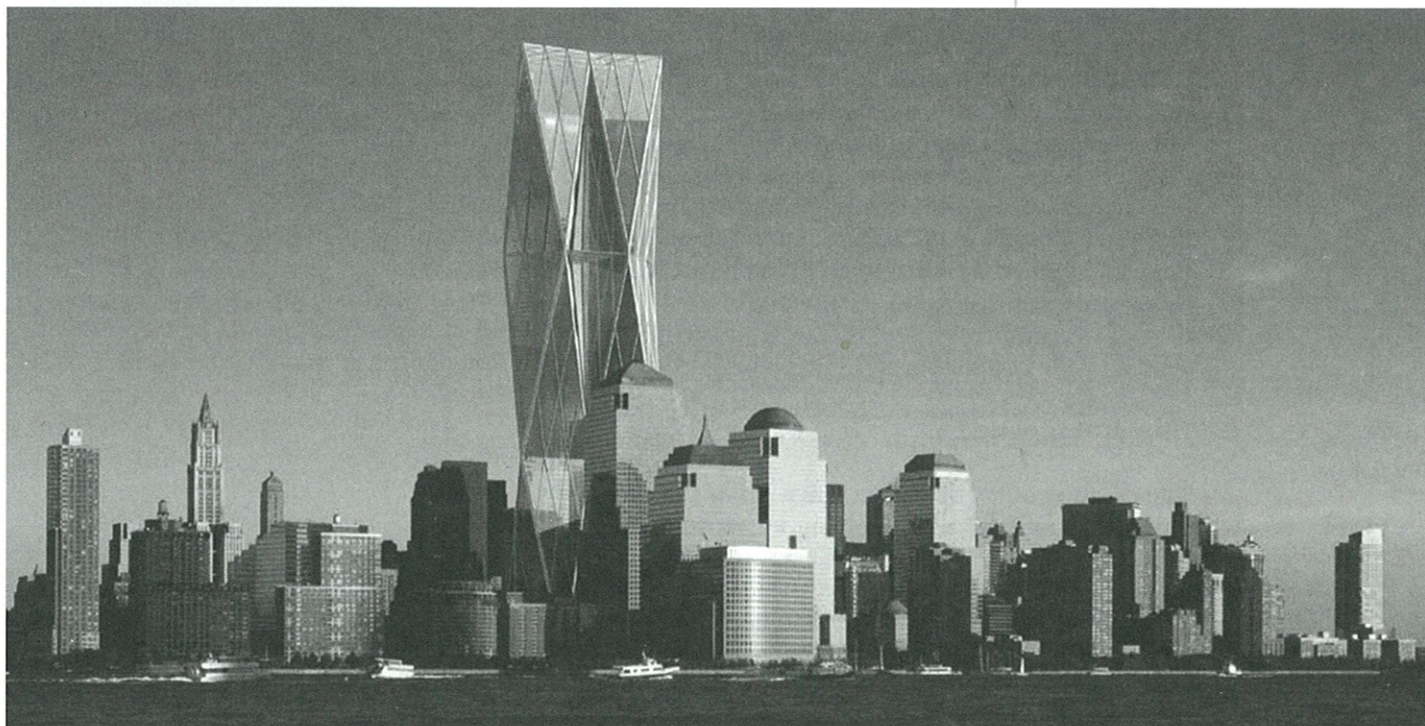


# PLANNERS NETWORK

The Magazine of Progressive Planning



Foster & Partners proposal for World Trade Center site.

## The Ground Zero Architectural Competition: *Designing without a Plan*

By Peter Marcuse

Nine proposals by teams of internationally-renowned architects were unveiled by the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) in December, 2002. They made the front pages of every New York newspaper, and have been subject to extensive comment ever since. Both praise for imaginative ideas and criticism for overblown gigantism have been heaped on the designs, but some major points are missing from the discussion.

Whatever the merits of the nine proposals, the basic problem is that the program they were given by the LMDC, developed without adequate public input, was the wrong program at the wrong time. The LMDC has set out a planning process that is hasty, undemocratic and evades the critical planning and policy questions.

### How the Nine Proposals Happened

The LMDC is a subsidiary of the Empire State Development Corporation. It was created by New York Governor George Pataki to oversee development at the World Trade Center site, Ground Zero. It has been the chosen vehicle for significant federal and state funds to be spent below Houston Street, its jurisdictional northern boundary. It also has powers of eminent domain and can [\[Cont. on page 10\]](#)

PLANNING AND  
REBUILDING  
AFTER 9/11

FUEL CELL  
FUTILITY

ISREAL'S MATRIX  
OF CONTROL

REPORTS FROM  
BRAZIL AND  
TORONTO

MORE...



# The SEVENTH GENERATION

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

## PN Magazine at One

By the Editors:

Tom Angotti, Eve Baron, Ann Forsyth, Kara Heffernan, Norma Rantisi

This time last year, we produced the first issue of Planners Network Magazine. Instead of uncorking champagne or baking a birthday cake, we'd like you to join us in taking a look at what we've done and where we want to go in the future. We think we're off to a good start, but we see a lot of room for improvement. Please read this and send us your comments and suggestions.

### How it Happened

The creation of PN Magazine was a major step in a process that had been evolving for more than five years.

The bi-monthly PN Newsletter had been getting larger and was filled with more and more articles. It was getting harder to sustain six issues a year as essentially a craft operation by a small group of volunteers. In mid-2001, Tom Angotti proposed a shift from a bi-monthly to quarterly schedule, and an expansion from 20 to 48 pages. Ann Forsyth agreed to act as co-editor while Tom was on leave during the first half of 2002, and then Ann agreed to stay on. Eve Baron, Kara Heffernan, and Norma Rantisi continued as editors, working on issue and article development, Resources, Updates and PN News. Francisco Marti helped redesign PN, and our new printer, Photo Comp Press, gave us much better quality.

Going back a bit further, since 1975 the Newsletter was put together by Chester Hartman and, during the years he was in Washington, DC, Prentice Bowsher. The bulk of each issue was short news items, comments by members, and other postings. It was a lot like a

bulletin board. Bob Beauregard edited one short article in each issue.

In 1993 Peter Marcuse hosted a meeting in Rhode Island to talk about where PN was going. Chester had announced his intention of passing on the direction of PN and the Newsletter. This led to the 1994 PN Conference in DC and the election of a new steering committee. Ann Forsyth and Ken Reardon, the new PN Co-Chairs, asked Tom Angotti if he would take over the newsletter. Tom had just started teaching at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, where PNER Ron Shiffman agreed to provide institutional support.

Jill Hamberg worked with Tom in the first year. Then Winton Pitcoff, a Pratt planning student with experience in community journalism, took responsibility for managing PN's membership list and producing the newsletter, from 1995 to 1997. Winton was extremely dedicated and developed more analytical articles and debates. John McCrory, another Pratt student, took over but focused more on production, improving the look of the newsletter, while Tom did more of the editing. In 1998, Eve Baron joined the staff. John left Pratt in 1999, Tom took over production, and in 2000 the Editorial Board was formed.

### How it Works

The editorial group works surprisingly well, given that we are a dispersed group of practitioners and academics, and we're all volunteers. We are in New York, Chicago, Minneapolis and Montreal—and three of the five of us moved to new jobs in new cities during the first year of the Magazine. Donovan Finn, a planning graduate student at the University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign, receives a modest sum for doing the layout. Printing and distribution is done in New York.

In the first year, there were glitches in the operation. When the PN Editorial office moved uptown to Hunter College along with Tom, PN's Membership office stayed at Pratt. This division happened just as the Magazine was taking shape, and some peo- [Cont. on page 17]

## PLANNERS NETWORK

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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.

# PLANNERS NETWORK

The Magazine of Progressive Planning

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Winter 2003

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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](mailto: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]:

The Latest Conservative Shift  
Marxism, Socialism and Progressive Urban Planning  
Planning, Food Production and Consumption

### ERRATA:

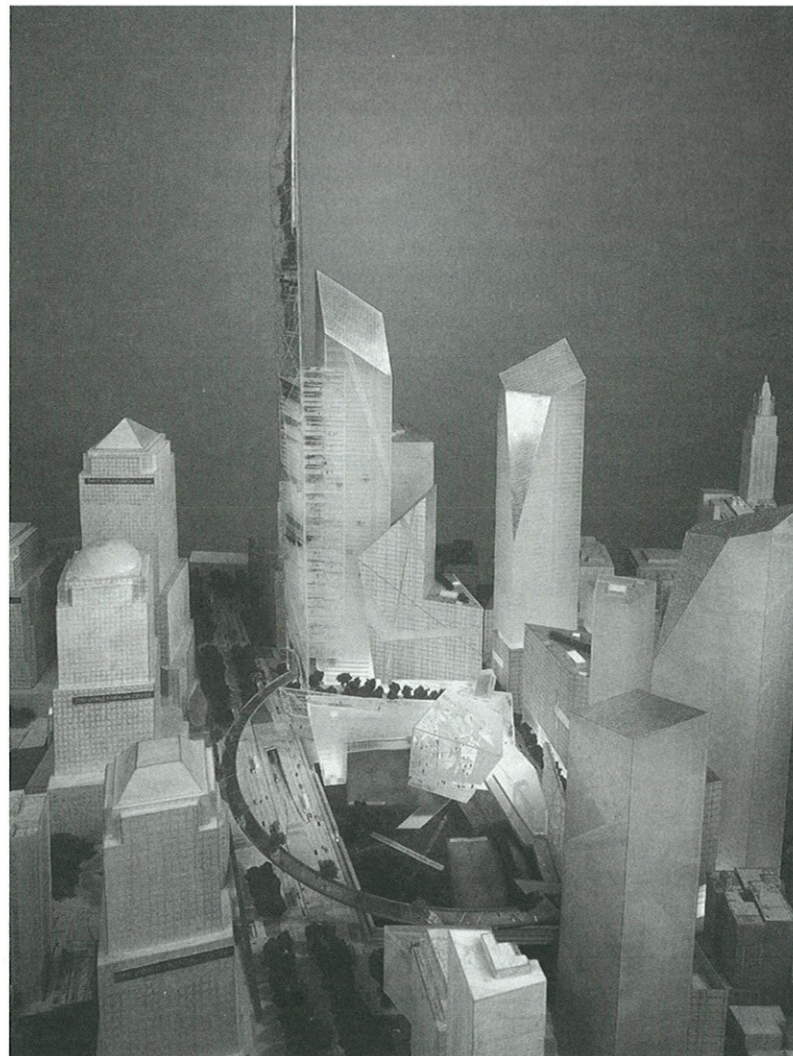
In the Fall 2002 issue (No. 153), on page 2 Richard Stolz was incorrectly identified as John Stolz, and the photo is Beijing, not Shanghai.



# Imagine New York: Bringing Diverse Visions into View

By Penelope Duda and Eva Hanhardt

The tragic events of September 11, 2001 profoundly affected us all. Within days property owners, politicians, the press and some planning and architecture professionals began to propose how the city and region should quickly rebuild, some even calling for a "redevelopment czar."



Studio Daniel Libeskind proposal for World Trade Center site

Yet, to many others it was clear that if the New York region was to successfully recover, the decision-making process would have to be democratic and inclusive and respond to the affected community's needs, ideas and visions. The time had come for New York City and the region to make land use and resource decision-making processes and policies reflect the values that we as a society say we espouse—respect for human

life and a commitment to participatory democracy, equity, quality of life and environmental quality for everyone.

In community-based planning, the affected community is usually defined as those living or working in a given area. But where is the "community" affected by the World Trade Center (WTC) tragedy? The events reverberated through all aspects of the region's life. Nearly 3,000 people perished, but they were from many states and from over eighty different countries. Over 150,000 jobs were lost—both in Lower Manhattan and throughout the region. Residents were displaced from their homes. Small businesses were at risk of bankruptcy. Transportation systems were destroyed. Air quality and noise were and continue to be concerns. Affordable housing that was to be paid for through the lease of the World Trade Center must now find new sources of financing. Travel and tourism dropped off, causing declines in hotel and restaurant patronage and museum and performance attendance. City budget allocations and other financial support to meet pre-9/11 needs decreased. Now, strict security measures restrict access to buildings and places. Profiling restricts individual freedoms. People feel more anxious and less secure. Given the enormity of the physical, economic and emotional toll of 9/11, it was evident that, in this instance, the "community" included not only those living, working or owning property in Lower Manhattan, but also those who lost loved ones and jobs and everyone directly and indirectly affected by the tragedy.

The challenge was to develop a planning process that would make it possible for the dispersed and diverse voices to be heard. With the help of Gianni Longo and the staff of ACP Visioning and Planning, who had done other large-scale public visioning projects, Imagine New York was designed.

## Creating Imagine New York

Imagine NY was conceived by the Municipal Art Society (MAS) in collaboration with a broad-

based group of partners that included victims' family members, Lower Manhattan residents and representatives from over fifty community groups, government agencies, businesses, universities and religious institutions.

In a period of seven weeks, from March 14 to the end of April 2002, over 4,000 residents of the New York metropolitan region came together to share their thoughts and ideas about the memorializing of the World Trade Center tragedy, the rebuilding of Lower Manhattan and the future of communities throughout the region.

Participants in Imagine NY became part of an historic experiment in participatory democracy. People of all walks of life met face-to-face, motivated by the desire to express their thoughts and by the opportunity to affect in profound and constructive ways the future of the region. Participants helped articulate diverse visions that, while addressing issues related to the site and Lower Manhattan, also addressed issues of community, social equity, education, culture and personal healing. These ideas were translated into vision statements that would serve as guiding principles for the rebuilding of the site as well as future plans and policies for the region.

## Principles and Methods

Imagine NY has two objectives: 1) to gather ideas and visions from the broadest public; and 2) to ensure that those voices and ideas are heard by policymakers who in the months and years to come will be making decisions that are critical to the future of the region. The methodology of Imagine NY was based on a set of clearly stated principles that included:

- Encouraging participation, regardless of a participant's age, educational background and language;
- Recording all ideas submitted by participants and displaying those ideas on the project website;
- Opening the dialogue to all ideas, without limiting ideas to the geographic boundaries of Lower Manhattan and the WTC site; and
- Developing multiple visions to better reflect the rich diversity of the region.

Grounded on those principles, the workshops were designed to allow for maximum flexibility. They could be held virtually anywhere and would allow for different types of activities and program lengths. Organizations from throughout

the tri-state region were invited to host Imagine NY workshops. There were 124 different venues and 230 separate workshops. Workshops were held in local libraries, places of worship, schools, universities, museums and community centers. Some workshops were private sessions among friends, family members of victims or the membership of an organization. Others were open, public events that anyone could attend. Workshops were held in Cantonese, Spanish and American Sign Language, and many sites held art activities in which children took part.

The workshops were designed to allow the broadest spectrum of participants to contribute ideas in a safe and comfortable environment using words, drawings and images. Workshops were led by trained facilitators—nearly two hundred were trained to run the workshops. Some facilitators were from the hosting venue and others were volunteers. At each venue there could be multiple workshops and one of the three basic types of activities: visioning workshops, charettes and unstructured activities.

- The *visioning workshop* consisted of a multiple brainstorming exercise. First, participants were asked to consider the past and present, and were asked to share their responses to two questions: *As a result of 9/11, what have we lost?* and *How have we changed?* They were then asked to think of the future and share their ideas in response to the question, *How can we move forward from 9/11?* In some venues, participants went beyond brainstorming and wrote vision statements and strategies to address recurring ideas in their session. In some venues, the first two questions sparked a long debate about American foreign policy. In others, participants focused intently on the needs of their community, such as jobs and housing. Other groups were very focused on the WTC site and ways to memorialize victims.

- The planning and design *charettes* were facilitated by trained architects and planners and focused on physical design and planning solutions for the WTC site and Lower Manhattan. Participants rendered plans and designs for memorials, improved pedestrian circulation, waterfront access and mixed-use development.

- In the *unstructured activities*, participants could draw, paint or sculpt on squares of colored paper, which were then placed on a gridded wall for display. Participants created images of ⇒



their vision for memorials, emotional reactions to the attacks and their aftermath, and political and emotional messages to policymakers.

- Finally, written and visual submissions were accepted through the Imagine NY website, which people from throughout the world visited to present their ideas.

For some workshops, people conducted their own outreach and publicity. Others depended on a citywide outreach effort that involved extensive media coverage, posters and flyers. A public service announcement was run on several television stations and on the "jumbotron" screen in Times Square.

The workshops and over 700 web and mail-in entries generated a total of 19,000 ideas. The forty-nine vision statements that resulted are based on those ideas and were written and finalized by participants in the last Imagine NY activity, the Summit, held June 1, 2002.

In preparation for the Summit, all ideas, drawings and artifacts were entered in the Imagine NY database. (They can be seen and sorted in the "Idea Gallery" of the Imagine NY website.) The ideas were reviewed and categorized by the Imagine NY Steering Committee. The Steering Committee also developed preliminary drafts of the forty-nine vision statements, one for each category of ideas.

At the Summit over 300 participants worked in small groups to refine, change and finalize the draft vision statements after a careful reading of the ideas suggested by Imagine NY participants for each category. The commitment was to keep the vision statements in the public's own words.

The vision statements that resulted from this process are eloquent and reflect a true determination to rebuild, recover and renew the New York region. They range in focus from the emotional to the political, from the site to the region. The visions are organized into five broad categories: people, place, social equity, public involvement in planning and policy. Each category includes a number of vision statements.

- *People.* Visions about remembrance, honor and recovery—as individuals and community—focusing on spiritual and social rather than physical rebuilding. The vision statements focus on: building memorials, both on the WTC site and

beyond; building community and solidarity; honoring the victims of the attacks; and focusing on personal recovery and priorities.

- *Place.* Visions that deal with the on-site memorialization of the 9/11 tragedy, and the revitalization and physical redevelopment of the WTC site, Lower Manhattan and the region's diverse communities.

- *Social Equity.* Visions that address the far-reaching impacts of 9/11 and recognize the importance of a commitment to resolving pre-9/11 problems region-wide. The vision statements focus on increasing employment opportunities, making affordable housing a priority and improving the NYC school system.

- *Public involvement in planning.* Visions that underscore the value of public participation and inclusiveness in planning and decision-making. The vision statements focus on establishing an ongoing, democratic decision-making process for Lower Manhattan, continuing the dialogue about 9/11 and the future of the city, and including the public in long-term holistic planning.

- *Policy.* Visions that call upon local, state and federal governments to develop policies that will assist in recovery, guarantee safety and security and safeguard the future. The vision statements refer to improving public safety, engaging in comprehensive and regional planning, decentralizing businesses and educating the public about 9/11 and its causes and impacts.

#### Who Was Involved?

The statistics on the Imagine NY participants are based on an exit survey at the workshops and a questionnaire on the Imagine NY website. The racial make-up of participants was very close to the regional averages, with slightly more Caucasian and fewer African American participants, and a higher percentage who identified themselves as Asian, Native American and Other.

The income of Imagine NY participants closely mirrored that of the region's population. The percentage of participants earning under \$15,000 a year was exactly the same as for the region's population overall. Slightly more participants had household incomes of \$50-75,000, and slightly fewer had household incomes of \$75-150,000.

There was balanced participation by age, with nearly 30 percent of participants under the age of 30 (including 13 percent under 18), nearly 30 percent in the 30-44 category and 30 percent in the 45-65 category. Imagine NY participants tended to have a higher educational attainment level than the population of the region. Thirty-five percent of participants achieved some level of post-graduate study, compared to 13 percent of the region's residents. Twenty-four percent of the participants had a high school diploma or less, compared to 49 percent of the region's population.

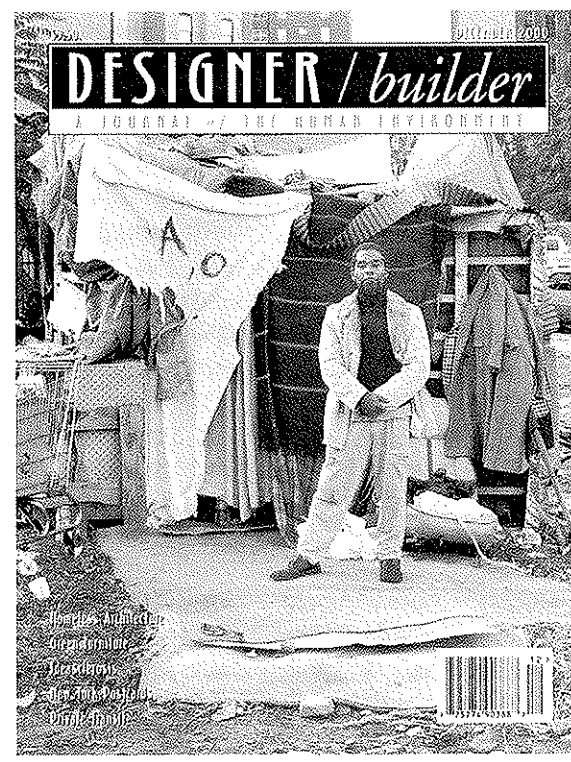
#### What's Next?

Imagine NY's forty-nine vision statements were released June 10, 2002 in a summary report that was presented to the press and to a panel of decision-makers—both those appointed to redevelop the World Trade Center site and elected officials. The summary report and all 19,000 of the individual ideas are also on the Imagine NY website. The website continues to allow both written and visual submissions. It also identifies other organizations advocating for various visions, e.g. affordable housing, job development, memorials, etc., and encourages Imagine NY participants to work with them. An exhibition including many of the ideas and images was held at the Urban Center in New York City from July to October, 2002.

Imagine NY sponsors and participants have used the forty-nine vision statements as the basis for public testimony and lobbying and have presented the results and visions to the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC), the New York City Council and on radio, television and in newspapers. Getting the attention of the press continues to be difficult when it comes to "proactive" rather than "reactive" public involvement.

In January, Imagine NY brought together over 300 people to discuss the designs commissioned by the LMDC. Imagine NY, NY1 News and Gotham Gazette posted the designs online and asked visitors to comment. Over 5,500 people responded. The results can be found at [www.imaginenewyork.org](http://www.imaginenewyork.org). It is clear that the public wants to be more involved and better informed about decision making for lower Manhattan. Participants called for a transparent, long-term process for rebuilding under a single governmental body. The next steps will involve vigilance by Imagine NY participants to make sure there is an inclusionary process for public participation.

*Penelope Duda is a planning consultant and Eva Hanhardt is Co-Director of The Planning Center of the Municipal Art Society in New York City.*



## DESIGNER/builder

A JOURNAL of THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

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## Post-9/11 Planning: New York City and Beyond

By Tom Angotti

How should Lower Manhattan be rebuilt? Fill the gap in the New York City skyline? Or, leave it open? Create a memorial? Save the financial district? How can the city be safer and more secure from terrorist attacks?

These are the questions shaping the debates in New York City, and the rest of the country, about post-9/11 planning. The answers coming from government and business elites promote real estate development over solutions that focus on the needs of people and neighborhoods.

planning, and the planners aren't talking about the most important element—the *people* who were the victims of 9/11, and the *people* who live and work in New York City. The planning process is geared almost entirely toward developing *things*, i.e. real estate, buildings, infrastructure and capital. Commodities that can be exchanged, land that can be bought and sold—these are the fetishes of post-9/11 planning. In the meantime, there are more restrictions on *people*, especially immigrants.

The official post-9/11 response at national and local levels has had three components: military, technological and urban design. Historically each of these has failed to thwart terrorism, and each may instead encourage it.

**Military.** United States foreign policy was reshaped to explicitly endorse unilateral “pre-emptive” military strikes anywhere in the world the US deems appropriate. Domestic policy is to further strengthen the ability of local and federal law enforcement to detain and deport people without due process. Both responses legitimize the use of terror by the US and allied states and in the end reproduce the global disdain for US imperialism.

**Technology.** There is greater use of surveillance cameras, listening devices and web surveillance, as the US government invades public and private spaces. This denigrates the public character of public places (real and virtual) and strengthens the private, anti-urban character of US society. In particular, it degrades public places used by poor people.

**Urban design.** Physical determinism has again raised its ugly head. Planners and architects are knocking each other over to show how they can make “safe cities” and “defensible spaces.” They are advancing the myth that by rearranging *things* like buildings and roads, cities will be safe. They ignore the gaping economic and racial inequalities and the national culture of fear and violence, which are the real threats to public safety.

### POST-9/11 INEQUALITIES

The basic question in New York City is who will get the \$21 billion in federal and state aid. As if to remind us how things work in Gotham, *Forbes* predicted, “There will be windfall gains for large corporations, already powerful commercial property owners and residential landlords far from Ground Zero....” Fifteen months after 9/11, less than one-fourth of the money promised to New York has actually arrived, and most of what did went to clean up the site, subsidize businesses, underwrite bonds for new real estate development and rebuild the transportation infrastructure.

The majority of 9/11 victims lived outside New York City, as did most of the more than 125,000 people who lost their jobs. Yet plans are to concentrate the relief money in the financial district of Lower Manhattan. The investments in infrastructure and services are aimed at protecting the financial sector and creating a better environment for real estate development. Since Lower Manhattan's financial corporations are global in scope, no one knows how much of the aid they receive will end up staying in New York.

So far, the state-dominated LMDC has had all the power to make decisions about how to rebuild Lower Manhattan. Its Board of Directors (led by white males in a city where whites are a minority) monopolizes all decision-making authority. The LMDC's preference for meeting the needs of the financial and real estate sectors led it to produce six alternative proposals for the development of the World Trade Center site last year. These met with an overwhelming thumbs-down reaction from the public because the alternatives were all about building offices. The LMDC then commissioned teams of big name architects and asked them to spread the office space around a bit and throw in a little housing and some services. Their designs, released in December 2002, have again met with groans from the public, but the LMDC is determined to decide on a plan regardless of public reaction. After all, they will reason, who can question the world's most famous architects? Mayor Michael Bloomberg recently presented a more general and balanced plan for Lower Manhattan. But it, too, comes from the pinnacles of power, and no one up there is supporting a participatory planning process that goes beyond the elite set of downtown insiders.

Finally, the victims of the most glaring inequalities are getting no public attention and no relief funds. Untold numbers of immigrants who lost loved ones and their jobs on 9/11 are fearful of stepping forward to ask for assistance in the post-9/11 climate of anti-immigrant hysteria. Even documented immigrants are reluctant to step forward for fear of being apprehended as terror suspects. And only a short hop from Ground Zero is Chinatown and the Lower East Side, working-class neighborhoods whose economies were devastated by 9/11 but whose representatives have not been invited to sit in the back rooms where decisions are made. Asian Americans for Equality has initiated its own Rebuild Chinatown initiative as a means of making its voice heard. But so far the winning combination is a Wall Street address and signature architecture, not participatory planning.

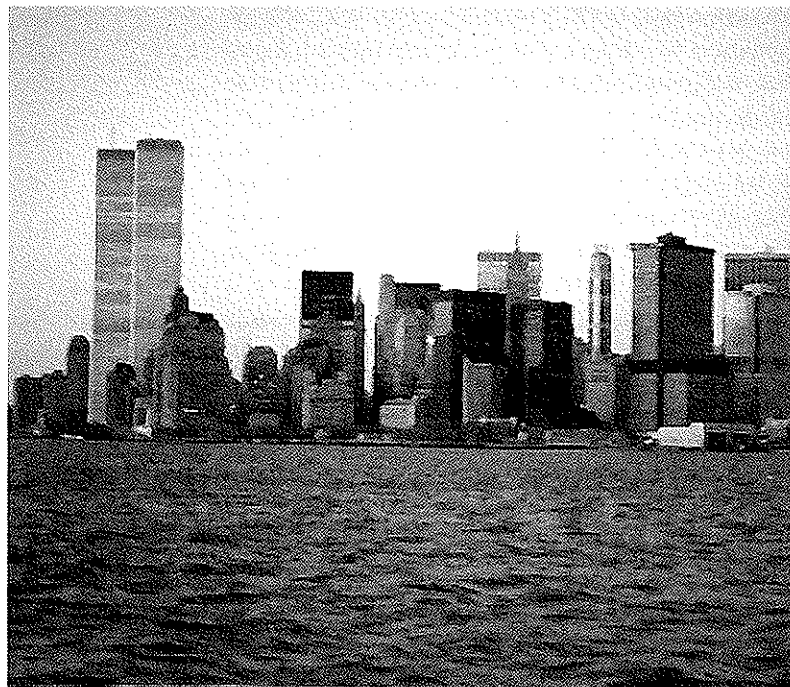
The ultimate sign of neglect for the human losses due to 9/11 is the outrageous continuing denial by the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) that there are any significant long-

**“No one up there is supporting a participatory planning process that goes beyond the elite set of downtown insiders.”**

term public health effects of the WTC disaster. Motivated more by an interest in avoiding litigation than an interest in the public welfare, the Bush Administration's EPA has failed to adequately monitor environmental impacts. It also has refused local demands to automatically test and clean inside all buildings, including those in Brooklyn and Queens where the plume of toxic smoke drifted for weeks after 9/11. A local group, 9/11 Environmental Action, with the support of elected officials, continues to press the EPA to acknowledge what many local residents and rescuers know first-hand—they are still walking around with chronic respiratory problems.

*Tom Angotti is Professor of Urban Affairs & Planning at Hunter College, City University of New York.*

Photo By Tom Angotti



In December Mayor Michael Bloomberg released his plan for Lower Manhattan, and the state-created Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) unveiled a set of nine alternative designs by leading architects. At stake is how the sixteen acre World Trade Center site will be redeveloped, how and where the \$21 billion in federal and state aid will be spent and how this will affect Lower Manhattan and the rest of the region.

But the planning going on is mostly physical



**Marcuse** [Cont. from page 1]

override local zoning, but those powers are of limited use here, as the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey is the owner of the land where the World Trade Center stood. As a federally-created bi-state agency, the Port Authority is exempt from local zoning and condemnation procedures.

The seven handpicked architectural firms and consortia (drawn from a field of over 400) produced nine different schemes for Ground Zero. The participating architects and firms include Norman Foster, Daniel Libeskind, Richard Meier, Peter Eisenman, Charles Gwathmey, Steven Holl, Rafael Vinoly, Frederic Schwartz, Ken Smith, Shigeru Ban, Greg Lynn, Ben Van Berkel, Jesse Reiser, Kevin Kennon, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM) and Peterson/Littenberg.

An earlier proposal, outlining the massing of towers that would hold eleven million square feet of commercial space, had been roundly criticized as unimaginative; the charge to the firms this time was to be imaginative. All of the new schemes included large office towers as their major structures. The firms followed a program established by the LMDC, which included the following guidelines: respect for the footprint of the two World Trade Center towers; space for a memorial (to be designed later); 6.5 to ten million square feet of office space; one million square feet of retail; and a major transit hub serving the region. A "master plan" for the site, presumably focusing on infrastructure and including a decision on the nine proposals, is to be released at the end of January.

Barely a week before the release of the results of the competition, Mayor Michael Bloomberg put forward a plan for all of Lower Manhattan, which included a major transit hub, a proposal for a one-seat ride linking Lower Manhattan and the New York airports, ground-level community-scale development, some housing, and a reference to the fact that the large-scale office development of thirty years ago, including that involving the Twin Towers, originally had a negative effect on the office market elsewhere in Manhattan.

On the day before the results of the architectural competition were announced, the Civic Alliance, a coalition of some seventy civic and professional groups, completed a set of workshops in which it developed three detailed alter-

native proposals for Lower Manhattan. The proposals were designed around three concepts: Lower Manhattan as a global center, Lower Manhattan as a 24-hour/7 days-a-week community, and Lower Manhattan as a center of creativity.

**The Imaginative and the Gigantic**

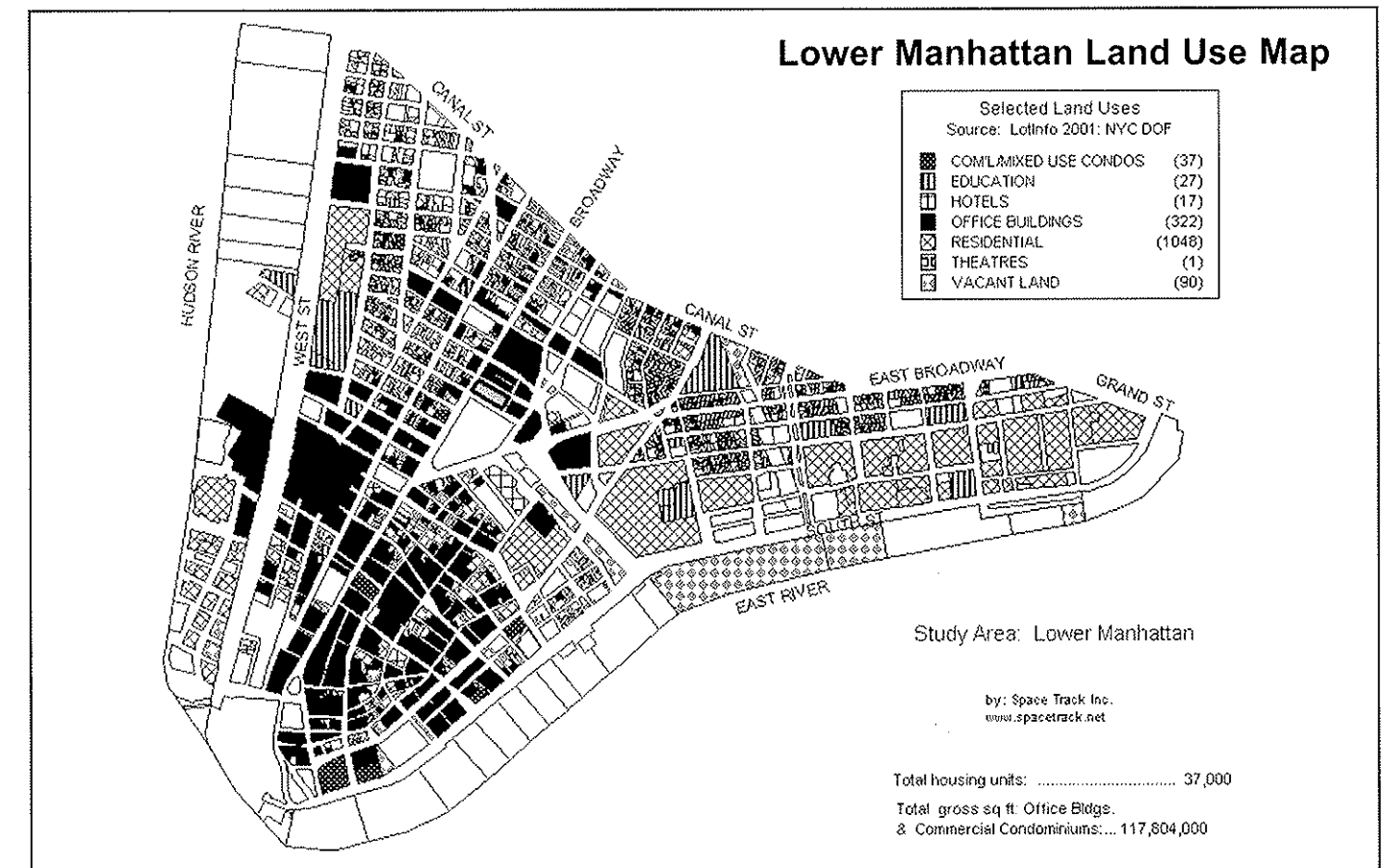
All of the proposals in the competition are imaginative and interesting from a design standpoint. All respect the program, and in design and in rhetoric emphasize the symbolic importance of the site. All pay attention to "green" (environmentally-friendly) construction and many have gardens. All reserve space for a memorial, with one (Libeskind) suggesting a specific placement seventy feet below ground where the enclosure for the foundation of the Twin Towers had been. All at least pay lip service to integration with the street grid of Lower Manhattan, and allow view corridors from outside the site. The suggestions for cultural centers, museums and ground-level gardens are imaginative.

So far so good.

But all showcase big towers, four of them the highest in the world [heights range from 1,111 feet (Richard Meier) to 1,400 feet (Peterson Littenberg) to 1,620 feet (United Architects) to 1,776 feet (Libeskind) to 2,100 feet (the Think group)]. Leaving aside the question of whether tall buildings symbolize that we have not been defeated, or that we have learned nothing from the attack, there is a general consensus that there is no demand for this much office space in the foreseeable future. Today there are seventeen million square feet of vacant office space in Lower Manhattan. According to Robert Yaro, president of the Regional Plan Association, "It'll probably take a decade to fill the space that is currently vacant." From a planning point of view, it is highly questionable whether an investment to induce such demand in Lower Manhattan is desirable (as opposed to, for instance, Midtown West, or to the other major subcenters elsewhere in Manhattan and in the other boroughs that are under consideration for development). Such concentration further runs counter to the idea of increased residential uses in the area, and would certainly raise rents or sales prices for housing. It is likely to run counter to the idea of diversity, mixed-income occupancy or the kind of creativity associated with start-up organizations.

Public uses are spoken of in many proposals, but come off badly. United Architects creates a "public space" 800 feet in the air, and SOM proposes a "public garden" on the fifty-second story. The Think team has a park ten stories above ground-level. Peterson Littenberg has gardens at the tenth floor. Viewing platforms would of necessity be tightly controlled for security

tor of the Labor Community Advocacy Network, told the *New York Times* that they "turned their back on Chinatown." At best, the designs view the site only in terms of its immediate neighborhood (except for the transit hub, which in turn is designed with no reference to costs, regional priorities or the impacts of changed transportation patterns). Economic



purposes. Herbert Muschamp, architecture critic of *The New York Times*, speaks of one plan with "security precautions at a level not seen since the golden age of castle keeps." Informal public uses, easy communication and diversity would be discouraged.

Costs and, indeed, uses of the massive structures are not considered in the proposals. These are not serious proposals for a client. They are not responsive either to public or private demand for specific space for specific uses. They have nothing to do with economies of construction or land use. As a director of the LMDC said, on condition of anonymity [sic!] to the *New York Times*, "Fundamentally it's a sideshow, because none of these things will be built."

The designs also do not fit into any wider plan for Lower Manhattan. David Kallick, coordina-

development, jobs and social justice in the distribution of benefits and costs should be key considerations. They play no role in this program.

**The Wrong Program at the Wrong Time**

The seven architectural firms cannot really be faulted for what they have done. They did what they were asked to do, and by and large did it well. The fault lies in the program and in the process.

The program is wrong. It asks for too much office space, too little housing, a transit hub that is not in the best location for New York City airport connections and whose dimensions and purpose are not yet clear. It leaves open the memorial to fit in later, gives no sense of the desired balance between public and private uses, has no ⇨



provision for mixed housing, takes into account no market research, pays no attention to costs or available budgets, and is not based on any developed vision for how Lower Manhattan as a whole should develop.

The program is premature. Planning should precede, not follow, a design competition. Design alternatives are important once the overall plan is established and uses determined, not before. Both the city and the LMDC are involved in a planning process (possibly, but not necessarily, coordinated), and so apparently is the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, but they are far from complete.

The program is misleading. It suggests that the LMDC can produce what one or more of these designs suggest. It cannot. It does not control the land, cannot do the building, cannot make the decision as to uses, and will not be the client for what eventually is done. Debate should not center around whether a tower should be 1,111 or 2,100 feet high. To act as if this architectural competition and its results will determine what is in fact built diverts attention from what decisions really need to be made, in what order and by whom.

### The Process

The process of developing the program was wrong. Its justification, at best, was that the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey owned the land, and this is what they wanted. But clearly the Port Authority will not be the only decisive voice. The city, the state, and the public all have substantial leverage to affect what happens, and the Port Authority itself is a creature of other entities that can effectively control what happens. There is a need for a fully transparent planning process involving all of the entities that have an interest in the site or are impacted by its development.

The process is misleading. By making a show of public participation—by setting up models for public viewing, holding a hearing, claiming to listen to civic groups and advisory committee proposals and concerns—the LMDC holds itself up as open and responsive. But the sole power of decision-making lies in its sixteen-member board, dominated by those with pre-existing connections to the real estate industry and the financial community. There may be participation in the sense of an opportunity for the public to express itself, but they will not participate in making decisions.

The process is undemocratic. No public discussion, let alone democratic decision-making, went into the formulation of the program. Over many years the people of New York City have fought for and established a planning and decision-making process that is at least on paper highly democratic. It includes a Uniform Land Use Review Procedure that involves local community boards, the City Planning Commission, City Council, and the Mayor. It has mandated public hearings and votes, public disclosure and environmental impact review procedures. These established processes are being ignored. The Mayor's plan may (or may not) signal the beginning of a turn in the direction of using these planning mechanisms. The architectural competition should be dependent on them, not the other way around.

Lastly, the timing is all wrong. Decisions that will affect the future of New York City for years into the future are being rushed, without adequate information, discussion, planning, analysis and thought. The LMDC wants to go from the design competition to decision-making and a plan within less than two months. As New Yorkers know, you can't get a license to open a sidewalk hot dog stand that quickly. Other planning processes, more broad-based than that of the LMDC, are under way and not yet complete, including the work of the Civic Alliance and the Imagine New York project of the Municipal Art Society (see the article by Penelope Duda and Eva Hanhardt in this issue). The Department of City Planning is reported to have studies underway, the results of which should also be useful. Granted that prompt action can itself have a positive effect, nonetheless a well thought-through timetable with a clear sense of feasible priorities is needed. It does not yet exist.

### How To Refocus on Planning

While the imaginative and provocative character of the proposals should be recognized, the focus needs to be on the real decisions that are being made and who is making them—on where the power really lies. That means that attention must be paid to the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, the Governor, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and the private real estate developers and owners in the city. For democratic decision-making, the role of the Mayor, the City Council, and the involved city agencies should be highlighted.

Attention needs to refocus on the key questions in planning for Lower Manhattan:

- What private activities and what public programs (in addition to global and financial) best serve the economic development interests of the majority of the people of New York, in terms of jobs, wages and opportunity?
- What can be done to meet critical housing needs, including those of very low-, low- and moderate-income New Yorkers?
- What measures will best protect environmental quality in the city, both in Lower Manhattan and elsewhere?
- What are the citywide and regional transportation needs and where is infrastructure investment most needed?
- How can communities, here and elsewhere, be strengthened?
- How does the allocation of public resources here fit in with other citywide needs, e.g. for schools, libraries, cultural activities and healthcare?
- And, of course, how can the built environment contribute to meeting these concerns?

The planning process must be more transparent, open and democratic. The city must, with its for-

mal structure of participatory planning, regain and keep the initiative in planning and decision-making following 9/11. The Mayor's proposals can be accepted as the beginning of such a process, but should be seen as only a beginning, both in substance and process. A good start might be a series of public hearings by the City Planning Commission, whose absence from the discussions thus far is remarkable, and by the City Council, which has hesitated to assert its role.

*For more information on this topic, visit: [www.renewnyc.org](http://www.renewnyc.org) or [www.lowermanhattan.info](http://www.lowermanhattan.info), to view the architectural designs; [www.lcan.org](http://www.lcan.org), to read the analysis of the Labor Community Advocacy Network; and [www.gothamgazette.com/rebuilding\\_nyc/web\\_resources.shtml](http://www.gothamgazette.com/rebuilding_nyc/web_resources.shtml), to see other proposals related to rebuilding Lower Manhattan.*

*Peter Marcuse is professor of city and regional planning at Columbia University in New York City.*

Planners Network invites contributions to a forthcoming

### THEME ISSUE on MARXISM, SOCIALISM AND PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

Thirty years ago when Planners Network started, many progressive planners proposed or discussed socialist alternatives to capitalist urban development and planning. Central planning in the Soviet Union, China, and the emerging socialist nations of Africa and Asia was a reality, although there were differing judgments about the merits of these regimes. Many progressive planners went to Cuba and were inspired by the possibilities of revolutionary power. In the U.S., the civil rights, anti-war and new social movements were significant political forces and generated interest in socialism and Marxism. It was not unusual then to contemplate the prospect of planning without private property, even in North America. Marxist analysis was more commonly used to look at urban class and racial divisions. Though often the main theoreticians were European, and North Americans have always had a strong pragmatist bent, Marxist categories were often used in urban analysis.

The Soviet Union is no longer and the mass movements have dispersed. With the Reagan Revolution, the entire political spectrum shifted to the right and most Democrats and Republicans run from even the "liberal" label. TINA ("There Is No Alternative") is for many the only alternative. The failed socialist alternatives are criticized for being utopian. Progressive planners take part in the debates about New Urbanism, Smart Growth, Equity Planning, Environmental Justice and other major issues. But there's virtual silence when it comes to the themes of socialism and Marxism.

Is Marxism relevant today as a theoretical or practical reference for progressive planners? What does dialectical and historical materialism have to offer in explaining urban phenomena and charting the course for progressive planning that deals with issues such as displacement, environmental justice, transportation equity, housing equity and participatory democracy? Does socialism have any meaning today for progressive planning? What can we learn from the history of socialist cities? In charting alternatives to capitalist urban development, is there a place for socialist alternatives, and if so, what is it?

We invite articles of up to 2,000 words that follow the Planners Network accessible, non-academic style guidelines. Contributions should be jargon-free and address PN's diverse audience of activists, professionals and academics, which includes many not familiar with Marxist terminology or socialist history.

Deadline: July 1, 2003.

Send inquiries and articles to Tom Angotti [tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu](mailto:tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu)



## From *Pruitt-Igoe* to the World Trade Center: Planning and the ex/implosion of (post)modernity

By Clara Irazábal

*Implode:* to burst inward; to collapse inward as if from external pressure.

*Explode:* to bring into disrepute or discredit (explode a theory); to burst violently as a result of pressure from within.

*Franklin Bookman Dictionary and Thesaurus*

Where else is the demise of hegemonic modern illusions as evident as in the physical collapse of the Pruitt-Igoe public housing complex (1972, in St. Louis) and the World Trade Center (2001, in New York City)? Looking at these two cases, we can reflect on the meaning of modernity in the production, destruction, and reproduction of the built environment. We can use the events of 9/11 as background for analyzing the planning field, considering the status quo and new perspectives for planning.

According to Charles Jencks, modern architecture died in St. Louis, Missouri, on July 15, 1972 at 3:32 p.m., when the Pruitt-Igoe public housing project was dynamited. Now, three decades later, it is important to recall that the 3,000-unit project epitomized modern planning and architecture. Its design followed the planning principles of Le Corbusier and the International Congress of Modern Architects, and was hailed as an example of the New Enlightenment. Contrary to the designer's expectations, Pruitt-Igoe suffered 17 years of vandalism by some of its residents, and millions of dollars were spent in failed attempts to maintain it as habitable.

At the time of the project's inception, several trends in Western culture made up the dominant cultural ethos of modernity. It included the inevitability of progress in human history and the indefinite improvement of the quality of life through advancements in scientific and technological knowledge. Pruitt-Igoe symbolized these ideals and myths of modernity. Today, the environmental determinism that inspired its architecture is discredited and perceived as utterly naïve. At that time, however, the notion was widely accepted. It was grounded in prestigious philosophical doctrines such as rationalism and pragmatism.

Have today's architects and planners learned the lessons from Pruitt-Igoe? We may too rapidly answer yes, because no Western planner or architect would dare think of building something similar nowadays. At least not on American or Western European soil. But it is little less than scary to watch Third World cities, particularly in Asia, being filled with Western-planned neo-Pruitt-Igoes.

### WTC: The Failure, Revision or Reenactment of the Model?

The architect of both Pruitt-Igoe (PI) and the World Trade Center (WTC) was the same person: Minuro Yamasaki. The WTC was being built when PI was demolished, after stringent critiques of modern architecture and urbanism had been widely published and acknowledged. In her classic book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Jane Jacobs praised the streets of Greenwich Village, a neighborhood just a few blocks from the WTC, as precious spaces capable of nurturing a sense of place, community, and diversity. Yamasaki's towers, on the other hand, were the most evident representation of Le Corbusier's isolated towers in a park. Its modernist architecture also was condemned because of its unmediated relationship to real estate speculation, just as it became the symbol of Western capitalism.

The terrorist attack on the WTC materialized the chaotic and arbitrary postmodern fragmentation that constitutes the world's current condition, the ambiguity between the real and the virtual; the end of the ideals of social and material progress; the exacerbation of contradictions between high technology and (religious or imperial) fanaticism, and between concentrated wealth and vast lands of misery.

### Can Planning Change After 9/11?

Some may argue that the collapse of PI cannot be compared to the collapse of the WTC. The collapse of PI was "planned" and born out of a social consensus. The collapse of the WTC was not planned by the society that used the build-

ing. It may then be argued that the rationale for the collapse of PI was to correct something that had been done badly, i.e., to do some good; whereas the collapse of the WTC was to destroy something that had been done well, i.e., to do some harm. There are valuable partial truths in these assertions. But I dispute what would otherwise be a narrow, naïve, chauvinistic, and ethnocentric view of the events.

In our new world, we experience unprecedented interconnectedness. We came to know, painfully, that WTC victims had real faces, names, lives, and dreams that were brutally and unjustifiably destroyed. Yet, so did innocent victims of the war in Afghanistan, or so will potential innocent victims of war in Iraq. We live in an interconnected world, and if we as planners and architects have a particularly well-developed and progressive sensitivity to capture that notion, then we should act upon that understanding in our academic and professional lives. This might entail a radical, unprecedented openness to the other. We planners like to think of ourselves as ever more efficient at planning for inclusive communities and promoting participatory planning. But do these commendable practices truly advance the concept and praxis of an interconnected world? Has the commonly acclaimed "think globally, act locally" maxim trapped us in parochialism instead of liberating us for novel, more inclusive understandings of the new world?

I propose to change this credo to "think *glocal-ly*, act *glocally*." This would have specific planning and design implications. For instance, if we were to transcend the myth of independence of the nation state, how would our approach to the design of memorials change? The Vietnam memorial in Washington D.C. would have not been conceived without respectful acknowledgement of the Vietnamese victims. Wouldn't we be perpetuating that lack of understanding if we built a WTC memorial without including the Afghan victims of the war (not to mention the victims that may ensue from the alleged "war on terrorism" in Iraq and other countries)? For some it may be extremely hard to think in these terms within the current nationalist and war-prone mindset the U.S. seems to be embedded in. However, it is precisely this mindset and its engendered politics (based on the modern myths of independence, sovereignty, and military hegemony) which ought to be challenged and transformed if we truly want to succeed against terrorism.

What kind of future can we planners envision based on this notion of an interconnected world? And what kind of actions should we take?

Our actions should be guided by an uncompromising, human-centered ethics that function the same on American soil as abroad. In planning education, it entails giving more emphasis to teaching ethics, and teaching both domestic planning with an international scope and international planning per se. This may imply amending the links between research, pedagogy, and advocacy, too often purposely de-linked because of the fear of compromising the rigor of scholarship. It entails giving more emphasis to planning, not only for the local other but also for the global other. That may sometimes imply creating a link between local and global equity, too often purposely kept separate by the fears of compromising the power of local activism. For both planning educators and practitioners, re-embracing a human-centered ethics in an interconnected world may mean analyzing the status quo in action, and becoming outspoken activists to uphold the values of our field.

In 1990, Manuel Castells delivered a keynote speech to the ACSP (Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning) Annual Meeting that he entitled: "The World Has Changed. Can Planning Change?" In his address, he identified connections between macro-social changes and the field of planning. He argued that the world's changes challenged the rigidity of planning. What 9/11 brought to the fore was the unavoidable, painstaking realization that the world had indeed changed. Today, what is needed for the field of planning is the brave removal of old theoretical and practical debris, and a rebuilding from ground zero—philosophically speaking. According to Castells:

*"A new world is always a land of opportunity. But only if the actors [...] understand the transformation and have the wit of acting [...]. Planning can, indeed must, have a new historical departure if, and only if, the field as such and ourselves as its subjects, are able to engage in a redefinition of the intellectual foundations of our activity according to the new epoch we are entering."*

### Decentering Planning

Since 1990 no significant changes have occurred in the planning profession. This is in part due ⇨



to structural difficulties. But too much self-righteousness and complacency within the field of planning and among planners are also part of the problem. This requires immediate action. Here are some suggestions:

Create watchdog planning groups to monitor the action of groups, corporations, and governments at all levels affecting planning. Planners could help support the salaries of planning activists and lawyers that publicly research, question, and legally challenge the actions of groups, corporations, and governments that are opposed to the global public good.

National, state, and local chapters of planning organizations should become more vocal platforms to contest inappropriate policies and practices and help define more appropriate ones.

Host APA (American Planning Association) and ACSP conferences in places and with programs that challenge and rejuvenate these institutions' understanding of the world, and their educational and transformative projects.

Construct and promote a human-centered ethics of urban design. Too many project proposals for the rebuilding at the WTC site are devoid of any critical social and even tectonic principles — empty, pretty shells at the most. Other proposals aim to mirror what was at the WTC site, showing a lack of imagination and, worse yet, a lack of reflective practice on the

part of the designers, planners, and developers. The planning community should make more substantial contributions to the public debate and the shaping of urban design and policy.

Dare to revive valuable planning dreams, create others, and take steps to make them come true. In 1973, Kevin Lynch proposed the creation of an international urban policy. He called his idea "a wild dream." This visionary proposal, however, needs to be revisited and its potential tapped into.

The plans for the reconstruction of Lower Manhattan should encompass physical and financial planning responsive to the needs and possibilities of Lower Manhattan. It should also try to be mindful of the social, spatial, and temporal reverberations of what is planned for ground zero, for the city, the nation, and the world at large. Recognition of the (new) subjects of planning in an interconnected world should be of foremost importance and may require some mindset revisioning. Who should be the reconstituted subjects of planning? In the social dimension, the local and the global people. In the spatial dimension, Manhattan, metropolitan New York, the US, and the world. In the temporal dimension, the present and future generations.

*Clara Irazabal is Assistant Professor of Planning at the University of Southern California. She can be reached at irazabal@usc.edu.*

### Get On the PN Roster 2003

In 1998 PN published its last PN Roster. We plan to develop a new roster in 2003. We are exploring options for some kind of password protected version on the web but there will possibly be a print version. For those of you who remember the old rosters, they were terrific networking resources. We will use the PN address list as the basis for the roster but it is much better to have more information about each member, particularly a brief bio. Remember, PN is a network and it is only as strong as its members.

To make sure you have the best possible information, please fill in the following:

Name:	Phone:
Organization:	Fax:
Address:	Email:
City:	URL:
State:	Brief statement describing your work,
Zip:	interests, and activities in 50 words or less.
Country:	

Send it to: pn@pratt.edu (preferred) OR Fax to 718-636-3709  
OR mail to Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205

### 7th Generation [Cont. from page 2]

ple missed issues (including members of the Steering Committee). Hopefully these problems have now been rectified.

#### What's in PN Magazine

The themes for this first year of the magazine were: Youth and Planning, New Urbanism, the Planners Network Conference/Planning Education, and Just and Sustainable Transportation.

As we said in the last issue of the PN Newsletter, "We strive to remain a forum that gives voice to ideas and topics that would not otherwise get attention in mainstream circles...[and] encourage dialogue in new areas and new ways of looking at the traditional topics of planning.... We hope to give voice to a range of views, particularly those that are not welcome by mainstream publications because of their focus on issues of economic and social justice."

PN is the only consistent outlet for the diverse voices of progressive planning today. We have done special issues on racism, women and planning, queers and planning, youth and planning. Our editors and contributors reflect this diversity, though clearly there are many more voices to be heard. Many of our contributors, perhaps too many, are academics. But we publish only those who can write in an accessible style for a broad audience and are tuned in to the world of planning practice. We go out of our way to encourage community activists, young people, and students to write for us, and try to support them as best we can.

While the magazine is based in the U.S., we regularly carry articles from or about other locations. In 2002, we published 56 articles; 63 percent from or about the U.S., 18 percent from Canada, 11 percent from Latin America, and 10 percent dealt with other countries.

PN Magazine includes regular columns: The Seventh Generation (for editorial opinion), member Updates, PN News, the Spanish-language column from Latin America, and Resources (Events, Publications, and Web Sites). These reflect the role of the publication as a means for networking. With the web site and list serve, the magazine is a major means for keeping the network together.

#### Where Are We Going?

One of the main questions the magazine faces is survival. The majority of the funds we need to

continue publishing come from membership dues. PN benefits from the generous support of the Fannie Mae Foundation but most of those funds have gone to finance the annual conferences. If the magazine is to grow and develop we will need to have paid staff. Each issue takes days and weeks of time from the volunteer editors. We can start selling subscriptions to the magazine and expand circulation. We can seek more funding. And we can welcome more volunteers (but increasingly we need a staff person to coordinate them). "We" can do all these things, if *you* can do some of them, or if *you* can help us raise money to hire someone. Our current volunteers are stretched to the limits. Get in touch if you can help.

Another question is, with a successful magazine, what will happen to Planners Network, the organization? Throughout our nearly three-decades-long history, there has been a continuing tension between two models for PN. One is the *network* model. The function of the network has been to foster connections among progressive planners, through the newsletter and magazine and the PN conferences. The other model is that of an *advocacy* organization that engages progressive issues within the planning profession, particularly in the American Planning Association and Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning. We've had events at conferences by these organizations. Also, some PNers have wanted us to do more as advocates within the broader progressive movements.

The networking and advocacy models are by no means contradictory. Both functions are valuable and should be further developed. But the advocacy function is relatively weak. PN's voice on the critical issues facing planning is not consistently present in the profession. It isn't clear what PN as an organization advocates when it comes to issues like smart growth, Bush's promotion of faith-based organizations, HOPE VI, and so forth. The newsletter and magazine present views of our members and contributors, and sometimes there are debates. But what does PN advocate and what does it contribute politically? Planners always talk about setting goals and objectives. What are ours? Will we challenge the mainstream professional organizations to deal forcefully with the current ultra-conservative drift, or just talk to each other? Will we proactively join the campaigns against war and racism, and strengthen our ties to the movements for economic, environmental, racial, and gender justice? ⇨



We would like to see PN's organization improve, from the Steering Committee to local chapters, so it can be an effective advocate for progressive planning. Perhaps we can learn something from the model of the Editorial Board—a task oriented group that needs to produce materials each quarter.

The Editorial Board is divided on where we think the balance should be between networking and advocacy. After nearly three decades this may be the time to become a center for organizing. But it may also be that PN's traditional role of networking and support for planners fulfills an important need and that individuals can use that base to do work through other groups.

Whatever is decided, PN needs to have a paid staff person beyond the student interns we have oper-

ated with so far. This is a must if we're to expand our advocacy role. But it's also critical to sustain our two main current initiatives – PNM and conferences. From time to time someone has a burst of energy to do a project, and we have managed to launch national conferences most years for the last decade, injecting more vigor into PN each time. But the conferences are more and more difficult to sustain. They depend on someone volunteering to organize a conference, almost single-handedly, raising most of the money and providing all of the labor.

We hope that over the next year we can provide a forum for discussing these issues about the direction of Planners Network. We welcome articles and updates that reflect on the relevance and activities of PN. We also welcome comments on the Magazine itself—but remember we are volunteers!

## Planners Network Forums - Spring 2003

Co-Sponsored by Pratt Institute, Graduate Center for Planning & the Environment

All Forums take place in Rm 213 at Pratt Manhattan (144 W4th St, btwn 6<sup>th</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup> Ave.) 5:30-8:30pm

### February 28 • NYC Electoral Redistricting & Immigrant Political Empowerment

Moderator: Tarry Hum, Queens College

Glenn Magpantay, *Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund*

•Struggle over council redistricting

Jose Peralta, *Representative 39 NYS Assembly District, Queens*

•Latino political empowerment and NYS/NYC redistricting

Darrel Sukhdeo, *Agenda 21*

•Indo-Caribbean community politics

### March 14 • Rebuilding Lessons from Europe

Moderator: Ron Shiffman, Pratt Institute, GCPE and PICCED

Slide Show : Joan Byron, PICCED and Rick Bell, AIA and New York New Visions

Albert Capsouto, co-owner Capsouto Freres Restaurant, LMDC Small Business

Advisory Council, Community Board 1 Manhattan

Kevin Hsi, Rebuild with a Spotlight on the Poor

Errol Louis, The New York Sun and PICCED

Jackie Mardikian, 9-11 Family Member

Damaris Reyes, Rebuild with a Spotlight on the Poor

Elizabeth Yampierre, UPROSE

### April 11 • Implications of 2012 Olympics on Economic Development, Infrastructure and Community Based Planning in NYC

Tom Angotti, Hunter College

Susan Fainstein, Columbia University

Arturo Sanchez, 2012 Olympics Impact Committee, CB 3 Queens & Pratt Institute

Ron Shiffman, Pratt Institute, GCPE and PICCED

Representative from the NYC 2012 Olympics Committee

## Homeland Security:

### Busting Immigrants and Unions at the Airports?

By Jacqueline Leavitt

Since 9/11 security has been a public obsession, and the federalization of security has been the policy of choice. The Bush administration has used the federalization of airport security as a way of weakening union protections and undermining the rights of immigrants.

The \$38 billion package creating the Department of Homeland Security aimed at twin targets, recalling linguistic parallels to the Twin Towers: preventing similar attacks and protecting similar targets. These measures include what might be loosely considered a jobs and wage benefits package, expanding the role of the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service), Coast Guard, FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) and Customs Service. Also included are funds for equipment, training and the communications infrastructure for two million police, fire and emergency medical personnel across the country.

These measures, taken in the name of security and the war on terrorism, create difficulties for vulnerable members of society, particularly immigrants, and for unions organizing in the service industries. The federalization policies embedded in homeland security have been called union busting, an issue that may become clearer as an estimated 170,000 workers in twenty-two existing government agencies are reorganized. Indeed, federalization may prove to be the preamble to increased privatization. In the *Los Angeles Times* of November 15, 2002, Edward Chen wrote that George Bush's intention was "to allow the private sector to compete for nearly half of the nation's 1.8 million federal civilian jobs." Citing the White House Office of Management and Budget, Chen stated that "as many as 850,000 workers covering a wide range of white- and blue-collar jobs could be affected."

In the language of the military, the impact on organized labor is considered to be "collateral damage." This gives rise to questions about the nature of security and on whom the "war on terrorism" is being waged. Local 1877 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU)

in Los Angeles has suffered "collateral damage." SEIU's organizing heightens our understanding of security as integral to the fight for human rights and social justice. The experience of SEIU shows how national security policies threaten the rights of immigrants and how federalization can displace immigrants, resulting in what we might call "job gentrification."

### Multiple Meanings of Terror and Security

No one comprehensive definition of terror exists. Jim Rodgers and Tim Kullman in *Facing Terror: The Government's Response to Contemporary Extremists in America* draw attention to Irwin Cotler's assertion that terrorism is an "assault on human rights and human dignity," and that counter-terrorism should be treated as human rights policy. Different discourses exist within the human rights literature. I will draw from those who espouse universalism—i.e., the view emphasizing everyone's rights, including the rights of physical protection, political liberty and social justice. This view is relevant when considering that collateral damage can be suffered by those who fight for economic and social justice.

We see the contrast to the post-World War II Cold War era, when economic growth could tolerate, as Michael Katz phrases it in *The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State*, a "degree of social justice." Universal liberal rights did not stand up when the choice was protecting private capital. Taking this stance, the Nixon administration broadened the meanings attached to national security and targeted activism on the domestic front.

As economic liberalism and the accompanying tolerance for social justice waned, the US labor movement was in flux. Union membership plummeted between 1953 and 1997, from about 35 percent of the labor force to below 15 percent. Between 1975 and the early 1990s, more than four million union members were lost. During this period, organized labor defaulted in the drive to expand social benefits. The result, as Katz concludes, was to divide the working ⇨



class and lay the groundwork for neoconservative policy on issues such as public assistance. The balance shifted in national politics as the idea of a welfare state was jettisoned in favor of more private and less accountable acts within the labor market. While generations of workers benefited from steady work and a sense of security, says Katz, the compact between workers and bosses benefited employers in the long run. For the highly skilled and professional workforce who were part of that compact, life may have changed most dramatically and tragically fallen apart since 9/11.

For the other set of workers—the largely immigrant workforce in a growing services industry left out of organized labor—their security was as vulnerable in the days before 9/11 as it is after.

#### **New Militancy, Continued Organizing After 9/11**

In the 1980s and 1990s, organized labor experienced internal dissent and flourishing mergers. Nevertheless, a new militancy arose that predates the election in 1995 of John Sweeney and the new leadership of the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations). SEIU, the largest union in North America today, has emerged as a leader, fighting broad struggles that include human rights and security. Prior to 9/11, SEIU succeeded in organizing airport screeners in Los Angeles and San Francisco. The result of the drive was that in a three-year period, wages for screeners in both cities rose from \$6, to \$9.50 per hour in Los Angeles and \$10 per hour in San Francisco. Improved health benefits and vacation pay were also won.

Innovative unions like SEIU operate in a politicized public space where the contentious issues are not only wages and benefits, but also the rights of citizenship. In its war on terrorism, the Bush administration bore down on the nation's 28,000 privately employed airport screeners in 425 airports across the country. In LA, union organizers responded by dealing with issues of immigrant rights, citizenship requirements and federalization policies. They set up relief centers for displaced workers, filed lawsuits against the citizenship requirement, lobbied for the legalization of immigrants and initiated campaigns around the security officer industry.

#### **The Respect at LAX Campaign Before 9/11**

In 1998 Respect at LAX was formed, rapidly

becoming one of the largest joint organizing campaigns in the country, bringing together SEIU Local 1877 and HERE (Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees) Local 814. The two unions joined with religious leaders and community-based organizations in an effort to secure living wages and union protection for thousands of low-wage airport workers.

The three-year organizing fight first targeted Argenbright Security, whose 1,200 workers included baggage handlers, skycaps, guards, wheelchair attendants and baggage screeners. The Respect at LAX campaign resulted in a vote of 285 in favor of representation by SEIU, and fifty against. Baggage screeners were not included in the contract bargaining process until later that year. SEIU's success at Argenbright was followed by the organization of another 425 workers at Globe Aviation Services, who joined Local 1877 through a card check, a process whereby the employer agrees to voluntarily recognize the union upon proof that a majority of workers support it.

#### **Los Angeles Living Wage Ordinance**

The history of Respect at LAX is entwined with the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) and its successful fight for a living wage ordinance in LA. The initial passage of the living wage ordinance had not included airport workers. In November 1998, after weekly activities that included civil disobedience and direct action at LAX and in City Council chambers, the Los Angeles City Council included airport leases in the living wage requirement. Subsequently, the Airport Commission adopted this requirement which "kicks in" when leases and contracts come up for renewal. In the case of the Delta Airlines terminal, the living wage requirement cannot be used in the short-term, as the lease runs until 2025. In June 2000, the living wage requirement was used to stop Northwest Airlines, Hawaiian Airlines, and Air Canada from laying off 200 Argenbright workers.

The airlines announced plans to cancel their contract four days before the newly passed Service Contractor Worker Retention Ordinance (SCWRO) went into effect. SCWRO required the retention of workers when employers change contracts. Switching to another contractor would have resulted in the firing of 200 workers who were scheduled to

become union members. In addition to weekly demonstrations, which included an attempted takeover of the Northwest Airlines main office at LAX, the campaign pressured the LA City Council which, in turn, voted to delay the renewal of the operating agreement with Northwest and threatened to cancel the airline's permit to fly out of LAX.

Prior to 9/11, Local 1877 organized 200 security screeners at LAX who worked for Huntleigh USA. The Local's plans to organize an additional 400 screeners working for Aviation Safeguards came to a halt because of 9/11. After 9/11, the Local had to put more resources into servicing workers most directly affected by job layoffs, reacting quickly by providing relief centers that opened on October 8 and continued until the new year. According to Javier Gonzalez, the southern political coordinator of SEIU Local 1877, "Many who lost their jobs were able to find another in the security industry fairly quickly. We [SEIU 1877] gained members in the short-run because of the immediate demand for securing entrances, but we are getting ready to lose 800 baggage screeners who will be federalized."

#### **Federalization Policies and Job Gentrification After 9/11**

The task of federalizing the airports fell on the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), which deployed about 30,000 federal personnel, including passenger and baggage screeners and law enforcement officers, to all airports by November 19, 2002, a day ahead of the announced schedule. Before 9/11, the \$6/hour national average wage of screeners was often less than the starting wage in fast food restaurants in airports. Under federalization, yearly salaries range from \$23,600 to \$35,400, depending upon experience, and include benefits such as health insurance, life insurance, retirement, paid vacation and sick leave. Federalized screeners have to meet minimum requirements: US citizenship; and a high school diploma, GED or equivalent, or one year of security and aviation screening experience. Candidates have to pass a battery of pre-employment tests that include a ninth-grade-level English exam. Citizens and non-citizens alike have had to meet these requirements and reapply for airport jobs.

Baltimore was the first airport to undergo fed-

eralization of workers. According to one report, many more whites were hired than had been previously employed. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that the majority of the airport screener jobs in Los Angeles went to whites. According to statistics from the TSA, 60 percent of the security screeners nationally are whites, while 21 percent are African American, 10 percent are Latino, two percent are Asian and one percent is American Indian. Of the first 450 federal screeners who had taken over the checkpoints in Terminals 7 and 8 at LAX, approximately 70 percent were minority, well below the 98 percent minority workforce that existed prior to 9/11, but much higher when compared to national statistics. "Job gentrification and displacement" ensued as only one in four workers retained jobs. Other aspects of the federalization policies wreaked more havoc on the lives of existing employees and offered more challenges to SEIU.

#### **Citizenship Issues and Government Raids**

Fundamentally, federalization exposes the panoply of issues related to citizenship. The new director of federal security at LAX was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* as saying, prior to the enforcement of federalization, that "at least 40 percent of the 1,200 current screeners are not US citizens, ruling them out as candidates for the federal workforce."

SEIU joined the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) in challenging Section 111—the citizenship requirement—of the newly enacted Aviation and Security Transportation Act (ASTA). The judge ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, barring enforcement of ASTA pending the outcome of the lawsuit. The result was that the citizenship requirement set to go into effect on November 19, 2002 did not take effect in Southern California airports. In his order, Judge Robert M. Takasugi stated that "at this stage of the case, this court cannot conclude that this categorical exclusion of all non-citizens from employment as screeners is the least restrictive means to further such governmental interest [i.e., improving aviation security as a compelling governmental interest]."

The Department of Transportation (DOT), the defendant in the suit, has downplayed the significance of the citizenship requirement by ⇨



stating that this requirement is only one among many. Unsatisfied with limiting themselves to federalization, the administration waged a rear-guard action. Labeled *Operation Tarmac*, raids were made against allegedly illegal workers at airports. *Operation Tarmac* targeted janitors, caterers, baggage handlers and maintenance workers whose social security numbers did not match those on file with the Social Security Administration (SSA). This is part of the administration's overall strategy towards immigration. In the first half of 2002, the SSA sent letters to more than 800,000 businesses, covering about 7 million employees, requesting that employers identify those cases where a worker's name or social security numbers does not match the SSA's files.

Social security cards are a requirement for workers seeking airport jobs that require security clearances. On August 22, 2002, dozens of workers with access to airplanes at LAX and other Southland airports were arrested as part of a nationwide crackdown on airport security. Officers from several agencies, including the INS, SSA, and the California Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV), charged approximately forty-seven workers at LAX (thirty-three of whom were later arrested) for misusing social security numbers. Most of the charges stemmed from past use of inconsistent work permits or social security numbers that did not reflect the worker's present legal status. Some detainees, faced with the threat of receiving a felony conviction, opted for voluntary deportation. None of the detainees in Southern California were found to have links with any terrorist organization.

Underlying Local 1877's approach has been SEIU's long-term involvement in lobbying for legalization and amnesty for immigrants, objectives that take on greater significance given the citizenship requirement embedded in the federalization policy.

### Union Benefits

Unionization can improve wages. According to research by SEIU in 2002, the income of union workers in Los Angeles is 20 percent higher than that of non-union workers. Unions also play an important role in improving working conditions as well as providing training and career opportunities, all of which is important to a workforce that is characterized by low wages, limited benefits, poor training and a high

turnover rate. In the 1990s, only 4 percent of the working poor in Los Angeles were covered by collective bargaining agreements, compared to 22 percent of other workers.

Unionization can also protect workers when terrorism and security policies infringe on human rights, including the right to organize. In an interview with Richard Just, as reported in the online version of *The American Prospect*, Jono Shaffer, deputy director of the building service division of SEIU, argues that "we can figure out how to legislate wages . . . without a union. . . . Anybody that works knows that those who speak up face reprisals and that's where the strength of a union contract makes a difference. . . . Workers have to have the unfettered and guaranteed ability to speak up without fear."

Before 9/11, real gains had been made for many low-wage workers at LAX. Respect at LAX won concessions that broadened the use of the living wage ordinance. The emphasis on terrorism and its link to security deflected the momentum of organizing and fed the national anti-immigrant hysteria. Screeners were designated as sacrificial lambs in order to assuage the fear of terrorism. SEIU had to put resources into temporary measures, such as setting up relief centers and joining lawsuits to protect against discrimination. Ongoing raids such as *Operation Tarmac* have required immediate response and resources. At the same time, it has been necessary to wage campaigns, such as organizing security officers. One of the organizers of SEIU said, "The government gave the appearance that it was working towards keeping airports safe but it gentrified a workforce that was highly comprised of immigrants and people of color. The tragic events of 9/11 put a spotlight on security, but in the end it caused working people to feel less secure as many lost their livelihood."

Staying alive has become more difficult, but the union efforts persist, undeterred by an administration that has exploited terror in the name of its definition of security. Progressives need to take back that definition in the name of human rights and in support of worker struggles.

*Jacqueline Leavitt is Professor of Planning at the University of California, Los Angeles.*

## Fuel Cell Futility

*By Chip Haynes*

Hey, big news: the federal government has stopped trying to get the American auto industry to build fuel-efficient gas cars and instead has hung its hat onto hydrogen fuel cells (HFCs). Yeah, well, it's not like that fuel efficiency thing was going to work out anyway, right? OK, you can stop laughing now.

Both the government and General Motors (GM) have come out swinging from the fuel cell corner at the recent Detroit Auto Show. GM introduced the "Autonomy," a fuel cell-powered car that looks like the Batmobile, and I don't mean that in a good way. The Republican administration took the opportunity of a major car show in Motor City to announce that it was abandoning the Democrat's original initiative for super efficient gasoline-powered cars in favor of pushing for HFC-powered machines as the wave of the future in personal transportation in America.

Oh, brother. Here we don't go again.

Hydrogen fuel cell cars use hydrogen to produce electricity to move a vehicle. What's wrong with that? Plenty. Every time you convert energy from one form to another, you lose a little energy in the process. With oil (as gasoline), there's not much conversion—it just gets refined and then goes right into the engine, via your gas tank. The route of energy in an HFC machine is a bit more complex. First, you have to find the hydrogen.

Big shock here: there are no vast, untapped pools of hydrogen just waiting to be pumped out of the ground. Not even little teenie ones. Not even in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. The hydrogen has to be extracted from other more complex substances, such as natural gas or water. And that takes energy. Energy you could have been using to power your car in the first place. (Not to mention that natural gas production is busy falling off a cliff here in North America. I won't go into that right now. Let's just say that you need to get as far away from depending on natural gas for anything as you possibly can. You'll thank me later for this bit of sage advice and probably sooner than you think.)

OK, so now you've got your hydrogen. It took

some doing, and more than a little oil, but you filled the hydrogen tank in your car with the gas that made Lakehurst famous. Now the energy in that hydrogen has to be converted yet again, this time into electricity to spin the motors that drive the car—and again, with a loss of energy in the transition, because nothing comes without a price. The Second Law of Thermodynamics? Something like that.

Why all the bother for a little energy? Energy in America is big business. Very Big Business. From the electricity and gas in our homes to the fuel in our many, many cars, we use far more power per person than any other country on earth. (Is that really what "Power to the people!" was all about? Man, was I misinformed.) We almost all have cars and trucks and SUVs and motorcycles and lawn mowers and snow blowers and, well, you get the idea. We use energy like it's going out of style. And the funny thing is, it is.

From the impending peak of global oil production to the high depletion rate of natural gas wells in North America, we're headed pedal-to-the-metal into The Last Energy Crunch. But you knew that, didn't you? Then again, you also know that you might have to buy a new car in the next few years. So what are you going to do? Well, here's a tip: Don't be the first one on your block to roll into that driveway with an HFC-powered car. Trust me.

If you really have to have a car—more on that in a moment—your energy options boil down to these: gasoline, diesel, hybrid, electric and HFC. Right now, only HFC lacks the real world infrastructure to support it. That might change, but neither you nor I want to be the one betting on it.

So what do you want your next car to be? Whatever it is, it needs to be the most energy efficient machine you can buy that fits your needs. Yes, if you own an 8,000 acre cattle ranch in Montana, you probably do need a big truck. Such is your life. But if you don't...well then, maybe you need to downsize your expectations somewhat in view of the coming energy crisis. If you live in the vast suburban miasma, as many of us do, you're going to have to ask yourself one hard question: what is the least I can get by with? ⇨

How small a vehicle can I use? How low can I go? Time for a little transportation limbo!

Let's assume (i.e. lie to ourselves) that you have done everything else you could to reduce your energy footprint on planet earth. You moved close to work, bought a bicycle and have a house full of humming fluorescent lights. You recycle, you compost and you have a whale saved in your freezer. You exchange Christmas cards with Julia Butterfly Hill. You are truly one with the earth. Whatever. You still need a new car. Below is your current list of personal transport energy choices.

### Small Displacement Gas

Too bad Mercedes can't be bothered with importing their "SMART" mini car to the US. Failing that, the smallest new car is probably the Suzuki Swift. Great economy with an economy of technology—just what you're looking for, right? If you want something completely different, however, you might want to check out the used rebuilt microcars at [www.tinymotorworks.com](http://www.tinymotorworks.com). Still, whatever you do, look for the very smallest displacement gas engine available that still meets your needs. That's today's best bet, even though we Americans are on quite the power binge with our personal vehicles.

### Diesel

Funny thing about diesels: to make up for their lower power-to-weight ratio, most manufacturers make them big. There was a short spurt of small displacement diesel cars back in the 1970s, but they're all quite forgotten now. For the ultimate in small displacement diesels, there's Royal Enfield's Taurus diesel motorcycle—six horsepower (trying to) push 350 pounds of motorcycle. Jack Paar said it best: I kid you not. The big plus for diesels is this: they'll run on vegetable oil, and run quite well, apparently. Something to think about when petroleum runs out.

### Hybrids

Ah, the motorized comfort food of the auto industry, a sort of four-wheeled chicken pot pie. Want to feel positively green? Buy one of these twin-engined techno overkills. Now you've got twice the maintenance with half the cargo capacity. (My Vespa is rated to carry more weight than the Honda Insight!) Sure it gets good gas mileage, but ask the dealer how much it's going to cost to replace that massive battery pack. And if I were

you, I'd ask before I bought the thing. And while you're at it, ask what happens to the old batteries when you buy new ones. (And did he mention cost?) Just because you aren't spending the money on gas doesn't mean you aren't spending the money on energy. Ask questions.

### Electrics

Please don't think of electric cars as "pollution free." They aren't. Even if you ignore, for a time, the battery discard issue mentioned above, all they really do is transfer where the pollution is exhausted into the atmosphere. In the case of the electric vehicle, it goes from out the tailpipe at the back of the car to out the smokestack at the back of the power plant. Not much difference, really. Then there's that issue of the discarded batteries. Still, if you buy an electric vehicle and can charge it up off the grid with your own photovoltaic cells or a wind turbine, now you're talking almost pollution-free—or at least as close as we're likely to get for quite some time. (And yes, I know, I've conveniently ignored the issue of pollution from tire rubber, dust from the brake linings and those ozone-producing electric motors—not to mention the pollution associated with the car's manufacture in the first place. Geez.) All of which brings us right back to the federal government's latest Golden Boy of the Open Road: The HFC-powered electric vehicle. Whew.

### Hydrogen Fuel Cells

OK, assuming, for the moment, that these things become a common reality on American roads, with the refueling stations and repair shops necessary to keep them on the road, what's really wrong with them? From an energy cost point of view, maybe plenty. If it takes more energy to make the hydrogen (and put it in your tank) than the energy inherent in that tank full of hydrogen, there's no reason to do it. Sure, government subsidies to the hydrogen industry could maintain an artificially low price for quite some time, just as it does with ethanol and gasohol, but eventually the piper must be paid. Especially in a world where conventional non-renewable energy resources will be dwindling. (And that will be our world in just a few short years, in case you've forgotten.) Then there's that pesky battery replacement thing again, since these beasts do require batteries to store energy to some degree—just as your car does now. It's tough to recycle any vehicle, but what about an HFC? Here's hoping anything really dangerous in this

new technology can simply be recycled. Repeatedly and safely.

The biggest issue with HFC is where the H (the hydrogen) comes from. If it's going to be produced from natural gas, we're fast running out of natural gas. Natural gas wells in the United States are depleting at a rate of about 50 percent per well per year. That means we have to drill half as many wells as we have this year just to keep production steady next year. Want more gas? You'll have to drill more wells. And don't look for much help from our neighbors to the north or south. Mexico has pretty much stopped exporting natural gas to the United States as their domestic demand has risen to meet production in that country. To the north, Canada's natural gas wells, slightly newer than our own, are already facing 40 percent annual depletion rates, not to mention their own increased demand from a growing population and a devalued Canadian dollar that forces more Canadians to winter in Canada (and heat their homes to do so). Add to that lack of supply the projected demand of over 250 natural gas-fired electric power plants scheduled to be built and brought on line in the United States over the next decade or so to counter the projected energy crunch in electrical generation and it looks like someone's going to have to do without. And that someone is us.

If, instead, the hydrogen for all of these new "freedom machines" is going to come from water, we need to be aware of what effect that might have on that resource, especially considering how much we're going to need if this really catches on. Want to play Silly Math Games? Try these numbers. Americans use twenty million barrels of oil a day. Each barrel contains forty-four gallons of oil, making our daily oil use 880 million gallons a day.

So, if we assume (and it's a great big assumption, I admit), that hydrogen and oil have the same energy content per gallon, and that water is only one-third hydrogen (the other two-thirds being oxygen), and that we don't lose anything in the process of production to isolate and contain that hydrogen (whew), then all we would need to run America on hydrogen instead of oil is a measly 2.64 billion gallons of water a day. Every day. And again tomorrow. That's a lot of water, even when you figure in that not everything powered by oil can be powered by hydrogen fuel cells (e.g. all airplanes). That's still a lot of water—almost nine gallons per person per day in the US. Can we really commit that precious resource to such a frivolous use? I'd like to think not, but I've been wrong before. Americans will give up their handguns before they give up their cars.

So where's all that hydrogen going to come from? How can we use natural gas we don't have? Or how will we replace the vital water resources it takes, if it takes them? And what sort of new and as yet unseen environmental pollution might arise from this new technology being used on such a large scale? Stay tuned—I'm sure we'll find out when it's all too late.

Is it all too confusing? Too many bad choices for an environmentally conscious person like yourself? Here, let me make it easy for you—make your next car a bicycle.

There, that was easy enough—and the best choice to boot. You're welcome.

*Chip Haynes is a planning technician with the county planning department in Pinellas County, Florida and a full-time bicycle commuter. This piece was reprinted from [www.newcolonist.com](http://www.newcolonist.com).*

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## Planning as a Tool of Political Control: *Israel's Matrix of Control*

By Jeff Halper

In Israel's thirty-six-year occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza, planning has been perfected as a tool of political control. Nowhere in the world is planning used with such sophistication to such a single-minded purpose. Because Israel denies having an "occupation" at all—insisting that it is merely reclaiming the historic Land of Israel as the exclusive patrimony of the Jewish people—it seeks to make its control over the Territories permanent. Maintaining control through outright military actions, though effectively employed, is not a preferred means, since it is brutal, too visible and generates both internal and foreign opposition. Instead, Israel prefers to use administrative means—and here is where planning comes to the fore. Dressed in neutral professional jargon, its rationale graphically presented in maps, planning is an ideal guise for concealing political ends.

The complex web of bureaucratic constraints on the Palestinian population, combined with massive Israeli construction, enmeshes the Palestinians in what I call a "Matrix of Control." The Matrix hides the very fact of occupation behind a facade of "proper administration" and "neutral" construction, thus shunting the blame for the conflict onto the Palestinians. It creates massive Israeli "facts on the ground" that render the occupation permanent. And it is intended to induce such despair among Palestinians about ever achieving a viable state of their own that they will submit to an Israeli-controlled mini-state.

### Creating Facts on the Ground

Consider the following facts:

Since 1967, Israel has expropriated for settlements, highways, "bypass roads," military installations, nature reserves and infrastructure some 24 percent of the West Bank, 89 percent of Arab East Jerusalem and 25 percent of Gaza.

More than 200 settlements have been constructed in the Occupied Territories, and 400,000

Israelis moved across the 1967 boundaries (200,000 in the West Bank; 200,000 in East Jerusalem; 6,000 in Gaza).

During the Oslo "peace process" Israel constructed a system of twenty-nine "bypass roads," funded entirely by the United States (at a cost of \$3 billion). Together with the settlement blocs and military checkpoints, these highways bypass Palestinian communities, creating massive barriers to Palestinian movement while linking the settlements with Israel proper. Palestinians are today confined to more than 200 tiny and impoverished islands.

Construction of seven (of a planned twelve) industrial parks on the "seam" between the Occupied Territories and Israel give new life to isolated settlements while robbing Palestinian cities—with which they are in direct competition for workers and markets—of their own economic vitality. The industrial parks exploit cheap Palestinian labor while denying that same labor access to Israel. They also allow Israel's most polluting and least profitable industries to continue dumping their industrial wastes into the West Bank and Gaza.

Israel's Matrix of Control extends underground as well, using settlement sites to maintain control over the main aquifers of the Occupied Territories and other vital natural resources.

Even seemingly innocuous holy places such as Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, sites in and around Jerusalem and Joseph's Tomb in Nablus serve as pretexts for maintaining an Israeli "security presence," and hence military control reinforced by settlements.

### Bureaucracy, Planning and Law in the Service of Political Control

Planning procedures, deriving from a discriminatory legal system and embedded in a Kafkaesque bureaucracy, comprise a subtle but highly effective

form of political control that entangle Palestinians in a tight web of restrictions and trigger sanctions whenever Palestinians try to expand their life space. For example:

Israel has taken two British Mandate-era planning documents—the Jerusalem Regional Planning Scheme RJ5 (1942) and the Samaria Regional Planning Scheme RS15 (1945)—and used them to effectively freeze Palestinian development in Jerusalem and the West Bank as it was in the 1940s. RS15, for example, zones the entire West Bank as "agricultural land." Since this severely limits the construction of houses on such land, Israel can effectively deny Palestinians building permits, and demolish their houses if they build "illegally." But another little-noted provision of British planning law gave the District Commission (now Israel's "Civil Administration") the "power to grant a relaxation of any restriction imposed by this scheme." This has been exploited to permit the construction of hundreds of thousands of housing units for Jews in the settlements of the West Bank and Jerusalem.

Military orders issued by the commanders of the West Bank and Gaza (some 2,000 in number since 1967) have replaced local civil law with policies and procedures designed to strengthen Israeli political control. Thus, Order 59 (1967) grants the Israeli Custodian of Abandoned Properties the authority to declare uncultivated, unregistered land as state land, enabling Israel to "legally" claim as state land 72 percent of the West Bank, making it easy to expropriate land from Palestinian owners. Order 270 (1968) designates 250,000 acres of the West Bank as closed "combat zones" which can then be handed over to settlements. Order 291 (1968) stopped the Jordanian process of systematic land registration, thus preventing Palestinians from registering their lands at all. Order 393 (1970) grants any military commander in Judea and Samaria the authority to prohibit Palestinian construction if he believes it necessary for the security of the Israeli army or to ensure "public order."

Order 977 (1982) allows the Israeli army and its agencies (such as the Civil Administration) to proceed with excavation and construction without a permit, providing yet another legal basis for the construction of settlements. Hundreds of other orders prohibit Palestinian

building around army bases and installations, around settlements and whole settlement areas and within 200 meters of main roads. Orders effectively curb the development of Arab communities and alienate tens of thousands of acres of land.

Because Palestinians will outnumber Jews in the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean by the end of the decade, Israel considers the "demographic bomb" the greatest threat to its hegemony. To counter the trend, Israel actively pursues policies of displacement: exile and deportation of Palestinians; revocation of residency rights; impoverishment of the population through economic "closures"; expropriation of land and demolition of houses (10,000 since 1967). In general, Israel makes life for Palestinians so unbearable that they will "voluntarily" emigrate.

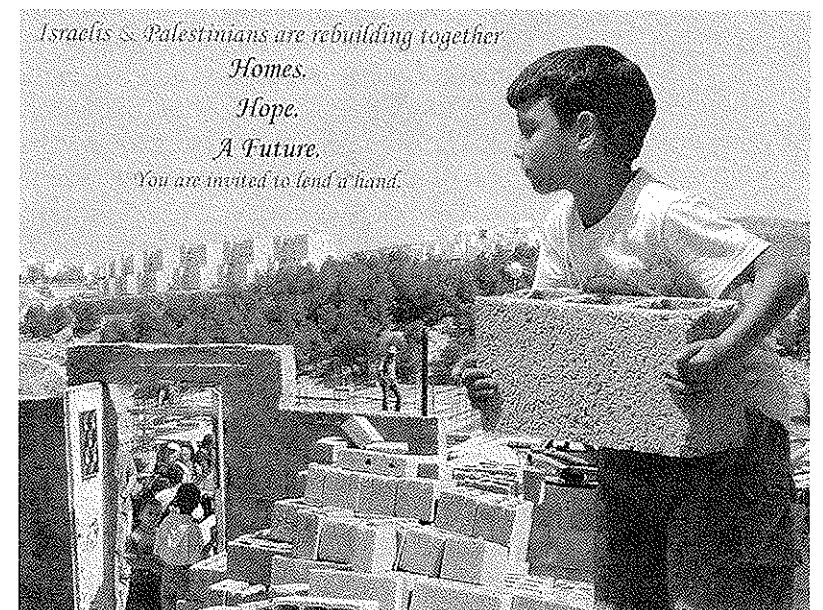


Photo courtesy of Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions

Administrative restrictions intrude into every corner of Palestinian life, enveloping the average person in a web of constraints and controls. Severe restrictions on the planting of crops and their sale hits an already impoverished population hard, especially when combined with Israel's practice of uprooting hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees since 1967, either to clear land for settlement activity or for "security" purposes.

Even seemingly innocuous practices such as licensing and inspection of Palestinian businesses are exploited as a way to harass businesspeople and stunt the local economy. ⇨

### Barak's "Generous Offer"

But what about Israeli Prime Minister Yehud Barak's "generous offer" of 95 percent of the territories, presumably made at the Taba talks in January 2001? Taken at face value, it seems to be "generous" indeed (who, after all, gets 100 percent in negotiations?). At a distinct disadvantage are those who say it was not a good deal, that it would leave the Matrix of Control intact and that it would not lead to a viable Palestinian state. These positions seem to contradict common sense. It is much easier to pin the blame on the Palestinians and justify Israel's policies of repression.

First off, let's state the truth: there never was a "generous offer." In an interview with the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz (September 6, 2002), Barak explained: "It was plain to me that there was no chance of reaching a settlement at Taba. Therefore I said there would be no negotiations and there would be no delegation and there would be no official discussions and no documentation. Nor would Americans be present in the room. The only thing that took place at Taba were non-binding contacts between senior Israelis and senior Palestinians." The 95 percent figure comes from Bill Clinton's proposal, to which both sides responded favorably but with "reservations." According to Barak, Israel's "reservations" filled twenty pages.

But even if there was such an offer, we must be careful not to equate territory with sovereignty. Israel can retain its Matrix of Control by establishing a Palestinian Bantustan. Even if the Palestinians "receive" 85 to 90 percent of the West Bank and Gaza, they still would not have the prerequisites of national self-determination: coherent territory, economic viability and genuine sovereignty. Retaining just 10 to 15 percent of the West Bank would enable Israel to:

Create a Palestinian entity truncated into at least four cantons—the northern, central and southern parts of the West Bank and Gaza—which would render a Palestinian state non-viable and easily controlled by Israel.

Consolidate its strategic settlement blocs around the city of Ariel and in the Greater Jerusalem area, blocs that comprise 150,000 Israeli settlers—or 80 percent of the West Bank settlers. In doing so it would create territorial

contiguity for Israeli settlements while dividing the West Bank into isolated Palestinian islands; remove Jerusalem from the Palestinian sphere, thus cutting out the economic heart of any Palestinian state; and leave Israel in control of the West Bank's water resources.

Retain control over highways and Palestinian movement. Over the past decades, and especially during the Oslo "peace process," Israel has been constructing a system of major highways and "bypass roads" designed to link its settlements, create barriers between Palestinian areas and incorporate the West Bank into Israel proper. Even if physical control over the highways is relinquished, strategic parts will remain under Israeli control. There are other restrictions as well. The "safe passages" from Gaza to the West Bank, crucial to the viability of a Palestinian state, will continue to be controlled by Israel, and Israel insists on retaining rights of "emergency deployment" to both the highway system and to the Jordan Valley, severely compromising Palestinian sovereignty. Indeed, the highways would retain the status of Israeli "security roads," meaning that Palestinian development along them would remain limited.

The settlement blocs and highway grid play key roles in the process of incorporating the West Bank and East Jerusalem into Israel proper. Again, seemingly innocuous planning lies at the center of this supremely political program. As early as the late 1970s, Ariel Sharon, then head of the Ministerial Committee on Settlements, presented a Master Plan of incorporation that called for contiguous Israeli urban growth straddling both sides of the "Green Line."

The massive Trans-Israel Highway project, now nearing completion, provides a new "central spine" for Israel along the West Bank. Hundreds of thousands of Israelis will be resettled in the many towns and cities planned along the length of the highway, especially along the Green Line and in areas of Galilee heavily populated by Arabs. New and expanded Israeli cities, towns and settlements on both sides of the Green Line form a new "metropolitan core-region" in which metropolitan Tel Aviv meets metropolitan Jerusalem, which in turn stretches across most of the central West Bank. The Trans-Israel Highway, integrated with the highways and settlement blocs of the West Bank, reconfigures the entire country and moves the entire population center of the country eastward.

### The Political Role of Israeli Planners

The schemes for imprisoning Palestinians in impoverished islands while leaving Israel in control of the entire country—the essence of Barak's "generous offer"—dovetail with strategies to "transfer" them out of the country altogether, the thrust of the Sharon government's policies. Looked at in a historical perspective, they form part of a century-long program of displacement—*nishbul* in Hebrew—in which the Jews reclaim the country as their exclusive patrimony.

In this process planning has always played a key role. It started with the placement of Jewish settlements before 1948 to determine Israel's future borders. Land use policies following the '48 war were intended to alienate Palestinian refugees from their lands. Current policies allow settlement expansion, displace Palestinians from their land, and result in house demolitions and the incorporation of the Occupied Territories into Israel proper. As both a means to control a subor-

dinate population and as an "invisible" way of conquering land, planning has few equivalents.

Indeed, the active involvement of professional planners, most of whom identify politically with the peace movement, raises thorny questions about subordinating professional activities to political and financial considerations. Even more troubling, it may indicate that planners are either not aware of the political uses of their work, or simply do not want to know. In a situation where occupation, repression and displacement are largely carried out by administrative means that involve planning and law, these are issues that deserve wide debate. At the very least, Israeli planners should be confronted with the implications of their professional work at international conferences or in university settings.

*Jeff Halper is the coordinator of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions ([www.icahd.org](http://www.icahd.org)). He can be reached at [icahd@zahav.net.il](mailto:icahd@zahav.net.il).*

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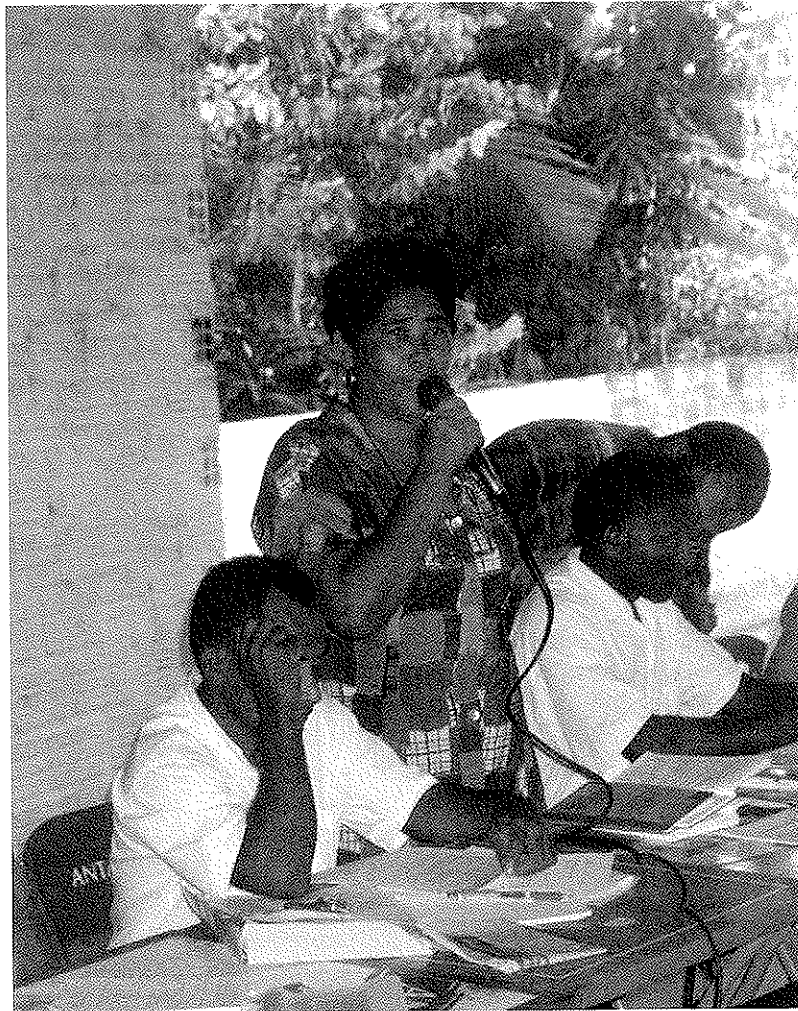
Richard Milgrom: [rmilgrom@design.ap.buffalo.edu](mailto:rmilgrom@design.ap.buffalo.edu) Or call Tom Angotti, 212-650-3130



## Fighting "Rural Removal" in Alcântara, Brazil

By Marie Kennedy and Chris Tilly

As Brazil's new president, Luís Inácio "Lula" da Silva of the Workers' Party, takes office, one of the major challenges he faces is democratizing the planning process. Current top-down planning processes in use across most of Brazil



mimic the worst of the US urban renewal program of the 1960s and 1970s, which was so effective at razing poor communities that activists gave it the nickname "urban removal." While most international attention has focused on cities such as Rio and São Paulo—with their teeming *favelas* (slums)—it is at least as important for Latin America's largest nation to confront the "rural removal" that is driving families to the *favelas* in the first place. Among hundreds of community struggles in the Brazilian countryside, the efforts of the community of Alcântara to keep its land from turning into a US

military base may best exemplify the intersecting currents that drive rural conflict.

Few in the United States have heard of Alcântara, a town on Brazil's northern Atlantic coast. And why should they? Two hundred years ago, Alcântara was the wealthiest city in northern Brazil, but its riches collapsed when slavery ended. Today, descendants of African slaves and indigenous peoples make a living by fishing and farming amidst the ruins of the old colonial city. Alcântara, at the edge of Amazonia and just south of the equator, looks like a tropical paradise, from the lush green vegetation to the flamingo-like scarlet *guará* birds flying overhead.

But there is trouble in paradise, and as is so often the case in Latin America, the United States is involved. Back in 1982, the dictatorship then holding power in Brazil seized over one-half the land area of Alcântara to set up a satellite launching base. According to one activist, the base displaced 2000 fishing and farming families to unsustainable "agro-villages," breaking up communities "without regard to culture or the structure of their lives." Communities that were economically linked—for example, milk-producing, rice-growing and fishing communities that exchanged products—are now scattered and hungry. Unable to make a living, many of the displaced subsequently moved to the *favelas* of Alcântara and neighboring São Luís. The base also threatens fish stocks and wetlands. The parallels between this act and government-facilitated displacement in the United States (and elsewhere)—fragmenting vital communities, driving the poor to worse and worse locations, contributing to environmental devastation—are striking.

As it turns out, the Brazilian military has proven unable to get its space program off the ground, and it is now arranging to lease the base to the United States. Alcântara's equatorial location makes it far easier to get payloads into orbit, and US companies are poised to snap up much of the base's business. The US military, which controls US space operations, is insisting that all details of the launch technology must remain a

secret from Brazil and that satellites and launch vehicles must enter the base in sealed containers. Many Brazilians have concluded that the US government is planning a "stealth" military base for the site.

### The Community Mobilizes

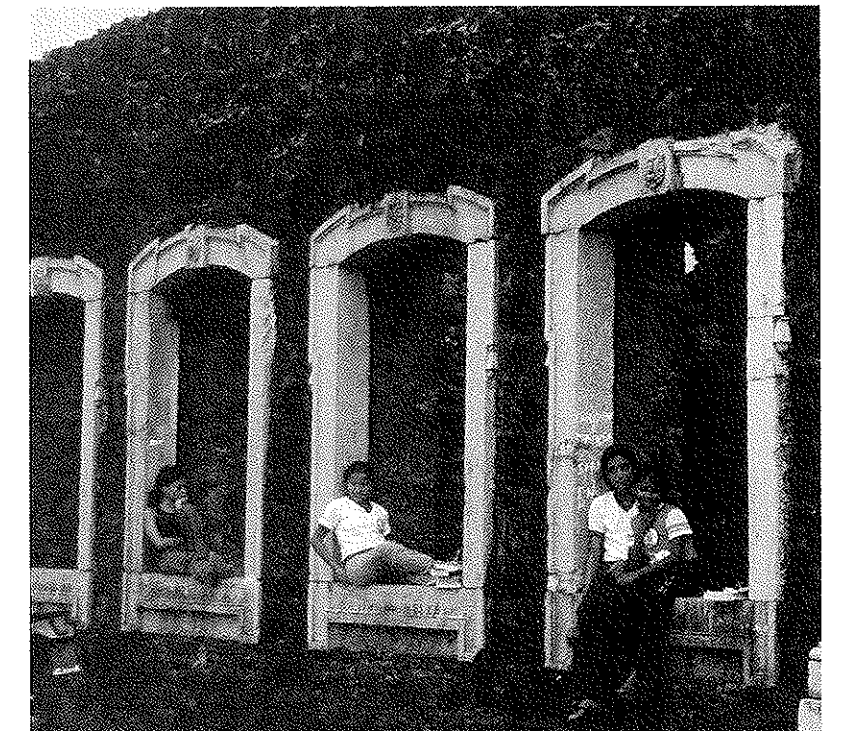
It's taken a long time, but the thousands of displaced families and their supporters are starting to mount an effective mobilization to defend their community and chart a sustainable path for development. They oppose ceding the base to the United States and seek to both prevent further base expansion and win displaced families relief and access to some lands confiscated in 1982. Not long ago, representatives of impacted communities sat in the steamy meeting hall of the Alcântara Rural Workers' Union, while brass bands rehearsing for the Festival of the Holy Spirit marched by in the street outside. Since the farming land in the agro-villages to which people have been moved is so poor, "The people left on the coast have to fish for themselves *and* the agro-villages," says Maria Luzia Silva Diniz, president of Alcântara's Association of Rural Women Workers. "So they're catching the fish too young. The crabs, *sururu* fish, shrimp they're bringing in are too small—barely born—and this will have serious consequences."

Participants in the meeting recounted a long list of broken promises—again, reminiscent of US urban redevelopment schemes promising replacement housing and jobs that never materialized. Sevulo, head of the Rural Workers' Union, was promised training and a good job when construction for the base first began. He took the offer, flying to São Paulo, thousands of miles away. Only when he got off the plane did he learn that he had joined the army—and that the "training" was for menial blue-collar work. Community advocates are quick to point out that although the government confiscated the land in the name of "pressing national interest," it is difficult to apply this justification to the privatization of the base by leasing it to the United States. They hope that activists in the United States will join them in opposing the base deal.

### The Significance of Alcântara

Alcântara has a political importance in Brazil—beyond the several thousand people directly affected by the base—because it resonates with

three decisive issues facing the country. The first is access to productive land. With deindustrialization and factory farming wiping out people's livelihoods, more and more families are eking out a marginal existence in urban *favelas*. The government has failed to enforce laws requiring landowners to put their land to productive use and obey labor regulations. But the Landless Workers' Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra, MST) has led two million Brazilians to claim unused rural land under those laws, building thriving agricultural communities and reversing "rural removal." The



MST has played a leading role in linking up land struggles across the country—people occupying unused rural land, communities like Alcântara that have been displaced by ill-conceived public works projects and urban homeless movements.

Alcântara also marks an important front in the war against corporate-dominated free trade—in this case, bartering Brazil's land and resources to US aerospace businesses. The Brazilian coalition battling free trade has publicly linked Alcântara to the ALCA—the Portuguese/Spanish initials for the Free Trade Area of the Americas are FTAA—noting that the phonetic coincidence points to a deeper connection. MST organizer Jonas Borges da Silva declared in a meeting at Alcântara that if the FTAA goes into effect, "Brazil will become the *quintal* (backyard) of the United States," adding, "The fight against ⇨

the FTAA is a fight in defense of our culture, our way of life—not just about trade.” Brazil’s anti-FTAA coalition organized an unofficial plebiscite against the free trade agreement September 1-7, 2002 and mobilized a phenomenal ten million people to vote no in the face of a relentless pro-free trade campaign by the government—foreshadowing the Workers’ Party victory in November. The coalition also placed the question of Alcântara on the referendum bal-

As you read the headlines about Brazil’s new president, keep in mind the courageous families of Alcântara. “This movement needs you,” said Sevu of the Alcântara Rural Workers’ Union, in words addressed to Brazilians but that could equally apply to others around the world. “We need to help people who are losing land with 200 years of history—where their grandparents are buried, where they have access to the ocean, where they can harvest wood to fix their hous-

### How to Support the People of Alcântara

People in the United States and around the world can bolster Alcântara’s efforts to win back land rights and prevent the satellite base from being expanded and turned over to the United States.

You can help by:

- Sending messages requesting that Brazilian Deputy (the equivalent of a Congressional representative) Zenaldo Coutinho reject the agreement with the United States. (Waldir Pires, the other Deputy for the Alcântara area, has vocally denounced the deal.) Deputado Zenaldo Coutinho can be contacted in the following ways: email, [dep.zenaldocoutinho@camara.gov.br](mailto:dep.zenaldocoutinho@camara.gov.br); fax, 011-55-61-318-2266; mailing address, Camara dos Deputados, Anexo 3, 70000 Brasília, DF, Brasil.
- Contributing financially to the Landless Workers’ Movement (MST), which is rallying the resistance to the proposed transfer of the base to the United States. Send tax-deductible contributions (marked “for MST”) to Grassroots International, 179 Boylston Street, Jamaica Plain, MA 02130 ; or Global Exchange, 2017 Mission Street #303, San Francisco, CA 94110.
- Keeping up-to-date on Alcântara and other Brazilian land struggles by joining the Friends of the MST email list or visiting their website, <http://www.mstbrazil.org>

lot, and the same ten million (99 percent of those voting) voted against turning over the base to the United States.

Finally, Alcântara symbolizes the struggles of black and brown Brazilians—who make up almost half the country—for equal rights and respect. Despite the myth of racial democracy, Afro-Brazilians and indigenous people lag behind whites in every economic and social indicator. At a national level, Afro-descendant activists are pushing for affirmative action. They won a limited victory in 1988, when the government agreed to special protections for *quilombos*, historical communities of escaped and freed slaves. Like Brazil’s land reform laws, these rules have largely remained a dead letter. So in Alcântara and around the country, communities with African roots are rallying to win the rights they have been promised.

es.” The people of Alcântara and other groups like them across Brazil are fighting for democratic planning and true community development, and they could use some support from us.

*Marie Kennedy is associate dean of the College of Public and Community Service at the University of Massachusetts-Boston and a member of the PN Advisory Committee. Chris Tilly is a professor of regional economic and social development at the University of Massachusetts-Lowell. Their visit to northeast Brazil was arranged by Grassroots International, a non-profit that provides aid and support to movements working for economic and social justice in Brazil and elsewhere in the Global South. An earlier version of this article appeared in the American Friends Service Committee’s Peacework, October 2002.*

## Poverty of Planning: Tent City, City Hall and Toronto’s New Official Plan

By Adrian Blackwell and Kanishka Goonewardena, for Planning Action

On September 24, 2002 the Toronto media reported two events under two separate headlines. The smaller headline was about the unveiling of the new official plan of the city of Toronto. This began with news of presentations by Mayor Lastman and the director of the Planning Department as to how they were going to make Toronto the greatest and most beautiful city. It was followed by public testimony, almost all from well-groomed supporters of the plan, including the usual suspects like developers and taxpayers, as well as world famous experts like Jane Jacobs.

While that show was dragging on in City Hall, security guards hired by Home Depot, under the “supervision” of the police, were on a rampage—kicking people out of Tent City, the post-industrial no-man’s-land on Toronto’s waterfront that has been home for a few years to a very large concentration of homeless people. The site was legally taken over by Home Depot, who then confiscated the improvised homes and modest possessions of the homeless people. That sorry spectacle made the bigger headline, under which appeared even more infuriating stories that blamed the victims.

### City Hall and Tent City

But why *two* headlines when both news items were really part of the same story? No one in the mainstream media bothered to note how the people evicted from Tent City stormed into City Hall that afternoon. They were looking for the real perpetrators of their eviction—those politicians and planners who were shameless in their enthusiasm for a plan catering so earnestly to the interests of developers, taxpayers and multinational corporations, at the expense of those who don’t own and can’t afford properties in the city. Most Torontonians did not need to be rocket scientists to see the link between what happened in City Hall and in Tent City on that day.

The very logic of urban development endorsed by the plan—the kind of city planning that is just a code name for the selling of the city to the highest bidder—created Tent City in the first place. It also forced its (former) residents into a bizarre

confrontation with ecstatic fans of the plan inside City Hall. According to one eyewitness, “All of a sudden a bunch of people who looked like they weren’t supposed to be there seemed to take over the Council Chambers.” These were not the folks you often see rubbing shoulders with the power brokers of City Hall. Rather, they were the representatives of a large population that just didn’t appear anywhere in the hyperbolic “vision” of the plan.

City planning and urban design, which are meant to create spaces for a better life for everyone, have been hijacked from the start by the powers that be. Over 100 years ago, Friedrich Engels quite correctly called planning in capitalist cities “hypocritical,” explaining in his famous study of Manchester how “town planning” was really about “hiding from the eyes of wealthy ladies and gentlemen with strong stomachs and weak nerves the misery and squalor which are part and parcel of their own riches and luxury.”

Not much has changed since Engels’ time. The former Tent City and its vast, underutilized surroundings are imagined today by developers and planners alike not as the ideal location for social housing and other public amenities, but as a gigantic bourgeois playground and high-tech entertainment complex generously sprinkled with high-end condos—a bright, guilty place where dot.coms and related yuppies of all countries can unite!

### Who Is this Plan Talking to?

What *does* the plan say? *Whose* Toronto are we talking about?

The plan takes up the task of guiding the development of Toronto over the next thirty years with a great vision for the city—one that claims to improve transit, create a more compact urban form, encourage economic growth and beautify the city. The language and the pictures of the plan are most seductive and make you want to *believe*. But when you look through the glossy pictures and read between the lines, you begin to see what’s really going on. ⇨



The plan rests on a number of cozy assumptions. It assumes that planners will be reasonable, developers will be benevolent, architects will be brilliant and citizens will be quiet. City planning is presented as a conflict-free process in which everyone, by the grace of the "free market," is a winner.

But as Tent City folks and many others who rarely make news will tell you, planning is no win-win game. In the social struggles over space in the city, there are, sure enough, losers. They are the people altogether missing from the plan. That's why their abrupt appearance in City Hall on September 24 was both odd and apt. To deflect attention away from what the plan can't see (or, rather, what it does not want you to see), it speaks in animated tones about *what* it chooses to see and *how* it sees. It urges everyone else to see the city the same way. So it looks down upon the city through what it calls the three lenses.

### The Vision of the Three Lenses

If we adopt the visionary language of the plan for a moment, what do we see through its first lens? We see downtown spaces and former industrial areas—large areas cleared for intensive development by the removal of existing planning controls (such as zoning). There is hardly a thought given to existing uses or users; in other words, it will be open season for developers to move in, build and make the best bang for their buck.

The second lens zooms in on the "Avenues." Large suburban east-west roads like Eglinton, Lawrence and Finch are strategically primed for gentrification, but without offending "Not In My Backyard" (NIMBY) taxpayers. With no investment in social housing (about which the plan is mute), the intensification of development on these avenues can only displace existing businesses and residents. Businesspeople who operate small-scale or start-up companies and renters unable to afford the new luxuries promised in these hot spots will have to pack up and leave.

In the third lens we see what the plan quaintly calls "Neighborhoods," which account for 75 percent of the land area of the city. Here change is forbidden. This obviously caters to NIMBYism, which official planners hold in the same high regard with which they consider the economic wisdom of *laissez-faire* development. In the context of a city otherwise ruled by developers, this "neighborhood" designation (distinct from the

already dense "apartment neighborhoods" where further densification is encouraged!) promises to send property values skywards.

In fact, the plan's language of lenses is deeply misleading. The lenses do not represent different ways of seeing, or distinct perspectives. They simply refer to three levels (densities) of development—high, medium and negligible. These designations serve the interests of people who own property and people who develop land. The deregulation of land use in former industrial zones, now called "employment areas," caters to powerful players in the global economy, creating "flexible enterprise zones" with publicly subsidized streets, services and spaces.

When you really look at it, then, the function of the three lenses becomes obvious—to partition the city into three distinct zones, one for each of the three dominant interest groups served by the plan: developers, taxpayers and global capitalists. It has nothing to say to anyone else. What the language of lenses obscures is therefore clear: the questionable reasons and mechanisms for favoring the interests of these powerful groups.

### What Will Be the Effects of the Plan?

While the plan represents a victory for the ruling classes of Toronto and the world, some of the background documents prepared for the plan reveal traces of a struggle, even within City Hall. *Toronto at the Crossroads*, for example, includes a crystal clear map of the concentrations of "socially vulnerable areas" in the city. It illustrates the growing economic polarization and pockets of poverty that form a ring running through the outer suburbs and around the inner city. Any reasonable official plan aiming to build a sustainable and equitable urban life would have started with these realities—the majority of existing people in the city—rather than banking on an exodus of dot.com millionaires and other pipe dreams of the "knowledge economy."

The urgent question is this: What will happen to the various socially vulnerable groups in the city whose neighborhoods are either ignored in this plan or earmarked for gentrification?

The plan actually paves the way to remove people from strategic downtown neighborhoods, concentrating poverty in high-density suburban spaces whose reality is deliberately hidden in its three-lens vision. Complementing this violence of

eviction is the alienating physical and symbolic violence constantly inflicted on individuals forced to live in these suburban spaces. These have a number of real effects.

- The physical distance between social classes protects affluent people from the violent power and frustration that economic exploitation creates.

- The physical separation prevents middle- and upper-class Torontonians from experiencing poverty firsthand, allowing them to indulge a fantasy of equality, while breeding stereotypes about people they don't have to interact with everyday.

- Separation organizes the city so that affluent people have much better access to not only luxury goods, but also to essential services like healthy food, a clean environment, healthcare, public transportation, parks, public spaces and jobs.

- Isolation atomizes the very communities that could otherwise create unified resistance to this alienating condition. One of the lasting legacies of Toronto's high-density modernist housing is that people are both concentrated and isolated from one another at the same time.

Real separation and isolation are symbolically overcome in the *image* of the beautiful city. The objective of urban design here is to mask beneath the spectacle of dazzling urban space the potentially explosive realities of the new amalgamated city of developers, taxpayers and global capital.

The relegation of poor populations to badly maintained suburban spaces and the constant move towards the gentrification of downtown neighborhoods is just the current manifestation of a long legacy of "progressive planning" in Toronto that was born in the early 1970s with the movement to stop the Spadina Expressway and save historic downtown neighborhoods. In the early days, lip service was paid to the construction of affordable housing, the protection of downtown industries and the maintenance of diverse populations, but by the early 1980s these explicit goals had all but disappeared. What has remained a constant since 1970 is the project of recuperating Toronto's "livable downtown" for the middle and affluent classes. The result of this planning legacy—which the new official plan continues—has been the increasing concentration of poverty in dense suburban neighborhoods.

### Communities of Resistance

The new official plan packs a lot of power: the financial power of business elites, the ideological power of mainstream planning intellectuals and professionals, the coercive power of the police. But the political-economic-bureaucratic logic of the plan also has its Achilles heel—the people it dispossesses.

What Toronto really has going for it is neither the "free market" nor its global city status, but its diverse community of committed people who are unwilling to put up with the *violence* of city planning—no matter how rational it seems to the "common sense" of corporate greed, professional planners and academic consultants. It has not gone unnoticed to these activists how the removal and dilution of various planning controls in the new plan (lax zoning, streamlined approval processes, restricted public consultation, behind-the-scenes maneuvering, etc.) amounts to an erosion of democracy in the planning process and a submission of urban life to the merciless logic of the "free market."

In recent years direct actions led by the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) and others have applied pressure on downtown neighborhoods, rudely waking up Toronto's elite from their gentrified dreams. Required as a complement to the fight against gentrification, however, are effective strategies and tactics of resistance emanating from Toronto's suburban spaces that are designed to overcome the very real isolation found in the peripheral areas of the city. A model for this kind of strategy is the Los Angeles Bus Riders Union, which was founded by dispersed riders spread throughout the Los Angeles area.

Toronto doesn't need a plan driven by corporate interests, developers and taxpayers. It does need a set of planning strategies produced by diverse communities already struggling against economic, cultural and ecological injustice that will open up spaces for people to imagine, transform and enjoy their city. This struggle for justice in the city is also one to reclaim the promise of planning for the very people whose fundamental *right to the city* is violated in the new official plan.

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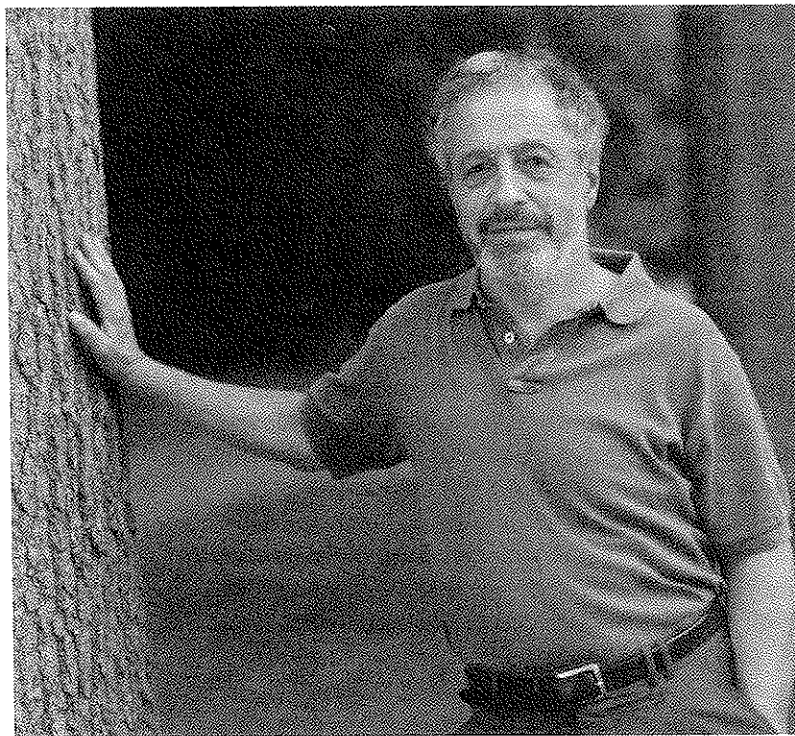
*Adrian Blackwell and Kanishka Goonewardena teach architecture, urban design and planning at the University of Toronto and are members of Planning Action, a group of architects, planners and activists in Toronto.*

## ACSP Conference Report: Planners Network Session on Four Decades of Radical Urban Planning

By Ann Forsyth and Norma Rantisi

*Based on a panel featuring Tom Angotti, Luis Aponte-Parés, Chester Hartman, Marie Kennedy and Barbara Rahder at the ACSP Conference in Baltimore, November 2002.*

What is radical planning and what does it mean to be a radical planner? *Between Eminence and Notoriety: Four Decades of Radical Urban Planning* (CUPR Press, 2002) by PN founder Chester Hartman served as the starting point for



Chester Hartman

a roundtable discussion at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning in Baltimore, Maryland, in November 2002. As moderator Barbara Rahder noted at the beginning of the session, a strength of Hartman's book is its form. The introduction is a story about his life and refers to Hartman's own experiences and writings. While framed by the book, the discussion in which panelists and audience members in the PN-sponsored session took part was wide-ranging, about the trajectory of progressive and radical planning in the decades since the 1960s.

Although it contained a strong undercurrent of nostalgia for the 1960s, the panel also raised a number of potential directions for the future.

Drawing on the autobiographical introduction to the book, Chester Hartman highlighted eight themes: social justice, research, activism, networking, planning as "organizing," understanding planning in terms of existing power holders and those who challenge them, planning as an empowerment tool and planning as "teaching." Chester particularly focused on two primary roles: research and advocacy. Throughout his discussion, he highlighted the significance that networks can have for planners as well as for those communities that are impacted by planning initiatives.

Tom Angotti responded to Chester's opening remarks by highlighting what he viewed as four key aspects of Hartman's work. The first aspect is Chester's deep sense of radical political culture and of what it means to be "urban." The second is that Chester represents an organic intellectual; his writings are linked up with the political, social and economic trends of the day, and he writes history in a way that is accessible. The third aspect is Chester's links to progressive politics—a commitment that led to the non-renewal of his contract at Harvard in the late 1960s. In his letter firing Chester (which is quoted in the book), William Nash, then chairman of Harvard's planning program, states: "I am convinced that your method of teaching conveys a sense of political strategy more than the substance of city and regional planning." The fourth aspect Tom cited is Chester's consistency in progressive politics; through the Poverty and Race Research Action Council (PRRAC), Chester has maintained a focus on the struggle against racism and poverty. Tom concluded by expressing an appreciation for the role Chester has played as the inventor of Planners Network and as a consummate networker, making possible the development of a democratic and dynamic organization with a progressive political focus.

Marie Kennedy focused on the shift from advocacy planning to transformative community development. The advocacy planning movement of the 1960s and 1970s, of which Chester was a leader, was characterized by community struggles focused on equity and the redistribution of existing resources. At the time that advocacy planning emerged, planners were under attack for having taken part in decisions that resulted in neighborhoods being uprooted. It was a time when planners worked for those who could pay for their services, governmental or private, and in essence were advocating the interests of those groups. Marie Kennedy identified four significant contributions made by advocacy planning: 1) challenging the notion of planning as a neutral science or apolitical; 2) institutionalizing community participation in planning in the public sphere; 3) introducing to planning education hands-on field projects in collaboration with underserved groups; and 4) a human legacy. Many of today's progressive planners had their ideas and careers forged in the advocacy planning movement. However, advocacy planning failed to effectively frame technical assistance in relationship to people's movements in such as way as to build those movements or to challenge people's existing goals. Advocacy planners often had a confused notion of what popular participation in and control over planning decisions meant, so that planning practice remained representational rather than participatory.

Transformative planning, on the other hand, is based on the understanding that significant redistribution of resources follows redistribution of control over resources. It assumes knowledge is power, and utilizes methods from participatory research and popular education to put in control those who are most affected by the problems addressed in the planning process. In this way, transformative planning elevates community development to at least an equal footing with tangible products. This approach does not imply that everyone should be made a professional planner—a possessor of the particular set of skills developed through professional education and practice. It does imply, however, that planning should integrate the overarching values of communities in the decision-making process and develop tools that frame real alternatives, including organizing, political and educational strategies and traditional planning outcomes. Despite its limitations, the advocacy planning

movement—and the approach employed by Chester in his own practice and in the education of planners—is a critical basis on which to establish such an agenda.

Luis Aponte-Parés contributed to the roundtable discussion by focusing on the missing voices in Chester's book. Luis suggested that when one speaks about advocacy for the poor, she or he is speaking about a generic group of people and that such a classification does not capture the varied, sometimes competing, interests or struggles that are at stake. He emphasized the need to compare Chester's narrative of radical planning history with other histories that have been written, such as those of Latinos, Asians or Blacks. Each of these groups has had their own projects. Luis acknowledged that such a perspective, in turn, would demand an assessment of the relative advantages and disadvantages of ethnic-centered development.

The roundtable ended with questions from the audience. An overarching question that dominated the discussion concerned the methods and strategies that could be employed to teach or engage in transformative planning, particularly in the present context of a conservative political landscape. Most of the speakers suggested that the grassroots level was an increasingly important site for activism, since there is now less support from the political establishment above, and since the courts are no longer a course for redress. This involvement would have to be fundamentally educational. It could include identifying the broader political, economic and social trends and revealing the racist or sexist assumptions underlying them; alerting people to media bias and how to challenge it; and learning about the history of social movements in the 1960s to establish what could be gleaned from those experiences for present day challenges. Several people identified the need for educators to forge close ties with local communities; they suggested sending students out into the field and also bringing activists and community leaders into the classroom. Overall, it was seen as vital to accommodate different perspectives and narratives. As Chester Hartman suggested, "who" is doing the telling is important, and there are many perspectives to learn from.

*Norma Rantisi and Ann Forsyth are members of the PN Magazine editorial group.*



# PN NEWS

## From PN Co-Chair Ayse Yonder

At the ACSP conference in November 2002, Planners Network organized a reception and a well-attended session titled "Four decades of radical urban planning" that focused on PNER Chester Hartman's new book, *Between Eminence and Notoriety: Four Decades of Radical Urban Planning* (Rutgers University Center for Urban Policy Research, 2002; ask for discount for PN members). The speakers included **Tom Angotti**, **Marie Kennedy**, **Luis Aponte-Parés**, **Barbara Rahder**, and **Chester Hartman**. (see article on page 36)

Instead of a conference in 2003, the Steering Committee decided to promote events organized by students and faculty at campuses throughout North America as part of a Campus Drive. The new initiative will be coordinated by **Richard Milgrom** (SUNY/Buffalo) and **Chester Hartman** (Poverty & Race Research Action Committee). Students and faculty on campuses across the United States and Canada will be invited to form a local committee to plan an event or series on participatory community planning practice. Events may include meetings, conferences, charettes, field trips or other forms of open dialogue with community groups outside the university. PN will provide each school committee with: 1) a packet of PN brochures, the PN reader, and back issues of the newsletter and magazine, 2) speakers and panelists on request, and 3) up to \$1,000 to organize the proposed event(s). Each campus committee will submit a short one-page proposal to the Steering Committee stating their objectives, proposed activity, membership goals, and the award amount requested. Please contact the Steering Committee at [rmilgrom@design.ap.buffalo.edu](mailto:rmilgrom@design.ap.buffalo.edu) if you have questions or want to participate in this initiative.

The PN New York Chapter's Forum series, co-sponsored by Pratt Institute, will start with two sessions on immigration issues in February 2003: "New York City's Changing Immigrant

Landscapes" and "NYC Electoral Redistricting and Immigrant Political Empowerment," organized by **Lynn McCormick** and **Arturo Sanchez**. On March 14, "Rebuilding Lessons from Europe" will be a follow up to last year's forum series on post-9/11 rebuilding efforts. Planners and community activists who participated in a study tour to Europe in the fall organized by Pratt Institute Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) will share their observations. The last session on April 11 will critically discuss the implications of Olympics on New York City. All meetings will be held at Pratt Manhattan on 144 W14th Street. (See Box on page 18)

Also in New York, the Task Force on Community Based Planning has moved on to a different level this year. **Tom Angotti** (PN Steering Committee and Hunter College) and **Eva Hanhardt** (Municipal Arts Society Planning Center and Pratt Institute) organized a major conference in November, 2002 titled "Planning into Practice" that was attended by over 400 participants from city agencies, community-based organizations, elected officials and planning professionals. Twenty workshops were held over two days on subjects such as: Getting Something in the New York City Budget; Where to Find the Money to Plan and Implement; Understanding Charter Provisions of ULURP and BSA, and Planning for Open Space and Waterfront Access. As a follow-up, a series of mini-courses are planned at Hunter College in 2003 to continue the dialogue among city agencies, community groups and professionals. A number of PNers are serving as facilitators (see box on page 46 for more information). Also, the Community-Based Planning Task Force is working with a technical advisory board to draft recommendations to strengthen the role of community-based planning in the City's overall planning framework. The Task Force has been encouraged to draft recommendations by several City Council members. (For more information on the campaign and task force, see [www.mas.org](http://www.mas.org)).

## Upcoming Conferences in Europe From PN Co-Chair Barbara Rahder

In the summer of 2003 there are at least two conferences in Europe in which PN members will be actively involved, and certainly more are welcome to become involved.

The International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA) will be hosting a conference in Berlin from June 22-28, 2003. As the name suggests, INURA conferences typically attract a mix of academic researchers and urban activists from around the world, including Switzerland, Italy, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Canada, France, the United States, Mexico, Brazil and Australia. Several PN members are active in INURA and will be taking part in the Berlin conference. While the conference theme hasn't been announced yet, previous themes have included "Solidarity," Caen & Paris (2002); "Rights & Fights," Florence (2001); "Urban Contrasts," Brussels (2000); "Regeneration and Renewal," Glasgow & Durham, UK (1999); "Diverse City,"

Toronto (1998); and "Possible Urban Worlds," Zurich (1997). All INURA conferences emphasize local community action set within a broader global context and most are relatively small and intimate events, allowing for plenty of interaction and discussion. Check the INURA website, [www.inura.org](http://www.inura.org), for details and updates, and register early to secure your spot.

The Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) and the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) will be holding their joint conference in Leuven, Belgium from July 8-12, 2003. The theme is "The Network Society: The New Context for Planning." PN members will be organizing at least one panel or workshop at the conference, and possibly a series of workshops exploring community-based planning in different countries and contexts. It is hoped that these workshops will include both PN members and INURA members, providing another opportunity for these two sister organizations to work together more closely. Check the ACSP website, [www.acsp.org](http://www.acsp.org), for more information.

## Community Planning & Development Minicourses

Following up on the Planning into Practice conference, Hunter College Department of Urban Affairs and Planning and the Municipal Art Society Planning Center invite members of community-based organizations, community boards, citizen and advocacy groups, graduate students, city agency managers, professionals and employees to continue the dialogue. The mini-courses will cover:

**New York City Policy:** What it is and what it can become  
**Innovation:** Great new practices from New York City and all over the world  
**How To Do It:** Implement community plans and projects

<b>Feb. 20</b>	Developing & implementing 197-a plans: Jocelyne Chait, Planning Consultant
<b>Feb. 27</b>	Developing affordable housing in changing neighborhoods: Brad Lander, Fifth Avenue Committee
<b>March 13</b>	Safe streets and traffic calming: Lisa Schreiber, Hunter College
<b>March 20</b>	Historic districts and community preservation: Vicki Weiner, Municipal Arts Society
<b>March 27</b>	Planning and zoning for mixed use: Eva Hanhardt, Municipal Arts Society
<b>April 3</b>	Green buildings and sustainable communities
<b>April 10</b>	From waste transfer stations to comprehensive waste management: Tim Logan, NYC Environmental Justice Alliance
<b>April 24</b>	Brownfields development: Mathy Stanislaus, Environmental Consultant
<b>May 1</b>	Inclusionary zoning: Laura Wolf-Powers, Pratt Institute

All sessions are Thursday evenings 5:10-7:00 pm at Hunter College, 68<sup>th</sup> & Lexington, NYC

Registration and information: William Beaufort 212-772-5517 or email: [wbeaufor@hunter.cuny.edu](mailto:wbeaufor@hunter.cuny.edu)  
 Nominal cost; certificates and course credit available

# RESOURCES

## Events

**April 4-5. Critical Tools**, the third biennial Network for Theory, History, and Criticism of Architecture colloquium. Brussels, Belgium. For more information, visit: [www.nethca.be](http://www.nethca.be).

**April 29-May 1. National Cooperative Business Association** Conference, Washington, DC. For more information, visit: [www.ncba.coop](http://www.ncba.coop).

**May 8-9. Health Policy and the Underserved**, sponsored by the Joint Center for Poverty Research and the Institute for Policy Research. Washington, DC. For more information, visit: [http://www.jcpr.org/newsletters/vol6\\_no4/notices.html](http://www.jcpr.org/newsletters/vol6_no4/notices.html).

**July 3-5. InsideOut Conference on Higher Education & Community Engagement**, 2nd International Conference on Capital, Community & Citizenship. For more information, visit: [www.uq.edu.au/insideout](http://www.uq.edu.au/insideout).

**July 3-6. The Planned City?**, International Seminar on Urban Form (ISUF) International Conference, Trani, Italy. For more information, visit: <http://odin.let.rug.nl/isuf/index.html>.

**July 8-12. Third Joint Congress of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning and the Association of European Schools of Planning**. Leuven, Belgium. For more information, visit: [www.acsop-acsp.org](http://www.acsop-acsp.org).

**September 10-14. Rail-Volution** ninth annual conference. Atlanta, Georgia. For more information, visit: [www.railvolution.com](http://www.railvolution.com).

## Calls For Papers

**Rail-Volution** seeks papers for its ninth annual conference, expected to draw over 1,200 citizen activists, business leaders, planners, academics, local elected officials, transit operators and federal & state officials to Atlanta in September. For more information, visit: [www.railvolution.com/CallForPapers.html](http://www.railvolution.com/CallForPapers.html). **Deadline:** March 14.

The Second International InsideOut Conference on Higher Education and Community

**Engagement, Charting Uncertainty: Capital, Community and Citizenship**, is seeking Papers (**Deadline:** February 24), Roundtables (**Deadline:** March 10), Workshops and Case Studies (**Deadline:** March 31) & Community Narratives (**Deadline:** May 5). All submissions are expected to highlight, either in theory and/or practice, direct relationships and partnerships between higher education and communities. For more information, visit: [www.uq.edu.au/insideout](http://www.uq.edu.au/insideout).

**The Annual Journal Of Urban Spaces: History, Culture And Design/ Anuario De Espacios Urbanos: Historia, Cultura Y Diseño** is seeking submissions for its Tenth Anniversary Edition. Some of the topics suitable for publication include: urban form, territory and architecture; social movements and political participation; demography; social and cultural identities (including questions of class, ethnicity, and gender). **Deadline:** February 28. For more information contact: rkan@correo.azc.uam.mx (email); (01 1.52) 5318.9368 (phone).

**The Building & Social Housing Foundation** is seeking applicants for its *World Habitat Awards*, awards granted annually to human settlement projects that provide practical and innovative solutions to current housing needs and problems—in both developed and developing countries—and which are capable of replication. **Deadline:** June 1. For more information, visit [www.architectureweek.com/cgi-bin/wlc?http://www.mandamus.co.uk/bshf](http://www.architectureweek.com/cgi-bin/wlc?http://www.mandamus.co.uk/bshf).

## Publications

**Bus Systems for the Future: Achieving Sustainable Transport Worldwide**, from the Paris-based International Energy Agency (IEA), examines model bus rapid transit systems from around the globe. Available at: [www.masstransitmag.com/script/search.asp?SearchSiteURL=/articles/2002/mt\\_12-02/mt\\_12-02\\_04.htm](http://www.masstransitmag.com/script/search.asp?SearchSiteURL=/articles/2002/mt_12-02/mt_12-02_04.htm).

**Community Organizing: A Populist Base for Social Equity and Smart Growth**, from the Funder's Network for Smart Growth & Livable Communities, seeks to provide greater insight into the premise and power of low-income community organizing, and what it means for low-income groups to take on regional equity. Available at: [www.fundersnetwork.org/info-url\\_nocat2778/info-url\\_nocat\\_show.htm?doc\\_id=140996](http://www.fundersnetwork.org/info-url_nocat2778/info-url_nocat_show.htm?doc_id=140996).

**Demographic Trends in the 20th Century**, a Census 2000 Special Report from the US Census Bureau. Available at: [www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/censr-4.pdf](http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/censr-4.pdf).

**Development Report Card for States**, from the Corporation for Enterprise Development, ranks states according to three indexes—performance, business vitality and development capacity—and finds that states that have invested in the building blocks of long-term economic growth are doing better, despite economic hard times, than their peers. Available at: <http://drc.cfed.org/>.

**Economic Policy Review**, from the Federal Reserve Board of New York, presents a special issue on the economic effects of 9/11, exploring some of the key economic consequences of the attacks. Available at: [www.newyorkfed.org/rmaghome/econ\\_pol/2002](http://www.newyorkfed.org/rmaghome/econ_pol/2002).

**The Employment Experience of Public Housing Residents: Findings from the Jobs-Plus Baseline Survey**, from Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, dispels some widespread myths about public housing residents, i.e. that they are harder to employ than other low-income working-age populations. Available at: [www.mdrc.org/Reports2002/jp\\_employment/jp\\_employment\\_overview.htm](http://www.mdrc.org/Reports2002/jp_employment/jp_employment_overview.htm).

**False HOPE: A Critical Assessment of the HOPE VI Public Housing Redevelopment Program**, prepared by the National Housing Law Project together with the Poverty & Race Research Action Council, Sherwood Research Associates, and Everywhere and Now Public Housing Residents Organizing Nationally Together. The report argues that the HOPE IV program, launched almost ten years ago to address the most troubled portion of the public housing stock, has been the source of new problems as serious as those it was created to address. Available at: [www.nhlp.org/false\\_hope.htm](http://www.nhlp.org/false_hope.htm).

**Identifying the Real Costs and Benefits of Sports Facilities**, from the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, addresses the inadequate information available to decision-makers about the real costs and benefits of sports facilities by establishing a baseline of that includes a broad understanding of existing literature on sports facilities and economic development, and an awareness of the full range of costs and benefits of these projects. Available at: [www.lincolnst.edu/pubs/pub-detail.asp?id=671](http://www.lincolnst.edu/pubs/pub-detail.asp?id=671).

**Metro-Regional Transportation Solutions for the 21st Century: City County Innovation Through TEA-21**, from the US Conference of Mayors, highlights some of the best transportation-related efforts initiated by cities and counties since TEA-21's passage. Available at: [www.usmayors.org/tea3/tea21.pdf](http://www.usmayors.org/tea3/tea21.pdf).

**Modest Progress: The Narrowing Spatial Mismatch Between Blacks and Jobs in the 1990s**, from the Brookings Institution, analyzes US Census Bureau data and concludes that blacks' physical isolation from jobs improved slightly in the 1990s, though it remains significant. The survey also observes that the residential movement of black households within metropolitan areas drove most of the decline of segregation. Available at: [www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/es/urban/publications/raphaelstoll\\_spatialmismatch.htm](http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/es/urban/publications/raphaelstoll_spatialmismatch.htm).

**Race, Equity and Smart Growth: Why People of Color Must Speak for Themselves**, from the Environmental Justice Resource Center, argues that while some people of color communities and grassroots organizations are taking action on their own to address a range of incomes that affect them, a national equity and smart growth strategy is needed among African Americans and other people of color environmental justice organizations and networks, educational institutions, churches, civil rights groups, professional associations, legal groups, community development corporations, business associations, bankers, and health care providers. Available at: [www.ejrc.cau.edu/raceequitysmartgrowth.htm](http://www.ejrc.cau.edu/raceequitysmartgrowth.htm).

**Rebuilding Community: A Toolkit For Historic Preservation And Neighborhood Redevelopment**, from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, discusses how to use historic preservation to address the affordable housing crisis. Drawing from success stories across the country, it describes effective public policies, innovative financing programs, model partnerships and powerful marketing and design programs that have been used successfully in communities to stimulate housing rehabilitation. Available at: [www.nationaltrust.org/news/docs/20021203\\_toolkit.html](http://www.nationaltrust.org/news/docs/20021203_toolkit.html).

**School Finance and Sprawl: How Pennsylvania's System of School Finance Drives Sprawl and Undermines Pennsylvania's Older Communities**, from 10,000 Friends of Pennsylvania, focuses on land use issues overlooked in the ongoing debate about property taxes, arguing that Pennsylvania's outdated property tax and education funding systems threaten the viability of Pennsylvania's older communities and drive sprawl. Available at: [www.10000friends.org/Web\\_Pages/News/SchoolFinanceandSprawl11-18-02.pdf](http://www.10000friends.org/Web_Pages/News/SchoolFinanceandSprawl11-18-02.pdf).

**Seizing City Assets: Ten Steps to Urban Land Reform**, from the Brookings Institution, examines the significant problems and opportunities associated with abandoned land and housing present in many of the nation's cities. Available at: [www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/urban/publications/brophyveyvacantstepsexsum.htm](http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/urban/publications/brophyveyvacantstepsexsum.htm).

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# PN UPDATES

## Bringing America Home

Planners Network contributed \$100 to the National Coalition for the Homeless and its campaign in support of The Bringing America Home Act. This bill, introduced by Congresswoman Julia Carson (D-IN) and Congressman John Conyers (D-MI), develops a comprehensive housing agenda that addresses the totality of the homeless experience, facilitates massive new homeownership, and maintains a commitment to tenants by improving public housing and more choices for those living in assisted housing. The bill includes a resolution supporting the idea that housing is a basic human right, an expansion of resources for affordable housing and homelessness programs, and greater income and work supports, health care and services, and civil rights protections for people experiencing homelessness.

## PN Bio/Obituary: JEFFREY B. HOCHMAN

Jeffrey Hochman B. Hochman, a Roosevelt Island, New York City, resident, passed away on Monday, October 21, 2002. He is survived by his wife, Dr. Jacqueline Pope; stepchildren, Nneka Pope, Donna Pope Tomlinson, Rhonda Pope Stephens and Lauren Pope Forbes; father, Sam Hochman; sister, Lori Hrica and her husband John Hrica; niece and nephew, Jennifer Hrica and Matthew Hrica respectively and numerous friends and family. The cause of death was leukemia. To describe the pain of loss that his family and friends are now experiencing is impossible.

Jeffrey Hochman loved urban life completely, especially New York City and Roosevelt Island in particular. He completely embraced the idea of "city citizen". As a result, Jeffrey Hochman earned a Masters degree in Urban Planning from New York University and began work on a PhD at the City University of New York. He helped establish Planners Network. He was

employed full-time as a Project Manager at the Department of Design and Construction, and employed as an adjunct professor at LaGuardia Community College. Jeffrey Hochman was an active participant on the Roosevelt Island Residents Association's Common Council and the Rivercross Committee for Concerned Shareholders, attending meetings and providing invaluable research data and other information to both organizations. It was also during this period that he battled his illness on his own terms, always doggedly pushing forward, while contributing to both the city and the community that he loved. Teaching was his passion. Thus his friends and family have established a scholarship in his name to be awarded to students most in need of tuition assistance. The family humbly requests that you join their efforts and contribute to the fund.

Donations can be sent to:

LaGuardia Education Fund, Inc.,  
31-10 Thomson Avenue  
Room E-413  
Long Island City, New York 11101

Kindly note the following on the memo line of your check: *Jeffrey Hochman Scholarship Fund*.

Jeffrey Hochman opted for the road less traveled. He lived his life as if it were an ever evolving process of moral growth. Jeffrey Hochman believed in the worth and dignity of everyone. He was committed to changing the world for the better, individual by individual. When he witnessed, whether explicit or implicit, acts or forms of anti-Semitism, racism, sexism, ageism, or homophobia, he challenged the person or policy. Jeffrey Hochman was not the type to pick and choose his battles. He was consistent and persistent in addressing all injustices no matter the consequences to himself, and indeed there were consequences. The world has never been kind to those who point out its

flaws and challenge people to think and change.

However, Jeffrey Hochman's inner strength was never breached and amazingly he seemed to gain strength even under the most arduous of circumstances. His vision always remained clear and steadfast.

## New Appointments

**Joe Grengs** (Ph.D., Cornell University) has recently assumed the position of Assistant Professor in the Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Michigan. Joe researches the relationships between transportation policy and city development patterns. He is currently studying how suburbanization influences poverty concentration and social inequality, with a focus on recent changes in national transportation policy. Other research interests include methods of spatial analysis, urban politics, and new forms of social movements emerging in the field of transportation. He teaches courses in transportation policy, GIS, and urban theory.

**Kara Heffernan** recently relocated from New York City to Chicago, after completing a 2-year contract with the Ford Foundation, where she worked in its Community & Resource Development Unit. She just started a project at the Center for Neighborhood Technology, an organization grounded in principles of sustainable development that works to invent and implement new tools and methods that create livable urban communities.

**Eric Mann** (Director of the Labor/Community Strategy Center in Los Angeles) is author of the newly-released book, *Dispatches from Durban: Firsthand Commentaries on the World Conference Against Racism and Post-September 11 Movement Strategies*, with a foreword by Robin D.G. Kelley (author of *Freedom Dreams*), 260 pp., 2002. The book is published by Frontlines Press and the cost is \$14.95, with a 20% discount for 10 or more. Eric has been a civil rights, anti-Vietnam war, labor, and environmental organizer for 35 years with the Congress of Racial Equality, the Students for a Democratic Society, the United Auto Workers, and the L.A. Bus Riders Union. For more information about his book or to order a copy, visit the website: [www.frontlinespress.com](http://www.frontlinespress.com) or call (213) 387-2800.

**Katharine N. Rankin** (Department of Geography and Program in Planning, University of Toronto) has been awarded a three-year research grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a project entitled, *Gender Politics of Development Institutions: A Comparative Case Study of Microfinance in Nepal and Vietnam*. Katharine's recent publications include: "Social Capital, Microfinance, and the Politics of Development," *Journal of Feminist Economics*, March 2002; "Social Capital and (Community) Development: a North/South perspective" (with Margit Mayer), *Antipode*, 2002; "Governing Development: Neoliberalism, Microcredit, and Rational Economic Woman," *Economy and Society*, 2001, 30 (1); and "Planning and the Politics of Social Needs: Lessons from Financial Market Regulation in Nepal," *International Planning Studies*, 2001, 6 (1).

**Mildred Warner** (Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University), with a team of economists from the Department of Applied Economics and Management at Cornell University, has received a three-year research grant from the Child Care Bureau to support the Linking Child Care and Economic Development project. Mildred will serve as the Principal Investigator, and the objectives of the project are to frame a consistent methodology for measuring the economic impact of the child care industry that could be used nation-wide and to assess how states use the economic impact research to create new policy approaches. Mildred's recent publications include: "The Uneven Distribution of Market Solutions for Public Goods," (with A. Hefetz) *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 2002, 24 (4); "Applying Market Solutions to Public Services: An Assessment of Efficiency, Equity and Voice," (with A. Hefetz) *Urban Affairs Review*, 2002, 38(1); "State Policy Under Devolution: Redistribution and Centralization," *National Tax Journal*, 2001, Vol LIV(3); "Local Government Restructuring: Privatization and Its Alternatives," (with R. Hebdon) *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 2001, 20 (2); and "Building Social Capital: the Role of Local Government," *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 2001, 30.

## PN Member Updates

An update from **PN'er and President-Elect of AICP, Daniel Lauber**: The members of APA ⇒



and AICP have finally elected a very progressive AICP Commission with a fair number of current and past PN members. I hope that PN will work closely with us to help us bring the PN message to the broader planning community and to let the PN community know that AICP is changing.

Of the 8 AICP Commission members, half are currently or have been PN members:

•Daniel Lauber,  
President-Elect, AICP President 1992-94,  
APA President, 1985-86

•Norman Krumholz,  
Region 4 Commissioner,  
AICP President 1998-2000,  
APA President 1986-87

•Mark Winogron,  
Region 6 Commissioner

•Donald Kruekeberg,  
Region 1 Commissioner

Any PN members interested in serving on AICP Committees or running in the next APA and AICP election should contact me soon. Position statements must be submitted to the nominating committees this summer. Up for election are President-Elect of APA and President-Elect of AICP, two at-large APA directors (one of these seats will probably be limited to a member of a minority racial group), and APA and AICP directors for regions 3 (southeast from Texas to Florida), 4 (midwest), and 5 (great plains and the west, except CA and NV). The APA Board, in particular, needs independent progressive planners to run.

Also, the new AICP Commission issued a strong condemnation of Senator Trent Lott's statements praising Strom Thurmond's segregationist run for the Presidency. The statement is included below and it goes a lot further than most of the criticism Lott has received.

#### Nation's Planners Condemn Sen. Lott Remarks

December 13, 2002

WASHINGTON, DC — In an unusual move, the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) today condemned the remarks made by Senate Republican Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi on

December 5 suggesting that the United States "wouldn't have had all these problems over all these years" if Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), the presidential nominee of the breakaway Dixiecrat Party and a strong racial segregationist, had been elected president in 1948.

"The AICP Board of Commissioners can no longer remain silent when one of our nation's leaders espouses policies of racial segregation," said AICP President Sam Casella of Tallahassee, Florida. "Sen. Lott's comments legitimize the racial bigotry that has led to the racially discriminatory exclusionary zoning and housing policies that make it so difficult for professional planners to conduct the inclusionary planning they are pledged to implement."

Under the AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct, urban and regional planners are duty-bound not to engage in planning practices that exclude minorities from many communities. Racial discrimination underlies most of our nation's domestic problems that planners are working to solve, the AICP Commission said. "We have a principled obligation to demand that someone holding such beliefs not lead the Senate," Casella said. He added that two of AICP's primary responsibilities are to support the ethics of its members who must often contend with similar bigotry in their capacity as planners in communities where residents supporting racial segregation attempt to subvert fair land use, environmental, and infrastructure decisions.

"Just which 'problems' does Senator Lott mean," asked AICP President-Elect Daniel Lauber of River Forest, Illinois. "Is he referring to the development of racially integrated communities? Is he talking about the many suburbs that have been built to enable whites to live away from African-Americans? Does he believe that the color of people's skin should exclude them from holding professional jobs like planners, doctors, or lawyers — jobs from which African-Americans were actually barred by law under racial segregation? Does he think that African-Americans should not have full access to living the American Dream?"

"Racial segregation in housing continues to be one of the great obstacles accessing quality education and decent living environments for a huge proportion of African-Americans," added Lauber. "Professional city plan- [Cont. on page 46]

## WELCOME

### NEW PLANNERS NETWORK MEMBERS

Emily Adin  
Teti Argo  
Mark Bostaph  
Sarah Coffin  
Alison Cordero  
Miquela Craytor  
Kevin Dwarka  
Nueva Esperanza  
Katherine Fichter  
Helen Gildener  
Bryan Higgins  
Heidi Hoernig  
Ivan Kondili  
Hui-En Lee  
Ute Lehrer  
Bob Maltz  
Alfonso Martinez Cearra  
Andrew Mott  
Chandru Murthi  
Kiara Nagel  
Andrew Pask  
Robert Bairo Paterson  
Keith Pezzoli  
Peter Phibbs  
Melody Rivera  
Curtis Robbins  
Michael Romanos  
Naemah Sarmad-Frederick  
Marc Schlossberg  
Rebecca Scott  
Zack Taylor  
Jacob Wagner  
Sarah Whitham  
Kristen Wiederhorn  
Theresa Williamson

### RENEWING MEMBERS

Emily P. Achtenberg  
Sy Adler  
Don Alexander  
Jennifer Amory  
Michal Aronson  
Eve and Gale Bach  
S. Paul Bain  
Stephen Barton  
Anya Baum  
John Beckman  
Chris Laird Benner  
Frank Bonilla  
Natalie Bonnewit  
Roger Borgenicht  
Sam Boskey  
Prentice Bowsher  
Shirley A. Bramhall  
Rachel Bratt  
Fred Broadwell

Ray Bromley  
Shannon Cairns  
Nico Calavita  
Jana Carp  
Daniel P. Carr  
Jocelyne Chait  
Hilary Chapman  
George Cheung  
Carla Chifos  
Ann M. Cibulskis  
Jennifer J. Clark  
Katherine Coit  
Carmen M. Concepcion  
Bruce Dale  
Dr. Shefali S. Dastidar  
Ari Davidow  
June Davies  
Lisa Davis  
Margaret Dewar  
Vanessa Dingley  
Michael Downie  
Dana R. Driskell  
Mark L. Drucker  
Penelope Duda  
Isabelle Dumas  
Lynne Elizabeth  
Louise Elving  
Joseph G. Feinberg  
Roger Feinstein  
Marshall Feldman  
M. Russel Feldman  
Katherine Fichter  
Gary Fields  
David Finet  
Lilith Finkler  
Raphael Fischler  
Robert Fisher  
Bradley Flamm  
Judy Flynn  
Kate Foster  
Elizabeth Friedman  
Eva Frigerio  
Liette Gilbert  
Richard Glance  
William W. Goldsmith  
Diane Gormely-Barnes  
Doug Greenfeld  
Hazel & Christopher Gunn  
Zebulon X. Hall  
Jill Hamberg  
Stacy Anne Harwood  
Sharon Hausam  
Kara Heffernan  
Michael K. Heiman  
Anne Henny  
Mark S. Herwick  
Heather Hillman  
Heidi Hoernig  
Meghan E. Horl  
Jennifer Hurley  
Richard Hyman  
Claudia B. Isaac

Jay Jurie  
Olga Kahn  
Jane Holtz Kay  
Holly Kaye  
Larry Keating  
Jennifer Keesmaat  
Marie Kennedy  
Stephan Klein  
Kim Knowles-Yanez  
David Kovacs  
Norman Krumholz  
Daniel Lauber  
Mickey Lauria  
Robert Ledogar  
Richard Lennon  
Maryann Leshin  
Richard D. Lewis  
Teresa Lingafelter  
J. Kenneth Lipner  
Ronit Little  
Timothy Logue  
Johanna W. Looye  
Amalia Lorentz  
Jeffery Lowe  
Lewis Lubka  
Barbara Lynch  
Alan Mallach  
Richard Mandel  
Fredric Markus  
Fernando Marti  
Lucilla Fuller Marvel  
Lynn McCormick  
Thom McCue  
Marnie McGregor  
Bruce Mesh  
Peter Meyer  
Gene Milgram  
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### SUSTAINING MEMBERS

Tom Angotti  
Ann Markusen  
Alfonso Martinez Cearra  
Ayse Yonder



ners want to fulfill their obligations under the AICP Code of Professional Responsibility. When elected officials like Sen. Lott make statements that support racial segregation, it makes it difficult, if not impossible, for us to perform our jobs ethically and to practice sound planning."

"The tragedy with racism is that it never really goes away," noted AICP Commissioner Mark Winogrand of Venice, California. "It simply becomes more emboldened whenever we are more tolerant of it, whenever we stop challenging it. When the spotlight is on it, it retreats back into its ugly hole — much the way Sen. Lott is now backtracking," Winogrand added.

Located in Washington, D.C., AICP is the professional institute of the American Planning Association (APA). According to the AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct, members of AICP are ethically obligated facilitate tolerant, inclusive communities, and to guard against exclusionary zoning and other discrim-

inatory practices. The AICP ethics code states that AICP members must:

"Strive to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of disadvantaged groups and persons, and must urge the alteration of policies, institutions and decisions which oppose such needs; and

"Strive to increase the opportunities for women and members of recognized minorities to become professional planners."

For further comments, contact:

•Sam Casella, AICP President:  
850-219-0029 (Tallahassee, Florida)

•Daniel Lauber, AICP President-Elect:  
708-366-5200 (River Forest, Illinois)

•Mark Winogrand, AICP Commissioner:  
310-915-0001 (Venice, California)

## PN Resources [Cont. from page 41]

**Smart Growth: The Future of the American Metropolis?**, published by the London School of Economics, reviews the current state of smart-growth and metropolitan thinking in the US; outlines the demographic, market, and development trends affecting metropolitan areas; describes how current government policies facilitate the excessive decentralization of people and jobs and how smart-growth reforms are being enacted; and identifies the major challenges the smart growth cause needs to address in order to succeed in shaping sustainable metropolitan communities. Available at: [www.brookings.edu/dybdoc-root/es/urban/publications/20021104kat-zlse2.htm](http://www.brookings.edu/dybdoc-root/es/urban/publications/20021104kat-zlse2.htm).

**Subsidizing the Low Road: Economic Development in Baltimore**, from Good Jobs First, details how Baltimore's past and present economic development practices have failed to create family-wage jobs. The report also points out that while past efforts often involved federal and state funds, the city is now making increased use of Payments in Lieu of Taxes (PILOTS) and Tax Increment Financing (TIF), both of which threaten to reduce future local property tax revenues for education, infrastructure and other public

services. Available at  
[www.goodjobsfirst.org/pdf/balt.pdf](http://www.goodjobsfirst.org/pdf/balt.pdf).

**Sustainable Solutions: Building Assets for Empowerment and Sustainable Development**, from the Ford Foundation, offers an introduction to fourteen initiatives that illustrate the growth of a global movement for social equity, environmental justice and sustainable development. Available at: [www.fordfound.org/publications/recent\\_articles/sustainable\\_solutions.cfm](http://www.fordfound.org/publications/recent_articles/sustainable_solutions.cfm).

**Tango 73: A Bus Rider's Diary**, a documentary from New Day Films, tells the stories of three women who depend on AC Transit's Number 73 bus to go about their daily lives along the east shore of the San Francisco Bay. The film is available for use by professors, community groups and libraries at: [www.new-day.com](http://www.new-day.com).

The **US Department of Transportation's Bureau of Transportation Statistics** created this site to provide one-stop shopping for access to over 100 transportation-related databases. Information can be searched by mode, subject or agency. A brief description of each database is available and many databases can be downloaded directly. Available at: [www.transtats.bts.gov](http://www.transtats.bts.gov).

# 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:

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<b>\$50</b>	Income over \$50,000, organizations and libraries
<b>\$100</b>	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.

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\$40	for students, unemployed, and those with incomes <\$40,000
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\$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 for the Reader is \$6 but there are discounts available 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](http://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.

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ACSP Panel Recap

RN

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

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

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