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

From a talk delivered by Agustín 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]
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

redefined and renovated manufacturing complex.

LOCAL DISMANTLEMENT, 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 Agustín Lao Montes, exemplifies the story: Puerto Rico, as one of the first “beneficiaries” in the 1970s and 80s of fordist 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 a high-school education, but also highly skilled computer skills as well. competition for these jobs is stiff. The increase in the skilled level for manufacturing jobs has not been met by a commensurate increase in job training programs for Holyoke residents, a consequence of which is that 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 4)

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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
LaMontes [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 intercivic 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 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 released 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 Alibisu 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. 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 universities 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 Burke and Jonathan with Perez 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 resources. We must think of new ways to solve 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 century. 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 PRODICUR, the last organization she promoted. I find this trajectory, from aspiring to policing, 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 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-planning.
Observations from Holyoke, 2002:  
Conference Planning as Cross-Cultural Dialogue

by Klara 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. Some Local Latino youth rule the dance floor and as the DJ pumps hip hop beats the kids dance and form a circle, each one taking a turn to dance in the center and boast the latest dance moves. As a new jam starts, in cheers 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 nightlife and can’t help wishing this could be a weekly event.

For several months now, I have been working on this conference titled “New Vision for Historic Cities, Bridging Divides, Building Futures”, in my role as a conference planner 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 together organizers and use the conference as a catalyst for change. I am a recent Hampshire grad who worked extensively with Mary and the Cpsc program as a student and served as a staff member at El Arco Iris Youth and Community Arts Center in Holyoke. Upon graduation in December 2000 I was hired as Special Programs Coordinator for Community Partnerships and gives 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 flexibility. 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 CSPC 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 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 deceptions 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 prototype New England factory town, with a grid of mammoth 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 dialogue 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 who 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 find new 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 CSPC staff to engage further with this discussion and explore our 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, Nuestra Raices and El Arco Iris, Holyoke Community Land Trust and others. We had to take time to brainstorm together, to hear each other’s gripe 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.

We had to take time to brainstorm together, to hear each other’s gripe 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.
the skills needed to succeed at Hampshire are often at odds with the skills that are valued off-campus in community work. At Hampshire, students are required to design their own area of study, take initiative, exchange ideas, engage in debate, and accept 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 force. In other words, we find those 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 serves 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, valuing 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 veg 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 decisions 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 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 identities and experiences intersect and make them unique. They also see their positions as opposing forces and often directly at odds with each other. To make progress in Holyoke, we need to find ways to bridge these gaps.

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 agencies 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 doubly and triply affected as a response to the attendant housing crisis.

Local Responses to the Need for Urban Revitalization

The struggle for all post-industrial cities in the U.S. is that of placemaking versus mobilizing capital. In Holyoke, as elsewhere, the challenge of how to deal with the new structural problems of job loss, high unemployment, displacement, and neighborhood disinvestment 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 centralize 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 Raul Quiniones-Rosado. As Myra Lirvich describes in this issue, new synergies that capitalize, for example, on the arts and the small-scale industries that produce artisanal materials, are beginning to take shape. Community members who work in both produced and consumed locally, have been capitalized via the efforts of coalitions. Community development groups are reaching out to youth organizations Grassroots 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 visionsaries bravely explore the means 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 Advisory Editorial Board.

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Kiara L. Nagel is the Special Programs Coordinator for Community Partnerships at Hampshire College.
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. Titled “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 development of local economic development that stress meaningful goals 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 discontent offered valuable insights and challenges to concerned community activists, youth, urban planners, and progressive academics.

PNIs ARE INTRODUCED TO WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS

Hampshire College President Gregory Prince opened the conference with welcoming remarks. Dean of the School of Social Science at Hampshire College Myrna Breithart 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 re-establishment of the Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art (MMA 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 to 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 executive 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 Brown’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 disconnects encountered by the long-standing and newsworthy 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 formation 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 Nuestra 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 entrepreneurship, developing the ethnic and class based connections 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, the 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’s Lisa Mercado, an award-winning Latino teenager dancers entertained one and all. Shuggs, 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 community 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 riveting 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 workshops 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 Developmental Energy; 5) Imagine New York; 6) Strategies to Promote Resilient Justice; and 7) Equity in Education: Short-Term and Long-Term Strategies.

The lunch session on the second day was devoted to a new economic and political analysis of contemporary developments responsible for the Latino diaspora, as well as the grassroots responses to the inequalities inherent in the globalization of capital. Professor Agustín Lac- Montes from the University of Massachusetts gave an insightful historical presentation on the local and global linkages that frame unequal economic development, de-stabilize local labor markets, lubricate international labor migrations, and racialize the structures of everyday life. Ángelo Falcón, a well-known activist with the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, New York City, spoke on the issues and struggles that enrage 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 policy and practice issues. 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 11)
Retrospective Holyoke: Housing

by Chris Holme

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 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 Pocock, not only expressed an intention to convert two of these neighborhoods, the Flats and South Holyoke, into industrial parks through demolition of seven blocks of brick housing stock.

Barren, leaning, the area, further saw 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, heterogeneous 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. The动能 and nature of these factories evolved 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 urbanization 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, Mayor Pocock 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. Barren, leaning, the area, further saw 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, heterogeneous population and the relative dominance of Springfield in western Massachusetts’ urban hierarchy give it some significant challenges.

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The Art of Revitalization in Historic Cities

by Myrna M. Breitbart

As early New England planned industrial city, Holyoke was once the center of the world's paper industry, providing jobs and 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 planning process that included more than eight public meetings involving adult residents, youth, and community organizations culminated in a Master Plan in 1999. Issues identified 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 focused particular attention on what it called the “19th century remnants” found in the city’s downtown canal district. Rather than ignore the city’s history or banish 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 and 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 jumpstart their economies in part by promoting arts-related cultural development. The proliferation in larger 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 Zakian 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 large, accomplish two things: the transformation of physical spaces of decline, a process that can sometimes involve the displacement of existing occupants, and the reformation 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 and can make to 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 (making or exceeding hardware, software and biotechnology). 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 mass 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 local governments 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 conference followed a viewing at the welcome reception on Thursday evening of Nancy Kelly’s new documentary Downeast Side Up. The film focuses on the planning and initial impact 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 a substantial 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, arts-related economic activity — and to begin to talk about future gentrification. The MAP research project, the Holyoke Community Arts Inventory. The MAP is the first product to come out of this larger project, and includes information about arts-related educational opportunities, cultural organizations and spaces, public art (including murals), community gardens, 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 readers 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 Alco Iris (See the “Youthpower” story in PN Magazine, Winter 2002), a [cont. on page 21]
Toward an Integral Strategy for Change and Transformation

by Raúl Quiñones-Rosado


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.” 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 conference sessions were held. The conference sessions were held, impressive evidence of the changes Holyoke is undergoing. But the outward 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 Latina committed to ending the undying 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 get together to create a vision for community development 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 Theatre, 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 people, have been observed, diagnosed, and researched, with little, if any, consideration to the social, cultural, economic or political impact on their collective wellbeing. 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 solely on economic development, 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 progression 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 movements 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 the people of Latino descent. Which is why, in my mind, the 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. The 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 wellbeing.

As I shared with the audience in Holyoke, I am weary of “empowerment” projects that refuse to speak about power and ignore the obvious question: Who has it? Who has power? 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 reason 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 condition? 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 community 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 cannot 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, unsurprisingly, 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. And when you speak 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 maintaining racism as the root cause of 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 are 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 chauvinism or sexism or racism. Lack of an anti-oppression analysis is devasting to any attempts at even formulating an integral vision or strategy. With an anti-racist, anti-oppression analysis we could really get things moving. Consider the recent graphic 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 shift in power and, conceivably, in the dominant cultural paradigm. Of course, this possibility assumes (but the U.S. system is truly based on “majority rule,” an assumption called into question by the 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 today) that in 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 white racial majority. So much so that lately, realizing that their position of power lies in the hands of brown-skinned Latinos and Latinos, Republicans and Democrats alike are coming around to work with the 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 Joss (or even Carter in Cuba) butchering our beautiful language, listening to myself screaming at the TV, "Oh, no! Englishly!" Obviously, I am as committed to 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/Latina Development, 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 as the systemic imposition of an ideology of superiority and domination—a dynamic web that connects them all. We understand that all forms of oppression are co-constitutive.

However, given the highly racialized nature of U.S. society and given that racism is the historic structural imposition of white supremacy, the dominant paradigm negatively impacting virtually every aspect of our lives as Latinos/as, this is where I think we need to understand anti-oppression work and organizing must begin. For if we do not successfully address racism, we will not be able to establish effective alliances with poor and workingclass 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 subtlest, 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 Latinos and Latinas 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 camino." "We open a path as we walk," says Cuban singer-songwriter Silvio Rodríguez.

Breitbart (Cont. from page 15) 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 the 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 Intre Kepes, they divided themselves into mixed groups of youth and adults and gave as 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 skillful 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 Northern European representation organ, are attempting art-based cultural development, the workshop was structured to explore models that in some way move beyond cultural tourism. Panelists included myself, Patricia Wiggins, a functional planner 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 Federal Arts Program for the City of Philadelphia.

My own presentation summarized the Holyoke Community Arts Inventory: The Jottings 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 DJing 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 as well as in everyday space (people's homes and basements, churches, etc., 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 art-based redevelopment in Holyoke. It's process of envisioning change and implementing the recommendations of the 1993 Holyoke Master Plan has brought together people from disparate walks of life and created a space where people share the vision that 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, and making sure that the transformations that result in benefits that all can share.

Myrna M. Breitbart is the Dean of Social Science and Professor of Geography & Urban Studies at Hampshire College in Amherst, MA.
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 long-term 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 population 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 & Corwin, 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 landlords to invest in property improvements that feature lower property tax rates. Nowhere have the combined effects of deindustrialization, suburbanization, and disinvestment been more evident than in the city's oldest residential neighborhood, the "Southwest Park" area, often referred to as "The Commons." Despite efforts to improve the area, the neighborhood continues to suffer from high poverty rates, low homeownership, and high levels of unemployment and crime.

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 revitalize the city's lakefront and southside districts. During his first term in office, Mayor Cohen and the Ithaca Common Council succeeded in recruiting a first-class economic development professional, Wally Nelson, to lead the city's economic development effort.

Cornell's Neighborhood-Based Planning Initiative

As these new retail and commercial projects came 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 part-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.

Presentation from the 2002 PN conference in Holyoke, MA.

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 Committee for the project. During the latter part of summer 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 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-
hool 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 memories they created during the 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. Over one hundred 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 an alert 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 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 residents 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: community enhancement, youth development, housing improvement, economic growth, transportation enhancements, and neighborhood beautification. As a result of the Northside residents’ support, the area was chosen as the site of a new $800,000 development project.

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 the Northside 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 commitment to implement the recommendations 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 recently completed comprehensive plan. If 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 Bernard Gross and Michael Grossman from Hunter College’s Graduate Program in Urban Affairs, a program established by Paul Davidoff, the founder of America’s advocacy planning movement.

Kenneth M. Reardon is a Planners Network National Steering Committee Member and Joshua Abrams is an MRP Candidate at Cornell University.

Despite the relatively small size of the population and rural location, there were people from many different ethnicities with complicat-
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 tuning 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 wrote about planning, the professional planner, and I 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: a registration document for a registered, professional planner. That piece of paper formalized my official status as a planner, and I think the identity remains multi-faceted. I’m 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 exam—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, the planning community, a recurrent theme has been what is a “real” planner. Perhaps this question occurs more in interdisciplinary programs than in planning departments, where the phrase “everyone there is assumed to be a planner” has become a reality. But in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University, the boundaries between the political scientist, the professional planner, and others have been blurred, although they have become somewhat more fluid over the past few years. I have concluded, despite the problems that planning as a profession has in permeable boundaries, that planners, or at least planning educators, can 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 or 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 tease 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 our students do have backgrounds in geography, urban studies and architecture, many others come with undergraduate degrees in international development, women’s studies, social work, sociology. I even include communications, film studies, biology, adult education, nursing and other disciplines. This creates a rich mix of students who approach planning from diverse problem-solving 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 emerging 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 mediation, 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 Agricultural Finance 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, some seem to argue for the need to hire “planners” and 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 predominately in the non-profit sector may not be valued as highly.

If I look at these discussions through a sociologist’s working lens, I ask whether the differential values attached to specific practice arenas or specialties might not serve to preserve the roles of established planning education, often with 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 focus which are assigned a lower value, e.g. a woman candidate for presidency in social planning, gender planning or lesbian, gay and racial identities; an African-Canadian planner who focuses on environmental justice issues and israting 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 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 urbanists 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 pathways for planning practice and ways of knowing if we are to model for students pathways that push the boundaries of the profession forwards.

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 myths hold that: 1) the public interest can be known; 2) planning is a rational process of decision-making; 3) 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 planning 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, 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 performance, 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 limiting 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 legitimating 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 those 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 in land use 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 legionary. In both traditional and innovative planning programs, students commonly express a great deal of anxiety about the appointment 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 this likely will make them highly 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 outdated notions of technical rationality—nations that in our 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 foundation 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 men—who were established as the standard bearers 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 rickety. Despite practical and theoretical critiques from women, from low-income and ethnically diverse 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—but if planners were rational, wouldn’t we set limits on the production and use of toxic chemicals and restrict the size and location of factories and refineries 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
Planning Education: How Could It Be Different from Business School?

By Katherine 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 margin 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 come 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 Feisty 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" in neoclassical economics, quantitative analysis, maybe GIS. Planning theory, gender planning, and qualitative methods all fall outside the purview of these forms of "technical" and "useful" knowledge. Students are constantly advised not to waste their time in a profession masters program on "theory" courses that will not serve them well in their job search or on the job.

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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 Rahder also argue in this issue, prerequisites in economics and statistics prevent us from 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 "enabling" skills and others as "peripheral" to the requirements of professional practice. In practice, these "skills" (when acquired in isolation from other skills, such as the discipline that empowers planners to perform two fundamental roles: 1) technician of governmental objectives (which often constrains the "public interest" narrowly in the real interest of political expediency); and 2) business entrepreneur equipped with a spatial understanding of free market economies necessary for facilitating urban development. Embedded in our arbitrary construction of "real" and, shall we say, "impostor" 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.

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 technocrat, 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 mathematical economics and quantitative methods) is that 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, inseparable. As such, planning programs should be "multi-ideological," to borrow an expression from Porus Oljgaard. By their very interdisciplinary nature, whereby students are routinely exposed to competing systems of social analysis, planning programs should enable 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 unapologetic commitments 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 orientation 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.

Planning and Neoliberalism: The Challenge for Radical Planners

By Kanishka Goonawardena

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 dominant political-economic thought of our time— the philosophy of corporate globalization, which in turn is a code-word for the universalisation of laissez-faire capitalism. Its involuntary moral principle is remarkably lucid, but rarely acknowledged and hardly ever questioned, much less profit at any cost. With this categorical o
imperative amounts of it 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 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, and the postmodern wrenched of the earth. Since neoliberalism began hegemonic in the 1980s, the world has indeed become more hellish for many; even more heavenly for a few. The relevant statistics, like 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 a year, 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 eighth of the planet. In 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 oligarchs in the world-economy around the turn of the previous century, during the long wave of capitalism expansion from 1893 to 1914 that culminated in structural crises 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.

We cannot remain silent as 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 policy 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 shackles erected by the political-economic realities of neoliberalism, therefore, it will be necessary to also emancipate planning thought from the dogmas of neoliberal ideology. Planners cannot hope to be radical unless all manifestations of this ideology are sharply contested and defeat.

For a start, let me consider neoliberalism's refication of the economy. Refication here refers to the transformation of human attributes, relations and institutions 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 individuals) 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 basis of such a refication.

How? We know that it is the people who make the economy. As a social construction, the economy does not exist independently of the subjective 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 amnestic 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 conformed the economy to begin with are now exposed of all 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 refication 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 the food franchise establishments has recently emerged and thus around a nearby road intersection while the coffee shop/deli in the Kentlands shopping center stands empty.

The new Meadowmont project, in the Chapel Hill, North Carolina area, presents another challenge for local citizen involvement. The real estate office tout a Chapel Hill as a "gated community" making the whole project. The school district, however, is divided between Chapel Hill/Carbons 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/ACP

A friend of mine, a terrific planner in the private sector, got called in on a job from a public sector client 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 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’s professions in Martigny’s Multiracial Minority 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 1990 and 2000. 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.nymplanning.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.

It is on the other hand, that 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 29 percent in the public sector.

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 migration was 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 29 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 Hanerbelt, 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. Because the non-profit sector makes up a smaller 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, 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, while 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 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. We can show our responsiveness to the community by putting a planner of color in a front line 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 tends to keep planners of color in front line 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: 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 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 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 level 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.

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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 suburbs 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 overall 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 informally 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, "take 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 manage 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 cooperation 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 and social networks are one way 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 of contacts 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 underrepresented group. In even medium-sized firms, where ownership may be distributed among as few as four people, it could 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 or retain 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 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]
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 whispered conversation among my non-Malawian friends. Because social obligations required that people attend the funeral of someone affiliated with their workplace or neighborhood, my Malawian colleagues were absent from work several times a month fulfilling these obligations. Workplace productivity suffered. Friends and family members were known to become sick and our wellbeing was threatened. We could not understand how preventable this disease could so completely overcome 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. 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 preventive 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, and then formulating 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 of their own sexual practice and the behavior patterns and sexual practices of others around them. 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 promulgation 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 — has 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. Philippe Rushton’s reductive 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 economics 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 colonizers. 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 African AIDS epidemic focus on high-risk "African cultural practices" (see the studies by Quentin Gansser for more on this). Polygamy, circumcision rituals, display of sexual, 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 argument is not being made, however, for the elimination of "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 are more complicated and realistic and require a comprehensive analysis of the whole epidemic, rather than focusing on just one factor. 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 of these behaviors. These campaigns include the social marketing of condoms and the promotion of abstinence and fidelity by state and religious organizations. Malawian NGO Public and Health Survey conducted by the National Statistics Office found that knowledge of the Chirungu brand name was very high: 97 percent of men and 89 percent of women had heard of the condom. However, its use 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 more realistic 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 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 is easy for the current climate of silence and stigma to continue. Just as western AIDS intervention programs have not attempted to break traditional 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 and which are designed programs which approach the AIDS challenge more realistically than do the medical-moral strategies outlined above. Strategies informed by the social vulnerability position work to break the silos 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, but is in the hands of 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 by 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, sexuality, and AIDS awareness 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 created were largely responsible for my friends’ canker. They spoke openly with me about AIDS—how it affects them, how they protect themselves and those they love. Slowly, I 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 there was a different insight into the disease; they understood not only how it was transmitted but also the sexual, cultural, political, and economic reasons why their country was faring so badly in the fight against AIDS.

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

We need a way to diversify planning firms at all levels and to push these firms to come to clients. The MBE requirement is one way to go. Here’s another, which could be used with the MBE diversification model:

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, color, or gender). Firms would get additional points for employing a mix of minority planners. An independent review organization would determine scores for each organization. To promote diversity hiring as a career incentive to planning firms, the organization could publish and distribute a yearly summary of firms that achieve a certain minimum diversity score.

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 public servants than they are as analysts and technocrats. Most people treat planning like running a restaurant; everybody thinks they can do it, and are surprised when half of them fail. In place of building, members of the public and officials tend to think of architects, civil engineers or even developers before planners 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 Vasquez, PP/ACP, chairs the Planners for Ethnic and Cultural Diversity Committees of the American Planning Association New York Metro Chapter. He is an adjunct instructor at New York 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 Garniryo, Ltd., and manages an East Coast office from Maplewood, NJ.

**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 communities. Only when this was made 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.

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 Radeker.

In preparation for the American Planning Association (APA) conference in spring 2003, PNC 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 cosponsoring events at the ACSP conference in Europe. The conference—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 organized activity “alternative planning” hike 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 be not 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.


—Barbara Radeker, 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 position 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 Saincusa 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 her 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

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 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 illuminate 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, 1500 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20004-5027; Email: fellowships@wobic.st; Phone: 202.091.4170; Fax: 202.091.4001.

Events

September 21-20: The Pulsar Effect: Coping with Peaks, Troughs, and Steeples in the Demand Cycle, the 5th International Planning Congress of the International Society of City and Regional Planners, Athens, Greece. For more information, visit: www.iscpci.org.


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@downstown.org for more detailed information.


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/paytraining.htm.

November 9-11: Great Markets, Great Cities Conference, New York, New York, sponsored by Project for Public Places. 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 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.fundersnetwork.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.
on how they may affect the shape and form of metropolitan areas. Available at:

www.selin.org/pdfs/holifieldopenspace.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 jus-
tice advocacy community nationally in addressing issues of concentrated poverty, regionalism and
metropolitan equity. Available at:

www.l.umn.edu/trp/publications/racismand
metrodynamics.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 envi-
ronmentally sustainable and socially just. It identi-
ﬁes 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
equitable development—diverse,
mixed-income/mixed wealth neighborhoods
that are strong, stable and welcoming to all.
The tools are broken down into four main cat-
ergories: affordable housing; controlling devel-
oping strategies; and income/asset creation.
Details on the Toolkit are available at:

www.pollicylink.org/EquitableDevelopment

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

Please send all items suitable for the Resources
section of Planner’s Network Magazine to Ron
Angotti, Graduate Program in Urban Planning,
Hunter College, 695 Park Ave, New
York, NY 10021 or email to
rangotti@hunter.ccas.nyc.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.

While in Sao Paulo, my husband, Chris Tilly, and I
met with Emínia Marcari, whom we had met at the
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"). Emínia and
her colleagues have built a very active network of
Brazilian planners at the University of Sao
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

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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 Member Bio

by Marie Kennedy

I was an original member of Planners Network
and have continued in mostly active and occa-
sonally 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?" ques-
tions 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 archi-
tecture students. We both lost our jobs after
supporting the Harvard student strike of
1969 (which also involved many of the commu-
nity 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 clo-
sure of the all-women architectural ﬁrm with
which I was associated and, in order to support
myself and my daughter, I had accepted a plan-
ing job with the City of Boston, 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 occa-
sional 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 after-
ward I moved from Boston to San Francisco and
my connection to PN helped me to become net-
worked 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-
n
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-L and take part in the annual conference. PN also gives progressive cities a voice in the mainstream planning profession by organizing seminars at annual conferences of the American Planning Association and American Collegiate Schools of Planning.

This PN Conference has been held annually each spring since 1994. It features keynote speakers and workshops, with panels discussing local communities. PN conferences engage in discussions that help urban and social changes at the local, national, and international levels. Recent conferences have been held in Washington, D.C., Salt Lake City, Brooklyn NY, Vancouver CA, Boston, MA, Toronto, Canada, and Oakland, CA.

Join Planners Network and make a difference while sharing your ideas and enthusiasm with others! All members must pay annual dues. The annual dues for Planners Network members are as follows:

$25 Students and income under $25,000.

$35 Income between $25,000 and $60,000.

$50 Income over $50,000, organizations and firms.

$100 One-time membership for individuals.

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

The PN WEB SITE is at: www.plannersnetwork.org

The PN LISTSERV is available to members of post and respond to questions, list postings, conference announcements, etc. To join, send an email message to pln-list@pratt.edu with "subscribe pln-list" (without the quotes) in the body of the message (not the subject line). You will be sent instructions on how to use the list.

PN ADVERTISING RATES:

Full page $250
Half page $175
1/4 page $75
1/8 page $40

Send file via email to

PN@pratt.edu or mail camera-ready copy by January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

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.

$50 for those with incomes between $40,000 and $60,000.

$75 for those with incomes over $80,000.

$150 for sustaining members.

Make cheques in Canadian funds payable to: "Planners Network" and send membership form to:

Barbara Rahder, Faculty of Environmental Studies
York University
Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3

If interested in joining the PN Toronto listserv, please include your email address with 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 $15 or credit card information to Planners Network at 379 DeKalb Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11205. Please specify how you wish to receive your mail order and provide your email address if you wish to receive newsletters.

Each issue of the newsletter is available at $1.50 per copy. Contact the PNF office at pn@pratt.edu for availability and for ordering of bulk orders.

Copies of the PN Reader are also available. The single issue price is $1.50. There are discounts for bulk orders. See ordering and contact information online at http://www.plannersnetwork.org/html/pln-road/index.html