynote speech at the June 2001 Planners Network Conference in Rochester, NY. Part II will appear in the next issue of Planners Network.

ities are playing in a game that is set up with unfair rules. We need to challenge these rules. If we succeed, then will we be able to make good reforms and lasting improvements. I may be oversimplifying things, but I find it useful to think of city problems as direct, two-sided oppositions. I see people with competing interests fight each other in what each side perceives as a zero-sum game. You win — I lose! No compromise! As the game is now played, metropolitan areas are so divided, groups so pitted against each other, that each group often needs to defend its own parochial interests. In this unfortunate reality, my simple, two-sided, win-lose formulation may be the most accurate.

For every mayor struggling to fund a clean, fast, and reliable bus system, I'll bet there are five suburban congressmen pushing for more subsidies for autos and highways. For every city housing activist, agency director, or neighborhood association trying to control rents, to rehabilitate houses, or to fill in neighborhoods with affordable apartments, there must be ten suburban councils voting to use exclusionary zoning to keep out people of modest means and people of color. For every big city school district struggling to pay teachers well, keep classes small, and repair its buildings and repave its play yards, there must be twenty suburbs with enough cash to pay teachers and to fund new labs, new computers, and fresh, green surroundings.

As they say, the playing field is not level. The field slopes down strongly against the cities. To score goals while running uphill, the city players have to be stronger, smarter, and quicker than their opponents. City advocates often are stronger, smarter, and quicker. But still that uphill tilt of the playing field takes its toll. In spite of a political touchdown now or then, or even a fiscal winning streak, cities still suffer big overall losses, so they are burdened with problems like under-funded schools, unimproved housing, and unreliable transit. In the poorest city neighborhoods, at the least, these failures mean that kids don't learn and achieve at school, families don't find enough comfort and cheer around their homes, men and women don't get good jobs, and residents don't have well-stocked stores and clean, safe parks and

playgrounds within easy reach. They may be preyed upon by gangs and criminals.

These results we cannot accept. No situation should be so unequal; none has to be. Real people–city residents and suburbanites, families rich and poor, kids who are black and Latino and Asian and white–these participants have mutual interests. They can compromise, work together, and move ahead. Our task as planners, activists, and public officials is to help cities turn from failure to success. To do that, we will have to level the field. To be a little more specific – we need to level the field so that cities at one end are equal to the suburbs at the other.

Our usual tactics and strategies necessarily concentrate on short-term gains: an environmental clean-up in the neighborhood, a bigger state budget for the city schools, more new buses for transit, civilian review of the police, living wages for city residents, a fair share of subsidies for housing. Each success can bring direct benefits and each victory can activate and energize more people. This is how local empowerment works. We all know this.

What about the long-term? Moving beyond winning games on a tilted, unfair playing field, can we figure out how to level out that playing field itself? What is it that tilts the field so badly, to favor the suburbs and harm the cities? What are the elements of unfair bias? We need to ask a range of new questions, questions like these: How do taxes burden cities and how do public expenditures assist suburbs? How do regulations stifle cities, and how do they protect suburbs? How do transfer payments suck money out of needy communities? And, why does the government provide so much welfare to rich corporations, just as it reduces payments to families?

Here is just one example from Good Jobs NY, a local advocacy group. In November 1988 the city and state of New York gave Chase Manhattan a subsidy of \$235 million; over the next decade or so Chase then laid off 11,000 workers, and they are likely to lay off a few thousand more. What misinformed or selfish political groups work to give the playing field such an unfair tilt? Where do these political groups get their resources, and who are their hidden financial backers? Who are the constituents who vote in their political coalitions? How can city advocates organize to oppose and defeat these opponents?

These questions are so tough to answer that anyone might reasonably lose hope. I do not intend to answer them, but

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instead to provide some basic information in the hopes of shifting attention to them.

Six wrongheaded myths may make clear what I'm saying about anti-urban bias. These myths falsely persuade many people that the problems are not so bad, or that the problems just cannot be fixed. These myths dissuade us from challenging the status quo. The six myths relate to six problems—poor housing and neighborhood decay, terrible transit, lousy schools, racial discrimination, the drug war, and poverty. To level that tipped playing field, our nation needs to acknowledge these as first-order, urgent problems. National leaders need to avoid doing things that create these problems, and they need to scotch the myths that hide the unfair bias. Let's take a closer look.

The Housing Myth

We need to begin with an undisputed fact. In the United States, mas sive public funds are spent on housing. That's the fact. Now, the myth, both elaborate and powerful. The myth says that public programs for housing, and the public funds to support them, mainly help poor people, city people, working class people, people of color. Look at all the programs in HUD alone! Among HUD's city-oriented programs to assist those who need housing are Neighborhood Initiative Demonstrations, Self-Help Ownership Opportunity, the American Dream Downpayment Fund, Empowerment Zones, Homeless Assistance Grants, even HOPWA, Housing Opportunities for Persons with AIDS. HUD has spent billions on Section 8 rental subsidies, runs a demonstration program for Moving to Work, and now offers HOPE VI. According to the HUD website, HOPE VI, which stands for Housing Opportunity for People Everywhere, will change "the shape of public housing . . . empower residents, [place] public housing in non-poverty neighborhoods . . . and [provide] services for

PLANNERS NETWORK READER

This 60-page collection of PN articles is a veritable potpourri of progressive planning. The best of PN from the last half-decade.

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Send your check payable to Planners Network to: Planners Network 379 DeKalb Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11205 Credit Cards: Call 718-636-3461 relocated residents." Who could ask for more?

The reality is stunningly different. In fact, public funds for housing in the United States don't help needy people very

much. Instead. they mainly help people who do not need much help. Even leaving aside the racial discrimination of housing local authorities. the bias is shocking. Budgeted federal expenditures on housing and neighborhoods for the fiscal year 2002 benefiting poor and working-

S

Federal Housing Programs Budget request fiscal year 2002, in billions of dollars

Households with severe housing needs		Well-off households		
Section 8 Housing Certificates	\$15.7	Mortgage Interest Deduction	\$66.0	
Community Planning & Dvpmt	7.8	Property Tax Deduction	26.0	
Public Housing	6.0	CapGains - Home Sales Deduction	26.0	
Special Housing	1.0	Mtge Credit Loan Programs/GNMA	10.6	
Total, for needy:	<u>\$30.5</u>	Total, for well-off:	\$128.6	

Sources: Dept. of Housing and Urban Development and White House Office of Management and Budget

class households, including funds for most of the HUD programs I have just mentioned, total some \$31 billion, figured generously. For the same year, the Bureau of the Budget estimates that housing expenditures to benefit the middle class and well-off households will total some \$129 billion. Assistance for those who really need housing — \$30 billion. Housing for those who don't need assistance — \$130 billion. That \$100 billion extra subsidy, that annual spending of tax funds by the federal government, that's the figure that makes

nonsense of the myth that housing programs help cities and help the poor.

What's worse, while the expenditures for the rich have been increasing steadily for a couple of decades, expenditures for the poor have been shrinking drastically. If this sounds a little like the 2001 federal tax cut for the rich, well, there are similarities! But don't be fooled into blaming all the problems on Bush the younger. Remember that

the feds began their bipartisan abandonment of cities at least thirty years ago.

Social Housing in Europe vs. the U.S. as Percent of Total Housing Stock

Country	<u>1980</u>	<u>1999</u>	New Construction
Denmark	14%	19%	22%
France	15%	18%	13%
Netherlands	34%	36%	17%
U.S.	3%	4%	1%

Sources: OTB Research Institute for Housing, Urban, and Mobility Studies (2000); Annual Housing Survey (1980); American Housing Survey (1999).

terpretation. I don't know just how to get the general population to see this unfairness and bias. The mortgage subsidies for the middle-class and rich seem to be sacrosanct politically. Some say let's leave the housing subsidies for the rich,

Reagan's HUD Secretary Sam Pierce to meet with my stu-

dents in Ithaca. Pierce, as you may remember, was not just

but just add some housing subsidies for city people who really need them. I say at least let's get out the word that this massive federal program benefits only a small, welloff minority of the population.

The housing myth also says it is not possible in market economies house everyone decently. Some years back I got Ronald

an incompetent manager, but, like his boss in the White House, also far on the right. The students pushed Pierce a little, and they let him know they thought the government ought to help people who have severe housing needs. Pierce's answer was telling, something like this: There's nothing in the Constitution, said Pierce, that guarantees decent housing. These are not problems the government has to solve. Underlying the Reagan Administration's coldly selfish stance there lay the myth that it is simply not possible to provide good housing for all.

> For evidence, we need merely to look to Europe. European countries, like the United States, are capitalist democracies. market economies. Yet because they spend much more public

money on housing, taking housing out of the market, they get much better results. As shown in the table, in Denmark, France, and the Netherlands very sizeable portions of people

These discrepancies leave little doubt, little room for misin-

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ditures on car payments, repairs, gas and license fees.

live in what the Europeans call Social Housing, housing subsidized with government funds. The United States is in a class of its own, last among nations in the rich and industri-

alized world, refusing to acknowledge that decent housing requires public spending.

The Transportation Myth

One of most the urban destructive myths is about transportation. Myth makers pretend that cars and trucks pay their own way. They do not! Worse yet, the public money that goes to subsidize cars and trucks benefits suburbs much more than cities. Once again, the field tilts unfairly down toward the cities. Just one

example. In the Pennsylvania suburbs of Philadelphia, in the decade from 1986 to 1995, authorities invested \$1,006 per capita on highways. In the city of Philadelphia, they spent only \$566 per capita. Figures reflecting who uses the highways, city residents or suburbanites, show an even wider bias. A study by the Federal Reserve Board in 2000 finds that per capita "expenditures benefiting suburban residents were . . . about 2.5 times as large as those benefiting city residents."

Overall, motorists in the United States pay only about 60% of the costs of building and maintaining roads. The remaining 40 percent is subsidized though general government revenues, which means that each person who pays taxes, whether or not she owns a car, and whether she drives a little or a lot, pays when others drive. People who live in central city neighborhoods have to pay their share, even those who do not have cars.

Nationally, total annual subsidies to drivers are huge. Estimates vary widely, from \$330 billion to \$2.3 trillion, depending on what's counted, from the costs of pollution to the costs of the Gulf War. That's in the range of \$5,000 to \$35,000 a year from every household – beyond direct expen-

What about the obvious alternatives to the private automobile –walking, bikes, and especially transit (buses, streetcars, trains and subways)? The urban transportation myth here is

City vs. Suburb Transportation Expenditures: Philadelphia 1986-1995

Benefitting City Residents: Benefitting Suburbanites: \$424 per capita \$1,041 per capita

Source: Voith (2000).

U.S. National Transportation Subsidies

Public subsidies pay 40% of the costs of building and maintaining roads
Total annual auto subsidies, including environmental damages etc., are
estimated at \$330 billion to \$2.3 trillion, which is between \$5,000 and
\$35,000 per household

Sources: Lee (1987), Litman (1996).

that these modes of travel are too expensive, impossible in modern cities. Only when they are heavily subsidized with public funds, the myth makers say, only then can they work, and even then, they will work badly. Indeed, in most cities of the United States today, transit is so poor that only those with no usually option, poor, actually use transit.

Once again, to check this myth against reality, it is helpful to look at the urban experience in a few other coun-

tries. In a study released in June by the U.S. National Research Council's Transportation Research Board, a group of fourteen of the country's top transit directors and scholars found that Canadians in cities use buses, trains, and streetcars twice as much as Americans, and Europeans use them five times as much.

In Western Europe and Canada urban transit is reliable, frequent, comfortable, safe, and convenient. Transit works so well, the study finds, mainly because public policy reverses the bias and tips the playing field the other way, to strengthen cities. Taxes and public spending on transportation favor transit and burden autos, thus hindering sprawl and helping cities.

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To be continued in the next issueof <u>Planners Network</u>.

Planning in the Cities of the Empire: Strategy, Tactics, and Hard Choices

By Eric Mann

In Los Angeles today, those of us at the Labor/Community Strategy Center, a "think tank/act tank," and many of the leaders of our affiliated project, the Bus Riders Union (BRU), a multiracial mass membership organization, see our work as part of an anti-racist, anti-imperialist project in the U.S.—challenging the hegemony of the empire in theory and practice. At the recent Planners Network conference in Rochester, an impressive gathering of very committed and introspective people, my partner, Lian Hurst Mann, and I, engaged these issues for two full days. In this article I will focus on ideas in bold outline— in which certain nuances and clarifications must be deferred to future conversations.

Anti-imperialist Challenge to Theories of Urban Development

Today, the Bush-Cheney counterrevolution is being carried out boldly, in broad daylight. Unfortunately, eight years of cowardly and destructive "center-right" politics by Clinton and Gore set the stage. Clinton radically restricted centuries of habeas corpus rights under the "effective death penalty" act, and brutally terminated sixty years of New Deal protections for women and children by "ending welfare as we know it." The Clinton Democrats used Kosovo as a test case for imperial expansion - solidifying NATO as an instrument of U.S. aggression, circumventing opposition within the UN, employing the hallmark U.S. tactic of aerial bombardment of civilians, and introducing the latest ideological pretense for unchecked U.S. aggression anywhere in the world-the concept of "rogue states". (See Samir Amin's impressive article, "Imperialism and Globalization" in the June 2001 Monthly Review).

This international context must shape any serious debate about urban policy in the heart of the empire. This involves going beyond superficial calls for "community economic development" to confront the corporatization of "community" politics; beyond so-called sustainable development to confront U.S. development rooted in the extraction of superprofits from Third World labor inside and outside the U.S.; beyond a "new urbanism" to challenge its implicit support of the existing institutional arrangements of class, race, and gender oppression and its massaging of the egos and material interests of architects, planners, and predominantly white academics.

There are growing opportunities and challenges: urban movements such as the Bus Riders Union in Los Angeles, anti-IMF protests and movements, efforts to protect the sovereignty and human rights of Cuba, Iraq, and Palestine, and student-initiated challenges to the low-wage labor policies and imperialist complicity of urban governments and universities. In every urban center the anti-colonial versus pro-imperialist, anti-corporate versus pro-corporate debate is taking place inside black, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American communities—where there are fierce battles over class interests, alliances, politics, and ideology.

Bus Riders Union Confronts Corporate LA

In 1992, after the urban rebellion in Los Angeles, powerful pro-corporate forces - LA Mayor Tom Bradley and California Governor Pete Wilson, for example — put forth Peter Ueberroth and Rebuild LA (RLA) as a trojan horse to derail post-rebellion demands for an expanded social welfare state and the strictest "civilian" control of police. Instead, RLA proposed a "public/private partnership" focusing on "market-based" private sector solutions — enterprise zones, environmental deregulation, community support for corporate profits and further increases in police. While RLA did not do a damn thing to end poverty or racism, it easily coopted many university liberals, architects, designers, and urban planners, including many in communities of color, who flocked to RLA with dreams of contracts and networking with the private sector. In response, the Strategy Center Urban Policy Group rallied the most progressive community groups and independent intellectuals, and initiated our own programmatic challenge, Reconstructing Los Angeles - and U.S. Cities — from the Bottom Up. We argued that communities of color had to lead movements of urban resistance, challenging the environmental, investment, and employment decisions of corporations, initiating the strictest supervision and control of the police, and aggressively fighting to control public and private capital. This helped coalesce an intellectual center of resistance, and a successful movement to defeat the federal Weed and Seed program, a Justice department initiative to further criminalize low-income minority youth.

Then, the Strategy Center initiated the Bus Riders Union and its "Fight Transit Racism" campaign—building an independent social movement, reflected in a mass membership civil rights organization representing 400,000 overwhelmingly minority, majority female, profoundly poor and significantly immigrant LA bus riders. The material reflection of racism, class and women's oppression in the campaign is the rail/industrial complex that has stolen funds from the bus

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system, the workhorse of the urban transportation system serving 9 percent of all public transit riders. LA's rail system, carrying only 10 percent of all passengers, has raided public capital for the benefit of real estate speculators, white, black, and Latino machine politicians doling out pork barrel contracts, and construction unions and contractors. The BRU, vividly depicted in Haskell Wexler's documentary, "Bus Riders Union", initiated a pathbreaking civil rights case— Strategy Center and BRU v. Los Angeles MTA—charging the MTA with violating Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In 1996 the BRU signed an historical ten-year Consent Decree with the MTA—resulting in low-fare, affordable transit—a \$42 monthly bus pass, and a \$11 weekly pass and the purchase of 1,200 new Compressed Natural Gas buses at a cost of \$400 million. Still, decades of racial discrimination and the requirements of the decree to significantly expand new bus service throughout LA County will require billions more for the bus system and a moratorium on all rail projects. Many courageous intellectuals and professionals have sided with the BRU, but we are opposed by a powerful coalition of developers, politicians, academics, architects, and planners who have a material self-interest in the boondoggle and racist rail projects-trading conscience for contracts.

In this context, the Strategy Center's role as an independent left "think thank/act tank" generates an alternative to the corporate driven politics of the academy, attracting young organizers who want to go beyond AFL-CIO pro-Democratic party politics, leaders of movements for inner city education and against the incarceration of communities of color, and intellectuals and university faculty looking for a center to provide orientation and affiliation.

Strategy, Tactics, and Hard Choices

In the summer of 2000, the Strategy Center Program Demand Group drafted an alternative to the pro-imperialist politics of the Democrats, as well as the narrow anti-corporatism and implicit white chauvinism of the Nader campaign. "Towards a Program of Resistance—We Make These Demands Against the Institutions of U.S. Imperialism" offered twenty-four concrete, radical proposals, including: an end to the racist death penalty; the freeing of the two million U.S. prisoners, the majority of whom are black and Latino; the unconditional cancellation of all U.S. and IMF Third World debt; a zero tolerance policy on industrial carcinogens; and the reinstitution and expansion of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. So far, the document's greatest impact has been among a new generation of very

radical black, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, and white activists, a majority of whom are women, in major urban centers.

Similarly, I have been working to raise the practice of the Bus Riders Union to the level of theory that can impact the work of others. This is reflected in three recent articles: "Class, Community and Empire: Towards an Anti-Imperialist Strategy for Labor," (in the book, *Rising from the Ashes?: Labor in the Age of "Global" Capitalism*, Monthly Review Press), "A Race Struggle, a Class Struggle, and a Women's Struggle All the Same Time: Lessons from the Buses of Los Angeles," (Socialist Register 2001) and "Building the Anti-Racist, Anti-Imperialist United Front: Theory and Practice from the LA Strategy Center and Bus Riders Union" (forth-coming in Souls, a Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society).

The Role of Urban Professionals

Which brings us to the Planners Network and the responsibility of progressives to view their own work through an introspective and self-critical lens. If urban professionals and university faculty begin with the non-negotiable assumption that they must get jobs in the mayor's planning department or they must get tenure and professional advancement, they will only go as far as the university or the profession will allow, then they are defeated before they begin-allowing material and institutional constraints to negate their historical contribution. Instead, I ask members of the Planners Network, especially the most progressive and left members, to begin their inner dialogue with a searching question, "What do I really believe needs to be said, what really needs to be done?" At this point in history, that will involve some courageous challenges to the existing order—beginning with the constraints of your own life.

As I said in Rochester, "Break the bounds of thinkable thought. An idea doesn't have to be comfortable the first time you hear it, it just has to be right. Then you have to grow to meet it." Members of the Planners Network should be very proud that they have built an organization, sustained an organization over years, and have an organization within which they can debate future directions. Without an organizational base, there is no chance to impact let alone make history. My goal is to impact the direction of those historical interventions.

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Planning a Crosswalk From a Dis/ability Perspective

By Lilith Finkler

Planners creating public spaces typically ignore the needs of persons with different dis/abilities. This exclusion by design renders invisible wheelchair users, persons who are blind or deaf, psychiatric survivors and persons with other disabilities. If we are then unable to access the built environment, we are unable to participate as contributing citizens of our society.

To begin with, urban planners should use universal design principles in arranging public spaces. Universal design is a concept that results in places that are easily understood and used by people of all abilities, across the life span. For example, a ramp is an entrance typically associated with wheelchair users but it can also be used by mothers with strollers or seniors with bundle buggies, or persons with emphysema carrying oxygen tanks.

Universal design principles don't always produce the same result. Someone could also create a completely level entrance, without steps or ramps. This sort of entrance would allow anyone of any ability to enter a premises without effort or stigma. Often, ramps are located at the back of a building near a garbage dumpster. The message of this built environment is clear. Temporarily able-bodied people come to the front. People with dis/abilities go to the back.

Some argue that persons with dis/abilities have only recently become a part of society. Integration is a new phenomenon, they claim, and it will take time to remove physical and attitudinal barriers. In fact, persons with dis/abilities have always been part of society. There are descriptions of persons with disabilities in the bible! Moses had a speech disability. King Saul had depression. Tobit was blind. Jesus ministered to individuals who

could not walk.

In the last two hundred years persons with disabilities experienced systemic segregation. Institutions set up to "serve" them were built in rural areas due to the fear of "contagion." Dis/abilities were catch-

ing! This history of social separation resulted in a world constructed for able-bodied individuals only. Those who did not meet the ideal standard were shut out. Inaccessible architec-

als only.

Dis/Ability Definitions

The word *dis/abilities* is spelled with a backslash purposefully to illustrate the dis/abling nature of inaccessible built environments.

Dis/ability is a socially constructed phenomenon, just as are gender, class and race. It is only by challenging oppressive political paradigms that persons with dis/abilities will liberate ourselves.

When the word *deaf* is used as an adjective, it is spelled *deaf* with a lower case "d."

However, when the word deaf is used to describe the culture, i.e. a group of Deaf people, the d is capitalized, as it would be to indicate any other cultural group or a nationality.

ture, the importance of the printed word, limited formal communication systems, and a lack of education and employment opportunities all presented major barriers to real participation in society.

Today, however, persons with disabilities have formed a civil rights movement. Rather than seek charity, A.D.A.P.T. (American Disabled for Accessible Public Transit) organized mass sit-ins. Wheelchair users and their allies sat at major intersections during rush hour and protested inaccessible transit systems. Civil disobedience moved more buses than any transit planner could imagine.

Start with a Crosswalk

In the last two hundred years persons

with disabilities experienced systemic

segregation that resulted in a world

constructed for able-bodied individu-

For planners keen to create barrier-free environments, I suggest an accessible crosswalk as a beginning point. After all, if we cannot cross the road, how can we get to the other side?

Suggestions below address some people with some dis/abilities. Not all necessary accommodations are listed below.

People with the same dis/ability may require different accommodations. For example, psychiatric sur-

vivors who take certain types of medication may have blurred vision. For such individuals, large print information would be of assistance. Some psychiatric survivors have tar-

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dive dyskenisia (t.d.), or involuntary muscle movements, as a result of the long-term use of neuroleptic drugs. For survivors with t.d., a longer walk time would make crossing the street an easier exercise. Finally, some psychiatric survivors require no accommodations at all. It all depends on the individual. Please keep this complexity of dis/ability in mind when reading the suggestions below for crosswalk design.

Crosswalk Design Criteria

- Make sure that every corner has a curb cut, so that wheelchair users can move effortlessly from the sidewalk to the street and up the other side. It can be dangerous to go down a steep sidewalk or to have to use a driveway in the middle of the road.
- Smooth out the roads. Get rid of potholes that can be very painful to wheelchair users.
- · Allow longer periods for crossing the road. Sometimes it can be a race to get across the street before the light turns red. Imagine being stuck in a pothole as a whole intersection of drivers honk for you to move. Some municipalities have procedures in place to institute longer walk times on request. Unfortunately, if residents are not aware of these policies, it is difficult to make use of them.
- Create more space between pedestrians and cars. Place the stop bar (i.e. white line) father back from the crosswalk. This would allow greater range of motion, particularly for scooters.
- For people who are blind, install audio pedestrian signals (a.p.s.), sometimes referred to as "chirp and cuckoo." These sounds assist persons with low vision and those who are blind to know when it is safe to cross the street. They are already used in some high traffic areas in the city of Toronto and many European cities. The a.p.s. are not fool-proof, however. Some individuals may still need assistance at complex intersections.
- In warmer climates, install tactile floor surfaces at stop lights. This allows individuals to identify the edge of a street corner. These tactile warnings can prevent serious accidents or death. To ensure even further safety, create a fenced-in area just in front of the crosswalk. This will guarantee that the exact place to cross is readily evident. Fencing should be made of a transparent material so as not to block drivers' visibility. In locations where snow and ice are common features, other methods of tactile signal surfaces should be used.

- Remove all signs at eye level adjacent to the crossing. While this may seem obvious to some, I have had to guide friends around signs protruding onto the sidewalk on numerous occasions.
- Install flashing visual alarms so that persons who are deaf or hard of hearing will know when ambulances, fire trucks or police cars are rushing by. This is particularly crucial if intersections are near a hospital, police or fire station.
- · In Deaf neighborhoods, crossing guards should speak American Sign Language.

We can see from the illustrations above how simple crosswalks can be altered to ensure greater accessibility. Planners must learn to consider persons with dis/abilities as well as the temporarily able-bodied in their design policies and practices.

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Resources on the Web

Information about universal design www.access-board.gov/research&training/pedsignals/ pedestrian.htm Information about audio pedestrian signals

www.ragged-edge-mag.com Disability Rag magazine

www.adapt.org

Organization fought for accessible transit. Now ADAPT demands personal assistants so that persons with physical dis/abilities can live independently.

www.odacommittee.net

Ontarians with Dis/abilities Committee campaigns for legislation in Ontario, Canada that would eliminate barriers for persons with dis/abilities.

www.pcs.mb.ca/~ccd Council of Canadians with Disabilities, a national advocacy organization.

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but more terrorism in response, more military security, more threats and blusters and shows of force, more calls of "war," does not seem the right, the just, or even the effective, answer. And that all human life should be sacred, not just ours, hardly seems to be part of the immediate response.

There will also be major impacts on New York City in particular, and perhaps high-density big cities generally, in the direction of decentralization and further divisions and walls. I would guess a reduction in personal travel, more emphasis on electronic communication. Employment patterns will change; hyper-concentrations of jobs in service center-oriented office buildings (and both the high and the low-paying jobs associated with them) will shrink. The benefits of the agglomeration economies that have accounted for the strength of select financial centers will be counter-balanced by new political considerations, in which over-agglomeration is equated with danger. I suspect the global status of at least the central business district(s) of New York City but perhaps of other global cities will change, as multinational businesses change their spatial strategies in the search for security in more outlying areas. The focus will initially be within the same metropolitan regions (e.g. American Express, Lehman Brothers, others, renting-on long-term leases-spaces in Jersey City, Stamford, etc.), but over time will lead to wider dispersal to other regions or urban enclaves. The construction of glamorous, ever-higher trophy skyscrapers will stop; the towers in Kuala Lumpur and Frankfurt have already felt the threat, closing and evacuating the day after the World Trade Center collapse, and workers in the Empire State building are afraid to go up to their offices.

The social consequence will be the tendency to exacerbate polarization. Those able to find jobs and housing out of town will do so. Those unable to do so will remain behind. The difference between the two groups will be both income and race-related. The polarization will be both between city and suburb and within the city, with the focus of upperincome, disproportionately white households concentrating in more tightly controlled citadels and others more and more excluded and segregated, with sharper dividing lines between and among groups. Many of these tendencies predated the World Trade Center attack; where they did, they will be substantially augmented.

"Security" will become the justification for measures that can threaten the core of social and political life, even though one conclusion that might be drawn from what has happened is that physical measures can never provide real security in the presence of deep social, including international, differences. Despite that, surveillance will increase and the uses of public space will be more tightly controlled (Mayor Giuliani has pioneered this with his restrictions on assemblies near City Hall, and attempts to limit the use of streets for parades, in the name of security). And we may expect the almost unlimited funding that the FBI and CIA are likely to receive to result in massive invasions of privacy; Senator Trent Lott has already called publicly for a reduction in the weight given civil liberties in the interests of security. "Public space" will become less public; free access and free use will be severely limited. By contrast, controlled spaces, such as malls, will increase their attraction.

What Can Be Done in New York City?

We do not need a "reconstruction czar." We need a democratic, thoughtful, participatory, effective planning process. We need expedited action in certain areas, but not another Robert Moses or Baron Hausmann. What makes New York City great is not its efficiency, but its vibrant, often conflictual, but open and imaginative and innovative life. Should the twin towers be rebuilt? Certainly not as they were (they couldn't be marketed now anyway), nor with even more beefed up security. What should be done at the site should not reflect the arrogance of power, but rather the resilience of continued and vibrant life and also very clearly the sorrow of their history and the admission of human vulnerability that is one of its lessons. Waiting and thought and public discussion are in any event necessary; after a great loss it is wise to let time go by and immediate reactions settle. Planning for what's to be done at the site should become a symbol of the very democratic processes that terrorism puts at risk.

- · Avoid the hunker-down, fortress mentality, with police, check-points, metal detectors, and limited access everywhere. Risk management suggests that the costs, in terms of everyday life, business activities, and democratic conduct, must be taken into account in plans to avoid the dangers of terrorism. The quality of urban life is what brings people to cities and makes living there worthwhile; don't kill it.
- The attack will cause a major shift in private market real estate prices in downtown Manhattan and in office clusters throughout the city. Watch developments closely, and if excess profits are being made, if speculation threatens sta-

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ble business activities, consider forms of control, from commercial rent regulation to taxes on speculative real estate profits to planning policies channeling growth.

- Economic development policy will continue to be concerned with the needs of major transnational corporations, but attention must increase to the needs of smaller-scale businesses (local as well as nationally and internationally-oriented) that draw on the unique skills and talents of the city's actual residents, including creativity, imagination, hard work, and social commitment. The weight of subsidies should go to such locally-based activities. They range from media-connected activities to specialty manufacturing, from medical research to printing, from education to community-based neighborhood economic development.
- Focus on improving education and economic conditions for the city's lower-income residents, as the mainstay of its population. The choice is between further exclusion, or real and steady improvement and connection with the city's mainstream economic, social, and cultural life. Exclusion, walls, and separation cannot provide security; acceptance and shared fortunes can. Changes in private market real estate developments may lead to a glut of expensive housing and a shortage of affordable housing; the housing goal needs to be new construction, but targeted to where the need is, not where the greatest profit can be made.
- · Make it clear the city is a welcoming city for all peoples, that we do not confuse culture with cause, that we are and will remain an international city and a multicultural city. Brag about it.
- · Cultural work-artistic, literary, inventive, scientific, media, research, educational-should be supported as the motor of the city's economic and social life.
- · Maintain mixes of uses and occupancy and building types, avoiding homogeneous concentrations of activities either at the high or low end of the economic ladder; avoid citadels and ghettos, and encourage contact across social and physical dividing lines in the city.
- Invest heavily in mass transit. The inevitable move of businesses from within to outside the city, with the attendant pressure for easier commuting, should be resisted, and balanced against the facility of moving about the city itself free of congestion, making staying in the city more efficient as well as providing environmental and tax benefits.

- · Make security for travelers and visitors as hassle-free as possible. Consider decentralizing airport check-in and security clearance to convenient multiple locations, with direct secure transportation to flights. Make access to airports simple and clear, including direct access by mass transit. Make international visitors feel welcome once they have cleared security.
- · Lobby for state and national legislation preventing fiscal competition among cities to attract businesses (a zero-sum game for cities, a transfer of wealth from public to private hands), akin perhaps to the European Union's anti-subsidy rules. National, state, and local subsidies must serve social purposes, not simply replace or guarantee business profits.

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and City Council Speaker announced plans to form a special commission responsible for rebuilding in lower Manhattan. The new commission could manage \$20 billion in federal relief funds, and could have bonding authority that would allow it to finance reconstruction efforts, though this authority would have to be conferred by the state legislature. Developers are already lining up to feed.

In this election year, the issues to be faced by the new mayor and city council are profound and have implications beyond lower Manhattan. They will affect the future of the city, the metropolitan region and cities throughout the country. Those charged with planning for reconstruction will have to balance concerns about public safety with the need to protect New York City's vibrant and open street life, mobility and access to public places, and its great social diversity.

• Concentration or sprawl? To what extent will the disaster in New York City affect the national debates on Smart Growth? New York City is one of the most densely populated cities in the country and Wall Street has a very dense day-time population. Federal policy for the last half century has favored low-density, sprawled suburban development by subsidizing the interstate highway program and guaranteeing mortgage financing for single-family homes. The interstate highway program was originally named the Defense Highway System and one of its explicit purposes was to disperse the U.S. population and industry and make them less

vulnerable to attack from abroad. In recent years over fifteen states have passed Smart Growth legislation to encourage greater concentration, recognizing the economic, environmental and public health problems due to auto-dependency and suburban sprawl. Congress and the White House seemed to be moving towards greater support for such efforts. Will they now see an attempt by New York City to retain its higher density as foolish, unsafe, and unworthy of support? Will September 11 kick off a new anti-urban wave in Washington?

Within New York City, the question has already arisen about the wisdom of rebuilding on the World Trade Center site. Should federal, state and city governments invest extremely large sums to restore the infrastructure and density at the southern tip of Manhattan when the limited resources could have a greater impact and satisfy greater needs elsewhere? Would this be the most efficient and equitable solution given the enormous deficits in public expenditures throughout the city? Would it not make more sense to create public open spaces and low-density mixed-use buildings on the WTC site and surrounding properties? A greater mixture of commercial and residential uses could further diversify lower Manhattan, which is still primarily a ghost town after business hours. How can development rights and opportunities for displaced businesses be created elsewhere in the city where they can stimulate and reinforce growing business districts in less affluent neighborhoods?

· Auto access to downtown. In the weeks after September 11 authorities curtailed traffic in Manhattan for security reasons and to facilitate rescue operations. Given the greater potential security problems that come with large numbers of private automobiles in Manhattan, city government has an excellent opportunity to promote alternative means of transportation. This makes sense for security purposes, but it will also improve commerce and the environment, and keep people coming to the city. Measures that have been proposed by city planners for years but which now should be put back on the planning agenda include: 1) putting tolls on the East River bridges and using congestion pricing; 2) severely limiting on-street and off-street parking by revising parking requirements and increasing parking fees; 3) restricting times for daily deliveries by trucks; and 4) creating more auto-free zones.

Limiting auto access would create opportunities to improve the infrastructure for mass transit, pedestrians and bicycles, which together move millions more people every day than do autos. Will the city work more closely with the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) to expand bus service and create exclusive rights-of-way (and bus stops) for buses so they can

operate on schedule? Will support grow for the Second Avenue subway line and extension of the #7 line to the west side of Manhattan? Will the city now widen more sidewalks, improve crosswalks, and slow vehicular traffic in areas with large pedestrian volumes? Will it make biking to work less risky for the more than 100,000 riders who currently use this superb clean-air travel mode, and encourage more bike commuters by building safe bicycle ways and parking racks throughout the city?

· Public places. New York City's streets are the backbone of its exciting network of public places. How can the vitality of its streets, parks and open spaces be preserved? Limiting auto use can create a more secure environment, but limiting access to public spaces by pedestrians can create dangerous and insecure places. No one likes an abandoned street or park. In the past, government's most important partners in making vibrant public places have been people who live and work in the city's neighborhoods. From block associations to business improvement districts, there is a vast network of civic and neighborhood groups concerned with issues of access, transportation and auto use. They know where the dangers are. Will the city work with these groups to improve public places? Or will the new security concerns lead to changes dictated by security-minded engineers that make public places desolate and uninviting, and ultimately more dangerous?

In facing these questions, there will be a strong draw toward technological fixes for the security problem: more sophisticated surveillance of public places by video cameras, more metal detectors, more barriers. By themselves, these do not make public places safer.

One of the greatest assets of New York City, the advantage it enjoys over the sprawl and malls in the suburbs, is its rich, diverse and open environment. This is what has made it attractive to businesses, residents and tourists from all over the world. Ultimately it's the people, both in the business districts and the neighborhoods, that will guarantee a safe and livable environment. One would hope that the city's new commission and administration will work with all citizen groups as well as businesses to engage the public in an eminently public endeavor. Destruction of our great public life would be a second major blow to the open society.

Tom Angotti is Professor of Urban Affairs and Planning at Hunter College, City University of New York, and Editor of <u>Planners Network</u>.

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glements. The growth of debt, unemployment, decline of traditional economic sectors, has fed an exploding illegal trade in people, largely directed to the rich countries. The diseases and pests present in many parts of the global south that we in the rich countries could forget about, are now increasingly here as well: tuberculosis is back in the U.S. and typhoid fever in the UK, the encephalitis producing Nile mosquito has made its first appearance in the global north and so have a growing number of other pests and diseases. As governments become poorer they depend more and more on the remittances of immigrants in the global north and hence have little interest in the management of emigration and illegal trafficking.

The pressures to be competitive make governments in poor countries cut their health, education and social budgets, thereby further delaying development and stimulating emigration and trafficking. In brief, the interdependencies are many and they are multiplying.

The growing interconnectedness of the world has given new meaning to old asymmetries as well as creating new ones. The rising debt, poverty, and disease, in the global south are beginning to reach deep into the rich countries. We can no longer turn our backs on all this misery as we so often have in the past. If we dislike humanitarian reasons for addressing these issues, we can opt for self-interest as a motivation.

In an era of privatization and market rule we are facing the fact that governments will have to govern a bit more. But it cannot be a return to old forms — countries surrounding themselves with protective walls. It will take genuine multilateralism and internationalism, some radical innovations and new forms of collaboration with civil society and supranational institutions. The violence of hunger, poverty, decimation of once fertile lands, the oppression of weaker states by highly militarized ones, persecution — all of these feed a complex, slow but relentlessly moving spiral that moves into the global north. The global north has the resources and power to produce much of the damage and it has the resources to redress some of it.

Part of the challenge is to recognize the interconnectedness of forms of violence that we do not always recognize as being connected or, for that matter, being forms of violence. We are suffering from a translation problem, it would seem. The language of poverty and misery is unclear, uncomfortable. The language of the attacks today is clear. No translation problem there.

We may think that the debt and growing poverty in the global south may have nothing to do with today's violence in New York and Washington. They do. The attacks today are a language of last resort: the oppressed and persecuted have used many languages to reach us. We seem unable to translate the meaning of what they say. A few then take it into their hands to speak a language that needs no translation. That was the language used today.

Ariel Dorfman:

For me and millions of other human beings, the Tuesday September 11th of 28 years ago has been a day of mourning. On that day in 1973 Chile lost its democracy in a military coup, death irrevocably entered our daily lives and changed us forever. And now, almost three decades later, the evil gods of historic chance have tried to impose that tragic day on another country, also on a Tuesday, and also a deadly September 11th.

The differences and distances that separate the Chilean and North american dates could not, of course, be greater. The shocking terrorist attack against the most powerful nation on the earth has and will have consequences for all of humanity. Possibly it will become, as Bush has suggested, the beginning of a new world war. Probably it will go down in history books as the day when global history changed its course. Meanwhile, among the eight billion humans in the world today, I don't think many remember exactly when the tragedy of Chile happened.

That famous North American exceptionalism has in fact ended, the attitude that has allowed citizens of this country to imagine they are beyond the evils that plague other less fortunate countries.... From now on, life in North America will share the precariousness and uncertainty that the great majority of the other people on the earth suffer.

It remains to be seen if the compassion shown for the most powerful nation on the earth will be reciprocated. It remains to be seen whether the men and women of the United States - a nation made up of, for the most part, of those who fled great catastrophes, hunger, dictatorships and persecutions, a nation of tolerance and hope - are able to feel the same compassion towards other members of our species who are abandoned. It remains to be seen if the new North Americans forged in pain and resurrection are ready to take part in the difficult process of repairing our damaged humanity, creating a world in which we'll never again have to lament a new and frightening 11th of September.

Noam Chomsky:

The terrorist attacks were major atrocities. In scale they may not reach the level of many others, for example, Clinton's bombing of the Sudan with no credible pretext, destroying half its pharmaceutical supplies and killing unknown numbers of people (no one knows, because the U.S. blocked an inquiry at the UN and no one cares to pursue it).... But that this was a horrendous crime is not in doubt. The primary victims, as usual, were working people: janitors, secretaries, firemen, etc. It is likely to prove to be a crushing blow to Palestinians and other poor and oppressed people. It is also likely to lead to harsh security controls, with many possible ramifications for undermining civil liberties and internal freedom. The events reveal, dramatically, the foolishness of the project of "missile defense." As has been obvious all along, and pointed out repeatedly by strategic analysts, if anyone wants to cause immense damage in the US, including weapons of mass destruction, they are highly unlikely to launch a missile attack, thus guaranteeing their immediate destruction. There are innumerable easier ways that are basically unstoppable. But today's events will, very likely, be exploited to increase the pressure to develop these systems and put them into place. "Defense" is a thin cover for plans for militarization of space, and with good PR, even the flimsiest arguments will carry some weight among a frightened public.

In short, the crime is a gift to the hard jingoist right, those who hope to use force to control their domains. That is even putting aside the likely US actions, and what they will trigger — possibly more attacks like this one, or worse. The prospects ahead are even more ominous than they appeared to be before the latest atrocities.

As to how to react, we have a choice. We can express justified horror; we can seek to understand what may have led to the crimes, which means making an effort to enter the minds of the likely perpetrators. If we choose the latter course, we can do no better, I think, than to listen to the words of Robert Fisk, whose direct knowledge and insight into affairs of the region is unmatched after many years of distinguished reporting. Describing "The wickedness and awesome cruelty of a crushed and humiliated people," he writes that "this is not the war of democracy versus terror that the world will be asked to believe in the coming days. It is also about American missiles smashing into Palestinian homes and US helicopters firing missiles into a Lebanese ambulance in 1996 and American shells crashing into a village called Qana and about a Lebanese militia -

paid and uniformed by America's Israeli ally - hacking and raping and murdering their way through refugee camps." And much more. Again, we have a choice: we may try to understand, or refuse to do so, contributing to the likelihood that much worse lies ahead.

Dr. Eyad el Sarraj, Executive Director of the Gaza Community Mental Health Program:

The world today is not the same as it was. The incredible and horrific terrorist attacks on American targets in New York and Washington DC have shocked the world and alarmed people every where. We condemn the killing of innocent people in America and elsewhere. Attacks on civilians, threats against life and murder are crimes against humanity. We, secure in our belief in the sanctity of life, are abhorred by such acts of violence.

Arabs and Palestinians who continue to suffer the complex tragedy since their uprooting, and the Israeli state sponsored violence against them, should only stand firm against terror even with the knowledge of the longstanding support for Israel by successive American governments. We absolutely reject the logic that horror and murder is the only way to change policies. The anger due to American policies in the world and in our region should not blind us to see that those who were killed and wounded in these horrific carnages are our brothers and sisters in humanity. Their murder can never be justified. For them and their families we extend our respect, and sympathy.

Yale Rabin:

Amid the understandable outpouring of grief and anger over our American tragedy on September 11, there appears to be very little national introspection. A notable exception on the Sunday following the horrific acts of terrorism in New York and Washington, was the Boston Globe. The headline on the first page of its editorial section boldly asked, "WHY DO THEY HATE US?" The "they" referred to are, of course, the hundreds of millions of Muslims around the world as well as the many majority Muslim countries in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Africa.

Of the four editorial commentators who responded to the question, three cited, as important reasons, U.S. support for Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and various other U.S. interventions in Muslim countries such as the war against Iraq. The other respondent, Stephen W. Bosworth, Dean of the Fletcher School of Law and

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Democracy at Tufts University, could, somehow not identify any U.S. policy or action that could explain Muslim hostility. According to this former U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia, The Philippines, and South Korea, "They hate us because we are so big, so powerful, and always so visible". To this simplistic explanation he adds, "...they associate America and American culture with the materialism and secularism that they see as threatening to their religious purity and traditional values".

Dean Joseph S. Nye of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, in a remarkable display of disingenuous understatement tells us that, "American support for Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East has become a source of tension with groups in countries like Libya, Syria, and Iran which the State Department lists as harboring terrorists."

Marion Lloyd, a Globe correspondent in southeast Asia, writes that among the sources of Muslim hostility to the U.S., "Israel is undoubtedly number one." She cites the hypocritical role of the U.S. in ostensibly mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict while simultaneously acting as the world's principal (and often sole) apologist for Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights.

The fourth respondent was Chris Toensing, editor of Middle East Report. He points to obvious contradictions in U.S. policy. On the one hand, our government continues to provide arms and massive financial support to Israel (40% of all U.S. foreign aid) despite that country's refusal to comply with UN resolutions calling for an end to its illegal occupation of Palestinian territories. At the same time the U.S. demands continued imposition of severe sanctions on Iraq – sanctions that have failed to dislodge Saddam Hussein, but have resulted in the deaths of thousands of Iraqi children – because Iraq has refused to permit UN requests for international inspectors to monitor its arms production.

The attack of 11 September was both a horrible crime and a terrible tragedy. Nothing can conceivably excuse or condone these acts of monstrous brutality. But in devising a just and effective response, we must examine our nation's past and present policies and make a serious attempt to identify and understand the sources of the powerful rage that have led to this incredible tragedy. To understand is not to excuse. To understand is not to forgive. To understand is to acknowledge that unrelieved repression and deprivation and humiliation are the basic ingredients of

simmering resentment and explosive rage.

Since 1967, when it seized the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (The Occupied Territories), the State of Israel, with strong U.S. political support and massive U.S. financial aid, has exercised repressive military control over those territories and their Palestinian inhabitants. During these thirty-four years of occupation, the Israeli military administration has displaced, impoverished, brutalized, and humiliated tens of thousands of Palestinian residents of the Occupied Territories.

Confronted with Israel's overwhelming military force Palestinians have been forced to stand helplessly by while their homes, orchards, vineyards, and pastures have been destroyed and confiscated in order to enable the illegal establishment and expansion of Jewish settlements and

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A Report on House Demolitions in Jerusalem During 2000

By The Land Research Center, Arab Studies Society (Jerusalem)

urrently, Palestinians constitute only 30% of the total population of Jerusalem (East and West). However, 80% of demolition orders were directed at Palestinians. This policy has led to the demolition of 2,150 Palestinian houses. The remaining 20% of house demolition orders directed to Jews have not led to any actual demolitions, but were changed to fines or cancelled.

The Planning Department of Jerusalem Municipality classifies most land owned by Palestinians as "Green Land," prohibiting any construction on it. In the meantime, the land transferred to Jews, either by seizure or forgery, can be classified as building areas for exclusive Jewish use.

The Jerusalem Municipality and its planning department initiate detailed master plans to prepare land and building areas for Jewish use with spending from the municipal budget, while Palestinians are asked to submit documents and follow procedures which can take up to 20 years, with no result in most cases. This very long and tiring process requires big expenditures on the part of Palestinians.

Economic Cooperatives and Alternative Economics

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Towards a New Community Development Paradigm: The Political and Economic Agenda

By Jonathan Michael Feldman and Jessica Gordon Nembhard

his special section is devoted to an analysis and discussion of democratic economic development as the foundation for a new way to organize communities. We hope to provide planners with inspiration, new ideas, concrete information, and tangible models and strategies. We want to expose planners to the richness and variety of the current discussions around creating a new paradigm, or set of ideas and practices, in community development. We have engaged several practitioners and scholars in a dialogue on these issues and the models they find to be viable alterna-

tives. A new paradigm must stress the interrelationships among: access to capital; equal economic opportunity and economic inequality; education and training; access to technology; racial, ethnic and gender discrimination; power inequalities and corporate hegemony; networking, collaboration and cooperation; planning; and public policy. Short term or narrowly focused planning has proven ineffective. Thinkers like Paul Goodman, Malcolm X, and W.E.B. Du Bois who combined utopian vision with practical proposals to realize that vision inspire us.

The Reagan and Clinton Administrations, and neoliberalism generally, have emphasized the paring back of the state and with it the budgetary resources for planning. As a result, planners will find it increasingly difficult to carry out their professional duties in providing community services and promoting economic development, particularly that which leads to high quality jobs. These resource constraints are

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matched by what appears to be a weakness of community groups, social change organizations, and the progressive-left community. These groups collectively failed to marshal the political resources necessary to promote a progressive urban agenda within the Clinton Administration or the Republican controlled Congress. Some argue that corporate interests are so dominant in Washington that we can turn only to local and state interests. In some European countries, political decentralization has been promoted as a solution to national political stalemate, although some groups have been able to gain resources from the European Union to promote regional solutions.

It may be more productive to focus on why the progressive movement very often has failed to adopt strategies that would allow it to be on a path toward accumulating power. This path would involve developing new kinds of networks and institutions like cooperatives, national newspapers, and radio and television programs, that would help create a more powerful accountability system. By helping to develop cooperative networks of firms, planners would be able to create allies in the economic sphere that could help them achieve

objectives. For example, cooperative networks, linked to universities' innovative resources, could help create high quality jobs. Planners need to develop new skills in financing, organizing, and management to promote such networks. Progressive local governments can give planners the space to carry out this work. The existing

resources of the progressive community, in unions, left media, community radio stations, churches, social welfare agencies, progressive intellectuals in the universities, and the like are more than enough to create the foundation for such new networks. The problem, however, is the lack of a coherent and progressive strategy to marshal these resources.

Traditional Community Development Practice

Traditional community development practice for disenfranchised communities often emphasizes the creation of microenterprises, jobs linked to the service sector, or the attraction of large outside corporations. Some new strategies target bench marking and the creation of training programs targeted at industrial jobs. These approaches have had vary-

ing degrees of success but do not address many of the issues we have outlined, especially when focused only on job creation.

First, the quality of work in these jobs often takes a back seat to the objective of merely providing jobs. The targeted jobs may be low paying, and fail to lead to higher-paid professional or primary labor market jobs, and wealth creation. Some may believe that this reflects "pragmatic" considerations about the skills of groups or the shortage of economic resources. On the other hand, we believe the problem also reflects the design of networks, mentoring programs, apprenticeship systems, and university linkage strategies. For example, in Sweden, a new information technology high school is attempting to form a direct bridge between immigrant communities and the highest waged technical jobs. The planning profession needs more training to develop inclusive workplaces linked to high skill requirements and dynamic growth. One solution is for progressive foundations to finance the training and hiring of industrial engineers, industrial relations experts and management specialists with a social economy vision.

Second, the new jobs may provide employment in the short

to medium term but alienate ethnic groups (new immigrants or people of color) from true economic sources of power in society, e.g. employment in the professions, high technology and innovation-based jobs. Contributor Phyl Speser points out that high tech jobs are not always high waged (a point underscored elsewhere by

Andrew Ross at New York University in his writings about New York's Silicon Alley). As a result, unionization in high tech regions is important, as is labor-based work sharing and job redesign linked to democratic redistribution of the many forms of capital generated by high tech firms. Innovation is increasingly a major source of power and prosperity. The separation of ethnic groups from this new source of power has economic and political costs.

Third, the employment created can fail to develop meaningful benefits to general welfare if measured by its ability to promote the long term goals of a community, such as quality of jobs, environmental restoration, community development, housing renewal, affordable housing, asset and wealth accumulation, or anti-discriminatory practices. Contributor

Why has the progressive move-

ment often failed to adopt strate-

gies that would allow it to be on

a path toward accumulating

power?

Alessandro Messina (of the social economy group Lunaria in Rome) points out the limits of micro-enterprises as integration tools. They often fail to address the scale of unemployment problems at hand. As a result, we also need to think about large firms and strategies for "scaling up" smaller companies through extension services, cooperative networks, union-based apprenticeship programs and other social interventions that think big and not small. For example, as contributor Seymour Melman notes, Mondragón cooperatives are directly integrated with financial and research and development institutions that they can influence and control. This contributes to the scale of growth and accountability systems that promote growth.

Access to Technology and Control of Innovation

The intersection among ethnic groups, high technology jobs (or jobs benefiting from organizational and technical innovations), and cooperative forms of organization is increasingly important. Some ethnic groups have uneven access to high technology jobs. At the same time other ethnic groups have begun to use their "ethnic resources" (defined by social capital, group identity, common language, etc.) as a foundation for high technology networks and cooperatives alike.

In thinking about the professions, Malcolm X, for example, supported the idea that African Americans should train or recruit engineers as key community economic actors.

Interestingly, some immigrants from India and China (the so-called "elite" or "luxury" immigrants) have used the American higher education system and ethnic professional networks to secure the income, training and networks necessary for integration at a higher level. As ethnic engineers (through start ups and "spin ups") in Silicon Valley, they are now key managerial actors driving a large part of growth in that region, and creating wealth for their community. The linkage of engineering skills, supporting

finance, advanced manufacturing and cooperative forms can provide a foundation for integrating growth, economic integration, social inclusion and democracy. In contrast, many African Americans in the U.S. represent a disproportionately low proportion of the engineering profession (but a disproportionately high proportion of the prison population) and

have been denied such a foothold.

Many grassroots organizations and community groups have promoted service-based or relatively low-skilled business as the path of least resistance. These sectors often are lower paid and afford few opportunities for job ladders. Yet if these jobs were to be linked with appropriate training and mechanization, improvements in productivity could follow and profits could then be invested in training and improved assessments of service delivery. Or, as contributor Victor Pestoff suggests, the cooperative linkage of consumers' and workers' interests could conceivably create a better foundation for both service delivery and improved worker conditions. At the same time, cooperative forms facilitate the introduction of new technologies, especially those that guarantee job security and worker inputs into decision making and quality control improvements (as suggested by Melman, among others). The benefits from linking innovation, workplace democracy, economic cooperation, and networking are many. The benefits from innovation need to be "collectivized" or "socialized" through more cooperative forms. This is important because otherwise only a few people benefit from the resulting wealth. Critics on the Left suggest that "Black capitalism" merely reproduces wage hierarchies or promotes backward sectors. Yet, few have linked cooperative governance, firm modernization (through innovation and job redesign), and disenfranchised communities.

Linking alternative planning or industrial engineering considerations, cooperative forms, new training systems and the like has proven difficult. One reason, underscored by contributor David Ellerman, is that there are serious ideological obstacles to promoting a cooperative economy. Du Bois found this to be true. Plantation hegemony in the U.S. stifled African American support for cooperatives and democratic development. Traditionally, planning and business school programs have given very little attention to scholar-

ship on the subject of cooperative economics or industrial engineering. Instead, planners too often focus on the state. Business schools often myopically focus on market or financial economics, with little attention to engineering issues or democracy. Contributor Ewald Engelen suggests that politi-

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The benefits from innovation

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Strategies are lacking to cre-

atively link alternative media,

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tic fashion. We need a new

paradigm that revolutionizes economic development practice.

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cal scientists have focused far too much attention on the state as an economic actor. The same can be said for planners. We need to move toward interdisciplinary thinking to mobilize cooperative economic forms.

Engelen's comments raise an important question about the relative importance of political and economic strategies. We don't want to neglect the political. It is true that social movements have invested much energy in developing welfare state provisions and that some state functions like education, infrastructure provision, and regulation of environmental hazards, are of pivotal importance. But we still need to focus on reducing fiscal waste and reapplying the resources to training, education and investment in new community enter-

prises (or support for a variety of industrial policies and industrial extension programs). The military budget is a key resource base that could help fund local development initiatives. Capturing these resources will require a new vision and new alliances built on economic and media capital.

Cooperatives can ultimately provide economic resources to mobilize claims on the state. Recent social movements

show how the Internet and new media facilitate networks that create streamlined yet effective group actions. For example, a recent Internet-based movement against election irregularities in Florida mobilized 10,000 people in less than a week. This is a movement whose primary organizing staff consisted of one unpaid volunteer. On the other hand, the recent discussions about the role of "social capital" and "civil society" often fail to address the fact that some social capital (associated with the Left) may be better than others (associated with the Right). The real problem is a shortage in "political capital" and money to pay for education about and development of alternative socioeconomic models.

The Question of Power

Lack of economic power and wealth constrains the economic resources that promote political power and can limit who participates or has influence in a democracy. This is especially true in urban politics where disparities in power can be quite dramatic. Strategies for participation and even income

redistribution will be insufficient if they do not give marginalized communities access to wealth generators. Cooperatives and economic democracy are important because they can help increase the wealth of poor communities and communities of color.

Traditional planners (even some radical ones) often do not address the question of how to systematically accumulate political power, and the dynamic relationship between economics and politics. We need to address the political opportunity costs associated with different economic strategies. One general proposition that can be used to evaluate community economic development models is that the control of the means of production, or access to professions and financial power instrumental in that control, is central to holding power in society. There are diverse forms of power, which are

linked to the economic, political, and media (or other cultural) organizations. We therefore need a comprehensive theory about how to systematically accumulate power and not a theory about powerlessness, since powerlessness is itself contingent upon the ability of others to accumulate power.

Strategies are lacking to creatively link alternative media, democratic firms,

and various social movements in a synergistic fashion. In sum, there is a need for a new paradigm that would revolutionize economic development practice to exploit innovations in cooperative settings. Models like the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation in Spain and the Cooperative Council of Quebec (Canada) come to mind. We will likely have to invent new institutions to promote these goals; for example, a new kind of university space that promotes synergistic organizing, industrial extension, cooperative business development, and media networking. We find hints of such movement at places like the University of Wisconsin, Madison; University of Massachusetts, Lowell; and University of Maryland, College Park.

Property is theft.

-- Pierre Joseph Proudhon

Mondragón: Linking Innovation, Productivity and Economic Democracy

By Seymour Melman

The following is from an interview by Jonathan M. Feldman on February 6, 2001.

he Mondragón Cooperative Corporation (MCC) is based in a mountainous enclave in the northwestern corner of the Basque Country in Spain. The majority of its physical enterprises are immediately in and around the town of Mondragón although other enterprises are spread out in the immediate region. Some enterprises are even located outside Spain. Mondragón's common location in the Basque area creates a common culture and common background for cooperative members, linked to both the Catholic religion and the culture of Basque nationalism. These provide an important "social cement" for cooperative members.

The Mondragón cooperatives number more than 100 and have combined annual sales of about \$6 billion per year and a combined asset value in excess of \$13 billion. MCC employs more than 46,000 persons. These figures reveal the large scale on which the cooperative has been established. Therefore, an understanding of the actual workings of Mondragón deserves serious attention-far more than any single proposal of cooperative forms of cooperative organization. MCC's success can also be seen in its contributions to members' standard of living. It affords an annual income between \$25,000 and \$30,000 per year to each member. In contrast to the history of failed cooperatives, MCC is a stable operation with a life history of about half a century. In addition, the physical facilities of the MCC are very impressive.

The unique and important quality of the operation is exemplified by the 109 separate enterprises. Six deal with financial matters, and 80 of the enterprises are industrial being concentrated in capital goods such as machinery, intermediate and consumer goods. These industrial goods, focused on basic industry like machine tools, are a striking contrast to the failure in the United States to build and maintain a running machine tool industry (Germany, Switzerland and Japan are nations that have not followed the U.S. in this regard). Machine tools are the instruments that shape metal,

Mondragón Corporación Cooperativa is the fruit of the sound vision of a young priest, Don José María Arizmendiarrieta, as well as the solidarity and efforts of all our worker-members. Together we have been able to transform a humble factory, which in 1956 manufactured oil stoves and paraffin heaters, into the leading industrial group in the Basque Country and 8th in the ranking in Spain, with sales of 1,043,893 million pesetas (6,274 million euros) in its Industrial and Distribution activities, 1,058,922 million pesetas (6,364 million euros) of administered assets in its financial activity and a total workforce of 46,861 at the end of 1999.

-- Antonio Cancelo, President of Mondragón

In the period from 1998 to 1999, the firm's assets increased by 5.8%, its investments by 22.7% and workforce by 11.2%. Thus, despite various criticisms of Mondragón, the cooperative has succeeded in organizing and providing work on an expanding basis.

wood, and other materials. They are machines that can replicate their own kind. You can use lathes, drills and milling machines to make other such machines, something you can't do with a sewing machine or computer. Thus, machine tools are a key foundation for building an industrial economy.

Mondragón's success can also be seen in its technological achievements. When I visited Mondragón early in the 1990s, I was stunned by observing the materials that were produced by the cooperatives. I visited one room displaying the products produced in a central part of the complex. It was to my eyes, fairly long accustomed to looking at industrial products of diverse sorts, an astonishing display because what was on view were the products equivalent to the output of many different industries or types of physical production systems. Therefore having this in mind, I was very pleased to discover recently in a U.S. catalogue of the Sonoma Company the pressure cooker produced by the Fagor cooperative. Mondragón supplies customers in Western Europe and North Africa as well.

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Unique Institutions for Finance, Community Development and Innovation

MCC not only includes industrial enterprises containing factories but also a unique set of institutions. One of the key barriers to establishing new kinds of enterprises like cooperatives (and other departures from the traditional business corporate pattern) is the availability of capital for investment, e.g. working capital. In MCC, the Caja Laboral Popular (or the workers' bank) makes such capital available. The bank is based on deposits coming from each cooperative member. For example, one time contributions from the more than 30,000 members (each earning roughly \$30,000) would amount to a billion dollars. Such contributions can come even from members who can not deduct a large lump sum from savings and wages. Contributions can be gradually deducted from monthly wage receipts. The net effect is to allow Mondragón to escape the limitations facing enterprise dependence on traditional banks or government for financing. This social organization of finance is therefore key to making the cooperative more autonomous from key external financiers.

About 10 percent of the annual profit of each cooperative goes to a social and cultural fund pertaining to the enterprise's members. 20 percent of profits go to a company reserve fund run by its governing group. 70 percent of profits go to the workers' capital account, held by the Caja Laboral Popular. The capital fund is owned by the members and their share becomes available to them when they retire from the cooperative. One unique function of the bank is that it reviews proposals for new enterprises and new products. This linkage of financial resources and technical knowledge stands in contrast to the familiar pattern found in the U.S.

MCC's research facility has a staff of engineers covering all the fundamental fields of engineering as well as persons trained in the basic fields of science. This innovative staff help each enterprise in its ongoing activities and contribute to the design of proposed and ongoing products. The research institute also can help MCC train its own employees, reducing dependency on external education institutions. This is of capital importance because the technical staff is guided by the MCC's larger social mission. They are able to link the social values of the cooperative with technical considerations in the design of enterprises, production

systems and products.

Economic Conditions Facilitating Expansion

The history of MCC shows that once certain key institutions (like the research lab, the bank, and the training of technologists) were established the cooperative could then make large additions to production capacity. The ability to expand at relatively low cost allowed the MCC to move into many types of industry. MCC's enterprises also expanded because there were many citizens in the Basque country eager to become participants in its operation. They saw the cooperative as a good way to earn a living and become part of a community. Cooperative members came up with ideas for new products and new enterprises and the decentralized structure facilitated innovation. High productivity has also facilitated expansion by lowering costs and prices.

Democratic Design

The cooperative operates in a democratic fashion so that the people who do the work have a hand in the major decisions. MCC does this indirectly as worker-members designate their representatives to a general assembly which names the board of directors of the bank. As a result, finance capital becomes linked indirectly to voting decisions. Local managers are directly elected.

The essential cooperative pattern remains in Mondragón. A significant present day development, representing a change from the early days, is that decisions having an aggregate effect over the system are now taken a step removed from the point of production of any one of the particular enterprises. MCC must make decisions that effect over 100 different enterprises in diverse industries and locations. The MCC therefore needs institutions that correspond to the diversity of industries and work forces. This created a measure of hierarchy, but the hierarchy operates within a framework that has control from below. There is a Congress that meets and makes certain larger decisions. Its members are named from the members of each particular enterprise and factory. Hierarchy is needed to make decisions beyond the scope of any particular enterprise; i.e., hierarchy doesn't have to mean undemocratic decisions and decision making power from above. In other words, Mondragón has a "democratic hierarchy."

Participation, Training and the Productivity of Capital

A centerpiece of both the Mondragón and Kibbutz systems is their demonstration that cooperative workforces can make unusually effective use of high technology. The pro-

ductivity of capital more than the productivity of labor is a key factor for growth. Notably, in computer controlled operations production is heavily determined not by the manual efforts of workers, but by the quality of process design and mode of operation of machinery and process equipment. When the productivity of capital is of paramount importance, a cooperative working group becomes the key to optimizing the productivity of capital.

This pattern shows up not only in Mondragón and the Kibbutz, but also in U.S. enterprises. These U.S. firms have various degrees of democratic processes or have adopted industrial practices also found in cooperatives. In one comparative study, the factories that had built in framework for cooperation in the workplace site were the ones best able to make the most productive use of modern machinery and methods. Cooperative enterprises are best able to minimize the production of defective products, the breakdown of equipment, and downtime (or lost time of individual and networks of machinery). One study examined several factories doing the same kind of work for different divisions of the same corporation. One factory, led by a far-sighted manager, trained machinists in the technology and maintenance of the machine tools they were operating. The workers became responsible for maintenance. The manager established a system of decision making where the workers had a strong voice. As a consequence, there was a dramatically higher productivity of capital in contrast to other enterprises working for the same company, with members in the same union, doing identical work and using identical types of machines. The key difference was the amount of decision making held by the workers in the contrasting enterprises.

The cooperative value system gives every member a strong incentive to do what has to be done to achieve the objectives of minimizing breakdown, spoilage and waste. In After Capitalism, I will show results how cooperative enterprises have reduced down time, scrap, and defective goods. A well functioning factory works like a well functioning watch. The parts of the watch are linked together and each part affects the other parts. In the cooperative enterprise that linkage is made part of the ethos-the collective understanding in the enterprise-and this is amplified by the fact that no single person can get a unique return for their work. Each worker's wealth from work is dependent in every case on their co-workers. From now on this connection between the productivity of capital (the physical plant or facilities) and the decision system for the operation of the enterprise is of critical importance within the world economy.

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New Approaches to Democratic Community Development

Compiled By Jonathan Michael Feldman and Jessica Gordon Nenthard

THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

By Sigmund C. Shipp

Democratic workplaces are needed to countervail against the kinds of jobs that take advantage of the poor. The most important aspect relative to democratic models is education. This would include education that explains the purpose of the coop and what is expected of members. This process should be ongoing.

Education is also important to allow members to be able to fully participate as real actors in the businesses that they own. This requires an understanding of technical issues like budgets, taxes, and other financial aspects of running a company. This is tricky because in low-income areas, education, even basic education, may not be available to prepare people to fully understand technical issues.

The willingness of individuals to participate in a cooperative depends on their ability to want to achieve a common purpose. This can happen in terms of local residents sharing in the responsibility in developing and implementing alternative plans for the revitalization of their neighborhood. In this sense a democratic workplace would be promoted as a way to provide income for local residents. Such workplaces also require and can promote cooperation and solidarity.

Cooperatives in "minority" communities can make use of this element. The commitment to a wider purpose such as the uplift of the race can cause individuals to work together. This was certainly true in the 19th century when black congregations started black colleges. Abdur Farrakhan uses the cultural value of race consciousness to help members of his cooperatives in the African-American community in Brooklyn remain committed to the concept of workplace democracy.

ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

By Ewald Engelen

The concept of "economic citizenship" is an attempt to create an alternative to the one-sided view on ownership, property rights, managerial prerogatives and the corporation predominant within the political economy of classical liberalism. In practice, such forms of citizenship should not to fall into the trap of radical or direct democracy. Not everyone should have a say in everything all of the time. Naïve conceptions of democracy that are satisfied only if the full and complete participation of everyone is assured, make themselves vulnerable to simple counter-attacks concerning the overburdening of the decision making process itself as well as the individual motivation to participate, and are to be shunned for these reasons only. In the Dutch and German systems there is an executive board, a supervisory board, a work council and an annual shareholders meeting. These boards, councils and meetings possess specific rights and responsibilities over specific domains of decision making and overlook specific moments of control. A complex political structure like this makes it possible to enlarge the democratic transparency and accountability of corporate decision making without overburdening it and without disregarding restrictions of time, motivation and expertise. In other words, the more complex the system of corporate governance, the better it is suited to weigh moral claims (inclusiveness) against prudential (effectiveness) and realist (feasibility) ones.

We need a conception of democracy that is both gender and race-sensitive, that is more-dimensional in terms of rights and obligations and that is plural in the sense of encompassing civil, political, social as well as economic rights that can be guaranteed by public, semi-public and private agencies. Firms are too important to be left to managers, accountants, economists and lawyers.

THE MARGINALITY OF DEMOCRATIC ENCLAVES

David P. Ellerman

Community development strategies emphasizing democratic companies tend to have only marginal effects by ameliorating the usual business system around the edges with ethically oriented start-ups or worker buyouts to avert plant closings or bankruptcies. Enclaves of democratic development will always be problematic, and democratic firms often succumb to the temptation of the current generation of members to cash in by selling out the next generation of potential members reducing them effectively to employee status again.

The real hegemony of the current business system is not economic but intellectual. Progressive forces have essentially wasted the 20th century with a disastrous love affair with socialism. Diehard leftists continue to think that the principal mistake in socialism was ownership by the national government rather than the local municipal or community government. One of the most successful intellectual defense mechanisms of the employment system (a.k.a. "capitalism") was, after the democratic revolutions of the 19th century, to restrict democracy to the public or governmental sphere instead of generalizing the idea of democracy or joint self-determination to all organizations.

STRATEGIES FOR SUPPORTING COOPERATIVES AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

By Len Krimmerman

I believe that current anti-globalization efforts, e.g., anti-sweatshop and "clean clothes" campaigns, resistance to the IMF, World Bank, WTO, NAFTA, etc. can only succeed if they join forces with groups actively developing new and democratic forms of economic life, and together begin to take grassroots control over economic resources and opportunities.

We need to supplement our focus on Mondragón-style economic development [see Seymour Melman's essay in this issue] with an examination of other cooperative "working models", e.g., the Seikatsu Cooperatives of Japan, SEWA,

India's Self-Employed Women's Association, the immense cooperative movement among rural and landless workers in Brazil coordinated by the Movimento Sem Terra, the Canadian labor-supported investment funds, particularly in Quebec province, etc. In different ways, these models are more interconnected with other progressive movements, e.g., labor unions, environmental initiatives, etc., as well as with other cooperative networks, than is Mondragón.

Our failures to replicate Mondragón suggest that worker owned coops and democratic workplaces may lack a wide constituency in this and other western societies, and that, to create a more-than-marginal democratic economy, we need to incorporate (partner with) other forms of grassroots and community-based approaches: local currencies and time dollar programs, the flexible manufacturing networks of northern Italy, organizations of socially and environmentally responsible enterprises, living wage and anti-sweatshop initiatives, various forms of local self-reliance and self-employment.

SOCIAL AUDITS AND SOCIAL SERVICE COOPS

By Victor Pestoff

One mechanism for promoting good democratic jobs is found in multi-stakeholder organizations or coops. Another mechanism is the process of making annual social audits of an organization's activities. A social audit evaluates the total performance of an organization or co-op, not only in terms of its economic or financial performance, but also in terms of all the major social goals of the organizations. Social audits have been developed and employed by a variety of cooperative movements in Canada, Italy and Spain.

Research in Sweden shows that social service cooperatives enrich the working life and improve the work environment of the staff by providing basic social services, like preschool child care, schooling, handicap care, elderly care and health and medical care. They can also empower the consumers of social services as co-producers of the various services they demand and find vital for their life-styles. They thereby help to generate and/or rejuvenate social capital and to create new bonds and relations of trust between the consumers, workers and financiers of such basic social

Continued on Page 30

services.

AGAINST TAX-FREE ZONES

By Frank Emspak

One striking cause of the job and race segregation is the system of creating tax-free business development zones in industrialized countries. These zones are basically modeled after and seemingly in competition with the maquiladoras and so called free trade zones found in Central America and elsewhere. The assumptions underlying them are the same. They include no responsibility on the part of employers to provide minimum work standards, taxes to the community, or basic democratic rights. Often free access to workers is restricted as these enclaves are considered private property. The job structures are thus the same: low skill, highly repetitive, low capital investment and hence dead end. Thus one mechanism to overcome this model of development is to prevent public funds from being used to support it. This strategy has the advantage of mobilizing a wider community in support of good jobs and against what amounts to public subsidies for sub-standard employers.

The coalition that can be built to impede low road low wage development can also propose a different model, in which the community demands that in return for public financial support employers must operate in accordance with certain standards. These standards could include worker participation in decision making including the design of the work place, meaningful production and quality decisions and the development of training programs that make sense to those who are participating in them.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROLS OVER THE ECONOMY

By Chris Benner

In the context of the divide between vibrant high-tech, high-skill jobs and industries on the one hand and low-paid service sector work on the other, a narrow focus on cooperatives, democratic ownership and democracy in the workplace is unlikely to fundamentally alter the distribution of good and bad jobs in the economy. Let me be clear-I am fully in support of efforts to promote democratic workplaces and cooperative ownership, which can improve working conditions for some people. These efforts are lim-

ited, however, unless they are linked to a broader strategy aimed at creating democratic influence over the structure of jobs in leading economic sectors, raising employment standards for workers in all enterprises (not just cooperatives), and building opportunities to improve people's mobility from low-paid to higher paid career opportunities. Such a strategy requires broad political action, not simply creating democratic firms and workplaces.

One inspiring recent example exists in the heart of the 'new economy', where the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council in Silicon Valley has helped build a broad labor-community coalition aiming to promote more democratic control over the regional economy. At the center of this strategy is the creation of a "Community Economic Blueprint"-a combination of a vision statement and a program of action. The vision statement lays out the goals of creating an economy in which the well being of families and communities are given highest priority. The program of action lays out specific policy and organizing goals in a range of areas, including jobs, health care, housing, education and the environment. The Blueprint is not just a static document, but an active process that has been built over the last five years through a combination of community forums, focus groups, and active campaigns. Details of this initiative are available at their web site (www.atwork.org), and are described along with other 'high-road partnerships', in a recent publication by the Working for America Institute that can be found at this website: http://www.workingforamerica.org/documents/HighRoadReport/highroadreport .htm

SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT IN ITALY

By Alessandro Messina

In some Italian regions, funds have been devoted with the aim of providing immigrants with entrepreneurial tools. The most frequent objective of training and development is to spur the start up of small or medium enterprises (SMEs) led by and employing immigrants. Often this is associated with the idea that, among SMEs, social enterprises represent the best means to promote SMEs' growth. SME development has been promoted as the way to further immigrant integration because such companies are labor intensive, have low financial capital needs, face simplified rules and have lower fiscal requirements. These assumptions seem at least superficial. They fail because they do not take into account that the birth and consolidation of social enterpris-

es (in the form of cooperatives, associations or social cooperatives) often requires social cohesion and an already developed economy. In contrast, immigrants have escaped from less developed regions with little social cohesion.

REAPPROPRIATE PROFITS IN HIGH TECH

By Phyl Speser

Disadvantaged communities and cooperatives may benefit from closer integration to high tech regions, but high tech is not necessarily high quality work, even for professionals. Alternative institutions have a vital role to play in forging a new synthesis over what it means to "work" and what "pay" means. The bottom line is that high-tech requires return-oninvestment (how else can we pay for the tech) and that requires generating high value during work. Generating greater value through greater human happiness is the real challenge. If the goal is not highest wages but decent wages, we must look at reappropriating the surplus profit high tech can generate in new ways (e.g., 32 hour work weeks rather than 48 hour ones, spreading work over many, employee determined civic participation/corporate contributions, investment in progressive tech development pools, etc.).

CRAFT UNION COOPERATIVES ADDRESS DISCRIMINATION IN LOS ANGELES

By Norman Hill and Christopher Mackin

In the fall of 1991 African-American union bricklayers in the City of Los Angeles approached their union leadership with a problem. These workers were not obtaining their fair share of work opportunities from area employers. It was estimated that these workers were obtaining only 40% of the employment opportunities when compared with white and Hispanic workers. Efforts to combat these problems through both diplomatic outreach and even litigation directed toward area employers had not yielded results. New approaches were called for that would result in the immediate placement of these skilled but underemployed workers in the Los Angeles construction marketplace.

Research into the ownership patterns of the masonry construction industry strongly suggested an important but often overlooked cause of employment discrimination. Out of 144 signatory union contractors in the masonry industry of

southern California, ten (10) firms were found to be owned by Hispanics, one hundred and thirty-four (134) by whites, and zero (0) by African-Americans. While continued efforts to persuade these employers to change their hiring practices was stressed, it was concluded that what was also needed was a direct, entrepreneurial effort to inject minority and primarily African-American ownership into the southern California masonry construction industry.

At the urging of the International Union these workers turned to the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, (APREF) of Washington, D.C. an independent, 501(c)3 non-profit organization for help with an ownership solution. After seven years of organizing and fundraising efforts culminating in an enabling grant from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation of Flint, MI and a more recent grant from the Tides Foundation a pilot enterprise, named APR Masonry Arts Corporation was launched in August of 1998. Individual workers have made "at-risk" investments of \$5,000 per person in the business. Current construction projects include a medical building at the Los Angeles Zoo and a Boy's and Girls Club in the Watts neighborhood.

The success of this pilot enterprise in Los Angeles will help accomplish five objectives that can reduce discrimination faced by minority workers.

First, it will provide employment opportunities for up to thirty (30) primarily minority construction workers currently either unemployed or underemployed in the southern California masonry construction marketplace.

Second, it will provide entrepreneurial ownership opportunities, at maturity, for between 10-15 workers prepared to make "at-risk" stock ownership investments in the enterprise.

Third, by virtue of its entry into a marketplace presently without African-American ownership, the pilot enterprise, APR Masonry Arts, will help to create a much needed diversity of employers in the Los Angeles marketplace, helping to fulfill widely agreed upon affirmative action objectives.

Fourth, it will open up opportunities for younger minority construction workers, exposing them to all facets of the construction business, therefore encouraging the next generation of minority entrepreneurs. This project also presents minority youth considering a construction career with a new "rung" on their construction career ladder. They can

now potentially move from apprentice, to journeyman/woman, to employee-owner of their own enterprise.

Fifth, this pilot enterprise can serve as an example of selfreliance and empowerment for minorities in other industries and areas. The enterprise will not just benefit the Los Angeles community. It will also have a wider impact as a model for development of future enterprises in other cities and other crafts throughout the country

Area employers and African-American construction workers throughout southern California have taken note of this novel approach to combating employment discrimination. Further replication of this project in other trades and in other cities is under consideration.

COMMUNITY MARKET IN BUFFALO, NY

By Curtis Haynes, Jr.

There has been great community-level support for the "Our Market" project in the economically depressed East Side neighborhood of Buffalo, NY. People wanted food, and they liked the idea of owning a super market. The direct action of community members and supporters, as individuals, through block clubs and various other communitybased and community service organizations, identified and galvanized support. The major mobilization and information dissemination came during the yearly Juneteenth Fesitivals, the Harvest Festival, door to door canvassing, and weekly open meetings of the Steering Committee which eventually became the Board of Directors of "Our Market." All labor was volunteered, with various professionals, providing services at below market value. These service professionals included architects, accountants, lawyers, college professors, marketers and others. The center of operations for the project was a local church, within one block of the proposed site for "Our Market."

Community members signed 3,000-4,000 support certificates and 10% paid a membership fee of \$25. This money went into an escrow account, created by the "Our Market" steering committee. Operating expenses for the group were covered by donated resources. Donations ranged from pennies to \$10,000. A business plan was written, a supplier identified, and "Our Market" was incorporated as a cooperative corporation. Financing through municipal bonds was to be the major method of capital support for the \$4.5 mil-

lion turnkey project.

The necessary political support was lacking, however. Professional financial support was lacking because the project did not have an obvious or familiar management structure. The "Our Market" board of directors and their supporters did the work. There were no paid professional managers on board. It was a "Catch 22" situation. Even though the level of grass roots volunteer labor was significant, an effective management team was not created from within.

Eventually, the anemic support (and in some cases opposition) by politicians and financiers led to the demise of the project. A police station was built on the proposed site. People are still talking about the need for a supermarket.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO WORKER COOPS: THE ICA GROUP

By Christina A. Clamp

The ICA Group operates nationally as a provider of technical assistance to worker cooperatives and also as a developer of new firms. It has developed a successful model for democratic stock ownership. The ICA Group focuses on sectoral interventions and typically works with a local project partner such as a community development corporation, a labor union or a church. A sectoral strategy seeks to impact the quality of employment and the compensation of workers in low wage, entry-level occupations. These efforts have been targeted to three service sectors: health care, staffing companies; and childcare.

Intervention in the staffing services sector has sought to develop worker-owned and community-based companies that will provide pathways to full employment for welfare recipients and others in need. The ICA Group has sought to demonstrate a model for socially responsible firms to operate in this sector. Three companies were recently created with the help of ICA: Worksource Staffing Partnership in Boston; FirstSource Staffing in Brooklyn, NY; Enterprising Staffing Services in Washington, DC. In the development of the three firms, the plan has been to create a supportive environment where those employees who do not transition to full employment can increase their skills and share in ownership and control of the company. Given the current job market, the firms have served more as a contracted provider of workforce development and a placement agency.

Constraints on Economic Democracy I

By James DeFillipis

In facing the political and financial constraints on alternative, democratic forms of community economic development, it is important to bear in mind that these constraints are not synonymous, but are, instead, analytically distinct. if often mutually-constituted in practice. Since they most obviously come together in the ideological constraints of funding sources, the logical way to escape from these constraints is to generate alternative funding sources. A simple way to do this is with community owned, or based, enterprises which can generate revenue for other, not profitable activities, like organizing. This strategy has been used very widely within the US, and has had some very visible success stories. Most community development practitioners know the story of Zion Baptist Church in North Philadelphia using congregation-raised funds to develop a shopping center in the area. Another group which has used this strategy quite effectively has been HousingWorks in Manhattan, a gay organization that provides housing and employment for people who are HIV-positive or have AIDS. They own and operate a couple of thrift shops in Chelsea and the West Village, which they use to generate funds and largely liberate themselves from outside funding constraints, so they can continue their political organizing efforts. But community-owned enterprises extend beyond the realms of retail, commercial, and industrial activities, and are just as widespread in finance (in the form of community development credit unions) and housing (in limitedequity housing cooperatives, Mutual Housing Associations, and community land trusts).

But there are several problems with this model that need to be dealt with before it can become a central component of a new community development paradigm. First, in very low-income areas, community-owned retail tends to be a poor revenue generator, and is usually about the provision of needed community amenities (like a supermarket). This is because these areas simply don't have the capital to generate wealth from the retail sector (and it also returns us to economic development 101, with the question of "basic" and "non-basic" components of local economies). The record of collective affordable housing ownership is better (in that the housing is protected from either further disinvestment, or reinvestment in the form of gentrification and displacement), but affordable housing is almost impossible to provide without some continuing subsidies - that's why

the market doesn't provide it, it's just not profitable to do so.

Moving from the financial constraints to the political, the second problem is one of the varied interests of stakeholders. Simply put, workers in an enterprise do not have the same interests as the rest of the community that the enterprise is in, and who will be interacting with it as consumers. So when we say "democratic," or "community-based" we need to be very clear that there are significant questions about which stakeholders are engaged in the decision-making processes, and how much weight is given to the various, and often competing, constituencies. The third problem is one of means becoming confused with ends. That is, we don't want a "movement" of shopkeepers, industrialists, and landlords. Historically, this is largely how the Oweninspired cooperativists lost their political radicalism in 19th century Britain, and how radical "black power" became "black capitalism" became "community development" in the 1970s U.S. Too often the demands of ownership become all consuming and the radical critique which inspired the ownership is either de-prioritized, or worse.

Constraints on Economic Democracy II

By Jonathan Michael Feldman and Jessica Gordon Nembhard

The constraints on cooperatives, like those on SMEs, are economic. The key issue is developing the appropriate scale economies, involving innovations to reduce economic marginality and building inclusive structures. For example, after the recent "riot" in Cincinnati this April, a business executive called for creating a technical center in a local high school, an obvious reference to the digital divide. There are also political barriers and so a link is needed to various economic strategies. New strategies are needed to coordinate campaigns and projects internationally to exploit synergies, political capital, and trade among economic democratic spheres on a larger scale. We presently lack the proper institutions or organizational networks to meet the challenges before us, but we have the resources to create them.

In our research on this topic, Feldman has written about the need to develop international franchise cooperatives and

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LETTERS

For A Planners Network That Networks for Better Planning in our Cities

By Billie Bramhall

s a long time city planner and a long time member of the American Planning Association (APA), the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (NAHRO) the Planners Network and Planners for Equal opportunity before that, I have a few things to say to our readers about the absolute necessity for the Planner's Network newsletter to focus on the importance of working in and influencing mainstream city planning.

Community-based planning has been progressing since the 1970s, and began in the late 1950s with Paul Davidoff's strong belief in advocacy-based planning. As a student of Paul's I learned about working with constituent groups, listening to them and working to equalize the opportunity of powerless constituents to be heard by city planners. It has also been my privilege to work in planning with Norman Krumholz, to hear Chester Hartman talk to planners about his work and to meet Ken Reardon in charrettes in East St. Louis.

In the 1960s, many city planners worked tirelessly for a kinder, gentler urban renewal program in American cities, for meaningful citizen participation and against wholesale demolition of old neighborhoods, many with historic old buildings and irreplaceable character. We worked to prevent the displacement of poor and minority residents and small local businesses to make way for luxury housing, upscale downtown development, university expansion and highways. For the most part we lost those battles.

In the 70s and 80s, new young reform mayors were elected in cities like Cleveland, Denver, Pittsburgh and New York, giving young progressive planners an opportunity to promote programs in neighborhood planning and economic development planning and make citizen participation real. Activist groups began to organize to bring equity to the divi-

sion of capital improvement funds and city services within cities. Comprehensive planning began to recognize the importance of constituent buy--ins and citizen priorities. These have now become routine programs in planning in many cities.

The programs at national ASPO and then APA and AICP meetings began to reflect these changes, the planning profession to take these concerns seriously. As a result of the concerns of progressive city planners and the activism of groups like MOPS and Acorn, and neighborhood organizations in cities across the country, laws and regulations changed nationally, and new processes were instituted by the Department of Transportation, HUD and the EPA. Complex studies and citizen-involved decision-making are now required before neighborhoods can be wiped out, polluted or displaced –and the worst doesn't always happen any more. These have been exciting times in constituent-organizing and in city planning.

When the Planners Network began I hoped it would become a forum and network for the exchange of experiences and ideas about how best to continue and expand these opportunities in city planning departments and city governments. Instead I am disturbed to find that most of the Planners Network articles are about issues and organizations (many interesting ones) over which we as planners can have little impact or control. For example, the lead articles in the Planners Network over the last year that do not help us in our local planning work include "Strategic Planning and Urban Competition - The Agenda of Multilateral Agencies in Brazil"; "Insurgent Planning Globalization Local Democracy - Mexico's Pioneer Experiences in Participatory Planning", "What Planners Don't Know About Food", "Race and Waste Options for Equity Planning in New York City", "Queers and Planning", articles about South Africa, Sao Paolo, Australia and the Olympics, and Israel and the Middle East.

There are many other publications that appropriately educate us about important issues such as globalization and homophobia, and I choose which ones to read. However, I want our Planners Network to really be a network by informing us about what is going on in the cutting edge of cities in city planning. How to make zoning work for poor neighborhoods; how to bring affordable housing and economic development into our cities; how to get meaningful citizen participation from the poorest citizens, new immigrants and minorities; how to meet the housing and health needs of gay residents;

how to save low income neighborhoods and improve the quality of life for their residents. What are the pros and cons of gentrification?

Then progressive planners could use that knowledge in our work on the ground and, where possible transform reality. I spent many hours in my planning work assembling a list of planners in other cities who shared my values and could help me figure out new programs to address the needs in my city – especially helpful was Oliver Byrum in Minneapolis, colleagues in Seattle, Portland, Oregon and San Francisco. And yes, even for a westerner, Portland, Maine, Baltimore and Pittsburgh. Why can't Planners Network play that role and become a real Planners Network?

Leave the broad scholarly issues to be addressed elsewhere as *Planning* magazine leaves many issues to the *Journal of the American Planning Association*. I would like to see employment listings within city government, as well as non-profit organizations and more articles like "Community-based Planning in New York" (May-June issue).

By the same token, I would like to urge young activist, progressive planners to seek mainstream employment in city planning agencies, and to work within those agencies over the long haul to continue to change the programs, policies and culture of their cities, to make them more responsive to the needs of all citizens and especially the less powerful groups Paul Davidoff urged us to advocate for. We need to help our cities to:

- increase their ability to house low income residents;
 provide a decent quality of life for all its citizens in decent,
 attractive neighborhoods with parks, schools, health care and
 other public services;
- give all neighborhoods, not just the wealthiest, access to retail services such as grocery stores, dry cleaners, hardware stores and other conveniences many of them small and local; asssure employment opportunities and/or convenient transportation to employment centers;
- guard against environmental pollution generally, and especially in low income neighborhoods;
- · work for sustainable development solutions, where appropriate; and

 \cdot design public/civic spaces that lend themselves to peaceful celebratory crime-free uses.

As non-profit activist organizations in our communities work to improve our cities, I would like to urge young planners to become knowledgeable about their work and assure that these groups are listened to and responded to within city government.

All of these issues of concern should be discussed in the Planners Network. What an agenda – large and significant! Planners Network needs to tell how-to stories and provide facts and data that help us in our daily work to improve the cities of America – for the working planners and the organizers within city neighborhoods.

The preponderant balance of our articles should help us in our work toward a more equitable quality of life in the cities and towns of the United States. Help us to work better every day to make our cities more democratic, egalitarian, useful and workable for all the residents. I believe that was the original intent of our organization, and to that purpose we should return.

PN's Editorial Policy: Reply to Billie Bramhall

By Tom Angotti, Eve Baron, Ann Forsyth, Kara Heffernan, and Norma Rantisi (PN Editorial Board)

Planners Network is a network—it is what the members make of it. As editors we depend on our members to respond to the call for articles that is in every issue. We were happy to receive Billie Bramhall's thoughtful reflections on the U.S. planning profession's increasing sensitivity to progressive issues and her ideas about how PN can engage with the wider profession and important urban issues. However, as editors of a publication that has been a newsletter and is now becoming a quarterly magazine we take issue with her critique and would like to comment on our editorial stance.

The articles that Billie Bramhall criticizes reflect our attempt to examine planning in a global context and to sensitize planners to different populations and new issues. This is an important role for PN and a key difference between PN and the American Planning Association (APA). Of course, links with APA are important and PN has organized some kind of formal activity at APA conferences since the mid-1990s, including sessions on community development, Canadian planning, and youth. However, APA rarely goes beyond narrow, pragmatic questions that face planners in the U.S. In an effort to solve their own day-to-day problems of practicewhich is certainly an important mission-APA as an organization too often misses the important lessons to be learned from countries throughout the world. This is the kind of parochialism that ill-prepares planners to deal as professionals and citizens with global events such as those we are now confronting. PN has also been internationalizing its membership and now has a sizeable contingent from outside the U.S., particularly from Canada. To focus the newsletter entirely on the U.S. seems inappropriate.

In terms of issues and populations we see the PN organization as a forum for challenging and redrawing the boundaries of mainstream planning. This is an important task that our publication can contribute to and should not be exiled to other magazines.

While pushing the boundaries of U.S. planning practice is an important role for PN, such topics have actually been a small part of the newsletter. We have produced many issues such as this one that are collections of what people send in or have presented at PN conferences. In the past three or four years we have had special issues on such subjects as sustainability, transportation, New York, smart growth, gender, race, immigration, regional planning, and the digital divide. Upcoming topics include new urbanism and youth. These subjects reflect the wide interests of our membership, that range from regulation and community development to technology and the experiences of marginalized populations with/in planning.

PN members are an outspoken bunch. We can't publish everything that we receive, and regularly need to edit the length of articles that we do publish. As much as Billie Bramhall wants more articles on mainstream planning in the U.S., we have others who just in the past months have complained vigorously to the editors that we have not focused enough attention on the very topics that she criticizes. We strive to remain a forum that gives voice to ideas and topics that would not otherwise get attention in mainstream circles. This may preclude discussion of some topics but will hope-

fully encourage dialogue in new areas and new ways of looking at the traditional topics of planning.

We are happy that people think that the content of PN is worth arguing about. Perhaps this is a result of our growth from a chatty newsletter to a forum for discussion and debate. A few years ago we had to struggle to get a few articles in every issue and now we have authors with diverse experiences and viewpoints anxious to appear in PN. Progressive planners are not of one mind, and we hope our publication will continue to give voice to a range of views, particularly those that are not welcome by mainstream publications because of their focus on issues of economic and social justice.

Feldman & Nembhard/Continued from Page 33

Nembhard has written about how democratic and cooperative economic development, especially in African American communities, provide important strategies for wealth creation and urban revitalization. She has also explored ways in which the Mondragón model has relevance for development within African American and other underserved communities. The discussions in this special issue along with some of our other work will be published in a forthcoming special report published by the Partnership for Multiethnic Inclusion based at Umeå University, Umeå Sweden, and available through that University (for through the Democracy European readers) and Collaborative at the University of Maryland, College Park (for American readers) [to order, see information provided below].

This special section on Economic Cooperatives and Alternative Economics was supported by the Centre for Ethnic and Urban Studies, Work and Culture Program, National Institute for Working Life, Norrköping, Sweden and the Preamble Center, Washington, D.C., U.S..

An expanded version of the economics discussion was published in the June 2001, Number 47 issue of the Grassroots Economic Organizing newsletter, GEO, 177 Kiles Road, Stillwater, PA 17878, U.S., Phone contact: 1-800-240-9721; Email: wadew@epix.net.

An expanded version of all of the discussions and associated papers related to this volume by Jonathan Michael Feldman and Jessica Gordon Nembhard will be published by the Partnership for Multiethnic Inclusion (PfMI) whose reports are distributed by Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden.

For American readers, distribution of this publication will be available through: The Democracy Collaborative, Attention: Jessica Gordon Nembhard, 1241 Tawes Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742, U.S.. Phone: (301) 405-9266. Fax: (301) 314-2533.



Sustainable Development Plan for Vieques

By the Committee for the Rescue & Development of Vieques

This was sent to us by Liliana Cotto, long-time advocate of participatory planning, friend of Planners Network and a leader in developing the Sustainable Development Plan for Vieques.

n August 15, the Professional and Technical Support Group (PTSG) for Vieques presented its study, Guidelines from Sustainable Development on Vieques to local officials and civic groups. The PTSG was formed in July of 1999 as an initiative of the Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques (CRDV), with the support of the group, National Consensus.

In the months following the death of protester David Sanes (April 19, 1999), while an intense program of civil disobedience developed with the establishment of camps in the bombing area (the protest), members of the CRDV simultaneously began to work on the issue of social and economic development of a Free Vieques. Planner José "Tato" Rivera Santana took on the responsibility as liaison between the CRDV and a growing number of Puerto Rican professionals eager to work on the development issue. Dr. Liliana Cotto, architect/planner Edwin Quiles, and Dr. Juan Fernández, the present Special Commissioner for Vieques, among other members of the National Consensus group, also expressed great interest in the topic. In July of 1999, the CRDV held a press conference to officially announce the creation of the professional and technical group to support the sustainable development of Vieques.

During two years of continuous work, both on the main island of Puerto Rico and in Vieques, members of the PTSG prepared two volumes of Guidelines for the Sustainable Development of Vieques. The following describe the nature of this community project, whose goal is to help assure that a Vieques freed from the Navy will be a Vieques for the citi-

zens of Vieques.

The development of a participatory citizenry was and is a principal and essential component of the Guidelines because it was a clear and firm petition of people in Vieques. The recommendations are aimed at guaranteeing the continuity and widening of the participatory process and the search for consensus that has begun in Vieques.

Democratic planning has to be participatory and an integrated planning should also be multi- and inter-disciplinary. What guides these proposals is the idea that the community should participate in the planning process. However, this does not occur spontaneously. We must develop strategies that make it possible for the citizenry to be part of the decision making process.

We recommend that government and community organizations incorporate strategies that are democratic, communitarian, sustainable, educational and built on consensus. These strategies should be used in the planning process not only in Vieques but all the municipalities of the country.

The Committee for the Recovery and Development of Vieques is very proud to be part of this historic project of building community and social empowerment that our Professional and Technical Support Group has helped to create at this special time of valor and sacrifice in the search for peace for Vieques, peace for Puerto Rico and peace for the world.

The Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques is located at P.O. Box 1424 Vieques, Puerto Rico 00765 Telefax: 787-741-0716 Email: bieke@coqui.net

FREE VIEQUES!

Write to our prisoners for peace on Vieques at info.onviequeslibre.org

En el océano del desamparo, se alzan las islas del privilegio. Son lujosos campos de concentración, donde los poderosos sólo se encuentran con los poderosos y jamáspueden olvidar, ni por un ratito, que son poderosos. En algunas de las grandes ciudades latinoamericanas, los secuestros se han hecho costumbre, y los niños ricos crecen encerrados dentro de la burbuja del miedo.

-- Eduardo Galeano, Patas Arriba

Seventh Generation/Continued from Page 20

access roads on their land and in their midst. These access roads, exclusively for use by Israeli Jews, have created barriers between Palestinian villages, restrictions on Palestinian movement, and imposed severe limitations on social and economic interaction.

Scarce water resources have been diverted from the support of Palestinian agricultural activities to the watering of lawns in Jewish settlements. Palestinians are routinely refused permission to build or expand housing on their own land. And when, in desperate need of living space, they build without Israeli permission, their homes are summarily demolished by the Israeli authorities, often with little or no notice. It has been the policy of the State of Israel since its founding to limit the places where Palestinians may live and to restrict the space within which their communities may grow, both within Israel and in the Occupied Territories.

These blatant violations of human rights by the Israeli government have continued, unabated during the entire period of Israeli occupation, and have been methodically documented and repeatedly condemned by the United Nations, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, the Center for Economic and Social Rights, Physicians for Human Rights, and B'tselem, The Israel Information Center for Human Rights, among others.

President Bush, in his address to Congress, asked the same rhetorical question, "Why do they hate us?" and basically gave the same self-serving and evasive answer: "They're jealous of our freedom and our way of life!"

Dick Platkin:

Whatever public reasons are offered to justify a major U.S. military adventure in the Middle East or in nearby areas, such as Afghanistan or the Sudan, the real agenda is oil. This is where the bulk of the most essential natural resource for modern industrial economies, as well as the greatest source of profit for some of the world's largest and most politically influential corporations, such Mobil-Exxon, BP, Shell, etc. is found. The U.S. can call it a war against terrorism, a war of liberation (of the Kuwaiti Royal family), a war to oppose ethnic cleansing or of humanistic assistance (Kosovo), or whatever, but it still is about international and local control over lucrative oil and gas fields in the Persian Gulf and Caspian Sea areas, as well as the pipe line routes to get the oil and gas out.

The Mujahadeen, some of whom are now the Taliban and bin Ladin groups of Afghanistan, did not fall off a turnip truck. They were methodically developed by the U.S., through the CIA, with much Pakistani help, throughout the 1980s to oppose the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In fact, I read in the LA Times that the U.S. support, financial and diplomatic, for the Taliban continued through 1998 because the U.S. government wanted to secure an oil pipe line route through Afghanistan for UNOCAL, to avoid the more logical and shorter Iranian route. Bin Ladin's group also grew out of the same CIA operations. He was a major CIA asset for building up the Islamic opposition to the Soviet Union.

Michael Moore:

Bush keeps calling what we are in "a war." Has anyone told him that the more he keeps using this word, the more he puts us in jeopardy? A "war" implies that two sides are participating in an action to kill as many of the other side as possible. Bush and the pundits use the word like it's a one-sided deal, like we're going to be the only ones doing the bombing. War means we bomb them, then they bomb us. That's what war is, you idiots. We strafe Afghanistan, then the terrorists drop a canister of chemical weapons in the New York subway. We send in a group of commandos and wipe out a camp of Muslims, they take out the Sears Tower. All of you who are screaming for war: are you prepared to pay the price, to take thousands of more casualties?

Because, my big, macho-talking friends, that is what this kind of war would be like. America is a complex and open society with a massive and intricate infrastructure that is fragile and vulnerable and susceptible to easy attack and disruption. It can be brought down with a box cutter.... Nearly a week with no stock market, no commercial television, no professional sports, three days with no planes in the air (for the first time since 1911), no airports open, the country essentially shut down. A week later and the phone lines still don't all work. A boxcutter, folks! Do not be misled into thinking he with the biggest missile is going to win this "war." We will never be able to protect all of us from this kind of terrorism. Back and forth, more buildings bombed, more planes downed, more innocent American lives lost.

Eduardo Galeano:

In the struggle between Good and Evil, the people are always the ones to die.

The terrorists killed workers from fifty countries, in New

York and Washington, in the name of Good against Evil. And in the name of Good against Evil President Bush swears vengeance. He proclaims "We will eliminate Evil from this world."

Eliminate Evil? What would Good be without Evil? It's not only religious fanatics that need enemies to justify their insanity. The arms industry and the gigantic military apparatus of the United Sates need enemies. Good and bad, bad and good--the actors change masks. Heroes become monsters and monsters heroes, depending on who writes the script.

There is a lot in common between low tech and high tech terrorism, religious and market fundamentalists, the desperate and the powerful, the stray lunatics and those in professional uniform. They all share the same disdain for human life: those who murdered the 5,500 citizens who were mashed in the rubble of the Twin Towers, that collapsed like dry sand castles, and those who murdered the 200,000 Guatemalans, mostly indigenous people, who were exterminated without the slightest mention on the TV and in the newspapers around the world. The Guatemalans weren't slaughtered by a Muslim fanatic but by military terrorists who received "support, financing and inspiration" from successive governments of the United States.

A tragedy of errors. It's not clear who is who. The smoke from the explosions is part of a much larger smoke screen that keeps us from seeing. From vengeance to vengeance, terrorists make us walk to the tombs. I see a recently published picture on a wall in New York where someone wrote, "An eye for an eye leaves everyone blind."

The spiral of violence engenders violence and also confusion: pain, fear, intolerance, hate and madness. In Porto Alegre at the beginning of the year, an Algerian, Ahmed Ben Bella, warned, "This system that made the cows mad is making the people mad." And the crazy people, mad with hatred, act just like the power that gave rise to them.

Though Palestinians make up more than 19 percent of the population [of Israel], they receive only 4 percent of the national development budget. That translates into only 3.6 percent of the budget for housing, 3.1 percent for education, and 2.7 percent for infrastructure. The ten communities in Israel with the highest unemployment rate are Palestinian, and 40 percent of Arab families in Israel live below the poverty line.

-- Alisa Soloman, The Village Voice, Sept. 11, 2001

New Book by PNers

Peter Dreier, John Mollenkopf, and Todd Swanstrom announce their new book, Place Matters: Metropolitics for the Twenty-First Century (University Press of Kansas, 2001).

In this volume we argue that economic segregation between rich and poor and the growing sprawl of American cities have profound costs that are often overlooked. Segregation and sprawl are not primarily the result of individual choices in free markets, but have been powerfully shaped by short-sighted government policies. The book proposes a concrete series of federal and state policies to level the playing field of metropolitan development. The last chapter examines the political forces that are behind present policies and shows how a new coalition could be assembled to support a progressive metropolitics for the 21st century.

Available for \$15.95 in paperback, more information about the book, plus an order form, can be obtained at:

http://www.kansaspress.ku.edu/drepla.html.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Virginia

Department of Urban Affairs and Planning is seeking to fill four faculty positions. Two are at the Blacksburg campus (environmental planning or policy and community development planning, social policy, or gender and diversity issues in planning). Two are at the Washington-Alexandria Center (land use planning, growth management, transportation, environmental planning, or information technology in planning). For more detailed descriptions of the positions and application requirements please see our website: http://www.uap.vt.edu. To be assured of consideration, applications should be received by December 1, 2001.

RESOURCES

Resources Editor: Eve Baron

Papers/Grants/Awards

The Foundation Center offers information on foundations, corporate giving, and related subjects. Free information is offered to the public at the center's New York office. Visit 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10003 or http://fdncenter.org/newyork/.

USDA has grant funds for public entities, nonprofits and tribal governments to develop essential community facilities in rural places with extremely high unemployment and severe economic depression. Applications are accepted until funds are exhausted. For information, contact a state or local Rural Development office.

Prudential Foundation has announced that it will award grants under its new Ready to Work programs in the communities where it has a major presence (Atlanta, Houston, Jacksonvillle, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and Philadelphia). For application and guidelines: www.prudential.com/community/foundation/cmfzz1000.html.

The Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law and Policy seeks multidisciplinary submissions from practitioners and academics, as well as personal accounts from the streets. To submit materials or subscribe to the journal, contact ljc@law.georgetown.edu.

Nominations are being accepted for the 2002 Albert Schweitzer Prize for Humanitarianism The award is given by the

Humanitarianism. The award is given by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation to recognize exemplary contributions to humanity, the environment, or both and carries a \$15,000 award. For a printable nomination form, visit alumni.jhu.edu/giving/schweitzer_prize.html.

The American Society of Consulting

Planners has formed a task force to study the issue of Qualifications-Based Selection (QSB), the premise that consultants should be chosen on their ability to perform the tasks of a scope efficiently and professionally, not on the basis of lowest bid. The new task force will be developing a plan to make QBS the preferred means of procuring planning services. Interested par-

ties can become involved by visiting www.state.in.us/qbs.

AICP and ACSP announce the third annual AICP/ACSP Collaborative Projects Symposium. The purpose of the program is to showcase and recognize exemplary planning projects done in collaboration between academics and practitioners. For more information, visit www.planning.org/abtaicp/2002collsymp.html.

Events

October 6-9. The Community Food Security Coalition's Fifth Annual Conference, "Taking Back the Food System: Strategies for Healthy Food, Farms, and Communities, in Washington, D.C. Visit www.foodsecurity.org.

October 7-10. NAHRO's 2001 National Conference and Exhibition: "Connecting People and Places: Building Communities 2001," in Nashville, TN. Contact nahro@nahro.org.

October 17-21. The National Congress for Community Economic Development is hosting its annual conference, "Wealth: People, Organizations, and Communities," in Pittsburgh, PA. Visit www.ncced.org.

October 18-20. Employee-Owner Leadership Development Retreat. Coordinated by the Ohio Employee Ownership Center. For information, visit www.kent.edu/oeoc.

October 21-23. The Neighborhood Preservation Coalition is hosting its 14th annual conference, "14th Annual Affordable Housing Conference and Membership Meeting," in Albany, NY. Call 518/432-6757.

November 1-3. The 11th Annual Education Trust National Conference, Washington, D.C. Contac The Trust, 1725 K Street NW, #200, Washington, D.C., or call 201/293-1217.

November 8-9. "Working Landscapes in the Midwest: Creating Sustainable Futures for Agriculture, Forestry, and Communities," at Lake Lawn Resort in Delavan, WI. For more

information on program and registration, visit www.workinglandscapes.org or email wlinfo@iatp.org or call Marin @ 612/870-3436.

November 12-14. The American Farmland Trust's national conference, "Farming on the Edge: Conservation, Community, and Commerce," will be held in St. Charles, IL. Visit www.farmland.org.

March 4-8. 32nd International Making Cities Livable Conference, "The Crisis of the Modern City" in Carmel, California. Abstracts due October 30. For information call 831-626-9080 or visit www.livablecities.org.

Jobs

CALIFORNIA

The Center for Community Change seeks a staff person to work on all aspects of providing information and technical assistance to agencies and organizations working to create and implement city, county, or state housing trust funds. Requires experience in community development, public policy, and strong communications and computer skills. Send resume to Mary Brooks, Center for Community Change, 1113 Cougar Court, Frazier Park, CA 93225.

Link Research, a free web service allowing nonprofits and public agencies to post research projects for university-based researchers to conduct is hiring an **Executive Director**. Send resume to The Management Center, 870 Market Street, #360, San Francisco, CA 94102 or esims@tmcenter.org.

California ACORN is hiring Grassroots Organizers in Los Angeles, Oakland, San Diego, San Jose, Stockton, and Sacramento, as well as in other western states. Issues are raising the minimum wage, funding youth and after-school programs, empowerment of renters, ending predatory lending practices, and more. Call 888/918-8818 or contact caacornsaro@acorn.org.

Occidental College, Department of Politics invites applications for a tenure-track position, beginning Fall 2002. Applicants should be prepared to teach a combination of courses in American Institutions/Politics and in Law. We encourage candidates who have an interest in teaching such American Institutions/Politics courses as Mass Media, Elections and Voting, Congress, the Presidency, Interest Groups, and Elites; and such Lawrelated courses as Constitutional Law, Human

Rights, Criminal Justice, Discrimination, and Immigration. We prefer candidates who will have completed the Ph.D. or law degree by the Fall 2002, although we will consider candidates who are very close to completing the Ph.D. Experience in teaching undergraduates is preferred. Women and minority candidates, And candidates with practical experience in politics and/or law, are strongly encouraged to apply. Candidates should send cover letter, current curriculum vitae, and three letters of recommendation to Professor Peter Dreier, Urban and Environmental Policy Institute, Occidental College, 1600 Campus Road, Los Angeles, CA 90041 before November 30, 2001. Applications can also besubmitted by email to Professor Peter Dreier c/o Sylvia Chico at schico@oxy.edu by the November 30 deadline.

<u>Georgia</u>

The Federal Home Loan Bank of Atlanta seeks an Economic Development Specialist to assist members. Requires Bachelor's degree, five years' community economic development experience, knowledge of public and private funding sources, strong communications skills. Send resume, cover letter, and salary requirements to The Federal Home Loan Bank of Atlanta, P.O. Box 105565, Atlanta, GA or contact cgrasser@fhlbatl.com.

NEW JERSEY

Shelterforce, the Journal of Affordable Housing and Community Building, seeks an **Editor** to plan issues, recruit writers, make assignments, edit copy, oversee design and production. Fresh ideas, congeniality, a progressive but non-dogmatic outlook, and familiarity with community development/organizing are pluses.

Resume/samples to: NHI, 439 Main St., Orange, NJ 07050, or e-mail nhi@nhi.org.

VIP community services, a multi-service community based behavioral health organization, has a portfolio of low & moderate income rental properties. We have an immediate opening for a Housing Development Coordinator to assist in the identification and acquisition of properties or sites for new projects. Conduct zoning and feasibility analysis of projects including projects for long-term financial viability. Coordinate the preparation of funding & subsidy applications for proposed or existing projects. Develop strategies for expanding the role of the agency as developer and owner of housing. Report directly to president of the company. Salary commensurate with experience. Requirements: graduate degree in planning, architecture, real estate or business, two years experience in real estate or related field.

Excellent analytical, interpersonal & communications skills. VIP is an equal opportunity employer. We offer a competitive benefits package which includes health insurance, pension, & more. Pleas fax: 718-299-1386.

NEW YORK

The South Bronx Overall Economic Development Corporation seeks a **Director of Commercial Revitalization** to strengthen urban neighborhoods through the revitalization of local shopping districts. Requires Bachelors degree in Business or Economic Development and excellent communications skills. Email cover letter and resume to khill@sobro.org.

Reporting to the Executive Director (E/D), and working in collaboration with the Board of Directors, the senior staff, funding sources, government agencies and local community leaders, the Director of Housing Development will conceptualize, establish, plan, implement, and manage the housing development agenda of Common Ground Community. The Director will develop additional permanent housing facilities based on Common Ground's successful projects, and create and implement new programs serving subpopulations of the homeless and low-income households. S\he will secure project financing; and oversee and manage the work of consultants. Candidates should have Masters degree and five years comparable experience with knowledge of low income housing financing. Cover letter and resume with salary requirements to Director, Human Resources, CGC, 14 East 28 Street, NY, NY 10016.

Gallatin School of Individualized Study seeks an experienced Teacher/Scholar with a record of excellence in learning formats that link the classroom and the community: experiential education, action research, internships, service learning, filed study. This new faculty member will: create and teach courses and projects that connect theoretical inquiry with activity in community settings; help other faculty member integrate experiential components into their courses; develop partnerships between Gallatin and community-based organizations; advise students. The successful candidate may have (inter) disciplinary or professional training in any number of social sciences and/or professions; she or he must also have significant experience in community-based learning programs, as well in college-level teaching; experience in community organizing or grassroots activism, particularly in communities of color, is desirable. A record of research and publication is also an asset. Qualifications: Ph.D. or equivalent; commitment to non-traditional education, especially advising and mentoring; excellent teaching skills, including at the post-secondary level; ability to develop innovative courses and projects; high-quality scholarships. We are committed to enlarging the diversity of voices in our community. Rank is open, pending budgetary approval. Send letter of application and cv to: Chair, Faculty Search Committee, Gallatin School of Individualized Study, New York University, 715 Broadway, New York, NY 10003. Review of applications is continuing into the Fall 2001. Visit www.nyu.edu/gallatin.

City Project, a progressive nonprofit research, education, technical assistance and advocacy organization in New York City, seeks highly motivated individual to be Executive Director. City Project analyzes the City's budget, educates the public about the City's budget and fiscal condition and its delivery of services, provides technical assistance to nonprofits, and advocates for equity and social justice. Extensive experience with New York City, its neighborhoods, and its political structure required. Demonstrate knowledge of fiscal and policy analysis, and able to reach out and bring a wide spectrum of New Yorkers together in common projects, write clearly, and raise money. Graduate degree preferred. Salary competitive. Send resume and writing sample to: Gregg Walker, Chair, Search Committee, City Project, 350 Broadway, Suite 525, New York, NY 10013.

The North Star Fund, a progressive foundation which supports community organizations and social change in NYC, seeks a full-time **Program Associate** to coordinate our Community Funding Board and grantmaking programs. Experience with community organizations, writing and computer skills are necessary. Candidate should have political perspective compatible with our progressive mission. Salary \$28-32K and generous benefits. Please send cover letter, resumé, two writing samples, three references to: North Star Fund, 305 7th Ave., NY NY 10001. People of color, lesbians and gay men are encouraged to apply.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Mickey Leland-Bill Emerson Hunger Fellows Program-Congressional Hunger Center is hiring a **Program Director**. Salary is \$45,000+. Contact staj@hungercenter.org.

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops seeks a **Policy Advisor** to coordinate issues related to agriculture and rural life, environmental justice, criminal justice, and the death penalty. Requires Bachelor's degree, five

Resources

years' work experience in related field, excellent communications skills, and knowledge of the Catholic faith. Send cover letter, resume, and salary requirements to Office of Human Resources, United States Catholic Conference, 3211 Fourth Street, NE, Washington, D.C. 20017-1194 or fax 2020541-3412.

National Council of La Raza seeks an Immigration Policy Analyst to be responsible for day-to-day decision-making and management of NCLR activity on immigration issues. Requires advanced degree, research and analytical skills, and experience in immigration policy implementation. Send cover letter, resume and writing sample to National Council of La Raza, 1111 19th Street, NW, Suite 1000, Washington, D.C. 20036, attn: Concepcion Elizabeth Romero.

Publications

Seymour Melman calls attention to three important books about Mondragón. Greg MacLeod, a Catholic priest in Nova Scotia who visited and studied the Mondragón development, wrote From Mondragón to America: Experiments in Community Development (Sydney, Nova Scotia: University College of Cape Breton, 1997). Jose Maria Ormaechea one of the five founders of Mondragon has written the book The Mondragón Cooperative Experience (Mondragon Cooperative Cooperation: 1993). William Foote and Kathleen King Whyte wrote Making Mondragón: The Growth and Dynamics of the Worker Cooperative Complex (Ithaca, New York: ILR Press, 1988). The second of these books is available at this site that also has further details about Mondragón: www.mondragon.mcc.es/ ingles/experiencia.html.

Exposing Urban Legends: The Real Purchasing Power of Central City Neighborhoods is a new publication from the Brookings Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy. Visit www.brookings.edu/urban.

Dealing With Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices by Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard is a discussion paper prepared for the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy. Available online at www.brook.edu/urban.

On the Ground with Comprehensive Community Initiatives, a book published by the Enterprise Foundation, profiles comprehensive community initiatives across the country to serve as a resource for community-based organizations working to revitalize their neighborhoods. For information call 410/964-1230 or visit www.enterprisefoundation.org/pubsnews/catalog/cci.asp.

Before and After Reform: How Have Families on Welfare Changed? By Sheila R. Zedlewski and Donald W. Alderson is available free of charge from the Urban Institute. Contact pubs@ui.urban.org.

The Housing Assistance Council's report, Case Studies on Rural Housing and Welfare Reform, highlights welfare reform and affordable housing needs in seven rural counties with high rates of welfare use. Visit www.ruralhome.org.

Planning for All New Yorkers: The Briefing Book, a project of the Community-Based Planning Task Force and the Municipal Art Society Planning Center, contains summaries of community-based plans, complete with maps, graphics and contact information for community organizations. Visit our webpage to view the Briefing Book in pdf format: http://www.mas.org/briefingcontents_files/ briefingcontents.htm. Or, if you would like to add this link or post the briefing book on your community organization's website, email Micaela Birmingham at the Planning Center: micaela@mas.org or call 212 935-3960 x259.

Building on the Past, Traveling to the Future: A Preservationist's Guide to the Federal Transportation Enhancement Provision by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Federal Highway Administration profiles 27 projects in 19 states to demonstrate how TEA-21 provisions can be used to support downtown revitalization and rural landscape preservation projects. For a free copy, email your request to policy@nthp.org.

Websites

The Finance Project/WIN launched a new website on the "digital divide" including local, state, and federal initiatives; events; funding opportunities; and links to other resources and technical assistance for community-based organizations. Visit www.fianceproject.org/digdividehome.htm.

501Click is a new online resource exclusively designed for nonprofits. It offers online information, products, and services designed to save nonprofits time and money. All 501Click services are free of charge to nonprofits. Visit www.501Click.com.

Grassroots Economic Organizing is developing an online clearinghouse where coo-ops and ESOPs can sell their products and services over the Internet. If you have ideas or input to contribute to this work in progress, contact alex@satoridesign.com.

The Community Based Collaborative Research Consortium has a new website with a searchable database of projects and research concerning collaborative approaches to managing environmental resources. Visit www.cbcrc.org.

The LISC Online Resource Library at www.liscnet.org/resources is designed to promote ongoing innovation and success in the comprehensive revitalization of neighborhoods by disseminating lessons learned in the field and providing a forum for exchange among community development experts and practitioners nationwide.

ResourcesZine at

www.planning.org/ResourcesZine helps adults teach young people about planning and about involving youth in planning processes.

JOIN PLANNERS NETWORK

For over 25 years, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning and social justice. PN members in 38 states of the U.S. and 16 other countries receive this bimonthly publication, 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 DC, East St. Louis IL, Brooklyn NY, Pomona CA., Lowell. MA, and Toronto, Canada

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

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

- \$15 for those with incomes under \$25,000, students and unemployed
- \$20 for those outside U.S., Mexico & Canada
- 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 column to right.

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: "Planners Network" and send with membership form to:

Barbara Rahder, Faculty of Environmental Studies York University

Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3

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

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

The PN WEB SITE is at:

www.plannersnetwork.org

The PN LISTSERV:

PN maintains an on-line mailing list for members to post and respond to queries, list job postings, conference announcements, etc. To join, send an email message to

majordomo@list.pratt.edu with "subscribe pn-net" (without the quotes) in the body of the message (not the subject line). You'll be sent instructions on how to

PN ADVERTISING RATES: Full page \$250 Half page \$175 /4 page \$75 /8 page \$40	Send file via email to <pn@pratt.edu>, or mail camera-ready copy, by first day of the first month of the issue (e.g., January 1 for the January/March issue)</pn@pratt.edu>
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Yes! I want to join progressive planners and work towards fundamental change. I'm a renewing member — Keep the faith!	
My contribution is \$ Make checks payable to <i>PLANNERS NETWORK</i> . My credit card is Visa MC Amex Card No Billing address (if different from below)	Exp. date
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INTERNATIONAL MEMBERS: Please send U.S. funds as we are unable to accept payment in another currency. Thanks.

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Economic Cooperatives and Alternative Economics



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Please check the date on your mailing label. If it is JULY 1, 2000 or earlier this will be your last issue unless we your annual dues RIGHT AWAY! See page 43 for minimum dues amounts. And while you're at it send us an UPDATE on what you're doing.

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