

PLANNERS NETWORK

The Magazine of Progressive Planning

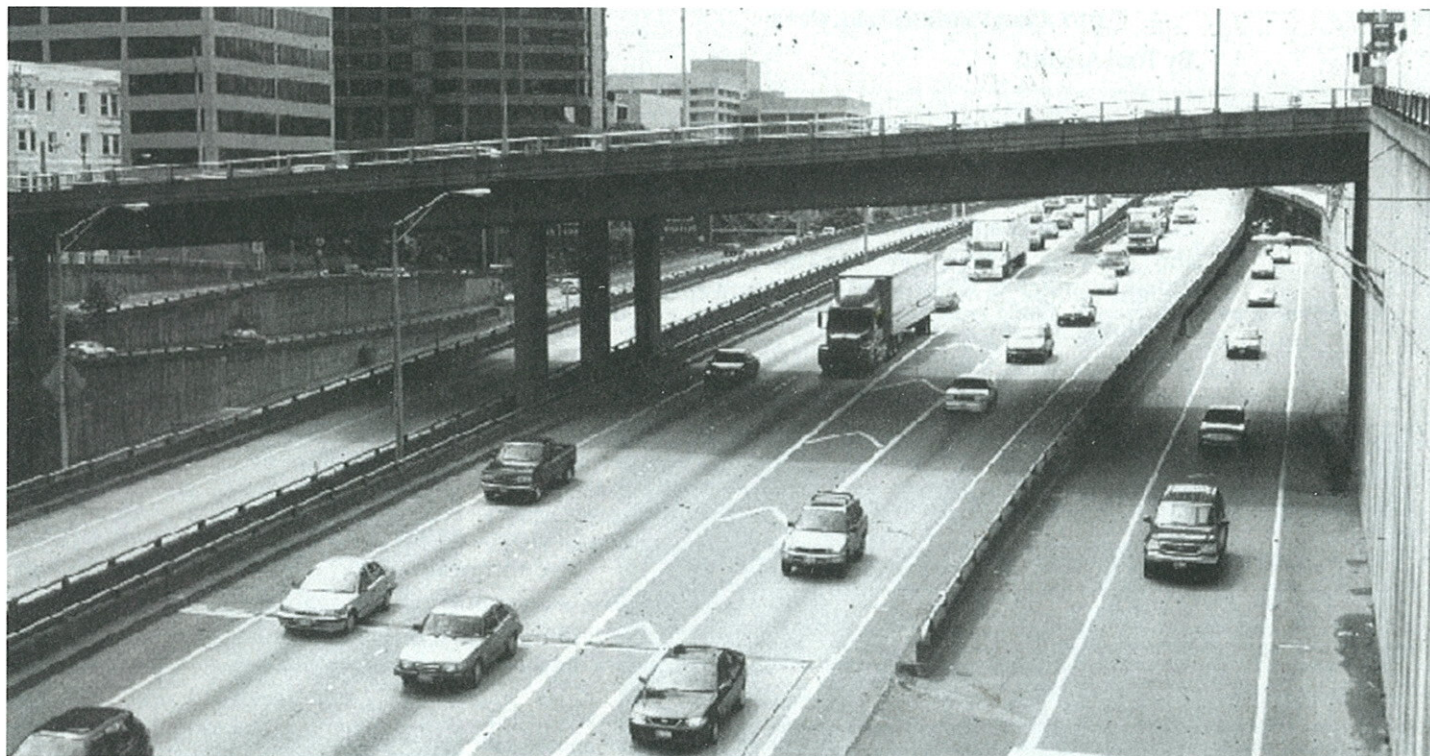


Photo by Tom Angotti

The Costs of Auto Dependency

By Lisa Schreibman

We are paying dearly for the American love affair with the car. We pay through taxes and out of our pockets. The environmental costs are staggering, and the toll in deaths and injuries is comparable to the casualty lists from major wars.

Automakers tell us their products are increasingly safe because they have anti-lock brakes, side-impact airbags and lots of other gimmicks. But what they don't tell us is that dependence on cars means we are driving more, thereby negating the benefits of safety improvements.

The cost of cars and trucks should be compared with their benefits. The benefits: goods arrive cheaply, jobs get created and formerly remote places become more accessible. But since auto advertising reminds us on a daily basis of these advantages, I will refrain from doing the same.

ECONOMIC COSTS

In 2002, the federal government will spend \$27 billion on transportation. Of that, only \$3.3 billion will be dedicated to pollution-reducing transportation modes—mostly transit. \$200 million will go to planning, \$500 million will go to recreational trails and the rest will go to roadway spending. The money to pay for roads comes mostly from taxes on gasoline and tolls on roads and bridges. According to Stephen Goddard in *Getting There*, however, 40 percent of all the funds necessary to build roads come from general taxes levied on people regardless of their use of cars.

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The SEVENTH GENERATION

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

Fight Auto Dependency and Promote Transportation Equity

By Tom Angotti

Dependency on the automobile as the main means of transportation is one of the main reasons for air pollution and its attendant health consequences: lung disease, cancer, asthma, and the growing population of obese and overweight people, now 64% of the U.S. population according to the Center for Disease Control. Deaths by auto number over 40,000 a year in the U.S., a casualty figure that wouldn't be toler-

ated by the Pentagon on any battlefield. As Lisa Schreiberman notes in her article in this issue, government is all tied up throwing chemicals at the West Nile Virus, which has left far fewer casualties than the car, while daily car crashes on highways across the country are still treated as "accidental." Instead of making auto dependency a public health emergency, Washington and Detroit give us new safety gadgets, false hopes for alternative fuels, and other technological fixes that induce more people to drive, buy bigger cars, burn more gas, and face the risks. As seen by the auto and insurance industries, and government regulators, "accidents" are the fault

of drivers, not cars that are, as Ralph Nader found decades ago, "unsafe at any speed." Planners as a profession have been much better than others at recognizing the effects of auto dependency on the quality of urban life. The sprawl that comes with cars wastes land, extends the workday for most people, increases water pollution from runoff, and decreases public space. Planners who back Smart Growth imply a need to reduce auto dependency and favor more benign modes of transportation. Many planners have been vocal advocates of mass transit, bicycling and safe pedestrian circulation.

TRANSPORTATION JUSTICE

Planners on the whole have been less responsive to questions of economic and racial equity in transportation planning. As John Stolz shows in his article on page 5, much more needs to be done to address the inequities in the planning and development of transportation systems. Over the last decade, the environmental justice movement has been the leading advocate for the involvement of communities of color and low-income communities in transportation decision making. Eugene Patron's article about Montgomery, Alabama, Patricia Nolan's article about Chicago, and the other cases noted by Stolz, give examples of the vibrancy of the transportation justice movement.

In his other article, Stolz reminds us that Congress will reauthorize the federal transportation bill over the next year, and planners will have a new opportunity to advocate that greater proportions of funding go to more environmentally friendly and urban friendly modes. Planners can also press for strengthening the requirements for transportation equity and broad participation in transportation planning.

There is a darker side to the role of the planning profession. In the immediate postwar years, the largest organization of urban planners enthusiastically supported the interstate highway system, federal urban renewal [Cont. on page 8]



Autos are displacing bikes in Shanghai

Photo By Tom Angotti

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Statement of Principles

The Planners Network is an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social, economic, and environmental planning in urban and rural areas, who promote fundamental change in our political and economic systems. We believe that planning should be a tool for allocating resources and developing the environment to eliminate the great inequalities of wealth and power in our society, rather than to maintain and justify the status quo. We are committed to opposing racial, economic, and environmental injustice, and discrimination by gender and sexual orientation. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, jobs, safe working conditions, and a healthful environment. We advocate public responsibility for meeting these needs, because the private market has proven incapable of doing so.

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Planners Network seeks articles that describe and analyze progressive physical, social, economic and environmental planning in urban and rural areas. Articles may be up to 2,000 words. They should be addressed to PN's broad audience of professionals, activists, students and academics, and be straightforward and jargon-free. Following a journalistic style, the first paragraph should summarize the main ideas in the article. A few suggested readings may be mentioned in the text, but do not submit footnotes or a bibliography. The editors may make minor style changes, but any substantial rewriting or changes will be checked with the author. A photograph or illustration may be included. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. Send to the Editor at tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu or Planners Network, c/o Hunter College Dept of Urban Planning, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021. Fax: 212-772-5593. Deadlines are January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES [Articles welcome]:

- A Critical View of Community/University Partnerships
- Is There an Energy Crisis and Why?
- The 2004 Election

Transportation Equity and Environmental Justice

By Rich Stolz

West Harlem Environmental Action (WE ACT) has fought for years to mitigate the high concentration of bus depots in this New York City neighborhood. Diesel exhaust has been linked by researchers to asthma and cancer, and WE ACT continues to demand that transportation agencies deal with the health impacts of their facilities.

This is one of many examples that show how low-income and minority communities face the negative impacts of transportation investments. Over the last decade, an environmental justice move-

Sisters in Action for Power:

Portland Youth for Transportation Equity

Sisters in Action for Power is a grassroots organization of young women and girls of color in Portland. They have been organizing, educating and building their membership for three years to get the Tri-County Metropolitan Transportation District of Oregon (Tri-Met) to support free transportation for youth during school hours. Such an investment would alleviate hardships faced by low-income families and also encourage greater ridership on public transportation.

The Portland School District is one of several across the country that do not provide yellow school bus service to students living outside walking distance of their schools. The decision not to provide school bus service was made as a cost-cutting measure at a time when the city's public transportation system was widely regarded as one of the most comprehensive in the nation. The decision, however, shifted the burden of transportation costs from the schools to families, especially low-income people of color.

Meanwhile, Tri-Met invested millions of dollars in a free public transportation system for businesses and tourists in downtown Portland. And neither Tri-Met nor the public schools took responsibility for the difficult choices low- and moderate-income families were being forced to make: between bus money and lunch money; between transportation to school and winter clothes. Students approach each other and their teachers for money to get home, and some students are forced to miss school altogether for lack of money.

In the fall of 2001, Sisters prevailed on Tri-Met to establish a discount student bus pass for students living in the Portland school district. Similar efforts are underway in Michigan, California and Rhode Island.

ment has arisen to fight the toxic dumps and polluting industries that are more likely to find their way into these communities. Transportation facilities, from depots to highways, can be just as threatening to health as chemical plants and incinerators.

In response to the inequities in transportation planning, most would agree that an equitable transportation system should:

- Ensure opportunities for meaningful public involvement in the transportation planning process, particularly for those communities most directly impacted by projects or funding choices;
- Be held to a high standard of public accountability and financial transparency;
- Distribute the benefits and burdens from transportation projects equally across all income levels and communities;
- Provide high quality services—emphasizing access to economic opportunity and basic mobility—to all communities, but with an emphasis on transit-dependent populations; and
- Equally prioritize efforts to revitalize poor and minority communities and to expand transportation infrastructure.

THE TRANSPORTATION EQUITY NETWORK

In 1997, as Congress prepared to rewrite the federal transportation bill, grassroots organizations across the nation began to discuss how they might develop a low-income, grassroots response to transportation reauthorization. In January 1998 they formed a national coalition called the Transportation Equity Network (TEN). The Network developed the following issue priorities:

- Clarify federal law to require involvement of transit riders in the metropolitan transportation planning process;
- Require greater transparency in the transportation planning process so that local communities could better track how federal funds are spent in their metropolitan regions;
- Enact the Job Access and Reverse Commute program to address the welfare-to-work needs of local communities; and
- Ensure that local residents may have access to jobs on transportation construction projects built in or near their communities.

Since then, TEN, staffed by the Center for Community Change, has been an active presence in Washington, DC and in local communities across the nation, educating Congress and the Administration on the community impact of transportation planning and policy. Over the last

three years, members of TEN have opened doors to significant breakthroughs in transportation policy.

SPRAWL AND METROPOLITAN EQUITY

Nationwide, community residents are conscious of the impact of transportation investments on metropolitan growth patterns, particularly transportation's relationship to sprawl. It is not simply a coincidence that economic development tends to follow transportation investment further and further out into suburban communities.

From the perspective of low-income and minority communities, particularly in metropolitan areas, sprawl has a particularly pernicious and deleterious impact. A growing body of research, and an emerging consensus among researchers and advocates, asserts that in metropolitan areas the relationship between the concentrated poverty of central city communities and the relative affluence of suburban enclaves is not coincidental.

John A. Powell of the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota describes sprawl and regional fragmentation, and concentrated poverty and social inequity, as two sides of the same coin. ("How Sprawl Makes Us Poor" by John A. Powell in *The Albuquerque Journal*, March 22, 2002) The same factors that push and pull families away from urban centers and to the suburbs trap the families left behind. Those able to leave—who have the human and financial capital to do so—leave for better jobs and schools, and invest their financial capital in property likely to increase in value. Those left behind must deal with struggling schools, less human capital and fewer financial resources.

This metropolitan dynamic has driven a number of organizations to embrace strategies to arrest suburban growth and to create new lifelines to economic opportunity connecting inner-city communities to job-rich suburban centers. In southeastern Wisconsin, for example, a coalition of congregations known as Communities United to Serve Humanity (CUSH) is organizing in Kenosha County to create a new bus line that will link the City of Kenosha to a job-rich suburban community further west.

WELFARE REFORM AND TRANSPORTATION DEFICITS

The 1996 welfare reform law pushed millions of low-income families with limited skills into jobs. But studies show that up to 96 percent of welfare recipients do not own a car and two-thirds

Interfaith Federation Challenges an MPO:

Linking Metropolitan Equity & Environmental Justice

The Interfaith Federation is a multiracial, church-based metropolitan organizing group in the northwest corner of Indiana. Less than an hour from Chicago, race and class starkly divide the area. Highways crisscross the region, dividing neighborhoods and connecting suburban residents to jobs, shopping and services. For poor and working-class people, or those who cannot drive, the situation is bleak. Furthermore, bus lines tend to stop at jurisdictional boundaries, isolating low-income residents from job opportunities in southern Lake County.

In 1999 the Interfaith Federation accused the Northwest Indiana Regional Planning Commission (NIRPC), which is charged with designing an integrated transportation plan to serve the needs of the region, of failing to meet the needs of its minority and low-income communities. According to the Federation, NIRPC ignored the implications of its land use policies and allowed sprawling development that uses up farmland, leads to environmental degradation and the abandonment of existing communities, and exacerbates the inequities of the region.

Federal transportation law requires that NIRPC conduct its planning in accordance with seven planning factors that include environmental concerns; a balance between transit, highways and other modes; and investment in safety and existing infrastructure. The Federation alleged that NIRPC's allocation of funding across modes of transportation (highways, rail, buses, etc.) neglected low-income minority communities in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Fortunately, the federal government does play a role in monitoring or "certifying" how well metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs) like NIRPC comply with federal rules. The Federation held its own citizens' hearing during NIRPC's certification review. As a result of the Federation's organizing, the US Department of Transportation agreed with the Federation and "conditionally" certified NIRPC, giving NIRPC less than one year to develop a plan to bring it into compliance with federal law.

Though the federal government eventually certified the NIRPC planning process, the Interfaith Federation extracted a number of reforms out of the MPO. NIRPC instituted a study of transit needs, rewrote its environmental justice compliance plan and redesigned its public involvement plan. Furthermore, NIRPC reaffirmed its support for a county-wide regional transit authority—a major priority for the Interfaith Federation. In the late summer of 2001, the Lake County Council voted to create a new Regional Transit Authority.

of the job growth in the nation's metropolitan areas has taken place in the suburbs. While the strong economy of the 1990s helped to mitigate the impact of existing transportation deficits in many communities, lack of reliable and convenient transportation remains a significant ⇨

Action in Florida:

A Community Struggle for a Sound Barrier

The economic decline of the Overtown community in unincorporated Dade County Florida began, according to most residents, in the late 1950s and early 1960s with the construction of Interstate 95 through this once vibrant African American community. The highway cut the community in half. Property values collapsed and the highway failed to provide commercial access to local businesses. For the diverse communities living along the I-95 corridor between 95th and 103rd streets, the situation grew even more unbearable with a project in the late 1980s and 1990s to widen the interstate.

Sybel Lee, a founding member of a grassroots organization named Neighborhoods in Action (NIA), described the conditions under which she lived at that time. "In 1992 a car careened off of I-95 into my yard, and that started my nightmare," said Lee, whose house is located just feet away from the interstate (literally, the I-95 chain link fence touches parts of her home). She and her neighbors dealt with constant air and noise pollution and feared for their safety.

In the spring of 2000, with the help of the Family Advocacy Center at Barry University, neighbors began to organize. This diverse neighborhood comprised of Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Jamaicans, Dominicans, Central Americans, Haitians and African Americans came together around the nuisance created by the highway. Meetings were conducted in English, French, Spanish and Haitian Creole. NIA was born.

Ms. Lee and her neighbors noted that a similar widening project along another part of the interstate, where wealthier residents live, had included a mitigation wall (or sound barrier) to protect residents from noise and disruption. In fact, much of the interstate has a sound barrier, but it stops where their moderate-income community begins.

NIA members began to attend meetings of their metropolitan planning organization (MPO), which is responsible for prioritizing transportation projects in the region, and raised their concerns. Soon they won the interest of a county commissioner that served on the MPO board. In the summer of 2000 they held a meeting with a key decision-maker from the state Department of Transportation (DOT).

At that meeting, community residents pressed for the construction of a sound barrier along their portion of the highway. While the DOT official made some concessions, he argued that there was not enough money for the project. In response, an NIA member brought up the issue of environmental justice. These words alone seemed to wipe the smile from the DOT representative's face. He could not justify why the wall stopped where it did, or why sufficient funding had not been raised for the project. The sound wall had been in the MPO's project list for years but had never been built.

The very next day, at an MPO meeting, the same representative told NIA that the State DOT had miraculously found the funds to pay for the construction of the mitigation wall. DOT began construction of the wall in the summer of 2002.

obstacle to families trying to pull themselves off welfare and out of poverty.

Many low- and moderate-income families struggle daily with inadequate public transportation systems, but the consequences of this transportation gap are felt most acutely by welfare recipients struggling to leave welfare for employment. Welfare recipients and employers alike consistently cite transportation as one of the most significant barriers to employment. Here are three examples:

- A study by the State of Illinois found that 45.7 percent of former welfare recipients were unable to find or retain employment because there were no employment opportunities nearby. Almost 41 percent reported transportation as a significant barrier to employment.
- A study by the State of Kansas found that lack of reliable transportation was the second biggest obstacle to finding and retaining employment.
- The Welfare to Work Partnership, a coalition of businesses, found that transportation was one of the most significant barriers to employment for their employees. Thirty-three percent of survey respondents identified transportation as the top barrier to employment.

Recognizing these same barriers in their own community, in 1998, the Interchurch Coalition for Action, Reconciliation and Empowerment (ICARE) in Jacksonville, Florida, initiated discussions with members of Jacksonville's local metropolitan planning organization, the local transportation authority and the local workforce investment board. Jacksonville's traditional hub-and-spoke transportation system helped connect residents from more distant neighborhoods to its central city, but failed to readily link residents in one neighborhood to another or to job opportunities in the suburbs. In response to ICARE's recommendations, the Jacksonville Transportation Authority and the local workforce investment board developed a joint strategy for new and expanded bus service to better connect job seekers to job opportunities.

LOS ANGELES BUS RIDERS UNION

One of the major breakthroughs of the transportation equity movement came when the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) and the Los Angeles Bus

Riders Union, a project of the Labor/Community Strategy Center, negotiated a binding consent decree as part of a court settlement. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits recipients of federal funds from discriminating on the basis of race, color or national origin. In the court case, *Labor/Community Strategy Center and Los Angeles Bus Riders Union, et al v. Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority*, the court essentially found that the MTA had wrongfully provided inferior services to Los Angeles' largely minority and low-income bus riders. Furthermore, the MTA was directing resources to its commuter rail lines, which served a more affluent and primarily white population, at the expense of its bus users. (See the article by Eric Mann in *PN* 149, Fall 2001.)

Beyond the Los Angeles Bus Riders Union and Harlem's WEACT, there are scores of community-based efforts for transportation equity around the nation. They are the basis for the efforts of the Transportation Equity Network to change nation-

al policies and priorities for transportation planning and spending.

Rich Stolz is Deputy Director of Public Policy at the Center for Community Change and the coordinator of the Center's Transportation Equity Project. The Center, a thirty-five year old national non-profit organization based in Washington, DC, is committed to building the capacity of grassroots organizations in low-income and minority communities across the nation.

For more information on the groups mentioned above:

West Harlem Environmental Action:

www.weact.org

Transportation Equity Network:

www.transportationequity.org

Labor/Community Strategy Center:

www.thestrategycenter.org

Detroit has proved it has the technology to mass-produce cars that get forty-five miles per gallon and trucks and vans that get thirty-five miles per gallon.... Yet after the eight years of eco-friendly Bill Clinton—who promised that cars would be getting forty miles per gallon by the end of his presidency—the average miles per gallon for vehicles went down to 24.7. General Motors threw a lavish party in Washington for Clinton's 1993 inauguration. I guess it's just impolite to upset the host of a party given in your honor.

Clinton's greatest gift to the Big Three automakers was exempting SUVs from the mileage requirements of regular passenger cars. Because of this exemption, these gas gluttons use up an extra 280,000 barrels of fuel each day. That fuel demand is one of the reasons the Bush administration is pushing to drill in the Arctic National Preserve in Alaska.

--Michael Moore, *Stupid White Men*

When you go beyond the relatively simple though serious problems such as police racism, however, you begin to get into all the complexities of the modern American economy. Urban transit systems in most American cities, for example, have become a genuine civil rights issue – and a valid one – because the layout of rapid transit systems determines the accessibility of jobs to the black community. If transportation systems in American cities could be laid out so as to provide an opportunity for poor people to get meaningful employment, then they could begin to move into the mainstream of American life. A good example of this problem is my home city of Atlanta, where the rapid transit system has been laid out for the convenience of the white upper middle-class suburbanites who commute to their jobs downtown. The system has virtually no consideration for connecting the poor people with their jobs. There is only one possible explanation for this situation, and that is the racist blindness of city planners.

--Martin Luther King

7th Generation [Cont. from page 2] program, and mortgage guarantees for suburban homeowners. Together these programs produced the sprawl and auto dependence we're stuck with today. Today, for all the talk about Smart Growth, the planning profession is still utterly meek in addressing auto dependency. Perhaps it's because most planners work in sprawled suburbs that can do little by themselves to get out of their fix. But while jumping on the Smart Growth bandwagon, planners often end up advocating slightly higher density and infill housing *without* the mass transit, bicy-

co. Organized labor is virtually absent from this fight, and consumer groups are split. Unlike the tobacco industry, auto and oil are much bigger and more heavily invested. They're not about to give up an industry that sees a bright future in a world every bit as auto-dependent as the U.S. In Asia, people are giving up walking and cycling, neo-liberal trade policies have opened the door to transnational auto corporations, and the internal combustion engine and chronic smog are growing blissfully into the future.

GLOBAL AND LOCAL

Planners can also play an important role through local action. They can work with advocacy groups and activists to create alternatives to the auto. This can help change people's travel behavior and consciousness about the environmental consequences of auto dependency. The series of four articles on Toronto in this issue show how advocates for pedestrians, cyclists and mass transit can work separately and together. They are helping to save public transit from cutbacks by conservative politicians who would never touch the billions lavished on auto users for highway construction and use.

Faculty and students on college campuses have a special opportunity to fight auto dependency. As Carlos Balsas says in his article, we can start right where we are and reduce and even eliminate auto use. Bicycle and pedestrian modes are best suited for the multiple short trips students and faculty take in the course of their daily activities. They suit the limited budgets of many students and faculty. And what a way to learn how to convert our principles into practice and train the next generation of transportation planners!

ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Oren Yiftachel's story in this issue shows how land use planning in Israel and the Occupied Territories reinforces inequalities based on ethnicity. It offers further evidence of how Israel's land use policies result in the systematic removal of Arab people from land, perhaps one of the largest and most brutal examples in the world of urban renewal as a form of ethnic cleansing. We invited Prof. Yiftachel to contribute this story because so little information about this massive displacement process is available to planners in the U.S. On October 16, PN Magazine sponsored a forum in New York City called "Rebuilding Homes in the Occupied Territories," with Israeli

Jeff Halper and Palestinian Salim Shawamreh, founders of a grassroots network of Palestinians and Israelis that rebuilds demolished Palestinian homes. Halper and Shawamreh were on a national tour and appeared on Pacifica Radio's Democracy Now.

U.S. financial and military support of the Sharon government—\$3 billion a year of your tax dollars—effectively condones the illegal takeover of Arab land by the Israeli government and Jewish settlers and the formation of *bantustans*. Adam Hanieh, in the October 2002 issue of *Monthly Review*, tells the chilling story:

A nine-meter-high wall stretching for hundreds of kilometers is being finished around the northern West Bank towns of Nablus, Jenin, Qalqilya, and Tulkarem. A similar wall is being built around Jerusalem. In conjunction with this construction, a new pass-card system has been put in place that requires any Palestinian wishing to move between Palestinian towns to obtain a special weekly permit issued by the Israeli military commander of the West Bank.... In essence, the West Bank has been divided into three cantons—in the north, center, and south of the West Bank—with all movement of goods and people between these areas under the control of the Israeli military. These three cantons in the West Bank are separated by large Israeli settlement blocs and sprawling highways that are off limits to Palestinians. Special license plates distinguish between Palestinian and Israeli drivers and constitute another pillar of the emerging apartheid system in the West Bank.

If you read Edward Said's pained and impassioned plea in the same issue of *Monthly Review*, you may better understand how desperately the situation calls for political alternatives to the Bush-Sharon axis and the terrorism they both need and provoke to achieve their colonial and imperial objectives. Ask your representatives in Congress why the U.S. has for decades allowed Israel to flaunt U.N. Security Council resolutions calling for an end to Israel's illegal occupation of the Occupied Territories, while paying so much attention to Iraq's purported (and unproven) violations.

As the U.S. prepares to invade Iraq to control that country's oil and get a strategic foothold in the region, an adventurous act sure to create havoc throughout the Middle East, protest is the only thing that will stop them. And at a time when the constitutional freedom of speech is threatened in this country, we are obligated to defend our right to criticize and oppose government policies we believe to be morally and politically bankrupt. I invite other views about the Middle East by PN members, but I hope everyone will appreciate how little space there is today in the mainstream media for anything but blind patriotism beating war drums. Why should planners be concerned? Well, with the military budget going up and revenues going down, we can kiss goodbye the hopes for greater funding of community development, low-income housing, and healthier urban environments. And we should oppose all schemes for creating cities as segregated enclaves for poor people based on their ethnicity.

Tom Angotti is Co-Editor of Planners Network.



Amsterdam: Cyclists, pedestrians and mass transit get preference.

cle or pedestrian systems that should go along with them. The New Urbanists are perhaps at the extreme – producing low-density walkable enclaves that fit well within, but never challenge, the auto dependent metropolitan regions.

The most important contribution that planners can make is to join the national and global movements for more sustainable and just transportation. In the U.S., auto and oil are still the largest bloc among top corporations, and now they are quite at home in the White House. It will take a major long-term effort to dislodge them, a campaign even tougher than the one against tobac-

PN AT THE ACSP CONFERENCE

Baltimore, MD

Nov. 21-24, 2002

Planners Network related events:

- PN Reception on Thursday night
- Panel on Chester Hartman's book, *Between Eminence & Notoriety*, Saturday at 2:15 PM

Schreibman [Cont. from page 1]

With the exception of interstate highway maintenance and a few pork projects explicitly mandated by federal transportation policy, most federal money is allocated by the states. The states' modal choices vary widely. In 2000, Mississippi spent just 4.1 percent of its federal dollars on non-automobile modes, translating to \$.07 per Mississippian for bicycle and pedestrian projects and \$2.96 for transit. New York State, on the other hand, led the way in spending on alternatives to the private automobile, spending 47.5 percent of its federal funds on these modes. Per capita, \$.48 was spent on bicycles and pedestrians and \$45.02 on transit.

And that is just for capital construction. Car owners and goods purchasers—in other words all of us—also pay to operate vehicles. According to the Surface Transportation Policy Project (STPP), the average US household purchased \$7,118 in transportation services in 2000, accounting for 18.7 percent of the average household budget. That made transportation second only to shelter as a household expense. For households in the Houston-Galveston area, transportation costs now make up 22.1 percent of the average family budget and cost \$8,840 annually—more than the cost of housing, which is \$6,536 or 16.3 percent of the average family budget. Of total transportation costs in Houston, a mere 1.1 percent was spent on public transportation.

These operating costs do not impact everyone equally. According to Jane Holtz Kay in *Asphalt Nation*, "In large cities 60 percent of mass transit riders are women, and 48 percent are African American or Hispanic, more than twice their number in the population...The 9 percent of households that own no car comprise one-quarter of the population with the lowest economic strata and the most oppressed minorities among them."

Of course, if the only costs of auto dependency were to personal finances, supplementing lower-income household budgets—similar to a food stamp program—might solve the problem. The societal payments, however, go far beyond cash outlays for roads, cars and gas.

INEFFICIENT MOBILITY

The Texas Transportation Institute's *1999 Mobility Report* found that Americans spend 6.2 billion hours stuck in traffic. The Federal Highway Administration figures that time to be worth

about \$43 billion. Other economists give price tags as high as \$168 billion.

It's not easy to build our way out of the congestion mess. When delays are caused by highway widening projects, the time delay for present motorists may never be made up by the time savings of future motorists. According to STPP, the four-year project to widen I-15 in Salt Lake City, Utah from six to ten lanes will delay motorists fifteen minutes. When complete it will save drivers only seven minutes and take seven years to break even. An interchange project in northern Virginia that will widen I-95 is estimated to cause half-hour delays for eight years and save motorists only thirty seconds when complete. And this project will never break even.

DESTRUCTION OF OPEN SPACE

Cars are reshaping land uses. The advent of the car allowed commerce, jobs and housing to be separated. As a result, compact urban cores have been replaced by suburban shopping malls, and dense neighborhoods by suburban sprawl. Each year from 1992 to 1997, 2.2 million acres of open space was developed for housing, according to the Department of Agriculture. That rate was 50 percent higher than in the previous decade.

Even in places that we do not associate with cars or trucks, roadways are being cut at a dizzying rate. According to the National Forest Service, there are 380,000 miles of roads crossing just 300,000 square miles of forest land.

RESOURCE DEPLETION

Roads have tremendous impact on wildlife. According to Matthew Braunstein, writing for *AutoFree Times*, US drivers kill or maim 400 million animals each year—more than all hunters and animal experimenters combined. Roadways built in forests disrupt ecosystems and housing scattered across the landscape brings people and animals into conflict, with animals always losing.

Cars use energy resources. Again in *Asphalt Nation*, Holtz Kay estimates that in the United States more than 50 percent of oil, 64 percent of rubber, 33 percent of iron, 27 percent of aluminum and 20 percent of electronics and carpeting goes to producing and maintaining cars and trucks. To make cars run, we buy 133 billion gallons of gasoline a year.

POLLUTION AND HEALTH

Cars cause asthma attacks. A study published in *the Journal of the American Medical Association* in 2001 found that acute asthma care events for children—those that required hospitalization—dropped by 41.6 percent in Atlanta when the city banned many passenger cars from the central city during the weekday morning peak period. That policy was instituted to keep traffic moving during the 1996 Olympics. As a result, the number of vehicles decreased by 22.5 percent and the ozone levels dropped by 27.9 percent. Auto emissions also trigger emphysema attacks and cause lung cancer and a host of other maladies. The American Lung Association calculates the medical cost arising from auto pollution at \$50 billion per year.

CASUALTIES

Driving kills people. According to the US Census Bureau, in 1998 auto crashes caused six million injuries, two million of which were maiming and 42,000 of which were deaths. The West Nile virus, by comparison, will kill a few dozen people this year. Yet there will be no large-scale government-sponsored programs to eradicate cars and warn people of their danger.

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION POLICY

Although most of the news about auto use is bad—miles driven annually is up and costs for transportation are rising—federal policy has been moving in the right direction.

Transportation policy over the past ten years has shifted away from focusing solely on the automobile. In 1991, the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) for the first time let state and local governments use federal dollars for a broad range of transportation investments. Federal funds spent on transit almost doubled, from just over \$3 billion in 1990 to close to \$6 billion in 1999. The amount of federal money spent on bicycle and pedestrian projects grew from just over \$7 million at the beginning of the decade to more than \$222 million by 1999.

At the same time, spending on road repair increased from \$5.8 billion in 1991 to \$16 billion in 1999, growing from 39 percent of the federal transportation budget to 49 percent. Thus there was a dramatic reversal of using the vast majority of highway dollars to build new roads. With the federal shift, state and local money began to be

spent on a wider variety of transportation uses. From 1990 to 1999, local and state funding of public transit grew by 34 percent, from about \$5.8 billion in 1990 to \$7.8 billion in 1999.

In one of the most progressive government policies, Fannie Mae, the largest source of financing for home mortgages, recently began a two-year \$100 million experiment that allows banks to lend more money to people with lower transportation costs. The brochure for what has come to be known as Location Efficient Mortgages (LEMs) compares a non-car owning household to

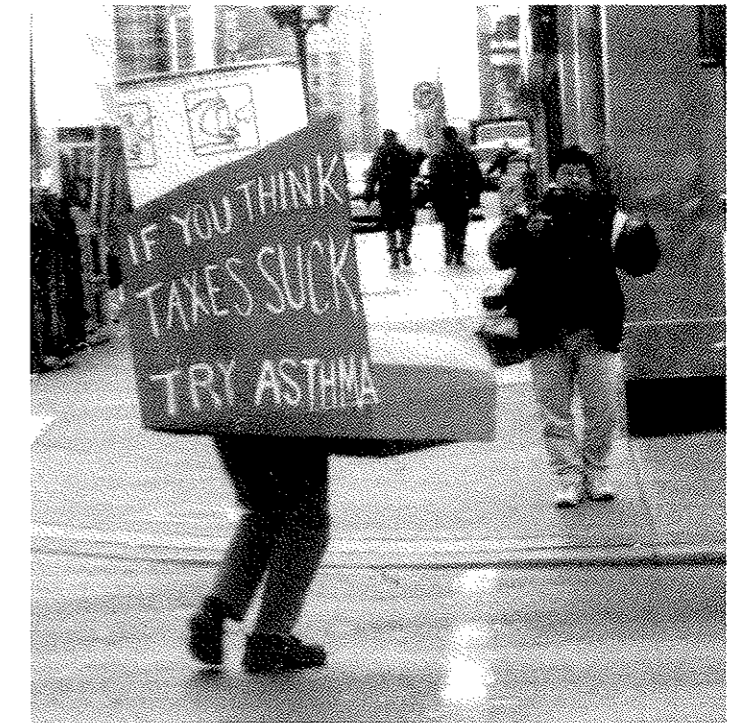


Photo By Martin Rejs

Cyclists dressed as asthma inhalers protest proposed transit far hike in Toronto.

a car-owning one, explaining that car owners have more costs and therefore should qualify for a smaller loan, assuming that incomes and properties purchased are equal.

But transportation policy doesn't exist in a vacuum. Dependency on autos may continue even while these new federal transportation policies evolve. Housing decisions must also support sustainable transportation, but because many housing policies are local by nature, decisions are made state by state, community by community. And as more federal transportation functions are shifted to the states, it will be more difficult to develop a sustainable national transportation system. We will continue to pay the price for auto dependency.

Lisa Schreibman, AICP, is an adjunct lecturer at Hunter College, City University of New York.

Transportation in Toronto: Cars, Bikes, Peds, and Transit

Car Culture Is Alive and Well

By Janice Etter

In the last few years, Toronto's newspapers have been full of references to "gridlock" as the city's major transportation challenge. Letters to the editor—mainly from car drivers—rant about the amount of time it takes to travel around the city, while municipal politicians debate widening expressways and giving priority to buses and streetcars on roads. Meanwhile, the police conduct periodic enforcement campaigns, the main intent of which appears to be to limit the obstacles posed to motorized traffic flow by specifically targeting pedestrians and cyclists.

The alternative but minority view about gridlock lies in reducing the number of cars on the road (in absolute numbers and in terms of the number of trips they make each day); making public transit an attractive and viable travel option; encouraging people to make short trips by alternate means (such as walking or cycling); making movement of goods by truck more efficient; and establishing land use policies and infrastructure that support citywide public transit use, cycling and walking.

Toronto is at a critical point. It can continue to rely on motorized vehicles as the primary means of moving people and goods, or it can choose to acknowledge the enormous social, economic and environmental costs of such an approach and shift its attention to setting goals that promote alternative modes of transportation and implementing planning policies that support them.

BACKGROUND

Five years ago the City of Toronto had a population of approximately 650,000 and, under the leadership of a progressive City Council and staff, was moving steadily towards a more sustainable transportation system. With a reputation as "the city that works," it had a strong culture of citizen participation. Since much of the city had been laid out before the automobile became dominant, it had the potential to be walking,

cycling- and transit-friendly.

Toronto was surrounded by five other municipalities—three of them essentially post-World War II bedroom suburbs—with which, since 1954, it shared an upper tier of government, the Regional Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, or Metro for short. Metro ran both the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC, known for over fifty years as one of the premier public transit systems in North America) and the arterial road system, while the individual municipalities had jurisdiction over local roads and land use. Pedestrian infrastructure was a local issue, while responsibility for cycling infrastructure was shared. Metro was also responsible for consolidated police and fire services.

In 1997, the Province of Ontario forced the amalgamation of the seven municipal governments (six local, one regional) into one "megacity." Overnight, the City of Toronto had a population of 2.5 million people and faced the challenge of merging local and regional governance structures that had operated separately for almost half a century. Compounding the challenge has been that the new City of Toronto is the heart of the Greater Toronto Area, whose total population is over 4.5 million. The consequences of amalgamation for the future of sustainable transportation in the post-1998 Toronto have been enormous.

Amalgamation presented an unparalleled opportunity for new and creative thinking about a city-wide approach to transportation. At the same time, it exacerbated the pre-existing tensions between the high-density downtown core, the medium-density inner ring of early suburbs and the outer ring of more recent lower-density suburbs that were built for the automobile. Further, the balance of power on the new City Council lay (and continues to lie) with the outer suburbs and their councilors who, with few exceptions, believe that increased car usage, and therefore expanded road capacity, is inevitable. They have

little appreciation for the former city's approach to dealing with its problems of clogged roads and a deteriorating environment through car reduction, travel demand management, transit priority and the development of an improved travel environment and infrastructure for pedestrians and cyclists. Mixed and intensified land use—both so critical to reducing car dependency through facilitating expanded public transit and increased walking and cycling—are not concepts they tend to be familiar with or friendly towards. Downtown councilors have struggled to formulate transportation and land use policy alongside suburban councilors representing wards with three times the rate of car ownership, one-third the rate of transit use and very low levels of travel by cycling and walking. Five years after amalgamation, residents in the older parts of the city easily get around their neighborhoods by foot, bike or transit, while many residents in the outer suburbs have little choice but to depend on the car to access the most basic goods and services.

The opportunity for new and creative thinking about transportation was quickly squandered in the jockeying for position by a former suburban mayor, city councilors and newly-formed city departments (some of them headed by former suburban bureaucrats). The only significant nod towards acknowledging the need to reduce car usage, especially in the downtown core, has been a dramatic increase in parking fees and the installation of parking controls in areas where there were previously none. One strong indicator of the extent to which the issue of sustainable transportation was lost in the aftermath of amalgamation was the passage in 2000 of a consolidated Road Classification System, which reflected suburban values more than those of the old downtown. In the opinion of many advocates of sustainable transportation, classifying roads strictly according to traffic operations and maintenance criteria verifies the existence of a rigid hierarchy of road users. At the top is the private automobile, with transit users, pedestrians and cyclists all relegated to secondary and tertiary roles. The Road Classification System also placed control over the entire system of road rights-of-way—the major portion of the city's public realm—under the control of Transportation Services. This created the potential for pre-empting policies aimed at better integrating transportation, transit and land use planning goals, and the long-term vision of transforming arterial roads into mixed use "avenues."

By affirming the primary function of major roads as conduits for private motorized traffic, the adoption of the Road Classification System signaled to advocates of sustainable transportation what an uphill battle they faced.

The market-driven proliferation of big-box stores and drive-thrus, especially in the suburbs, has further undermined attempts to combat car culture. Attempts are being made to prevent the incursion of these facilities into the older parts of the city, and to limit their expansion in the suburbs. On a larger stage, the Province of Ontario compounded the chaos faced by the new City of Toronto by downloading responsi-

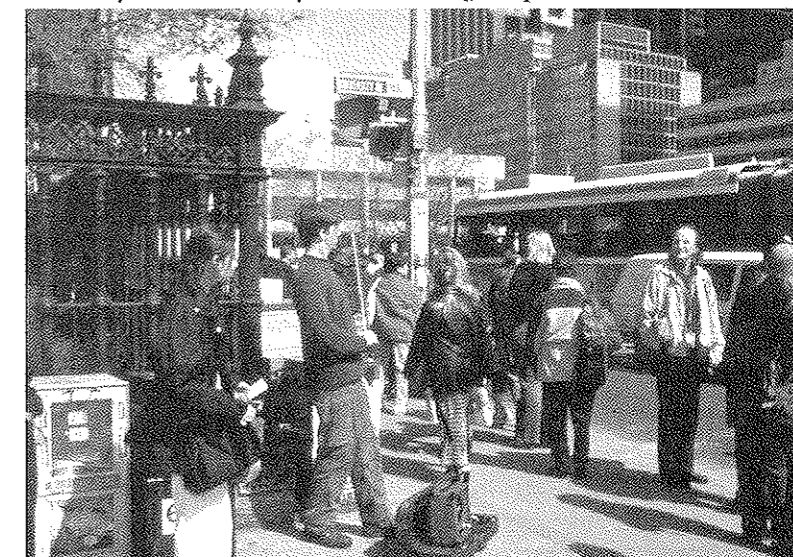


Photo By City of Toronto

The best of Toronto's street life

bility for many services and facilities, including former provincial highways that pass through the city. The province also eliminated its capital support for the transit system, and continued to cut back drastically on its operating subsidy. The city's effort to absorb these new financial responsibilities and at the same time avoid tax increases resulted in a highly politicized battle over funding priorities that cost sustainable transportation dearly.

The only limited but substantive gains have been made by cyclists, who have been more effectively organized and vocal for the last twenty years than either transit users or pedestrians. The obstacles to furthering the cause of sustainable transportation in the new City of Toronto are daunting:

- a monolithic, corporate-style municipal government that is more subject to influence from paid lobbyists than from the voice of citizens (who have been officially labeled "customers"); ⇔

Toronto: Cars, Bikes, Peds, and Transit (continued)

- the retention of power by municipal engineers whose training has made it difficult for them to make the transition to thinking about the role of urban streets as multi-functional, and the need to treat all road users—including pedestrians, cyclists and transit users—equitably and with respect;
- a local police force that, like the Road Classification System, views pedestrians and cyclists basically as “obstacles” to motorized traffic;
- the province’s view that Ontario’s auto industry—one of the world’s largest—is to be protected at almost any cost (since it provides 375,000 jobs, produces vehicles and parts worth \$249 million a day, generates billions of dollars in provincial taxes each year, and accounts for

“The new Official Plan emphasizes improving the city’s public realm, reducing car dependency and creating conditions that support walking, cycling and transit use.”

approximately 20 percent of the province’s gross domestic product);

- an antiquated provincial Highway Traffic Act that has not caught up with the need to protect and advance the interests of public transit users, pedestrians and cyclists;
- a provincial government that does not view financial support of public transit in Canada’s largest city as its responsibility;
- a federal government that has eschewed responsibility for supporting sustainable transportation in urban centers across Canada through funding and tax incentives; and
- society’s love of car culture, which under the influence of highly sophisticated and relentless advertising, industry lobbying and the economic power of the auto industry in Ontario, strongly influences the political decision-making process at all levels.

Despite these hurdles, there are local organizations and individuals promoting sustainable planning and environmental solutions that are in harmony with global movements to make our

communities more livable. Indeed, increased public concerns about air quality encouraged city politicians to sponsor North America’s first Car Free Day (albeit a modest affair) here in 2001. Additionally, local activists are fighting to rescue roads and neighborhoods from the domination of the automobile through regular demonstrations such as Critical Mass bicycle rides and Reclaim the Street events. These efforts are as much a struggle to create safe and equitable conditions for all citizens as they are a fight to take back lost public space.

Citizens’ efforts to renew the momentum for sustainable transportation are detailed in the accompanying articles. Over the past three years, the City of Toronto has been developing a new Official Plan to replace the plans of the seven former municipal governments. Still in draft form as of September, 2002, it is a visionary document intended to guide city planning for the next thirty years. At its heart is a strong emphasis on improving the city’s public realm, reducing car dependency, managing travel demand by private vehicles, promoting transit-supportive land use and transit priority, and in general creating conditions that support walking, cycling and transit use. The proposed plan has many detractors who continue to defend the prevailing car culture. It also has many supporters, however, who believe that if it is adopted and used effectively by citizens, Toronto’s transportation system can move in a new and more progressive direction that will address existing social, economic and environmental inequities.

Until then, and until the accumulated small successes of individual advocates and groups become part of a broad movement for change, the transportation system in the new Toronto will continue to: be dominated by car usage; discourage increased walking, transit use and cycling; compromise air and water quality; contribute to noise pollution; drain local economic vitality in parts of the city; impede the maintenance and development of healthy, sustainable communities; and result in thousands of collisions that alter the lives of pedestrians, transit users, cyclists and responsible motorists.

Janice Etter is a resident of Toronto and responsible urban traveler.

Toronto Cyclists Fight for Respect

By Nick Gamble and Nancy Smith Lea

Cyclists from elsewhere often think Toronto is bicycle heaven. This tenacious myth rests largely on the bike-friendly reputation garnered by the very different pre-amalgamation city—the “old” city—and its 1995 citation by *Bicycling* magazine as North America’s best city for cycling.

Did Toronto deserve the award? The question is now moot. The city was far from the utopia portrayed by the magazine—no Amsterdam or Copenhagen, or even Seattle or Portland—but some important progress had certainly been made in the preceding two decades. Today’s Toronto, however, is not even in the running, though the sheer number of downtown cyclists continues to startle visitors. Everything changed in Toronto, as discussed by Janice Etter in this issue, with the redrawing of municipal boundaries and the dawn of a new suburban-dominated political culture.

Although many of the threads that form the warp and weft of cycling in Toronto could profitably be teased apart to reveal truths about the overall fabric—among them issues of infrastructure, community, lack of intermodal integration and inequity of funding between modes—we’ll focus here on the illuminating, though perhaps less obvious, topic of safety.

THE RHETORIC ABOUT SAFETY

“Safety” is a buzzword in Toronto’s cycling scene, and it means many things to many people. For City Hall, official public messages focus almost solely on the need to increase the individual competence of cyclists, to the near exclusion of any critique of Toronto’s heavily motorized traffic environment. Toronto’s police, too, reinforce the notion that cycling safety is an individual responsibility and misrepresent urban cycling as a reckless activity perpetrated chiefly by empty-headed scofflaws who need to be “educated.” Their periodic “safety crack-downs” target cyclists who fail to put down both feet at stop signs on otherwise empty streets. This is, riders are told, “for their own good.” Police media releases dealing with cyclist fatalities routinely highlight—and the papers dutifully report—that the deceased was not wearing a helmet, irrespective of where blame may actually have lain.

Other stakeholders in the city’s cycling scene take a broader stance on the issue of safety. Advocacy for Respect for Cyclists (ARC), a small but effective grassroots organization, argues that it is *driving*, not cycling, that is dangerous, and that inadequate infrastructure forces bikes and cars to compete for the same road space, with predictable consequences for the safety of riders. Though the point may seem obvious, it is commonly seen as a fringe position. ARC often adopts an in-your-face approach to serving the cycling community and pushing for change. It organizes regular on-street actions, sometimes in collaboration with environmental and other groups, such as a smog day event in which activists wearing asthma ventilator costumes collect a ten-cent toll from drivers—the same amount that had just been approved for a transit fare hike. The group also encourages cyclists injured on streets with poor cycling infrastructure to sue the city for negligence, and provides a list of bike-friendly lawyers to help with legal defense when a cyclist is charged with an unjust traffic or criminal offense.

The divisive rhetoric about safety thwarts the struggle of Toronto cyclists for increased respect, better facilities and improved traffic conditions. The blame-the-victim safety message bolsters the notion of the private automobile as king of the road, and fails to encourage drivers—or anyone else—to re-examine a status quo that impedes the perception of biking as a valid, viable and socially and environmentally valuable transportation choice. The cycling advocates of ARC respond to attempts to marginalize them by combining political pressure with fun public actions, in an effort to create a mutually supportive community among riders.

CYCLING CASUALTIES

In 1996, the year following Toronto’s *Bicycling* award, ARC was instrumental in persuading the regional coroner to convene an inquiry into the preceding decade’s 13,475 recorded collisions between motor vehicles and cyclists, forty-seven of which resulted in cyclist fatalities. The resulting report, released in 1998, made numerous hard-hitting safety recommendations. Yet four years later very little progress has been made beyond the city’s planned expansion of bike ⇨

Toronto: Cars, Bikes, Peds, and Transit (continued)

routes in outlying areas. No one doubts that some city staff and councilors still have an integrated vision for cycling in Toronto. Their commitment shines clear in a largely dark firmament. On paper, many of the programs they propose and support seem cause for optimism.

For example, the city's ten-year cycling plan, approved last year, foresees a thousand kilometers of bike lanes and trails by 2012. The City Council, however, must approve the plan's budget each year and, with only 130 kilometers of infrastructure in place, the first year's allocation squeaked through intact only as a result of intensive political lobbying. The plan itself lacks ambition in several areas, most notably in its failure to improve infrastructure and safety in the dangerous traffic environment of the city core, where the concentration of cyclists is heaviest. Instead, it focuses on the installation of bike lanes on the technically and politically easiest streets—wide suburban roads with plenty of room to add bike lanes without reducing motor vehicle capacity or parking.

ARC sees the failure to protect and support Toronto's riders as nothing less than an abdication of municipal responsibility. The more that biking is portrayed as an inherently dangerous

activity, the fewer new riders will take to the streets. And the fewer the cyclists, the less habituated motorists will be to accommodating them, and the less safe will be those cyclists who do venture onto the streets. This, in turn, fuels the perception of inherent danger. It is, pardon the pun, a vicious cycle, a malign inversion of the theory of strength in numbers.

Nick Gamble and Nancy Smith Lea are commuter cyclists in Toronto and founding members of ARC. Smith Lea is a researcher at the University of Toronto, where she recently completed an M.S. thesis that studied different approaches and barriers to urban cycling. She can be reached at nsmithlea@kf.oise.utoronto.ca.

For more information visit:

Advocacy for Respect for Cyclists:
www.respect.to

Toronto Bicycle Master Plan:
www.city.toronto.on.ca/cycling/bikeplan.htm

Toronto Regional Coroner's Cycling Report:
www.city.toronto.on.ca/cycling/coroner_index.htm

Rocket Riders:
www.torontoenvironment.org/rocketriders/index.html

Toronto's Eco Foot Soldiers Take Back the Streets

By Janice Etter and Rhona Swarbrickfor

Toronto streets once belonged to pedestrians. Archival photos from over a century ago show people walking along and crossing streets wherever they wished in order to reach their destinations. Horse-drawn vehicles and early bicycles wound their way around the walkers, in recognition of the shared function of streets as for both people and vehicles.

By about 1925, however, cars had come to dominate Toronto streets. Ever since, walking or using an assistive mobility device (a wheelchair or scooter) has become an increasingly uncomfortable, inconvenient and, for many, dangerous mode of travel. Yet it has taken decades for pedestrian issues to make it onto the city's political agenda, and for walking to be acknowledged as a legitimate form of urban travel that must be supported by infrastructure and an appropriate

travel environment.

The first official acknowledgment of pedestrians came in the mid-1990s, when a single pedestrian representative was added to the former Metro Toronto Cycling Committee. Around the same time, the first citizen's pedestrian advocacy group was formed. In 1998, the newly amalgamated City of Toronto established separate committees to advise City Council on issues affecting pedestrians and cyclists. Both the Pedestrian and Cycling Committees are supported by a Pedestrian and Cycling Infrastructure Office, which is part of Transportation Services. This arrangement has posed major challenges, since pedestrian concerns are as much about the quality of the urban environment for pedestrians as they are about narrowly defined transportation infrastructure, such as sidewalks, signal light tim-

ings and the placement of pedestrian crosswalks.

Working through various Council standing committees, individual advocates and the Pedestrian Committee have succeeded in raising the level of awareness of the wide range of issues related to pedestrian spaces and travel, especially the need for safer street crossings. Advocates look forward to the emergence of a champion on City Council who will consistently challenge the prevailing philosophy of Transportation Services—that meeting the needs of pedestrians (and cyclists and transit users) is secondary to moving vehicular traffic efficiently.

THE PEDESTRIAN CHARTER

A major achievement of pedestrian advocates in Toronto was the adoption by City Council in May, 2002 of a citizen-initiated Pedestrian Charter. The charter, supported and advanced by the city's department of Urban Development Services, is the first such charter to be adopted by a Canadian municipality. The eminent urbanist Jane Jacobs, a Toronto resident, wrote in her letter of support for the charter that, "I have always believed that a city's walkability is one of the most important measures of its health and vitality. The Pedestrian Charter is a clear and concise statement of what is needed to create an urban environment in all parts of Toronto that supports and encourages walking." The Charter outlines:

- six urban design principles that ensure that walking is safe, comfortable, convenient, continuous and direct for people of all ages and abilities: accessibility, equity, health and well-being, environmental sustainability, personal and community safety and community cohesion and vitality;
- specific actions the city can take to create an urban environment throughout the city that encourages and supports walking as a form of travel, exercise and recreation; and
- the social, environmental and economic benefits of creating a pedestrian-friendly environment.

In passing the charter unanimously, City Council acknowledged in principle that encouraging and supporting pedestrian travel will contribute to improvement in the quality of the public realm, and create a more vibrant, beautiful, prosperous and livable city. It is now up to citizens to ensure

that the Charter is used by all city departments as a tool for decision-making that affects pedestrians.

Other small victories are also beginning to accumulate. The city's preliminary 2003 budget, for example, includes for the first time ever a funding allocation for a pedestrian-based initiative: the first stage of a ten-year program to provide essential sidewalk links on arterial roads and transit routes across the city. Also, the city's draft Official Plan fully acknowledges the benefits of supporting and encouraging pedestrianism by changing transportation and land use policies,



Photo by City of Toronto

Toronto's suburbs: Waiting for the bus that never comes. and placing greater emphasis on the quality of the urban landscape. Many challenges, however, remain.

PEDESTRIAN SAFETY

About 2,200 reportable collisions occur between motor vehicles and pedestrians each year. As recently as 1999, forty-five pedestrians were fatally injured on city streets. Between January and September of 2002, thirty-six were killed. Many of the deaths occur on four- to six-lane suburban arterials, where the distance between protected crossings can be up to a mile. This is one measure of how hostile the pedestrian environment is in the newer parts of the city, and a contributing factor to the low number of people who travel on foot in these areas. ⇨

Toronto: Cars, Bikes, Peds, and Transit (continued)

Another problem is the attitude of the Toronto Police Service, which routinely holds victims responsible for their own injuries and deaths if they cross a street mid-block. Yet mid-block crossings are legal and necessary, for example to access many transit stops, which are frequently the only destination points for pedestrians in suburban areas characterized by low density and highly segregated land uses.

Toronto has a long way to go before conditions improve, even in the areas that already have high levels of pedestrianization, and before the

number of people who travel regularly by walking can increase significantly in all parts of the new city. There is much to be done to reclaim our streets for who were recently dubbed in a local newspaper the city's "real eco foot soldiers."

Janice Etter and Rhona Swarbrick for are founding members of the recently-formed Pedestrian Planning Network, which can be reached c/o Rrojana@aol.com. The Toronto Pedestrian Charter can be found at www.toronto.ca/pedestrian

Transit's Lost Decade: Rocket Riders to the Rescue

By Mike Olivier and Gord Perks

A recession at the end of the 1980s followed by deep funding cuts in the 1990s resulted in a "lost decade" for the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC). Fares doubled and services across the city were cut by between 10 and 20 percent. Annual ridership fell from a peak of almost 465 million to 372 million between 1988 and 1996.

The squeeze on public transit inspired the founding of a transit users group, Rocket Riders, whose lobbying efforts have helped stave off an even deeper collapse of what was once one of North America's premier transit systems.

FUNDING AND SERVICE CUTS

At the start of the TTC's lost decade, a "fair share" funding agreement stipulated that transit riders pay two-thirds of the system's operating costs through fares, while the municipality and the provincial government share the remaining one-third. But in the mid-1990s, a neoconservative provincial government cut its share of operating and capital funding to zero, and the cash-strapped city—already reeling as a result of the downloading of other financial responsibilities from the province—could not make up the difference. Per year, \$100 million (all dollar figures are Canadian) was lost from overall transit funding. Services were chopped in an attempt to minimize the shortfall, and riders were called upon to make up most of the difference. Since 1990, monthly passes have jumped from \$49 to \$93.50, and the single-ride fare has shot up from \$1.10 to

\$2.25. While doubled fares may seem a more telling blow to transit riders than a 10-20 percent service cut, reaching for a few more coins is a relatively bearable price to pay for efficient, reliable service in the middle of a Canadian winter; an extra ten or twenty minutes waiting in the snow for a bus or streetcar is not. Yet in 2002, during peak travel periods there are 265 fewer buses on city streets than there were in 1989 and forty-nine fewer streetcars than in 1982.

In addition to cuts in the system's capacity, the quality of surface transit service in Toronto today is compromised everywhere by the lack of priority given to its vehicles on city streets. In the older, denser parts of the city, long waits and severe overcrowding are commonplace. For example, the frequency of the heavily used Carlton streetcar, a major east-west route, has been cut by more than 35 percent over the past decade. In the sprawling suburbs, where ridership is traditionally lower, the lack of commitment to transit-supportive land use has resulted in steadily declining service levels. Many former riders have gotten off the bus and into their cars, and those who can't afford, or on principle reject, that option have no choice but to walk, often long distances. Less frequent service exacerbates the small, "ordinary" delays caused by traffic or boarding problems and, with not enough play in the system to absorb such delays, causes wide and frequent swings in reliability and vehicles to bunch up. Ten years ago a minor delay would result in a handful of riders waiting down

the line; today there will likely be a horde. What would have been a five minute wait for a streetcar (and a seat) can now be a twenty minute wait for standing room on a jammed streetcar which is followed shortly by a veritable caravan of empty cars.

The subway system has fared somewhat better than the surface system. The number of trains operating during peak periods has increased by close to 10 percent since 1982, despite recurring problems with delays due to cuts in funding for maintenance and the deterioration of the surface feeder system.

ROCKET RIDERS TO THE RESCUE

In the mid-1990s, Rocket Riders was founded and began pushing for a better deal. The largely volunteer organization boasts over 300 members and a dedicated core group. Its successes include a major lobbying effort in 2001 that helped prevent a fare hike by the narrowest of margins. It has also fought in coalitions with other groups on common issues. One joint effort recently helped defeat a controversial plan to explore widening a six-lane expressway that runs down a major river valley from the northern suburbs to downtown. In another, Rocket Riders supported the Toronto Women's Network's efforts to study the effect of transit cuts on economically marginalized women of color. Recently it was instrumental in persuading the TTC to develop a "Ridership Growth Strategy."

THE COMING CRISIS

In 2002, projected ridership has climbed back up to 418 million. But in 2003, the TTC will face its

worst budget problems ever—municipal transit reserve funds are all spent, wages are climbing, and riders now pay a whopping 82 percent of the system's operating costs. The TTC is likely to be \$70 million short of what is needed to keep

"The successes of Rocket Riders include a major lobbying effort that helped prevent a fare hike."

fares at current levels and maintain already diminished service levels. This will lead to both a staggering fare increase and deep service cuts—cuts that will not involve nipping and tucking, but revamping and eliminating routes. Parts of the city will slide towards rush hour-only service or no service at all, sending even more people into cars.

The next few years will prove decisive in the struggle to restore the TTC to a semblance of its former health. The crucial question is: Will the city and the province invest in sustainable transportation, or will they continue to vainly hope that transit riders will keep paying more for less?

Mike Olivier is a member of Rocket Riders and Gord Perks is with the Toronto Environmental Alliance. For more information visit: www.torontoenvironment.org/rocketriders/index.html and www.toronto.on.ca/ttc

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TEA-21 Reauthorization: The Agenda for Transportation Equity

By Rich Stolz

In 2003, Congress will begin debate over the reauthorization of the federal transportation bill, the *Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21)*.

Most industry stakeholders (governments, builders, etc.) want significant increases in transportation spending in the transportation bill. At this point, Congress seems more likely to tinker with the law rather than increase gas taxes or identify other revenue sources for transportation funds, but this may change after the November elections. As an alternative to increasing taxes, many are pressing for innovative financing strategies, such as the creation of a new government-sponsored enterprise modeled after Fannie Mae, which underwrites home mortgages, and tax credits to create incentives for private investment in transportation infrastructure. Much of this thinking is in response to the slumping economy and the growing federal deficit.

There is also a major movement in Congress to streamline the environmental permitting process. The streamlining proposals before Congress, however, could have dire effects on public involvement in the transportation planning process. Many members of Congress appear to be interested in the movement of freight across the country and building into the transportation planning process a more explicit role for freight movers and shippers. This is tied to broader congressional interest in intermodalism (pertaining to highways; transit; port and airport facilities). Congress is also likely to take up legislation on passenger rail, airport facilities and port security in 2003.

THE TRANSPORTATION EQUITY AGENDA

In 2003, Congress will be debating other bills relevant to the lives of low-income and transit-dependent populations. There is the possibility of significant new housing legislation in 2003, as well as the reauthorization of the Workforce Investment Act, which governs the nation's job training system. Also up for reauthorization is the Child Nutrition Act and, if Congress fails to complete action on it this year, welfare reform. The November 2002 elections will have a significant impact on the committees in Congress with juris-

diction over the transportation reauthorization. Some important senators and representatives are in hotly contested elections. And Senator Gramm (R-TX), ranking member of the Senate Banking Committee, and Representative Borski (D-PA), ranking member of the House Highway and Transit Sub-committee, have already announced their retirements.

The main transportation equity issues that appear to be of concern in reauthorization include the following.

1. Increase Resources for Public Transportation

•The Amalgamated Transit Union has a proposal for a *Flexibility Incentive Grant (FIG)*. Currently thirty-four states only allow state gas tax or related transportation revenue to be spent on highways. This program would allocate flexible transportation funds to those states that amend their state constitutions to: 1) create a transportation trust fund that distributes transportation dollars for both transit and highways; or 2) unlock their existing highway trust fund, by distributing transportation dollars for both highways and transit; or 3) increase the percentage or level of spending dedicated to alternative transportation.

•Many TEN groups have urged opposition to an Administration proposal to increase the local match requirement for the New Starts program from 20 percent to 50 percent. The New Starts program funds new fixed guideway rapid bus transit or rail projects. Research suggests that increasing the local match for New Starts while leaving the local match requirement for highways at 20 percent would put new transit projects at a competitive disadvantage in the transportation planning and funding process.

•Several organizations, including seniors and disability rights advocates and the LA Bus Riders Union, are calling for Congress to allow transit agencies to use their federal funds to cover the cost of operating expenses. Without this flexibility, many transit agencies could expand their bus systems by purchasing more buses, but would be unable to cover the operating expenses associated with expansion.

2. Address Needs of Transit-Dependent Populations

•Increase funding for the Job Access and Reverse Commute program, a welfare-to-work transporta-

tion program enacted as part of TEA-21. Many TEN organizations have worked to bring these resources into their communities, and have successfully implemented new welfare-to-work transportation projects. This program has a great deal of support in Congress, but it could be improved to make it easier for non-traditional transportation providers to run these programs and to make the local match requirement less burdensome.

•Advocate for new federal requirements to promote better coordination among transportation planning and implementing agencies and human service agencies (hospitals, public housing authorities, welfare agencies, workforce investment boards, senior service organizations, disability service organizations and others).

•Increase funding for Section 5310 (Senior Transit Services) and 5311 (Rural Transit Services) so that local communities may better meet the needs of transit-dependent populations that may experience isolation due to their physical condition or location.

3. Strengthen Environmental Justice

•Strengthen language around Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to make clear that individuals have the right to sue states under claims of disparate impact.

•Establish performance measures in the metropolitan certification process laying out clear expectations for compliance with Title VI, the Americans with Disability Act, and other civil rights laws with respect to the transportation data collection, planning, project delivery and distribution of benefits analysis.

•Set aside a fund to address the community development needs of low-income and minority communities whose economic and public health has been harmed by past transportation projects located in their communities.

4. Increase Public Involvement

•Improve the annual list of projects that metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs) are required to use to account for how federal funds are spent in their jurisdictions. The list should have a standardized format, include specific and consistent data, and be geographically coded. This would allow communities to better understand patterns of transportation investment.

•Set aside a fund that could support the outreach activities of local community organizations in regard to the transportation planning process.

•Require MPOs and transit agencies to expand their board membership to include key constituencies—organized labor, transit users, environmental agencies, human service agencies—that have not been effectively involved in the

transportation planning process. Also, require that citizen advisory councils be incorporated and worked into the MPO and State transportation planning process so that they have a voting role.

•Require that citizen advisory councils be established in the MPO and state transportation planning processes, and grant them a voting role. Alternatively, Establish a clearer standard, including performance measures, for effective public involvement, with penalties and rewards.

5. Promote Local Hiring

•Allow for local hiring agreements in and near communities experiencing high rates of poverty where major transportation projects are built.

Behind the New Transportation Bill: History of ISTEA and TEA-21

In 1998, Congress enacted the *Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21)*. This bill set aside more than \$200 billion for transportation projects (roads and transit) nationwide over six years. The law expires in 2003. Each year, Congress appropriates somewhere in the range of \$35 billion for transportation-related projects.

TEA-21 is the child of the *Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA)* that Congress enacted in 1991. ISTEA established the formal authority of metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs), created a requirement for public involvement in the transportation planning process, and attempted to create a more comprehensive transportation planning process mindful of environmental and community impacts.

TEA-21 greatly increased the funding amounts dedicated to surface transportation and included:

- An amendment that requires representatives of mass transit users to be consulted at all levels of the metropolitan and statewide transportation planning process;
- A requirement that the public be involved in the triennial certification process during which the federal government reviews the planning practices of MPOs to ensure that they are in compliance with a range of federal legislation and guidance, including environmental justice;
- A new planning product that requires MPOs to create an annual list of projects for which federal funds are spent that will allow for greater accountability and transparency in the transportation planning and funding process; and
- The Job Access and Reverse Commute competitive grant program under which the federal government distributes up to \$150 million a year to local communities to address welfare-to-work transportation needs of low-income residents.

•Require states to set aside one-half of one percent of their federal highway transportation funds for supportive services to address the training needs of women and minority pre-apprentices, apprentices and workers in the transportation construction field.

6. Additional Ideas

•Create incentives for developers to locate affordable housing near transit services.

•Set aside resources, including technical assistance, for non-metropolitan jurisdictions and tribal governments to support local highway and transit planning.

•Make the annual list of projects and the MPO certification more like the community reinvestment process so that it reveals patterns of discrimination and disinvestment.

Increased Public Transportation Will Result in Environmental and Energy Gains

By the American Public Transportation Association

An independent study by three top economists demonstrates that increasing public transportation use is the most effective—and possibly the only—way to improve air quality and reduce energy consumption without imposing new taxes, government mandates or regulations. In the study, energy and environmental savings were calculated for more than a dozen metropolitan areas in the United States.

Conserving Energy and Preserving the Environment: The Role of Public Transportation concludes that public transportation generates 95 percent less carbon monoxide (CO), 92 percent less volatile organic compounds (VOCs), and about half as much carbon dioxide (CO₂) and nitrogen oxide (NO_x), per passenger mile, as private vehicles.

The report was authored by Dr. Robert J. Shapiro, managing director of Sonecon, LLC and non-resident fellow of the Brookings Institution and the Progressive Policy Institute; Dr. Kevin A. Hassett, resident scholar of the American Enterprise Institute; and Dr. Frank S. Arnold, president of Applied Microeconomics, Inc.

The study shows that public transportation already saves more than 855 million gallons of gasoline or 45 million barrels of oil a year. This number is equivalent to the energy used to heat, cool and operate one-fourth of all American homes annually, or half the energy used to manufacture all computer and electronic equipment in America annually.

"We all know that a rail car or bus carrying forty people is far more efficient than a car moving just one person. What people may not realize is exactly how much energy is being saved, and how these savings add up to millions of barrels of oil conserved and millions of tons of harmful emissions avoided each year," said Dr. Robert J. Shapiro, co-author of the study. "Increased use of public transportation is an important answer to two national challenges—greater energy independence and a cleaner environment—that our nation has been grappling with for decades."

The study also shows that if one in ten Americans used public transportation regularly, US reliance on foreign oil could be cut by more than 40 percent. This is nearly equivalent to the amount of oil we import from Saudi Arabia every year. Environmental benefits would also be significant. Without any new government mandates, regulations or taxes, the United States would be able to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by more than 25 percent of the standard set under the Kyoto Agreement.

Among the study's other major findings:

Even small increases in transit usage would help many of the sixteen major US cities which currently fail to meet EPA air quality standards for CO or smog to improve their air quality.

For every passenger mile traveled, public transportation is twice as fuel-efficient as private automobiles, sport utility vehicles (SUVs) and light trucks.

If one in seven Americans used public transportation for their daily travel needs, they would help prevent global warming in the United States by cutting CO₂ by the equivalent of nearly 20 percent of the CO₂ emitted from fuel burned for residential uses and more than 20 percent of all CO₂ emitted by commercial enterprises.

If one in five Americans used public transportation daily, it would help reduce CO pollution by more than all the CO emitted from the entire chemical manufacturing industry and all metal processing plants in the United States.

"This study clearly shows that more energy is used getting people from place to place than in producing all goods or running all the homes in America," said William W. Millar, president of the American Public Transportation Association (APTA), the non-profit organization that commissioned the study.

For more information on the American Public Transportation Association, visit their website www.apta.com.

College Campuses: Sustainable Transportation Laboratories

By Carlos Balsas

The United States has an extremely high automobile dependence. Automobiles are the focus of transportation systems and they very often govern planning and decision-making processes.

It is widely accepted that trends in motorization on college campuses are the same as those experienced by society at large. In the last decade, campus planners have struggled to provide access and mobility without destroying campus qualities as distinct communities. Many universities are exploring a range of environmentally appealing solutions to alleviate congestion and improve safety in response to a number of factors: federal requirements concerning air quality; increasing congestion; lack of land for parking; the high cost of constructing parking structures; pressure to reduce traffic's impact on surrounding neighborhoods; and limited financial resources.

How have college campuses encouraged a modal shift from cars to other modes, in particular to bicycling and walking? What opportunities are there to create sustainable campuses with bicycle and pedestrian planning? To answer these questions I will evaluate the results of a survey of eight bicycle- and pedestrian-friendly campuses. This survey shows that college administrators rarely consider bicycle and pedestrian planning to its full extent and that more can be done to integrate nonmotorized modes in an alternative transportation package. College campuses, due to their pro-active educational milieu, are privileged places in which to communicate sustainability and help reshape society's transportation patterns.

THE UNIQUENESS OF CAMPUSES

College campuses are very distinct communities. They are places where people of different backgrounds, incomes, lifestyles and attitudes come together to live, study, work and recreate. College campuses build societies that are at once both transitory and lasting, and have an ideal human scale. The traditional campus adheres to the basic principles of the neotraditional town, concentrating a variety of functions within reach of pedestrians. Campuses are usu-

ally self-contained neighborhoods where classrooms, offices, apartments, student centers, child care facilities, performance halls, art galleries, gymnasiums, swimming pools, sports arenas and shopping places are all in close proximity. They have their own streets, squares and open spaces where people can stroll and get together. And



Photo By Tom Angotti

In the last 25 years, Copenhagen has reduced car traffic and built an extensive network of bike lanes.

while most campuses do not totally exclude the automobile, walking is the expected way to get around, although rural campuses are normally more auto-dependent than urban ones.

College campuses are a good example of a "people's place." In many communities, college campuses are often among the area's largest employers. They have their own energy plants and water treatment facilities. But besides producing or processing energy, water and waste, college campuses are also major traffic generators, which require extensive parking areas.

While university campuses may be distinct, they do impact neighboring communities in many ways, especially in regard to issues associated with parking, traffic, service access and off-campus housing. While communities are dealing with these impacts through the allocation of neighborhood residential parking permits and prohibition of nonresident parking during school hours, colleges are minimizing their impacts in order to become more sustainable communities, the result of a legal requirement that employers of 100 or more people implement employer trip reduction programs. ⇨

A sustainable transportation system has been defined as one that satisfies current transport and mobility needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own. Sustainable transportation planning on campuses can provide incentives for walking, bicycling, ridesharing and taking mass transit, while discouraging the use of single-occupancy cars by passing on the full costs of parking to drivers; sustainable transportation planning also links transportation planning to land use planning. University campuses can constitute a laboratory

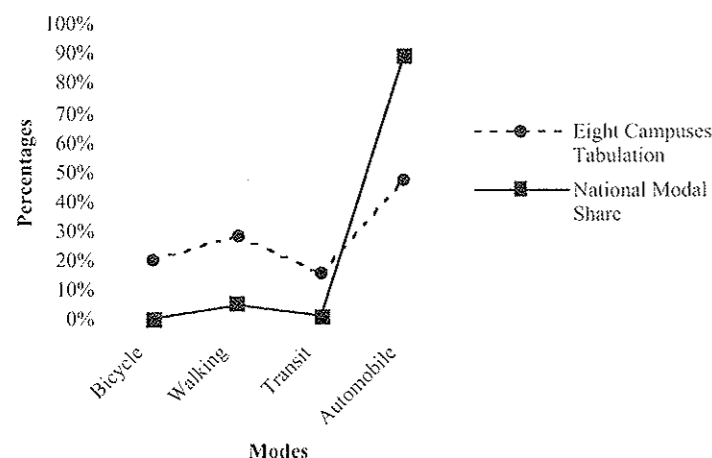


Figure 1. Comparison of 1995 national modal share with an average for eight selected campuses.

for testing and implementing various alternative transportation strategies, reducing infrastructure costs and minimizing their impacts on surrounding areas. One aspect often overlooked by campus administrators and planners is the college's potential to affect not only the transportation behavior of the campus population in the present but also the transportation habits and the environmental awareness that students can develop in the long-term.

One of the main problems is that campus planners and administrators were trained when the auto was king and are reluctant to change. Students, however, who are more open-minded and have the potential to become "movers and shakers" if properly motivated, can become powerful forces for the establishment of bicycle and pedestrian-friendly communities.

TRANSPORTATION DEMAND MANAGEMENT (TDM) STRATEGIES

Transportation Demand Management (TDM) can be defined as a package of planning strategies, incentives and disincentives that emphasize

alternatives to single-occupant vehicle travel. TDM includes not only traffic engineering schemes such as traffic-calming, but also multi-modal solutions. The most widely implemented solutions are parking management, carsharing, park-and-ride, mass transit, vehicle technology and alternative fuels and the use of the internet and video to provide online classes and transportation information.

Car-based transportation has many hidden costs. It is expensive and inefficient over short distances and is a major contributor to global warming. The major problem with automobility, however, is the amount of parking it requires. On college campuses parking is a common problem. Underpriced parking subsidizes students who drive to campus, while students who walk, bike, or ride transit to campus rarely receive any subsidy. These different treatments are being recognized by a growing number of campuses that are restricting parking in the campus core and implementing parking management programs which charge higher fees and are coupled with innovative ways to promote alternative modes—taking public transit, bicycling and walking.

Universities are also working in collaboration with transit agencies across the country to provide innovative transit pass programs. For instance, free transit passes may be funded with student fees or through innovative partnerships with local municipalities. This has become known as "Unlimited Access." It reduces the demand for parking, increases student access to housing and employment, helps universities recruit and retain students, reduces the cost of attending college, and increases transportation equity. In order to reverse transit's negative image, transportation agencies are decreasing headways and increasing service amenities, e.g. providing passengers with real-time schedule information through Intelligent Transportation Systems.

The partial replacement of university vehicle fleets with alternative fuel vehicles and technologies such as compressed natural gas and electricity is also being attempted by a growing number of universities, as well as the recycling of operation fluids. Telecommuting, flextime and distance learning are "soft" approaches that may positively impact the campus environment by reducing congestion and demand for parking.

A truly integrated TDM program may bring many environmental and societal benefits by enhanc-

ing the use of existing transportation systems. If fewer cars are traveling to campus, then fewer parking spaces are required, lower maintenance costs are incurred, and the land currently used for parking can be converted to other, more rewarding uses such as open space or new environmentally sound research buildings. This can only happen through a comprehensive approach that promotes alternative transportation modes and restricts or charges for car usage at full cost, with the fees redistributed to improve the alternative options.

WALKING AND BICYCLING ON CAMPUSES

Walking and bicycling are complementary modes of transportation to get to and around campus. At many colleges a high percentage of students live on campus, and another considerable percentage of students and staff live within a reasonable walking and cycling distance. The bicycle offers riders speed and flexibility over short distances. It produces no pollution, uses no energy, can be accommodated with relatively little space, is fast, silent and cheap, and is accessible to many people who cannot drive, especially the young. On some campuses biking is deeply rooted in local culture. Walking, on the other hand, is the primary mode of transportation for many people, although few of us may realize how big a part it is of our daily trips. Walking is fast, direct and has no costs involved. Both these modes have many health benefits.

It is well-known that college students cycle at much higher rates than the general population. Students are usually more environmentally conscious and receptive to new ideas. They are physically more fit, have restricted budgets, live close to campus and often already own a bicycle. Staff and faculty members share some of these characteristics and many are influential members of the local community; as potential bicycle advocates, they can help persuade city officials and campus administrators to implement policy geared towards cycling.

On campus, walking is affected by how safe intersections are. Walking is also affected by how comfortable the walking environment is; protecting pedestrians from the weather, providing good illumination and improving the visual appearance and amenities, e.g. litter containers and benches, can all encourage more walking. Despite the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990, the disabled still have problems with stairs, narrow passage-

ways, long distances, slippery surfaces and poorly illuminated areas.

Many college campuses lack bicycle paths and lanes, intersection treatments, signage and parking. Many times bicycling on campus can be dangerous. Accidents can occur because of speeding, mixing types of traffic, poor right-of-way design and the propensity of cyclists to ride outside the routes designated for them and ignore traffic rules and regulations. Because bicycles are not considered "design vehicles," in many cases engineers and campus planners have not considered the special needs of bicyclists. The lack of secure bicycle parking increases the possibilities for theft, which acts as a major deterrent to bicycle use.

EIGHT IN THE VANGUARD

After screening more than 3,000 campuses nationwide, I found the following campuses have undertaken many actions to provide safe cycling and walking conditions to their campus communities: University of California-Davis, University of California-Santa Barbara, University of Colorado-Boulder, Cornell University, University of Oregon-Eugene, Stanford University, University of Washington-Seattle and University of Wisconsin-Madison. All eight campuses have TDM strategies in place.

It is estimated that approximately 14,000 people commute to UC-Santa Barbara by bicycle on any given school day. In Davis, a small city twelve miles from Sacramento with more than fifty miles of bicycle paths, an estimated 15-18,000 bicycles are used on a daily basis.

The University of Washington-Seattle's UPASS program has been a national model in transportation management. In fact, UW-Seattle has seen its population increase by 7 percent since 1991 while vehicle trips to and from campus have decreased by 5 percent. At UC-Boulder, a new fleet of buses and the "Ecopass" program allow employers to buy passes for employees and passholders ride the buses for free. Total transit use in the City of Boulder and the UC campus has increased 400 percent in the last five years. At UW-Madison, the Campus Transportation Committee approved free rides for a one-year trial period effective September 2001.

Some college campuses are providing limited free parking while strongly enforcing parking ⇒

rules. UO-Eugene has the lowest number of parking spaces per thousand people. Stanford, on the other hand, has the highest number, but based on economic feasibility considerations, it has stopped providing more parking. Economic incentives are also being used to discourage driving. For instance, Stanford pays 2,500 employees who do not purchase a parking permit through its "Clean Air Cash" program.

ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING

Six of the eight campuses have bicycle and pedestrian committees. The remaining two only have transportation advisory committees. Four campuses currently have a full-time bicycle and pedestrian coordinator, and these campuses tend to conduct surveys more often and attract more funding.

Three campuses have bicycle plans. UC-Boulder has a plan called "Blueprint for a Green Campus," and UW-Seattle has a campus master plan that strongly encourages nonmotorized transportation. It is important to institutionalize TDM policies in the planning routines of the university and to incorporate campus-wide nonmotorized urban design guidelines with site and master planning. It is also important to integrate and coordinate planning efforts with surrounding communities.

BICYCLE FACILITIES

The components of a successful bikeway system on campus include:

- Bicycle paths, lanes and routes
- Bicycle racks, lockers and other bicycle parking structures
- Dismount zones
- (Re) designed intersections and crossings
- Showers/changing rooms
- Signage and markings
- Traffic-calming measures

PROMOTIONAL MEASURES

Many promotional measures are used to advertise alternative transportation. These include:

- Brochures and bicycle maps
- Business discounts
- Conferences and special events
- Involvement with bicycling clubs and environmental groups
- News in the media and online
- On-campus bicycle shops and tire inflation centers

EDUCATION AND ENFORCEMENT

Some argue that the campuses that best accommodate bicyclists also enforce some of the most stringent bicycle regulations. In extreme cases fines and tickets for incorrectly parked bicycles and for those who fail to comply with the bicycle dismount policy are applied. Several campuses impound bicycles and only release them after the payment of a release fee. The program at UC-Davis requires that every bicycle on campus be registered, which helps to both locate the bicycle owners in cases of theft and fund the program; there is also a bicycle traffic school for violators. Pedestrian safety, especially at night, is a growing concern on many campuses.

CONCLUSION

The results of these measures can be seen in Figure 1, which illustrates a much more balanced and equitable modal share on the eight campuses when compared with the national average. The key message is that some college campuses are clearly de-marketing automobile commuting and actively promoting alternative transportation modes. In order to create more bicycle-and walking-friendly campuses, efforts need to focus on the following seven measures: 1) TDM strategies; 2) organization; 3) planning; 4) facilities; 5) promotion; 6) education; and 7) enforcement. Although these measures need to be tailored to local conditions, they should not be implemented alone because only the development of highly integrated strategies has the potential to improve sustainability. Universities can take a leadership role and promote environmentally sound programs. The need and opportunities for additional improvements in nonmotorized travel are countless, bounded only by our creativity and willingness to take risks and improve our way of living. The overriding issue is our way of thinking and the need to change routine decisions, levels of commitment and our own behavior. As David Weerts noted when writing about the UC-Davis experience, "Those looking for solutions to worsening air quality, traffic and parking problems may well find the resources, expertise and enthusiasm to establish workable bicycle programs right in the midst—at their local institutions of higher learning."

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Following Rosa Parks: Montgomery Bus Riders Organize

By Eugene J. Patron

People in Montgomery, Alabama will tell you that as much as the city likes to see itself as part of the "New" South, local politicians have been slow to give up their old, dirty tricks. For the better part of the 1990s, the Montgomery City Council and Mayor threatened to shut down the local bus system because ridership had been steadily declining. Local officials ignored the obvious connection between the decline in ridership and the city's elimination of fixed bus routes and bus stop signs in 1997. You can't count riders if the riders can't find the buses.

Way back in 1886, Montgomery could boast being one of the first cities in the Western Hemisphere to have an entirely electrified public trolley system. But this tidbit of local transportation history pales in significance with the story of Rosa Parks' refusal to sit at the back of a Montgomery city bus in 1955. The ensuing 381-day boycott of the municipal bus system saw thousands of people walk to work or hitch rides rather than condone government-sanctioned discrimination. Six years after Parks' initial act of defiance, the US Supreme Court ruled that segregation on city buses was illegal.

The courts may have removed overt racial segregation from the Montgomery public transportation system, but little was done to prevent a reactionary political establishment from making planning and economic development decisions that would rob the transit system of riders and funds. During the twenty-two-year reign of Republican Emory Folmar as mayor of Montgomery (1977 to 1999), the city's bus system shrank as fares increased.

At the same time, white flight and urban sprawl moved better paying jobs away from the city's core and increasingly beyond the reach of the disappearing city transit system. The state of Alabama spent only \$19.5 million a year of its federal transportation funds under TEA-21 on public transportation compared to \$533 million for highway and bridge projects.

Transportation funding is lopsided in favor of cars in Alabama, a state where 20 percent of

the population earns under \$10,000 a year. Windy Cooler, executive director of the Montgomery Transportation Coalition (MTC), comments, "They were literally tearing up many sidewalks so you couldn't walk. It was getting pretty awful around here." At the age of twenty-seven, Cooler already knows a lot about how to fight City Hall—and win. When asked about how the quest to improve public transportation is going, she says, with a mixed laugh and sigh, "Things don't change much in Montgomery."

But Cooler is being modest. Since the MTC was formed in 1996, the group has been successful in demanding that the Montgomery Area Transit System hire new staff, buy new buses, increase the number of routes, and reinstall bus stop signs. As a result, bus ridership is up 90 percent in the last two years.

This past summer the MTC really shook things up when a US Department of Transportation review panel affirmed the Coalition's charges that Montgomery's Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) had violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The review panel took the MPO to task because: it failed to evaluate whether its planning has adverse impacts on minority or low-income populations; failed to monitor ozone levels in accordance with the Clean Air Act; and did not make any of its Surface Transportation Program funds available for public transportation.

As a result, Montgomery joins Miami, Florida and Northwest Indiana in becoming only the third metropolitan area ever to be conditionally certified to receive federal transportation funds. Should the city not correct these problems by January 2003, Montgomery could very well have to forfeit federal transportation dollars.

As part of its findings, the federal review panel also called on the MPO to establish a Citizen's Advisory Committee (CAC) and develop a Public Involvement Plan. But, according to Cooler, from the start the MPO has not been willing to accommodate any [Cont. on page 29]

The Highway to Inequality: Ciudad Viva Fights the Costanera Norte

By **Patricio Lanfranco**
Santiago, Chile

Despite a long six-year battle, the Italian firm Impregilo began work in January on Costanera Norte, a new highway through urban Santiago, Chile. The construction work began after a controversial decision by the National Environmental Commission (Comisión Nacional de Medio Ambiente or CONAMA) to allow the concessioned highway to run through the city's Mapocho River.

According to *Ciudad Viva* (Living City), a local nongovernmental organization formed from the original anti-highway coalition, "The communities succeeded in saving a good part of the neighborhoods that would have been destroyed, but now the entire city is touched by the damage to its river."

Chile's new environmental legislation requires that the project undergo an Environmental Impact Assessment with public participation. The project received fierce opposition from the Architectural Society, the Engineering Society, the Chilean Society of Transport Engineers, environmental organizations and community groups over concerns for economic, environmental, urban design and equity issues. Design changes have since increased costs from \$120 million* to \$480 million, of which the taxpayers will pay \$120 million.

The events have uncovered a serious lack of independence on the part of CONAMA, which has acted as both project proponent and the deciding regulatory body. The decision to build the highway was made by national ministers directly chosen by President Ricardo Lagos, the principal force behind the project. The government has never officially produced the written decree authorizing approval, nor has it produced the studies of social benefit analysis that are needed to justify construction.

Why has this happened and who will benefit from this project? These are key questions for one of the world's most polluted cities, which has more than 4,000 annual deaths attributed to air contaminants. At the same time, Chile already suffers from significant inequality in

income distribution; on the continent, only Brazil has greater inequality.

The government believes that the highway will reduce pollution and congestion, despite claims to the counter from local transport engineers. International studies indicate that within a five-year period new highways become 90 percent filled, mostly with induced traffic that would not have occurred without the new roadway. Moreover, the concessions given to the private sector firm provide a profit motivation for the firm to encourage as much traffic as possible. In less than three years, Santiago will have significantly more cars, contamination and congestion.

On June 3, 2002, a rainstorm lasting seventy-two hours swelled the size of the Mapocho River tenfold. In only twenty-four hours half of the city was below eighty centimeters of water, and of course, it was the poorest communities that suffered the most, with 100,000 persons made homeless and loss estimates of between \$180 and \$230 million. The severity of the flooding was worsened by the road construction; despite the millions of dollars dedicated to it, there was no consideration of the highway's impacts on drainage or the blockage of the river's natural flow.

Santiago, a city of five million people, generates 11.1 million trips each day. Of these, 43 percent are made by microbus, 7 percent by underground metro, 20 percent by private automobile, 1.4 percent by taxis and "colectivos" (taxi vans) and 27 percent by walking or cycling. The Costanera Norte highway project will only serve the 20 percent that travel by car, and specifically those living in the wealthiest communities of Vitacuar, Las Condes and La Dehesa. With the same investment, one could finance ninety-six kilometers of exclusive bus corridors with articulated buses of the same quality as Bogotá's TransMilenio, which cost approximately \$5 million per kilometer. The difference would also mean the establishment of an efficient, clean and safe transit service that would serve 80 percent of the population.

The same funding could even finance 75 percent of the drainage system that would avoid the terrible tragedy of the recent flooding.

Public works are a mechanism that can help direct the private sector toward efforts that reduce income inequality. Investments in road projects only serve to stimulate more auto use, urban sprawl and pollution. More investments in parks and plazas, sidewalks, cycle ways and public transit have positive impacts on health, environmental quality, safety and security, public space and quality of life, especially among the poorest communities.

"Growing with Equity" was the campaign slogan of President Lagos. Now, \$120 million is being obligated to subsidize a privileged minority in order to have the perception of a faster and more comfortable commute. This amount is 120 times more than has been invested in reversible or exclusive lanes for buses (barely \$1 million), even though exclusive busways would greatly improve travel

Patron [Cont. from page 27]

credible degree of public review. The bylaws drawn up for the CAC severely limit its independence and its ability to contribute anything meaningful to the planning process. "This plan would be better called a Public Dis-involvement Plan," she says. "What little we have won, namely a Citizen's Advisory Committee, we are having even that little progress challenged."

While more than 50 percent of Montgomery's population is African American, the members of the MPO (chaired by Montgomery Mayor Bobby Bright) are all white. In contrast, the board of the MTC very much reflects the average Montgomery bus rider: the majority of its members are African American. Moreover, the MTC recognizes that problems with public transportation are part of the larger picture of economic and political disenfranchisement with which its constituency struggles. High on the list of priorities for MTC members is the desire to own a successful small business, live independently into old age and allow for families to go where they need to without enormous expense. So too is the ability to walk and bike peacefully in their own neighborhoods.

In June of this year the MTC partnered with

times (fifteen minutes per trip), reduce contaminant levels by 17 percent and produce financial benefits through significant increases in efficiency and productivity.

A member of *Ciudad Viva* commented, "At least we have a sense of pride in waging a great battle against the ill-advised, illegal, corrupt and unethical actions that have characterized this project." *Ciudad Viva* will continue to explore new legal actions, alliances with other groups and a campaign to dissuade potential investors from buying the necessary bonds for this controversial project.

[*All dollar figures refer to US dollars.]

Patricio Lanfranco is a member of Ciudad Viva. This article was reprinted with permission from the Institute for Transportation & Development Policy from the sustainable transport e-update, August/September 2002, for more information on the e-update, see www.itdp.org/STe/index.html.

the Surface Transportation Policy Project (STPP) to hold a national transportation summit under the banner *Reclaiming The Dream*. The summit was a chance to revisit the birth of the 1955 Bus Boycott and the movement it spawned, and to explore the place of transportation issues in the struggle for economic freedom, social justice and self-direction.

This fall, Cooler and members of the MTC are riding the buses and talking to people about joining a new lobbying campaign: to get the city council to pass a law guaranteeing that the public will be given at least thirty days notice before any changes are made to the transit system. As it stands right now, staff at the Montgomery Area Transit System and the city officials they answer to can make changes to the bus system at will and without public notification.

Things may not change quickly in Montgomery, but the struggle for change is as strong today as it was in Rosa Parks' day.

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Equal Access for All: Chicago's Campaign for Better Transit

By Patricia Nolan and Jacqueline Leavy

In 1997, Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley said that public transit was "irrelevant" and had "lost its constituency." The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) cut service. Members of the Chicago City Council and Illinois General Assembly tried to minimize or ignore the public's anger about problems with public transportation. The deep service cuts made public transit less attractive to many riders, and impossible for some who lived or worked in neighborhoods that lost service entirely. Since then, the public transit infrastructure has continued to crumble. Outdated tracks, rail cars and buses make many transit rides long and unpleasant. Chicago's transit system is on the verge of collapse and needs to be rebuilt.

But the mayor, CTA and many elected officials didn't anticipate organized protest. Transit rider activists, leaders of Chicago's senior citizen coalition, the disability rights community and community leaders from African American and Latino neighborhoods organized protests against the service cuts. At public meetings and marches, minority neighborhoods were heavily represented. Over the past ten years, neighborhood organizations have come together in several key organizing campaigns that significantly raised the profile of the transportation equity issue in the city and region. In the course of these campaigns, grassroots activists and transit riders challenged transit officials, city and state elected officials and congressional representatives to improve transit services, invest in transit infrastructure and hold the line on service cuts and fare hikes.

CAMPAIGN FOR BETTER TRANSIT IS BORN

The Campaign for Better Transit (CBT), which serves as an active and organized voice for public transit riders in Chicago, was launched in 1999 by a coalition of community organizations and transit advocates. CBT is a special initiative of the Neighborhood Capital Budget Group (NCBG), a non-profit citywide coalition of grassroots community groups and neighborhood economic development organizations. NCBG represents over 200 community-based organizations and local economic development

groups, and participants are located in every one of the city's fifty wards. It has worked for over a decade to increase public investment in neighborhoods in order to repair the long-neglected and crumbling infrastructure that exacerbates urban blight and holds back communities from achieving real economic recovery and revitalization.

Public transportation is viewed by neighborhood activists as a critical lifeline. It connects communities to one another; job opportunities; basic services such as health care, job training and education; and recreational and cultural opportunities, in downtown Chicago and throughout the metropolitan region.

TRANSIT EQUITY

African American and Latino grassroots leaders are convinced that the CTA balances its budget at their expense. They complain that the CTA uses a "double standard" in applying service cuts and fare increases. In their communities, buses run less frequently, rail stations are in worse shape, bus shelters and benches are fewer in number, and equipment is not well-maintained. Bus and rail service have steadily decreased over the years.

African American and Latino bus riders report long waiting times, frequent breakdowns, and buses that are overcrowded, lack air conditioning and do not meet their schedules. They cite widespread instances of broken fare collection equipment on buses and at train stations in their communities, asserting that for years their ridership levels have been undercounted by the CTA.

The CTA says service cuts are a "business necessity" because some bus routes can't pay for themselves due to low ridership. Minority transit riders respond that over the years the CTA has created a self-fulfilling prophecy. Infrequent, unreliable and poor quality service drives away riders, and inadequate transportation exacerbates the lack of economic and educational opportunities and chances for economic development in these same communities.

GREEN LINE REHABILITATION

The Green Line rehabilitation project, which was supposed to improve service in African American neighborhoods, resulted instead in less rail service, angering the affected residents. First, the CTA said it had to shut down the line completely to make repairs. Rail service was discontinued for twenty-eight months. Many African American community leaders pointed out that the CTA routinely made repairs to the north leg of the Red Line (Howard El) and to the Loop El—both of which serve white areas—without disrupting service.

In the course of repairing the Green Line, the CTA wanted to close stations and space them farther apart. African American activists opposed this plan and pointed out the close proximity and duplication of stations along the Red and Brown Lines on the north side in predominantly white, more affluent neighborhoods. Eventually the CTA agreed to retain most of the west side Green Line stations, but permanently eliminated half of the stations along the south leg of the elevated. They tore down approximately one mile of elevated track in Woodlawn, ending a fifteen-year battle over a proposal to build an intermodal station there. Many African American leaders are convinced that these actions were motivated by a long-term agenda to displace poor blacks from the south side. Supporters of the demolition (including the Chicago Department of Planning & Development and influential black pastors) argued that economic development would not occur in the shadow of the elevated tracks.

BLUE LINE CUTBACKS

Perhaps the most devastating cut of all was the elimination of weekend rail service on the Douglas Branch of the CTA's Blue Line. Commonly called the Douglas El, this branch serves the predominantly minority neighborhoods of Pilsen, Little Village and North Lawndale, and the suburbs of Cicero and Berwyn, which have significant and rapidly growing Latino populations. The ending of weekend rail service left residents without a direct connection to the Illinois Medical Center, the southwest suburbs, O'Hare Airport, the northwest suburbs and downtown Chicago.

Since the service cutback, Pilsen area businesses complain of 20-30 percent declines in weekend sales, based on a survey taken by the local busi-

ness association. The Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum, an important and nationally acclaimed cultural institution near the Douglas El, reports that its weekend attendance declined by 25 percent after the service cuts. Community-operated health care facilities report major problems for staff and patients traveling to and from clinics and the local hospital.

TITLE VI COMPLAINT

The CTA completed implementation of its 1997-98 service reduction on April 28, 1998. Six months later, approximately forty individuals—all minority residents of the City of Chicago and transit riders of the CTA—wrote to the Office of Civil Rights, Federal Transit Administration, at the

"Minority residents and transit riders charged that service cuts had a disparate impact and violated their civil rights."

US Department of Transportation. They alleged that their civil rights, as protected by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, were being violated. The recent CTA service cuts, they charged, had a disparate impact on minority citizens. With fewer travel options, less income and less access to private vehicles than the majority population of the city and suburbs that use the CTA, Chicago's Latino and African American residents were bearing the brunt of the cutbacks, which were harming them, their families and their communities. The civil rights investigation is still underway.

UNFAIR INVESTMENT PATTERNS

NCBG's early work on the Green Line coalition documented that the CTA had planned to invest far less in the Green Line between 1979 and 1991 than in any other rail line in the system. Overall, the City of Chicago had focused 89 percent of all its planned capital spending on downtown transit, even though minority neighborhoods were asking for capital funds to build additional stations to improve access to the transit system.

Internal reallocation of resources is common ⇨

practice at the CTA and in city government. The CTA and the City of Chicago, however, have denied requests from the Latino and African American communities to exercise such flexibility to re-open closed stations of the Green Line on the south side, or to restore weekend rail service on the Douglas Line.

CURRENT BATTLES

The Campaign for Better Transit helped form an ad hoc "West Side Coalition for Better Transit" in heavily low-income, African American neighbor-

"The CBT faces deep-seated resistance to policy reform and reluctance to share data on the part of the transit agencies."

hoods. This group has strong participation from members of an area industrial park, whose members recognize the link between transit and economic development. "We might as well have a moat around our facility," said an employee of the Greater West Town Development Project. "It's that difficult to access by public transportation." The West Side Coalition encompasses the Lake Street corridor, which has been devastated by recent cuts in transit service; bus service was recently eliminated on Washington Boulevard and Lake Street. Additionally, the Lake Street El has huge gaps between stations, effectively shutting out easy downtown access for many residents.

Members of CBT are calling for the CTA to immediately restore bus service on Washington Boulevard and Lake Street, accelerate the construction of the Pulaski Road Green Line station and hold a series of public meetings on the west side to plan new rail stations at Damen Avenue and elsewhere. Besides serving local residents and businesses, Damen Avenue offers an important opportunity for economic development because of its proximity to the United Center. "The west side must be a priority for the CTA and Mayor Daley," states Roger Romanelli, executive director of the Randolph/Fulton Market Association. "How can they promote spending \$6 billion on a new 'Circle Line' for the downtown

area when the west side transit infrastructure is in dire need of major renovations?"

In addition to organizing in neighborhoods on specific transit concerns, CBT is also looking at citywide transit performance. With support from the University of Illinois-Chicago's Urban Transportation Center, CBT is working on a comprehensive series of field observation studies to assess reliability and performance on bus and train lines. These field studies are based on the precedent-setting efforts of the New York-based Straphangers Campaign, a CBT advisor. This methodology will help CBT target local transit issues and serve as an effective tool for changing transit policy.

Although the CBT has made great strides in its first few years, it faces several challenges, including deep-seated resistance to policy reform and reluctance to share data on the part of transit agencies. For example, it was a struggle to get the CTA to report updated information on the financial status and schedule of the Blue Line project to community leaders. The CTA then established a community advisory panel for this \$82 million project. It is too early to tell how effective the panel will be, but this small victory is hopefully a step towards a more open approach to community engagement and public participation in the CTA's planning and budget process. The CTA's budget documents and other information are not easily understandable or accessible to the public. The CBT, as a result, has had to develop and adopt an alternative format for the budgets that is more user-friendly to the public, and provides greater clarity about the status of various capital projects.

Chicago's transit struggles bring up fundamental questions. Do local and metropolitan institutions provide equal access to transportation for all segments of the population? Are some groups more mobile than others? Does everyone have equal access to centers of employment, cultural activity, recreation, health care, retail services and education? How do differences in personal mobility and the availability of transportation access affect the quality of life of individuals and communities?

Jacqueline Leavy, executive director and Patricia Nolan, director of planning, work with the Neighborhood Capital Budget Group (NCBG) in Chicago. For more information on NCBG visit www.ncbg.org; for CBT visit www.bettertransit.com.

Zipcar: Reshaping Our Relationship With The Automobile

By Mark E. Chase

Zipcar is a membership organization that provides self-service car access to residents and businesses in US cities. The service is an alternative to owning a car in dense urban areas and areas experiencing chronic parking shortages. The service is radically changing the way that people interact with cars. There are over 100 Zipcars serving over 3,400 members in four US cities.

Zipcars are located like ATM machines in reserved parking spaces near where people live and work. Members reserve cars on the internet, let themselves in with a proximity card and receive a bill at the end of the month. Key differences between Zipcar and car rentals are: 1) Zipcars are completely self-service. Cars can be reserved and accessed twenty-four hours per day/ seven days per week. There is no paperwork or waiting in line; 2) Cars can be reserved for as little as one hour; and 3) Zipcars are spread out across the metro area like ATM machines.

We have found that:

- About half our members sell their car or avoid buying one when they join Zipcar.
- Each Zipcar serves about twenty members, vastly reducing parking requirements.
- Each Zipcar placed in a neighborhood takes as many as ten cars off the road; half our members join when they are thinking of buying a car or when the car they own breaks down. A Worldwatch study found that there are three

parking spaces for every car in the US. By removing ten cars from the road, Zipcar therefore frees up about thirty parking spaces on a regional basis.

• Zipcar members drive less than they would if they owned a car. The reduction in driving is due to two major effects: 1) the cars are slightly less accessible and therefore used more appropriately (i.e. not driven to places that can be conveniently walked to); and 2) the full costs of driving become apparent, making other transportation options more cost-effective.

• Members join Zipcar because the service offers hassle-free access to a car while reducing overall transportation costs.

Two general maxims apply to a successful Zipcar program. Potential members must be able to live without a car (or a second car) for the majority of their transportation needs. Typical members use a Zipcar once or twice a week for shopping, visiting clients or visiting a relative in the suburbs. The second key maxim is mixed-use/ high-density development (new urbanists have been touting this for some time). The higher the density of a neighborhood, the easier it is for Zipcars to attract a sufficient number of members to make the vehicles financially viable.

Mark E. Chase is a transportation planner and director of business development for Zipcar in Cambridge, MA and can be reached at mark@zipcar.com. This article was based on a presentation at the 2002 American Planning Association Conference in Chicago.

The Truth about AAA

With 43 million members and a fifteen-person staff in Washington, the Automobile Association of America (AAA) is one of the most powerful consumer lobbyists for more roads and cars. They are loyal members of the American Highway Users Alliance, which includes automakers, oilmen and road builders. In the May 2002 issue of *Harpers*, Ken Silverstein warns, that "Drivers clutching this card as a talisman against automotive calamity should know that, in doing so, they lend support to an agenda – in favor of road building, against pollution control and even auto-safety measures – that helps deepen the automotive calamity afflicting the nation as a whole.... In 1999, AAA opposed new rules that required cleaner-burning exhaust systems for cars, trucks, and SUVs, and two years prior assailed an EPA proposal requiring states to reduce levels of smog and soot. In 1990, AAA even fought the strengthening of the Clean Air Act – a measure supported by three-fourths of Americans – on the grounds that it would limit the "personal mobility" of motorists."

Planning at the Frontline: Notes From Israel

By Oren Yiftachel

There are few societies in which urban and regional planning has been so central to nation-building and state policy as Israel. Over the years, Israeli planning has been a pivotal activity for reshaping the landscape according to the Zionist image of a modern, European-like settler society, while erasing its Palestinian-Arab past and present. Planning did not only locate, but had much to do with *creating* the Zionist nation, through the narratives, values, heroes and practices embedded in settling and building the land.

Planning in Israel has had many faces, including a major welfare role as provider of housing, land and communities to accommodate the masses of Jewish refugees and immigrants that flocked to Israel starting in the 1940s, following the European holocaust. During the same era, it also facilitated the absorption of masses of Jews fleeing from the Arab world. These benign activities have continued during the last decade with large-scale planning for immigrant Ethiopian and Russian communities.

ETHNOCRATIC PLANNING

Despite this benign aspect of Israeli planning, one of the most prominent aspects has been the use of planning for "Judaizing" the contested land of Israel/Palestine. It has thus functioned as a centerpiece in a settler society driven by a project of ethnic expansion and domination, chiefly at the expense of Palestinian-Arabs. This occurred first within "the Green Line" (the official border of sovereign Israel, within which Arabs are citizens) in the years following the 1948 Palestinian *nakbah*, when two-thirds of Palestinians fled or were driven out of their homeland. Israeli planning was heavily involved in confiscating refugee lands and settling them with Jews.

Later, expansionist planning took place in the occupied Palestinian West Bank and Gaza, where hundreds of Jewish settlements were implanted as colonial outposts, supported by a thick network of roads, industrial areas and army installations. I have termed this *ethnocratic planning*, enhancing the expansionist territorial and eco-

nomie goals, aspirations and interests of a dominant ethnic group while ignoring or delegitimizing the aspirations and needs of other communities.

Since space is the core of the tension between Jews and Palestinians, spatial planning (that is, management of land use, settlement patterns and development) has been a major bone of contention. Under such circumstances, ethnocratic planning has become a major *generator* of ethnic conflict over land, settlement, boundaries and development, typically between the powerful Jewish majority and marginalized Palestinian-Arab communities.

Nonetheless, the oppressive aspects of planning have not been reserved only for Arabs. During the 1950s, the massive Judaization project saw the planned settlement of most Mizrahi Jews (hailing from Arab countries) to the state's distant peripheries, chiefly into twenty-seven newly constructed urban localities named, somewhat ironically, "development towns." These quickly became, due to planning policies, centers of Mizrahi isolation and deprivation, and since then the Mizrahi have remained the most disadvantaged sector in Israeli-Jewish society.

PRIVATIZATION OF CONFISCATED LANDS

During the last decade, powerful elements within Jewish society have pushed an agenda of privatization, putatively aimed at "freeing" development and enhancing the economy, but concentrating resources in an ever-decreasing group of major economic players. Here too, land became a major bone of contention, given the vesting of large state land resources with the country's economic elites, most of whom are Ashkenazi (formerly European) Jews. These lands, the majority of which were confiscated earlier from Palestinian refugees, are now being developed by agricultural landholders and several large developers, with the regressive effect of transferring public (state) resources into private pockets. This has accelerated a process of social polarization, causing ethnic and class disparities among Jews to rise to unprecedented levels.

Hence, over the years much of Israeli planning has had a conservative, often reactionary, character, which I have described elsewhere as "the dark side of planning." This trend, however, somewhat waned during the 1990s, with growing signs of democracy and equality in the planning and land systems. But during the last two years, in the wake of the Palestinian "al-Aqsa" uprising, the Israeli (Jewish) planning agenda has returned to a more aggressive, expansionist and developmentalist mode.

The recent Jewish-Palestinian violent conflict, which has claimed over 2,000 victims (1,400 of them Palestinian), and which has been accompanied by waves of murderous Palestinian terror and an Israeli reconquest of Palestinian cities, has provided a background against which Jewish planners and developers could move quickly to enhance their long-term interests. This is all couched in terms of "national goals," within a public discourse thick with a strange (and often contradictory) mixture of anti-Arab and pro-development sentiments. This did not occur without opposition, but the conservative agenda has indeed recaptured center stage.

To illustrate these trends, I have chosen two telling episodes from the recent volatile chronicles of Israeli planning that deal with coercion, privatization and Israel's ethnocratic planning.

EPISODE ONE: PLANNING WITH POISONOUS CHEMICALS

On February 14, 2002, several light planes were sent by the Israeli government to spray 12,000 dunams of crops with poisonous chemicals. The destroyed fields had been cultivated for years by Bedouin Arabs in the southern Negev region, on land they claimed as their own. Avigdor Lieberman, the minister responsible for land management, explained, "We must stop their illegal invasion into state land by all means possible. The Bedouins have no regard for our laws. In the process we are losing the last resources of state lands. One of my main missions is to return the power to the Land Authority in dealing with the non-Jewish threat to our lands."

Lieberman's words clearly exposed a forceful separation between Arab and Jewish citizens, with expressions such as "our" land, "our" law and "their" invasion, seeking to demarcate sharply the limits of identity and rights in "the land" (in Hebrew *ba'aretz*) as belonging first and foremost to its Jewish citizens.

Not surprisingly, Lieberman (a West Bank settler, and thus, ironically, an illegal invader himself!) failed to mention that the Bedouins are citizens of the state of Israel, and hence can, and should, be allocated state lands to fulfill their residential and agricultural needs. This is especially so of the land of their ancestors, the very area of the destroyed fields.

The minister also failed to explain why the state used such violence and never attempted to resolve the issue by administrative or legal means. Worse still, he overlooked the ramifications of this unprecedented brutal attack: a growing sense of alienation among Bedouin Arabs, once a community anxious to integrate into Israeli society.

"During the last two years, the Israeli planning agenda has returned to a more aggressive, expansionist and developmentalist mode."

This brutal incident is but the last in a long string of ethnocratic planning measures aimed against the Negev Bedouins. In the late 1940s they were concentrated in a small area, the least fertile area of southern Israel, and were placed under military rule. During the 1960s, military rule was replaced by a plan to urbanize the (previously semi-nomadic) Bedouins. The state planned to move them into seven towns and clear the rest of the land they occupied for Jewish settlement and military purposes.

A large number of Bedouins, however, refused to be forcefully urbanized, as such a move would necessitate giving up their land claims. They were subsequently declared by the state to be "invaders"—illegally occupying their ancestors' land—and their villages (or shantytowns) were classified as "unrecognized." For three decades the state has attempted to force their migration into the towns with a range of pressure tactics, including denying many social services and refusing to build physical infrastructure or initiate plans for the village. ⇨

A common practice involves house demolition. Since no plans existed for the villages, land permits were impossible to obtain, and all houses were deemed illegal. During the 1990s, for example, the state demolished over 1,400 such homes, generating constant fears among the Bedouin citizens, and growing hostility against the state. This has most recently become patently clear, causing the state to prepare plans for several new "recognized" Bedouin localities, beyond the original seven towns, which had been regarded for decades by policymakers as a "final number." But until such plans come to fruition, we can expect further confrontations between a state driven by the goal of Judaizing the land, and the indigenous Bedouins, who seek to reside and cultivate their traditional lands. Given this, the bitter words of Hassan abu-Quider, a Bedouin activist echo loudly, "Only in one instance shall we, the Bedouin Arabs, get what they say is full and equal rights in the Jewish state: only if miraculously we'll stop occupying, needing or using any land. Then we shall receive what we truly deserve—full air rights..."

EPISODE TWO: PLANNING BY INTIMIDATION

In early 2002, the struggle over controlling agricultural land in Israel entered a new stage of escalation, in readiness for an expected watershed decision of the Israeli High Court of Justice. The Court was about to rule whether Jewish agricultural settlers, who had leased public land for farming purposes, could claim profits from urban redevelopment, or whether a freeze should be placed on such development.

The main challenger to the farmers' aim to redevelop the land was the Democratic Mizrahi Rainbow—a nongovernmental organization (NGO) promoting social justice in the distribution of public resources, especially pertaining to economically deprived Mizrahi Jews. In February 2000, the Rainbow launched the High Court petition against land redevelopment and the allegedly illegal privatization of public land held by collective agricultural settlements, and has since been joined by a number of other civic organizations. The main defenders of privatization and development came, not surprisingly, from among the Ashkenazi Jews, who have traditionally occupied the upper strata of society, and from large-

scale land developers, who have struck many lucrative redevelopment deals on agricultural lands.

During the early months of 2002, a smear-and-scare campaign was launched by some of the major landholders. Taking advantage of the public atmosphere charged by violent Israeli-Palestinian hostilities, they began to claim that the challengers were driven by "a secret goal of flooding the country with Palestinian refugees." In large road signs, newspaper advertisements and numerous media appearances, the speakers for the agricultural lobby heaped scorn on the Rainbow and its leading activists, claiming that they "aim to destroy the state of Israel...have become enemies and haters of Jewish settlement." Attorney and large-scale developer Shraga Biran, who represents many holders of agricultural land, issued similar accusations in the brief he submitted to the High Court:

The acceptance of this petition, God forbid, is the acceptance of a post-Zionist, anti-national argument... Would this honored Court accept an argument that property should be taken from the Jewish public in the name of the [Palestinian] Right of Return? ... In a time of terrorism and bloodshed, this honored Court is asked to totally reject the petitioner's attempt...

Responses of the Israeli public to the scare campaign were mixed. The Rainbow issued several strong statements refuting the allegations. But the responses of the main social interests aggrieved by the marked inequality of the Israeli land system were particularly illuminating. The Development Town Forum, comprised of the mayors from most peripheral, and mainly Mizrahi, development towns, began to mobilize and supported the Rainbow challenge, claiming that they have been discriminated against for years by the farmers' firm grip on national land. As noted by Haim Barbibai, mayor of the peripheral development town of Kiryat Shemoneh:

Finally we have a group attempting to address long-term inequalities of the Israeli system of land. Their accusation of "secret" goals to help the Palestinian refugees is nothing but a farce which aims to divert

attention from the ongoing "strangling" of our towns by the agricultural settlers. It will not change our resolve to support the Rainbow challenge or other initiatives which promote our rights.

Leaders of the second main group deprived by the Israeli land system, the Palestinian Arabs, were more skeptical. For example, Hanna Suyaid, mayor of the peripheral Arab town of Ilabun, and head of the Arab Center for Alternative Planning, noted:

It is interesting that the Rainbow claims to advance goals of social justice, but why is this limited to Jews only? They want to stop Jewish farmers and developers from making large profits, but forget to mention that the original holders of the land were Arabs, and that they should be the main beneficiaries of any land redistribution; as usual, Jews fight among themselves, at the expense of the Arabs.

THE DARK AND LIGHT SIDES OF PLANNING

What do these episodes tell us about Israeli planning at the beginning of the 21st century? On the one (right?) hand, they reflect the remaining strength of the oppressive elements in society, which spare no effort in manipulating planning procedures and mechanisms to advance their own nationalist and class interests. These are clearly apparent everywhere in Israeli society, where anti-Arab and pro-development planning is taken for granted and the order of the day. This indeed reveals a dark side of planning, running roughshod over professional and social considerations of equality, justice and even efficiency.

But on the other (left?) hand, and perhaps as a consequence of the above, Israel has also seen the establishment of new civic organizations. These attempt to challenge, bypass or influence the stagnant political process, caught as it is in the firm grip of Zionist-capitalist hegemony. Such organizations have become conspicuous in the planning, land use and development fields, and include: Bimkom (architects and advocacy planners); the Mizrahi Rainbow (mentioned above); Adva (an NGO working on [Cont. on page 39]



The leader in Community Development Study Tours to Africa

Planners Network members can take advantage of an exciting tour of urban initiatives and community development in South Africa from February 20-March 2, 2003. Sponsored by Global Linkages, Inc. participants will meet, learn and exchange strategies with leading housing, community development and business development non-profit (NGO), business and political leaders. Our housing and community development partners South Africa have extensive experience in both S. Africa and the U.S. Cape Town and Johannesburg are the primary destinations of the tour. The tour is organized around the concept of cluster groups to allow individuals to specialize in their areas of expertise.

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Empresas Recuperadas y Autogestionadas: Un Nuevo Movimiento Social Urbano

By Alejandro Rofman
Buenos Aires, Argentina

(English translation on following page)

Numerosas empresas productivas, asentadas en las grandes aglomeraciones urbanas, abandonadas por sus anteriores propietarios o declaradas en quiebra por decisión judicial, están siendo recuperadas por sus trabajadores desde hace un año a esta parte. La experiencia es aún embrionaria. Sin embargo, constituye otra de las innovativas actividades de emergentes movimientos sociales urbanos de clara sentido solidario, dada la tremenda crisis económico-social actual.

Actualmente, cerca de cien empresas de muy diferentes rubros productivos, que se caracterizan por ser mano de obra intensivas, son gestionadas por sus trabajadores, que se constituyen en cooperativas de trabajo y negocian con la justicia la continuidad del funcionamiento de la fábrica.

El fenómeno en marcha, que se multiplica día a día, supone un verdadero proceso de expropiación social. Los trabajadores que quedaron cesantes, porque la dirección de la empresa se declaró en quiebra o la abandonó ante la imposibilidad de seguir operándola, la ocupan en forma pacífica, se organizan en todos los niveles en forma cooperativa o autogestionaria y ponen a trabajar sus máquinas, conduciendo la administración empresarial. El principio fundamental es que la nueva empresa colectiva decide su plan de acción en forma democrática, a partir de asambleas internas, y no asume ninguna deuda de la gestión capitalista anterior. No en todos los casos la justicia acepta que el bien social se anteponga a la propiedad privada y que se ceda a los trabajadores la planta productiva inactiva. En tales circunstancias, como en el caso de una importante fábrica de materiales para la construcción en Neuquen, los trabajadores organizan guardias desarmadas de vigilancia para impedir que la policía, por orden judicial, los desaloje. La movilización urbana acompaña, cuando el peligro acecha, a los trabajadores en la defensa de su fuente de trabajo.

El Movimiento Nacional de Empresas Recuperadas, organización que agrupa a las

cooperativas que se han hecho cargo de reabrir y poner en marcha la actividad productiva de las plantas ocupadas, recibe el fuerte apoyo de una de las principales centrales empresariales que agrupan a pequeñas y medianas unidades productivas. La experiencia, en media de la aguda recesión económica (caída del 13 % del PBI del país en el primer semestre de 2002 en relación a similar período de 2001) no es fácil ni siempre exitosa. Pese a las dificultades, en todos los casos los trabajadores reconocen el fortalecimiento del vínculo grupal y de su espíritu solidario. Las empresas se apoyan entre sí aportando su conocimiento, movilizándolo a las asambleas barriales e, incluso, ofreciendo dinero y comida para aquellos que permanecen en las fábricas a la espera de la resolución judicial.

Frente a la urgencia de la crisis, miles de trabajadores han decidido apoderarse de su destino, proponiéndole al país una salida alternativa a partir de iniciativas de economía social no capitalista, con espíritu fraternal y solidario, que les permita recuperar la dignidad del trabajo y un ingreso suficiente para alimentar sus familias. Este método destinado a relanzar actividades abandonadas, impensado en un país en crecimiento, abre un nuevo horizonte en la gestión económica urbana. En algunos aglomerados del interior, las respectivas plantas ocupadas y recuperadas por sus trabajadores constituyen la principal ocupación urbana. En otras ciudades, barrios significativos dependen de la demanda social y económica de quienes trabajan en los establecimientos abandonados. La experiencia, según el Movimiento que agrupa a estas empresas autogestionadas, ocupa, hasta el momento, alrededor de 10.000 puestos de trabajo directos y cada uno de ellos genera dos puestos de trabajo indirectos. La reconstrucción de la economía urbana argentina tiene, así, un laboratorio experimental de alto contenido ético, con equidad social y una propuesta de gestión libremente decidida por sus protagonistas.

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

Occupied and Self-managed Enterprises: A New Social Movement

By Alejandro Rofman
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Over the last year, many urban enterprises in Argentina that were abandoned by their owners have been taken over by workers. This embryonic experience, coming in the midst of an economic and social crisis, is one of the innovative activities of emerging urban social movements.

About 100 labor-intensive enterprises are managed by worker cooperatives. This is truly a process of social expropriation. Workers occupy the factories peacefully, cooperatively run and manage the enterprises, and develop their own plans, all without assuming debt from the previous owner. The legal system doesn't always support this takeover, in which case workers organize unarmed surveillance to prevent their eviction.

The National Movement of Occupied Enterprises (NMOE) represents the new cooperatives and has received strong support from one of the major associations of small and medium-sized

businesses. This experience is made more difficult by the severe economic recession, with a 13 percent drop in GNP in the first half of 2002, as compared to the same period last year. But the co-ops help each other and neighborhood organizations mobilize to provide money and food to workers in occupied factories.

In some interior towns, the new enterprises account for the majority of urban employment; in other cities, major neighborhoods depend on these businesses. According to the NMOE, these enterprises account for about 10,000 jobs, and generate twice as many jobs indirectly. This is an experimental laboratory for the reconstruction of Argentina's urban economy, founded on principles of ethics, social equity, and democracy.

Alejandro Rofman is professor and senior researcher in the Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Yiftachel (Cont. from page 37)

social equality); the Committee Against Home Demolition; Adada (a legal center working for equality for Israel's Arab citizens); the Arab Center for Alternative Planning; Sikkuy (an NGO for Arab-Jewish equality); and the Negev Forum for Coexistence.

In recent years, these organizations have generated new discourses in the Israeli public sphere. They have pushed planning, legal, media and political agendas toward exposing the injustices of the current land and planning systems, and have offered progressive alternatives. They have worked with peripheral and marginalized communities, in the best tradition of activist advocacy planning "from below." Such organizations represent a "fighter side" of Israeli planning. Needless to say, between these two imaginary dark and light poles there exist a multitude of organizations, agendas, discourses and practices which oscillate between the two.

But make no mistake: the nascent progressive organizations, working outside the Israeli planning establishment, are no match yet for the established, conservative interests. The nationalist

and economic forces connected to the centers of power and influence are far stronger and far more versed in the mechanisms of legal, economic and violent power that they use to advance their goals. But the growing appearance and steadfast activity of progressive organizations does give some hope that Israel can one day become what is so often promised in the powerful texts emerging from the ancient place—a land of peace and justice.

Oren Yiftachel teaches in the department of Geography, Ben-Gurion University, Beer-Sheva, Israel. Yiftache@bgu.ac.il For an elaboration on this discussion, see Yiftachel, O. (1999), "Ethnocracy: the Politics of Judaizing Israel/Palestine," *Constellations: International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory*, Vol. 6: 3: 364-390; Yiftachel, O. (2000), "Social Control, Urban Planning and Ethno-Class Relations," *Mizrahim in Israel's Development Towns*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24: 2: 417-434; Yiftachel, O., Alexander, I., Hedgcock, D. and Little, J., editors (2001), *The Power of Planning: Space of Control and Transformations*, Kluwer Academic Publications, Boston.

RESOURCES

Jobs

CALIFORNIA

Sacramento-based firm seeks project managers with more than five years of planning and environmental experience, as well as planners with one to five years of experience. Work would include the analysis necessary for, and preparation of, planning documents of various types. Much of the planning document preparation is specific to California and based on California environmental, housing element, redevelopment, and planning law; however, most of the principles used in this work would be very similar to those used in land use planning anywhere in the country. Work would also include staff support work for planning agencies. Firm works exclusively for public entities: cities; counties; special districts; school districts; the State of California; etc. Email a resume and writing sample to: MatthewAtCBA@hotmail.com. Refer to the following list for specific job titles.

- Graduate Engineer (San Diego, CA) Entry-level Civil Engineer. B.S. Degree in Civil Engineering; E.I.T. in progress desired. Prior work experience desired (i.e., internship).

- Traffic Engineer (Orange, CA) The ideal candidate will have at least four years of experience and a broad understanding of traffic engineering principles, including signal design. Must have a B.S. in Civil or Transportation engineering and be a registered Civil or Traffic Engineer in CA. Ability to travel is a plus. Candidates should possess excellent communication skills and the desire to grow into a senior management position. This is an excellent career opportunity for an individual looking for advancement and growth.

- Landscape Architect (Orange, CA) Candidate must have at least three years of experience. Responsibilities will include the following: landscape design, construction inspections and maintenance supervision. Candidate must have AutoCad Version 14 or 2000 experience.

- Biologist (Orange, CA) Mid-level Biologist with at least two years of experience. Knowledge of the Clean Water Act and experience in California is preferred. Knowledge of CEQA, field biology and excellent technical writing skills are required.

- GIS Analyst/GIS Project Manager (Orange and Pasadena, CA) Analyst candidate must have a Bachelor's Degree in Geography/GIS, Civil Engineering, Urban Planning, Biology, Environmental Science, Landscape Architect, or related field and one to three years technical experience. Project Manager candidate must possess a master's degree in one of these fields and/or a minimum of five years technical experience. Both positions require demonstrated experience utilizing ArcView and/or ArcInfo in one or more of the following areas: Conversion of GPS information into GIS mapping programs, Web-based GIS Mapping and Related Applications, Urban Planning (Land Use, Housing, Transportation), Biology/Ecology, Infrastructure Management/Engineering, Demographics and Census Analysis.

- Environmental Analyst (Pasadena, Sacramento, and San Diego, CA) Position requires a thorough knowledge and understanding of the requirements of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), as well as a basic understanding of other major environmental statutes such as the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). A working knowledge of the structure of local, regional and state governments and special districts and an understanding of the principles of environmental planning are also required. Minimum five years experience required.

- Project Manager (Pasadena, Sacramento, and San Diego, CA) Position requires a thorough knowledge and understanding of the requirements of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) and a working knowledge of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). Additional requirements include experience preparing and managing EIRs; knowledge of the structure of local, regional, and state governments and special districts; and an understanding of the principles of environmental planning.

- Senior Project Manager (San Diego, CA) Preparing EIRs and EISs. Strong knowledge and in-depth experience of CEQA and NEPA. Strong oral and written communication skills required. Other desirable experience includes: conducting and managing mitigation monitoring, processing Environmental Permits for compliance with the Clean Water Act, Fish & Game Code and local water quality regulations. Minimum ten years experience required.

- Autocad Drafter (Las Vegas, NV) Ideal candidate

with have 2+ years in CAD drafting using AutoCAD 2000 or version 14. Job requires knowledge of Civil Engineering.

FLORIDA

Manatee County seeks a Transportation Planner. Requires BA in transportation planning or related field, one year professional experience in transportation planning, familiarity with Florida Standard Urban Transportation Model Structure, MapInfo, AutoCad, ArcCad, and good communication skills. Send resume, social security number, dates of employment and employers' telephone numbers to Manatee County Human Resources, PO Box 1000, 1112 Manatee Ave. W., Suite 863, Bradenton, FL 34206, phone (941) 748-4501, ext. 3520, fax(941) 749-3035.

NEW YORK

Group 14621 Community Association, Inc., seeks a Director of Neighborhood Planning. Candidate must possess good communication and writing skills, with the ability to do research, analysis and grant writing. The position offers the opportunity to work with a variety of individuals from all socio-economic levels and diverse cultural backgrounds, as well as local officials. The position requires advocating for the systemic issues affecting the community as well as doing local revitalization efforts. The agency focuses on the latest techniques using innovative neighborhood revitalization efforts. BA or three years experience, and neighborhood resident preferred. Principle duties include working with the Executive Director (ED) to provide technical support and assistance for program strategic planning; working with ED to provide technical support and assistance to neighborhood planning efforts; assisting the ED in development and implementation of housing development projects; working with and assisting residents to organize neighborhood, block and tenant organizations; researching and organizing community members around housing related issues (i.e. sprawl, foreclosure, predatory lending) to advocate for systemic changes; and administering the CDBG - funded Residential Assistance Program. Apply to Group 14621 Community Association, Inc., 1171 N. Clinton Avenue, Rochester, NY 14621. Phone 585-266-4693; Fax 585-266-9196, e-mail: grp14621@frontiernet.net.

The Fifth Avenue Committee, a leading Brooklyn community development corporation, seeks an Assistant to the Director to work with the Director on managerial, programmatic, and administrative tasks. Must have project management experience, excellent communication skills, non-profit experience and strong commitment to the organization's mission. Send cover letter, salary requirements and resume to Brad Lander, JAC, 141 Fifth Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11217, blander@fifthave.org, or fax (718) 857-4322.

Neighborhood Housing Services of New York, Inc., seeks a Director of Research and Planning to oversee annual planning process, collect and analyze program data, and measure programmatic impact. Must have at three years' experience in urban planning or housing research/program evaluation, excellent communication and computer skills. Mail, fax, or e-mail resume and cover letter to Sarah Gerecke, NHSNYC, 121 West 27th Street, Suite 404, NY, NY 10001; (212) 242-6680; hrdept@nhsnyc.org.

Events

Many transportation events can be found at: <http://www.sustainable.doc.gov/cgi-bin/event/calendar.cgi>, including:

November 10-13, **16th National Trails Symposium**, Orlando, Florida. American Trails and the Florida Office of Greenways & Trails present this event "Greenways and Trails ~ Crossing the American Landscape." Speakers from around the country and around the world will share state-of-the-art trail information, technologies, trends, and new initiatives. Mobile workshops and field trips are offered. www.americantrails.org/02symposium/index.html

and...

November 18-19, **Promoting Regional Equity: A National Summit on Equitable Development, Social Justice, and Smart Growth**, Los Angeles, California. This event will explore diverse initiatives designed to break down the social, economic, and geographic isolation faced by low-income and communities of color and connect them to regional opportunities and resources. Regional equity efforts are guided by the belief that all residents of metropolitan areas should have equal access to the social and economic benefits of community and regional development and local actors must take the lead in shaping the policies that affect them and their communities. www.policylink.org/Events/Summit2002/

Others:

January 12-16, Washington D.C., **Annual Meeting Announcement. The Transportation Research Board (TRB)** is a unit of the National Research Council, a private, nonprofit institution that is the principal operating agency of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering. The Marriot Wardman Park, Omni Shoreham, and Hilton Washington hotels in Washington, D.C., will be the sites in 2003 for the Transportation Research Board 82nd Annual Meeting. Make plans now to attend and take advantage of the more than 450 formal sessions and over 300 committee meetings offered during the event. More than 8,500 transportation professionals from the United States and abroad are expected to

attend. <http://www4.nationalacademies.org/trb/annual.nsf>

November 12, **Center For Transportation Studies**, University of Minnesota, 15th Anniversary Celebration and Fall Luncheon, "Transportation in the 21st Century - A Systems View, Radisson Hotel Metrodome, Minneapolis.

<http://www.cts.umn.edu/events/falllunch/index.html>

March 10-12, Crete, Greece. **Ninth International Conference on Urban Transport and the Environment in the 21st Century**, organized by Wessex Institute of Technology, UK.

Urban Transport 2003 is a major annual event in the urban transport calendar with papers on both transport and the inter-related environmental issues which are of so much concern in our cities. Broad topic areas include urban transport systems, traffic control, accessibility and mobility, control and simulation, finance, air quality and noise, social issues and safety.

<http://www.wessex.ac.uk/conferences/2003/urban03/index.html#OBJECTIVES>

Clearing house of conferences:

American Public Transportation Association Conferences and Calendar

<http://www.apta.com/meetings/#A2>

October 30-November 2, **Annual Network Conference**, hosted by the Enterprise Foundation. 1500 community development practitioners will attend 60 workshops on topics ranging from financing and building affordable housing to child care and workplace safety. For more information, visit www.enterprisefoundation.org/training/netconf.

November 1-2, Oakland, CA. "**Cooperatives and Communities Conference**," UC Davis Center for Cooperatives. [Centerforcoops@ucdavis.edu](mailto:centerforcoops@ucdavis.edu).

Publications

TRANSPORTATION RESOURCES

Social Change and Sustainable Transport, edited by William R. Black and Peter Nijkamp. A groundbreaking work that integrates social, economic, and behavioral sciences into the transportation field. <http://www.indiana.edu/~iupress/books/0-253-34067-5.shtml>

(sched for pub. Nov. 02)

"Bus Systems for the Future, Achieving Sustainable Transport Worldwide." A new publication from the International Energy Agency (IEA) that shows how new bus systems emerging in Latin America are revolutionizing urban travel. <http://www.iea.org/public/studies/bus.htm>

Making Urban Transport Sustainable, edited by

Nicholas Low, Brendan Gleeson.

<http://www.palgrave.com/catalogue/catalogue.asp?TitleId=0333981987>

(note, listed for UK publication 1/03 - Amazon US also has it listed for release in the US at that time).

GENERAL RESOURCES

"Bridging the Gap Between Citizens and Local Government with Information Technology: Concepts and Case Studies" is a new report published by the National Civic League examining the role of public engagement and deliberation in government, democracy, and politics. To order, visit www.nationalcivicleague.org.

"Global Activist's Manual: Local Ways to Change the World," edited by Mike Prokosch and Laura Raymond, United for a Fair Economy. Visit www.faireconomy.org.

"Globalization and the South: Some Critical Issues," by Martin Kohr, published by the Third World Network. Visit www.twinside.org.

The Local Government Development of UNDP has developed a training module on decentralization and local empowerment, that presents theories and practices on local decentralization and reform. For more information, contact j.van.etten@his.nl.

"Community and Sustainable Development: Participation in the Future," is a new book edited by Diane Warburton on the linkages between environmental action and community-based activities. This is a good overview of recent thinking about how to integrate theories of sustainable development with community development practice, as told by leaders involved in this movement. (London, Earthscan, 2000)

A new HUD report, **"Subprime Markets, the Role of GSEs, and Risk-Based Pricing,"** examines lending practices in the subprime mortgage market and the role of government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs) Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac in this segment of the housing industry. Visit www.huduser.org/publications/hsgfin/subprime.html.

"Grantmaker's Guide to Housing Policies: A Foundation for Social Policy Investments," published by the Neighborhood Funders Group, reviews the current federal policy context for housing policy issues, assesses emerging policy opportunities, and outlines the positive impact of affordable housing on families. Visit www.nfg.org.

"Managing Your CDC: Leadership Strategies for Changing Times," is a new publication from the National Congress for Community Economic Development that examines some of the problems faced by CDCs, how they can seriously impact the

organization, and approaches CDCs can use to successfully deal with these problems. For order information, contact NCCED at (202) 289-9020. Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) has published "The Whole Agenda: The Past and Future of Community Development," which describes the achievements CDCs have made over the past several decades, where the community development industry is headed, and what this means for inner city neighborhoods. Visit www.liscnet.org/resources.

Calls For Papers

Carolina Planning, a student-run publication of the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, is currently accepting articles on topics relevant to practicing planners in the Southeast United States, particularly those about land use, rural issues, and community development. Manuscripts should be 20 typed, double-spaced pages (approximately 6000 words). Submit two paper copies and one copy on a 3.5 diskette in WordPerfect, Microsoft Word or ASCII text. For more information, contact Carolina Planning, Department of City and Regional Planning, CB 3140, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599, (919) 962-4783.

Internet Resources

SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORTATION INTERNET RESOURCES

The U.S. Department of Energy's Smart Communities Network has a good listing of sustainable transportation resource links. www.sustainable.doc.gov/transprt/trothtoc.shtml

Carfree Cities "proposes a delightful solution to the vexing problem of urban automobiles." <http://www.carfree.com/>

Car Busters Magazine has a searchable database of transport campaigning groups around the globe and a resource center. www.carbusters.ecn.cz/

Over three dozen cities in North America now have Car Sharing. Find out about Car Sharing at the Car Sharing Network. <http://www.carsharing.net/>

Search the Journal of the American Planning Association for "Transportation" articles. <http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/planning/>

World Transport Policy & Practice is an electronic journal with discussion forums tackling the interrelated subjects of Transportation, Sustainability & Social Justice. <http://www.ecoplan.org/wtpp/>

The National Academy of Sciences' transportation information "hub" is located at: <http://www.nationalacademies.org/transportation/>

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT), have a joint site addressing employee commuter benefits. <http://www.commuterchoice.gov/>

The American Public Transportation Association "serves and leads its diverse membership through advocacy, innovation, and information sharing to strengthen and expand public transportation." <http://www.apta.com/>

The Environmental Justice Resource Center (EJRC) at Clark Atlanta University serves as a research, policy, and information clearinghouse on issues related to environmental justice, race and the environment, civil rights, facility siting, land use planning, brown-fields, transportation equity, suburban sprawl, and Smart Growth. <http://www.ejrc.cau.edu/>

Citizens for Sensible Transportation is a grassroots organization based in Portland, Oregon that helps people to build better communities with less traffic and reduced reliance on the automobile. <http://www.cfst.org/>

Project for Public Spaces is a nonprofit technical assistance, research and educational organization whose mission is to create and sustain public places that build communities. PPS's web site has an extensive section dealing with transportation. http://www.pps.org/Transportation/livable_transportation.htm

The Institute for Transportation and Development Policy (ITDP) promotes environmentally sustainable and equitable transportation policies and projects worldwide. <http://www.itdp.org/>

The Center for Transportation Excellence is "a non-partisan policy research center created to serve the needs of communities and transportation organizations nationwide." <http://www.cfte.org/>

Auto-Free NY "is a movement aimed at exploring and achieving the upper limit of "devehicularization" of our nation's largest city." <http://www.auto-free.org/>

Keep up-to-date on the reauthorization of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century (TEA-21). <http://www.tea3.org/>

The annual conference Rail~volution serves as "a forum that engages the public to build collaboratively a diverse coalition dedicated to building livable communities with transit, through education, advocacy and increasing overall federal, state and local funds available for transit." <http://www.railvolution.com/>

The Bus Riders Union "promotes environmentally sustainable public transportation for the entire population of Los Angeles, on the premise that affordable, efficient, and environmentally sound mass transit ⇨

is a human right." <http://www.busridersunion.org/>

Transport 2000 is the independent national body in the U.K. concerned with sustainable transport. <http://www.transport2000.org/>

U.K. traffic reduction consultant Ann Semlyen has a good list of links at her web site at: <http://www.semlyen.net/transport/links.htm>

Centre for Transport Studies, University College, London is a leading research institution evaluating the economic and social impacts of transportation decisions. www.ucl.ac.uk/transport-studies/navig.htm

The Victoria (Canada) Transport Policy Institute is an independent research organization dedicated to developing innovative and practical solutions to transportation problems. <http://www.vtpi.org/>

TrafficLinq is an extensive directory of links covering issues regarding road traffic and transportation. It covers about 1,000 web sites world wide. <http://www.trafficlinq.com/>

The Sustainable Transport Action Network for Asia

Green Wash

The World Business Council for Sustainable Development, which professes to be a "catalyst for change," issued a report called "Mobility 2001." The Council is composed of Mitsubishi, Conoco, and 158 other multinationals.

The International Transportation and Development Program (ITDP), acting on behalf of the United Nations NGO Caucus for Sustainable Transportation, reacted as follows:

The million-dollar Mobility 2001 study mostly covers familiar territory. While not as biased as one would expect given its sponsors, it generalizes too much from the U.S. experience. It also lacks insights into the very subjects these corporations should be strongest in, such as projections for future oil reserves, and trends in cleaner vehicle technology development. As the project moves into its second phase, recent reports from the Mobility 2001 web site, plugging products from Renault and Volkswagen, have re-awakened NGO fears that the Mobility 2001 project is becoming primarily a tool for "green marketing" and "greenwashing."

The Full Mobility 2001 Report is available at www.wbcscdmobility.org/publications/mobility2001.asp. The full text of ITDP's criticism is available at www.itdp.org

Big Boxes Go Global

"Big Box" retailers conquered the U.S. and then spread to Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, where they are known as "hypermarkets." Now they're expanding into developing countries. Auchan, Carrefour, Metro, and Tesco offer low prices, but they also currently head the list of our Campaign for Smart Retail Hall of Shame. Bribing local officials, locating on greenfields far from the nearest bus stop, making infrastructure investment promises to local governments they don't keep, building more parking than allowed by their building permits, and crushing local shopkeepers are just a few ills these companies are perpetrating in Central Europe and elsewhere.

--Yaakov Garb, Sustainable Transportation, www.itdp.org/Ste/index.html

and the Pacific (SUSTAN) "promotes and popularizes people-centered, equitable and sustainable transport with a focus on Asia and the Pacific." <http://www.geocities.com/RainForest/Canopy/2853/index.htm>

GENERAL LISTING OF INTERNET RESOURCES

Learn about the policies and practices of the Mondragon Co-op Corporation, www.mondragon.mcc.es/ingles

Information about the worldwide movement to improve labor conditions in sweatshops can be found at Sweatshop Watch, www.sweatshopwatch.org.

Global Cooperation, Inc., in Nova Scotia, holds workshops on "Globalization and Cooperation," "Marketing our Cooperative Advantage," and policy governance. Visit www.globalco-operation.com.

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

PN UPDATES

Membership Alert!

Please contact your friends and colleagues and encourage them to join PN. As a result of lapses in our notification process, we've lost a big bunch of members who probably just forgot to renew their membership. We'll be sending out a notice to them, but the network always works better.

In 2003, PN will skip its annual conference and our main objective will be to raise money to sustain the magazine, future conferences, and a more active involvement in advocacy. Write us with your ideas, and volunteer to help. Remember, we have no staff, and if you, the membership doesn't do it, it won't happen.

— The PN Steering Committee

New Publications by PN Members

Don Alexander, a part-time instructor at Simon Fraser University (Geography) and Langara College (Applied Urban and Rural Planning), was recently the guest editor of *Alternatives Journal*. The Summer 2002 issue, on the theme of "Saving Place," featured articles on Jane Jacob's struggle against urban renewal in Greenwich Village, understanding suburbia's appeal, exploring place attachment in the context of trail development, neighborhood development that respects existing residents' sense of place, and other topics related to "place" as an integrating concept. Copies are available from *Alternatives* (519-888-4442). The issue is suitable for use in geography, urban studies, and planning courses.

Tom Angotti writes a monthly land use column for the award-winning *Gotham Gazette*, an online daily produced by The Citizens Union in New York City. The October column is on inclusionary zoning. Visit www.gothamgazette.com.

City for Sale: The Transformation of San Francisco (an update of his 1984 book), by

Chester Hartman, has just been published by the University of California Press. For review copies or course adoptions, contact Yoon Lee (510-642-1302, yoonyhyung.lee@ucpress.edu). Earlier this year, the Rutgers Center for Urban Policy Research published Hartman's *Between Eminence and Notoriety: Four Decades of Radical Urban Planning* - a collection of 32 of his past articles, preceded by a 56-page Introduction of social history/autobiography and a Foreword by Jane Jacobs. The contact for review copies/course adoptions is Arlene Pashman (732-932-3133, x528, pashman@rci.rutgers.edu). Also, Chester's "High Classroom Turnover: How Children Get Left Behind" is an 18-page chapter in the biannual report of the Citizens Commission on Civil Rights. It shows housing instability is the prime cause of school instability. Reprints (free) from Chester (chartman@prac.org, 202-387-9887, and the whole 350-age CCCR report is downloadable at www.cccr.org/reports.html).

Daniel Lauber has recently published the book, *International Job Finder: Where the Jobs are Worldwide* (June 2002). This 348-page book is a guide to over 1,200 of the most effective online job and resume databases and directories as well as printed directories, specialty and trade periodicals, job-matching services, directories of employers and professionals, and salary surveys. For full details on the book or to purchase a copy, visit: <http://planningcommunications.com> or call 1-888-366-5200.

Susan C. Seifert (Director, Social Impact of the Arts Project at the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work) and Mark J. Stern (Principal Investigator, Social Impact of the Arts Project) are co-authors of the article, "Irrational Organizations: Why Community-based Organizations are Really Social Movements," which has just been published in the Fall 2002 edition of *Multitude, The Journal of the Walt Whitman Arts Center* based in Camden, New ↗

Jersey. The article is based on a paper that was presented for the Planners Network Conference in Toronto, June 2002.

New Appointments

Daniel Lauber has recently assumed the position of President-Elect of the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP).

New Hires

Laura Wolf-Powers has accepted a position as Assistant Professor at the Graduate Center for Planning and the Environment in the School of Architecture at Pratt Institute in New York City. Laura is working with advocacy groups pressing for affordable housing and job programs as part of post-9/11 rebuilding across New York City. In

addition, she and her students are collaborating this semester with the New York Industrial Retention network and two community groups to create a survey that will gather demographic and other information about the city's manufacturing labor force. The survey will be focused in the South Bronx and Sunset Park in Brooklyn.

PNer **Nicole Blummer** writes: In May I moved from New York City to St. Louis, MO where I am now working for the City's Economic Development Corporation. As a project manager, I am working on plans for industrial park development in the North Riverfront area of the City. I am also involved in helping to review various projects proposed for TIF financing. I'd love to hear from other PNers living in or visiting the area. Nicole can be reached at nblummer@stlouis.missouri.org.

WELCOME ...

NEW PLANNERS NETWORK MEMBERS

- Emma Berndt
- Jessica Bullen
- Esther Farmer
- Chanin French
- Laura Garris
- Carlos A. Gonzalaz
- Erica Johnson
- Margaret Killmer
- John Pallante
- Marites Perez
- Patricia Petric
- Bob Pofahl
- James Rubin
- Heidi Samokar

RENEWING MEMBERS

- Dr. Fukuo Akimoto
- Larry Bennett
- Rachel Bland
- Eva M. Brown
- Jim Converse
- John E. Davis
- Jennifer Fuqua
- Joe Grengs
- Joe Guggenheim
- Jill Hanley
- Bruce Hossfield
- Clara Irazábal
- Vivian Kahn
- Robert Kolodny
- Michael Kuo
- Robert W. Lake
- Conrad Levenson
- Allan Lichtenstein
- Ray Lorenzo
- Michael A. Morin
- Marla K. Nelson
- John Nettleton
- Thomas Reiner
- Gabriela Sandoval
- Harry Schwartz
- David Sears
- Sidney Socolar
- Aakash Thakkar

...and Special Thanks! SUSTAINING MEMBERS

- Ann Forsyth
- Judith E. Innes
- Yale Rabin
- Ken Reardon
- Michael E. Stone

JOIN PLANNERS NETWORK

For over 25 years, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning and social justice. PN members in 38 states of the U.S. and 16 other countries receive this bimonthly publication, network online with PN-NET, and take part in the annual conference. PN also gives progressive ideas a voice in the mainstream planning profession by organizing sessions at annual conferences of the American Planning Association and American Collegiate Schools of Planning.

The PN Conference has been held annually each spring since 1994. These gatherings combine speakers and workshops with exchanges involving local communities. PN conferences engage in discussions that help inform political strategies at the local, national, and international levels. Recent conferences have been held in Washington DC, East St. Louis IL, Brooklyn NY, Pomona CA., Lowell, MA, Toronto, Canada, and Rochester, NY.

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

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

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

Canadian members: See column at right.

Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

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

- \$40 for students, unemployed, and those with incomes <\$40,000
- \$55 for those with incomes between \$40,000 and 80,000
- \$75 for those with incomes over \$80,000
- \$150 for sustaining members

Make cheques in Canadian funds payable to: "Planners Network" and send w/ membership form to: Barbara Rahder, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3

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

PURCHASING A SINGLE ISSUE

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

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

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

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

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

The PN LISTSERV:

PN maintains an on-line mailing list for members to post and respond to queries, list job postings, conference announcements, etc. To join, send an email message to majordomo@list.pratt.edu with "subscribe pn-net" (without the quotes) in the body of the message (not the subject line). You'll be sent instructions on how to use the list.

PN ADVERTISING RATES:

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

Send file via email to <pn@pratt.edu>, or mail camera-ready copy, by January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

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