

PLANNERS NETWORK

The Magazine of Progressive Planning



Photo by Ann Forsyth

Kentlands, MD

The Narrow Base of the New Urbanists

By Michael Pyatok

New urbanism has been aggressively marketed within the last decade by "boomers" who came of age professionally in the 1990s, disenchanted with the negative physical and social consequences of the sprawl and urban renewal they had witnessed as young professionals educated in the 1960s. Much credit should be bestowed upon them for their ability to rally many architects, reared in a sub-culture of radical individualism, to join a social and environmental cause that transcended the profession's usual pursuit of frivolous fashions.

Unfortunately, this effort emerged from political and social origins that made its members unable to assess the class biases of their own assumptions and prescriptions. While some of

their works demonstrate alternative models that hint at possible larger solutions, members of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) more often choose to serve private developers who co-opt their mission by simply repackaging suburban sprawl in more seductive "urbane" clothing, or public developers who too often trample on the lives of disadvantaged inner city communities. The Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) HOPE VI program exemplifies this latter approach.

It is interesting to note that CNU's founders (who remain its leaders today) share certain characteristics—their ages narrowly range between forty-five and fifty-five, all are white and nearly all are men except for two women architects related by marriage [Cont. on page 4]

SPECIAL ISSUE ON
NEW URBANISM:

CONFORMITY IN
SUBURBAN DESIGN

ENGAGING NEW
URBANISM

PLANNING FOR
NEIGHBORHOOD
REVITALIZATION

URBANISM IN
EUROPE

HOPE VI AND NU IN
CABRINI GREEN

MORE...

The SEVENTH GENERATION

"In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations."
- From the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy

Engaging New Urbanism

By Richard Milgrom

Many progressive planners remain suspicious of new urbanism (NU). While the "movement" has gained plenty of attention in the popular media, we remain concerned that the movement's focus on the built environment masks deeper issues of social equity and power. The simplicity of new urban prescriptions for built form seems to run against the complexity of urban problems.

Within Planners Network (PN) there is a growing discussion about how best to engage with new urbanists. At the 2001 PN Conference held in Rochester, New York, a number of participants discussed how we might focus our concerns. This issue of *Planners Network Magazine* is an attempt to broaden the discussion within the Network. But it has also been timed to coincide with the Congress for the New Urbanism conference in Miami. We are seeking to enter into dialogue with new urbanists, rather than criticize from afar.

In the September 1999 issue of the *Planners Network Newsletter*, contributors raised important questions about new urbanism's regional offspring, "smart growth." Like that of new urbanism, the rhetoric of smart growth is appealing at first blush, suggesting more intense usage of existing infrastructure, less reliance on the automobile and the preservation of open space and agricultural land. It remains to be seen how the benefits will be distributed, however. Faisal Roble noted that smart growth has placed its emphasis on accommodating growth, rather than addressing issues of social justice. Since most governments have given up even the pretext of addressing social inequity, redevelopment is now market driven. So, while smart growth advocates call for the redevelopment of brownfield sites in the center of existing urban

areas, for example, it is unclear how current inner city residents will be able to afford places in the reconfigured urban core. The developers of these rejuvenated inner city sites are rarely subject to regulation or incentivized to provide adequate affordable housing.

Since we last addressed these issues, new urbanism has become even more visible as projects around the continent have come to fruition. The reaction of developers, the public and planners (progressive or otherwise) has been mixed. The articles here represent a range of concerns from Planners Network members and friends focusing on new urbanist projects in urban and suburban areas. They illustrate various points of view, from those actively involved in planning new neighborhoods and designing housing, to those studying the results from academic perspectives. New urbanism is more than such projects—it involves many players from the regional to the local level—however, such projects highlight important tensions within the new urbanist movement.

Mike Pyatok, who has himself designed many innovative housing projects, takes on the class bias that he sees at the core of new urbanist prescriptions. He notes that the diversity present in urban populations is not reflected in the membership of the movement's most vocal advocates and urges them to broaden their base of support. In order to accomplish this diversification of voice, Pyatok suggests that different understandings of urban space might influence the new urbanists' design vocabulary. Bob Shibley's comments parallel some of Pyatok's concerns as he briefly summarizes the main scholarly criticisms directed at new urbanism. Shibley highlights the problems inherent in a nostalgic vision of cities. Like Pyatok, he is concerned that, for new urbanists, discussion about what makes good urban places is closed, that they already know the answers.

[Cont. on page 9]

PLANNERS NETWORK

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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 2,000 words. They should be addressed to PN's broad audience of professionals, activists, students and academics, and be straightforward and jargon-free. Following a journalistic style, the first paragraph should summarize the main ideas in the article. A few suggested readings may be mentioned in the text, but do not submit footnotes or a bibliography. The editors may make minor style changes, but any substantial rewriting or changes will be checked with the author. A photograph or illustration may be included. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. Send to the Editor at tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu or Planners Network, c/o Hunter College Dept of Urban Planning, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021. Fax: 718-636-3709. Deadlines are January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES [Articles welcome]:

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

Pyatok [Cont. from page 1] to two of the men. Also, nearly all are architects. For a movement that has proclaimed itself to be the savior of all things wrong with North American suburban and urban living, this is certainly a narrow base from which to launch such a crusade. This narrow cultural perspective has limited the organization's ability, almost from its inception, to frame issues about and propose solutions for North American development patterns.

The CNU Charter—Whose Principles?

This narrow worldview led to the first major error in judgment of the CNU when a "charter" was prepared without the painstaking and time-consuming process of building a broad-based and diverse coalition that could engage in the messy process of defining first principles. They reached out mostly to other architects, similar in age and race, and to friends of like mind. Had a broad coalition been formed, perhaps such a pretentious charter would not have been concocted in the first place. Perhaps they would have realized that seeking allies in elected positions should not have been their first priority. Perhaps they would have also realized that finding allies in other progressive organizations and from among those engaged in grassroots efforts would have given them not just numbers, but a more sensitive understanding of issues of equity. Instead, they first sought media coverage and

access to power—in politics and real estate—using aggressive publicists like Peter Katz (author of *The New Urbanists*) or planners like Mark Weiss of Henry Cisneros' HUD staff.

As late as 1999, the Association for Community Design (ACD) held its conference simultaneously with the CNU in Portland, OR and reached out to collaborate on some workshops. The CNU ignored ACD, even though ACD is an organization with three times as many years of experience as the CNU in dealing with inner city problems. The National Low Income Housing Coalition, the National Coalition for the Homeless and Planners Network, to name a few, are organizations that have sophisticated political perspectives based on in-the-trenches experience and critical thinking about the shortcomings of capitalism. They understand some of the unseemly implications these shortcomings have on the management and development of our natural and built environments. Yet to this day, efforts to reach out to the CNU are stymied either by the founders' lack of connections to these groups or suspicions on the part of such groups, when asked to affiliate with the CNU, about its starting points.

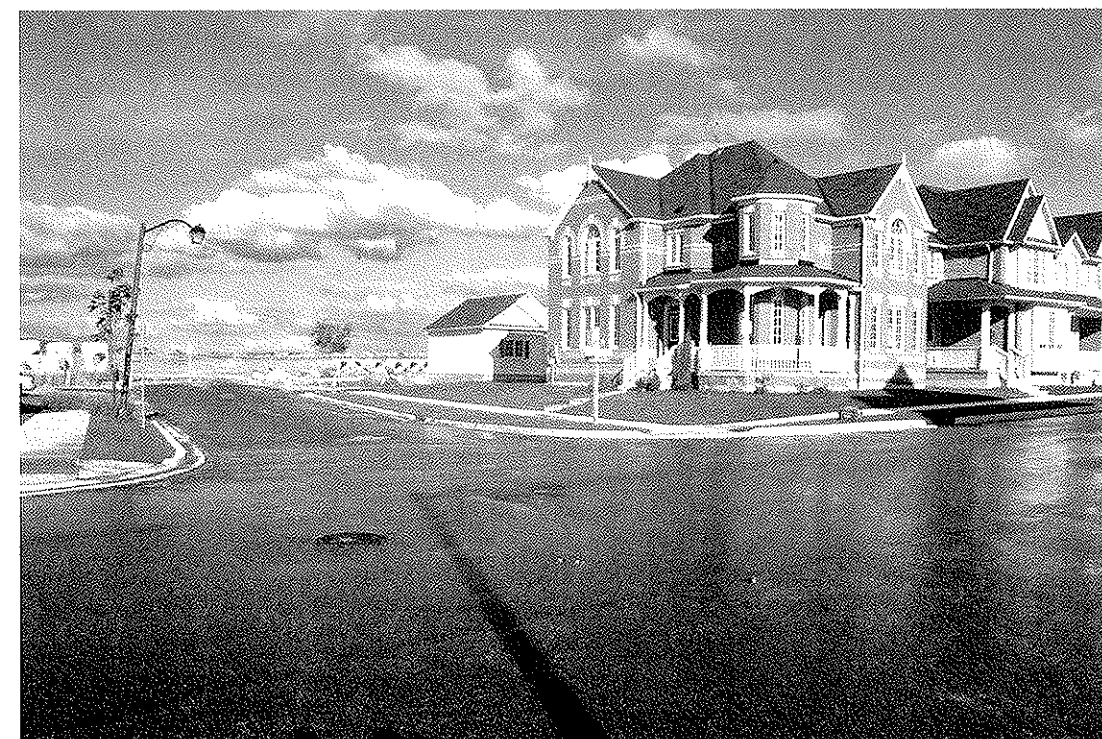
Given their class origins and the limits of their professional training, CNU founders did not congeal around a well-formed critical view of how North America's political, economic and social systems create and foster physical prob-

lems. They sought, understandably, an analysis using the lenses of architecture and physical planning. They focused on the symptoms of these deeper problems as they manifest themselves in the physical environment, and on the immediate policies that shape it, like zoning, fire and building regulations. As a consequence, their charter's principles of environmental justice ring hollow when compared to their actions in practice. This is not to say that moving quickly to demonstrate built alternatives is not an intelligent strategy to titillate the imaginations of those who may affect policy among the general populace—politicians and entrepreneurs. But had there been a more thorough understanding of just how deeply our cultural values, assumptions and government regulations are nourished by a corporate-dominated market economy, then perhaps the projects for demonstrating principles would have been selected more carefully.

While giving some vague lip service to other more complicated sources of our malaise, as architects the founders truly believe that many of the nation's intractable problems are predominantly physical in nature and that physical fixes can substantially improve our futures. Examination of the contents of *New Urban News*, CNU's newsletter, clearly shows this bias: attention is given solely to physical design, and in particular to larger projects.

Small, community-driven infill projects that may contribute significantly to a community's political and economic self-development are ignored because they are not at a physical scale that requires the new street layouts and streetscapes that illustrate the CNU's tenets for the good life. To them, the larger the physi-

cal interventions, the greater the positive impacts. Even if their plans do not contribute to building the local job base, and even if the resulting mix of incomes requires the displacement of hundreds of lower-income households, these developments are praised by the CNU because they have employed



The Cornell development in Markham, Ontario

neighborhood layout designs which their founders, through acts of religious faith, truly believe will improve the lives of residents.

As an architect I can sympathize with the professional tendency of the CNU to try to solve our society's problems within the framework of our architectural and urban design disciplines. However, it is clear that the CNU leadership needs to significantly broaden its membership so it can recognize that the creation of physical interventions is not the end, but rather the means, for building jobs, community self-sufficiency and political empowerment. Until then, we will continue to see from CNU the "sticks and bricks" interventions that merely raise property values and displace the very people we should be trying to help.

Mike Pyatok, FAIA, is the principal of Pyatok Architects in Oakland, CA and Seattle, WA. He is also a professor in the Department of Architecture at the University of Washington.

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2002 Planners Network National Conference

New Visions for Historic Cities: Crossing Divides, Building Futures

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Holyoke, Massachusetts and Hampshire College campus

June 13-16, 2002

Conference overview and details on registration, panels, workshops and housing options begins on page 26 of this issue.

Placemaking as a Critique of New Urbanism

By Robert G. Shibley

The new urbanism, a reconceptualization of the American Dream, has become a major public idea. The movement encompasses several professions involved in making or improving human settlements. It has tremendous potential to return to the public the possibility of community living. However, this will require an open dialogue on just what community means and on the ethical basis for decision-making. These issues of process and dialogue are almost completely absent from new urbanist debates.

The New Urbanist Idea

Imagine a place where people walk to shops and services, take transit or bike to work and entertainment, and play in large open parks. The people in this world live in "compact" residential settings in homes all designed with carefully controlled architectural standards. According to Peter Calthorpe, people share "certain traditional values - diversity, community, frugality, and human scale" which have become "the foundation of a new direction for ... the American Dream." This is a vision for the new millennium that is bold, clear and frankly, useful, fixing much of what has been wrong with our suburban landscape. It is a complete landscape that is neat, accessible and comprehensible.

The architectural historian Vincent Scully tells us that the new urbanism is essentially a revival of the classical and vernacular planning tradition. The difference between the two is that the tendency in new urbanism is to control both the building and the plan, where the classical tradition sought to control just the plan. Todd Bressi tells us that the agenda of the new urbanists is not a "romantic" one. He describes it as a more pragmatic vision that can "revive principles about building community that have been virtually ignored for half a century." To him the principles revolve around use of public space, diversity of people and activities in neighborhoods; and access to the places people need to go to in their daily lives by modes of transportation other than cars.

One can look to the new urbanism as a critique of the existing physical landscape, which forces people to use the automobile simply to get a quart of milk or a popsicle. It seeks to create a walkable, bikeable community that addresses the middle-class ideal of a pastoral yet convenient and socially viable life (*The New Urbanism*, McGraw Hill, 1994).

Whatever else it may or may not be, the new urbanism is an assault on American suburban sprawl characterized by low-density, strip and some scattered-site developments. It seeks to address issues of what planners call *poor residential and destination accessibility* and the lack of functional open space. *Residential accessibility* is defined by how far away activities are from the home. *Destination accessibility* is defined by how far away these same activities are from each other. Accessibility thus provides a quantifiable way to assess one aspect of sprawl, perhaps its most important aspect. It describes clearly what is meant by a *walkable community*. Defined this way, the occasional discontinuous new urbanist developments which are intended to allow for more intense uses in the spaces in-between should not be considered sprawl because they ultimately will allow for increased accessibility. A great number of the current new urbanist projects appear to be suburban and discontinuous in nature, waiting for transit lines and dense infill to make them fully functional and in accordance with the new urban ideals.

Cautions and Criticisms

Not everyone agrees with this optimistic picture. There are two broad critiques of the new urbanism. One school of thought suggests that there is no need for the movement because the "market" for housing and, by inference, for community, is self-regulating and doing fine. This is a neoconservative critique of the call for more "compact" living by the new urbanists.

A second critique is more complex but generally speaks to what remains to be addressed in

a comprehensive movement like new urbanism, or what parts might be modified or avoided. For example, some commentators find the movement too nostalgic. Others see it as profoundly suburban and thus inconsistent with its urban name. Still others find the body of work in new urbanism to be shallow and unable to address the deep structure of community life and culture. Lastly, postmodern commentators see the new urbanist movement as potentially oppressive as the modernism it would replace. Perhaps the single most important thing that the new urbanists have done is to draw out this body of critical discussion and in so doing raise the question: If not new urbanism, then what physical conditions and community development processes will help us make the places we live into places we love?

Serious reflection by commentators like Michael Southworth, writing for the *Journal of the American Planning Association*, raise questions regarding the nature of the problem to be solved by new urbanists. Southworth wonders if the historicism of the movement is appropriate for contemporary urban and regional circumstances. He questions whether the village is the right concept or typology in the context of today's extremely complex regions. Another academic, Margaret Crawford, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, agrees. She suggests that "new urbanism has some good designs and ideas but it is fixated on an outmoded way of life." William Fulton, writing in *Land Lines* from the land development perspective, wants to know if new urbanism is compelling enough to impact the retail trend toward ever larger catchment areas and increasingly popular big box stores, also noting an industrial trend equivalent to this retail trend. Perhaps in lieu of a return to the village we need an aggressive plan to create the conditions necessary to sustain a thriving metropolis.

Some members of the new urbanist movement who wear the neotraditionalist title suggest a revival of vernacular and classical traditions in architecture and city planning. The traditional language creates an immediate and reactionary criticism that the new urbanists or neotraditionalists are romantic or, worse yet,

nostalgic. The critique is one of style, suggesting that the movement is cosmetic and lacks depth and responsiveness to contemporary conditions.

The argument about the movement's lack of depth questions the validity of some of the most sacred claims of the new urbanists. Southworth argues that the promotion of places like Laguna West and Kentlands as walkable, new urbanist communities may be overstated. Some research suggests that seventy percent of Americans will not walk more than 500 feet to do errands and only ten percent will walk up to one-half mile. Southworth shows that if these limits apply to new urbanist developments, they will remain car-oriented. It seems possible, however, to imagine that a change in pedestrian behavior could occur if the walk were more pleasant and the destination more desirable.

Southworth praises new urbanists for raising the debate it has stirred among consumers, planners and architects, however, he is sharply critical of the rigid model presented by the neotraditionalists and their lack of vulnerability to what he calls deep structure and culture. Herbert Muschamp, writing for the *New York Times*, sums up this critique with an allusion to mental illness by suggesting that "[M]odernist architects created machine-age images of *rational* cities that, when actually built, functioned miserably. The new urbanists may be producing architecture for the Prozac age: Potemkin villages for dysfunctional families."

Another important critique of the new urbanism is the postmodern one. It argues that the finished project leaves no room to challenge the dominant culture. Peter Calthorpe's book, *The Next American Metropolis: Ecology, Community, and the American Dream* (McGraw Hill, 1993), is a good case in point. In a scant twenty-four pages he presents the theory and argument necessary to defend some seventy pages of guidelines on everything that places have to be about. To this is added another forty-eight pages illustrating the guidelines with sample projects, for a total of 110 pages of what-to-do against twenty-four pages of why-to-do-it. The guidelines are

clear and the logic is compelling and appears complete. There are, however, only three very general pages on regional context and implementation that encourages one to collaborate with virtually everyone in the region. There is no discussion of specifically how this collaboration is to occur or how to negotiate and modify the guidelines in cooperation with local authorities. There is also no foundation for conversation and reciprocal influence. The complete new urbanism is as unapproachable and vulnerable to vulgarization as the modernism it seeks to replace.

Placemaking and Process

When Christopher Alexander was criticized for his totalizing and nostalgic "patterns" in *A Pattern Language*, he had a process response. In his books *The Timeless Way of Building* and *The Oregon Experiment*, Alexander allowed for the fully pluralist constituencies of placemaking to add, subtract or modify patterns as needs dictated. This was to be accommodated in a process that took knowledge from "somewhere else" and blended it with the local understandings and values associated with the place being made. In this fashion he encouraged discussion and a mixing of values in decision-making processes.

Calthorpe's guidelines are similar to Alexander's patterns in many respects, and

would benefit from a similarly open process. In this way the principles of new urbanism might function as a starting place for city planning and architecture rather than a completed utopian vision. The relationships between the external and potentially oppressive expertise of professionals and the local understandings of place need to be negotiated in each act of placemaking. Such processes need to be democratic, critical and focused on the development and maintenance of human relationships. While most members of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) would say "of course" to such a proposition, ways of working that are open and value discussion are dramatically absent from both the projects and the literature of the movement. The encouragement is there to treat guidelines tentatively and to engage in a broad public discussion, but there is no discipline suggested for the conduct of the conversation.

Robert Shibley is professor of architecture and planning at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York, and is director of the Urban Design Project, a center for the study and practice of urban design. This text is an abstracted and edited version of the article "The Complete New Urbanism and the Partial Practices of Placemaking" that appeared in a Special Issue of Utopian Studies on Architecture, Design, and Utopia, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1998.

Milgrom [Cont. from page 2] Neither of these authors is suggesting that the work of new urbanism be dismissed. The criticisms that new urbanists level against conventional planning methods have opened up a discussion about the roles that planning and design play in shaping everyday life in cities and suburbs. But the prescriptions of NU practitioners need to be subject to the same scrutiny.

Taking a critical view of built projects, Jill Grant and Janet Smith investigate the implementation of new urbanist principles in Canada and the US. Grant's work on suburban developments in several Canadian provinces highlights the risks of treating neotraditional elements as planning and design formulae. She suggests that the superficial aesthetic features of new urbanism are being used to simply repackage suburban "product." In the context of the redevelopment of public housing in Chicago, Janet Smith similarly argues that by emphasizing the physical features, the people that the original modernist housing projects were intended to house are falling through the cracks. This has resulted in lengthy legal battles as residents have fought to maintain security of tenure. The introduction of mixed-income communities, following the principles of new urbanism, means that the number of public housing units is being reduced. Like urban renewal before it, these redevelopment processes are not serving to empower the residents of inner city neighborhoods, but are again displacing and scattering communities.

A more sympathetic account of new urbanism comes from Jennifer Hurley, who argues for its progressive potential. Hurley is a planner who has been involved with the Knight Program in Community Building at the University of Miami. She examines the case of a charrette dealing with inner city revitalization in Macon, Georgia that was exemplary for its engagement with the existing community. The new urbanist expert team included not only designers, but also policy specialists brought in to address non-physical issues like tenure. Hurley points out that the charrette process was instrumental in building trust between the various interest groups. The challenge, however, is to ensure that the charrette functions as a starting point for building relationships between communities and inter-

ests rather than as a simple substitute for a more sustained form of public participation.

For progressive planners, new urbanism presents a number of challenges. Both progressive planners and new urbanists share concerns about conventional planning methods and their accompanying design templates. However, in presenting a more or less finite alternative model, new urbanists expose themselves to similar criticisms. The movement, however, is young. Even though, as Grant shows, the developers are taking control of the superficial elements, there is time for improvement. But this requires that we engage with those promoting this approach to ensure that they remain open to change.

We must also challenge the narrow physical focus that new urbanism has developed. The accusations of environmental determinism that are leveled by several authors here should be taken seriously. The appearance of community does not necessarily mean that community exists. This is highlighted by Tom Angotti, who from his current situation in Rome, takes on the infatuation that some designers have with the European city. The focus of this adulation has been on the physical configuration of old cities, places that Angotti suggests are now closer to theme parks than urban spaces. Everyday life has moved elsewhere, often to suburban environments similar to those that new urbanists have criticized in North America. Urbanism, Angotti argues, is about the relationships between people as much as it is about the design of the built environment.

While new urbanism is a strong movement that will be around for awhile, it is not monolithic. Class and cultural biases among the key figures in the movement and the focus on aesthetics may mask the real issues of power and the building of human relationships that are key in community development. In this context, progressive planners can raise important questions about new urbanist projects and plans, insisting that more than lip service be paid to issues of equity, inclusion and sustainability.

Richard Milgrom is visiting assistant professor in the Dept. of Planning at the University at Buffalo and a member of the PN Steering Committee.

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From "Sugar Cookies" to "Gingerbread Men": Conformity in Suburban Design

By Jill Grant

New urbanist-inspired approaches to suburban development are common in contemporary Canada. Suburbs influenced by new urbanism and featuring modified grid layouts,

City movement. The same processes that reduced the Garden City to a sterile concoction of winding roads, big lots and wide houses are now creating a parody of the vision of new urbanism. The holy grail of sustainable development is in danger of becoming an empty catch phrase to justify any of a wide range of decisions and outcomes. Instead, low-density growth remains the dream of the producers of the urban and suburban realm, and the reality of its inhabitants.

The Concepts Break Down

Developers in rapidly growing Canadian cities began large-scale projects in the 1990s, and two developments exemplify the new urbanist trend. McKenzie Towne opened in Calgary Alberta and Cornell broke ground in Markham Ontario. The early phases of McKenzie Towne featured "brownstone" town houses around a square, similar to designs for the new urbanist development of Kentlands, Maryland. Andres Duany participated in the design process. Calgary planners became staunch advocates of new urbanism, developing plans and policies to promote the new models.

The first phase of McKenzie Towne, Inverness Village, had narrow roads, a public square, back alleys with garages, small setbacks and narrow lots. The central "high street" provided space for commercial uses. The developer, Carma, moved away from some of these new urbanist principles in later phases in an effort to recover costs and improve sales. Some of the design concepts, like apartments over stores and garages, proved too expensive to construct. Recent phases of McKenzie present more conventional styles. While porches and columns remain popular, the details in newer phases are less functional; moreover, front garages and cul-de-sacs—features typical of traditional suburban development—are returning. McKenzie cannot easily escape real-

ity—its location in a suburb quite distant from the employment core of the city. With each successive phase it tones down its new urbanist principles to appeal to households looking for starter homes in the suburbs.

Cornell, in Markham Ontario, also has "brownstone" townhouses lining the boulevard leading to its "town center." Brick buildings emulate the style of Ontario country farm houses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A mix of single-family and semi-detached homes are most common. The streets follow a modified grid, while alleys accommodate garages. It should be mentioned that the homes in Cornell are not inexpensive.

Markham adopted new urbanist planning principles as its preferred option for new suburban development. New projects in the community conform to the prescription: straight streets, alleys, limited setbacks, narrow lots, "traditional" dwelling styles and attractive public spaces.

Developers in many Canadian communities are emulating elements of new urbanist design. Mass-produced houses commonly sport porches, although seldom deep enough to accommodate more than a row of chairs. Gingerbread trim has become de rigeur, even on homes with front-attached garages. These new designs fit well on the compact lots that planners now recommend. Thirty to forty foot wide lots make land use denser than a decade ago. At the same time, however, new developments have a greater amount of impervious ground cover (in streets, alleys and building envelope). What may be gained in infrastructure efficiency is lost in landscape function. Those who believe compact forms are sustainable applaud; those who believe that environmental function should take precedence find the outcome disappointing.

Moreover, as average household sizes are smaller than they have been in the past, greater housing densities may not translate into higher population densities. For example, the typical 1960s household may have had five people on a 50 x 100 foot lot; 1990s suburbs had about 2.5 people on a 30 x 100

foot lot, consuming more land and building materials per person in the same life cycle phase. Smaller lot sizes do not necessarily translate into sustainability.

New urbanist projects are not solving the problem of affordable housing either. Developers contend that New urbanist design costs more to build than does conventional suburban design and appeals to the upscale market. Starter suburbs have, however, copied New urbanist design elements like front porches and pitched roofs. Hence, new urbanist details are rapidly disseminating into the suburban vernacular, without the rest of the model.

New urbanism seeks alternatives to the car,

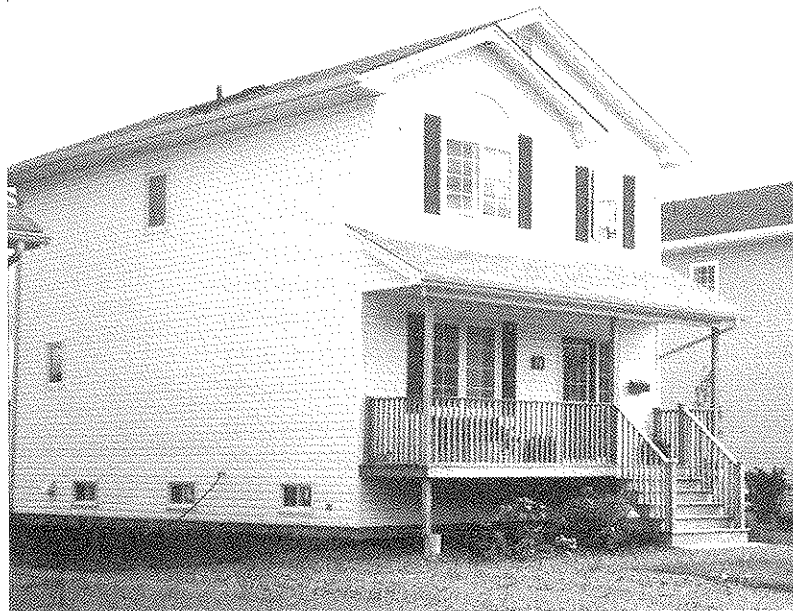
however, the projects built to date have not reduced car usage. With few jobs nearby, people must commute. Mass transit is available, but not well-developed. Most people still use their vehicles for shopping and recreation. Moreover, most developments pop up in farm fields. In order to get to the real urban landscape, people have little option but to drive.

Some urban redevelopment projects provide greater potential. For instance, the former military base in Calgary offers a mix of rehabilitated housing units and new homes in a central location. Garrison Woods is well-integrated into the urban transit system. An existing commercial core and new retail meet daily shopping needs. Here the principles of new urbanism have a chance of flourishing because they build upon the traditional urbanism of the city core.

In most suburban areas, however, we can see the concepts of new urbanism boiled down to what the market finds useful for packaging: porches, gingerbread trim, peaked roofs, narrow lots. In areas with cold winters, developers may provide garages off unpaved back

...We can see the concepts of new urbanism boiled down to what the market finds useful for packaging: porches, gingerbread trim, peaked roofs, narrow lots...

Photo by Jill Grant



New urbanist development in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

narrow streets, small lots and limited street setbacks are increasingly common. "Traditional" houses with front porches and pitched roofs are proliferating across the landscape. The new urbanist model has promoted new values: reduced car usage, well-designed public spaces, "eyes on the street" and urban diversity. It hoped to become a town-centered, anti-suburban approach. Beyond the superficial architectural details, however, are the new urbanist goals of equity, environmental protection and economic efficiency being achieved? Is new urbanism "re-urbanizing" the city, or simply creating cuter cookie-cutter suburbs? Is it creating sustainable development?

Since 1999 I have been visiting new urbanist developments in four Canadian provinces—Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Nova Scotia. Based on interviews with planners and developers and examination of their claims, I see a parallel with the historical fate of the Garden

lanes; in moderate climates, cars are parked in the front driveway. This is not urbanism, but merely updated suburban development.

While planners encourage modified grid layouts and other elements of the new urbanist model, developers prefer the loops and cul-de-sacs perfected in the post-war period. These still sell at a premium. Some communities have adjusted lot layout standards, but few reduce them to urban dimensions. Alleys are not proving popular with consumers;

house-on-lot-in-neighborhood that sold relatively cheaply and quickly. Planners facilitated standardization by supplying rules and regulations that enabled land use patterns to emerge.

Economic forces in the development industry and cultural values about domestic environments are already pushing new urbanism into stereotypical patterns. The "sugar cookie" suburb of the post-war period is giving way to the "gingerbread man" suburb of the late twentieth century; suburban substance has not changed. The stereotypical suburb now has houses with distinctive architectural features on narrow lots. Contemporary suburbs aimed at the "move-up" or "executive" market have beautiful public spaces, parks, commercial or recreational amenities and sidewalks. Where the suburbs target the middle- and working- classes, developers do not invest in public spaces or ornate streetscapes and retain winding streets. Developers are segmenting the market to target product lines at particular consumer groups. As in the post-war period, planning facilitates the development process by adjusting land use regulations to accommodate demand.

We see then that suburban development practices follow the paradigmatic logic of their time. Planners articulate models in planning principles and developers embed them in the practice of development economics. Over time, politics, economics and professional critiques modify those principles and practices. Cultural values test the professional principles and eventually force reconsideration. What do people expect from the landscape and how do those expectations change over time? What means do they have available for meeting their needs and what choices do they prefer? What meanings do they give to the neighborhood through the patterns of their daily activities? In many ways, the market response to development models reflects cultural values. As we see new urbanism being boiled down to its essential architectural elements, we find that the public has only bought into a limited number of the values of the paradigm, just as they only latched onto a few of the elements of the earlier Garden City model.

Cookie-Cutter Suburbs

The suburbs of the 1960s and 1970s were certainly a "cookie-cutter" phenomena with standardized street patterns, house forms and school locations. Designed to meet the needs of the middle-class nuclear family, they fit the mass-produced stereotypes of the times. Developers perfected the combination of

In its search for a physical planning paradigm to create a new urban social order, new urbanism overlooks the patterns of job distribution, automobile usage and recreational activities that contribute to the shape of our settlements. People resist paradigms that do not address their needs. The planner's search for sustainable development patterns will likely continue for the near future, coded now in the language of smart growth. Whether any of these models will produce the equity, environmental protection and economic efficiency

that planners have sought since the early days of the profession (and embedded in the various models of good neighborhoods we used throughout the twentieth century) remains for the future to judge.

Jill Grant is a professor in the School of Planning at Dalhousie University, Halifax Nova Scotia. The research is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Thanks to research assistant Jaime Orser for her contribution.

Photo by Jill Grant



Townhouses in the Cornell development of Markham, Ontario.

people worry about snow clearing, poor visibility for garage access and potential usage as routes for criminal activity. In some areas, utility companies are reluctant to put services into alleys. As a result, the street edge may fill with unsightly service bollards that contrast markedly with the "traditional streetscape" illusion generated by retro-homes.

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New Urban Planning for Neighborhood Revitalization

By Jennifer Hurley

I became interested in planning because I wanted to fight poverty, and I saw that poverty and the physical environment were tied together. I was also concerned with protecting the natural environment and preserving quality architecture. I wanted to understand how to make human-scaled, walkable environments and how to prevent the development of mind-numbing expanses of parking lots and throwaway buildings.

I didn't find answers to any of those questions in planning school until I stumbled upon new urbanism. Unlike other material I encountered in planning school, new urbanism promoted an ideal of what makes a "good" city—walkability, transit-accessibility, mixed uses and diversity. The principles of new urbanism articulated the things I liked about cities and towns as well as the things I disliked about conventional suburban development.

Over the last year, I have participated in the Knight Program in Community Building at the University of Miami School of Architecture. The program is a mid-career fellowship that brings together twelve professionals from a wide variety of development fields to explore principles and strategies for building diverse, sustainable, human-scaled communities. The Knight Fellows sponsor an annual community charrette in one of the twenty-six Knight Foundation cities in the US. This year's charrette in Macon, Georgia—the focus of this article—illustrates some of the strengths of new urbanist practice, as well as areas that need improvement. The charrette highlights the benefits of new urbanist design principles in neighborhood redevelopment, but also the need for new urbanist practitioners to incorporate into their planning efforts the insight and skills of the public, along with those of professionals in the fields of community development, affordable housing and public policy.

Beall's Hill Revitalization

Beall's Hill is an historic gateway neighborhood

to downtown Macon, strategically located between Mercer University and the Medical Center of Central Georgia. Historically, it developed as a residential neighborhood serving a local textile mill. Since the mill closed in the 1950s, the neighborhood has declined. Unemployment rates, crime and other signs of social distress are high.

The level of distress in the community has led to general agreement that redevelopment is necessary. None of the community residents we spoke with were opposed to neighborhood revitalization. There were, however, significant design challenges and concerns about policy issues, including gentrification and displacement.

The housing stock of the neighborhood is varied and of high architectural quality, but a great deal has been lost to demolition and fires over the years. Large interior blocks served by lanes where shotgun houses once stood are now vacant. Outdated 1940s public housing is sited on a superblock at the heart of the neighborhood. The architecture and street pattern of the public housing is dramatically different from the surrounding area, isolating the residents and creating a barrier in the neighborhood. The neighborhood itself is also isolated—by a railroad and poorly designed bridges—from Tattnell Square Park and Alexander II Math-Science Magnet School. Local retail and commercial services have disappeared, and attractive green space and recreational facilities are lacking.

The charrette was just one piece of the ongoing Beall's Hill revitalization project. With the assistance of \$2.5 million in grants from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation and the Federal Home Loan Bank of Atlanta, Mercer University has been working with Beall's Hill neighborhood residents to bring new resources to the neighborhood. The City of Macon commissioned neighborhood plans, market studies and design

guidelines from several consultants. The Macon Housing Authority worked with the residents of Oglethorpe Homes to win a \$19.5 million HOPE VI grant from HUD to demolish and replace the project. The ultimate goal of this neighborhood revitalization project is to rebuild the neighborhood as a vital and diverse community.

The charrette team was unusually large and diverse. The design team was led by Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk of the University of Miami and principal in the firm of Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company (DPZ). The team included Knight Fellow Dhru Thadani, Knight Professor Jaime Correa, and recent University of Miami graduate Shailandra Singh, along with fourteen University of Miami post-graduate students in suburb and town planning and three University of Georgia landscape architecture students. The twelve Knight fellows and Program Director Charles Bohl added expertise in transportation; retail development; community development; and local, state and federal policy and programs. DPZ project coordinator Debra Hempel and Mercer Center for Community Development staff rounded out the team.

Community Outreach And Participation

One of the distinguishing features of this charrette was the extensive amount of community outreach the charrette team did in the months leading up to the event. In the initial site visit, a small team of designers went to Macon, toured the neighborhood and met the local sponsors. A few weeks later, another team of designers returned to review the base materials and meet with a larger group of stakeholders, including city officials, non-profit organizations and neighborhood representatives. In October, three Knight fellows visited Macon to tour the neighborhood, meet some residents, talk with pastors and attend a Central South Development Consortium meeting. We brainstormed about all of the potential stakeholders in the Beall's Hill project and developed an outreach plan that included invitations, flyers and newspaper inserts.

During that third visit it became clear that we needed to do more one-on-one outreach. Many people were suspicious of the process. Bad past

experiences with government programs, university expansion, and outside consultants made people fearful and reluctant to work together. A variety of organizations, including numerous churches, were involved in a large array of projects in the community, but most of them did not know what others were doing.

Cecilia Holloman and I returned a week later to speak individually with pastors and community organizations. Ms. Holloman has extensive experience facilitating faith-based collaboratives and working in distressed communities, and I have experience in conflict resolution and mediation. After interviewing several people, we hosted a roundtable workshop on faith-based collaboration to set the stage for the charrette.

This preparatory work provided the charrette team with an understanding of the essential issues before the

charrette even began and resulted in extensive, broad participation in the charrette itself. One person who attended the charrette and was a strong participant later told us that prior to the outreach meetings she had been planning to sabotage the charrette.

In preparation for the charrette, the design team created a list of design issues and key sites, while facilitators developed detailed agendas for each of the stakeholder meetings. During the charrette, we met with about 600 people in a series of eleven stakeholder meetings to talk about the assets and problems in Beall's Hill, and how to address specific social and design challenges. Throughout the charrette there were opportunities for the public to review the work-in-progress.

Because this charrette was one step in a large-scale revitalization project, there were a variety of issues to address. Having detailed agendas and professional facilitation enabled us to get community input on everything from roadway design to housing typologies, park design to

During the charrette, we met with about 600 people in a series of eleven stakeholder meetings to talk about the assets and problems in Beall's Hill...

affordable housing, all in a limited amount of time. The large size of the charrette team allowed us to capture comments during meetings on flip charts and laptops. Compilation of these notes resulted in a detailed list of neighborhood assets, a list of suggested actions and projects to improve the neighborhood and detailed documentation of what the community wanted.

Community members were also able to participate before, during and after the charrette through the project's website. Scanned images from the charrette and notes from the stakeholder meetings were added to the site regularly, and the site's interactive tools offered people a chance to participate on their own time. Although few people in this neighborhood have internet access at home, the website provides one more level of transparency for the process and a way to quickly and cheaply disseminate some of the results.

Infill projects come with a large number of parties who have diverse and sometimes competing interests. These people usually have long histories with each other, in some cases histories that include bitter feuds and mistrust. The diverse interests and weight of history make it especially important to ensure that all voices are heard, which may require specific outreach to people who have stopped talking or given up.

The charrette process can help build trust, re-knit damaged relationships and create new relationships. As one Beall's Hill participant said at the end of a full day of stakeholder meetings, "I don't think you understand how profound today was. We had people talking with each other in meetings who never sit in the same room. I think there will be effects from this day years from now that none of us can guess."

Although any high-quality public participation process can achieve these goals, in this case holding a charrette had many benefits. The level of community distress had led to a very negative view of what could happen in the neighborhood. Having a group of outsiders come into the community and talk with residents about the local assets and potential for the neighborhood changed how people thought of

Beall's Hill. Seeing drawings of various options and plans helped people better imagine the possibilities. Witnessing the extent of the public participation and watching how the designs changed in response to stakeholder input helped residents overcome some of the distrust and suspicion they may have had.

Charrette Results

The preparatory work and stakeholder meetings identified several key design issues, including:

- a large amount of vacant land
- a lack of connection between Mercer University and the neighborhood
- poor pedestrian access, especially over the railroad, and
- the need for neighborhood-scaled retail development

During the charrette, the design work began with a series of analytical drawings of existing conditions, including topography; churches and institutions; park space and tree cover; and historic buildings. Work progressed with a number of studies, out of which evolved the master plan, an analysis of retail potential and schemes of building typology for the infill housing.

Major design proposals included the creation of infill housing, especially on the mostly abandoned interior blocks; renovation of Tatnall Square Park; slight revision of the HOPE VI plan to improve architectural consistency with the neighborhood; and screening of the County Jail with landscaping.

Since redevelopment projects come with a host of policy challenges that may not be present in greenfield development, the presence of experts on the team—in federal, state and local policy, especially related to affordable housing—allowed for the inclusion of many policy recommendations in the final "Strategic Actions." And since in Beall's Hill gentrification and displacement were major concerns among stakeholders, the team included a tool kit for developing and maintaining affordable housing.

Specifically, policy recommendations included creating a community land trust for affordable housing; protecting existing [Cont. on page 21]

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BETWEEN EMINENCE & NOTORIETY

Four Decades of Radical Urban Planning

CHESTER HARTMAN

with a Foreword by JANE JACOBS

I happened to receive a phone call from a reporter asking me for a quote on why middle-class people (her code word for whites) were returning to cities when a generation earlier they had fled cities as unfit places to live or bring up children. She was astonished when I told her that hundreds of thousands of middle-class people had been forced against their will to leave cities because their homes and businesses were demolished in the name of slum clearance and urban renewal, or their neighborhoods degraded and ruined by highway clearances. Nor was she aware that poor black ghettos do not locate themselves spontaneously; she knew nothing of financial redlining, social blockbusting, and planned pushing about of minority populations. By the time our conversation ended—she incredulous at my words, I incredulous at her innocence—I had made up my mind to . . . write [Chester], . . . your book is needed, especially by people too young to have lived through the kinds of events it chronicles. . . . Readers of this book hold in their hands salient parts of Chester Hartman's own archive. Both his introductory memoir and the writings that make up the body of the book are history conscious, and all the more valuable for that reason.

— JANE JACOBS, Foreword

In a career that spanned America's turbulent journey from urban renewal through the Civil Rights movement, the Vietnam War, the affluent eighties, and the ever-widening economic chasm that engulfed whole populations as the United States entered the twenty-first century, Chester Hartman—founder of Planners Network and recipient of the American Sociological Association's 2001 Robert and Helen Lynd Award—has been front and center with the energy and commitment that propelled his life's work as an urban planner and social activist.

In a 56-page autobiographical essay, Hartman contextualizes his work in the events of the time, reveals the motivations and perspective that drive his passions, and focuses a spotlight on the frailty and foibles of the planning and policy professions. The essay sets the stage for the anthology of Hartman's writings that follow, organized into five parts: DISPLACEMENT AND URBAN RENEWAL; HOUSING PROBLEMS AND POLICIES; ORGANIZING AND ACTIVISM; POVERTY AND RACE; and PLANNING EDUCATION. In thirty-two colorful, no-holds-barred chapters, the reader accompanies Hartman through four decades of planning and activism for social equity. Now executive director of the Washington, D.C.-based Poverty & Race Research Action Council, Hartman chronicles his work from Boston to San Francisco; from Cuba to Paris; from a focus on gentrification and displacement to public and military-family housing; from interactions with Daniel Patrick Moynihan and James Q. Wilson to Paul Davidoff and Harvey Milk; from his work with Urban Planning Aid in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to the formation of the Planners Network. Whether you are a student, educator, practitioner, historian, or political activist, these essays will inform, delight, and inspire.

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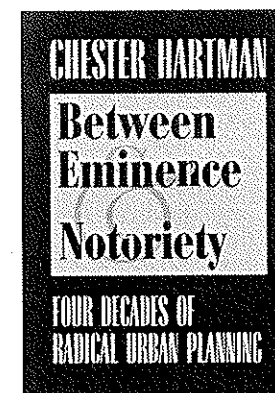
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NU: The Same Old Anti-Urbanism

By Tom Angotti
(Rome, Italy)

From this side of the Atlantic, the new urbanism looks like a chic version of the anti-urban American Dream—the same old anti-urbanism. In theory and practice, it follows the long tradition of elite city planning everywhere—neat, rational, organized new communities for the privileged and forget about the rest of the

So much of the mythology about Europe seems to be based on this superficial visual analysis and a strictly formalistic approach to the city. Perhaps new urbanists got inspired by what they saw on their vacations to such places as historic Amsterdam and Florence, and returned home to find historic values in the picture books of America's nineteenth century small towns.

While looking at the static picture of the physical city they missed the real economic and political dynamic at the center of urban life, the *dense social relations among people*—not just the relations between people and space. These are the heart of *urbanism*. They may be facilitated by historic preservation, densification, public spaces and mass transit, but they don't depend on these physical elements. And, as exemplified in the case of Italy, you can have all these physical elements without having real *urbanism*.

Anti-urbanism in Italy

Architects and planners from the US are rightfully awed when they see the public plazas, pedestrian spaces and mass transit in the historic centers of Italy's great cities. But what they often don't see is that the majority of urban residents in Italy now live in dense suburbs that are increasingly auto-dependent, where public places are privatized. The historic centers, on the other hand, are becoming walkable, tourist fairylands. They've lost much of their industrial and artisan activities and their resident population. They increasingly survive on tourism.

Venice, the car-free paradise, is the most extreme example. Its population today is one-third what it was after World War II. There are no jobs outside the tourist sector. Only young professionals can afford the rents and tolerate the lack of an integrated social life. The city has become a giant museum and entertainment

center, an antique Disney World. All around Venice is an unsustainable auto-dependent metropolitan region where mass transit is in decline. New factories and housing are sprawled throughout the region, which is shaped by an American-style anti-urban model. This model is based on the creation of small, idyllic, single-use enclaves, not a comprehensive, planned and sustainable metropolitan region. New urbanist experiments would fit right in.

In the suburbs, autos rule the streets and in many places the sidewalks. As more and more people become dependent on the auto, they are using public spaces less and less, and public spaces are being privatized. In central cities, more cafes and vendors encroach on public squares as they increasingly serve tourist functions. Housing is converted to seasonal use and second homes. Car-free areas are surrounded by parking lots and garages so that the flood of visitors can arrive by car. Just like the new urbanist communities in the US—walkable within, auto-accessible without.

But these are the results and not the causes of Italy's anti-urbanism. The real problem is the decline in the traditional dense social relations—which made Italy one of the most urban of nations—and the rise of consumerism and individualism in their place. Behind this are the trends of deindustrialization, flexible production, dispersal of the labor force and the decline in union membership, neoliberalism, the breakup of the welfare state, the growing power of the private sector and, as part of all this, deregulation in land use.

The New Urbanist Regionalism

The new Italian suburbs are everything the new urbanists strive for in regional planning policy. They are dense, mixed-use and linked by mass transit to the central cities. Many follow strict design standards, even ecological standards. But they are essentially anti-urban. All too many are high-rise bedroom communities with private garages, gated residential ghettos surrounded by shopping malls or strip highway development. Even those that are comprehensively planned with a complete range of public and private services are

designed as separate enclaves. Mixed-use is limited to residential and retail uses, and the new suburbs are as isolated from the main centers of work and production as they are in the US.

And here we arrive at the basic class bias of all elite planning, including new urbanism—a blindness to the needs of labor. To build housing without providing a range of stable job opportunities at all levels destroys urbanism and produces anti-urban enclaves.

Elitist Planning

Italy is no doubt one of the most extreme examples of a wider anti-urban trend in



Speculative suburban development in Rome

world. This may come as a shock to CNU Europhiles who glorify Europe's traditions of urban conservation, compact city development, public space and mass transit, but the truth is that the same kind of elite anti-urban practice endorsed by new urbanists is what's threatening Europe's urbanism.

Physical Determinism

It all starts with a superficial view of cities. New urbanists see them as mainly physical entities. *Urbanism* is then defined as a product of the physical city. Economic, social and cultural elements follow the logic of the urban form. In the architecture and planning trade this is known as physical determinism—our occupational hazard.



Erice, Italy. A touristic historic center.

Europe. The planning profession in Italy is dominated by architects and engineers whose physical planning bias has left them relatively powerless in confronting the market-driven restoration of historic centers and suburban development. The more politically conscious asked the fundamental question about social equity: how can we shift the policy focus to the needs of the rapidly growing working-class suburbs? There were many notable efforts to preserve affordable housing in central cities and develop integrated suburbs, but they were not enough. In the meantime, speculative development everywhere took its toll.

In many Italian cities, new suburbs were built illegally and in violation of planning and building codes. The elite official planners basically threw up their hands and defended their

In most of the world, planning is for the upper classes and if the rest of the world lives in poor communities without proper infrastructure and services, then the elite planners can always say the reason is because those communities weren't planned! The planners look down their noses from their pristine, neatly laid out paradises and tell everyone to follow in their path. It's not *their* fault if the money isn't there to build more (new urbanist, Garden City, rationally planned, etc.) communities! Poverty and inequality are problems, but not *their* problems. From the comfort of their design studios, they proclaim the ideal physical world and call for changes in building facades and setbacks, and limits to growth, while most people want secure jobs, decent housing and basic services.

The US: Anti-urbanism and Racism

If the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) could get out of its elitist and formalistic shell, it could help contribute to a genuine transformation from an anti-urban America to an urban one. It could use its substantial resources to confront the real obstacles to urbanism. In the US the main obstacle to real urbanism is racism. From its inception, elite planning in the US has distinguished itself for its insensitivity to the problems and needs of people of color and the poor. Planning and zoning were used to protect the property values of white communities and exclude people of color. The disastrous urban renewal programs of the 1960s—creatures of elite planners working hand-in-hand with government and developers—displaced communities of color.

The goal of integrated metropolitan development today will remain elusive as long as racial and anti-immigrant prejudices continue to divide the urban territory. Growth control will be used to protect exclusive enclaves. Strict planning regulations will protect exclusive enclaves. New urbanist communities will be exclusive enclaves. It may be out of fashion to talk about this in elite professional circles, but racism is still with us. If planners continue to deal with racism only by making vague declarations in favor of diversity and ignore the environmental, economic and other problems

of the most distressed communities, they will help reproduce anti-urbanism.

Seventy five percent of the US population lives in metropolitan regions, yet the United States remains one of the most anti-urban of nations. Strong municipal governments and federalism guarantee the maintenance of exclusive enclaves via separate tax and school districts defined by racial exclusion. Real integrated urban development won't be achieved by physical means alone. It will take economic and political changes. In slavery, blacks and whites lived in very close proximity, but this was hardly a model of integrated development. It took an economic and political revolution to abolish the exclusions of slavery, and the subsequent exclusions of Jim Crow.

End Auto-dependency

It is hard to imagine a qualitative leap towards urbanism without eliminating auto-dependency and urban sprawl. Those low-density NU

communities around the country—walkable within but fully integrated into the auto-dependent regions—only make the problem worse. Higher density, mixed-use, better planned and designed communities won't necessarily help either (witness the Italian experience). Changing US policies at all levels that subsidize and favor auto use will make a difference.

With cheap gasoline (and in the future, cheap alternative fuels), Ford, GM, Exxon, Walmart and their international partners are guaranteed a perpetual seat at the head of US industry. To end auto-dependency, it will take more than giving people in exclusive suburbs a chance to walk to the store or develop stronger bonds with their (white) neighbors.

Tom Angotti is professor of Urban Affairs and Planning at Hunter College in New York City and visiting professor at Cornell University in Rome. He is co-editor of Planners Network Magazine.

Hurley [Cont. from page 16] low-income and elderly homeowners from property tax increases through a ten-year phased tax assessment policy; and invoking the Executive Order on Environmental Justice to ensure context-sensitive road and bridge design. The attention to concerns about affordable housing during the stakeholder meetings led the designers to create building typologies suitable for that need, and the designers' outrage at the poor road and bridge design led the policy specialists to suggest invoking the Executive Order. Although none of these policy recommendations were unique, they would not have come out of the process without a charrette team that included both designers and policy experts.

Of course the charrette described here is only one step in a larger process of revitalization. Will participation continue? Is there local capacity to implement some of the ideas, such as the community land trust? These are difficult questions associated with any participatory process, and ones with which new urbanism needs to engage more actively.

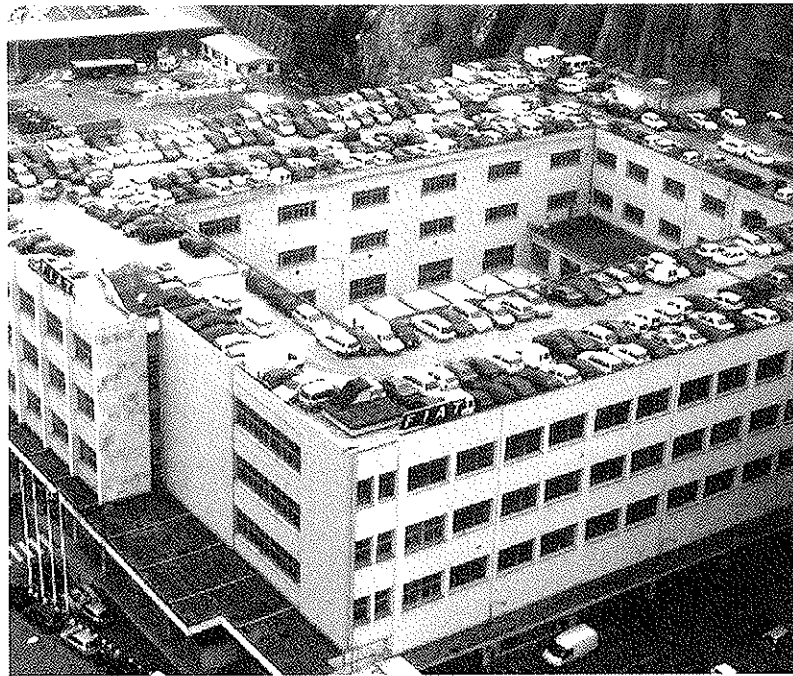
After studying new urbanism in more depth,

meeting many new urbanist practitioners and discussing community building over the last year with the other fellows, I am even more convinced that new urbanism provides some of the answers to problems in our towns and cities. New urbanist design principles help create infill development that is sensitive to the local context and adds to the walkability and diversity of the physical form of the neighborhood. Where new urbanism is weak is in execution rather than ideal. New urbanist practice needs to include more attention to ensuring broad and diverse public involvement, and to addressing policy issues that arise from redevelopment. I believe that the solution is for a broader group of practitioners and advocates to become involved in shaping new urbanism and new urbanist developments.

(For more information about the Knight Program in Community Building, see <http://www.charrettecenter.com/knight/>. For more information about the Beall's Hill charrette, see <http://www.beallshill.net>.)

Jennifer Hurley is a partner at Hurley~Franks and Associates in Philadelphia.

Photo by Tom Angotti



In Genoa, Italy's passion for the automobile.

impractical master plans, powerless to stop this market-driven and politically popular growth. In political circles a higher priority was placed on planning for the historic centers, where property values were highest, and a low priority on planning for the new industrial and working-class neighborhoods. In Rome, almost half of new suburban housing in the post-War period was built illegally.

In the earliest Mesopotamian cities, official planning produced the *citadelle*, a segregated elite enclave. Since then, official planning has mostly served elite populations. The neighborhoods that are created and maintained by workers, peasants and independent builders are always considered to be "unplanned." But even today the majority of the world's population lives in these areas—*barrios*, *favelas* and *shantytowns*. And the urban renewal programs, chic new enclaves, and museum-like historic centers advocated by mainstream planners serve only a small proportion of the population, those most able to pay the planners. Like the Italian Renaissance artists hired by the nobility to beautify the cities (which usually meant tearing up neighborhoods), aesthetics rules in these circles.

HOPE VI and the New Urbanism: *Eliminating Low-Income Housing to Make Mixed-Income Communities*

By Janet L. Smith

Chicago's public housing is testimony to a long history of struggle between poor people and politicians. The latest contest is over the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA) Plan for Transformation, which aims to reduce the existing unit count from 38,000 to 25,000. Fifty-one buildings—most of them high-rise—are slated for demolition. Some developments are being cleared entirely and replaced with new, mixed-income communities.

This public housing "transformation" hinges on a narrowly constructed argument that high-rise, high-density sites are inherently bad. Embracing the rhetoric of new urbanists (NU), transformation plans around the country are promoting mixed-use and mixed-income development at a neighborhood scale. In practice, however, they are resulting in the net loss of low-income housing units.

For the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the CNU's approach is a means to reduce the concentration of poverty: transforming "the projects" into communities will encourage higher-income working families to live in redeveloped sites. But with all the talk of community building and building new communities, it is still not clear who is to benefit. Preliminary findings from a national study of HOPE VI being completed by the Urban Institute indicate a real disconnect between policy and practice. While policy speaks of creating communities for families, the reality is that many of these redeveloped sites do not house the original families that were displaced. Many families *chose* to live in the private sector with vouchers, but many others had *no choice*, since the development they moved out of offered fewer replacement public housing units.

In the transformation of public housing, NU is not categorically the culprit. Rather, the NU

principles are used to justify reducing the number of public housing units overall. Instead of dismissing it wholesale, activist planners need to capitalize on the NU climate, particularly the promotion of mixed-income housing, to push for more, not less, affordable public and private housing in all our communities.

Learning from Cabrini Green

Reducing the number of public housing units in order to make redeveloped sites "mixed-income" is an issue in Chicago, where most of the plans call for only one-third of the units to be public housing, with the rest either "affordable" (80-120 percent of area median income (AMI)) or market-rate. At Cabrini Green, one of the City's best known sites, residents fought in court to ensure that those who wanted to stay could be included in the new community that the city envisioned for them. They also fought to get more control over the process to ensure that replacement housing be built first and that demolition happen afterwards, whenever possible. Their view—and the one expressed here—is that while the physical design is important to residents, having enough replacement public housing is essential to the success of housing plans. Otherwise, this "new urbanism" is just another form of displacement of poor people.

While Cabrini Green is a unique case, it offers strategies and principles planners and community activists can employ to ensure that current residents get *mixed in* rather than *out* of these new public housing communities.

Located within walking distance of some of the most expensive real estate in the city, Cabrini Green was the first HOPE VI grant in Chicago. Chicago received a \$50 million HOPE VI grant in 1994 to redevelop a portion

of the 3,600 unit site. Initially the CHA had made an agreement with the Local Advisory Council (LAC)—the elected leadership for tenants—to demolish 660 units, rebuilding 493 new units of public housing and issuing 167 housing assistance vouchers in place of the balance of the units.

Soon after the plan was approved, the federal government took over the CHA. Two buildings containing 398 units were demolished and no replacement units were provided. A Request For Proposals (RFP) was issued to replace what was going to be torn down. None of the responses fully met the minimum criteria of the RFP in regard to reducing density and providing the appropriate number of replacement units on-site, so the City of Chicago declared all the plans inappropriate. Soon afterward, the City and CHA entered into "private" meetings to compose an alternative strategy, producing the *Near North Redevelopment Plan* and the corresponding Tax Increment Financing (TIF) district. The plan was to demolish 1,300 public housing units and produce 2,300 new units in a larger geographic area (340 acres compared to ten acres in the original proposal). Only 700 units would be public housing, and half of those would be for "working poor." In response to this plan, residents filed a lawsuit against both the City and the CHA on the grounds that the plan was prejudicial to their interests. Residents were outraged because the plan, besides violating the previous development agreement with the LAC, was to demolish more buildings and move more residents permanently off-site.¹ In the spring of 1997, a federal judge stopped CHA from demolishing anything more until this conflict was resolved.

Cabrini Green Tenants Win in Court

While TIFs are controversial—especially in Chicago, where there are more than 110 districts and several new ones proposed—the City's decision to create a TIF significantly expanded the development site. This was an important factor in the ruling on the tenant's lawsuit against the CHA in the summer of 1998, which gave the LAC substantial control over the development process and the out-

come of the demolition of the remaining six buildings. The court ordered the CHA to build 895 public housing-eligible units in the *HOPE VI Planning Area*, which was now defined by the boundaries of the TIF and not just the public housing site. Furthermore, demolition could not begin until at least one-third of the replacement units were underway, funds and sites for another 400 units were secured, and proposal(s) were received for rebuilding remaining units on the CHA land. The LAC also negotiated to reduce down to less than forty percent of AMI (about \$30,000) the income levels in "affordable housing" units subsidized



Cabrini Green landscape before Near North Redevelopment initiative.

with Low Income Housing Tax Credits, which made more units available to current public housing residents. The LAC will serve as co-developer of the site, and shall comprise half of the review panel.

While the consent decree was appealed and later revised to reduce resident control from fifty-one percent to fifty percent, the final settlement was still considered a victory by tenants since it both maintained the policy that units had to be built prior to demolition, and gave them substantial, although not sole, control over the redevelopment process. To date, the first phase of development is nearly completed: 350 units have resulted, one-third of which are public housing. Phase two will begin shortly. All stages have been con-

trolled by the LAC and the developer to ensure that the outcomes meet the requirements of the lawsuit. Based on accounts from both partners, residents and the developer appear to be working well together. In addition, a group of residents has been working to convert their building, which is not slated for demolition, to a limited equity co-op.

Transformative Strategies

Clearly, a bigger vision of transformation is needed in the US—one that is not just driven by new urbanist design ideas. We need *trans-*

all residents are provided a unit if they choose to return. It will also help meet future needs for affordable housing. The premise here is that residents generally want to return to the site once it is redeveloped. However, the goal should always be to maximize the number of public housing units to meet current and future demand, even if there are residents who do not choose to return to the neighborhood. While not legally binding, these outcomes can then function as guiding principles for negotiating how, when and where units will be built.

Expanded Space. Expanding the space of public housing means changing the scale of redevelopment to include more than just the original site. This avoids the need to challenge federal limits on how many units can be built back on-site. More importantly, however, it is a means to open up adjacent communities, especially in locations like Cabrini Green, where the surrounding housing development was also income segregated. In this case, however, the income levels of people surrounding Cabrini were well above the city median, and depending on how you drew the boundaries, the neighborhood was already a mixed-income community. Mechanisms to produce affordable housing, whether publicly or privately owned, can be part of the plan. For example, in a development adjacent to Cabrini Green but in the TIF district, the City required a set-aside of eleven percent "affordable" units. While still out of the price range for most (up to 120 percent of AMI), the set-aside is a step in the right direction, and is now being pushed by a citywide coalition. In addition, two strategies should be considered that are not in widespread use but have proven effective: inclusionary zoning, which requires a proportion of a development to be affordable, and linkage programs, which generate funds to produce affordable housing from development exactions.

Public Control. A public control component is critical to ensuring that public housing is first part of the mix and, once built, remains in the public domain and affordable. Many different strategies could be used to keep public investment accessible and affordable to low-income families: land trusts, which keeps the land in

the public domain; reciprocal agreements, a method already used in public housing, which requires developers to keep housing affordable for a long period of time; and limited equity cooperatives like the ones being pursued by tenants in Cabrini, which help very low-income tenants become owners and keep property off the speculative market. Public control may also include resident management, which ensures that tenants also control the property, but this should be up to residents to decide.

These strategies aim to empower residents, but not simply by making tenants into property owners. As Bill Peterman describes in his book *Neighborhood Planning and Community-Based Development*, a progressive view of empowerment means giving residents real control. In public housing transformation this means that residents really make decisions about the future of their developments and really have control over the resources needed to implement them. The strategies outlined here aim to reduce the power of private partners in public-private partnerships—the sanctioned means to fund neighborhood revitalization and community development in the US these days. While we work on getting more public funding for affordable housing (e.g., a National Housing Trust Fund), there is an immediate need to reposition the public in these partnerships. We know that efforts by planners to control development do not necessarily discourage private investment. The key is to make known the return on investment and the public's quid pro quo. The assumption should be that high-quality and durable public housing is a good investment. If NU design principles are a means to ensuring public housing development, then we should consider how to capitalize on the movement so that there is more, not less, public housing built in our communities.

While this may appear opportunistic and idealistic, the logic here is that well-designed mixed-income communities are not fundamentally bad. It's the underlying assumptions and processes used to produce them that we should worry about, especially when they are used to reduce housing options for people

who already have few. Equally important, however, planners need to look beyond the sites of public housing to produce these new mixed communities. NU principles can be good rules to plan by, but only if adhered to in all forms of development and in all places.

Why is HUD only promoting the mixing of uses and incomes in public housing when it is clearly needed everywhere? There is no reason to stop at the public housing border and



The new Cabrini Green.

every reason to look beyond the public housing sites in central cities to fashion mixed-income communities as the new urbanists propose. Given the spatial patterns created by a long history of segregation by race, ethnicity and income, planners should add a principle to the new urbanist mantra: do not endorse the new urbanist experiment *unless* it is uniformly implemented in all development.

For a view of resident concerns at Cabrini Green and their encounters with the City of Chicago planning staff, see *Voices of Cabrini*, a film by Ronit Bezazel and Antonio Ferrera. Info on the film can be found at: <http://www.voicesofcabrini.com/>

Janet L. Smith is assistant professor in the Urban Planning and Policy Program at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Photo by Janet L. Smith



Cabrini Green's stylistic mix.

formative strategies. Similar to the notion of transformative community planning that Marie Kennedy describes in her Planners Network working paper, the goal should be to put real control in the hands of the people we are planning with to help them identify and implement real alternatives. These may or may not include NU design ideas. The NU principles used in public housing plans should be broadened to include the areas outside of public housing. Transformative strategies should include three principles: clear outcomes, expanded space and public control.

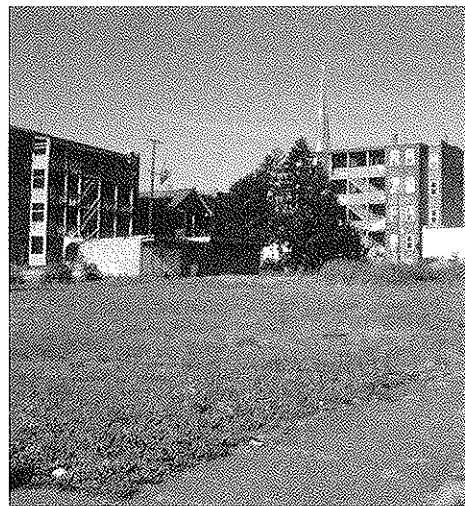
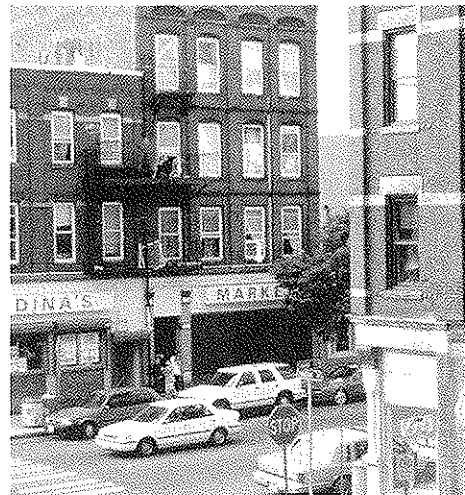
Clear Outcomes. An outcomes component to the housing plan, similar to the one negotiated in the Cabrini Green case, will ensure that

Photo by Richard Milgrom

New Visions for Historic Cities: Crossing Divides, Building Futures

2002 Planners Network National Conference • Holyoke, MA • June 13-16

The 2002 Planners Network Conference invites you to Holyoke, MA to contribute to the visioning of new possibilities for one of the nation's oldest planned industrial cities. A prototypical New England factory town, Holyoke's grid of man-made canals powered rows of paper and textile mills that fueled a robust Northeast economy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Now the city faces the effects of globalization, de-industrialization, budget cuts and the challenges of working across different political and cultural identities. At the same time, Holyoke is also experiencing innovative collaborations between neighborhood organizations, businesses, youth, elders, teachers,



artists, social service agencies, politicians and neighboring colleges. It is here that we need your critical thinking and creative visions. The conference will be used as a catalyst for change, bringing together citizens, educators, activists, organizers and students with diverse perspectives to share in highly interactive dialogues, community-based tours, working sessions and case studies. Additional themes to be addressed include: overcoming obstacles in organizing, addressing racism, rebuilding urban neighborhoods, utilizing the arts as a creative form of economic development, mobilizing political power and voting representation and engaging youth and adults in participatory planning processes.

Major Conference Tracks/Themes

Innovative Approaches to Economic Development * Affordable Housing Models * Participatory Planning and Development * Community/University Development Partnerships * Role of the Arts in Urban Revitalization * Environmental Justice and Urban Agriculture * Planning for Healthy Communities * Undoing Racism * Community Organizing * Urban School Reform * Community Mapping * Youth Leadership Development * Documentation and Historic Preservation * Beyond Enterprise Zones: Strategies for Funding

Hosted by

Hampshire College * Nueva Esperanza Inc. * El Arco Iris Youth and Community Arts Center * Nuestras Raices * City of Holyoke * Open Square * Five Colleges Inc. * Fannie Mae Foundation * MA Campus Compact

Photos courtesy Urban Places Project

New Visions for Historic Cities: Crossing Divides, Building Futures

2002 Planners Network National Conference • Holyoke, MA • June 13-16

Featuring:

Conference participants will visit some of Holyoke's most innovative community building projects to explore the challenges of effective community organizing/planning and share ideas for overcoming obstacles.

Saturday workshops will be held at Open Square, located in Holyoke's Historic Canal District. Open Square is a nineteenth century mill complex being transformed into a twenty-first century urban center. Participants will be treated to a special performance of *Between The Canals: The Evolution of a Mill Town* by Enchanted Circle Theater. The performance explores human rights issues associated with the rise and fall of the textile and paper mills in the mid-1800s.

Then join us for the Saturday evening party featuring a local salsa band and a traditional Puerto Rican meal.

Conference Location:

Holyoke, Massachusetts and Hampshire College campus.

Housing:

Provided in Hampshire College residence halls.
Single occupancy with linens provided: \$35/night.

Registration Fees **

	Before May 1st	After May 1st
General	\$170	\$200
Students	\$ 80	\$100
Community Residents/Low-income	\$ 30	\$ 50

** Limited free admission for Holyoke residents/organizers

For More Conference Information:

Visit the conference website at: www.hampshire.edu/plannersnetwork, or contact Mary Bombardier or Kiara Nagel at:

Community Partnerships for Social Change
Hampshire College
Amherst, MA 01002

Phone: 413.559.5395, 413.559.5689

Fax: 413.559.5620

New Visions for Historic Cities: *Crossing Divides, Building Futures*

2002 Planners Network National Conference • Holyoke, MA • June 13-16

There are many ways in which attendees can become part of the 2002 Conference. Your participation is key to a dialogue that raises issues from multiple perspectives. Following are two opportunities to become involved in shaping the experience of other attendees and making this a successful conference:

Be a Panel Presenter

The conference will feature three session blocks constructed around a variety of themes. Each workshop will feature three presenters who will speak approximately twenty minutes followed by an interactive discussion. Presenter topics should relate to the following themes:

Innovative Approaches to Economic Development * Affordable Housing Models * Participatory Planning and Development * Community Mapping * Community/University Development Partnerships * Role of the Arts in Urban Revitalization * Planning for Healthy Communities * Documentation and Historic Preservation * Environmental Justice and Urban Agriculture * Urban School Reform * Involving Youth in City Planning * Beyond Enterprise Zones: Strategies for Funding



Organize a Workshop

If you are interested in organizing a workshop involving more than one presenter on one of the above mentioned themes, or have suggestions for an area that has not been mentioned, you are encouraged to do so!

Forms for those who wish to organize a panel or workshop are provided on the following pages. If you want to volunteer, please fill them out and return them to the supplied address as soon as possible.



Photos courtesy Urban Places Project

New Visions for Historic Cities: *Crossing Divides, Building Futures*

2002 Planners Network National Conference • Holyoke, MA • June 13-16

Volunteer Panel Presenter Information Sheet

Name: _____

Affiliation: _____

Address _____

Phone: _____

Fax: _____

Email: _____

What subject area would you like to speak on?

Please provide a brief description of your presentation

I will need the following:

_____ TV/VCR

_____ Slide projector

_____ Overhead projector

_____ Other: _____

Please send this information as soon as possible to:

Mary Bombardier
Community Partnerships for Social Change Program
Hampshire College
893 West Avenue
Amherst, MA 01002

Phone: 413.559.5395

Fax: 413.559.5620

New Visions for Historic Cities: Crossing Divides, Building Futures

2002 Planners Network National Conference • Holyoke, MA • June 13-16

Volunteer Workshop Organizer

What subject area would you like to do a workshop on?

Please provide a brief description of the proposed workshop:

Presenters in my workshop will be:

Presenter #1

Name: _____

Affiliation: _____

Talk title: _____

Presenter #2

Name: _____

Affiliation: _____

Talk title: _____

Presenter #3

Name: _____

Affiliation: _____

Talk title: _____

I will need the following:

- ☐ TV/VCR
- ☐ Slide projector
- ☐ Overhead projector
- ☐ Other: _____

Please send this information as soon as possible to:

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Conference Registration/Housing Form

Name: _____

Affiliation: _____

Address: _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone: _____ Fax _____

Email: _____

Conference Fees**:	Before May 1 st	After May 1 st
General	\$170	\$ 200
Students	\$ 80	\$ 100
Community Residents/Low-income	\$ 30	\$ 50

** Limited free admission for Holyoke residents/organizers

Housing:

Conference housing is provided at Hampshire College resident halls.

Rate: \$35/night, single occupancy, linens provided.

I need housing for: ☐ Thursday night
☐ Friday night
☐ Saturday night

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Community Partnerships for Social Change Program
Hampshire College
893 West Street
Amherst, MA 01002

Or fax in your registration to:
413.559.5620

Please make checks payable to Hampshire College.

Whither Community Design?: A Conference Report

By Kathy Dorgan

Since the Architect's Renewal Committee of Harlem (ARCH) hung out their shingle almost forty years ago, designers have been working directly for low-income and other disadvantaged communities. On March 14-16 at Harvard University, leaders of the community design movement joined with progressive theorists, students, community members, policymakers and educators to discuss community design.

The gathering was sponsored by the Association for Community Design, the American Association of Architecture Students, the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, the American Institute of Architects Housing Professional Interest Area, the Design Advisor, the Federal Home Loan Bank of Boston, the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, the Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence, the Loeb Fellowship and the Department of Urban Planning and Design at Harvard's Design School. This was the first conference about community design to engage those outside the profession.

Practice at a Crossroads

There are many reasons to be optimistic about the future of community design. Many of the principles long practiced by community designers are finding their way into conventional practice and government policy. A new focus on service learning and community/university partnerships is leading many schools to conduct new or expanded outreach efforts. The professional associations have begun to catalogue and recognize design centers.

Yet design centers have not increased in number. They haven't spread across the nation in the manner of legal aid societies or community development corporations. After long,

rich careers, the first wave of community designers is reaching retirement. Although there is an emerging body of literature, most of the knowledge and experience of community designers hasn't been documented or evaluated. Each center, and too often each new director, starts at the beginning of the learning curve. The design center movement is not recognized in most educational programs for designers or most public or charitable policy. As we lose experienced practitioners we are also losing irreplaceable knowledge and insight. Likewise, as students graduate without exposure to community practice we are deprived of untold potential.

What is Community Design?

The goal of community design is to build beautiful, sustainable, livable communities of choice and justice by collaborating with residents to nurture existing communities. The main distinction between community design and other progressive design practice is one of agency. Community designers structure practices in a manner that allows the designer to work directly in the interests of the low-income users of their projects. There are many different models of practices that fit in the rubric of community design. The best include all of the following elements:

Participatory processes that engage as many members and components of a community as possible in a meaningful, respectful and ongoing manner. These are equal exchanges.

Diversity that is acknowledged and celebrated. Community designers explore the multiplicity of needs within communities, institutions and families. The practice works to find the complex, multi-layered, flexible solutions that meet the needs of all users—not simply that of the average, the most vocal or the most powerful.

Comprehensive, asset-based, incremental approaches to development that frame all projects, plans and actions. This includes building relationships and partnerships within the community and externally. It includes ongoing development of leadership and community capacity. Community designers develop the specific knowledge, tools and practices necessary to serve community needs. Designers report that they get as much, or more, from communities than they give.

The State of Community Design

Despite concern about many factors impacting the field and transitions at leading centers, participants were energized by presentations of the current work of design centers.

Trends emerging in the practice of community design include:

Partnering and collaboration is becoming more sophisticated and effective. Ron Shiffman presented the complicated structure of the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development's (PICCED) engagement with a multitude of partners in its post-September 11 strategy to rebuild New York for all New Yorkers, including its poorest members. Many centers mentioned that they are being invited to work with a variety of new partners including international engagements.

Youth development is becoming an integral component of many efforts. Teams from Troy, New York; Houston, Texas; and Lawrence, Massachusetts presented new community design initiatives that have youth-led activities at the core of their work. The presentation on planning strategies by Lawrence's Young Architects was a clear demonstration of the potential of these efforts.

Technology is increasingly a key component of community design activities. Michaela Pride-Wells at the University of Kentucky and a team from the Kentucky Transportation Center discussed their joint work in transportation planning. Computer modeling and electronic polling is integral to this work. Many are using the web to facilitate outreach

and information exchange. All were concerned about the digital divide.

Participatory techniques are evolving in new and creative ways. Peter Wilcox presented a case of participatory design with developmentally-delayed young people. Rick St. John, past director of the Pittsburgh Community Design Center, experimented with the use of poetry and the arts to foster conversations for common wealth. Radio and web journalist Virginia Prescott led a team of Harvard design students who created a web-based archive of participatory techniques for the symposium.

The formation of new centers appears to be increasing. Service-learning

inspires some of the new initiatives; many have a goal of marrying environmental and social justice; and an increasing number of center founders are trained as landscape architects. Joe Fama presented a compelling demographic analysis of the paucity of design centers in small cities and the possibilities in this venue.

Environmentalism, engaged art and other aspects of livability were integral components of all of the work presented. The value of art in building community was discussed throughout the conference. Its value was demonstrated by an installation of tables—used throughout the meetings and inspired by community design initiatives—created by Minnesota artist Seitu Jones.

New urbanism was also a hot topic of discussion. Some community designers are new urbanists who marry their community practice with ideas of place gathered from the study and analysis of successful built environments. They see new urbanism as a tool to mine accumulated community knowledge from the built fabric. Many others, who

Service-learning inspires some of the new initiatives; many have a goal of marrying environmental and social justice; and an increasing number of center founders are trained as landscape architects.

don't identify as new urbanists, use tools developed by new urbanists as integral components of their work. Several cited the importance of new urbanism in bringing discussion of the built environment and the public realm to the table. Others criticized new urbanism as a continuance of design and planning that puts form and profit ahead of people and justice.

Community Design has been somewhat of a stealth movement, largely hidden from view of the major players in the worlds of government, funding and policy.

Transitions in leadership and stability of funding sources continue to be the major factors affecting the strength of existing centers. Students expressed frustration at not being able to locate community design job opportunities.

Many commented on the difficulty of locating funding information and connecting to those developing policy.

All agreed that community design continues to produce exceptional quality work. Henry Sanoff, however, said that he felt the movement had lost its creative edge and challenged community designers to investigate and incorporate the work of community media and technology and industrial design.

The Future of Community Design?

Community Design has been somewhat of a stealth movement, largely hidden from view of the major players in the worlds of govern-

ment, funding and policy. Ron Shiffman suggested that a low profile may benefit the movement, since lack of national identity allows each design center to establish the most appropriate local role. Others argued that the lack of national and international recognition has also limited funding, engagement in policy conversations, exchange and participation.

During the concluding discussion of the symposium participants agreed that there is a need for collective initiatives to advance the field. Goals of this collaboration are to:

- Provide opportunities for all design students to study and participate in community and other civic practice;
- Strengthen networking in the field and externally;
- Document knowledge and build memory to inform future practice;
- Expand research in community design and topics relevant to community practice; and
- Tell the story of community design successes.

For more information on the Harvard conference mention in this article, visit <http://gsd.harvard.edu/communitydesign>

For more information on Community Design, visit <http://www.communitydesign.org>

Kathy Dorgan is President of the Association for Community Design.

Your Last Issue?

Please check the date on your mailing label. If it is JULY 1, 2000 or earlier this will be your last issue unless we receive your annual dues RIGHT AWAY! See page 47 for minimum dues amounts.

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MOVING?

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Palestinian Cities as Prisons

By Tom Angotti

The nation founded after the dismantling of Nazi prison camps is turning Palestinian towns and cities into giant prisons. Israel's military has them surrounded, controls all access, and can enter and destroy at will. The new Israeli settlements, exclusionary gated communities with heavy military protection, are off limits to Palestinians. This system of apartheid maintains and reinforces Israeli economic and political control of the West Bank and Gaza.

While the U.S., European Union, and United Nations stand by and issue declarations for peace and a Palestinian state, Israel has destroyed through war the real prospects for a Palestinian state and the hopes for peace. The West Bank and Gaza have become *de facto* Israeli property (and Israel mines the West Bank for its water supply). Israel has devastated the infrastructure of the Palestinian Authority. The Israeli notion of Palestinian independence is the creation of Bantustans in the West Bank and Gaza under the leadership of chiefs approved by Israel.

Israel is the largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid and gets \$2 billion a year in military aid alone whether or not illegal Israeli settlements are built and Palestinian houses are destroyed in the West Bank and Gaza.

All those who favor open, democratic cities should join the international campaigns for implementation of the UN resolutions calling for the complete withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Territories and dismantling of the illegal Israeli settlements.

From the Resolution Adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1998, one of several hundred UN resolutions that Israel has ignored:

Reaffirms that Israeli settlements in the Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem and the occupied Syrian Golan are illegal and an obstacle to peace and economic and social development;

Calls upon Israel to accept the *de jure* applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and to the occupied Syrian Golan

Demands complete cessation of the construction of ... all Israeli settlement activities in the occupied Palestinian territory including Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan.

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Argentina: Revueltas Populares, Grandes Ciudades, Espacios Públicos

*Por Alejandro Rofman
(Buenos Aires)*

La ciudadanía argentina ha protagonizado importantes acciones participativas desde diciembre de 2001 y en los meses que han transcurrido durante este año 2002. El ámbito en que la reacción popular se ha manifestado ha sido, y sigue siendo, el de los principales centros urbanos del país, comenzando por el mayor aglomerado, el Gran Buenos Aires, de 13 millones de habitantes.

Los acontecimientos citados principian por lo menos tres años atrás con núcleos espontáneos y, contando con participantes en número cada vez mayor, protestaron en las vías de acceso de las grandes ciudades por su situación de pobreza, marginalidad y desempleo. Y lo hicieron mediante un procedimiento novedoso, pues conformaron barreras humanas impidiendo el tránsito normal en autopistas, puentes y caminos principales, alrededor de las ciudades. En algunos casos, tales acciones, que se manifestaron a través de los llamados "piquetes" (de ahí el término de "piqueteros" con que fueron identificados estos grupos críticos), llegaron a aislar, durante días, a importantes aglomeraciones urbanas del resto del país. Estos piquetes reclamaban, desde su situación social de alto desamparo, que se les proporcionase comida y trabajo, así como subsidios al desempleo en forma transitoria.

Las rebeliones populares prosiguen con los publicitados "saqueos," que son asaltos masivos, sin armas, a mercados populares o supermercados para conseguir comida en medio de la crisis social y la carencia de ingresos de una gran cantidad de población indigente (calculada hoy en alrededor del 15 % del total del país, o sea unos cinco millones de personas, cuyos ingresos no les alcanza siquiera para alimentarse). Esos saqueos fueron sistemáticos durante diciembre y recordaron los de 1989, en otra gran crisis

social. La policía logró controlarlo con pérdidas de vidas por la represión.

El tercer modelo de protesta urbana callejera fue--y, en algunos casos sigue siendo--el del "cacerolazo," protagonizado por sectores medios en las grandes ciudades, en especial en Buenos Aires. Aquí, los que participaron en este movimiento masivo fueron, principalmente, segmentos sociales pertenecientes a las capas medias urbanas, quejas por las fuertes restricciones para extraer dinero de los bancos, la corrupción dominante, la inoperancia de la dirigencia política para sacar al país de la depresión económica y la crisis social, y la corruptela e incapacidad de la justicia.

Las manifestaciones de los días 19 y 20 de diciembre, que terminaron por derrumbar el gobierno de Fernando de la Rúa como presidente, exhibieron expresiones populares de los tres tipos que, coincidentes en el tiempo, hicieron imposible la supervivencia de un gobierno autista e impopular. Todas estas expresiones de rebeldía social, con distintos motivos pero coincidentes en el rechazo a las formas institucionales de la política formal, pues se organizaron y se llevaron adelante por afuera de toda estructura partidista o institucional, convergieron, finalmente, en las llamadas "asambleas populares barriales," que funcionan en plazas y calles y que han gestado nuevas formas de representación por afuera del sistema político tratando de canalizar reclamos y definiendo estrategias alternativas.

Todo ha resultado, entonces, en un muy importante protagonismo popular en la gestión política, por razones a la vista divergentes pero en las tres ocasiones, como resultado de una política económica nefasta, de neto corte neoliberal, explotadora de la fuerza de trabajo y expulsora de amplias capas de la

población de sus fuentes laborales, conduciéndolas a la pobreza (hoy en día estimada en un 50% de la población urbana del país). Sin embargo, y eso es lo novedoso y, a la vez, lo valioso, la experiencia se desarrolló y, en el caso de los piquetes y las protestas sociales callejeras, como los "cacerolazos," se sigue llevando a cabo, no en el marco de las estructuras formales institucionales sino en las avenidas y las calles de las ciudades.

El espacio público urbano ha sido, así, un continente insospechado para viabilizar la democratización de las rebeldías de la población y ha posibilitado conformar un ámbito, como el ágora ateniense, que supera en legitimidad y autenticidad, al de gran parte de los salones cerrados y no participativos en donde sesion-

an los organismos formales de la sociedad. Estas formas de democracia directa, con todas sus limitaciones, han abierto una esperanza nueva en la sociedad argentina, tan castigada por la fractura social. Al mismo tiempo la ciudad ha recuperado una presencia desconocida. Los ámbitos públicos se han convertido en los espacios donde el pueblo afirma su identidad y expresa, ahora cada vez más organizado, su repudio al sistema económico-social vigente pero reclama, simultáneamente, un protagonismo mucho tiempo relegado para definir el futuro de la Nación.

Alejandro Rofman es Profesor e Investigador Principal en el Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Argentina Update: Popular Revolts, Big Cities and Public Spaces

*By Alejandro Rofman
(Buenos Aires)*

(English summary of above article)

Since December of 2001 Argentine citizens have taken part in major protests in the nation's major cities, starting with Buenos Aires, a metropolis of 13 million. These started at least three years ago with spontaneous protests along major access roads to cities. In some cases protesters blocked access to cities for days. They demanded jobs, food and aid for the unemployed.

The popular revolt also includes massive unarmed attacks on food markets. About five million people, or 15% of the population, earn less than needed for the basic food basket. Police repressed these protests but not without causing the loss of lives. The third type of urban protest is the *cacerolazo*, or banging of pots and pans. This is led by the middle class, particularly in Buenos Aires. Many complain of the tight restrictions on withdrawing money from banks, corruption, and the inability of the political class to find a solution to the chronic economic crisis.

While these forms of protest have different origins, they all reject the formal political institutions and parties. They eventually came

together in "popular neighborhood assemblies" that take place on the streets and in public places and which seek new forms of representation and alternative strategies. All of these protests respond to a neoliberal political economy that exploits and displaces workers, pushing them into poverty conditions. An estimated 50% of the urban population is living in poverty.

Urban public spaces have become an unexpected site for the democratization of popular protest. They facilitate an environment, like the Athenian agora, which is more authentic and legitimate than the closed rooms where the formal institutions of society meet. These new forms of direct democracy, with all their limitations, have opened up new hope for Argentina's fragmented society. Public places have been transformed into spaces where the people affirm their identity and express in an increasingly organized way their rejection of the existing socio-economic system and demand a role in defining the future.

Alejandro Rofman is Professor and Sr. Researcher in the Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

PN NEWS

•News from Barbara Rahder, Planners Network Co-Chair

We hope you enjoy *The Planners Network Magazine*. Our new format is a kind of coming-of-age for Planners Network (PN). We have come a long way from the mimeographed newsletter originally sent out by Chester Hartman to a few hundred of his closest friends and associates. For many years, PN was primarily a printed newsletter of events and member updates. Several years ago, under Tom Angotti's guidance, we began to publish one or two short articles in each newsletter. As the popularity of this content became clear to us, we added more articles and, later, theme issues. This second issue of *Planners Network Magazine* brings our format into line with our content. We will still provide you with member updates, news and events, but the substantive discussions that take place in these pages, and at our annual conferences, have clearly become the source of our strength as a network.

This year's PN conference theme is "A New Vision for Historic Cities: Bridging Divides, Building Futures." The conference will be held from June 13 to 16 in Holyoke and Amherst, Massachusetts. Holyoke is one of the oldest planned industrial cities in North America, and is now facing many of the same challenges associated with capitalist globalization as other cities not only in the US but around the world. Like many PN conferences in the past, this conference will be used as a catalyst for change, bringing together citizens, educators, activists, organizers and students. Among the major conference tracks are: Innovative Approaches to Economic Development; Affordable Housing Models; Participatory Planning and Development; the Role of the Arts in Urban Revitalization; Environmental

Justice and Urban Agriculture; and much, much more. A registration form is included in this issue of the magazine. We hope to see you there. Check out the PN website for more details: www.plannersnetwork.org.

•Chapter News

Canada News from Canada includes a new spin-off organization in Toronto called Planning Action. Its purpose, broadly speaking, is to: 1) make the planning system more accessible to marginalized communities; 2) advocate for more equitable planning policies and practices; and 3) challenge and broaden the scope of mainstream planning practices in Toronto. This new non-profit will hold its first Annual General Meeting in mid-April 2002. We should be hearing more from this group in an upcoming issue of *Planners Network Magazine*. To find out more about this new group contact Sue Bunce via email at sbunce@yorku.ca.

England News from abroad comes via Rachel Bland of Southfields, UK, who has been tirelessly organizing for a couple of years to launch a fledgling organization called Planners Network UK. Check out their website at www.plannersnetwork.co.uk.

•News from members Peter Marcuse, Lynn McCormick and Ayse Yonder in New York

Planners Network members in New York organized three forums recently to hear various groups planning for post-9/11 redevelopment in New York City. The state-constituted Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) gets the formal say in planning for the site—along with the site's lessor, Larry

Silverstein. Other groups, however, have also been developing proposals in the interests of other constituencies that want to be heard. The speakers at the first two PN forums included representatives from:

The Labor Community Advocacy Network (LCAN), a group of about sixty representatives from various labor, community and advocacy organizations in New York City, co-convened by the Fiscal Policy Institute, the Central Labor Council and the Brennan Center for Justice.

New York New Visions, a coalition of twenty architecture, planning and design organizations led by the American Institute of Architects New York Chapter and the American Planning Association Metro Chapter.

The Rebuild Downtown Our Town (R-DOT), a coalition of lower Manhattan residents, businesses, community and business associations, artists, colleges, professionals, designers and public officials.

The Civic Alliance, a coalition of more than seventy-five business, community and environmental groups convened by the Regional Plan Association.

Rebuild for Whom? Spotlight on the Poor; a network initiated by Mobilization For Youth (MFY) that consists of grassroots organizers, advocacy groups, community-based organizations and service providers, mostly from the Lower East Side and Chinatown, as well as planners, academics and policymakers.

In addition, other organizations are highlighting important aspects of the crisis that otherwise would be overlooked. The Municipal Art Society's visioning project, *Imagine NY*, co-sponsored by community-based planning and advocacy groups, has been convening public forums across the city and region to discuss people's visions for rebuilding downtown. The Asian American Federation just completed a study showing that Chinatown residents have borne a disproportionate share of the employment loss occurring since September. Almost seventy-five percent of the community's workers faced lay-offs immediately after the event

and three months later one-fourth remained unemployed; by February, seventy percent of garment workers and one-third of the community's restaurant workers were still working reduced hours. Chinatown's businesses and infrastructure also suffered, yet Chinatown is officially outside of the LMDC's geographically targeted planning zone.

From these forums, Planners Network members identified several key issues that will make the next phase of planning in this environment highly conflictual. Planners Network members will continue to raise these issues—summarized in eight points by Peter Marcuse—as the Planners Network position at different planning meetings.

1. Money: Who gets it? There is at least \$21.3 billion federal dollars involved, not counting money to airlines and insurance companies, for victims, and from state and city sources. The overwhelming part is going to businesses, and the bulk of that to giant businesses, disproportionately those in the financial sector. Little is going to workers, unemployed as a result of September 11, for things like training, housing assistance, and emergency help. Too little is going to small businesses; almost all is going regardless of need.

2. Location: Where should the money be spent? Most of those who lost their jobs do not live in Manhattan; very few live in lower Manhattan. Those in Manhattan certainly need consideration, but so do those who live in Brooklyn, Queens and other neighborhoods. Economic development is important in lower Manhattan; it is also important in the other sub-centers of the city. Transportation to lower Manhattan is important; it is also important in many other parts of the city. Development spread out—rather than over-concentration in lower Manhattan—is more likely to be equitable, to help those needing jobs, and to reduce congestion and pollution.

3. Process: Who decides? The LMDC has been entrusted with wide-ranging responsibilities, but its role should be to implement, not to make decisions. The LMDC is not democratic; it represents a narrow range of interests. Elected representatives who are responsible

to the voters and who can be held directly accountable should be the ones to make public decisions.

4. Process: Who should be involved? People throughout the city have been affected by September 11, and people throughout the city will be affected by measures now under consideration to deal with its consequences. Those most directly affected should be given major respect, but not in unbalanced fashion so as to reduce the ability of others throughout the city to participate. Professional groups, good government groups and civic groups should be importantly involved. The decisions to be made, however, are not simply technical decisions. Furthermore, most groups have specific interests in the outcomes and their participation should expand, not be a substitute for, the democratic process.

5. Process: What regulatory procedures should be used? The LMDC and the Port Authority may be in a position to avoid many regulatory procedures, including land use regulations, environmental impact assessments and various city codes. Attempts will be made to expand these exemptions for projects in lower Manhattan. But democratic procedures to permit open and informed public participation in decision-making have been fought for over many years; they should be consistently applied—whether technically required to or not—and expanded, not narrowed.

6. Focus on the financial sector: Is it desirable? Planning thus far visualizes major effort and money going to subsidize the strength of the financial sector and its continued location

in lower Manhattan. But that sector is very volatile, its wages and earnings reflect extreme inequality and emphasis on it comes at the expense of other sectors, particularly manufacturing. Where subsidies go should be decided in terms of who requires such subsidies and who will ultimately benefit, not automatically to promote the financial sector in a particular location.

7. Housing: For whom should it be subsidized? Presently, substantial sums of money are allocated to those already living in lower Manhattan to keep them there, whether individuals need subsidy for that purpose or not. Unless housing affordable to lower, middle-income and poor people is publicly provided, lower Manhattan will become an exclusive higher-income enclave. Demand-side subsidies will contribute to maintaining high land prices; supply-side subsidies, to support public, non-profit and limited equity cooperative ownership, are required.

8. Civil rights: Do they need to be considered? Immigrants, including some without formal papers, were heavily impacted by September 11, both directly as workers in the World Trade Center and its dependent businesses, and because of the resulting backlash against immigrants. Security measures invoked after September 11 threaten to impede the exercise of democratic rights and have resulted in unfair treatment of many, particularly immigrants. They are, in a different sense, as much victims of September 11 as those already properly considered as such. Funds and assistance should be provided to ensure fair treatment and open democracy.

Submissions Welcome

Planners Network is always looking for thoughtful, well-written articles for upcoming issues of the magazine. For guidelines and submission information, see page 3 of this issue.

UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES

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

RESOURCES

Jobs

California

The **Bay Area Transportation and Land Use Coalition** seeks a **Community Planning and Outreach Coordinator** to educate and involve under-represented and disadvantaged communities in the Bay Area in transportation planning and decision-making. The Coalition is a partnership of over eighty organizations working together to promote a more sustainable and socially-just region by combining high quality research and policy analysis with grassroots community organizing to promote sustainable transportation investments, affordable, transit-oriented housing, and other Smart Growth strategies. Application deadline: July 25, 2002. More information available at www.transcoalition.org.

The **Low Income Housing Fund** seeks a **Director** to be responsible for overall operation and direction of community development activities. Requires leadership experience, fundraising and nonprofit management experience. Advanced degree preferred. Cover letter and resume to HR, Low Income Housing Fund, 1330 Broadway, Suite 600, Oakland CA, 94612.

District of Columbia

The **Center for Community Change (CCC)** seeks an **Organizational Development and Community Organizing Specialist** to work with community-based organizations (CBO) in the Eastern region of the US to become organizationally stronger and more effective in carrying out their respective missions. Candidates should have a minimum of five years experience in a senior staff position in a nonprofit CBO or as a provider of technical assistance to CBOs. Submit resume to: Center for Community Change, Attn: Human Resources, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC

20007; or fax to 202.333.5462.

CCC also seeks a **Project Director** for Lifting New Voices, a project designed to assist local CBOs to support youth organizing and incorporate youth involvement into their policy planning and programmatic decision-making. Resumes should be submitted to Cristina Lopez, Director of Field Projects at the above address, or to clopez@communitychange.org.

Florida

The **Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities** seeks an individual with strong skills in the field of urban and regional planning to act as **Program Manager**. The nearly three-year-old membership organization was created to inform and strengthen philanthropic funders' abilities to support and connect organizations working to advance social equity, create better economies, build livable communities and protect and preserve natural resources. Full job description can be found at: <http://www.fundersnetwork.org/>.

Nevada

The **Regional Transportation Commission** of Reno, Nevada seeks a **Principal or Senior Planner** to supervise professional planning staff and perform professional transportation planning assignments. Requires BA in relevant field, minimum of five years progressively responsible planning experience. More information, contact Robinson@rtcwashoe.com

New York

Safe Horizon seeks an experienced **Program Director** to manage and administer a domestic violence residential program. Requires organizational, computer skills, Spanish, domestic violence Tier II residential experience. Salary: \$50-55K DOE. Fax resume and cover to Safe Horizon 212.577.5083.

New York (cont.)

The **Fifth Avenue Committee** seeks a **Director of Property Management** to manage the organization's portfolio of buildings to insure high-quality management and long-term viability. Requires property management experience, knowledge of building systems, computer and communication skills. Salary: mid-\$50s. Send resume and cover letter to Director of Property Management, Fifth Avenue Committee, 141 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn NY 11217; or fax application materials to 718.857.4322.

The **Abyssinian Development Corporation** seeks a **Director of Development and Communications** to raise funds, oversee endowment campaign, develop funder relationships and plan public relations events. Requires at least BA, three years' experience in nonprofit fundraising, oral and written communications skills. Fax cover letter and resume to 212.368.5483.

Brennan Fellowship: Work on First Amendment issues with ACLU's national legal department. Analysis of pending Supreme Court cases; drafting of briefs and pleadings; participation in trial litigation. The fellow is selected from third-year law students or recent graduates and will serve for a one-year period starting September 2002. Applications to ACLU, 125 Broad Street, 18th Floor, NY, NY, 10004, Attn: Brennan Fellowship.

Oregon

Resource Assistance for Rural Environments (RARE), an Americorps Program, is accepting applications for 2002-2003 placements. Participants assist rural Oregon in the development and implementation of projects relating to community and economic development, watershed and natural resources planning, policy coordination and delivery of social services. Participants receive a taxable living stipend of \$1,250/mo. and medical health insurance, and are eligible for an educational award upon successful completion of 1,700 hours of service. Deadline: June 14, 2002. For more detailed information, visit <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~cpw/RARE/rare.html> or call 541.346.2879 or email rare@darkwing.uoregon.edu

Events

June 6-7. **The Humane Metropolis: People and Nature in the 21st Century**, Cambridge, MA, sponsored by the Lincoln Land Institute. Visit www.umass.edu/ecologicalcities/ for more information.

June 9-28. **Fourth Annual Microenterprise Development Institute**, Southern New Hampshire University. For information, visit http://www.snhu.edu/Southern_New_Hamps_hire_University/Academics/MDI_Home.html.

June 28-July 5. **Community Informatics: An Electronic Network for Economic Democracy**, Middlesbrough UK. For information, visit www.cira.org.uk/events.htm#Self-Management_Conference.

June 13-16. **Tenth Congress for the New Urbanism**, Miami Beach. This national meeting with more than 1,000 members expected will examine transit-oriented development, improving suburban strips, and how to fit new downtowns into aging suburbs. For information, visit <http://www.cnu.org/>.

June 13-15. **Third Annual Festival of Community Economics: From Mondragon to America**, sponsored by the University College of Cape Breton, held in Nova Scotia, Canada. Contact leesing@uccb.ns.ca for info.

June 28-July 27. **Workshops and Practice in Social Ecology**, Institute for Social Ecology, Plainfield, VT. Visit www.social-ecology.org for more information.

July 11-13. **Reclaiming Economic Development**, the First Annual Conference of Good Jobs First, held in Washington, DC. For detailed information, see www.goodjobsfirst.org/flyer.htm.

July 19-21. **Eastern Conference for Workplace Democracy**, College Park, MD. For information, contact lmach@ncba.coop.

Dates Vary. **GIS Summer Workshops** at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Department of Urban and Regional Planning. For information, see www.urban.uiuc.edu/ce/.

Publications

The Asian American Federation, a nonprofit policy and service leadership organization, announces **Chinatown after September 11th: An Economic Impact Study**, the first neighborhood-level study after September 11th. Drawing upon more than thirty data sources, the study evaluates the extent of business and employment hardship stemming from infrastructure impediments and other factors. The study also examines the degree to which short-term assistance relieved economic distress for Chinatown. To download the report, visit <http://www.aafny.org>.

International Careers in Urban Planning, edited by Sarah Bowen and Christina Delius, provides insights into a career in the international realm of planning. Includes thirty interviews with planners from around the world working in diverse organizations as well as essays and resources about planning education, international planning organizations and conferences. Published by the International Division of the American Planning Association (APA), Dec. 2001, (paperback, 193 pages). To order the book, send \$24.95 (plus \$3 per copy for shipping and handling) in the form of a check or purchase order payable to APA International Division to the following address: APA International Division, c/o Institute of Public Administration, 411 Lafayette Street, Suite 303, New York, NY 10003, USA. For orders outside the US, add \$10 for shipping and handling.

A collaboration of the Smart Growth Network and the National Neighborhood Coalition has published a report, **Affordable Housing and Smart Growth: Making the Connection**. The report identifies a range of policies and approaches that help achieve smart growth and affordable housing objectives. Download the report at the Smart Growth website: www.smartgrowth.org/pdf/epa_ah-sg.pdf.

The LISC Center for Homeownership and the Knowledge Sharing Initiative announces the release of two new studies. **Gathering and Presenting Information about Your Neighborhood** offers proven methods for creating a marketplace campaign that sells real

estate and the neighborhood. **Building Neighborhoods of Choice** gives a detailed description of where to find data for small areas, how to access and analyze the data and how to use data in presentations. Visit <http://www.liscnet.org/resources/>.

The **Brownfields Quarterly Community Report** welcomes news about local brownfield efforts by community groups and others. If you have a story about what's happening where you are, contact the USEPA Region II Brownfields Quarterly Community Report Message Center at 212.269.6322.

California Dream: Regional Solutions for 21st Century Challenges presents an actionable policy framework for empowering regional decision-making and specific recommendations about how state policies and practices should be reformed and aligned to support better decisions for regional outcomes. Download it at www.regionalism.org/pdf/finalreport.pdf.

Crafting a New Design for Civic Leadership documents the lessons learned from the Pew Partnership's Civic Entrepreneur Initiative, a program aimed at equipping new leaders to take action in their communities. To download the report, visit the Pew website at <http://www.pew-partnership.org/pdf/pceireport.pdf>.

Sprawl as a Civil Rights Issue: A Mayor's Perspective argues that sprawl is indeed a civil rights issue that must be addressed. Written by Rochester, NY Mayor William A. Johnson, Jr. and published by the George Washington University Center on Sustainable Growth. To download Johnson's full report, visit www.law.gwu.edu/csg/Johnson.pdf.

Grants and Awards

The **Robert Wood Johnson Foundation** is offering \$35K start-up grants and technical assistance to help communities organize new Faith in Action coalitions that provide volunteer services, care and companionship to people of all ages and faiths who are homebound because of long-term problems. For more information, visit www.rwjf.org/applyForGrant/cfpAbstract.jsp?cfpCode=FIA.

The **Handspring Foundation** offers product donations and grants ranging from \$1-25K to nonprofit organizations that help at-risk children and youth. The foundation supports programs that use the arts, technology or sports to help youth; provide direct child health services; assist youth who are victims of abuse, neglect and homelessness. More information at www.handspring.com/company/foundation.

The **Center for Community Change** urges you to join the campaign for a National Housing Trust Fund to create a permanent \$5 billion housing fund to build or preserve 1.5 billion low-income homes over the next ten years. For detailed information, visit <http://www.nhtf.org/nhtf/default.asp>

The **US Department of Health and Human Services** is accepting applications for new grants based on the availability of funders under the Office of Community Services section 505 of the Family Support Act of 1998. For more information, contact ocs@legnet.com.

Echoing Green offers full-time fellowships to emerging social entrepreneurs. The foundation takes a venture capital approach to philanthropy by providing seed money and technical support to individuals who create innovative public service projects that attempt to create positive social change. Applications for the 2003 Fellows will be available summer-fall 2002. Visit <http://www.echoinggreen.org>.

The **Phoenix Awards** recognize outstanding brownfields projects from across the nation. The awards are presented to those brownfields projects that demonstrate tangible results, including improvement of local environmental conditions and long-term economic benefits to the surrounding community. Deadline: June 7, 2002. See www.phoenixawards.org for details.

Internet Resources

The **Internet Nonprofit Center** has detailed information on many aspects of nonprofit incorporation and regulation. To learn more, visit <http://www.nonprofits.org/npofaq/>.

Worker's Network is designed to facilitate the creation of worker co-ops and transformation

of existing workplaces into co-ops, including resources, links and references to assist in the formation of co-ops. For details, visit <http://workersnet.org>.

Community Way is a new tool for charitable fund-raising and community economic development, a self-financing project linking businesses and non-profits in a mutually beneficial exchange circuit and is found only at www.communityway.org.

Dietforasmallplanet.com highlights institutions and organizations that contribute to a more just world and includes information on Frances Moore Lappe's latest book, *Hope's Edge*. Visit www.dietforasmallplanet.com.

LISC has developed a sample **CDC Policies and Procedures Manual** to aid community development corporations in their administration of federal funds. For details see www.lisc-net.org/resources/pubfund/tools/sample_cdc_manual.shtml.

LISC is redesigning its **Online Resource Library** to improve the site and to offer additional features. The site will soon be classified in primary categories including Affordable Housing and Social and Economic Development and will contain timely announcements and recommendations such as new funding opportunities. See <http://www.lisc-net.org/resources/> for details soon.

The **Gotham Gazette** has published a listing of New York foundations and foundation resources for those researching funding opportunities. Visit the Gazette website at www.gothamgazette.com/foundations/.

The **National Low Income Housing Coalition** has updated data for the current edition of *America's Growing Wage-Rent Disparity*. To see the new data visit <http://www.nlihc.org/oor2001/index.htm>.

Co-Op America and the **Social Investment Forum** are offering copies of **Building Communities**, a guide for advice on avoiding predatory lending and investing in low-income communities. To download the guide, visit www.communityinvest.org/brochure.pdf.

PN UPDATES

PN Member Bio

by Jennifer Hurley

Although I have been a member of Planners Network for several years, I have never introduced myself. I am a native of small-town Texas who fell in love with cities during college. After a few years of activist work, I decided that planning was a way to combine my interests in economic development, political advocacy and architecture and urban form. I went to graduate school at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, and then returned to Philadelphia.

Almost a year ago, I left my job in the Comprehensive Planning Division of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission to join Philip E. Franks & Associates (PFA) as a Planner/Project Manager. PFA is an architecture and planning firm that specializes in public involvement, urban design and transportation planning. In January I became a partner, and we changed the firm's name to Hurley-Franks & Associates.

In my free time (!), I have been active in sev-

eral planning-related organizations. I am a volunteer for the Community Design Collaborative (<http://www.cdesignc.org>), a nonprofit that organizes architects and other design professionals to provide volunteer, conceptual design services to community organizations. This conceptual design work helps clarify the organization's vision, and provides them with materials to use in applying for funding.

I have also been active with new urbanism in various ways. I am a regular member and contributor to the Pro-Urb listserv. This past year, I was one of twelve inaugural Fellows of the Knight Program in Community Building based at the University of Miami School of Architecture (<http://www.charrettecenter.com/knight>).

The program aims to address the complex problems associated with suburban sprawl and inner city disinvestment. Each fellow is conducting their own research project, and I am focusing on barriers to public participation in poor communities. If any PNers have insights, please let me know at jhurley@hfadesign.com! Finally, I am a founding board member of the fledgling Association for New

Mark Your Calendars!!!

2002 Planners Network National Conference
New Visions for Historic Cities: Crossing Divides, Building Futures

• • • • •

Holyoke, Massachusetts and Hampshire College campus
June 13-16, 2002

Conference overview and details on registration, panels, workshops and housing options begins on page 26 of this issue.

Urbanism in Pennsylvania (ANUPA), a network of people interested in promoting the principles of new urbanism in Pennsylvania.

The planning profession turned out to be more technocratic and less oriented to social justice than I expected. I depend on Planners Network to keep me connected to why I became a planner in the first place.

Member Updates

Gerda Wekerle, Anders Sandberg and Liette Gilbert, faculty members in the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, have been awarded a three-year research grant by the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council entitled "Unlikely Allies: Citizen Planning and Environmentalism on the Oak Ridges Moraine."

Gerda R. Wekerle delivered a paper at the American Association of Geographers, LA, March 23, 2002 on the topic "Women and the Local State: Outsiders, Insiders and Civil Society".

The Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University organized a Speakers Series from October 2001 to March 2002 on the topic "Planning Transformations." Topics included the regional city, transit options, politics and planning, planning education and planning practice. One panel, in March 2002, on *Planning in an Environment of Global Conflict*, featured presentations by Gerda Wekerle on local activism in an environment of growing repression; Pablo Bose, PhD candidate in the Faculty of Environmental Studies, on the repression of dissent and civil liberties against activists in India; and David Bell, Professor of Environmental Studies and Director of the York Centre for Applied Sustainability, talking about the links between sustainability and peace studies.

Prakash M. Apte (FIIA, FITP, Mumbai, India) has been engaged as a Consultant by the World Bank to advise on the Resettlement and Rehabilitation component of the Mumbai Urban Transport Project II. It involves resettlement of slum dwellers staying within the safety zone of the suburban rail lines in the

Mumbai Metropolitan Region and affects more than 24,000 families of slum dwellers.

Kanishka Goonewardena (University of Toronto) has recently published two articles entitled "Aborted Identity: The Commission and Omission of a Monument to the Nation, Sri Lanka, circa 1989" in *Radical History Review*, Vol. 82, Winter 2002, and "Urban Space and Political Consciousness: A Report on Theory" in *Review of Radical Political Economy* (forthcoming).

Ranu Basu (University of Toronto) has accepted a position as Assistant Professor at the Department of Geography, York University, Toronto, Ontario for Fall 2002.

Norma Rantisi (University of Toronto) has accepted a position as Assistant Professor at the Department of Geography, Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec for Fall 2002.

Ann Forsyth is moving to Minnesota to become the Director of the Design Center for American Urban Landscape (DCAUL) and Dayton Hudson Chair of Urban Design at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. DCAUL is a design research center that works with communities, public agencies and the private sector in urban redevelopment, suburban redesign, collaborative planning and metropolitan development. For more information, www.cala.umn.edu/design_center/dcaul.html

New Association

The Planum Association was established on February 21, 2002 with the support of the Ten Telecom project. This international planning association is open to scientific journals, academic and research institutes, practitioners' associations, scholars, policymakers, stakeholders, and the wider arena of those involved in the fields of urban development and environment preservation. Founding members are from France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom, and the association promotes *Planum*, the European journal of planning online. For more information about the Planum Association, its founding members or the online journal, see: www.planum.net/planumsociety/menu.html.

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, Toronto, Canada, and Rochester, NY.

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

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

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

Canadian members: See column to right.

Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

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

- \$40 for students, unemployed, and those with incomes <\$40,000
- \$55 for those with incomes between \$40,000 and 80,000
- \$75 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 listserv, include your email address with payment 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 use the list.

PN ADVERTISING RATES:

- Full page \$250
- 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 January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

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