

PLANNERS NETWORK

The Magazine of Progressive Planning



Photo by Ann Forsyth

Workshop at El Arco Iris/YouthPower, PN 2002 Conference, Holyoke, MA

Bridging Divides, Building Futures: A Puerto Rican Perspective (*granito de arena*)

From a talk delivered by Agustin Lao-Montes, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, on Saturday June 15th, 2002 at the Planners Network National Conference, "New Visions For Historic Cities: Bridging Divides, Building Futures," in Holyoke, Massachusetts.

Last weekend, I went to New York to go to the Puerto Rican Parade and to attend the presentation of the memoirs of Antonia Pantojas, the founder of ASPIRA and the National Puerto Rican Coalition. In the parade I found myself greeting and cheering not only the delegation of Ponce and New York but also of Western Massachusetts, my new Puerto Rican home. The last census shows that the fastest growing Puerto Rican communities in the United States are now in Hartford, Connecticut; Springfield

and Holyoke, Massachusetts; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Southern Florida. The Puerto Rican Airbus, and the everyday travel of people, phone calls, emails, products and political movements between the island and the Puerto Rican diaspora in the US inspired writers to call Puerto Rico a commuter nation.

But many Puerto Ricans here in Holyoke, and in many other American cities, share with many compatriots on the island not only a national identity but also the results of long-term colonialism, including mass unemployment and class and racial discrimination. This is a long and complicated story, but as Carlos Vega, executive director of the Holyoke community development corporation La Nueva Esperanza, began to explain earlier in the conference, a threshold was Operation Bootstrap. [Cont. on page 4]

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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

2002 Conference Wrapup

By Eve Baron

Economic restructuring has dealt a blow to both large and small cities. Small cities, such as Holyoke, Massachusetts, the focus of this year's PN Annual Conference, share much with larger

reclaimed and renovated manufacturing complex.

LOCAL DISINVESTMENT, INSTITUTIONALIZED

The information presented at the conference, mirrored in the collection of articles in this issue of PN Magazine, addressed exactly what takes place at the local level as national economies were transformed by global economic restructuring. Holyoke's labor history, summarized in this issue by Agustin Lao-Montes, exemplifies the story: Puerto Rico, as one of the first "beneficiaries" in the 1940s and 50s of footloose American industrial capital, found itself with a large unemployment problem attributable to the boom and bust cycle as American companies set up shop in tax-free zones, with hefty subsidies, only to find that they could not survive and had to close down once the subsidies ran out. In order to survive, thousands of Puerto Rican nationals, having been "endowed" with U.S. citizenship, went north looking for work. In western Massachusetts, Puerto Ricans found work first in the tobacco fields (the climate lends itself to the production of a tobacco type used for cigar wrap), then in regional paper and textile manufacturing. American industrial capital again flowed freely, resulting in the loss of a large, stable employment base in Holyoke. The few remaining manufacturing jobs in Holyoke now require not only at least a high-school education, but fairly high-order computer skills as well: competition for these jobs is stiff. The increase in the skill level for manufacturing jobs has not been met by a commensurate increase in job training programs for Holyoke residents; consequently many, particularly those who do not finish high school, have few local employment prospects.

Although the local impacts of the mobility of capital are highly pronounced in a small city such as Holyoke, where the economy is not diversified enough to sustain the blow of the loss of manufacturing jobs, its residents and neighborhoods share a similar plight with those of larger post-industrial cities [Cont. on page 9]

Photo by Eve Baron



PN'ers at a Hope VI housing development in Holyoke

cities, but face particular challenges due to their size. However, such cities also have considerable assets.

Holyoke's urban landscape speaks both to its history and its future. As manufacturers left western Massachusetts, so did the jobs and the city's tax base. As Chris Holmes' article points out, many property owners felt that the most secure investment in Holyoke's residential areas was fire insurance: in the 1980s, arson claimed scores of buildings and left scars on the neighborhoods of the Flats and South Holyoke. Vacant buildings, vacant lots where multi-unit apartment buildings once stood, vacant eighteenth-century warehouse buildings exist in proximity to a newly-restored municipal building, a well-tended riverside park and museum, and a

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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?
- The 2004 Election

Lao-Montes [Cont. from page 1] Operation Bootstrap was the Puerto Rican industrialization process begun in 1947 to serve as a showcase of the alleged virtues of economic development based on investment by American corporations. Today, the outcomes are clear—a dependent local economy unable to employ more than 40 percent of the workforce.

The same cycle of deindustrialization, economic depression and related social ills—such as drug addiction and internecine violence—can be found in Puerto Rico and in Puerto Rican communities throughout the northeast of the US mainland. This is surely part of the larger context



Workshop at PN 2002 Conference, Holyoke, MA

of the local problems discussed at this conference. And it is so because our case is an important example of the failure of the corporate model of economic development that unfortunately is still promoted not only by the Puerto Rican government but also by the local governments of most American cities. In fact, the neoliberal corporate strategy of development was rehearsed in Puerto Rico because as a US colony, the island was open for tax-free US investment.

In his remarks at the conference, Carlos Vega said that the history of Holyoke is of “a clash of two cultures.” But ethnic relations have not been monolithic. Irish and Puerto Ricans, the two main ethnic groups in Holyoke, also have a common history of labor solidarity, diaspora and anti-colonial movements. Pedro Albizu Campos, the key figure of Puerto Rican nationalism, became a leading organizer for Irish liberation from England while he was a student here in New England. Puerto Rican labor leader and socialist organizer, Bernado Vega, testifies in his memoirs

about the solidarity between Puerto Rican and Irish workers and trade unionists in early twentieth-century New York. My own research comparing Ireland and Puerto Rico has been welcomed by Irish scholars and activists on the Green Island and I am a promoter of Irish Studies in the Five College Community. If we want to build the broad-based coalition that is needed to confront all the serious problems that we face in Holyoke, it is important to rescue this.

While producing a film on the conflict between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, several people compared Irish Catholics with African Americans because both are treated as second-class citizens. Puerto Ricans are also often defined as second-class citizens because of the linguistic and racial discrimination and class inequalities that many of us experience. As put by W.E.B. DuBois, a native of this Pioneer Valley, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.” I will say that it continues in this new millennium but is exacerbated by a capitalist globalization process that is producing huge income inequalities and excluding millions of people from basic means such as employment and housing. As many speakers have said before, Holyoke is no exception.

Conversations about our problems and challenges, as well as the present that we are building and the possible futures we are to imagine and forge together, need to occur at different interrelated scales, from revitalizing a block as Nueva Esperanza is doing, to developing state, national and global agendas. The concept of globalization is often construed as big corporations and banks taking over the world economy, but it can also mean grassroots organizations from different places developing a common program for a better world, what I call “globalization from below.” Last year, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, there was a World Social Forum in which thousands of grassroots organizations from all over the planet got together to discuss alternative strategies of development. We may ask, “What does this have to do with Holyoke?” Well, if the paper mills left Holyoke looking to pay lower wages and if Puerto Ricans came here because there were no jobs in the islands, this should tell us something about how the world works.

The social indicators of Holyoke and particularly of the working-class Puerto Rican/Latino community are well known: high unemployment, a poverty rate around 50 percent, and a school drop-out rate close to 40 percent in an over-

whelmingly young population. Very few of our students make it into the University of Massachusetts—the incredibly shrinking public university—thanks to the same corporate, neoliberal model of globalization. It is very important to develop community-based learning and participatory-action research in collaboration with communities, but in our case it is crucial to work together with the Holyoke educational system to channel whatever resources we all have to keep our youth in school and to recruit them with full scholarships into the Five Colleges. Indeed, as a Puerto Rican faculty member, I don’t see that issue simply as a collaboration between university and community, but also as one of the social responsibilities of the Puerto Rican/Latino professional middle-class to work with working-class communities and recast the future.

This is primarily a political question in the good sense of the word, a question of power and empowerment. But again, the issue is what kind of power and who is to be empowered so that the needs and interests of the majority will be represented and addressed. It is not a matter of replacing Barkley and Donahue with Perez and Rivera, but of finding ways in which the community will acquire the political power and socio-economic resources to get what it deserves: good jobs; decent housing; quality education and health care; venues to develop our cultural traditions; and creativity and decision-making influence at all levels of city government. The key to this kind of community empowerment, which is not rhetorical but real and concrete, is organizing. We are fighting against strong global and national trends and our limited local assets are not enough to solve all our problems, but our most powerful tool is in our numbers and our ability to organize for common causes.

An important example close to home is how in Vieques, Puerto Rico, people have united in a single voice to expel the US Navy that is affecting their health, economic development and quality of life. The US Navy is a very powerful contender, but the people of Vieques and Puerto Rico, with solid and consistent organization and international solidarity, pushed even President Bush in his alleged time of war, to promise to take the US Navy out of Vieques by next year.

To close, I want to return to the vision of Antonia Pantojas, arguably the key figure in US Puerto Rican community development in the past cen-

tury. Her vision changed from one of promoting education for social mobility—reflected in the creation of ASPIRA—to a more grassroots vision of community empowerment that she enacted in PRODUCIR, the last organization she promoted. I find this trajectory, from aspiring to producing, very revealing for our present path as activists, planners and organizers. Antonia Pantojas had the wisdom and vision to realize that the main task is to build collective power—to establish local institutions of grassroots sustainable development at the same time that we



Holyoke, MA - site of 2002 PN conference.

build broad-based coalitions at the city, state, national and global levels to produce a more just and humane world.

Organizing is the main weapon of power that we have. A particular vision for community empowerment that was proposed by Jennifer Cannon in a university-community dialogue at the Puerto Rican Studies Association Conference in October, 2000 is to establish a Center for Community Organizing and Political Education here in Holyoke following the example of the Highlander Center in Tennessee. I propose this as a task for university-community partnership between community organizations in Holyoke and the Five Colleges.

To finish, one more thought about Holyoke. If Holyoke can be described as the first US city planned by bankers and corporations, it is our challenge to make it into one of the jewels of grassroots sustainable development and community-led planning.

Observations from Holyoke, 2002: Conference Planning as Cross-Cultural Dialogue

by Kiara L. Nagel

It's late Saturday night and the conference is winding down, the planners are exhausted from a long day of workshops, presentations, and cultural events, and some have even headed to their cars in search of sleep or a long ride home. But the night is far from over for some. Local Latino youth rule the dance floor and as the DJ pumps hip hop beats the kids cheer and form a circle, each one taking a turn to duck into the center and bust the latest dance moves. As a new jam starts in, cheers erupt and more kids from the sidelines rush the dance floor showing their approval for the song choice. This is far from a typical scene in Holyoke. The sight of young people partying together on a Saturday night in a safe, positive environment is something that is hard to come by. In a community where close to half the population is under 25, there are few activities for young people at night and on weekends despite countless youth programs that offer after school activities. I am reminded of the numerous participatory planning meetings where these same young people have argued the need for a teen center or nightclub and can't help wishing this could be a weekly event.

For several months now, I have been working on this conference titled: "New Visions for Historic Cities, Bridging Divides, Building Futures," in my role as conference organizer and co-chair of the local steering committee. This is the moment that we can finally see the fruits of our labor. Together with Mary Bombardier, the director of the Community Partnerships for Social Change program at Hampshire College, I have been working to bring people together and use the conference as a catalyst for change. I am a recent Hampshire College alum who worked extensively with Mary and the CPSC program as a student and served as a staff member at ElArco Iris Youth and Community Arts Center in Holyoke. Upon graduation in December 2000 I was hired as Special Programs Coordinator for Community Partnerships and given the opportunity to continue growing the program's capacity as part of the CPSC staff. Hampshire College's innovative curriculum encourages students to shape their own academic paths with a great deal of flexi-

bility. Since 1987, the Community Partnerships for Social Change program has been a campus resource for students and faculty who wish to integrate their academic interests with their social action/community-based experiences. A primary goal of the program is to facilitate respectful, reciprocal relationships between local communities and Hampshire College students, faculty, and staff. Community Partnerships offers community-based internship and research opportunities, training seminars, and a variety of resources to strengthen students' social justice organizing skills. Over the years, Community Partnerships for Social Change has been strengthening Hampshire College's relationship with community-based organizations in Holyoke. This relationship has allowed for more in-depth internship opportunities now identified as CPSC Partnership Programs. These partnerships involve a more committed relationship on the part of the college and the community organizations as we explore how the two can share resources, exchange knowledge and act as partners in more long-term efforts for change.

Holyoke is a city struggling with real problems that plague many smaller, post-industrial cities around the country. A negative image and buzzwords such as gangs, drugs, violence, teen pregnancy and post-industrial decay are thrown carelessly into descriptions of the city. What is usually left out is the creativity of the people, the drive of the youth, the many innovative strategies for change and collaborations between neighborhood organizations, businesses, youth, elders, teachers, artists, social service agencies, politicians and neighboring colleges. As one of the nation's oldest, planned industrial cities, we thought Holyoke the perfect site for members of the Planners Network to gather for their annual conference.

Holyoke began as a prototypical New England factory town, with a grid of man-made canals powering rows of paper and textile mills that fueled a robust nineteenth and early twentieth century Northeast economy. In the last fifty years, the city has had to face the effects of de-industrialization, budget cuts, globalization, and

the challenges of working across different political and cultural identities. In the final days before the conference was to take place, two men were killed on Main Street at the same time that city officials were launching a new public relations campaign. The disconnect that was highlighted by this series of events runs deep and is difficult to work with. There is a great deal of paralysis in terms of those in power and people's confidence in their own ability to effect change that is not unique to this area but affects people all over.

Many people are working in creative ways to foster change and innovative methods of city planning, and yet a reconsideration of the way the city and surrounding colleges relate to the local community is necessary. When Ken Reardon, Cornell professor of City and Regional Planning, and the Planners Network approached us to host the 2002 Conference, we saw this as an opportunity for CPSC staff to engage further with this tension and explore our own role as cross cultural organizers on a deeper level. We knew it was imperative to engage the local community of Holyoke and that they would have to be equal partners in the conference organizing process. We assembled a local steering committee that represented Hampshire College faculty and staff, the Holyoke Planning Department, and several community organizations in Holyoke including Nueva Esperanza, Nuestras Raices and El Arco Iris, Holyoke Community Land Trust and others. We had to take time to brainstorm together, to hear each other's gripes and grievances and the struggles that folks have had over the past 20+ years of organizing in Holyoke. Many were skeptical of big dreams and big promises, and this outside group called the Planners Network that wanted to come and talk about their local struggles. This was also a group that did not always work together or collaborate, even though many of us had the same goals of building community and creating social change. As we became pressured by the time constraints inherent to planning a conference, we also realized it was more important for the group to gain trust and build relationships and a unified vision. This is another important lesson in cross cultural dialogue and organizing. You cannot expect people to come into a room and immediately start planning together.

Our group used the brainstorming to come up with the following conference goals: 1) Explore new solutions to old problems, address barriers

to change and create a new, collaborative vision for the city of Holyoke and its surroundings 2) Use the conference as a catalyst for change 3) Develop effective working relationship with current city/municipal structure and local colleges/University 4) Showcase the innovative work of community-based organizations, articulate specific planning and organizing needs and engage in dialogue around self-identified issue areas with local and national consultants. From here we worked to structure the conference to address these points and, of course, some were more successfully met than others. We felt it was important to address racism and inequalities and, as organizers and planners, we feel it is crucial not to sidestep the complexities of these

We had to take time to brainstorm together, to hear each other's gripes and grievances and the struggles that folks have had over the past 20+ years of organizing in Holyoke. Many were skeptical of big dreams and big promises, and this outside group called the Planners Network that wanted to come and talk about their local struggles.

issues. We had no interest in creating a conference that only gave professionals and academics the space to lecture and read papers and devalued local knowledge or left community organizers out of the conversations. Themes such as overcoming obstacles in organizing, addressing racism, and strengthening representation from people of color on all levels of city and community were to take equal footing with more straightforward city planning topics such as rebuilding urban neighborhoods, utilizing the arts as a creative form of economic development, and engaging youth and adults in participatory planning processes.

At Community Partnerships for Social Change, Mary and I frequently find ourselves having the same conversations over and over as we prepare students for work in the field. It seems that ⇨

the skills needed to succeed at Hampshire are often at odds with the skills that are valuable off campus in community work. At Hampshire, students are required to design their own area of study, take initiative, exchange ideas, engage in debates and assert themselves as individuals. As they head out to work in Holyoke, we ask them to take a back seat, observe, listen and remain open, suspend judgement and opinion over time. In many ways, we find these positions as opposing forces and often directly at odds with each other. Yet this is the nature of cross-cultural work and the tension between these two forces is what makes for fruitful learning and develops productive, engaged citizens. This lesson learned from our work with students served us well in the planning process. Throughout the conference planning process, we saw a similar struggle of cross-cultural communication. It showed up as our local committee struggled to find a common language to share ideas, value what each person brings to the discussion and take action together (in this case, the action being conference planning). It also came up as we tried to create a balance in terms of who should speak and how to make room in the hectic schedule for many voices to be heard; it reared its head when members of the colleges wanted to start in with a public relations campaign early on before we had the buy in from the local community; and of course it came up again as we had a small local Puerto Rican restaurant cater a dinner, only to offend vegetarian conference participants when they were unsure of the vegan options available. I found myself walking the tightrope between opposing forces, serving as a translator. As conference organizer (and also a vegetarian), it was my responsibility to mediate between the needs of conference participants and the value of traditional cultural foods, which often highlight the divide between myself and the Puerto Rican community within which I work and collaborate.

It is how you react in these culturally charged moments that puts your skills of cross-cultural communication to the test. I also struggle with the same issues we discuss with students in terms of when to be outspoken and take leadership and when to take the opportunity to learn from the seasoned organizers, when to take risks and when to be held accountable. As a conference organizer my message remains the same whether I am talking to college administration, faculty, student, community organizations, residents or youth, but the way it is delivered varies.

Thus I have had to learn to say the same thing in many different styles and so-called 'languages.' Progressive planning must be approached like a cross-cultural dialogue, a delicate language translation in which different terms have vastly different meanings across cultures. People must also see themselves as part of a system of power that includes issues such as race, class, age, gender, history, and education and recognizes how their individual lenses of reality impact the ways that they relate to others. For collaborations across difference to be successful, there must be an effort to value all forms of knowledge and all lenses. Placing the experience and expertise of people from the community on an equal playing field with academics and professionals is a difficult goal Mary and I constantly strive for. We knew that a conference was not what this community needed unless it created the chance to build relationships and bridge people together from a diverse range of perspectives. We were careful not to make promises about what the event would provide and what could potentially come out of it. In the end, it would be people from the community and local colleges that would make the event great and it would be these same people that would continue to take action after everyone went home.

Overall, the 2002 Planners Network conference was a big success for us and we are grateful for this opportunity to organize and unite our many languages, cultures and visions. We not only bridged across difference to come together but we were able to build together as we mobilized for the event. In his book, *The Long Haul*, Miles Horton expressed the need to see social change as a series of small struggles along a long road towards change. "A long range goal to me is a direction that grows out of loving people, and caring for people, and believing in people's capacity to govern themselves. The way to know they have these capacities is to see something work on a small scale." Overall I think this conference was a special moment on the path to a long range goal, a milestone for Holyoke, for Hampshire College and for the many people that came together to make this event happen. We will continue to look to the future and interact and work towards change as a local group, as members of the Planners Network, as people building futures and bridging divides.

Kiara L. Nagel is the Special Programs Coordinator for Community Partnerships at Hampshire College.

Baron [Cont. from page 2] across the U.S. In New York City, for example, local officials have all but given up on manufacturing. A recent study authored by the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Economic Development showed that manufacturing in New York City still produced nearly a quarter of a million jobs, yet concurrent mayoral administrations, their agency directors publicly announcing that manufacturing in New York City was dead, channel the bulk of public investment into tourism, finance, real estate, technology, and retail. Local officials there have abandoned hope for what remains of the manufacturing sector, despite evidence of its fortitude.

Working-class neighborhoods that sprung up around New York City's manufacturing areas, particularly along the waterfront, are consequently experiencing a painful transition as market-rate and luxury housing begins to replace former manufacturing and warehouse space. As the jobs leave the city, residents of these neighborhoods feel the double crunch of commuting longer and longer distances for work while contending with housing displacement and gentrification. Low-income families are doubling- and tripling-up as a response to the attendant housing crisis.

LOCAL RESPONSES TO THE NEED FOR URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

The struggle for all post-industrial cities in the U.S. is that of place-based labor versus mobile capital. In Holyoke, as elsewhere, the challenge of how to deal with the now structural problems of job loss, high unemployment, displacement, and neighborhood disintegration that result

from the mobility of capital often falls upon the shoulders of those who live and work in affected neighborhoods—sometimes with the assistance of local government and sometimes not.

Innovative local responses to economic restructuring have begun to construe local competitive advantage in a new light. In a global economy, where capital can move instantaneously, cheap labor, or raw materials, or energy can no longer guarantee steady investment or a permanent employment base. In their stead are the energy, knowledge, and talents of people seeking local forms of sustainable development and building coalitions to ensure that all those in their communities benefit from new forms of development, issues examined by both Kiara Nagel and Raúl Quiñones-Rosado. As Myrna Breitbart describes in this issue, new synergies that capitalize, for example, on the arts and the small-scale industries that produce arts-related materials, are beginning to take shape. Community markets, where goods are both produced and consumed locally, have been capitalized via the efforts of coalitions. Community development groups are reaching out to youth organizations. Grass-roots efforts are producing housing that is meant to keep neighborhoods intact. Inventive planners are finding ways to decentralize public resources so that they may be used more efficiently at the local level for community development purposes.

These new visions and visionaries bravely explore the nexus of identity and development at the local level in the post-industrial economy.

Eve Baron is an urban planner working in the borough of Brooklyn, New York and a member of the PN Magazine Editorial Board.

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2002 Planners Network Conference Summary

by Arturo Ignacio Sánchez

Hosted by Hampshire College, the 2002 Planners Network Annual National Conference was held in Holyoke, Massachusetts, from June 13th to June 16th. Entitled "New Visions for Historic Cities: Bridging Divides, Building Futures," the overarching goal of the conference was the exchange of ideas and experiences on the linkages between bottom-up community planning and forms of local economic development that stress meaningful modes of inclusion, social justice, and sustainability. Holyoke's history as an industrial city was used to highlight a range of issues, tensions, and contradictions triggered by the larger processes of globalization, de-industrialization, and ethnic and racial change. In short, the conference organizers felt that Holyoke's range of bottom-up responses to de-industrialization and its discontents offered valuable insights and challenges to concerned community activists, youth, urban planners, and progressive academics.

PLANNERS ARE INTRODUCED TO WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS

Hampshire College President Gregory Prince opened the conference with welcoming remarks. Dean of the School of Social Science of Hampshire College Myrna Breitbart invited conference participants to view a documentary film by Nancy Kelly entitled "Downside Up." The film depicts how the working-class town of North Adams, Massachusetts responded to the ravages of de-industrialization by opting for a model of economic development that revolved around the establishment of the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art (MASS MoCA) and the economic multiplier associated with cultural tourism.

Aaron Berman, the Dean of Faculty, initiated the first day's events with a presentation on how Hampshire College's interdisciplinary and innovative educational approach of community service learning is linked with local neighborhood-based planning. Mary Bombardier, from the Hampshire College's Community Partnership for Social Change, outlined the conference's overarching vision of bottom-up community empowerment and social justice. This was followed by a talk given by Carlos Vega, the execu-

tive director of the community-based organization La Nueva Esperanza, on how the industrial past of Holyoke, where 40 percent of the population is Latino, and its postindustrial present are intertwined with migration, ethnic diversity, and bottom-up socio-political struggles. Jack Hunter, the director of the Holyoke Planning Department, followed up by discussing the city's contemporary development through the prism of the 1999 Master Plan.

The remainder of the morning program was organized around a bus tour of Holyoke's changing residential neighborhoods and its historical industrial landscapes. Immediately after the bus tour, participants regrouped at the Holyoke City Hall Auditorium for lunch and a series of presentations by different speakers. The program was opened by Cristina Figueroa's beautifully sung renditions of the U.S. and Puerto Rican national anthems. Walter Dixie of the Southwest Economics Business Resource Center and the Alliance Network of Syracuse, New York, spoke on the importance of economic and political empowerment, while Ken Reardon from Cornell University addressed the economic, social, and political challenges faced by historic industrial cities experiencing economic restructuring and the ravages of social displacement. Reardon's analysis was complemented and thematically extended by the talk given by the Green Party candidate for the governorship of Massachusetts, Jill Stein. The call for educational reforms made by Betty Medina, the well-known local Latina activist, and Yvonne Brower's observations on housing and community displacement were in keeping with the progressive themes and linkages that were fleshed out throughout the conference.

During the afternoon session, conference attendees visited a wide-range of community-based programs that had emerged in response to the dislocations encountered by both the long-standing and newer residents of Holyoke. The site visits included a tour of the Mercado—an indoor marketplace modeled on the small local commercial plazas found throughout rural Latin America. El Mercado's culturally sensitive and socially driven marketplace was planned to

encourage the incubation of micro-enterprises, the creation of sustainable neighborhood employment, the civic and socio-economic engagement of local residents, and the generation of bottom-up forms of economic development. A walking tour along the Holyoke Canal Arts Corridor highlighted how neighborhood-based institutions such as El Arco Iris, the Youth and Community Arts Center, and local entrepreneurs are reconfiguring place-based economic development by stressing cultural tourism. The visit to Nuestras Raíces, a community-based organization, offered participants the opportunity to observe how Holyoke's inner city neighborhoods are crafting neighborhood-based urban agriculture, encouraging local entrepreneurial development, identifying the ethnic and class based concerns associated with environmental justice, and strengthening community-based institutions.

The afternoon activities also included tours of La Nueva Esperanza's non-profit neighborhood housing development program, the Holyoke Community Land Trust affordable owner-occupied housing program, a neo-traditional Hope VI housing complex, and local historic preservation initiatives.

Rain forced the block party that was to be held at the Roberto Clemente Park to be moved indoors to the Holyoke City Hall auditorium. The DJ, Luis Meléndez, and a group of Latino teenage dancers entertained one and all. Shaggy, a well-known local Puerto Rican youth poet, gave an enthusiastic and stirring rendition of his politically and ethnically driven poetry.

PERSPECTIVES ON URBAN REVITALIZATION

Day two kicked off at Holyoke's Open Square, a former industrial complex that has been redeveloped around tourism, cultural production, commerce, and services. During the morning plenary session, Eva Hanhardt, the Director of the Planning Center at the Municipal Arts Society of New York (MAS), spoke on how MAS' "Imagine New York" project facilitated the bottom-up engagement of a wide-range of neighborhood, civic, and ethnic groups in voicing their concerns on how the prospective redevelopment of the New York City World Trade Center site should proceed. Following Eva's comments, Raúl Quiñones, the Executive Director of the Institute for Latino Empowerment, made a rivet-

ing presentation entitled "Toward an Integral Strategy for Change and Transformation" that brought to the fore how the dimensions of progressive social change could and should permeate and transform local economic, social, and political structures.

The attendees broke out to attend their choice of seven concurrent workshop sessions that included: 1) The Role of the Arts in Urban Revitalization; 2) A Critical Analysis of Oppression and Cross-Cultural Community Organizing; 3) Economic Justice and Workforce Development: Local, National, and Global Perspectives; 4) Sustainable and Renewable Energy; 5) Imagine New York; 6) Strategies to Promote Residential Justice; and 7) Equity in Education: Short-Term and Long-Term Strategies.

The lunch session on the second day was devoted to an economic and political analysis of contemporary developments responsible for the Latino diaspora, as well as the grass-roots responses to the inequalities inherent in the globalization of capital. Professor Agustín Lao-Montes from the University of Massachusetts gave an insightful historical presentation on the global and local linkages that frame unequal economic development, de-stabilize local labor markets, lubricate international labor migrations, and racialize the structures of everyday life. Ángel Falcón, a well-known activist with the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund of New York City, spoke on the issues and struggles that encase Latino based empowerment and community-based political mobilization.

Following the lunch session, participants had the opportunity to attend one of seven concurrent workshops covering a wide spectrum of progressive political economic issues and practices. The sessions included: 1) Environmental Justice in Historic Cities; 2) Exploring Socially Responsible Business Practices; 3) Participatory Planning and Community-Based Research; 4) Organizing Strategies Around Welfare and Income Inequality; 5) Healthy Communities; 6) Organizing for More Equitable Voter Registration and Participation; and 7) Community/University Partnerships.

Following the day's events, the Enchanted Circle Theater performed the historically informative and entertaining play: "Between the Canals: The Evolution of a Mill Town." [Cont. on page 13]

Retrospective Holyoke: Housing

by Chris Holme

A PLANNER'S HISTORY OF HOLYOKE

Formerly known as Paper City, Holyoke was nicknamed Arson City in the 1980's as its population dropped to about 40,000 people. Landlords were burning their own buildings in order to get the last drop of money out of them through fire insurance claims, and to jettison their responsibility for the buildings after their investment use had been exhausted. These absentee landlords had purchased the buildings, though many were deteriorating, in order to take all the tax write-offs from depreciation offered by the latest changes in the federal tax code, all the while putting no investment in repair and maintenance into the properties. In 1981, there was a fire almost every week, killing a dozen people and displacing 600 others.

City officials had contributed to this crisis of deteriorating housing and often weekly cases of arson by creating an atmosphere of uncertainty for property owners in the four downtown neighborhoods. Leaders, including Mayor Proulx, often expressed an intention to convert two of these neighborhoods, the Flats and South Holyoke, into industrial parks through demolition of several blocks of brick housing stock. Banks redlined the area, further sealing its demise. Today, South Holyoke, a small yet densely populated urban neighborhood in this medium sized post-industrial city, contains a range of examples of housing strategies, from grassroots organizing efforts to federally-financed urban renewal projects. South Holyoke's story is typical of many larger urban neighborhoods, but its small, heterogenous population and the relative dominance of Springfield in western Massachusetts' urban hierarchy give it some significant challenges.

The mill workers that originally filled Holyoke's downtown neighborhoods were Irish and French Canadian immigrants. Germans and Poles were soon to follow, working in the textile and paper mills of the first planned industrial city, with three levels of canals, which offered water power throughout the center of the city. When American Writing Paper Company of Holyoke, one of the leaders of the paper industry, failed to

take up the sulfate pulping and bleaching techniques of its upstart competitors in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Maine, it quickly went bankrupt in 1923. In 1927, Lyman Mills, a textile manufacturer, closed, leaving 1,300 without jobs. Following the Second World War, globalization of industry and suburbanization had their local effects on this city, which was as densely populated as Manhattan during its heyday.

In the early 1970's, Puerto Ricans began to take advantage of the cheap rents in Holyoke, often enduring substandard housing. Arriving from Ponce, New York, Hartford, and Springfield, many Puerto Ricans became familiar with the area first as migrant workers in the tobacco fields along the Connecticut River valley. Puerto Ricans were a clear majority in the downtown neighborhoods during the fires and demolitions of the 1970's and early 1980's. In December of 1982, nine community activists brought suit against the City of Holyoke, its officials, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, stating that more than 3,000 units of housing had been destroyed in the downtown, mostly Latino neighborhoods, and that only 443 units had been built to replace them, nearly 300 of these only for elderly. They also accused the city of selective enforcement of building codes for the purpose of displacing the poor.

Also at this time, since their own visions for their own neighborhoods were not being heard by city hall, community activists formed their own community development corporation, Nueva Esperanza. Nueva Esperanza ("New Hope"), fought demolitions, rehabilitated historic brick apartment buildings, and created an anti-arson program. The CDC also developed a range of human service programs to help sustain the Puerto Rican community. Today, Nueva Esperanza has created or renovated over 400 units of housing, mainly in the neighborhood of South Holyoke. But in addition, this community-based organization has helped to develop other local community initiatives: El Arco Iris, which has been recognized by the American Planning Association for its work with youth in planning and the "YouthPower Guide" (See PN Magazine,

Winter 2002); the Holyoke Community Land Trust; YouthBuild Holyoke; Nuestras Raices ("Our Roots"), an urban agriculture program; and Access Holyoke, a program to bring computers and online access to the whole community. In addition, Nueva Esperanza has been working steadily towards the economic development of the community for many years with an approach that nurtures and builds on community assets.

All of the leaders of these programs were steering committee members and presenters at the Planners Network conference. In many ways, the conference was a showcase of what all of these community-based organizations have achieved over the past several years: of how equity planning, led from the grassroots, can sustain and improve a threatened community.

THE HOUSING DEBATE

The conference tours of local housing developments demonstrated different approaches to affordable housing. A Hope VI project in Holyoke tore down hundreds of units of public housing known as Jackson Park several years ago, urban-renewal style, and the residents were sent on their way with mobile Section 8 Certificates. Ray Murphy, director of the Holyoke Housing Authority, had told the roomful of angry residents who were about to lose their homes that this is how urban renewal has been done for the last forty years. Exactly. This is why urban renewal has a bad name. The Housing Authority applied for the Hope VI federal grant after a long consultation process with the residents of Jackson

Sanchez [Cont. from page 11]

The conference's closing comments were made Jorge Ayala, a marketing executive with the New York City Spanish language newspaper *El Diario/La Prensa*. Mr. Ayala spoke on the historic role that *El Diario* has played in the growth and development of New York City's diverse Latino communities. The day's events ended with a hearty dinner and dancing to the salsa and merengue beats of the Orquesta Opus Tres.

On Sunday morning, PNers held the Annual Organizing Breakfast meeting. Attendees presented committee reports and decided that the Planners Network should strive to expand its membership base by aggressively reaching out to diverse ethnic populations. To enable this outreach effort, a suggestion was made that the Planners Network should establish recruitment

Park. They promised the residents that they would fix up their homes. When the check arrived, though, the residents found out that the Housing Authority wasn't going to fix their homes—they were going to level them. It was the old bait and switch. Not only was the Hope VI project in Holyoke implemented without the support of the residents that it was supposed to benefit, but it also will replace their homes, after several years have gone by, with fewer and less affordable units of housing, many of them available only to those who are eligible to purchase a home.

In Holyoke, the proportion of people living at or below 30 percent of median income has grown rapidly over the last thirty years. Certainly it is a mistake to warehouse the poor. But the scattered site rehabilitation of housing throughout South Holyoke carried out by Nueva Esperanza provides an alternative to Hope VI-type housing—by creating opportunities for mixed income by allowing private ownership of buildings throughout the neighborhood. The value and hence the investment in these private properties is sustained by the presence of Nueva's rental properties. Nueva Esperanza is a housing model of another kind, one that Saul Alinsky would be proud of. They turn the crisis of impending market rate rents into an opportunity for community organizing and grassroots empowerment.

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linkages with college-based African-American, Latino, and Asian Studies programs.

The 2002 Planners Network annual conference was a resounding success. In both its planning and execution, the conference was truly a collaborative process that brought together a wide-range of local community-based groups, neighborhood residents, activists, and academics. Nearly twenty Hampshire College students and alumni volunteered their time and effort to ensure that events flowed seamlessly for the 300 hundred participants who attended the conference.

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The Art of Revitalization in Historic Cities

by Myrna M. Breitbart

ART-RELATED REDEVELOPMENT IN HOLYOKE

As an early New England planned industrial city, Holyoke was once the center of the world's paper industry, providing job opportunities for large streams of immigrants. After decades of disinvestment and manufacturing flight, the city is now searching for a development formula that will reinvigorate its economic base. A two-and-a-half year participatory visioning process that included more than eight public meetings involving adult residents, youth, and community organizations culminated in a Master Plan in 1999. Issues identified as in need of attention in this report were the city's negative image in the larger region, problems of crime and lack of safety, affordable housing, downtown revitalization, job creation, and education, among others.

A prior consultant's report had focused particular attention on what it called the "19th century remnants" found in the city's downtown canal district. Rather than agree to see the city's historic mills and canals as an "economic burden," the Master Plan identifies this area and its surrounding multi-cultural neighborhoods as potential assets. While the report acknowledges that the physical infrastructure has deteriorated markedly, architecturally significant structures and the presence of the waterway are perceived as a potential backdrop for new commercial and residential revitalization.

Indeed, an Arts and Industry Overlay District similar to one established in the industrial city of Lowell, Massachusetts (though with a much more expansive definition of the "arts"), has just been created to spur this development. Also proposed in the Master Plan are a Canal Walk, public markets and retail incubators, factory outlets, a brewpub, artists' lofts and workspaces, and performance venues. Holyoke's Master Planning process demonstrates how arts and culture can be defined and acted upon inclusively, thereby becoming the keystone of a progressive vision for the future.

Many cities, including the conference host city of Holyoke, Massachusetts, seek ways to jump-

start their economies in part by promoting arts-related cultural development. The proliferation in large cities of downtown corporate plazas bedecked with public art, festival marketplaces, loft conversions, and riverfront and sidewalk cafes provide evidence to planners, in even small cities, of culture as the new urban "business." As Sharon Zukin suggests, what is produced and consumed at these sites is not traditional manufactures, but rather, art, food, fashion, tourism, and the industries and services that cater to culture. The processes used to induce these economic makeovers vary, yet, by and large, accomplish two things: the transformation of physical spaces of decline, a process that can sometimes involve the displacement of existing occupants, and the re-formation of the public's image of these spaces, a process that both results from, and provides justification for, the former.

Many studies have been done to document the contributions that the arts currently make to local and regional economies. These studies suggest that culture and the arts bring almost four billion dollars a year into New England, and employ 3.5 percent of the total workforce of the region (ranking or exceeding hardware, software and health care). It is estimated that the arts also attract six times the number of spectators as all the professional sports teams together.

In Holyoke, planners and economic developers remain conflicted, however, about the potential for such development. In general, economic developers do not want to abandon hope for attracting manufacturing back to the city, while planners have begun to see a potential use for the arts as a way to improve the city's image and competitive advantage in the larger region. A key part of the mission for Planners Network 2002 was to bring planners and academics together with citizens and community-based organizations from Holyoke, to further the latter's work in ways that build upon the city's considerable assets while addressing its significant challenges. The discussions emanating from the three conference sessions devoted to

arts-led redevelopment in Holyoke underscored many of the benefits, conflicts, and challenges inherent to the planned transformation of a small city's economy.

THE CONFERENCE SESSIONS

The first conversation followed a viewing at the welcome reception on Thursday evening of Nancy Kelly's new documentary *Downside Up*. The film focuses on the planning and initial impacts of the MASS MoCA (Museum of Contemporary Art) on the "rebirth" of North Adams, Massachusetts, a small factory town in the northwestern part of the state. Kelly allows the viewer to see this transformation process through the eyes of her own family, many of whom once worked in the Sprague capacitor factory that has become the site for the new museum. As the promo suggests, the film raises key issues about whether "an impoverished working-class town" can bank its "best hope for survival" on contemporary art, and whether these "disparate worlds" can "benefit each other." While distinctly different in terms of current demographics and history, North Adams and Holyoke share an industrial past and the need to invent a new future that will not be based on traditional manufacturing.

In the discussion that followed the film, comments ranged from support for the important message of hope that was expressed by North Adams residents (the filmmaker included), to concerns about future gentrification. Conference participants wanted to know more about the material effects of MASS MoCA on the community - the number and type of jobs it is creating, whether these jobs are going to local residents, changes in the school system and property taxes resulting from the museum and related activities etc. Many questions were raised such as "Is the problem of maintaining affordability a better problem to have than struggling to survive?" as one locally-owned bookstore owner in the film suggests. The film also raised questions for me about what criteria we should employ to assess such projects, and about the pre-existing cultural assets of places like North Adams that are the recipient of outside cultural investment. If the city was not devoid of creative energy *before* MASS MoCA, how is local talent being incorporated into ongoing revitalization plans?

Many of these questions were raised again during the Holyoke tour of the canal district conducted on Friday morning, and in two subsequent sessions held on Friday afternoon and Saturday morning. At Friday's case study session on the plans for Holyoke's Canal District, Director of Planning, Jack Hunter, described in some detail the planning process for the Arts Industry Overlay District and the proposed Canal Walk and accompanying Arts Corridor. Among other things, the former makes it possible for commercial/industrial structures to incorporate residential developments such as artists' lofts and work/live spaces. With a total price tag of about \$7.5 million, and only \$4.3 million in hand, the Canal Walk project awaits further funding before the state will let it proceed. Jack Hunter discussed the possibility of designating the canal area as a national historic district, a strategy that would allow the city to secure additional funding. Finally, he described the formation of a coalition of people in the city interested in promoting cultural development.

Linked to this issue of coalitions has been my own work in Holyoke, and I described part of that work, the Holyoke Community Arts Map. This project grew out of a series of focus groups that I organized in Holyoke three years ago to learn more about the current role of the arts in people's lives. Based on these conversations and a growing database of residents with arts-related interests and talents, we decided to initiate a long-term participatory action research project, the Holyoke Community Arts Inventory. The map is the first product to come out of this larger project, and includes information on arts-related educational opportunities, cultural organizations and spaces, public art (including murals), community gardens, and the Arts & Industry District and proposed Canal Walk and Arts Corridor. It is now in its third edition in both English and Spanish. While the map provides residents with better access to cultural resources in Holyoke, the process of collecting the information was also conceived as an organizing vehicle to encourage networking among cultural organizations.

The canal district study group proceeded along the route of the proposed Canal Walk to El Arco Iris (See the "Youthpower" story in PN Magazine, Winter 2002), a [Cont. on page 19]

Toward an Integral Strategy for Change and Transformation

by Raúl Quiñones-Rosado

From a talk delivered by Raúl Quiñones-Rosado, Executive Director, Institute for Latino Empowerment, on Saturday June 15th, 2002 at the Planners Network National Conference, "New Visions For Historic Cities: Bridging Divides, Building Futures" in Holyoke, Massachusetts.

It was good to be back in Holyoke. Especially after the past five years since my return to Puerto Rico. Not that I hadn't been back. Whenever I go to western Massachusetts, which is at least once a year, I always make it a point to stop by to visit old friends, to check in with former colleagues, to check out what's new on Main and High Streets, and what's up in South Holyoke and the Flats. This time was somewhat different, though. Having been invited to present at the Planners Network National Conference to address a group of planners, organizers, educators, students, and other community workers, many of whom I knew, I was in a different mindset than usual. Though I had lived and worked in Holyoke for many of my 23 years in "the Valley." I wanted to take a fresh look at the city, at the people, and at what's happening there. After all, the theme of the conference was "New Visions for Historic Cities: Bridging Divides, Building Futures." I didn't want to base my talk on pre-conceived notions, even if these were founded on years of personal and professional experience. Indeed, I did see and hear about many new and exciting projects in the city: the Mercado, the community gardens, public housing communities, a charter school, the "arts corridor." Even Open Square, the huge rehabilitated mill where the main conference sessions were held, is impressive evidence of the changes Holyoke is undergoing.

But the outwardly appearances of change that I noticed cannot tell me anything about the status of the underlying social relations in Holyoke. Naturally, as a community organizer committed to social transformation, as a worker committed to economic justice, as a Latino committed to undoing racism, and as a person committed to dismantling all forms of institutional oppression, I see the world through a certain set of filters. So when I hear that a group of people gets together to create a vision for community develop-

ment and empowerment, I can't help but be on alert. In these situations, as I shared with the crowd at the Open Square Café and Theater, I can't help but consider closely what is meant by such terms as "community development," "empowerment," "vision."

You see, with all that has happened to people in Latino communities such as Holyoke, I get concerned whenever city planners, sometimes together with community leaders, talk about "community development." All too often, it has been my experience, our people are talked about as if "community" were a thing, one more object to be measured, counted, and packaged. All too often our communities, real live people, have been observed, diagnosed, and researched, with little, if any, consideration to the social, cultural, economic or political impact on their collective well-being. Much too frequently, our people are relocated, moved around, or pushed around, some would say, with no regard to their physical, mental, emotional, or spiritual ties to other people in their neighborhoods, or to the land itself.

Furthermore, city planners' notions of development typically tend to be fragmented, focused almost solely on economic considerations, and then, mostly on those of developers and investors. And unlike the indigenous and African influences that pervade Puerto Rican culture, the traditional European American idea of progress is linear, which seemingly proclaims: "The farther one moves away from one's point of origin, the more one has progressed." After all, this idea of progress was fundamental to the European immigrant mindset throughout the colonization of the Americas, one diametrically opposed to the ways of the natives of these lands, and to the millions of Africans that managed to survive their kidnapping and brutal journey here. This European, now American, notion of progress is also very different to the way of thinking and being of newer immigrants and migrants of Latin American origin. You see, this limited notion of development is what would cut us off from our history, our ancestors, the lessons learned from our struggles, the strengths our people have developed along the way. This limiting notion is what would make it all the

more difficult for us to see our strengths, to recognize our resourcefulness, to assert our ability to survive and thrive in spite of deliberate efforts to impede our collective well-being.

As I shared with the audience in Holyoke, I am leary of "empowerment" projects that refuse to speak about "power" and ignore the obvious questions: "What is power? Who has it? Why? Who doesn't? Why not? How do you get power? How do you use it, responsibly? How do you share it, with everyone?" I am weary of so-called empowerment "projects" that endlessly seek to assess our "needs" in order to provide individualized services intended to correct our personal "deficits" or "weaknesses," as if the real reasons why so many of us are poor and oppressed by race, class and gender is because we simply need to learn how to correctly speak English, how to efficiently surf the Internet, or how to properly raise our own children. And as an organizer, a person who plans for and acts toward creating a better world, I cannot help but ask: How can anyone envision a future if they ignore history, are blind to our legacies, and are in denial of the realities of our present circumstance? How can anyone, or any group, build a bridge across a divide if they refuse to see what is the true nature of that division, that separation? How can anyone step toward a new future if they are paralyzed by fear of the unknown or, perhaps, by their own sense of hopelessness?

In all my years of working with people, first as a social service worker, then as a director of a community organization, and now as a leadership coach, workshop trainer and community organizer, I have learned that fragmented and individualized approaches to community development will no longer do. I have come to believe that any effort toward true community development and empowerment must be guided by an integral vision of change and transformation. This integral vision must be based on the understanding that people's physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being is intimately connected to the economic, political, social, and cultural viability of the community at large. Indeed, personal well-being and community development in all their aspects are dynamically interdependent: you can't have one without the other; you can't neglect any part without disrupting the whole. Therefore, any approach that is serious about the well-being and development of all its people must simultaneously focus on the individual and the collective. Otherwise, we get more of the

same: well-being and development for the few. And by driving through Holyoke, and thousands of U.S. cities like it, we all know who "the few" are. That is why I have also come to understand, unmistakably, undeniably, that any strategy for change and transformation must be based on a critical anti-oppression analysis. And in the context of the U.S., this anti-oppression analysis must be, foremost, anti-racist. As I was sharing with folks at the Conference, this is one of the hardest things for people to handle, including many Latinos. I was recalling meetings in that very city some twelve years ago raising the issue of racism as the root cause for problems in our community, only to have other Latino community leaders say, "I don't know why we're bringing that issue up again. We dealt with racism back in the '60s and '70s."

Yet, today, in 2002, more than ever, I am convinced that we as a society—particularly people who claim to be agents of change—need to come to terms with, and accept, the fact that what has best succeeded at keeping the struggle, the movement, fragmented is not classism or sexism. It is racism. Lack of an anti-racist, anti-oppression analysis is devastating to any attempts at even formulating an integral vision or strategy. With an anti-racist, anti-oppression analysis we could really get things moving. Considering the demographic changes, with Latinos having outnumbered African Americans, and People of Color as a whole rapidly moving to outnumber whites, we could relatively easily create a significant shift in power, and conceivably, in the dominant cultural paradigm. Of course, this possibility assumes that the U.S. system is truly based on "majority rule," an assumption called into question by the (s)election of President George W. Bush by the U.S. Supreme Court. Nonetheless, majority rule still appears to be a driving value in the U.S. political culture. So much so that in the Census 2000 the U.S. government de-racialized the Latino classification only so that many of this rapidly growing segment of the population could be counted as whites, thus maintaining the highly valued—much needed—numeric majority. So much so that lately, realizing that their position of power lies in the hands of brown-skinned Latinos and Latinas, Republicans and Democrats alike are coming around to woo us into their still pro-white parties. Check it out! The same folks who ten years ago were trying to keep us from speaking Spanish are now taking crash courses. So now I, who organized in Holyoke against this white supremacist movement, catch myself ⇒

in the bizarre predicament of hearing Bush (or even Carter in Cuba) butchering our beautiful language, listening to myself screaming at the TV set, "Oh, no! English-only!" Obviously, I am as concerned with our own internalized racial oppression as Latinos and Latinas as I am of the internalized racial superiority of whites.

To a large extent, that is why my work in the U.S. is focused primarily on understanding and undoing racism in Latino communities. Given our analysis of power and oppression, at Institute for Latino Empowerment, we choose to work on racism, not because we believe it to be more important than classism, sexism, or any of the many "isms." In fact, we describe oppression neither as a hierarchy (where different "isms" rank differently) nor as a wheel (where all forms are essentially equal). Instead, we view oppression—the systemic imposition of an ideology of superiority and domination—as a dynamic web that connects all "isms." We understand that all forms of oppression are ever-present.

However, given the highly racialized nature of U.S. society, and given that racism—the historic structural imposition of white supremacy—is the dominant paradigm negatively impacting virtually every aspect of our lives as Latino/as, this is where we understand our anti-oppression organizing must begin. For if we do not successfully address racism, we will never be able to establish effective alliances with poor and working class people of all races and genders. Or with other People of Color across culture and nationality. Or between men and women even within our own community. Because in a country built upon the genocide of Native Peoples and the enslavement of kidnapped Africans, racism, even in its subtler, but still devastating forms, is still what keeps us apart.

I know the anti-racism message in my presentation, mini-workshop, and conversations at the conference was well received by many people there, mostly Latinas and Latinos that work, live, and struggle in their community. I also know this message is still dismissed by others who choose to remain in denial, and by those who say, "Yeah, yeah, I know. But that's too big a problem for me." In the struggle against racism, hope is usually the first casualty. This is why fighting against racism is not enough. We also need to move toward creating institutional change and social transformation. Neither reform nor revolution, we need to build something new as we move

forward. "Se abre camino al caminar." - "We open a path as we walk," says Cuban singer-songwriter Silvio Rodríguez.

Because it is in this process of opening new pathways that we not only formulate a shared vision, but that we nurture, that we sustain, our hope. Not hope in dreams deferred, put off until another day, secretly believing that these are really unreachable. I'm talking about a hope that is sustained and nourished by the evidence of one's daily experience. Through my organizing I have come to realize that hope itself is sustained and nourished through relationships with and within one's community. Not superficial or merely working relationships with colleagues, "clients" or "trainees" But caring, dare I say loving, relationships with people: with people that support you; with people that count on you; with people that can hold you accountable to them, to the community, to the movement, and to the vision.

In fact, grassroots organizing requires a level and quality of relationship and accountability that is not only hope inspiring, but life sustaining. As I organize, speak, train, coach, or protest with people, whether in Holyoke or Springfield, San Juan or Vieques, I am building relationship, trust, vision, faith, and hope in people—and they in me. And this building of relationship is what builds community. So when I hear of a group of people getting together to create "new visions" for "community development and empowerment" for cities with Latino communities such as Holyoke, Massachusetts, I get cautious. As I also get very excited by the possibility that people actually take advantage of such an opportunity to deepen their relationships, to build community, to do something truly transformative. For in this movement for social transformation, we urgently need to foster and support the creation of communities based on accountable relationships, with shared visions based on an integral power analysis, and organized people united in their struggle against racism. It is what we all need now, not tomorrow, not in a distant future. I dare say, this is what will allow for people's full well-being and development.

And I dare believe, and hope, that Latinas and Latinas in Holyoke and elsewhere will generate and assert the kind of transformative leadership needed to bring about such an integral quality of community development and empowerment.

Breitbart [Cont. from page 15] teen after-school art program, where youth presented a slide show depicting their extensive participation in the design and planning process in Holyoke. This included their Vision Map, which depicts sites in the city that youth have designated for change. Famous already for having published a book encouraging youth in other cities to get involved, these young people also modeled some of the brainstorming strategies they use when beginning environmental improvement projects. With minimal direction from co-directors Jose Colon and Imre Kepes, they divided themselves into mixed groups of youth and adults and gave us the task of visually inventing our "ideal city" and presenting our ideas. Each group consisted of youth and Planners Network folk, and included the President of Hampshire College, Gregory Prince. We left this afternoon session impressed not only by the knowledge these youth possess of their city, but also by their desire and skilled capacity to assume a leadership role in Holyoke.

On Saturday morning at Open Square, we convened another session on "The Role of the Arts in Urban Revitalization." Recognizing that many cities, apart from North Adams and Holyoke, are attempting arts-related cultural development, the workshop was structured to explore models that in some way move beyond cultural tourism. Panelists included myself, Patryc Wiggins, a French tapestry weaver and director of the Economic Corporation of Newport, New Hampshire, Jeremy Smith, a member of the Flywheel Artists' Collective in Easthampton, Massachusetts, and Brian Campbell, who works with the Mural Arts Program for the City of Philadelphia.

My own presentation summarized the Holyoke Community Arts Inventory. The intent of the Holyoke Community Arts Inventory is to:

- Involve Holyoke artists (many of whom are drawn from the 40% Puerto Rican population) in an exploration of their own cultural resources, broadly defined to include a variety of activities from painting and theater to DJ'ing and computer graphics;
- Examine the meanings people attach to these activities;
- Determine how arts and artists currently

impact city life, and;

- Use this information to devise more inventive and collaborative community development strategies that build upon the talents of residents.

In addition to the arts map, I have worked with community researchers to interview and photograph approximately 25 residents of diverse talent and background. Interviews and the collection of personal statements will continue, along with visual documentation for the eventual production of a community arts directory. Short biographies will also be published in the local newspaper, and information shared with the Holyoke arts coalition for the purposes of future planning.

Some early outcomes of the Holyoke arts study are:

- The need for a more expansive definition of "artist;"
- The role of the arts in community-building and dealing with cultural or geographic dislocation;
- The location of a community arts sector that resides both inside and outside the nexus of the marketplace - in studios, performing arts centers and public space but also in "everyday space" (people's homes and basements, churches, and schools).

All of this work challenges me to think beyond limited models of cultural tourism and to ponder more ways for residents to enter into the economic development discourse. The conference presentations highlighted the energy and creativity of those involved in arts-related redevelopment in Holyoke. The process of envisioning change and implementing the recommendations of the 1999 Holyoke Master Plan has brought together people from disparate walks of life and created a space for discourse where there once was none. The challenge that lies before Holyoke is that of capitalizing on the considerable talent and dedication of local residents, including youth, as redevelopment proceeds, while making sure that the transformations that result in benefits that all can share.

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A How-To Guide for Inclusive Planning: Participatory Neighborhood Planning Emerges "High Above Cayuga's Waters"

By Kenneth M. Reardon and Joshua Abrams

ITHACA RESIDENTS FIGHT BACK

The growth of the national economy between 1992 and 2000 dramatically improved economic conditions in many parts of the country. Unfortunately, this period of prosperity did little to improve life in the villages, towns and central cities of Upstate New York, whose residents continued to suffer from the decline of agriculture and traditional manufacturing. By the mid-1990s, the lagging performance of the regional economy became an increasingly important issue for those running for local, state, and national office within the region.

While many people think of Ithaca, New York as the picturesque home of Cornell University and the entrance to the ever-popular Upstate New York Winery Trail, it is a small central city that has been hard hit by recent structural changes taking place in the U.S. economy. The rapid decline in the region's dairy and apple industries has left thousands of small farmers and farm workers without jobs. The shutdown or relocation of important area manufacturers, such as Ithaca Gun, Smith-Corona, and the Morse Chair Companies, has further eroded the region's employment base.

These job losses, in combination with the city's high percentage of tax-exempt properties and the ongoing process of suburbanization, have forced municipal officials to raise local property taxes to maintain basic services. The city's high property taxes have in turn prompted many would-be residents and investors to choose properties in nearby suburban communities that feature lower property tax rates. Nowhere have the combined effects of deindustrialization, suburbanization, and disinvestments been more evident than in the city's oldest residential neighborhoods surrounding Ithaca's pedestrian mall, referred to as "The Commons".

Over time, these economic and fiscal problems have led to significantly lower levels of investment in the city's older residential neighbor-

hoods, where property values began to drop and homeownership rates began to fall. In the city's historic Northside neighborhood, an area where 2,500 working-class and middle-income families reside, landlords known for weak tenant screening and poor property maintenance began to assemble rental properties. According to the U.S. Census, only 29 percent of Northside residents own their homes. Unfortunately, this shift from owner-occupancy to absentee-ownership coincided with a wave of crack-cocaine-related violence in the neighborhood. Prompted by these developments, local residents organized a network of block clubs which launched a series of highly-effective, community-based crime prevention initiatives. As area residents pursued these and other self-help revitalization efforts, they also pressured local officials to devote greater attention to the needs of the city's residential neighborhoods.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT JOINS THE MIX

Aware of the city's ongoing economic and fiscal problems, Alan Cohen ran for mayor in 1998 on a "pro-growth" platform, calling for immediate action to stabilize the city's declining downtown pedestrian mall and to redevelop the city's lakefront and southwest districts. During his first term in office, Mayor Cohen and the Ithaca Common Council succeeded in recruiting a first-rate economic development professional who provided needed leadership to Ithaca's Downtown Business Partnership. With funds provided by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Erie Canal Corridor Initiative, the city was able to make significant progress in transforming its Inlet Island District from an underutilized industrial and maritime equipment storage area into a vibrant entertainment and cultural area. Finally, the city was able to attract a major regional developer to create a "big box" retail district within the city's Southwest Park area and a group of local investors to create a new office park complex within the city's Carpenter Park area.

CORNELL'S NEIGHBORHOOD-BASED PLANNING INITIATIVE

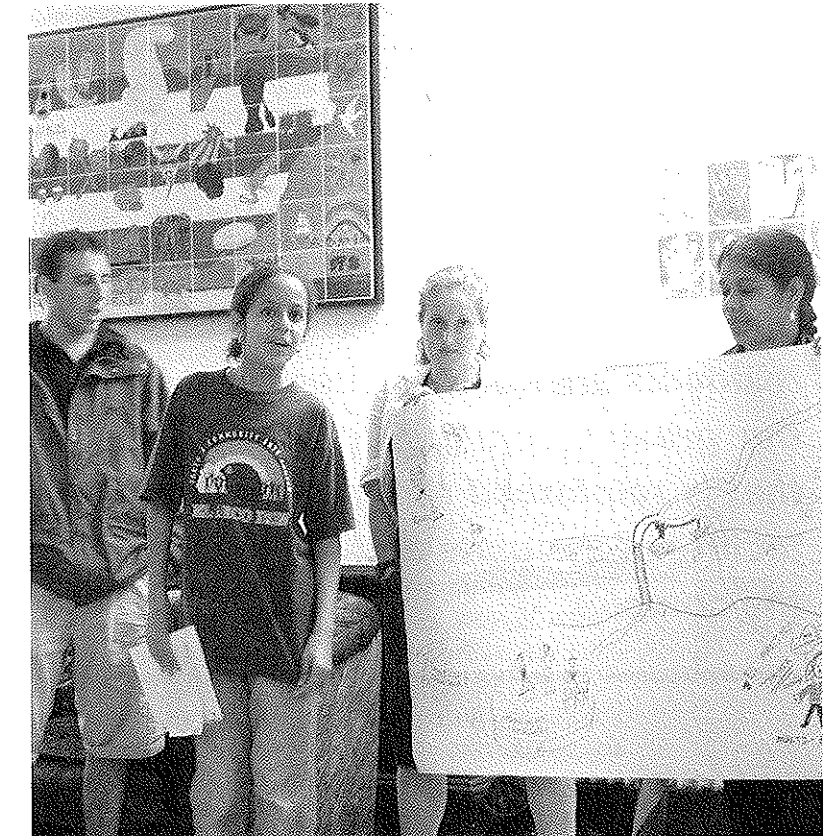
As these new retail and commercial projects came closer to reality, residents of the city's older neighborhoods, especially those living on the Northside, became concerned about the possible negative impacts of these large-scale developments on the quality of life of their neighborhoods. Mayor Cohen, who was running for re-election in 2000, responded to these concerns by emphasizing the importance of balancing the city's economic development and neighborhood stabilization needs. Following his re-election, he directed the city's Community Planner to spend half of her time assisting neighborhood residents in creating stabilization and revitalization plans for their areas. Several months later, the City hired a second planner, on a half-time basis, to provide additional staff support for these resident-led planning efforts. During the spring of 2001, the city's Community Planners approached Cornell's Department of City and Regional Planning to request ongoing assistance for these community-based planning efforts.

Working together during the summer of 2001, the city's Community Planners, assisted by the students and faculty from Cornell's Department of City and Regional Planning, developed a proposal to establish a Neighborhood-Based Planning Initiative. The Initiative was designed to create specialized plans for each of the city's unique residential areas which would, over time, form the basis of the community's next comprehensive plan. In July of 2001, the Ithaca Common Council passed a resolution committing the city to the development and implementation of these grassroots stabilization and revitalization plans.

The Ithaca model is based loosely on the neighborhood planning program in Seattle, Washington; Rochester, New York; and East St. Louis, Illinois. It incorporates planning, community organizing, and education. In Ithaca, the proximity to Cornell was both an advantage and a disadvantage. It allowed students to interact on a more regular basis with residents. Additionally, it allowed residents who worked at Cornell to join in the Department of City and Regional Planning's neighborhood planning class. On the negative side, the initiative had to overcome a long history of distrust and difficult relations, particularly among low-income and very low-income

residents of Ithaca's public housing projects. THE NUTS AND BOLTS

Soon after passing this resolution, the city began working with residents of the Northside to create a revitalization plan for this important historic neighborhood. City and University planners began this process by recruiting representatives of local institutions to serve on a Steering



Presentation from the 2002 PN conference in Holyoke, MA.

Committee for the project. During the latter part of summer of 2001, the Steering Committee worked with their planning partners from the city and the University to design a highly participatory planning process. This process began with an ambitious media campaign designed to invite all of the Northside's residents, business owners, and institutional leaders to actively participate in the planning process.

Following a community media campaign featuring: press releases, public service announcements, church bulletin notices, a press conference and telephone flyers, Steering Committee members organized a series of eight house meetings throughout the neighborhood to give local residents the opportunity to meet one another, discuss the history of their neighborhood, and identify issues to be addressed by the planning process. More than sixty neighbor- ⇒

hood residents participated in these small-scale meetings which produced a detailed neighborhood timeline and a preliminary list of community problems residents wanted to see addressed by the planning process. A large community meeting was then organized, with the assistance of a Neighborhood Planning Workshop class from Cornell University, which more than eighty-five residents attended. During this meeting, residents were invited to work in small groups to create cognitive maps of the neighborhood highlighting its boundaries, land-

The biggest challenge to date has been involving residents of the 71-unit low and very-low income public housing complex. The residents are not well integrated into the greater community, a problem that is reinforced through the architecture of the units and the layout of the complex.

marks, resources, and problem areas. Children attending the meeting were also given the opportunity to share murals they created describing changes they wanted to see result from the planning process. These images were displayed in the Ithaca Common Council Chambers to inform the city's elected officials about the hopes and aspirations of the neighborhood's children.

At the end of this first community meeting, the maps created by each group were used to develop a shared assessment of neighborhood conditions. Before the residents left this session, they were invited to take a free disposable camera to further document local neighborhood conditions. Fifty-seven residents took these cameras which they used to identify the neighborhood's key strengths, weaknesses, untapped resources and future threats. During the next two weeks, residents took more than 2,000 images documenting the neighborhood's key environmental and social features. More than 65 neighborhood residents attended a second neighborhood meeting at which time they again met in small groups where they organized the developed

photos into one of the following categories: weaknesses; opportunities; and strengths. Once the images were organized within these categories, residents grouped identified common themes and grouped similar pictures together. These observations, along with available Census and GIS data, were used by city and campus planners to establish an overall development goal and set of development goals for the neighborhood.

In the weeks following the second community information meeting, student planners from Cornell University interviewed more than one hundred neighborhood residents regarding their perceptions of existing neighborhood conditions and future development priorities. The student planners also conducted interviews with municipal department heads and non-profit agency directors regarding their perceptions of the area and its future. Area residents, business owners, and institutional representatives were then invited to a meeting that the Steering Committee referred to as the "Northside Neighborhood Summit." More than one hundred and forty residents attended this public hearing where students presented a detailed summary of the data describing existing neighborhood conditions. Following this presentation of existing neighborhood conditions, the students presented an overall development goal and seven development objectives that were based upon their analysis of existing conditions and residents' future development preferences.

The residents attending the Neighborhood Summit voiced strong support for the proposed development goal which sought to strengthen the Northside as a mixed-income, mixed-use neighborhood offering individuals and families of all income groups a high quality of urban life. Residents also supported the recommended development objectives focusing on crime prevention, youth development, housing improvement, economic growth, transportation enhancements, and neighborhood beautification. After considerable discussion, residents added an eighth development objective focused on sustainable development. Residents attending the meeting were then invited to participate in an afternoon brainstorming and priority-setting session designed to identify a limited number of projects that could be carried out during the coming five years to achieve the neighborhood's overall development goal and objectives. The Neighborhood Summit ended with a brief

report from each of the meeting's eight substantive planning teams. In the weeks following the Summit, neighborhood residents met, in these small groups, to transform their list of development projects into a five-year improvement plan that could be reviewed and adopted by the Ithaca Common Council.

With the assistance of city and campus planners, the Steering Committee selected a number of the major improvements featured in the plan to be included in the City's 2002 Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) Application to the State of New York. As a result of the Northsiders' planning effort, the \$750,000 in CDBG funds requested by the city relate to improvements needed in the Northside neighborhood. Residents encouraged by the initial success of the Northside planning process worked with representatives of local non-profit agencies to submit a \$115,000 grant application to the New York State Energy Research Development Agency to support various neighborhood-based energy conservation proposals.

In addition, a local property owner worked with city and campus planners to develop an \$840,000 proposal to preserve the neighborhood's only full-service supermarket. Students participating in Cornell's Community Development Workshop succeeded in raising \$10,000 to pay for a portion of the pre-development costs for this ambitious retail development project that will significantly improve the appearance of the neighborhood's current supermarket, add more than 4,400 square feet of new complimentary retail space, and provide a venue for a local Head Start Program recently displaced from a nearby housing project.

THE CHALLENGE OF INCLUSIVE PLANNING

The biggest challenge to date has been involving residents of the 71-unit low and very-low income public housing complex. The residents are not well integrated into the greater community, a problem that is reinforced through the architecture of the units and the layout of the complex. Additionally, local social service agencies' information about conditions in the public housing complex was outdated. Finally, following a series of evictions and other problems, residents were distrustful of authority and preferred to keep a low profile. Initially, the challenge was to understand who lived in the complex and how to reach them. Planners found

that despite the relatively small size of the population and rural location, there were people from many different ethnicities with complicated social networks, including African Americans, Latinos, East Asians, Eastern Europeans and non-ethnic whites. Working with residents required detailed local knowledge and multiple approaches. The planning team worked for six months in the Northside before they found community leaders that understood the subtleties of the demographics and appropriate channels. Once this information was understood, planners organized a free dinner at a resident's house that attracted 15 residents. This experience has shown that small cities in regions that traditionally lack diversity often have a level of social complexity unseen in past years. It is imperative to involve individuals and groups that understand these communities in order to provide a structure that is welcoming to all. The Neighborhood-Based Planning Initiative was designed to include a participatory evaluation piece that is used to continually improve the process.

The success of the Northside Neighborhood-Based Planning Initiative has prompted other Ithaca neighborhoods to request planning assistance from the city and the campus. In the fall of 2002, residents of Ithaca's Southside neighborhood will initiate a participatory neighborhood planning effort for their community. As they do so, residents of the Northside will continue their own efforts, with University assistance, to implement the remaining projects featured in their recently completed neighborhood improvement plan. City officials hope to take advantage of the planning experience local residents have acquired through their participation in these neighborhood-level improvement efforts to launch a similarly participatory planning process that will update the City's nearly thirty-year-old comprehensive plan. In doing so, they will be instituting one of the nation's few "bottom-up, bottom-sideways" planning systems first advocated in the early 1980s by Bertram Gross and Stanley Moses from Hunter College's Graduate Program in Urban Affairs, — a program established by Paul Davidoff, the founder of America's advocacy planning movement.

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Would the “Real” Planners Please Stand Up?: A Special Section on Naming, Framing and Identity in Planning Education

By Gerda R. Wekerle, Barbara Rahder, Katharine N. Rankin
and Kanishka Goonewardena

The idea for this dialogue was formed at the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning luncheon in 2000 in Atlanta. Two colleagues, one senior-level and well-established, the other newly hired to a planning program after a long and successful career in another field, recounted stories of their experiences feeling marginalized and particularly, of being told by colleagues or students that they would never amount to “real” planners. Both of these colleagues were women. A few days later, as I was driving home from work, my mind kept turning over these stories and some of my own experiences, and the phrase “Would the real planners please stand up” popped into my head.

So here we are, four faculty members who teach planning in two Canadian planning programs. We have each constructed our own stories around this theme of planning, identity and legitimacy and hope that this dialogue will open up discussions and the sharing of your stories.

—Gerda R. Wekerle,

Professional Identities and Boundary Maintenance

By Gerda R. Wekerle

In the past, when people asked whether I was a planner, I hedged. “Sort of,” I said. “I teach planning or planners; I write about planning; I even *do* some planning. But I have three degrees in sociology, not planning.” Last summer, I took two exams and subsequently received a document in the mail pronouncing me a “registered professional planner.” That piece of paper formalized my official status as a planner, but my identities remain multiple. I’m also still a sociologist, geographer and women’s studies scholar, and I see the world and frame my approach to teaching through these multiple lenses and allegiances. Yet getting that planning certificate has changed my status in some people’s eyes. A colleague at a planning conference congratulated me on passing the accreditation exams—the only sociologist, he claims, who has ever done so. “You’ve written piles of stuff over the years,” he said, “but now you’re a *real*...” “Stop right there. Don’t say it,” I said.

Over the past thirty years that I have taught planning and planning students, a recurrent theme has been who is a “real” planner. Perhaps this question occurs more in interdisciplinary programs than in planning departments, where *ipso facto* everyone there is assumed to be a

planner. But in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University, the boundaries between registered professional planners and others have been sharply drawn, although they have become somewhat more fluid over the past few years. I have concluded, despite the claims that planning as a profession has very permeable boundaries, that planners, or at least planning educators, often see their roles in terms of boundary maintenance for the profession at large. Planning education may even lag behind planning practice, making restrictive assumptions as to who will or will not make a “good” planner.

Deeply embedded in admissions procedures are assumptions about what it takes to become a planner, and the kinds of qualities, temperaments and experiences that planning programs seek in students. Many planning programs have a checklist to rank student applications. Typically, admissions committees give higher rankings to students with degrees in geography, engineering, architecture or business, and to students who took math or statistics, or more recently GIS, based on the assumption that they will do better at planning than a student who graduated as a filmmaker, for instance.

Committees may never even consider applicants with degrees in fine arts, humanities or communications.

These kinds of selection criteria affect the classroom mix, the range of student experiences and the openness of students to alternative ways of knowing and problem-solving. But we usually do not test these assumptions against our experiences in the classroom, where students with more non-conventional backgrounds often make strong contributions to class discussions, group projects or community collaborations.

I want to outline a different model. Graduate students studying planning at York are admitted to an interdisciplinary Faculty of Environmental Studies. We do not have a separate scoring sheet for planning applications, although students may indicate that planning is their primary interest. After the first term, all students engage in a personal planning exercise. They write a plan of study, indicating their learning objectives and how they propose to achieve them. Some students discover planning at this point; others decide that planning is not for them. While many of our students do have backgrounds in geography, urban studies and architecture, many others come with undergraduate degrees in international development, women’s studies, political science, sociology, fine arts, communications, film studies, biology, adult education, nursing and other disciplines. This creates a rich mix of students who approach planning problem-solving from many different perspectives. Students with backgrounds in the arts, humanities and social sciences do not fare worse than students from more traditional planning-related disciplines; many of them are our very best students.

Increasingly, students combine planning with emergent fields that push the boundaries of what we perceive the field to be and challenge us by demanding courses in emergent areas—green business entrepreneurship, planning for urban agriculture, bicycle planning or community arts and planning. Students also reframe the notion of what constitutes planning skills—not just research methods and GIS but also media, cultural production, video and multimedia. In recent years we have had the experience that students with unconventional combinations of skills are snapped up by planning firms. Further, when we examine the careers of graduates over several decades, we find that many have applied

their planning education to diverse planning applications and fields outside planning. For example, a graduate who focused initially on social housing is now an executive planning officer for a provincial Agriculture Financial Services Corporation. A student of housing policy is now director of a federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. A student who specialized in environmental planning and impact assessment is now director of real estate for a major bank. And a student who studied transportation planning is now an environmental educator. These career trajectories suggest to me that it is impossible to predict ahead of time which students with what kinds of undergraduate education will flourish in planning, or what particular sets of skills will prove valuable throughout the different stages of a planning career.

Still, I have experienced greater openness in student admissions than in faculty hiring, where assumptions about what constitutes a “real” planner come to the fore. Who is inside or outside the project is defined by decisions concerning who is involved in writing the job description; who is on the hiring committee; and particularly what fields and experiences are valued over others when choosing among equally qualified candidates. Inevitably, someone argues for the need to hire “real” planners, but there is seldom a discussion of what this means, in practice. If you have to ask, you obviously are not one.

When I deconstruct this label “real” planner, it is often attached to a planner engaged in some form of land use planning, a technical area such as GIS or a field linked to economic growth, such as real estate development. Discussions comparing candidates for a planning position often place a high value on experience in the private sector as a planning consultant or in the public sector; planners who have worked predominantly in the non-profit sector may not be valued as highly.

If I look at these discussions through a sociology-of-work lens, I ask whether the differential values attached to specific practice arenas or specialties might not serve to preserve the roles of established planning educators with certain backgrounds as gatekeepers to their own workplace and to the profession as a whole. Maintaining tight boundaries may also serve to limit competition for students from planning ⇨

educators with alternative views and practices.

Why should this concern us? With its focus on intervention and making change, planning is fundamentally a political act. Planning education is a site of practice. When I consider who is not considered a "real" planner, I often find a combination of personal identities and research foci which are assigned a lower value, e.g. a woman candidate with a specialty in social planning, gender planning or lesbian, gay and racial identities; an African-Canadian planner who focuses on environmental justice issues and approaches planning from a political standpoint. When these candidates are declared less legitimate, less "real" as planners, such judgments place their identities and their approaches outside the boundaries of planning as a field.

Yet students and graduates of planning programs are applying planning in new ways, ways that make the discourse about "real" planners seem old-fashioned and reactionary. One response to rapid change is to establish and maintain territory by tightening the requirements and making certification mandatory and

more rigorous. This does not work very well for planning, which has borrowed liberally from the theories and methodologies of other disciplines and professions. In the past, planning programs welcomed geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, architects and economists to teach. Since the 1960s, programs have hired sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and cultural studies scholars to enrich the curriculum and contribute to planning pedagogy. But the contributions of these planning "others" must be valued both at the point of hiring and afterwards. Within planning programs, we need to fully utilize all our faculty talents and to celebrate multiple paths for planning practice and ways of knowing if we are to model for students pathways that push the boundaries of the profession outwards.

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Cracks in the Foundation of Traditional Planning

By Barbara Rahder

Who is a "real" planner? What makes one person a "real" planner and another person not a "real" planner? How is this decided and by whom? What are the common expectations of students entering planning programs (or possibly staying away from planning programs)? In traditional planning these questions are typically answered in the form of a set of myths that undermine the capacity of planners to engage with significant problems. These key assumptions or myths are: planning is a rational process of decision-making, planning is about providing for the public interest/public good; and planning is, first and foremost, about the use of land or space.

These underlying assumptions have direct implications for the role of the planner and, consequently, for planning education.

First—and this is what I want to emphasize most—if planning is a rational process of decision-making, it follows that planners can be trained to be objective and rational. They can learn how to construct planning processes that will lead to rational decisions, an idea embedded not only in rational comprehensive plan-

ning theory but also in much, though not all, of some popular versions of communicative action theory. It follows that planners can control the process, and therefore decisions, about the future. Finally, this makes "real" planners the experts at planning.

Second, if planning is about providing for the public interest or the public good, this implies that: 1) the public interest can be known; 2) planners can be trained to identify the public interest; 3) planners can explain to others what is in the public interest; and therefore 4) "real" planners are experts at knowing and using the public interest as the guiding principle in practice.

Third, if planning is, above all, concerned with the use of land or space, then "real" planners are land use planners.

These assumptions about planning and the role of planners are embedded in the history of the planning profession. Professions, by their nature, are self-protective entities meant not only to uphold certain standards of perform-

ance, but also to protect, promote and define those who are on the inside against those who are on the outside. Professional organizations are a means of legitimating and controlling access to self-identified areas of specialized knowledge and skill. The planning profession sets the boundaries on who is and who is not a "real" planner, at least in part, as a means of legitimizing an area of expertise we can call our own.

Students assume, quite rightfully, that planning education is about acquiring the skills and knowledge to be a professional planner. In fact, the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) requires planning programs in Canada to demonstrate how they will do this in order to certify these as professionally recognized planning programs. Every five to ten years, each planning program undergoes an intensive review by CIP to make sure it is meeting its requirements. It is not difficult to satisfy these requirements—all of the accredited planning programs in Canada do this regularly. We offer courses in planning history and theory, in local government and planning law. We provide methods and computer courses. We run studios and workshops so that students have an opportunity to apply their new skills and knowledge in a hands-on way.

What is not so easy to address is the common belief of students that planning education should provide them with a clear and incontrovertible body of knowledge, and a set of marketable technical skills, that will allow them to go forth and become experts at shaping our common future. Students' apprehension about what they are learning—or more likely about what they are not learning—is legendary. In both traditional and innovative planning programs, students commonly express a great deal of anxiety and/or disappointment about not being taught the answers to the problems of planning. It may be worse, however, for those who think they have learned the answers, since they will most likely be bitterly disappointed when they go out into the world and discover that nothing appears to work according to plan.

So, what is the problem here? Are planning programs failing to provide adequate education? Are planning students' expectations unrealistic? Has the planning profession failed to adequately delineate the skills and knowledge needed to become a planner? The answers to all of these

questions may well be yes, but the problem is actually much bigger than this. I think we have tended to cling too long to outmoded notions of technical rationality— notions that even in their heyday served the interests of the few rather than the many diverse interests of the so-called public.

PROBLEMS WITH TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF PLANNING

One of the easiest ways to describe what is wrong is by way of analogy. It seems to me that we have built the foundations of the planning profession on a floodplain. Viewing planning as a purely technical enterprise probably seemed quite rational and reasonable, at least to the engineers and architects—virtually all white males—who were asserting their dominion over urban form and land use in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

While the flood waters rose to threatening levels in the 1960s and 1970s, the foundations of rationalist planning remained firm, however tilted. Despite practical and theoretical critiques from women; from low-income and ethno-racial communities; from urban activists, ecologists and left-wing academics, the notion that planning served some monolithic public interest in a fair and unbiased manner appeared to weather the storm. In the lets-make-a-deal 1980s and the privatization frenzy of the 1990s, there appeared to be little left of these old controversies other than a few high-water marks on the walls of the academy.

But here we are at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and there are definite cracks showing in the foundation. Our water is sometimes undrinkable—yet if planners were rational, wouldn't we set limits on the production and use of toxic chemicals and restrict the size and location of factory farms so that the runoff wouldn't get into our drinking water? Air pollution is causing unprecedented increases in childhood asthma—if planners were rational, wouldn't we restrict the use of cars and trucks rather than create more suburbs, more expressways and hence more traffic? We are a tremendously prosperous society with more people than ever before, including increasing numbers of children, homeless on the street—if planners were rational, wouldn't we make sure that everyone had adequate shelter?

I have no doubt that we could solve these ⇒

problems. But I am just as sure that these issues cannot be addressed by rationalist modes of physical land use planning alone or by planners who continue to see themselves as professionals with unbiased technical expertise. The myths of rationalism, a singular public interest, and the separation of space from society are

Planning Education: How Could It Be Different from Business School?

By Katharine N. Rankin

I welcomed the invitation to join this dialogue on planning education because I have had my own experiences of being defined at the margins of "real" planning. I relish those experiences because they remind me of the crucial *critical* role I believe planning education must play in shaping what "counts" as real planning.

About those experiences:

First, I came to planning from the field of anthropology and continue to do ethnographic research. Therefore, my orientation has always been about how plans and development projects are *experienced*—and not about how to do planning in a technocratic sense.

Second, I teach planning theory in the planning program at the University of Toronto. We all know that "theory" is something that students balk at, practitioners ignore, and academic colleagues merely tolerate.

Third, I'm a feminist and I teach *Gender Planning and Development*. It is ironic that for all the wisdom (theoretical and practical) feminism has to offer in challenging injustice from the standpoint of *experiences* of injustice, some of our more "enlightened" students once nicknamed that course *Family Planning and Birth Control*.

This may be a pretty good joke, but it is symptomatic of a tendency in planning education to demarcate who is "real" and who is not by who teaches and who takes so-called "skills" courses. What is meant by "skills"?: neoclassical economics, quantitative analysis, maybe GIS. Planning theory, gender planning, and qualitative methods all fall outside the purview of these forms of "legitimate" and "useful" knowledge. Students are constantly advised not to waste their time in a professional masters program on "theory" courses that will not serve them well in their job search or on the job.

just no longer viable foundations for our profession.

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At the same time, I've found that the admissions process is often skewed to the kinds of applicants who already have a propensity to value these favored forms of knowledge as "skills." As Gerda Wekerle and Barbara Rabder also argue in this issue, prerequisites in economics and statistics present *up front* a disciplinary bias—or gate-keeping effect—against those with backgrounds in humanities and social theory, regardless of established commitments to social justice and social change. Applicants with such backgrounds are defined as the weaker prospects.

We must therefore ask ourselves what view of the planner is embedded in this valuation of certain forms of knowledge as endowing "skills" and others as "peripheral" to the requirements of professional practice. In practice, these "skills" (when acquired in isolation from other skills, such as feminist theory) equip planners to perform two fundamental roles: 1) technician of governmental objectives (which often construes the "public interest" narrowly in the real interest of political expediency); and 2) business entrepreneur equipped with a spatial understanding of free market economics necessary for facilitating urban development. Embedded in our arbitrary construction of "real" and, shall we say, "imposter" planning are also, of course, certain normative understandings of what a good city is. Namely, a good city is one where *laissez-faire* principles rule, and planners participate in individual development projects or (at best) serve government agencies whose task is to mitigate market failure.

What is wrong with all this? I like to approach this question by thinking in terms of what should distinguish planning education from related professional degrees, such as business management, public administration or public policy—other fields where "skills" are valued as legitimate knowledge. To approach this question, I think it is useful to refer to Kevin Lynch, who specifies three basic capacities planners

should have in order to understand and shape the spatial form of the city.

First, planners should be able to understand why cities take the form they do. For this, of course, they require a *range* of disciplinary orientations, including economics (especially spatial economics), but also sociology and anthropology, geography, transportation engineering and political economy, to name a few. And planners must be able to synthesize these many areas of study into a single approach, in true *interdisciplinary* fashion.

Second, planners should be able to understand and shape the processes through which city form changes—processes in which planners can play different kinds of roles ranging from technician, to project designer, to advocate, to radical critic.

Third, planners should have a clear normative understanding of what good city form would be.

Aside from offering an incomplete analysis, the problem with planners drawing merely from a very narrow set of "skills" in their practice (such as neoclassical economics and quantitative methods) is this: it obscures from view the normative values underlying those approaches. That may be fine in a business management or public policy program, but planning should *distinguish* itself as a profession populated by practitioners who understand that values and explanations are, as Kevin Lynch argued, inextricable. As such, planning *programs* should be "multi-ideological," to borrow an expression from Porus Olpadwala. By their very interdisciplinary nature, whereby students are routinely exposed to competing systems of social analysis, planning programs should encourage planners to question any single set of ideas or interpretations and build an element of dissent into the profession. Planning can also distinguish itself from other disciplines by making unequivocal commit-

ments to the principles of social justice, equality of opportunity, participatory decision-making processes and empowerment of the disenfranchised. There are certainly plenty of ideological alternatives to an understanding of social justice, but at the very least one common denominator must be to take a long-term view of good city form, one not beholden to short-term returns to shareholders or politicians. This view must entertain the possibility of fundamental change leading to radically alternative futures.

There is a crucial role for theory here. Theory—the domain where relationships between values and explanations get charted—provides the critical edge to planning. It is the place from which it is possible to articulate a radical politics, to be overtly political. Without theory, the profession turns in on itself, as Bob Beauregard once argued. Without theory the profession narrows its scope, separates the "real" from the "imposters," subverts itself to hegemonic interests, to—as Kanishka Goonewardena argues in this issue—the market.

If we accept theory as an indispensable "skill" in this way, we must also encompass within the planner's toolbox a gender analysis, which has for decades been expanding our understanding of "development" to encompass not just economic growth but also human development and well-being. A feminist approach denies the age-old trade-off between equity and efficiency by recasting the framework for action from price signals to human needs. It brings the perspectives of subaltern groups to bear on the planning process. And as theory borne out of practice, feminist approaches confront head-on the imagined and debilitating split in planning between theory and practice.

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Planning and Neoliberalism: The Challenge for Radical Planners

By Kanishka Goonewardena

The "real" planner must be a radical planner, planning for social justice and social change. In order to do this type of planning today, the hegemony of neoliberalism must be contested and defeated.

What is neoliberalism? Neoliberalism is the dom-

inant political-economic thought of our time—the philosophy of corporate globalization, which in turn is a code-word for the universalization of *laissez-faire* capitalism. Its inviolate moral principle is remarkably lucid, but rarely acknowledged and hardly ever questioned: *maximum profit at any cost*. What this categorical ⇒

imperative amounts to is clear: a political-economic environment within which a handful of private interests are permitted to control social life in order to maximize their personal profit.

Planners confront neoliberalism not only in such practice but also in theory. Many courses we encounter in planning schools today revolve around the assumptions and abstractions of neoclassical economics; so, we have all been blessed with a religious faith in the infallible virtues of the unregulated market, and doubtful of anything that gets in its way. But unregulated capitalism is a myth. Capitalist markets have never been free—especially when sanctioned by *laissez-faire* rhetoric. Without “big government,” capitalism would not exist. That is why Max Weber coined the term “political capitalism” in his classic work *General Economic History*. That is also why economic historian Karl Polanyi demonstrated that “*laissez-faire* was planned; planning was not.”

The rhetoric of neoliberalism is one thing; its reality is something else. The nineteenth century theory of neoliberalism (neoclassical economics) romanticized free markets; its twenty-first century practice (globalization) reveals a world-economy rigged in favor of the ruling classes and multinational corporations, at the terrible expense of the masses, the postmodern wretched of the earth. Since neoliberalism became hegemonic in the 1980s, the world has indeed become more hellish for many, and even more heavenly for a few. The relevant statistics, as Mike Davis notes, would have stunned even the authors of *The Communist Manifesto*. “In the late 1990s . . . America’s 400 richest families increased their net worth by almost a billion dollars apiece, while the pie slice of the bottom 40 percent of the population plummeted 80 percent. . . . Globally, the Wealth Decade of the 1990s translated into negative income trends for eighty African and Latin American countries, while 200 masters of the universe, led by Bill Gates . . . amassed personal fortunes equivalent to the total income of the world’s 2.5 billion poorest people.”

The current symptoms and underlying trends of neoliberalism are hardly unprecedented. In fact, they remind us of the reign of imperialist oligopolies in the world-economy around the turn of the previous century, during the long wave of capitalist expansion from 1893 to 1914 that cul-

minated in structural crisis and ultimately World War I. That crisis is instructive today because it proves that capitalism without planning is unsustainable. Unless the free-wheeling adventures of global capital are brought under political control and subjected to the demands of social justice, there is every reason to expect that neoliberalism as we know it is destined toward a systemic crisis of global proportions. The uncertainty is this: will the current stage in the development of capitalism come to an end in a social catastrophe or an ecological disaster? For my part, I hope—being an optimistic person on these matters—that the crisis will be mostly social, so that some of us will still be around to come out on the other side of it.

Now, if a global crisis is very much on the world-historical agenda, what can planners do in the meantime, here and now? Contributors to this magazine have already broached many aspects of this question in terms of social justice, with due respect to issues such as class, gender, sexuality and race. For my part, I can offer here a thought on the nature of our political agency in the face of neoliberalism. We must engage neoliberal dogma not because it is true, but because it is the most influential political-economic ideology in the world today; because it severely constrains not only what planners *do*, but also what they *think* they can do. In order to liberate planning *practice* from the boundaries erected by the political-economic realities of neoliberalism, therefore, it will be necessary to also emancipate planning *thought* from the shackles of neoliberal ideology. Planners cannot hope to be radical unless *all* manifestations of this ideology are sharply contested and defeated.

For a start, let me consider neoliberalism’s *reification of the economy*. Reification here refers to the transformation of human attributes, relations and actions into an objective entity that is independent of human agency. In so doing, it elevates the objective over the subjective, the products of labor and relations between them (commodities and markets) over the people who produce them (workers) and their human essence (the labor process). The conception of the economy in neoclassical economics in fact provides the best example of such reification. How? We know that it is the people who make the economy. As a social construction, the economy does not exist independently of the sub-

jective agents who produce and reproduce it. Yet, if we look at our mainstream economics textbooks, then the economy suddenly appears as a fully autonomous entity, governed by nothing else but its own objective laws. The frequent invocation of these laws with the glib reference to Adam Smith’s Hidden Hand certainly conjures up the image of an omnipotent force, well beyond human control. This conception of the economy admits no trace of human agency, and it thus becomes impervious to politics. Accordingly, the human subjects who constructed the economy to begin with are now purged of any political agency and also deemed to behave “rationally” (“rational fools,” as Amartya Sen once put it), simply by obeying the objective laws of the supposedly self-regulating market. In this scenario, the economy returns as an alien force to haunt the very people who created it. Here—in the reification of the economy—we have a special case of what Marx called alienation.

When I was a graduate student, a neoliberal planning professor told me that a planner (developing real estate) must obey the laws of

Killmer [Cont. from page 35]

impact the community. Still, the vertical social capital which is needed to access resources and challenge ill-conceived projects up the spatial and organizational hierarchy is usually missing in a lower-income suburb.

But middle-income suburbanites appear to have less social capital than either lower- or upper-income groups. Their suburbs provide neither the “old neighborhood” of an industrial suburb nor the village atmosphere of an affluent enclave, making it difficult to create horizontal social capital. Middle-income suburbanites are increasingly “stressed out” by the effort needed to maintain their middle-class status. Thus, they have neither the time nor energy to develop either horizontal or vertical social capital to fight growth pressures.

Residents of middle-class new urbanist communities have even greater difficulty participating in decision-making when they are part of a larger municipal jurisdiction. Kentlands, for example, is a “place” within Gaithersburg, Maryland. Citizens of this defined neighborhood cannot easily influence development in the surrounding neighborhoods. Thus, a jumble of national

the market just as a civil engineer (building a bridge) obeys the laws of gravity. That analogy was deeply flawed. My professor was right about the engineer, but wrong about the planner. The laws of gravity are of course not produced socially and politically, and the engineer cannot alter them—in that sense gravity is absolutely objective. By contrast, as Polanyi explains in his book *The Great Transformation*, the self-regulating market *was* produced politically and socially—in fact, by planners of various descriptions. As such, it is neither natural nor objective. If we made the economy in the first place, then why can’t we change the way it works and remake it? We can and must, because neoliberalism legitimates a historical condition in which the economy subjugates human life to its own autonomous laws, often with inhuman consequences. “Real planners” must strive, in radical democratic fashion, for exactly the reverse: to guide the economy according to human purposes.

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food franchise establishments has recently emerged around a nearby road intersection while the coffee shop/deli in the Kentlands shopping center stands empty.

The new Meadowmount project, in the Chapel Hill, North Carolina area, presents another challenge for local citizen involvement. The real estate office touts a Chapel Hill address for the entire project. The school district, however, is divided between Chapel Hill/Carboro schools in Orange County and Durham schools in Durham County. It will be challenging for citizens in these places to be active in local government, and even to know the correct unit of government to address with grievances.

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For more on the new urbanism, see Planners Network Magazine, No. 151 (Spring, 2002).

Diversity and the Planning Profession

By Leonardo Vazquez, PP/AICP

A friend of mine, a terrific planner in the private sector, gets called in on jobs from public sector clients and private sector colleagues who want him to join their team. He is one of the few senior-level planners of African-American heritage in the New York area, and while I would like to believe he is hired mostly for his skills, I sense that most clients and partners think of him first as black, and second as a good planner.

Though experienced in community planning, zoning and urban design, he often gets called on for outreach in minority communities. Clients who have worked with him will call him back for jobs regardless of the neighborhood's characteristics, but most colleagues in the private sector call him to be "the black guy" on the team.

My friend's experience highlights the lack of diversity in the planning profession today: African-Americans and Latinos are heavily underrepresented in the planning field (especially in the private sector); few minorities are in senior-level positions in their organizations; and many planners see only the marketing benefits of increasing diversity.

Though the lack of diversity in the profession is well-known, it has not been well-documented. In 2001, with an award to the American Planning Association (APA) New York Metro Chapter from the national organization, Juan Miguel Kanai and I looked at the planning profession in the chapter area. In *Lagging Behind: Ethnic Diversity in the Planning Profession in the APA New York Metro Chapter Area*, we compared the profession across the public, private and non-profit sectors; between New York City and its suburbs; and between 2000 and 1990. Our study covered more than 600 planners in all five boroughs of New York City, Long Island and several counties in the Hudson Valley. The full report is available on the APA New York Metro Chapter website at www.nyplanning.org.

We were more disappointed with our findings than surprised. African-Americans and Latinos

were the most underrepresented races/ethnicities in the planning profession. African-Americans made up nearly 19 percent of the general population, but only 10 percent of planners. Latinos made up 22 percent of the general population, but only 6 percent of planners. Whites, on the other hand, were overrepresented, making up 49 percent of the general population, but 73 percent of planners. One surprising finding was that Asian-Americans were fairly represented, making up 8 percent of the general population and 9 percent of the planning profession.

We learned that the planning profession appears to be getting less representative. In 1990, according to census figures, African-Americans made up 12 percent of the profession, and Latinos 8 percent (compared to 10 and 6 percent, respectively, in 2000). While our survey may have looked at a slightly different population (planners who live in New Jersey, included in the survey, would not be counted in the census figures), we would still expect a growing percentage of African-American and Latino planners, especially given the increase in the Latino population.

Our findings also showed that the private sector is far less representative than the public sector with respect to diversity in the planning profession. While planners of color made up 28 percent of public sector planners, they comprised only 18 percent of private sector planners. Among private sector planners, African-Americans and Latinos were especially underrepresented, together accounting for just 7 percent. Asian-Americans, on the other hand, accounted for 9 percent of private sector planners. This is especially disturbing since governments are relying more and more on private sector consulting firms for what had been the work of public sector planning staff. Consider that Newark and Jersey City, the two largest cities in New Jersey, had their master plans completed by consulting firms. As community development corporations and place-based non-profits get bigger and more sophisticated, they too are turning to consultants to develop plans.

From private sector employers we learned that a number of minority planners had either left the planning profession or went to public sector agencies instead of moving up within the private sector. Employers cited reasons that included the fact that smaller firms do not have the resources to provide training and development opportunities, and that minority planners may have felt "more comfortable" in the public sector. This contributes to another finding—the lack of senior-level planners in the private sector. Only 8 percent of planners of color in the private sector had senior-level responsibilities, compared to 20 percent in the public sector.

Compared to the private or public sectors, the non-profit sector appears to be more diverse, with minorities making up 39 percent of planners. Eva Hanhardt, director of the Planning Center at the Municipal Art Society of New York and a planner familiar with community-based organizations, told me that the non-profit sector may be even more diverse than our finding, since there are a number of professionals engaged in planning services who do not call themselves planners. Still, because the non-profit sector makes up a small portion of the whole planning profession, adding these professionals to the mix would still not substantially change the results.

Geography appeared to be an important factor. Though the profession in New York City was more diverse than in suburban areas, the profession in Long Island and the Hudson Valley was more representative of the local population. Here again, however, Latinos were the most underrepresented group, by 9 percent.

In explaining the makeup of the planning profession, the why is trickier than the what. Clearly, one of the reasons for lack of diversity is the lack of minority students in planning schools. According to the latest *Guide to Planning Education* by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, white students comprised 70 percent of students in planning schools that produce graduates who work in the New York area (this includes schools in New York State, New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania). While you might expect immigrant ethnic groups to be underrepresented in the profession, why are Asian-Americans fairly represented and Latinos so underrepresented? Even in planning schools, 7 percent of students

were Asian-Americans, only 6 percent Latino. If these trends continue, Latinos will continue to be more underrepresented in the profession.

VALUING DIVERSITY: MORE THAN JUST A MARKETING PLOY

Diversity, like community, is something that no reasonable person can be against. Employers tend to embrace it for its marketing and outreach benefits. While public sector employers can show their responsiveness to the community by putting a planner of color in a frontline position, private sector employers find it valuable to have a minority planner at the table in interviews. The idea at work here is that members of the community will be more responsive to planners who resemble them, and given two planners of equal ability, this is often the case. Unfortunately, this limited notion of diversity tends to keep planners of color in frontline positions in minority neighborhoods while other planners are in positions of influence over development and public policy.

This serves our communities and our profession poorly. In planning school we learned about the rational planner, who could take a comprehensive, objective look at a place, then apply scientific analysis to come up with great plans. We then quickly learned that the rational planner never did and never could exist; while our analyses may be scientific, the kinds of questions we ask, the data we are willing to consider and the range of solutions we would entertain are constrained and skewed by our biases, perspectives and histories. These are so ingrained psychologically that no matter how reflective we are, we cannot see ourselves clearly in the mirror. The true value of increasing diversity is to bring a new breadth of perspectives to bear on finding more creative and sustainable answers to pressing problems. But to make sure those perspectives are heard, we need to have more diversity at the senior levels of planning schools, planning agencies and private planning firms.

INCREASING DIVERSITY IN THE PLANNING PROFESSION

Increasing diversity in the planning profession will take a long time and will need to involve planning schools, employers and the professional organizations that serve planners. The biggest factor will be having senior-level people who understand and are committed to achieving this goal. ⇒

The American Planning Association, which has been struggling to attract and retain minorities, is working to increase diversity. It funded our diversity study, and has made social equity one of the key goals of its organizational development plan.

In our study, we made eleven recommendations under four major goals. I should note that Mitchell Silver, now a member of the board of the national APA, and Tina Chiu, vice president of committees for the New York Chapter, worked on refining the recommendations, which include:

- Create mentoring programs for seasoned planners to help younger planners;
- Develop joint programming between APA and other organizations that have larger percentages of minority professionals;
- Provide entrepreneurship and business training for minority planners to help them to become, and succeed as, managers and leaders;
- Allow minority planners within organizations to influence staff development and project assignments;
- Increase the number of senior-level planners in the private sector;
- Increase the number of scholarships to minorities interested in planning schools;
- Create a "unified effort among planning schools and employers" to diversify the profession;
- Make the profession better known in minority communities, which will attract more young people to the profession;
- Make minority planners more visible; when young people see more people like them in leadership positions, they will be more likely to join the profession.
- Conduct more research into diversity issues, including a comparison of regions and a more detailed investigation of the experiences of various planners.

DIVERSIFYING THE PRIVATE SECTOR: THE PROBLEM WITH MINORITY BUSINESS SET-ASIDE PROGRAMS

For more than two decades, federal, state, county and some city agencies have been trying to increase opportunities for minority-owned and women-owned businesses. Through Minority Business Enterprise (MBE) programs, jurisdictions encourage contractors to include such businesses on their project teams. While such programs have certainly provided opportunities that otherwise might not have existed for

minorities and women who are not keyed into the usual networks that result in business partnerships, there are a few problems with this approach.

Minority-owned is defined as having at least 51 percent ownership by a member of an under-represented group. In even medium-sized firms, where ownership may be distributed among as few as four people, it would be difficult to get a 51 percent ownership rate by minorities. Another problem is that the MBE requirement produces a small set of boutique firms that everyone goes to when they need an MBE. Like my friend, the same people get called on for certain projects, making it difficult for other minority planners to get work. With the "go-to" firms out there, white employers have little incentive to attract, retain or promote minority planners. You could be a huge firm with one or two black junior planners, but show up at an interview with your MBE teammate at the table, and you look progressive.

You could make the same argument for white planners, but there is a difference. Some of the minority planners that we spoke to for the study complained about not getting the same quality of assignments or opportunities as their white counterparts. We didn't have a large sample of planners, but their comments squared with what I have heard informally from other planners over the years. They also resembled some of the comments reported by Charles Hoch of the University of Illinois at Chicago in his book, *What Planners Do: Power Politics and Persuasion*. And if we agree that the profession should be more diverse, then we should provide even more quality opportunities for minority planners.

To truly get the benefits of ethnic diversity in the planning profession, we have to integrate diverse perspectives at all levels. As long as minority planners are stuck at junior or middle levels or channel themselves to boutique firms, we'll have more numbers, but not necessarily more value. Planning work tends to be task-related. Especially in the private sector, where profit margins tend to be narrow, there is little office time for the deep conversations and reflection that leads to changes of heart and new ways of thinking; this usually happens among peers and within networks. The principal of a large transportation planning firm is more likely to have drinks [Cont. on page 38]

New Urbanism: Why Class Matters

By Margaret Killmer

New urbanism emphasizes physical planning rather than the social, economic and political factors that shape urban development. New urbanist planning schemes are touted as a tool for Smart Growth because they concentrate development and limit suburban sprawl. Yet the goal of Smart Growth—to redevelop existing urbanized areas and protect open space, such as agricultural and environmentally sensitive land—is limited by new urbanism's emphasis on the physical.

New urbanist projects built to date range from high-end elite enclaves to low-income HOPE VI projects and include both infill and greenfield development. Many new urbanist projects are often small parts of larger municipalities and developed for upwardly mobile middle-class residents. These municipalities are most vulnerable to growth pressures and least able to withstand the incursions of new unplanned development. While more affluent suburbanites have the resources and expertise to get involved in local politics, middle-income communities often do not. Middle-income new urbanist communities are more vulnerable to both ill-conceived development schemes and schemes less likely to advance the objectives of Smart Growth. That is why planners need to take into account social, economic and political factors as much as physical design.

MIDDLE-CLASS SUBURBS

Contrary to so many popular images, suburbs are very diverse in social, economic and physical characteristics. There are industrial, affluent (including borderland and railroad), streetcar, merchant builder and sprawled suburbs. Suburbs are differentiated by housing costs, which reflect socio-economic status. They also differ by the period in which they were built—the nineteenth through the early twentieth century; the 1920s (beginning of the era of automobile) through the post-World War II period; and the end of the twentieth century.

In his book, *Contemporary Suburban America* (1982), Peter O. Muller describes the social structure associated with upper-, middle- and

working/lower-class suburbs. Exclusive upper-income suburbs, according to Muller, are characterized by "class-reinforcing social interaction" and structured around private schools, churches and country clubs. Working-class and poor suburbs, in contrast, "are characterized by a broad social interaction of informal groups congregating at such local meeting places as the church, tavern, street corner, or door stoop...[and]...frequent home entertaining of relatives." Middle-class suburbs, on the other hand, "like their turn-of-the-century streetcar ancestors, are not community cohesive to any great degree. Emphasis on family privacy and freedom to aggressively pursue its own upwardly mobile aspirations does not encourage the development of extensive local ties." Child-rearing activities such as the PTA, little league and boy scouts provide the most social contact and "...even socializing with relatives is infrequent."

WHERE IS THE SOCIAL CAPITAL?

New urbanist planners often look only at land use and fail to look at a municipality's social capital. Social capital is the "glue" of civil society that permits cooperative action among citizens and their institutions. A community needs social capital, which can be horizontal or vertical, to effectively respond to growth pressures and direct development in a conscious, planned way.

Affluent suburbs have extensive networks of both horizontal and vertical social capital. Vertical social capital (non-local) provides information concerning potential growth threats as well as resources to influence the outcomes of such threats in ways that will not negatively impact the community. The residents of these suburbs have strong expectations of political efficacy.

"Neighboring" behavior in working-class or poor suburbs corresponds to horizontal (local-level) social capital. There are networks within the community. The potential exists for informal communication between residents regarding growth activity that can [Cont. on page 31]

Edzi Toto ("Stop AIDS"): Experiencing Two Approaches to AIDS in Malawi

By Leah Birnbaum

While working on an evaluation of Canadian development worker placements in Malawi in 1997, I was on a daily basis confronted with the AIDS epidemic. Although my work was not in the field of AIDS prevention or education, the disease was often the topic of bewildered conversation among my non-Malawian friends. Because social obligations required that people attend the funeral of someone affiliated with their workplace or neighborhood, our Malawian colleagues were absent from work several times a month fulfilling these obligations. Workplace productivity suffered. Before long, people *we* knew were falling sick and our bewilderment grew. We could not understand how this preventable disease could so completely overtake an urban population. How could so many people be infected when condoms—what we saw as a simple form of prevention—were readily available? Advertisements for them colored the sides of buses and the walls of buildings throughout the city. They were cheap. They were available. How could people not be using them? How could they not take steps to protect themselves from this incurable disease? I was guilty of the same assumptions as those behind the mainstream medical-moral AIDS prevention approach: preventing AIDS is simply a matter of replacing misconceptions with facts and making preventative tools available, and people will put these new facts to use to ensure their own protection.

This dominant medical-moral approach to AIDS seeks biological explanations for the spread of the disease, particularly in Africa. This approach informs behavior-change strategies of intervention, which focus on disseminating Western medical information with the assumption that this information will encourage people to alter high-risk behavior. An alternative model, the social vulnerability approach, looks to social and economic factors to explain the spread of AIDS, then informing intervention strategies that use participatory education to mobilize local action against the spread of the disease.

In my experience in Malawi, AIDS was rarely mentioned. My co-worker died in his thirties from tuberculosis, and his wife and young children installed themselves in our office requesting that

we cover the cost of transporting his body back to his home village, all with no mention of AIDS or HIV. Several Malawian friends began to unravel the mysteries for me as they patiently answered my questions about attitudes toward AIDS in their country. Gradually a complex picture began to emerge. I began to see that the prevention of AIDS is much more complicated than the simple dispersal of Western medical information and condoms. AIDS is a social phenomenon. While I initially saw AIDS and its prevention as a biological issue, I was later able to see the social and economic factors that sustain the spread of the disease. Each of these two ways of understanding the situation—the medical-moral approach and the social vulnerability approach—have informed two different intervention strategies, both of which are present in Malawi. And while distinctions between biological and social explanations have been common in many areas of social planning, the case of AIDS prevention in Malawi raises additional questions about participatory planning in a developing country, where policies (and consequently, practices) have often been shaped by foreign intervention.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE EPIDEMIC

Both the biological and social approach offer explanations as to why Africa has been so ravaged by AIDS. The medical-moral approach explains the epidemiological differences between the patterns of AIDS in Africa and in North America through theories that rely on supposed biological differences between the two populations. The most appalling of these is J. Phillippe Rushton's reproductive strategy theory, which proposes that African populations are more sexually promiscuous than North Americans, placing them at higher risk for sexually transmitted diseases.

Social explanations attribute the spread of AIDS to changes in the economies of African countries brought about through colonialism and economic development. The most well-known of these is the migrant labor theory. This contends that colonial powers systematically underdeveloped parts of Africa to create pools of exportable labor to toil in the mines and on the plantations of the colonists. Migrating laborers, away from home for

long periods of time, consequently would experience an increase in the number of sexual partners, as would their partners back home. The migrant labor system, therefore, set the stage for the rapid spread of AIDS through sub-Saharan Africa.

Other social explanations for the Africa AIDS epidemic focus on high-risk "African cultural practices" (see the studies by Quentin Gausset for more on this). Polygamy, circumcision rituals, dry sex and witchcraft are among these high-risk cultural practices and have been targeted for elimination. In the West, however, if a cultural practice—such as homosexual sex—is found to have a strong link with HIV transmission, health practitioners do not advocate for elimination of the practice itself but promote methods to make the practice safer. The same approach could be applied to harmful "African cultural practices," but the dominant medical-moral approach works to eliminate high-risk behaviors rather than make them safer.

Although social explanations for the spread of AIDS in Africa have their shortcomings, they are ultimately more useful than biological explanations because they present a more complicated and realistic picture of the epidemic. Anthropologist Arturo Escobar argues that the discourse of development, far from being an objective body of knowledge, informs, creates and sustains the deployment of power and control in development work. The medical-moral approach to AIDS intervention serves to sustain the notion that AIDS in Africa operates differently than in the West because of discernible differences in the behaviors and knowledge of the people. Participatory initiatives and popular education programs are the products of a resistance to the dominant development approach.

INTERVENTION PROGRAMS IN MALAWI: APPROACHES TO AIDS IN PRACTICE

All AIDS interventions promote behavior modification to a certain degree. Some hold risky behavior completely responsible for HIV infection and target the eradication specifically of these behaviors. These campaigns include the social marketing of condoms and the promotion of abstinence and fidelity by state and religious organizations. Population Services International (PSI) is a US non-profit organization with roots in family planning in South Asia. It now runs social marketing programs of Chishango condoms in Malawi as

part of a behavior-change program promoting healthier lifestyles. In its AIDS reduction projects, PSI proudly states that through "behavior change communication" its "campaigns work to change life-threatening beliefs and behaviors that lead to risky sex" (www.psiwash.org).

Social marketing campaigns ascribe the spread of HIV to unsafe sexual practices and conclude that the availability of condoms and education regarding unsafe practices will help reduce infection rates. They measure success, however, not in the reduction of HIV infections or AIDS-related deaths but in the growth of condom sales. The 2000 Malawi Demographic and Health Survey conducted by the National Statistics Office found that knowledge of the Chishango brand name was very high: 97 percent of men and 89 percent of women had heard of it. Reported condom usage, however, was low. Only 14 percent of men and 5 percent of women reported using a condom during their most recent sexual encounter.

While some are beginning to take a less rigid approach, most religious organizations in Malawi attribute the spread of HIV to practices like infidelity, sexual promiscuity and prostitution. They advocate abstinence before marriage and fidelity in marriage and have repeatedly clashed with the strategies of the Malawian government's National AIDS Control Program regarding the promotion of condom usage. Silence surrounding AIDS is still widespread. When a respected institution like the church fails to explore all means of curbing the epidemic it makes it easy for the current climate of silence and stigma to continue. Just as western AIDS intervention programs did not attempt to eradicate high-risk practices such as IV drug use, however, Malawian intervention programs would do well to work at making behaviors safer rather than seeking to eliminate them altogether.

Strategies which are informed by the social vulnerability perspective on AIDS are usually locally designed programs which approach the AIDS challenge much more realistically than do the medical-moral strategies outlined above. Strategies informed by the social vulnerability position work to break the silence surrounding AIDS and put the tools for prevention in the hands of those who will benefit. In social vulnerability models, expertise no longer rests with medical experts or church leaders; it rests with the people who mobilize and educate themselves and others about how to live in a country faced with a staggering health challenge. ⇨

Edzi Toto means "Stop AIDS" and is the name for the comprehensive education program run in many Malawian schools. *Edzi Toto* clubs—anti-AIDS clubs—are increasing in popularity in both primary and secondary schools. These extra-curricular clubs, supported by national and international aid agencies, deploy club members to travel to different communities and use theater and radio dramas to get their message out. *Edzi Toto* clubs promote an open discussion of adolescent health and sexuality and help youth to design prevention strategies that will work for them. Some of the Malawian friends that I turned to for help in understanding the AIDS epidemic had been members of the *Edzi Toto* clubs at their schools, and these clubs and the atmosphere they create were largely responsible for my friends' candor. They spoke openly with me about AIDS—how it affects them, how they protect themselves and how they came to understand the epidemic in their country. My friends were aware that among Malawians they were unique. Most people would not speak so freely about AIDS, one reason it was spreading so easily. My friends knew that they had a different insight into the disease: they understood not only how it was transmitted but also the gendered cultural, political and economic reasons why their country was faring so badly in the fight against

Vazquez [Cont. from page 34]

with his fellow partners than with his junior or mid-level planners. Even if he does break bread with his own staff, people who depend on the principal to give them choice assignments (not to mention signing the checks that pay their bills) are going to talk to him differently than someone who is not so dependent on him.

We need a way to diversify planning firms at all levels, and the push needs to come from clients. The MBE requirement is one way to go. Here's another, which could be used with the MBE: diversity rankings.

A diversity ranking is a score a firm receives for the depth and breadth of diversity within its organization. Different points are assigned for diversity at different levels (e.g. four points for diversity at partner level; one for junior planner). Firms would get additional points for employing a mix of minority planners. An independent review organization would determine scores for each organization. To provide additional incentive to planning firms, the organization could publish and distribute an annual description of firms that achieve a certain minimum diversity score.

the epidemic. Although they fell into the age category that suffers from the highest rates of infection, they felt they had the control and the power to manage the risk.

The full impact of the AIDS epidemic in Malawi remains to be seen. The loss of life and knowledge will be appalling. Social vulnerability models represent a resistance to the dominant medical-moral approach to AIDS. These models, like Malawi's *Edzi Toto* program, take a comprehensive, participatory approach to AIDS prevention. They recognize that AIDS involves much more than the transmission of a virus: it is a social phenomenon that can only be addressed by examining the intersections of gender, human rights, ethics and power. It is in this way that a social vulnerability approach presents a more complete and effective model of intervention. Only when this model is more widely embraced, and the imperative for integrating local needs and practices into policy intervention is more widely acknowledged, will there be cause for optimism in the face of AIDS in Malawi.

Leah Birnbaum is a graduate student in the Planning Program at the University of Toronto.

We should all work to increase racial and ethnic diversity in the planning profession, not just to make ourselves feel good or help reach out to different communities, but also to keep our profession relevant and strong over this century. Planners are more valuable as communicators, facilitators and persuaders than they are as analysts and technicians. Most people treat planning like running a restaurant; everybody thinks they can do it, and are surprised when half of them fail. For place-building, members of the public and officials tend to think of architects, civil engineers or even developers before planners. This means that to be relevant, we need to bring something to the table that cannot be found in a market study or environmental impact statement.

Leonardo Vazquez, PP/AICP, chairs the Planners for Ethnic and Cultural Diversity Committee of the American Planning Association New York Metro Chapter. He is an adjunct instructor at New School University's Robert J. Milano Graduate School in New York, where he teaches city planning and community development. He is also a senior associate of Camiros, Ltd. and manages its east coast office from Maplewood, NJ.

PN NEWS

• PN News from the Co-Chairs

"A resounding success!" That's what Arturo Ignacio Sanchez wrote on the PN-list about the 2002 Planners Network Conference in Holyoke, Massachusetts (see Sanchez' reprinted article in this issue). With roughly 300 participants, the conference brought together a wide range of local community-based groups, as well as activists and academics from as far away as the UK. In addition to strengthening the bonds between local academics and community organizers in the region, the conference sparked lively discussions about the roles PN could play locally, nationally, and internationally.

The PN Steering Committee met on Saturday at the PN conference and the Annual Business Meeting, as is traditional, met on Sunday morning, drawing fifteen tired but enthusiastic participants. The discussion at these two meetings generated ideas, strategies, and plans for PN to actively explore in the next year or two.

MEMBERSHIP & INVOLVEMENT IN PN

Two key themes in our discussions were ways to increase the numbers of community-based organizations and individuals who are members of PN, and ways to encourage the active involvement and potential leadership of PN members within PN.

Recruitment ideas included using mailing lists from organizations such as the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP), from ethnic studies programs at universities (African American studies, Puerto Rican studies, etc.), and from past PN conferences in Holyoke, Rochester, and Toronto. Another idea was to produce PN material in Spanish, as well as in English.

While PN would like to increase organizational memberships, the question is: What do commu-

nity groups get out of it? In other words, what could PN offer that would be most useful to community organizations?

Among the ideas generated at the Business Meeting were:

- Raise funds for more community folks to attend PN conferences.
- Publish more, both in print and on line: case studies of community-based planning initiatives; web-based lists of resources for community-based planning; and a self-guided tour of interesting progressive planning websites (in PDF format).
- Establish an Equity Planning Award as a way of raising the profile of people and groups who are making a significant contribution to social justice in their community.
- Have PN Magazine keep an eye on election cycles and provide timely articles and special issues.
- Establish a "Committee of Correspondence" to write op ed pieces for other magazines and local publications.

A small committee was formed to work on membership for this year, including Chester Hartman and Richard Milgrom. Members of other PN committees will also be doing outreach to increase membership involvement on various committees.

PN @ UPCOMING CONFERENCES

On the national and international scale, PN is organizing a series of events at conferences in the US and abroad.

PN is sponsoring two events at the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) conference in Baltimore, November 21-24, 2002. In addition to the ever-popular PN reception, PN will host a roundtable discussion based on the recent book, *Between Eminence and Notoriety: Four Decades of Radical Urban* ⇒

Planning, by PN founder, Chester Hartman. In addition to Chester, participants will include John Friedmann, Ann Forsyth, Ken Reardon, Tom Angotti, and me, Barbara Rahder.

In preparation for the American Planning Association (APA) conference in spring 2003, PNER Ken Reardon will be working with the Social Equity Task Force to coordinate one or more events co-sponsored by Planners Network.

Next summer, PN will be co-sponsoring events at the ACSP conference in Europe. The conference is a joint congress between ACSP and the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP). The ACSP/AESOP conference will be in Leuven, near Brussels, July 8-11, 2003. PN members Rachel Bland, Richard Milgrom, and I, who are also members of the International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA), will be organizing events including panels or workshops, an activist video screening, and a possible "alternative planning" bike tour with local INURA activists. To find out more about INURA, check out their website at www.inura.org.

The Steering Committee suggested and the Business Meeting confirmed that there would not be a PN conference in 2003. Instead, PN will concentrate on fundraising and on building membership in preparation for a conference in 2004. Suggested locations for the 2004 PN Conference included San Francisco, Houston, and Minneapolis. Steering Committee members will be exploring these options, and possibly others, in preparation for discussions and decisions at their meeting next spring.

Watch the PN-listserve and www.plannersnetwork.org for updates on PN events at upcoming ACSP 2002, APA 2003, and ACSP/AESOP 2003 conferences.

—Barbara Rahder, PN Co-Chair

• A Note from Tom Angotti, Planners Network Magazine Co-Editor

On June 25, I spoke at a forum in Barcelona, Spain about rebuilding lower Manhattan after September 11. My presentation was structured around the Planners Network/New York posi-

tion paper, distilled into four main points: 1) who will get the money?; 2) where will it be spent?; 3) what is the process for making decisions and who will decide?; and 4) how will civil rights and liberties be defended? Earlier this year I gave several talks on the same topic in Italy, including one at the University of Siracusa with Norman Krumholz.

The most common reaction has been surprise—that there is public discussion about rebuilding lower Manhattan, and that there is a community there. People are also surprised to hear a North American with a political viewpoint different from that projected by the global media. The headlines in the European media highlight the consensus supporting Bush's "war on terrorism" but you don't usually hear the voices of Americans who link terrorism with US foreign policy and military aggression and criticize the simplistic good versus evil paradigm.

In Europe there is an alarming consensus around xenophobic and racist measures directed at immigrants similar to those employed by the US in its anti-terrorist campaign. The European press is filled with concern about unilateralism in US foreign policy—in military actions, the Kyoto Accords, the International Criminal Court, etc. But European elites—on the right and "left"—are demonizing immigrants as the cause of crime, violence and terrorism and appear only to want a piece of the action themselves. So the point about civil rights and liberties in New York appears to resonate among progressives here.

After five months of teaching in Rome, I am taking an extended vacation in Europe with my wife Emma. I will be back in Brooklyn August 1 and return to Hunter College in the fall. I would like to thank Ann Forsyth for the excellent job she has done as co-editor at a very difficult time—while the bi-monthly PN newsletter became a forty-eight page quarterly magazine, and while I was out of the country and she changed jobs. Thanks to email, I was able to work on the first two issues this year with Ann, but this current issue was almost entirely her responsibility. Thanks also to the other editors and contributors for keeping alive PN's voice for progressive planning.

—Tom Angotti, PN Magazine Co-Editor

RESOURCES

Fellowships

The **Woodrow Wilson International Center** for Scholars announces the opening of its 2003-2004 Fellowship competition. The application deadline is October 1, 2002. The Center annually awards academic-year residential fellowships to individuals in the social sciences and humanities with outstanding project proposals on national and/or international issues and topics that intersect with questions of public policy or provide the historical framework to illumine policy issues of contemporary importance. Fellows are provided with a stipend (includes a round-trip transportation allowance) and with part-time research assistance. They work from private offices at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC. For application materials, visit: www.wilsoncenter.org, or write to: Scholar Selection and Services Office, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20004-3027; Email: fellowships@wwic.si.edu; Phone: 202.691.4170; Fax: 202.691.4001.

Events

September 21-26. **The Pulsar Effect: Coping with Peaks, Troughs and Repeats in the Demand Cycle**, the 38th International Planning Congress of the International Society of City and Regional Planners, Athens, Greece. For more information, visit: www.isocarp.org.

September 25-28. **Mountain Resort Planning and Development in an Era of Globalization**, Steamboat Springs, Colorado. Visit www.cudenver.edu/gges/mtntour for more information.

September 28-October 1. **Buying into City Living: From Downtowns to Neighborhoods**, Boston, Massachusetts, the 48th Annual Conference of the International Downtown Association. Visit the IDA's website at ida-downtown.org for more detailed information.

October 12-13. **Industrial Heritage in the Working Landscape Conference**, Buffalo, New York, sponsored by the American Society of Landscape Architects. For more information, visit: www.asla.org/nonmembers/opportunities/heritageny.html.

October 24-25. **How to Turn a Place Around**, a two-day training course experienced through the neighborhoods of New York City, sponsored by Project for Public Spaces. For more information, visit: 208.45.47.25/nyc_training.htm.

November 9-11. **Great Markets, Great Cities Conference**, New York, New York, sponsored by Project for Public Spaces. Includes tours, speakers, workshops, neighborhood ethnic food tours, and local food prepared by W Hotel chef, Michel Nischan. For more information, visit: www.pps.org/PublicMarkets/PMC_Main.

November 13-15. The International Green Building Conference & Expo, sponsored by the US Green Building Council, Austin, Texas. For more information, visit: www.usgbc.org.

November 18-19. **Promoting Regional Equity: A National Summit on Equitable Development, Social Justice and Smart Growth**, Los Angeles, California, sponsored by PolicyLink and the Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities. The conference will explore diverse initiatives that connect low-income people and communities of color to regional opportunities and resources. For more information, visit: <http://www.fundernetwork.org>.

November 21-24. **Waters and Shores**, the annual conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Baltimore, Maryland. For more information, visit: www.acsp.org.

November 20-23. **The Creative Clusters Summit Conference**, Sheffield, UK. For more information, visit the organization's website at www.creativeclusters.co.uk. ⇨

January 30, 2002-February 1, 2003. **New Partners for Smart Growth**, the second annual conference sponsored by Penn State and the Local Government Commission, New Orleans, Louisiana. For more information, visit: www.outreach.psu.edu/c&i/smartgrowth.

Publications

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

From Community Economic Development and Ethnic Entrepreneurship to Economic Democracy: The Cooperative Alternative is a 200-page report that details how economic democracy can be used to promote community empowerment and economic growth. The report includes case studies on cooperative initiatives in the United States, Sweden, Finland, Spain and Russia. For copies, contact The Democracy Collaborative, Attention: Jessica Gordon Nembhard, 1241 Tawes Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742, USA. Phone: 301.405.6220; Fax: 301.314.2533; Email: jgnembhard@civilsociety.umd.edu. Europeans should contact Dr. Lars Göran Karlsson at PfMI, Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden. Phone: 46.90.7866892; Fax: 46.90.7866694; Email: Lars-Goran.Karlsson@soc.umu.se.

Making Ends Meet: Six Programs that Help Working Families and Employers, from the Center for Law and Social Policy, provides information on six work support programs: the Earned Income Tax Credit, child care, Food Stamps, health care, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, and child support. Available at: www.movingideas.org/cgi-bin/rd/epn_letter.pl?id=2128.

Making Work Pay for Public Housing Residents: Learning from the Jobs-Plus Demonstration, from Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, examines an innovative place-based employment initiative that mixes rent-based work incentives with employment and training services and neighbor-to-neighbor social supports for work. Available at: www.mdrc.org/Reports2002/JobsPlusPolicyBrief/jobs_plus_pb_2_2002.htm.

The New Community Economic Development, from The Center for Corporate Citizenship at Boston College, looks at how businesses can support low-income communities by creating long-term, sustainable collabora-

tions. This research suggests that, through a holistic approach termed "business and community development," companies can improve quality of life for low-income individuals while simultaneously generating tangible bottom-line returns. Full information at: www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/csom/ccc/Pages/ford_overview.html.

Social Inclusion, Innovation and the New Economy: The Role of Universities, Companies and Innovation Platforms in Promoting Social Inclusion examines the labor market implications of the so-called Digital Divide and explores an agenda by which people of color and immigrants can gain access to high-wage jobs. The report contains the proceedings of a conference organized by the Work and Culture Program at the National Institute for Working Life in Sweden and will be available in December 2002. For copies, please contact Dr. Lars Göran Karlsson at PfMI, Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden. Phone: 46.90.7866892; Fax: 46.90.7866694; Email: Lars-Goran.Karlsson@soc.umu.se.

FINANCIAL SERVICES:

Citigroup: Reinventing Redlining, An Analysis of Citigroup's Lending and Branch Disparities for Prime and Subprime Lending Affiliates, a new study released by the National People's Action reveals that Citigroup has reinvented redlining by pushing high-interest loans in communities ignored by Citibank and its prime lending operations. It documents how the financial conglomerate has developed a national branch network of subprime lending affiliates while limiting access to prime-rate loans through its prime lending affiliates branches located in only a few cities. See the NPA's full report online at the National Training and Information Center's website: www.ntic-us.org/currentevents/press/citigroup-reinventing-redlining.htm.

The 25th Anniversary of the Community Reinvestment Act: Access To Capital In An Evolving Financial Services System, a report from the Joint Center for Housing Studies, examines the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) in light of the transformed world of mortgage and financial services provision. Using the detailed data on home purchase and refinance loans for the period 1993-2000, the report compares the lending patterns of CRA-regulated entities with

those of lenders outside of CRA's regulatory framework. More info is available at: www.jchs.harvard.edu/crareport.html.

HOUSING:

A Housing Perspective on TANF Reauthorization and Support for Working Families, by Barbara Sard of the Center on Budget and Policy priorities, states the case for why housing issues should be considered as part of welfare reform. It lists proposed changes in the TANF statute; proposed changes in housing programs and new housing initiatives as a parallel process to TANF reauthorization; and a set of proposed changes to federal housing programs that would promote marriage and family formation. Available at: www.cbpp.org/3-12-02hous.htm.

The Millennial Housing Commission, a bi-partisan commission created by Congress, released its final report after an extensive seventeen-month study. The Commission was charged with recommending methods for increasing the role of the private sector in providing affordable housing and examining whether existing HUD programs are meeting the housing needs of families and communities. The report's recommendations around policy reform and new tools to address the shortage of affordable housing in the US will have a significant impact on the housing policy debate. Available at: www.mhc.gov.

Poverty Research News (Jan./Feb. 2001, vol. 5, no. 1), by the Joint Center for Poverty Research, Northwestern University, highlights current findings from the Moving to Opportunity program (MTO). The MTO encourages families living in public housing to move to lower poverty neighborhoods with the help of vouchers to pay for housing. The project ultimately tests the assumption that neighborhood has an effect on the health and well-being of its residents, and moving to higher-income neighborhoods will improve opportunities for families. Available at: www.jcpr.org/newsletters/vol5_no1/index.html.

SPRAWL, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, ENVIRONMENT:

Education and Smart Growth: Reversing School Sprawl for Better Schools and Communities, a paper written by Sam Passmore of Charles Stewart Mott Foundation in collaboration with the Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities, describes how the trend toward building new schools on large sites far

from existing development centers, called "school sprawl" or "school giantism," can have far-reaching impacts on school children, school districts and the larger community. Available at: www.fundersnetwork.org/usr_doc/education_papcr.pdf.

The Evergreen Common Grounds Tool Shed, offered by Evergreen, a national non-profit environmental organization with a mandate to bring nature to our cities, is an integrated collection of resources designed to inspire, educate and guide community greening projects through all stages. The Tool Shed includes: *No Plot is Too Small: A Community's Guide to Restoring Public Lands*; *Common Grounds Fact Sheets*, a series of seven fact sheets that provide hands-on information on developing and maintaining a naturalized community garden; *Ground Work: Investigating the Need for Nature in the City*, a report that summarizes academic research on the environmental, social and economic benefits of restoring natural landscapes in the urban environment; *Urban Naturalization in Canada: A Policy and Program Guidebook*; *The Common Grounds National Newsletter*, which features articles written by some of Canada's leading voices in the fields of urban design and ecological planning. Many of the tools can be downloaded for no cost from the Evergreen website at www.evergreen.ca. To order copies, contact: Evergreen at 355 Adelaide St. West, 5th floor Toronto, ON Canada M5V 1S2; Phone: 416.1495; Fax: 416.1443 or 1.888.426.3138 toll-free in Canada; Outside Toronto and Vancouver, email info@evergreen.ca.

Local Sustainability Efforts in the US: The Progress Since Rio, by Jonathan Weiss of the George Washington Center on Sustainable Growth, cites rising concerns about sprawl as a main driver for change at the local level. The article is in the June edition of the Environmental Law Reporter and available at: <http://www.clr.info/articles/vol32/32.10667.pdf>

Open Space Protection: Conservation Meets Growth Management, a new report by Solimar and the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, finds that programs to protect open space are some of the most popular strategies adopted to help manage urban growth in the United States. This paper provides an overview of the nature, quantity and objectives of open space programs in the US and, utilizing existing literature, begins to speculate ⇨

on how they may affect the shape and form of metropolitan areas. Available at: www.solimar.org/pdfs/hollisfultonopenspace.pdf

Racism and Metropolitan Dynamics: The Civil Rights Challenge of the 21st Century, from the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota, is part of the Racial Justice and Regional Equity project, a multi-year effort to engage communities of color and the racial justice advocacy community nationally in addressing issues of concentrated poverty, regionalism and metropolitan equity. Available at: www1.umn.edu/irp/publications/racismandmetrodynamics.pdf.

Transit-Oriented Development (TOD): Moving From Rhetoric to Reality, from the Brookings Institution, finds that true, comprehensive TOD projects remain relatively scarce in this country and that often projects labeled "transit-oriented" are merely "transit-related," in that they do not take full advantage of their potential to also be environmentally sustainable and socially just. It identifies challenges that must be addressed and offers policy recommendations to achieve optimal TOD projects. Available at: www.brookings.edu/urban.

On-line Listservs and Tools:

PLANUM, the European journal of planning online, has two new communication spaces available. *The PLANUM FORUM* is dedicated to questions and comments about Planum, a Guest book, Planum announcements, the archive of Planum newsletters, and more. *The*

TOPICS FORUM is linked to Planum Topics' section, particularly to City and Immigration, Community Planning, Urban Program, Habitat, Diary of a Planner, and will be linked also to every new topic that Planum opens in the future. Both sections available now at: www.planum.net/forum/forum.htm.

PolicyLink's Equitable Development Toolkit provides tools to help community builders achieve equitable development—diverse, mixed-income/mixed wealth neighborhoods that are strong, stable and welcoming to all. The tools are broken down into four main categories: affordable housing; controlling development; financing strategies; and income/asset creation. Details on the Toolkit are available at: www.policylink.org/EquitableDevelopment.

The **Surface Transportation Policy Project** (STPP) is compiling the newly released transportation figures from the US Census in easy-to-use, downloadable Excel documents showing metropolitan area, county, and place-level data for each state. STPP has also provided maps and trend analysis using the national figures released in June 2002. For more information, visit www.transact.org.

Please send all items suitable for the Resources section of Planner's Network Magazine to: Tom Angotti, Graduate Program in Urban Planning, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave, New York, NY 10021 or email to tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu

Your Last Issue?

Please check the date on your mailing label. If the date is more than one year ago this will be your last issue unless we receive your annual dues **RIGHT AWAY!** See page 47 for minimum dues amounts.

And while you're at it send us an **UPDATE** on what you're doing.

MOVING?

Please send us your new address.

PN UPDATES

PN Member Bio

by Marie Kennedy

I was an original member of Planners Network and have continued in mostly active and occasionally passive membership ever since.

I was educated as an architect (Harvard Design School), but was disillusioned when I realized that generally architects were hired after the "who gets what, where, when, and how?" questions had already been answered. For a number of years I moved back and forth from architecture to organizing/planning. In fact, upon graduation, I began working with Chester Hartman at the Urban Field Service, trying to extend this field-based community service opportunity to architecture students. When we both lost our jobs after supporting the Harvard student strike of 1969 (which also involved many of the community organizations with which we worked), Chester moved to San Francisco (after a summer of taxi driving, as I recall) and I moved on to our "sister" organization, Urban Planning Aid. There I did anti-urban renewal and tenant organizing.

When Chester started PN, I was at a low point in my career. The recession of 1975 forced the closure of the all-women architectural firm with which I was associated and, in order to support myself and my daughter, I had accepted a planning job with the City of Boston, working for a mayor for whom I had little respect. I felt very isolated from other progressive planners and architects and the PN newsletter as well as occasional PN discussion groups in Boston helped me to maintain a progressive perspective.

I was elected to the steering committee at PN's first national conference in 1981. Shortly afterward I moved from Boston to San Francisco and my connection to PN helped me to become networked with local activists. In San Francisco I developed an historical preservation program that focused on preserving low-income housing and neighborhoods, working with community development corporations in many of San Francisco's neighborhoods.

In 1983, I returned to teaching community plan-

ning in the College of Public and Community Service (CPCS) at the University of Massachusetts Boston, where I am now the associate dean for academic affairs. In my teaching and outreach work, I have had the support of my colleagues (including PN member and CPCS founding faculty member, Michael Stone) to develop my interest in utilizing popular education and participatory research as tools in what I call transformative community planning. My teaching emphasizes participatory approaches and is frequently delivered through collaborative field projects in which teams of students work under my supervision to learn and earn academic credit while providing technical and research assistance to community and labor organizations. Of course, I was first introduced to this approach in Chester Hartman's Urban Field Service!

PN has given me a chance to discuss this participatory approach with like-minded practitioners, students and teachers in many places. I was challenged to write the working paper on community-based practice for the 1996 PN conference held at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, New York. In presenting this work at the conference, Mel King and I were able to try out a model of participation in our session that I am still adapting for large groups, most recently for a lecture I gave in São Paulo, Brazil. Although my talks in Brazil were not set up through PN, it turned out there was a PN connection—most of the participants were from Santo André, where city planners and activists have been in active discussion with PN despite the fact that the Workers Party (PT) mayor, Celso Augusto Daniel, was assassinated last January (see *Planners Network Magazine*, No. 150, Winter 2002, page 31).

While in Sao Paulo, my husband, Chris Tilly, and I met with Erminia Maricato, whom we had met at the PN conference he and I organized at the University of Massachusetts Lowell in 1999 ("Working for a Decent Living: Bridging the Gap Between Labor and Community"). Erminia and her colleagues have built a very active network of Brazilian planners at the University of São Paulo and she asked us to join her in planning a session on urban social movements at the World Social Forum next January. Meanwhile, she is the chief architect of the urban platform for Luis ⇒

Ignacio "Lula" da Silva's presidential campaign. So, the connections go on. PN has contributed greatly to my growth as a participatory planner and educator and has afforded me the opportunity to share some of the lessons I have learned with others.
—Marie Kennedy

PN Member Updates

Gerda R. Wekerle, Anders Sandberg and Liette Gilbert, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, were recently awarded a three-year grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for a project entitled "Unlikely Allies: Citizen Planning and Environmentalism on the Oak Ridges Moraine."

Ann Dale, Science & Environment, Royal Roads University and Nina-Marie Lister, School of Urban & Regional Planning, Ryerson University, were recently awarded a three-year grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for a project entitled "Social Capital and Sustainable Development."

Gary Fields (Ph.D., University of California-Berkeley) has accepted a position as assistant professor in the Department of Communication at the University of California-San Diego. His areas of focus are the history and political economy of communications systems, with an emphasis on economic development themes.

New Publications

Sento at Sixth and Main: Preserving Landmarks of Japanese American Heritage by Gail Dubrow with Donna Graves (Seattle: Seattle Arts Commission, 2002). Design by Karen Cheng. The book is being distributed by University of Washington Press.

Letters

Ed. Note: David Woods and Bruce Rosen both wrote to complain that the last issue of PN Magazine, complete with conference registration information, had arrived after the conference had ended. On behalf of the volunteer editorial group, I apologize. The transition to the magazine format has involved a new printer, layout person, and editorial arrangement. Some reasons for the delays in mailing of the first two issues were to do with the allocation of tasks internally, but others were due to external circumstances. We think that we have now prepared for just about every possible mishap, but it has taken

some time to reach that stage.

To keep up to date with PN events we do suggest that members re-join the PN email list. The conference was announced there in a timely manner. Instructions about how to join are on page 47 of this magazine and at the web site at <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/html/contactus/listserv.html>.

Ann Forsyth, Co-Editor

Dear Prof. Angotti,

I just picked up the Spring 2002 edition of Planners Network, with your articles on "Palestinian Cities as Prisons."

Like you, I deplore the continued construction of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza and I hope that Israel will soon withdraw from these areas in a comprehensive peace accord.

But I also deplore the fact that you brand Nazi extermination camps mere "prison camps," while you use the same term for Palestinian towns. So one has to infer that the Israelis are the new Nazis. And I deplore the fact that you didn't find it worthwhile to mention that the Israeli army only re-entered autonomous Palestinian towns after dozens of Israeli women and children had been murdered by terrorists from those places. So the Israelis are just mindless brutes—well, Nazis.

Thank you for this discerning piece of analysis, really.

Raphael Fischler, McGill University

Dear Tom,

Loved the recent issue, congrats on taking a stand on the Middle East. Also, the Disney Museum—Venice, Paris and Rome are good pieces and worthwhile thinking before we get all carried away with sentimental notions. I guess Athens and Istanbul are completely different, wonder about Zurich with its incredible transit. Nonetheless for women, the walkability and closenet mix are so important.

Sisterly,
Reggie Modlich

Please send member updates to: Norma Rantisi, Department of Geography, Concordia University, 1455 rue de Maisonneuve Blvd. West, Montreal, QC, H3G 1M8, Canada. Fax: (514) 848-2057, Email: pn@pratt.edu

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 at 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 w/ 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>.

PURCHASING A SINGLE ISSUE

Planners Network Magazine is a benefit of membership. If non-members wish to purchase a single issue of the magazine, please mail a check for \$10 or credit card information to Planners Network at 379 DeKalb Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11205. Please specify the issue and provide your email address or a phone number for queries.

Back issues of the newsletters are for sale at \$2 per copy. Contact the PN office at pn@pratt.edu to check for availability and for pricing of bulk orders.

Copies of the PN Reader are also available. The single issue price is \$6 but there are discounts for bulk orders. See ordering and content information see <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/html/pub/pn-reader/index.html>

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
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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.
 I'm a renewing member -- Keep the faith!

My contribution is \$_____. Make checks payable to **PLANNERS NETWORK**.
 My credit card is Visa _____ MC _____ Amex _____ Card No. _____ Exp. date _____
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Mail This Form To:
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INTERNATIONAL MEMBERS: Please send U.S. funds as we are unable to accept payment in another currency. Thanks.