

# PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

The Magazine of Planners Network

## New York City's Walls and Bridges



Photo by Tom Angotti

The Steps of New York's City Hall: Closed to the Public

## City Planners Realize Windfalls for Developers and Oppose Inclusionary Zoning

By Alex Schafran

New York City's planners are rezoning land left and right to make way for new housing. They refuse to adopt, however, a tried-and-true method of city planning to ensure that some of the new housing goes to meet the dire housing needs of working-class people. That method, inclusionary zoning, mandates or gives incentives to developers so that a certain proportion of new housing units are affordable to people with modest incomes. It has been used successfully all over the country, but the New York City Department of City Planning (DCP) proclaims that equity principles have no place in zoning, as they proudly create windfall profits for landowners.

Historically working-class neighborhoods that are getting up-zoned, like Hell's Kitchen in Manhattan and Williamsburg in Brooklyn (Utne Reader calls it the third hippest neighborhood in the country), have been particularly hard-hit by both the overall housing crisis and [\[Cont. on page 7\]](#)

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FORUM

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*

## Planning in New York City: Walls that Divide, Bridges that Unite

By Tom Angotti

As the preeminent global center of capitalism, New York City thrives on the free flow of capital. But it's not so liberal when it comes to the movement of people. More and more walls are going up that divide people and neighborhoods and restrict freedoms in public space. The city's planners are helping to build these walls, through their actions and inaction.

Since 9/11, fear and gentrification have reinforced the city's historic trends of segregation by class and race. Real estate developers, with the help of city planners, are busy chopping up neighborhoods into thousands of private enclaves - office parks, malls, superstores, gated buildings and exclusive communities. The city's most notable public spaces-its sidewalks-are getting fenced off and restricted by draconian policing and surveillance measures. The most dramatic of these incursions takes place during massive street demonstrations like those planned for the Republic National Convention this August.

The tourist literature describes New York as the most "diverse" city in the world. 60% are people of color, and over a third are foreign-born, representing every nation on the earth. But behind the veneer of ethnic harmony lie gaping inequalities as wide as those to be found throughout the empire whose economic center is arguably here on Wall Street. Record unemployment and homelessness, skyrocketing housing costs, shrinking public services, racial profiling, epidemics of HIV/AIDS, asthma and tuberculosis in communities of color. These are as much a part of the reality in New York City as glitzy Times Square, artsy Soho, and snooty Rockefeller Center. New York City looks a lot like the rest of the world. The balance of economic and political power still rests with the minority of European descent who keep a tight grip on the reins.

## Bloomberg's Master Plans

Michael Bloomberg, Gotham's billionaire mayor since 2000, is the 29th richest man in the country. He is commander-in-chief of a new downtown development boom reminiscent of the bad old days of Robert Moses. Through his energetic Deputy Mayor Daniel Doctoroff, the mayor has issued several gargantuan master plans. These are based on a pro-growth economic development philosophy that sees new offices and apartments automatically meeting the needs for jobs and housing, though they will likely go to the upper strata who, after all, need them the least. The rezoning schemes that follow these plans will push out good industrial jobs and jack up rents in surrounding areas, resulting in net losses for working class people.

Bloomberg's ambitious strategy includes dumping ten million square feet of office space on the World Trade Center site, rezoning Hells Kitchen/Clinton on the west side of Manhattan for another 28 million square feet, and squeezing ten million square feet into downtown Brooklyn. Never mind that there is already fifty million square feet of vacant office space in the city. Tens of thousands of new apartments, mostly built for the high end of the market, will accompany the office towers so that executives and their families will be able to walk to work, while most of us will be stuck on the increasingly crowded and costly mass transit system. As more working people are forced to move further and further away from these new luxury enclaves to find affordable housing, the city will look more and more like a disjointed amalgamation of separate enclaves.

The real question New Yorkers have to face is not how many jobs and how many housing units will new real estate deals create but what kind of city do we want? The city's planners have allowed the public dialogue to be about whether or not there should be another fifty million square feet of office space, not about how the city can create and maintain healthy and viable neighborhoods. What kind of economic [Cont. on page 24]

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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.

# PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

The Magazine of Planners Network

No. 159

www.plannersnetwork.org

Spring 2004

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## GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Progressive Planning 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 Topics (articles welcome):

PN Conference Issue  
Olympic Cities

## Planning for All New Yorkers: The Campaign for Community-Based Planning

By Eve Baron

The year 2001 was a landmark one for electoral politics in New York City. Due to the first-time imposition of term limits, two-thirds of the City Council's incumbent members would lose their seats, making room for the biggest freshman class since the inception of the institution. New York City's liberal four-to-one match of campaign finances also allowed those less traditionally endowed to run for office. These two factors combined to give candidates running on advocacy platforms opportunities to win big at the local level, and advocates across the city some reason to be optimistic that their views might be represented within the political system.

As elections neared, the Campaign for Community-Based Planning—a collaboration of environmental justice advocates, academics, grassroots planners, community board members and representatives from civic organizations—was formed. Campaign participants recognized that the time was ripe for a change in the way New York City planned for its future development. Themes well-known to advocates of civic planning were echoed in their concerns: sustainability; equal access to power, representation and resources; equitable distribution of city resources and burdens; and recognition of locally-based knowledge. The group sought to enlighten City Council and Mayoral candidates about the opportunities for building a livable New York by first providing communities with the resources to plan for building livable communities.

In July of 2001 the campaign coordinated a Candidates' Forum, which heard the candidates speak of their commitment to community-based plans as building blocks for the development of citywide and regional plans, policies and fiscal commitments. In the winter of 2001, City Council members-elect were presented with an analysis of the content, process, efficacy and level of governmental support for community-based plans. A Community-Based Planning Technical Advisory Committee was formed in April of 2002 to assist the Task Force in drafting policies to institutionalize community-based planning in New York City. This committee comprised individuals from academic departments, planning firms, advocacy organizations and city agencies.

In order to assist communities in planning, the

Campaign initiated both a free online consultant directory and matching service, and a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping support program. The consultant directory contains a list of planning and architecture firms, academic departments, advocacy organizations and individual consultants and serves as a resource for community-based groups working on planning projects. The matching service pairs community groups seeking planning and other forms of assistance with local universities seeking projects for studios, classes or internships. The GIS mapping support program provides technical support to community organizations creating their own GIS projects and developing unique neighborhood-level data sets for planning and analysis.

The Campaign for Community-Based Planning is now in its fourth year. One of the most notable collaborations of the citywide campaign is The Briefing Book of Community-Based Plans, prepared by the Municipal Art Society Planning Center. This document contains the platform for community-based planning and descriptions of over seventy community-based plans developed in neighborhoods throughout the city. The compendium consists of short entries, illustrated with photographs and GIS maps that provide a quick and vital understanding of each plan's goals and recommendations. The publication outlines the common themes and development goals that many communities share (e.g., waterfront access, open space development in areas underserved by parks).

### Community Plans Not Recognized

The size and complexity of New York City renders a strictly centralized planning process inadequate. On paper, New York City has what appears to be strong support for community-based planning—the City Charter empowers its fifty-nine community boards to draft neighborhood-based “197-a plans.” But this commitment is less apparent in reality. The City Charter's original intent was that when public policies are formulated, 197-a plans are to be folded into the city's planning decisions. In practice, however, they are often adopted by the city and then ignored or used only when their recommendations align with city priorities. City agencies give scant assistance to communities' planning efforts, whether through 197-a plans or any other

plans, and only rarely implement their plan recommendations. In fact, rather than seeing community-based plans as building blocks in the development of public planning policy, some have regarded community planning and policy planning as separate, even conflicting, interests. Only eight 197-a plans have been approved in more than a decade.

Considered both individually and in the aggregate, community-based plans represent some of the best planning being done in New York City. In many poor communities, they are the only planning efforts. Since government provides no staff or financial assistance, low- and moderate-income communities have turned to foundations, banks, planning schools and technical assistance providers for support in developing their plans. Yet even after they have managed to complete their plans, many of these communities find it difficult to get the publicity and support needed to have these plans taken seriously and integrated into official plans, policies and investments.

In some places, as in parts of the South Bronx and Brooklyn, community-based plans have resulted in almost miraculous urban transformations. But most of these successes have been achieved only after many years of effort involving:

- fundraising to hire technical planning assistance;
- waiting for the Department of City Planning (DCP) or other agencies to share public data (and in some cases having to use freedom of information requests) or having to redo existing research;
- convincing DCP to accept innovative proposals as valid and worthy of inclusion in a plan;
- organizing and applying pressure to convince the city to consider plans that do not coincide with market pressures;
- lobbying, protesting and litigating to stop other plans and proposals from being implemented before community plans have been adopted or before adopted plans have been implemented;
- identifying and securing implementation funding (sometimes without the assistance or support of municipal decision-makers);
- pressuring decision-makers, one by one, to take community plans off the shelves and implement the recommendations by using them to shape and influence capital and expense investments and land use and zoning proposals and approvals.

### Today's Neighborhood Planning Challenges

Despite these obstacles, communities continue to advocate for their plans. Two of the best examples of neighborhood-based planning processes and plans—the Williamsburg Waterfront 197-a plan and the Greenpoint 197-a plan—were adopted by the City Planning Commission and the City Council in

December, 2001. Even before the Williamsburg Plan was adopted, its utility was demonstrated: The community used it to help convince New York State to allocate Environmental Bond Act monies for acquisition of part of a vacant industrial site to develop recreational and open space. Yet it remains unclear what the future holds for implementation of the Williamsburg plan. Measures to protect the remaining manufacturing in the neighborhood's mixed-use economy were virtually removed at the insistence of the city. And despite explicit recommendations in the plan for high performance manufacturing, mixed-use development and affordable housing, the city's major rezoning proposal for the area is being driven by the market. Land use variances (from manufacturing to residential use) are granted with barely a nod to the plan. A proposal for the siting of an energy generation plant for the waterfront is being considered by the state. The community is forced once again to mobilize opposition, even though they have already used the methods prescribed by the city for proactive planning.

Some progress has been made on the part of the city to take neighborhood plans more seriously.

**Community-based plans represent some of the best planning being done in New York City.**

The Department of City Planning has engaged a community-based task force in Greenpoint and Williamsburg to respond to a major rezoning proposal for the area. DCP has also made use of its own environmental impact statement to include review of a community-created alternative to its plan for the west side of Manhattan. Residents and advocates are being asked for input in advance of a planning study DCP is formulating for 125th Street in Harlem.

But there are other examples that dramatize that there is still a need for communities to create their own plans and for these plans to be recognized. A large-scale re-zoning for Downtown Brooklyn, which will have an extensive impact on surrounding residential neighborhoods, will be joined by a private developer's plan to construct a massive development—a basketball arena, commercial space and 4,500 units of housing. The two plans, taken together, will transform the face of Downtown Brooklyn from civic center and local shopping district to major regional commercial hub and recreation destination, with the inherent risks of increased vehicle traffic, overwhelmed public transportation, spiraling ⇨

real estate costs and displacement. The local community board had started a 197-a plan, yet the process stalled due to lack of funding. The board was expected to review DCP's behemoth development proposal in sixty days, without the benefit of any professional planning input or economic feasibility analysis. The board failed to achieve consensus by the time it had to register a vote in the official public review process. The plan continues its way through the land use review process without the benefit of even the meager advisory role afforded the community in this process, much less an expression of a community vision culled from a community-based plan for the area.

In New York City there is an urgent need for timely development of affordable housing, open space and economic development opportunities. As an inflated real estate market in Lower Manhattan forces the attention of developers to areas elsewhere, many communities are concerned that redevelopment inevitably results in their displacement. Community-based plans, with their emphasis on these pressing issues, frequently offer the best answers. When working in coalitions, communities have even developed the only truly comprehensive citywide plans for issues such as solid waste.

#### The Next Phase: Transforming Community Boards

The Campaign has now shifted its focus away from candidates and toward building grassroots support for and participation in the creation of strategies for its core mission: building the capacity of the fifty-nine community boards to represent all constituencies in their respective neighborhoods; increasing resources so that the boards can actually plan; and increasing resources for the implementation of neighborhood-based plans. The goals of the campaign now are to:

- Build awareness about community-based planning as the most viable and effective means of developing housing, jobs and recreational amenities in New York City's neighborhoods;
- Advocate for specific ways in which city government can provide concrete support to communities undertaking community-based plans of all types, from developing and promoting their plans to implementation;
- Build awareness of community-based planning among elected officials and their staff.

*Eve Baron is a planner with the Municipal Art Society Planning Center.*

## WALLS OR BRIDGES?

By Eduardo Galeano

They live in walled mansions, giant houses or complexes surrounded by electrified fences and armed guards. Guards and closed-circuit cameras are there day and night. Rich children travel, like money, in armored cars. They only know their city by sight.... They don't live in the city where they live.... In the era of globalization, children no longer belong to any place, but the ones who have less of a place are those who have more things. They grow up without roots, robbed of cultural identity, and their only social consciousness is that the real world is dangerous.

In Latin America, children and adolescents are almost half the population. Half of them half live in misery. Survivors: in Latin America 100 children die every hour of hunger and curable diseases, but there are more and more poor children in the streets and on farms in this region that manufactures poor people and prohibits poverty.

Trapped in panic, middle-class children are increasingly condemned to the humiliation of perpetual internment. In the city of the future, which is coming into being in today's city, tele-children are watched by electronic baby-sitters. They will look out at the street from their tele-houses. The street is out-of-bounds due to violence or the fear of violence....

From Patas Arriba (Translated by Tom Angotti)

#### Schafran [cont. from page 1]

rapid gentrification. Proposed zoning in these neighborhoods would create billions of dollars of value instantly. A landowner who owns a two-story warehouse will soon have a piece of land that can hold a 40-story office or residential tower. The fancy stores and renovated buildings that now dot formerly destitute stretches like Fifth Avenue and Bedford Avenue have already brought with them rising rents and the displacement of long-time residents. That is why all over the city organizations like Harlem Operation Take Back and Bushwick Housing Independence Project have sprung up to fight alongside existing community-based organizations and legal assistance agencies to protect residents from eviction. One of the policy changes they're demanding from the city is the institution of inclusionary zoning.

New York City is in the grips of what is arguably its deepest affordable housing crisis. This is a city of renters—65 percent of households live in rental units. According to the 2002 Housing and Vacancy Survey, conducted by the city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), 25 percent of New Yorkers pay more than 50 percent of their income in rent. Another 25 percent pay more than 30 percent, the federal standard of affordability. The overall vacancy rate is 2.94 percent, well below the 5 percent benchmark for a housing crisis as defined by state law. But the vacancy rate varies at different price points. For units renting under \$700 per month, the vacancy rate is just 2 percent, but for units renting over \$2,000 per month, the vacancy rate is over 10 percent. And as of January 2004, 38,317 people were homeless, the highest number in city history.

New York City has had a limited inclusionary zoning program since 1987, providing floor-area bonuses to developers who build or rehabilitate low-income apartments. The program is available only in R10 (high-density) districts in Manhattan, and it prohibits the use of additional subsidies for the low-income units, rendering it rather ineffective and underutilized.

According to a study by Robert Burchell and Catherine Cally, there are seventy-two jurisdictions throughout the country that use some form of inclusionary zoning, including the states of California and New Jersey. Perhaps the best known is Montgomery County, Maryland, where an ordinance requires affordable housing in any development of fifty or more units. It has produced more than 10,000 units of affordable housing since its inception in 1974.

#### Planners Who Support Inclusionary Measures

Brad Lander and Frank Braconi, both urban planners, don't see eye-to-eye on many of the important affordable housing issues facing New York City today. Lander directs Pratt Institute's Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED) and Braconi leads the Citizens Housing and Planning Council (CHPC). PICCED works with community-based advocacy organizations while CHPC's board includes some of the city's most powerful bankers and developers. These organizations have often butted heads over the years on issues like rent regulation and the rebuilding of Lower Manhattan.

***The Department of City Planning stridently opposes any inclusionary zoning outside the very limited regulations that now apply to the highest density zones in Manhattan.***

There is one significant area, however, where these two dedicated planners and their organizations agree: A strong, citywide inclusionary zoning program is integral to the future of affordable housing development in New York City. Yet the Department of City Planning stridently opposes any inclusionary zoning outside of the very limited regulations that now apply to the highest density zones in Manhattan (and they even criticize these rules). If PICCED and CHPC can both agree that inclusionary zoning is crucial to the city's future, why is DCP so opposed?

#### Developers Oppose It

One argument is that more government regulation will only depress the market and lead to less units being built, not more. "Developers can lose money constructing affordable housing," said Real Estate Board of New York senior vice president Michael Slattery. "It is a pure economic burden with no real benefit to them."

But Lander and others point to study after study that indicate that in other cities with both mandatory and voluntary inclusionary zoning regulations, development has not been dampened. "The experience of hundreds of cities, towns and suburbs across the country sug- ⇨

gests that the rewards and requirements can be calibrated to generate new affordable housing without putting a chill on development. We believe that inclusionary requirements and options will actually help make communities more open to increased density, and help increase supply overall. And finally, of course, a policy needs to be thoughtful and appropriately tailored. You could go too far and impose such a burden that no one would develop, but that is so unlikely given current politics as to be ridiculous. The market and windfalls in the re-zoning areas are plenty strong enough to support some inclusionary requirement and still be very, very attractive deals."

***If the city is going to give landowners such an enormous windfall, why not take back 10-20 percent of that value and dedicate it to affordable housing?***

#### Planners Oppose It

Some think that DCP's opposition to inclusionary zoning is not solely based on the political power of profit-driven developers, but a deeper philosophical opposition. They point to the predominance in the agency of what Pratt urban planning professor Laura Wolf-Powers calls "strict constructionists," planners who believe that the only valid purpose of zoning is to keep physical development patterns from causing nuisances and harm to public health—for example, by blocking light or emitting noxious fumes into heavily populated areas. The need for affordable housing does not qualify as the sort of nuisance or harm that zoning was intended to counteract: It's seen as an extraneous social goal that zoning policy shouldn't get caught up with.

"What is frustrating about this position," says Wolf-Powers, "is that it seems to housing advocates that DCP is willing to rely on zoning to protect property and to create huge opportunities for real estate developers (as occurs when there is an up-zoning) but not to create opportunities for people and communities with fewer resources."

Lander also finds this particular stance difficult to stomach, if not a bit hypocritical. "DCP is currently aggressively using the city's formidable zoning powers in social-goal-oriented, 'anti-market' ways to enhance quality-of-life through a full-scale down-zoning on Staten Island, to save the High Line in Manhattan, and to preserve historic brownstone

neighborhoods. But the Department remains steadfast in opposition to using zoning powers to ensure that redevelopment initiatives will offer housing opportunities for average New Yorkers."

#### A Missed Opportunity

The city's planners already defeated a strong neighborhood campaign to get inclusionary zoning. In April 2003 DCP re-zoned a twenty-five block stretch of Brooklyn's Fourth Avenue, allowing developers to put twelve-story residential buildings on a stretch of land currently occupied by three-story tenements and low-slung warehouses. The re-zoning also provided protections against new development to the surrounding low-density brownstone community.

In anticipation of the re-zoning, the Fifth Avenue Committee (FAC), a neighborhood-based non-profit developer and advocacy organization, proposed a change in the city's zoning law that would take advantage of the windfall about to be granted to landowners and use some of it to develop much-needed affordable housing. They proposed a voluntary inclusionary program, similar to one proposed by CHPC the year before, which would allow developers to build up to the height being proposed by the city if they made 20 percent of the units affordable. Otherwise, they would be restricted to a slightly lower Floor Area Ratio (FAR), which would effectively lower the heights of their buildings by a floor or two. Similar to the CHPC proposal, the proposed zoning would have eliminated previous restrictions on the use of subsidies by developers.

Despite support from many community leaders and many in the City Council, the proposal was defeated, and DCP pushed through a re-zoning with no inclusionary provisions. Why was this fight lost? The way Braconi sees it, advocates got on the ball too late to make a difference. By the time the CHPC and FAC plans came out, there was already a tacit agreement at DCP about the new densities. There was little fear on the part of interested parties within the development community that they would lose anything, so they did not have to compromise.

#### The Next Battlefront

Now the city is planning two massive re-zonings that will make Park Slope's look puny in comparison. A huge swath of Manhattan's west side and virtually the entire Williamsburg/Greenpoint (Brooklyn) waterfront are being considered for conversion from low-slung manufacturing and mixed-use zones into sites for 40-60-story high-rises. The inclusionary zoning battle is heating up again, this time at a more fevered pitch. So the question

becomes, if the city is going to give landowners such an enormous windfall, why not take back 10-20 percent of that value and dedicate it to affordable housing?

Council Member David Yassky (D-Brooklyn) has introduced a bill that would make inclusionary zoning mandatory. He is unequivocal in his thinking. "When there is a change from manufacturing to residential, property values increase 500 or 600 percent. When you have that kind of wealth created by a government action, it is only fair to use some of it for the public good. The Department of City Planning came to Brooklyn and told the residents there would be affordable housing in new developments. If they really intend to keep their promise, then they should have no problem putting it into writing and guaranteeing that it will be done."

Some small cracks are starting to appear in the DCP's frontal assault on inclusionary zoning proposals. Karen Phillips, one of thirteen appointees to the City Planning Commission, recently came out in favor of inclusionary zoning. "I feel that the need for affordable housing should be included as a part of the new residential zoning," she said at a recent public hearing. At another event she stated, "The market does short-sighted things to benefit itself at the moment. The long-range cost is a loss of diversity."

One prominent for-profit developer who supports inclusionary zoning and spoke on the condition of anonymity did not mince words in his description of the motivation driving some of his colleagues to oppose it. "It is simple, unbridled greed. The only thing that will really happen is that land values will go down. In fact, it will give an advantage to certain sectors of the development community who have experience working

with government programs—developers who know how to make affordable housing profitable. But many of us are afraid to speak out—it would jeopardize not only our standing in the community but our relationship with the city on which we depend to make a living."

Braconi sees the possibility of some sort of compromise on inclusionary zoning as the city faces increased opposition to its plans. The political realities of the situation, as he sees it, will force DCP and the for-profit development community to compromise and accept some sort of bonus program, much like the one proposed in Park Slope, in order to achieve the level of density they desire.

Lander, on the other hand, thinks that only a mandatory program will work, at least in the areas that are being up-zoned. According to Daniel Lauber, president of the American Institute of Certified Planners and a long-time advocate of inclusionary housing, "The research is pretty much unanimous that inclusionary zoning must be mandated. It simply does not work if it's voluntary."

The irony, as Braconi sees it, is that the city to date has been a nationwide leader in innovative affordable housing techniques. "For whatever reason, we have not taken advantage of this particular tool," he said. "It's somewhat surprising that the city has not looked at inclusionary housing seriously. But I'm happy to see that more and more there is ample public discussion of this issue. We still believe that a bonus program should be implemented citywide."

*Alex Schafran is a student in the Graduate Urban Planning Program at Hunter College, City University of New York. Beatrice Ammann provided valuable research assistance in preparing this article.*

## PLANNERS NETWORK CONFERENCE 2004

# WALLS OR BRIDGES? Strategies for Rebuilding Communities

JUNE 25-27, 2004  
NEW YORK CITY

See page 36 for details.

## Olympic Glory or Fool's Gold?: New Yorkers Boo Stadium & Midtown Plan

By Eugene J. Patron

Just a stone's throw from Manhattan's famed Theatre District, the curtain has risen on one of the city's major urban redevelopment dramas. The line of community and civic groups opposing the massive Hudson Yards plan runs around the block. Dreamed up under the administration of former mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the Hudson Yards plan gained a new impetus under Mayor Michael Bloomberg, the billionaire executive who wants to see the city's Midtown office district grow to the west. The Bloomberg administration sees the west side as the city's "last frontier."

The Hudson Yards master plan would turn a 360-acre slice of Manhattan's west side into a new commercial and residential district twenty times larger than the World Trade Center site. At a price tag of at least \$5 billion for the city (and untold billions more for private developers), the plan calls for 28 million square feet of Class A office space, 12.6 million square feet of primarily market-rate housing, an extension of the No. 7 subway line, a near doubling in size of the Jacob Javits Convention Center and a ten-block network of greenspaces. At the center of this major new development would be a 75,000-seat stadium for the Jets football team, which would also be the centerpiece of New York's bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games.

Many residents of Hell's Kitchen and Clinton, the two neighborhoods falling under the sight of the proposed Hudson Yards plan, think that traffic-snarled Manhattan is hardly the best site to locate a new stadium. Agreeing with them are the major Broadway theater owners, who fear a huge stadium at the doorstep of Manhattan's Theater District will produce endless gridlock.

### Hell's Kitchen Meets West Midtown

Members of the local community have responded by forming two groups to voice differing degrees of opposition to the current Hudson Yards plan. One, the grassroots West Side Coalition, opposes any large-scale development of Manhattan's west side and is determined that the curtain should come down on the city's plans. The other, the Hell's Kitchen

Neighborhood Association (HKNA), has chosen to respond proactively and last summer drafted a plan of its own. As long-time Clinton resident and affordable housing advocate Joe Restuccia explains, the HKNA plan is not anti-development. It doesn't, however, buy into the mayor's dubious logic that developers need the inducement of a huge sports stadium to build new office and residential towers in Manhattan. "We want development that respects our neighborhoods and plans wisely for the city's economy," Restuccia says. "A West Side stadium just doesn't fit that bill."

Hell's Kitchen, the core area affected by the Hudson Yards plan, was once a hardscrabble neighborhood of tenements, warehouses and factories. Today part of the neighborhood is quickly gentrifying, while many streets to the west are ensnared in a morass of pedestrian-hostile transportation infrastructure. Traffic crawls along the entrance ramps to the Lincoln Tunnel. Buses go in and out of the Port Authority Bus Terminal, and the area is dotted with bus parking lots. The largest of these monster facilities is the Metropolitan Transit Authority's 23-acre Hudson Yards, which serves nearby Penn Station.

Atop Hudson Yards the city is proposing to put a platform. The city would pay \$600 million for the platform and a retractable roof, the Jets \$800 million for the stadium structure itself. The Jets want to build what Deputy Mayor Daniel Doctoroff insists will be not merely a stadium but a unique multi-use "sports and convention center." When the Jets are not playing one of their ten home games each year, the stadium would supplement the exhibition space of the Jacob Javits Convention Center.

The Javits, located just to the north of Hudson Yards, is currently the fifteenth largest convention center in the country, at 720,000 square feet. The Hudson Yards plan calls for a two-phase expansion of the Javits to create a total of 1.3 million square feet of exhibition space. The Bloomberg administration insists that to compete with the very largest of convention centers nationally, such as Chicago and Las Vegas, New York needs to link an expanded Javits to the Jet's hybrid stadium-convention center. No one really

knows though how well a detached stadium will be able to fit into the convention complex and provide the kind of exhibition space trade show organizers desire.

### The Plan for West Midtown

To allow for the millions of feet of office and residential space outlined in the Hudson Yards plan, the Department of City Planning (DCP) is proposing local zoning changes that in some places would do away with the Floor Area Ratios (FARs, which control the amount of building floor area that can be fit on a lot) —literally allowing real estate developers to reach for the stars if they so choose. The proposed zoning calls for lower densities close to the existing residential sections of Hell's Kitchen, but a wall of buildings with the largest FARs (19-24) would essentially cut the neighborhood off from the Hudson River. Two new parks, each about a square block in size, are included in the plan, but they would really be bookends to the stadium.

One important question people in the neighborhood are raising is how quickly and to what extent the real estate market will actually show interest in this tremendous amount of new office and commercial space, especially at an untested locale. The Regional Planning Association estimates that the current Manhattan office vacancy rate is about 13 percent (representing 45-60 million feet of available space) and another 14 million square feet of office space is under construction.

Given that a vacancy rate under 9 percent is usually thought to be the signal that new space is needed, the Hudson Yards plan may be overly optimistic about the market's appetite for new supply. Even when speculating on the long-term (20-30 years) need for new office and commercial space, the city should continue to strengthen the expanding central business districts in its outer boroughs, such as Brooklyn and Queens, rather than flood the market with more space in Manhattan, where building and infrastructure costs are much higher.

### The Alternative Plan

The HKNA plan calls instead for a maximum of 20 million square feet of office space and holds out the possibility of mixing commercial and residential development, depending on how demand evolves. But the biggest difference between the city and community plans is that the HKNA eschews building a stadium over the MTA rail yards for expanding the Javits Convention

Center south over the same site. Like the Moscone Center in San Francisco, a park would be built atop the Javits Center. And rather than allow a wall of large commercial and residential development to line the avenues that parallel the Hudson River waterfront, the HKNA plan places towers on the four corners of the expanded Javits site, with lower commercial structures between them on three sides. This leaves open the western side facing the Hudson River and would improve public access to the waterfront.

Some critics of the Hudson Yards plan have questioned the expenditure of \$1.7 billion in public funds to extend the No. 7 train a mere one mile to the doorstep of the new stadium. A light rail system could potentially serve the area better, with or without the stadium. The HKNA plan doesn't rule out an extension of the No. 7 line, but recommends that it be phased in if demand begins to exceed the capacity of other transportation options, such as bus and light rail shuttle service.



Hudson Rail Yards as they appear today.

Affordable housing is another key issue. New York City has a residential vacancy rate of only 2.9 percent. Monthly apartment rents near the Hudson Yards site are already \$400 above the city average. The city's plan does not include any proposals to provide affordable housing to working people with modest incomes. Instead, it relies on standard, market-driven incentives such as the "80/20" program, which gives developers bonuses for providing financing for "affordable" units amounting to 20 percent of the total. ⇨

All told, when completely developed over thirty years, Hudson Yards is estimated to produce 1,500 units of housing available to people earning up to 60 percent of the area's median income of \$47,899 for a family of four. For a plan which will see the city assume over \$5 billion in debt, that is a feeble accomplishment. Community advocates also stress that besides a greater number of affordable units, they want to see any new zoning include strong, anti-harassment regulations such as exist in the nearby Special Clinton District; there, property owners must satisfy a number of criteria before they can evict or terminate occupancy in the course of altering or demolishing a building.

The Bloomberg administration, citing the tight deadlines the city faces in competing to host the 2012 Olympics, has waved aside the idea of slowing down the planning process to tackle specific community concerns. Deputy Mayor Doctoroff has a carnival barker's talent for teasing the public with the supposed big picture benefits of the city's plan, heralding impressive figures such as the \$2 billion annual revenue that Hudson Yards will supposedly generate by 2025.

#### Shaky Financing, Hidden Subsidies

What Doctoroff doesn't say is that the city will have to spend billions of dollars (none of which it has on-hand) to realize the primary infrastructure components of the plan. Doctoroff's way out is to create a special authority that will borrow money, money that will hopefully be paid back later on with future tax revenues. Developers will pay a newly-created Hudson Yards Infrastructure Corporation payments in lieu of taxes (PILOTs) equal to what their property taxes would have been. The corporation will then use the PILOTs to retire the \$2.8 billion in construction bonds for the stadium and the extension of the No. 7 train. (The \$1.4 billion for the Javits expansion and new parking facility will likely be paid for

through an increased hotel tax.) However, since the best scenario has the first revenues from Hudson Yards starting in 2010, the city will have to borrow \$900 million now in commercial paper to pay for the start of construction—debt that most likely will carry a high interest rate because of the risk investors face banking on future tax revenue that may not materialize.

Through clever manipulation of New York State law, it will actually be the Hudson Yards Infrastructure Corporation (an agency not subject to approval by the state legislature) rather than the City of New York that has to carry most of that debt on its books. Of course if push ever came to shove, most investors would probably find the distinction as paper thin as it is and expect the city and state to make good on the Corporation's debt.

Critics of the plan decry the way the Bloomberg administration is attempting to shield the Hudson Yards development from transparent and equitable oversight. "The idea of raising billions by selling development rights and then putting the money in an off-budget fund [is] an extraordinary departure from democratic government," says New York Assembly member Richard Gottfried.

The current Hudson Yards plan centered around a stadium would offer most New Yorkers perhaps some fleeting moments of Olympic fanfare beyond the bread and circuses they know all too well. Meanwhile, the powerful real estate, sports and finance industries will enjoy years of financial windfall at the taxpayers' expense. In a city where Robert Moses ruled with almost absolute power as planning czar, the cloaking of private gain in supposed public good is not a new script. But planning for Manhattan's west side need not reenact past development dramas.

*Eugene J. Patron is a student at the State University of New York.*

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## Lower Manhattan after 9/11:

### Where's the Planning, Where's the Money?

By Peter Marcuse

The Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC), the state-run entity responsible for rebuilding Lower Manhattan, recently released a Draft Generic Environmental Impact Statement (DGEIS) for redevelopment of the World Trade Center site. The 2,000 page document looks at the proposed "construction on the project site of a World Trade Center memorial and memorial-related improvements, up to 10 million square feet of above-grade Class A office space, plus associated below-grade parking, storage, mechanical, loading and other non-office space, up to 1 million square feet of retail space, a hotel with up to 800 rooms and up to 150,000 square feet of conference space, new open space areas, museum and cultural facilities and certain infrastructure improvements."

The DGEIS is the most comprehensive planning document to be issued by any governmental agency looking at the site and its neighborhood. The LMDC's General Project Plan is half the length of the DGEIS and provides few meaningful details. Still, not included in the DGEIS are major transportation improvements directly related to the site, such as the proposed direct link to JFK Airport. The expected total investment may well be in excess of \$10 billion, including both public and private funds. The LMDC alone has received \$2.8 billion for its work. In addition there are federal funds from the Small Business Administration and Federal Emergency Management Agency, state grants for businesses, Department of Labor funds, Port Authority and Metropolitan Transportation Authority investments and ongoing New York City expenditures. No long-term coordination of these efforts or planning by any single agency has been undertaken. It is not even possible to get a full accounting of just how much money is available in sum or how it will be allocated overall.

#### Problematic Planning Process

What kind of planning process is under way for this major project involving sizable public funds? It appears that planning is being done in a piecemeal fashion and that many important decisions are being made outside the public arena.

The "Plan" says nothing at all about housing, jobs, costs or the phasing of development. Nor has any other long-term or comprehensive planning document or set of studies been released by any of the public agencies that are or should be involved. The Department of City Planning has been conspicuously AWOL from the discussions; belatedly, it has made some relatively minor comments about the use of streets within the World Trade Center site itself. The Office of the Mayor prepared conceptual plans for Lower Manhattan, but not as proposals for the City Planning Commission or for zoning or planning changes (and not through the City's official land use review process). Thus, environmental review has effectively become the way in which plans are presented to the public for discussion. Better this than nothing, but this isn't the generally accepted way sound planning should be undertaken.

**The 'Plan' says nothing at all about housing, jobs, costs or the phasing of development.**

The DGEIS itself is inadequate. The Civic Alliance, a broad coalition of civic and professional groups, submitted detailed comments on it, focusing primarily on the impacts on the physical environment. Earlier it had submitted broader comments on the Draft Scope. But the DGEIS hardly reflects consideration of the comments made on the Draft Scope. Issues raised in both sets of comments, and others that should be of concern, remain wide open. These include the issues referred to in my earlier discussions in *Planners Network Magazine* (No. 153, Winter 2003; No. 149, Sept/Dec 2001): affordable housing, jobs, priorities in investment for transportation infrastructure (including subway vs. commuter rail vs. airport link), the sinking of West Street, environmental justice issues in waste treatment and disposal, desirable cultural facilities and so forth. →

Part of the problem is that the area covered by the DGEIS is too restricted. Planning is normally based on information generated through the examination of specific "study areas." The definition of these can be decisive for what concerns are addressed in a plan. Whether, for instance, Chinatown should be included in "Lower Manhattan" or not (a fight that was in fact won) makes a major difference. To look at plans for office construction one needs a study area that includes, certainly, Midtown, but also the sub-centers long talked about in all five boroughs. Today, it should also include the far west side, where major public and private investment is under consideration. For housing, the market and the need should certainly include most of New York City, and possibly for some purposes its suburbs. Environmental concerns arising in Lower Manhattan are certainly not narrowly confined to just that area. Yet none of the study areas designated in the DGEIS extend north of Canal Street, and there has been no comprehensive study of the relationship between actions in Lower Manhattan and the rest of the city.

**The central concern is for real estate development and incentives for businesses located in this one part of the city.**

Part of the problem is legal and political. The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey is a legal entity not democratically responsible to the citizenry, and is legally exempt from the city's planning, zoning and building regulations. Likewise, the LMDC is a subsidiary of the Empire State Development Corporation and by its state charter not directly responsible to the citizenry, and exempt from basic city requirements and procedures, despite its extensive legal powers. The City Planning Commission—the agency of the city that might be expected to play a key role in overall planning here—has not made any visible attempt to influence the proceedings, this despite the fact that the LMDC has to muster a two-thirds vote to override the city on certain questions. The city's Economic Development Corporation and the Office of the Deputy Mayor have been more active than the Department of City Planning or the Planning Commission. But this action mostly evades the city's planning procedures, which civic activists fought hard to get, starting with the community boards.

So public participation has been extremely limited. There has indeed been very extensive public comment, thinking, planning and response to plans, reflecting a desire to be engaged. Indeed, in some of the activities of voluntary agencies, such as the Civic Alliance, the Regional Plan Association, the Municipal Art Society and the Labor/Community Advocacy Network (in addition to many, many others), experiments have been successfully conducted in large-scale community involvement in planning. The Listening to the City meeting at the Javits Convention Center drew almost 5,000 people. The Municipal Art Society, as part of its Imagine New York project, organized meetings, charrettes, workshops and much more. But all of this has been privately undertaken, and the public agencies involved have only at their own discretion listened to or responded (perhaps driven by their public relations needs). The democratically-responsive decision-making bodies within the city, such as the City Council, have barely been involved in the events.

The net result is a very limited and skewed focus of the extensive public efforts underway in dealing with the consequences of September 11. The public agencies look only at Lower Manhattan, not at the rest of the city; only at the interests directly involved there, and then only at some of those. The central concern is for real estate development and incentives for businesses located in this one part of the city.

Steven Spinola, president of the Real Estate Board of New York, is quoted in the October 29, 2001 issue of *The New York Times*: "We believe we represent the people most affected, the owners and the tenants. When you add the Alliance for Downtown New York and labor, that's it." In a commentary by Gerry Khermouch highlighted in a special issue of *Business Week* (October 22, 2001), the Real Estate Board of New York's vice president is quoted as saying: "Lofty talk of a breakthrough regional approach... makes me nervous.... The focus must be on the downtown business district. It's only when that area is restored to vibrancy that other regional goals should be taken up... Forget about the big picture. New York needs to make rebuilding Lower Manhattan Job. No. 1."

For proper planning to take place—planning that will direct the expenditure of billions of dollars and provide for equitable development in Lower Manhattan—a redirection of planning efforts in the direction of real participation, comprehensiveness and socially-focused actions is badly needed.

*Peter Marcuse is professor of urban planning at Columbia University in New York City.*

## Greening New York, One Building at a Time

By Bomee Jung

How can we create settlements that are humane, vibrant and beneficial to both the natural environment and people? And how can we apply our accumulating technological, financial and social innovations to change the process of development from one of resource consumption to one of perpetual regeneration?

One part of the answer may lie in a movement that is now building momentum in New York City: green building. Green building entails designing, constructing, operating and decommissioning buildings in order to achieve the best possible allocation of energy and resources. It addresses the objectives of urban planning—the provision of health, happiness and prosperity by addressing economics, environment, equity and empathy in the built environment—in the context of individual buildings. Proponents of green building in both the private and public sectors have been working to establish the movement in New York City for years. The current spate of redevelopment and re-zoning to accommodate growth and economic change in neighborhoods and commercial districts from Upper Manhattan to the outer boroughs offers an ideal opportunity to encourage green building all around the city.

### Benefits of Green Building

The US Green Building Council (USGBC), arguably the catalyst and driving force behind the current boom in the field, highlights a variety of environmental, economic and public health benefits of green building. For owners and occupants, green buildings reduce operating cost and improve occupant productivity and health. They ameliorate pollution, reduce the amount of construction waste destined for landfills and promote resource and ecosystem conservation for the community. GreenHomeNYC, a community-oriented volunteer organization that promotes sustainable urban buildings, is working to build support for the movement among building owners and residents of New York City.

Green buildings offer benefits not only to their owners and occupants, but also to the community-at-large. An office tower that uses a fraction of the amount of energy commonly used by commercial buildings, or that helps to control stormwater runoff through vegetated roofs, for

example, may allow a community to avoid building additional power stations or a wastewater treatment facility.

Based on the ideal of grassroots action and operated by volunteers, GreenHomeNYC educates consumers about the impact of buildings and their constituent resource consumption while helping them leverage opportunities to shrink the environmental footprints of their homes and workplaces. In providing information to consumers rather than to the construction and design industry, GreenHomeNYC is



Above: 1024 Dean Street is a 6-unit residential conversion of a previously vacant ice house built in the 1880s in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. Winner of the KeySpan Green Cinderella grant, it incorporates roof-integrated photovoltaics, radiant in-floor heating, 2300 square feet of green roof and extensive use of reclaimed wood.

unique among local green building organizations. The organization helps people make choices that suit their environmental values, fall within their financial means, and fit their lifestyles.

GreenHomeNYC engages in grassroots environmental education, including: a free monthly public presentation on various topics by green building practitioners; an annual tour of green buildings in New York City; an online information resource about products, events, ven- ⇨



dors and service providers; and one-on-one informational meetings and direct participation in projects. By encouraging city dwellers to make small, manageable changes in their homes, offices and routines, the organizers hope to increase awareness of the consequences of



Tour of GreenHomeNYC project in Crown Heights.

their habits as consumers, and return a sense of responsibility for and empowerment over the built environment. People who feel an emotional and moral attachment to a place cherish and protect it. It may seem a great jump to go from replacing an incandescent light bulb with a compact fluorescent one to reversing the course of environmental degradation, but if it fosters a habit of mindful change, it is an important beginning.

Green buildings are still the rare exceptions in New York City, accounting for only about 500 residential units out of three million, and a handful of commercial buildings. The challenge and opportunity of green building as an environmental movement lies in demonstrating the new economic opportunity for New York City that green building represents. Stakeholders of disparate interests are starting to come together to push the movement forward, this in a city reputed to be slow to adopt environmental trends that flourish in places like the West Coast.

Elected officials have thrown their support behind various green building initiatives. Developers of both commercial market-rate properties and affordable housing have undertaken green buildings and there are profile-raising projects such as Battery Park City's Solaire building and various green building competitions. There are financial incentives in place, such as the state-sponsored tax credit for large new construction green buildings. And legislation is proposed that would require all new city-owned buildings to conform to the city's green guidelines.

Urban planners, policymakers and community advocates have an unprecedented opportunity to harness the potential of green building to create healthy neighborhoods. Planning advocates can support green building and help move New York City one step closer to long-term environmental sustainability.

*Bomee Jung is the founder of GreenHomeNYC and a board member of the Friends of the High School for Environmental Studies. She can be reached at bomee@GreenHomeNYC.org.*

## Get On the PN Roster

In 1998 PN published its last PN Roster. We plan to develop a new roster in the upcoming year. We are exploring options for a 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:

<b>Name:</b>	<b>Phone:</b>
<b>Organization:</b>	<b>Fax:</b>
<b>Address:</b>	<b>Email:</b>
<b>City:</b>	<b>URL:</b>
<b>State:</b>	<b>A brief statement describing your work, interests, and/or activities in 50 words or less.</b>
<b>Zip:</b>	
<b>Country:</b>	

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

## Mapping the Way to Community-Based Planning

New York City communities now have a quick and easy way to access detailed maps of their neighborhoods. Led by the Planning Center of the Municipal Art Society (MAS), the Community Information Technology Initiative (CITI) is providing community boards with the technology and training to view, analyze and share data about land use, zoning, planning proposals and more, all using an online Geographic Information System (GIS).

New York City is divided into fifty-nine community districts, each run by fifty unpaid, appointed members who live and/or work in the district. The mandate of these citizen-led city agencies is to make service delivery and land use planning recommendations for the districts they serve. Community boards receive little or no technical planning assistance from city government, struggle to gain access to GIS data created by city agencies and are not trained in how to utilize spatial information to make more informed planning decisions.

### The Need for Maps

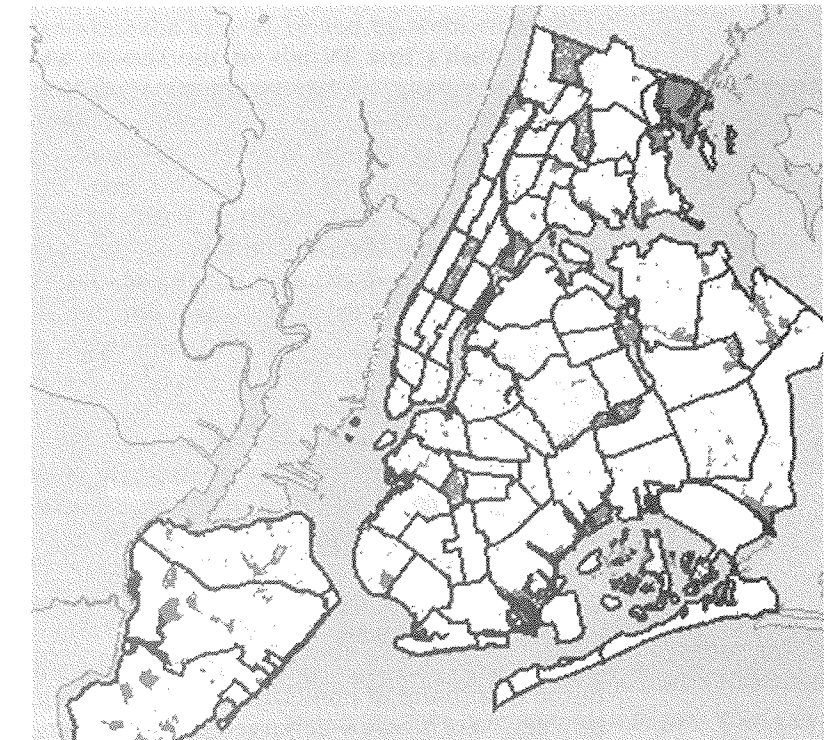
Shortly after 9/11, the Planning Center staff was asked to assist Community Board 1 in Lower Manhattan with a planning meeting. During the meeting, a question was raised about how many residential units were located within the Lower Manhattan zones that had been evacuated after the tragedy. Using the Planning Center's laptop GIS system, staff were able to answer this question, allowing community members to view estimates of population in the area and relate this to zoning and land use.

After realizing that many community boards were without access to this technology, the Planning Center convened an educational forum on GIS for community boards and community-based organizations. The response was overwhelming, demonstrating the need and desire for better access to information technology at the grassroots level. Several community boards from across the city were enthusiastic about utilizing this technology as a tool to plan their districts.

The Community Information Technology Initiative was created to match technical resources with community need. With the support of private foundations, CITI interactive maps are now being integrated into the way community boards in each of the five boroughs conduct daily business. The New York Public Interest Research Group's CMAP project conducted interviews and focus group sessions

to assess the data and functions most often used by community boards and their constituents. Participating community boards are now receiving training on how to use the system and better understand the data.

While the pilot phase of the project offers one-on-one training and technical support to one community board in each borough, every community board in the city is being invited to use the site. In addition, several City Council members and city agencies have begun using CITI as a resource to gain information about the local communities in which they work.



After the launch of the site in mid-November 2003, the response from users has been very positive. The City Council honored MAS and project partner CMAP at a proclamation ceremony declaring November 19th as GIS Day in New York City. The honor was presented by Council Speaker Gifford Miller and Gale Brewer, Chair of the Council's Committee on Technology in Government.

CITI is being created in collaboration with CMAP, ESRI and Space Track. CITI is generously supported by the Greenacre, Alfred P. Sloan, Surdna and Verizon Foundations and The National Endowment for the Arts.

CITI can be viewed at [www.myciti.org](http://www.myciti.org)

# Bush To City: Drop Dead

By Jack Newfield

The Bush Administration has treated New York City like a battered wife who still gets displayed for photo-ops and state dinners. George Bush and the Republicans who control both houses of Congress have starved New York for three years with fiscal policies that alternate between abuse and neglect. But now Bush will stage his renomination convention in the city he has used and abused—sticking his finger in our eye and exploiting our bereavement. This August, Karl Rove, the kitschy guru of political theater, will try to convert the crematorium of Ground Zero into a re-election billboard.

One of Bush's first TV ads of the season was another example of his exploitation of New York. It contained footage of New York firefighters carrying the remains of a dead co-worker on a gurney draped with an American flag. The image was an icon of the carnage. Scores of 9/11 widows and firefighters condemned the ad's poor taste and hypocrisy. As Jimmy Breslin wrote in *Newsday*, "In his first campaign commercial, George Bush reached down and molested the dead."

There are many ways in which the Bush Administration has attempted to strangle New York. The most telling has to do with its treatment of the city after the September 11 attacks. But there are others that show the extent of Bush's contempt not just for New York but, by implication, all of urban America.

In the first round of homeland security funding, in 2003, New York—twice targeted by terrorists, in 1993 and 2001—received 25 percent of the total of \$500 million, which was divided among seven cities. In the 2003 supplemental budget, New York's share had shrunk to 18 percent, and the money was split among thirty cities. By last November, when New York City Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly said in testimony before Congress that New York was being short-changed, the city's share had dwindled to less than 7 percent, and the money was divided among fifty localities.

The most at-risk city in America had been cut by two-thirds. Homeland security money has become another run-of-the-mill pork-barrel patronage operation, like highways. Kelly says,

"The credible threat of terrorism is considered a secondary factor in Washington in the way homeland security funding is allocated."

In February Bush proposed an increase to \$1.4 billion in homeland security funding for so-called "high-risk cities." But fifty cities are still designated as high risk, so New York's share is only \$94 million—a fraction of what is needed. On a per capita basis, New York State ranks forty-ninth among the states in antiterrorist funding, far below rural, sparsely populated Wyoming, Montana and North Dakota. According to the *New York Daily News*, New York is also forty-ninth in per capita funding among cities: \$5.87 per person. Compare that with \$35.80 for Pittsburgh. But then, Tom Ridge was governor of Pennsylvania. Or look at Florida, where Jeb Bush is governor. Miami gets \$52.82 per person. Orlando gets \$47.14—as if Disney World is a bigger terrorist target than the New York subway system, the United Nations, the Stock Exchange, Times Square, JFK Airport, Yankee Stadium on opening day, or our reservoirs and water system. What's the biggest recipient of any US city, at \$77.92 per person? New Haven, Connecticut. Is Yale a high-priority target because both Bushes are alumni?

Or consider the Bush Administration's treatment of first responders. It has recently eliminated its only program providing funds for upgrading police and fire department radio communications. On 9/11 the FDNY's radios did not function. Warnings over police radios to evacuate the towers immediately were not received by the firefighters trying to rescue trapped office workers. On that one day, 343 New York City firefighters died, and about 120 of these deaths have been attributed to the futile radio transmissions.

Since this catastrophe, New York's firefighters have emerged as international symbols of bravery, suffering and grief. Tourists still visit firehouses to offer condolences and leave flowers. George Bush famously embraced a firefighter on his visit to Ground Zero right after the attack. Bush has displayed members of the FDNY in the gallery at his speeches, wrapping himself in the glory of first responders.

But now, his Homeland Security Department has

killed a federal program to integrate police and fire communications systems; New York will lose \$6 million. Bush and Ridge have announced a \$200 million cut in similar programs for next year, and a cut of 33 percent in the Assistance to Firefighters Grant Program.

The FDNY has requested \$250 million from the Bush Administration for the next three years for antiterrorist equipment and technology. The NYPD has requested \$261 million. But according to NYPD testimony last November, the city has received less than \$60 million so far—for all first-responder agencies. Fire Commissioner Nicholas Scoppetta says, "We definitely need more federal funding to be adequately prepared for bioterrorism, dirty bombs and radioactivity. We need equipment and training for these new horrors."

The FDNY has only one dedicated hazardous materials unit for the entire city of 8 million. Meanwhile, the fire department in Zanesville, Ohio (population 25,600), has federally funded thermal imaging technology to find victims in dense smoke and a test kit for lethal nerve gases. The FDNY is still asking for radios that work in a crisis.

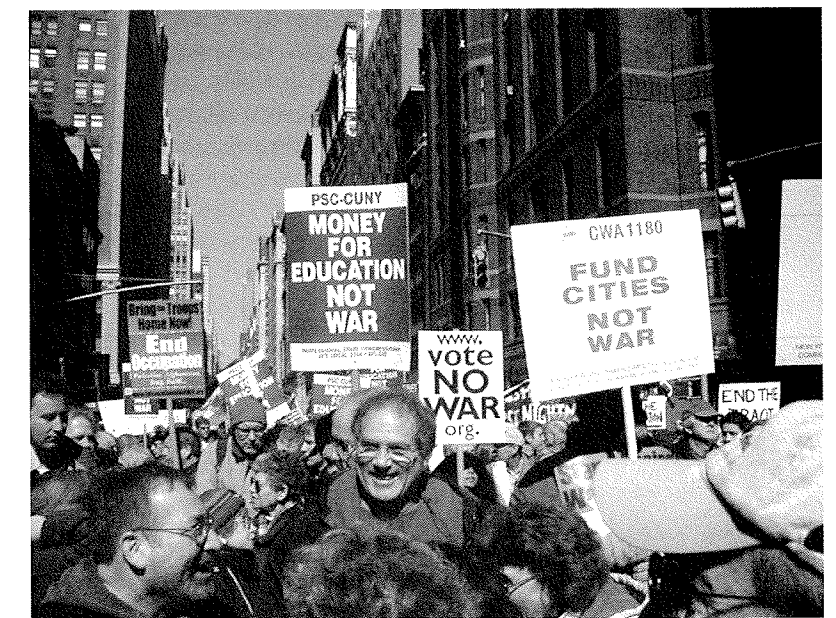
New York's Congressional delegation is now trying to pass legislation to limit to fifteen the number of cities that qualify for homeland security funding. This seems the only way New York will get its fair share.

Before I get to how Bush screwed New York on healthcare, education and housing, let me emphasize: All American cities are getting short-changed and stiffed. Bush is not just targeting New York; he has no urban policy at all. And make no mistake—New Yorkers are the crash-test dummies; if we survive a crushing budget cut or the elimination of a program, then it is replicated throughout the country.

Every American city began to suffer when the federal government stopped building housing for low- and moderate-income people while Ronald Reagan was President. San Francisco suffers from transportation funding formulas that favor highway construction over subways. Denver, Phoenix and Los Angeles suffer from pro-polluter environmental policies. And all cities, all poor people and most middle-class families have been damaged by the Bush tax cuts for the wealthy. These tax cuts are the invisible hand driving all budget decisions. They give Bush an excuse for underfunding VA hospitals, Pell Grants for higher education, school lunches, job training and adult literacy. This is what New York

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan called "starving the beast"—depleting the federal treasury, because the right wing thinks of the federal government as an enemy beast. The deficit is the politically salable excuse for miserliness.

The tax cuts for the rich rob the treasury of the money all cities need to address what John Edwards called the afflictions of "two Americas"—two public school systems, two healthcare systems, two tax systems. Because New York has such a disproportionate concentration of poor people, we are more vulnerable to Bush's neglect. New York City has nearly 1.7 million people living in poverty. Thirty percent of children are living in poverty, compared with 16.5 percent nationwide. New York has 966,000 residents on food stamps. A February study by the 156-year-old Community Service Society revealed that in 2003 only 51.8 percent of black men in the city between the ages of 16 and 64 were employed.



March 20, 2004 demonstration in New York City.

But as far as the Bush White House is concerned, every dollar spent on the poor is one less dollar for the deserving rich. In *The Price of Loyalty*, Ron Suskind quotes Vice President Dick Cheney's rationale in 2002 for more tax cuts: "We won the midterms. This is our due."

One example of Bush's contempt for New York, and all urban areas, is the latest Medicare bill. Passed by the House last November only after the usual fifteen-minute roll-call period had been stretched to almost three hours to allow GOP leaders to whip several members of their party into line, the bill is especially damaging to New York, where poor people depend on teaching ⇒

hospitals for care. The law's funding formulas give preferential treatment to rural hospitals and to states with less dense population patterns.

New York State will receive only \$480 million from 2004 to 2013, with only \$80 million of that going to New York City. In contrast, Texas, home of House majority leader Tom DeLay, will get \$1.1 billion, Alabama \$738 million, Louisiana \$554 million, Tennessee \$655 million, North Carolina \$576 million and Florida \$741 million.

New York City not only has the biggest population in need in the country, and the highest cost of healthcare, but also the most hospitals in economic distress—forty-five. Dozens of cash-starved New York hospitals are now in jeopardy of closing.

One reason for the inequities was that Harlem's Charles Rangel, New York's senior Representative, was excluded from the key House-Senate conference that engaged in the final bargaining. "The conference was run like a private club that would not let me in," Rangel said. Ted Kennedy, the Senate's leading expert on healthcare, was also exiled from the conference. The only two Senate Democrats in the conference were John Breaux of Louisiana and Max Baucus of Montana, both of whom supported Bush on the bill.

Hospital administrators say that New York City should have gotten at least \$400 million more if need, cost and population had been fairly taken into account. The bill made a 15 percent cut in payments to teaching hospitals, which are concentrated in New York City. In practice, this is a 15 percent cut in healthcare services for the poor and elderly, who depend on Medicare.

On top of this targeted shot at New York, the Medicare bill also did nothing to lower the cost of prescription drugs, made it harder for citizens to purchase American-made drugs at lower prices in Canada, included a drug benefit that does not cover the middle class and postponed implementation of the new prescription drug program until 2006.

George Bush's education initiative, No Child Left Behind, exists in the same parallel universe as his Medicare bill. It is a PR scam that actually makes things worse, and disproportionately injures New York. NCLB created higher standards and rigorous testing, and imposes sanctions on those schools that don't improve. But given all the city's problems, New York's schools cannot meet these new federal man-

dates without the funds they were promised when Bush signed the law. Bush underfunded NCLB by \$8 billion in 2003 and 2004—that is, the money was authorized by Congress but never allocated by Bush.

New York City is the biggest recipient of Title I funds in the country—Title I being the largest federal program put under the NCLB umbrella—with 900 out of 1,200 schools eligible. New York City schools were deprived of \$1.2 billion by Bush's miserly manipulations. A study released by New York City Representative Anthony Weiner showed that Title I schools in New York City lost \$657 million, disabled pupils lost \$513 million and teacher-training programs lost \$39 million. There was \$17.5 million less for computers in poor communities, and \$12 million for programs that include school nurses and counselors.

The combination of tougher standards without adequate funding just sets up poor kids to feel the stigma of failure at an early age. And New York City has more poor kids, more dropouts, lower graduation rates, lower reading scores, more violence and larger class sizes than anywhere else.

On top of all this, New York's highest court has ruled that the Republican state administration of George Pataki has been shortchanging the city's schools for years: New York City has 37 percent of the state's students, but gets nowhere near what it should, relative to its needs. (The court ruled that the state must adjust its funding formulas.)

Randi Weingarten, president of New York's United Federation of Teachers union, calls Bush's underfunding of NCLB "devastating for New York's students and teachers."

Bush's proposed budget for 2005 does add (at least on paper) about \$1 billion for the poorest schools. But at the same time, in a bit of fiscal flim-flam, his budget cuts or eliminates dozens of other education programs that help all cities. Among the programs being cut are those for drug treatment, guidance counselors, childcare, dropout prevention, increased parental involvement in low-income communities and a national writing project.

Bush is still leaving most poor children behind—while his Education Secretary, Rod Paige, called the nation's largest teachers union "a terrorist organization."

Buried in Bush's \$2.4 trillion budget for 2005 is

another battering blow: The budget provides \$2 billion less than the Congressional Budget Office estimates is needed to fund Section 8 housing vouchers for the 2 million impoverished, elderly or disabled people already enrolled in this rent-subsidy program nationally. With 80,000 New Yorkers now in the Section 8 program, this means up to 10,000 New York families are now in jeopardy of losing their vouchers and their homes.

There are an additional 130,000 applicants in New York on the waiting list for Section 8 housing vouchers—but this waiting list has been closed to most new applicants since December 1994, because the demand is so overwhelming in a city with a permanent shortage of affordable housing. The voucher program provides a rent subsidy averaging \$6,500 a year to families generally earning less than \$20,000 a year (the vouchers pay the difference between the market rent of an apartment and 30 percent of a household's income). This cut will annul hope for everyone on the waiting list.

If the Bush budget proposal is approved, this will be the first time in the thirty-one-year history of the HUD-administered voucher program that the number of vouchers would be reduced. Bush tried to cut voucher funding last year, but the money was restored at the last minute by Congress in an omnibus appropriations bill. That cut would have forced 6,100 New Yorkers out of the program, and into almost certain homelessness and destitution.

New York City already has a famine of affordable housing, with rents rising faster than wages and 39,000 homeless people in city shelters, including 16,300 children. Evictions are up. Families are living doubled and tripled up. In Chinatown, I have interviewed immigrants who are renting a bed because they can't afford a room.

It's not possible to know with certainty why Bush and his team have treated New York so unfairly, or what Bush says about us in private with the Rev. Jerry Falwell, Tom DeLay, Karl Rove and Dick Cheney. The Bush team's economic, cultural, political and regional biases surely work against us. I suspect, but can't prove, that they want to punish us because so many New Yorkers are Democrats, union members, immigrants, blacks, Latinos, gays, war critics, civil libertarians, feminists, Jews, artists and bohemians. All I know is that we have been their policy pinata.

We do know what another modern Republican President really felt about New York—because it is preserved on tape. The darkest expression of right-wing nativism can be heard coming out of the mouth of Richard Nixon, on a Watergate tape recorded in 1972 and made public in December of 2003. Sounding like John Rocker on steroids, Nixon exclaims, "God damn New York." Then he whines that New York is filled with "Jews, and Catholics, and blacks and Puerto Ricans." He said there is "a law of the jungle where some things don't survive. Maybe New York shouldn't survive. Maybe it should go through a cycle of destruction."

The irony is that even Richard Nixon—after he vented—treated New York more equitably in his policies and priorities than George Bush has.

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## EMAIL ADDRESSES NEEDED

Planners Network has a monthly email newsletter for PN members to keep the networking going. The e-letter will have member updates, jobs, conferences and other announcements. Often PNers in the same city ask us how they can get in touch with other PNers, and the best we can do is send them names and addresses. Email is also the best way to let you know when your membership/subscription has to be renewed. If you don't want to receive the e-letter, we can keep you off that list, but please send us your email address so we can contact you when we need to.

**Send to [pn@pratt.edu](mailto:pn@pratt.edu) and in the subject line put "subscribe to e-newsletter."**

# Deporting the “Bad” Immigrant

By Mark Winston Griffith

Recently a dear friend of mine observed that immigrants who broke the law deserved to be deported. In her eyes, certain elements in her community - like a cousin of hers who was busted and sent packing back to the Caribbean by American authorities for selling drugs in Washington Heights - were blights on the reputations of upstanding, hardworking folk who had arrived from distant shores seeking a better life.

Ironically, my friend's mother had lived and worked illegally in New York long enough to arrange for my friend and her sisters to establish residency here. While of course she never followed her cousin into the drug trade, a strict application of my friend's moral formula to her own immediate family history would probably find her today back in the Caribbean, without the benefit of the Ivy League degrees, corporate resume and Brooklyn brownstone she now enjoys.

## Permanent Exile As Punishment

Behold the good immigrant/bad immigrant paradox. Until recently, it was little more than one of the oldest and slipperiest myths to wash up on the shores of the New World; the idea - often supported by xenophobic, racist and class-based notions - that certain newcomers are poster children for the American dream, while all others are shifty predators who need to “go back where they came from.” Ironically, in a city whose identity is proudly synonymous with the Statue of Liberty and taking in the world's “tired” and “poor”, it's as if immigrants arrive under moral probation. One false move is proof that they are pathologically unfit for “democracy” and capitalist consumption.

Immigrant groups and sub-groups have been stereotyped and treated with a different set of standards ever since the Mayflower drifted in. But what is relatively new and gaining widespread social acceptance is the legal enshrinement, through mandatory detention and deportation practices, of the view that being an immigrant is itself separately punishable.

According to a small chorus of immigrant activists, New York communities are being destabilized while a second-class status is enforced by the federal government using the fear of perma-

nent exile. In 1996, years before the Patriot Act I and II or the Office of Homeland Security were activated, a set of landmark immigration laws were put in place by the Clinton Administration that essentially stripped immigrants of some of their most basic rights. The Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act and the Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act vastly expanded the grounds for deportation to include, roughly speaking, past convictions, an accumulation of relatively minor repeat offenses and almost anything that requires a year or more in jail. At the same time these laws created new conditions for mandatory detention and deportation and denied certain criminal aliens and even asylum seekers the right to appeal deportation orders.

## Ripped From Their Families

Subhash Kateel and Aarti Shahani, staff organizers for Families for Freedom, an immigrant defense network of New Yorkers facing deportation, maintain that detention and deportation excessively injure thousands of households every year, ripping people from their families. One of these households belong to Carol and Linden McDonald, a Guyanese-born couple who have been married for ten years and have together raised a child in Bushwick. According to Families for Freedom, “Linden, who is a Rastafarian, was arrested with a joint. His lawyer told him to plead guilty without advising him that he could be deported. A day after Linden began his two-week sentence, Immigration came to him in Rikers. They marked him for deportation, and transferred him to a Louisiana jail.” Carol and her daughter have not seen Linden, a green card holder, since September 2003 and don't know when they will ever see him again.

Reportedly, stories like this are common, in which defendants, unable to afford high-priced lawyers, enter into plea bargains unaware of the consequences of their actions because even judges are not required to disclose this information. Many of these cases cannot be appealed or reviewed by a federal court and detentions can last years. And once deported, there is no such thing as a second chance. Likewise, if you received, for instance, probation for an offense ten years ago, dutifully served your sentence, became a model citizen and

then tried to go on a trip outside the country, you too could find yourself detained and deported.

In other words, even as a permanent resident, you face a form of double jeopardy; if you commit a crime not only do you pay your debt to society as determined by the criminal code, but then, strictly on the basis of being a immigrant, you are forever purged from society.

Carol McDonald, along with another woman facing a similar predicament with her husband, wrote an open letter to New York elected officials complaining that “Immigration agents are stationed at Rikers to screen non-citizens...and hand them off for deportation...Detention and deportation have ruined our lives...(Our husbands) used to help with everything - pick up the kids from school, take them to the library, the park, McDonalds...We're both terrified of people saying we are bad parents and taking our babies away.”

Deportation is, in effect, a life sentence. As Carol explains, “All our personal ambitions - to get better jobs, make real careers - are out the window...In detention you make \$1 a day for full time work. Back home in the Caribbean, no one will hire a US deportee.”

## A Chilling Effect

The implications for New York are far-reaching. According to Families for Freedom, 15 percent of American families are “mixed status”, meaning that at least one parent is a non-citizen and one child a citizen. In New York City, according to the New York Immigration Coalition, two thirds of all families have an immigrant parent and an American-born child. Deportees lose their social security benefits and their family members are not allowed to collect them.

Families for Freedom goes on to argue that immigrants increasingly risk deportation “when they turn to public servants for help...They are afraid to turn to hospitals, schools, fire departments and police officers. For example US born domestic violence victims report their abusers in one out of two situations; immigrant victims report one out of four instances and undocumented immigrant victims in just one of seven instances.”

## Commensurate with the Crime?

The website for the federal agency, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (chillingly referred to as “ICE”), proudly extols the virtues of deportation and the kinds of actions that have led to over

a million people from 120 countries being deported between 1996 and 2002, with billions of dollars being spent to do so. These kinds of results are seemingly designed to help Americans feel they are safer, that the “war on terror” is being won at home. In the now famous memo to FBI Director Robert Mueller, Coleen Rowley, an FBI Special Agent and Minneapolis Chief Division Counsel, wrote “After 9/11, FBI Headquarters encouraged more and more detentions for what seem to be essentially PR purposes.”

There are other cynical observations to be made. For example, the Bush administration's newly proposed Temporary Worker Program, which sets up a legalized employment system for newcomers and immigrants currently living in the U.S. without authorization, is an explicit acknowledgment that there exists, in Bush's own words, a “massive” underground economy thriving on undocumented immigrant labor, an economy in which all Americans enjoy the benefits of illegal immigration. The Temporary Worker Program, while offering no paths to citizenship, reinforces the concept of immigration as an indentured servitude mill. If you were prone to conspiracy theories, you could reasonably conclude that the specter of deportation functions to keep America's imported servant class in line and scared straight.

Despite these views, politically speaking, deportation abolitionism or advocating for the rights of immigrants with criminal convictions remains about as unpopular and quixotic as it gets. Even many of the individuals fighting deportation are quick to point out that “yes, many immigrants do need to be kicked out - just not me.”

Criminal activity should be punished and the punishment should be commensurate with the crime. It's also important to remember that behind the proud legacy of virtually every group of people that has arrived in this country over the last several hundred years, there has been a not so pretty tale of survival by any means necessary. Dust it off a bit and call it “entrepreneurial spirit”. Some refer to it as “pursuing the American dream”. The bottom line is immigrants are no more, no less, “bad” than those born on this soil. It's time we had a social policy that can admit that.

*Mark Winston Griffith, executive director of Talking Democracy Media, normally writes the community development topic page for Gotham Gazette. This article was originally published by the Gotham Gazette on March 03, 2004 at <http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/immigrants/20040319/11/920>*

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

activities will occupy the old and new commercial space? Will it be the parasitical Wall Street firms that thrive by trading, or stealing, other people's hard-earned money? Or will it be for a diverse local economy that actually produces something of value to people? Who will live in the new apartments? Will they be affordable to anyone who actually has to work for a living?

### The Un-Giuliani

One of the most common compliments heard about Bloomberg is that he's not Rudy Giuliani, who preceded Bloomberg as mayor for eight years and was one of the most divisive and racially insensitive (to be kind) mayors in recent history. Giuliani unleashed police in communities of color where racial profiling was standard practice and cops killed unarmed people, including children. Giuliani's authoritarian style also killed a lot of innovation in city government (though there were some notable exceptions that went under his radar). People and organizations on his hit list were threatened and reviled. Communities of color couldn't even get up the steps of City Hall (he banned demonstrations there except for rallies by his pals) much less into the mayor's office.

Michael Bloomberg, on the other hand, is courteous and listens. He changed the climate around City Hall to one of relative openness, and immediately engaged in discussions with African American leaders who Giuliani refused to even meet with. He's been kinder and more fair in cutting up the budget pie (though in part this is due to the new and more progressive City Council). But his priority is still to do the right thing for business. His giant development plans bring smiles to the bank and real estate moguls that Bloomberg rubs elbows with at black tie dinners. To those of us who remember life before Giuliani, it's back to the usual corporate plutocracy. A new day isn't dawning yet.

But what has Bloomberg done with the capital he earned among those battered by the previous mayor? Not much. He got control of the school system, previously run by an independent board. But he's shaped the new educational system like a corporation. A recent sweetheart deal with Snapple to sell their product in the schools would indicate that the ruling philosophy is "no corporate friend of the mayor left behind." In a sign that he's prepared to use weapons from the Giuliani arsenal, Bloomberg recently fired three of his appointees to the city's educational advisory panel because they went against his rigid edict aimed at eliminating "social promotion."

### The Compliant City Planning Department

The Department of City Planning (DCP) has been a dutiful servant of Bloomberg's downtown strategies. They churn out rezoning proposals without any rigorous comprehensive planning or partnership with community based organizations. They've abandoned Giuliani's outright contempt for the city's 59 community boards, but their new approach includes consultation without giving neighborhoods any real, meaningful role in decision making. For example, the neighborhoods of Greenpoint and Williamsburg in Brooklyn spent years completing their own community plans, with marginal support by DCP. These plans were approved by the City Planning Commission and City Council in December 2001. Today, DCP is pushing a rezoning of these neighborhoods that openly violates the planning principles established in the community plans. The community plans call for mixed use development and affordable housing, but DCP is advancing a rezoning that will make both virtually impossible. DCP is willing to meet with community groups and leaders, but it is clear that in the end they are going to do what they and the mayor want. Can this be called participatory planning?

A more substantive problem with DCP is that they refuse to support inclusionary zoning. In an amazingly blatant distortion of the truth and violation of professional ethics, department representatives go around saying that inclusionary zoning doesn't work and that zoning shouldn't be used to make social policy. Yet their massive downtown upzonings include abundant opportunities for overnight windfall profits to landowners and developers—profits that, due to a biased social policy, never make their way back into the public sector that created them. At the same time, the department is working overtime in its campaign for low-density contextual zoning in outlying upper class neighborhoods. These downzonings are welcomed by advocates of exclusion because they help keep out affordable housing and the working people who would live in that housing.

### The Bridges

There is hope for New York. We have a long legacy of struggle by people organized in associations, unions and communities. For the past century, we've had one of the largest and most dynamic tenant and community movements. New York City was always a center for a strong labor movement and socialist and communist parties. During the Depression, unemployed councils blocked evictions. New York City was a model for a strong public sector and public works during

the New Deal. In the 1950s and 1960s, in tandem with the civil rights movement, neighborhoods fought many battles against the urban renewal bulldozer. As a result of this dynamic history, New York City has the nation's largest stock of public housing, cooperative housing, municipally-owned housing, and mutual housing; a large public hospital system; and a 24-campus city university. As a result of organized labor and communities, these institutions have been mostly saved from the neo-liberal privatization schemes of the last three decades.

Not known to most people are the city's impressive grass roots achievements in community planning. In 1959, the first major community plan was born in the Lower East Side (in Manhattan) when a group of activists stopped the Robert Moses urban renewal project that would have destroyed 12 blocks and displaced thousands. Frances Goldin, Esther Rand, and Thelma Burdick formed the core of a determined group that demonstrated, organized, and launched their own plan. After extensive community participation, the first Cooper Square Plan was prepared in 1961 under the direction of Walter Thabit, founder of Planners for Equal Opportunity, a national organization of advocacy planners that was Planners Network's predecessor. In more than forty years of struggle and determined advocacy, Cooper Square has overseen the preservation and development of a large stock of low-income housing, enough to slow down the gentrification process in this historic working class neighborhood. Sixty percent of the housing units they have supported in the Cooper Square area are for people with low and very low incomes. Their Mutual Housing Association and land trust provide security of tenure for tenants at a time when rents and real estate values are going off the charts and many affordable units are being converted to market rents.

There are many more dramatic stories of grass roots planning. The Planning Center of the Municipal Art Society recently catalogued over 70 community plans in New York City. Many emerged from local struggles to save neighborhoods and avert displacement. All of them were done with minimal support by the city. Three years ago, members of community based organizations, civic organizations, community boards (the city's official body for neighborhood-level decision making) and professionals formed the Task Force on Community-based Planning in an effort to get the city to treat them as partners in land use planning. The Task Force continues to lobby elected officials and city agencies to bring about a change in the city's planning policies.

### Environment and Environmental Justice

In recent years, one of the most important supporters of community planning has been the environmental justice movement. While corporate real estate developers take over every inch of developable property, industrially-zoned land in and near working class neighborhoods and communities of color is a target for waste transfer stations, sewage plants, bus garages and noxious industries. The city's planners, unable or unwilling to confront the inherent racism of such an unbalanced land use pattern, are making things worse by refusing to establish regulations that insure every neighborhood will have its fair share of such facilities. Instead, they perpetuate this pattern by protecting wealthy enclaves from what they love to call "inappropriate" development and refusing to impose restrictions in poor neighborhoods.

One of the major planning challenges facing New York City is its chaotic and unjust transportation system. To its credit, DCP advances innovations like traffic calming, bicycle lanes and greenways. But policy is mostly determined by the city's Department of Transportation (DOT), which is single-mindedly dedicated to the objective of moving as many automobiles through the city streets as quickly as possible. As a result, New York remains in violation of the nation's clear air regulations. The other major policy maker is the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, a state-run agency that strongly favors its suburban commuters and runs buses that are major polluters and forever stuck in traffic because DOT won't reduce the number of autos. Transportation Alternatives and Straphangers Campaign are leaders among the many civic and community groups demanding that city policy be balanced and serve the needs of the vast majority of people who walk and who would bike, not the small minority who ride their SUVs to work or to see a Broadway show.

Another challenge that planners have failed to meet is addressing the needs of communities with new immigrants. The foreign-born and first generation immigrants are not adequately represented in the city's decision making bodies. For example, there are three large Chinatowns in New York City but for the first time ever one of them finally has a representative in the City Council. Many new immigrant communities maintain close ties to their countries of origin and are loosely connected to their neighborhoods. Many feel intimidated by the post-9/11 climate of fear and renewed racism, and reluctant to engage in any dialogue that might involve government. In this environment, how can there be an effective partnership for community planning?

# Another World Is Possible: The World Social Forum in Mumbai

By Theresa Williamson

The fourth World Social Forum (WSF) was launched in Mumbai, India on January 16, 2004. For the first time the debates associated with this event were not housed solely in Brazil. When the first WSF was organized in 2001, the idea was to develop a parallel event hosted at the same time as the World Economic Forum (WEF), held every year in Davos, Switzerland. The WEF brings together business and government elites to discuss current issues related to fostering global economic growth. The idea behind the WSF was to open up a parallel space—in the developing world, where all would be welcome to come and dialogue—for creating alternative approaches to development.

the kind of government support the WSF had received in Brazil, India's Forum attracted a comparable number of people.

## The Forum as an End in Itself

In 2001, the word that best described my experience at the WSF was frustration. I was frustrated that at an event where alternatives to current practices of development were to be discussed, none were to be found. I was frustrated that the event was mainly used to vent about problems, and to promote the agendas of political parties. After attending numerous workshops discussing problems, not solutions, I concluded that the best thing about the Forum was connecting with people from different organizations, making contacts and growing my own political and social philosophy.

It was only in 2003 that I was able to see the Forum as an end in itself. I went with a group of twenty-three community leaders from Rio's favelas and witnessed the potential of such events when CONGESCO (Community Managers' Council of Rio de Janeiro) enriched their movement significantly due to encounters fostered by the event (see my article in the Spring 2003 Planner's Network describing their successes). All of a sudden, what the Forum could do, as opposed to what it does, became clear.

The World Social Forum is the first and only event in history that brings together the "bottom" layers of society, traditionally disenfranchised or marginalized groups. Throughout history, it has been technologically, culturally and financially difficult for members of such communities to come together. The good side of globalization is that it creates a consciousness about global problems via mass media, as well as opportunities for communities to come together to address these problems—through technologies like the internet, air travel and simultaneous translation. But the WSF is the only event that makes this opportunity available in the physical realm. The power of this kind of exchange and dialogue is enormous and we are only beginning to understand it.

This year's WSF, more than the others, made it clear that the Forum is an end in itself. The "Other World"

that is spoken of and the paths for reaching it are being created through the dynamic of the Forum itself, i.e., one of the primary solutions for the problems of today—violence, inequality, poverty, racism, fear—is integration and contact. The Forum is creating spaces where those who are attempting to improve their local reality can come together, compare and contrast and build upon their various experiences. It is creating spaces where diverse groups can interact and realize that we are all in the same boat, sharing the same planet. We are all affected by similar problems and needy of the same emotional stability. In short, people on the other side of the world are no longer a faceless enemy: They are just like me.

Because the World Social Forum is itself part of the solution that its participants are searching for—bringing disparate groups together to exchange, grow and form large networks of solidarity—it is imperative that such events be increasingly true to themselves. In this sense there were several ways in which the Brazilian and Indian events differed dramatically.

## Lessons from India

With no government support, and given the decision to not accept funds from US-based funders, including foundations, WSF organizers in India were forced to do a lot with little. The Forum was held on the site of an abandoned factory, an area that must normally look like an enormous unpaved block with only dirt on the ground and a few scattered buildings. With local know-how, unbleached cotton cloth was sewn and strewn, using thin wooden logs, in a way that created enormous enclosed spaces. There were halls capable of accommodating thousands and thousands of people, workshop rooms for up to one hundred people, exhibition halls and more. When the Forum was over these materials could be easily dismantled and reused. Such materials made it possible for speeches by well-known writers and activists to be attended by all interested listeners (in the past, tens of thousands tried to pile into halls suitable for a limited number).

In addition to the natural materials used for setting up, all products sold on site were natural, as were their containers. Handicrafts made by cooperatives were placed in handmade reused newspaper bags. Meals were served on plates made of compacted leaves and coffee was served in clay cups. Whether done for environmental reasons or not, these decisions make sense for an event attempting to develop sustainable alternative visions for the future.

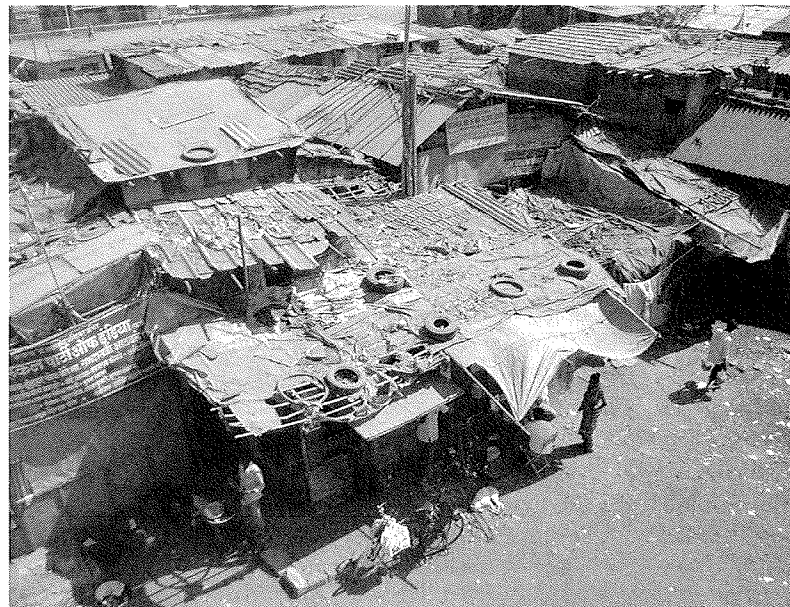
India called greater attention to the importance of involving disenfranchised communities. At previous events, very few representatives of low-income

or other traditionally neglected communities (other than Brazilian indigenous leaders and American community organizers) were present. In India, they were in the majority, conducting marches and cultural presentations non-stop. This difference triggered discussions on the part of event organizers about possible scholarships to guarantee the future presence of such groups.



Photo courtesy of Theresa Williamson

Photo courtesy of Theresa Williamson



The Forum's theme was "Another World is Possible." That was perhaps the only belief held in common among all participants. Whether union leaders, untouchables, indigenous tribes, cyber activists, community organizers, environmentalists or academics, all Forum participants agreed on one thing: The current pattern of economic growth and development in the world is neither sustainable nor equitable, and alternative approaches need to be developed and strengthened. Funding for this year's event came solely from registration fees and non-US organizations (like Oxfam and ActionAid), yet over 100,000 individuals registered, representing at least 2,660 separate organizations from 132 nations. Even without support from US sources or

Finally, a lack of funds meant this was the first Forum incapable of paying professional translators. Since it occurred in a country with approximately 300 languages and dialects, one might easily make the argument that translation was of critical importance at this year's event in particular. But the event's organizers simply could not afford professional interpreters. One observer called the event the "World Visual Forum," since that was the only way he took in the information around him. However, for large conferences the Forum counted on some 150 Babels, or high-quality volunteer interpreters (see [www.babels.org](http://www.babels.org)). There are more than enough Babels enrolled in the Forum to cover all of the needs of future WSF events.

## Contrasts with Brazil

The Brazilian Forums of the past provided other advantages. In the southern Brazilian state of ⇨

Rio Grande do Sul, where the first three events were held, both the city and state governments nurtured the event. It took place in Porto Alegre, what might be seen as a model region of the developing world, where a heightened form of democracy prevails. (Porto Alegre was the first city

and state officials and residents. Visitors got the sense that the city knew of the Forum and that everyone worked hard to pull off the event successfully, from taxi drivers to hotel clerks, shopkeepers to municipal offices.

In Mumbai the feeling was very much the opposite; for example, Forum participants from Tibet and Brazil were pulled over by the police for entering the wrong train compartment. One might argue that the Forum in Mumbai placed participants in the heart of the world that needs change, and that the Forum in Porto Alegre placed participants in the heart of the world where solutions are beginning to be developed. Alternating the event's location may be an intelligent strategy to expose it to the continuum of realities that people face.

Another advantage of Porto Alegre was the presence of basic infrastructure. A shortage of modern toilets and occasional electrical outages were two complaints voiced at the Mumbai event. Power outages limited the work of both the press and the Babels. Visitors commented that the lack of internet access was an important negative in this event's planning. Only the media had access to the site's 120 computers (for 2,700 journalists).

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to institute participatory budgeting, a form of budget-setting where citizens decide, through a detailed process of information-sharing and voting, how significant sums of public funds are spent.) In this context, the WSF in previous years had the support and acknowledgement of local



Photo courtesy of Theresa Williamson

## Advocacy in the New Melting Pot: Reports from Fremont, CA & Portland, ME

By Pierre Clavel and Neema Kudva

Progressive planners think of advocacy as one of their main modes of work, at the interface between the skilled planners coming from professional training, and the have-nots, typically in poor neighborhoods. Less is known about the presumed end-point of this advocacy, however—i.e., changes in mainstream institutions, like city government and established nonprofits—to make them more responsive.

This article is a brief report on such changes, specifically the impact of immigrants, particularly refugees, on city government institutions in two formerly homogeneous places: Fremont, California and Portland, Maine. We did not particularly look at planners or at the communities with whom they work, but at changes in city service delivery. We found new attitudes on the part of city workers and non-profit staff resulted from contact with immigrants and refugees, who brought with them new demands. But there was little of the traditional advocacy of the 1960s and 1970s. Instead there was something more like a "new professionalism," where staff in non-profits and public agencies engaged with diversity as a positive attribute. This recasts the way we can imagine progressive planning making a difference and for that reason is an important story.

### Fremont: Ethnic Diversity and Equity in Service Provision

Fremont is located on the east side of San Francisco Bay. It was incorporated in 1956 with a population of 40,000, almost entirely white. By 2000 its demographic profile had changed dramatically. Its population had grown to over 200,000, and its diversity was astonishing. The 2000 Census showed Fremont's population was 47.7 percent white, and 36.8 percent Asian. African Americans made up a small minority (2.8 percent). Among Asians, people of Chinese and Indian ancestry dominated. Fremont was also home to America's largest Afghan community (estimated at about 10-15,000 by city officials) as well as sizeable Filipino and Russian communities. About 13.5 percent of the residents identified themselves as Latinos. The Fremont Unified School District, well-known for the excellence of its schools, estimated that students spoke more than 100 different languages at home.

The city staff responded to this increasing diversity with professionalism, ambiguity, curiosity, discomfort and even exasperation. One key to these responses was that the city manager had made it clear that dealing with diversity was a "natural outgrowth of our value system that sees customer service as central." She underscored the importance of equity—"we don't want to ... play one part of the community against another"—and many staff agreed that "[they] try to be color-blind, but clearly have to pay attention to these issues [of ethnic diversity]." Staff found equity challenging. For some who interact on an almost daily basis with community residents it "feels like being in a foggy room and is terribly politically sensitive. I am comfortable with ambiguity, but this is still... (hmmmm)."

Staff who rely heavily on community volunteers to help run programs and services described the lack of community participation among some ethnic groups: "They have to have been here long enough ... to understand the spirit of being American ... of volunteering and giving back ... [it is] part of the expectation of being American."

Curiosity—and pride—were evident in the police chief's familiarity with the language and customs of the Indian-American community, to the point of identifying Kudva's sub-community origin from India. Words from other languages peppered conversations and there was wide recognition of both symbolic events like festivals, and deep-rooted community institutions and customs.

City staff also noted that many new residents often perceived them with mistrust, fear and even contempt. One administrator observed: "Depending on where they [immigrants] came from ... there is a mistrust of government, a discomfort ... [they] seem more scared if they came from governments that were repressive." The city police faced these issues on a regular basis and were very aware of the differences in perceptions of police between the Chinese, the Indians, the Chicanos, the Russians and so on.

Staff also sometimes took a critical stance—often labeled by community residents as racism. This was evident in descriptions of how city staff dealt ⇒

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with the Indian-American community's conduct during their annual festival and in complaints from the schools about the extent of corporal punishment practiced in certain communities. Among the police, who were at the forefront of dealing with such problems, one said, "Culture cannot be a defense," even as he acknowledged that working out the solutions could include responses that were culturally sensitive.

#### Soft Service Provision at the Organizational Periphery

Organizationally, initial changes in response to changing "client communities" were in services offered by the Public Safety Division (police and fire), Recreation Department and Human Services. Providing translation services at city meetings, in recreation services, human services and police and fire services was often a first step. The services that these divisions provide (particularly police) are often the only contact citizens have with city government, and it is often the same divisions that have gone on to make more substantial changes. The police were first to initiate diversity training for staff. This involved a forty-eight-hour course, including a full day visit to the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles.

#### Hard Changes in the Organizational Core

One of the more significant impacts (driven by the need for closer and more effective interaction with "clients" rather than diversity issues) was the creation of the Community Building Department, a "virtual" department of 6.5 employees, all of whom are located in other "real" departments such as police, fire, human services and housing. The staff helps each department with its community interaction and organizing component. The initiative was led by a department head who described herself as "an old-style Alinsky organizer." She believed in empowering communities through organizing, and in removing government from its paternalistic position. She insists that "color falls away when people have a goal to work towards" and uses the term "problem-solving partners" to describe the community. What is striking about both her role and the ways in which she articulates the work of her department is the acknowledgement of diversity and its attendant difficulties on the one hand, and the need, on the other hand, to overcome it by focusing on commonality.

#### Portland, Maine Takes Refugees

Portland, Maine's largest city at 63,249 in 2000, had a city manager-dominated city administration that, in the 1980s and 1990s, refurbished the downtown, encouraged tourism and nurtured a growing, service-based economy.

The social services also grew, reflecting new interaction between non-profits and public agencies. One main factor was the arrival of an increasingly diverse set of immigrants and refugees in the 1990s. While Portland's ethnic composition remained overwhelmingly white (unlike Fremont), refugees and immigrants approached ten percent of its population through the 1990s; "non-white" categories more than doubled from 2,098 to 5,532. Portland's response to the new diversity is a story of immigrant interaction with public and private agencies, and interactions among the agencies themselves.

#### Catholic Charities

When the Refugee Resettlement Act of 1981 became an early project of the Reagan administration, Catholic Charities-Maine became the primary designee for Maine, and Portland was Maine's only approved city. The federal government allocated a quota of 240 refugees per year through the 1990s. Catholic Charities' Refugee and Immigration Service (RIS) did "what refugee resettlement programs generally do. We meet people. We create self-sufficiency, defined as economic and cultural. The environment into which a refugee moves includes a spectrum of services."

Most importantly, though, RIS wants "refugees to get access to this in the larger community, rather than create a whole new bureaucracy." Having found, in Portland, a city with a good complement of "mainstream" social services, RIS sought to motivate the appropriate changes in those services. According to the RIS director,

What is good about Portland is that it has done this. It did it by creating offices that serve as bridges to the mainstream institutions rather than themselves becoming the services. Nat James founded the Portland International Clinic at Maine Medical Center. But after the initial intake, they channel people into mainstream care. The school system has one multicultural office. This also channels to the mainstream part of the system. And Catholic Charities is part of the bridge.

#### Portland City Agencies

Toward the end of the 1990s, Portland became a destination for increasingly large numbers of secondary migrants—refugees moving to Portland after initial resettlement elsewhere. According to the terms of the 1981 federal law, this meant shifting much of the role from Catholic Charities to city and state agencies.

City officials cite the actions of the late city manager Robert Ganley in paving the way for city agencies to play a prominent role in refugee resettlement. Ganley was best known, like many city managers, for

his encyclopedic knowledge of budget matters, and secondarily for his role in getting external funding to do development projects that refurbished the downtown area and made it a better place for tourism-related developments. Visitors and residents today are aware of the arenas, a new minor league baseball park, a city market and spectacular private development on the Portland waterfront.

But Ganley had another goal as well. Beginning early in his term in the late 1980s, he stated the objective that no one would go homeless in Portland. The city then developed homeless shelters and family shelters. The city provided rehabilitated apartments and improved its social services.

Ganley's policies set a tone that invigorated the city's Department of Social Services, and they took on the problem of homelessness as a priority task. The city purchased several buildings to serve as shelters. They began hiring translators, and signs appeared in welfare offices announcing that clients had a right to translation services. By the end of the decade there was a new perception of the social services, in part because of the refugees. One mid-level administrator, critical of much of the city's effort, nevertheless commented:

"The city social services department will find an interpreter. Even if immigrants cannot get federal help, Portland will fund their rent. The shelter has nice family-size apartments. In general, Portland 'gets it' about immigrants. Other cities do not."

Welfare "reform," enacted in 1996, also forced changes in social services. Knowing they had to prepare most welfare recipients to rejoin the labor force, social service professionals had to broaden their approach. They looked to job training and education services. But welfare reform also broadened their approach to refugees. They introduced more translation services, since case workers knew they would have to find ways to get clients into jobs.

#### New Professionalism Versus Advocacy?

In Fremont and Portland we observed changes in the attitudes and approaches of mainstream city agencies and non-profits in response to new immigrants. But traditional "advocacy" of the sort that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s was largely missing. More prominent was a "new professionalism" in the non-profits and public agencies which saw diversity a virtue. As a result, administration in each place was transformed, response to refugee and immigrant impacts played a major role and the range and sophistication of government and the voluntary agencies reached a new level.

From this, do we conclude that the advocacy expe-

rience—out of which much "progressive" planning has emerged—is a thing whose time has passed? Is this a case where "goodwill" within non-profits and public agencies triumphed by itself?

Not at all. One can still argue that goodwill helps, but that in the end the working class, or the immigrants and refugees, will only triumph by their own efforts, collectively. The advocacy idea, was that planners could be helpful in this by providing planning help, information, sometimes the legitimacy of their station, and that they ought to try.

But what our cases suggest is that there needs to be a balance between advocacy on the one hand, and goodwill in the institutions, on the other. And perhaps the timing has to vary as well. Fascinating questions come out of this:

- In Portland and Fremont, refugees and immigrants were not prepared to take up political advocacy as their main avenue at the beginning of the 1990s; what developed was an incremental service-oriented response within the main institutions. How widespread is this response, and what opportunities for further development, including through external advocacy, exist?

- We would also like to have a better sense of what motivates staff and other institutional actors—social workers, ESL teachers, Catholic Charities—to be helpful while the Somalis and others in Portland and Fremont were bonding together to beat down the doors of City Hall.

- As time passed, it may be that advocacy external to the institutions played a bigger role. We only have anecdotal evidence of this. Certainly the immigrants and refugees were far from passive, and developed their own identity over time. We suspect that when we interview more immigrants and refugees, we will have a fuller picture of this, as indicated by one comment we heard in Maine: "In Portland, there is tolerance for immigrants, not acceptance in the sense of embracing the whole person..." There are many complaints, even as there is evidence that each city has gone part of the distance toward becoming a more inclusive and equal place.

- Finally, this was an account of city and non-profit workers in general, not of city planners or advocacy planners. But how instructive is this story for either? Were there parallel roles they might have played in Portland or Fremont, inside or outside of city government, and if not in these places, elsewhere?

*Pierre Clavel is professor and Neema Kudva is assistant professor in the Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University.*



## Tierras Públicas y Apropiación Privada

**Alejandro Rofman**  
Buenos Aires, Argentina

“De tierras públicas y apropiación privada: un negocio ruinoso para la ciudad y jugoso para pocos.”

En la última década se ha producido en la ciudad de Buenos Aires uno de los negociados más deplorables en el manejo de la escasa y altamente valorizada tierra urbana.

Los espacios en desuso del viejo puerto de la ciudad- llamado Puerto Madero en homenaje a su constructor- se convirtieron en un recurso urbano que enfrentaba, para su uso, una opción que las autoridades políticas estaban obligadas a resolver. O se reciclaba esa amplia superficie en beneficio de la población de la ciudad y sus alrededores, transformándola en un espacio público, o se la incorporaba al ya conocido sistema de apropiación privada de la renta urbana en un muy importante negocio inmobiliario. ¿Adivinen los lectores qué sucedió finalmente? La opción de la apropiación privada de la renta del suelo urbano resultó ser la decisión del Estado nacional.

### Qué es lo que sucedió y cual es el panorama actual?

El Estado nacional construyó, en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, el puerto principal del país en las costas del Río de la Plata, dentro de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. Estaba destinado a recibir la abundante inmigración de origen europeo y los bienes que se importaban para consumo de la sociedad argentina. A la vez, el puerto se fue desarrollando como la principal puerta de salida de las exportaciones agropecuarias al continente europeo, cuando la Argentina se la conocía como “el granero del mundo”. Las instalaciones portuarias poseían numerosos depósitos, construidos a imagen y semejanza de la arquitectura inglesa de entonces, diques y amplios terrenos para la llegada del ferrocarril, el medio de transporte utilizado para el ingreso y egreso de mercaderías provenientes del exterior o enviadas a ultramar. Con el correr de los años, cuando se cierra el siglo XIX, las instalaciones portuarias fueron insuficientes para afrontar el extraordinario empuje del flujo exportador. Entonces, el gobierno nacional dispuso la construcción de un nuevo puerto, más al sur del que se tornaba obsoleto, que se denominó, precisamente, Puerto Nuevo.

Quedaron, entonces, sin uso durante casi un siglo más de veinte enormes galpones y una superficie muy extensa lindera con el río. A fines de la década de los 80, en el siglo pasado, con el furor de las privatizaciones y el remate de los bienes públicos a precio vil, dispuesto por el gobierno de Carlos Menem, fiel intérprete de la ola neoliberal que invadió América Latina y nuestro país, apareció esta privilegiada porción de tierra urbana en la discusión de su eventual reciclado o utilización. Finalmente, se impuso el criterio de crear una corporación estatal, denominada precisamente Puerto Madero, en base a una asociación entre el gobierno nacional y el de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. El objetivo era poner en valor tales terrenos, vender o concesionar las instalaciones existentes y destinar los excedentes así obtenidos para proveer de espacios públicos abiertos a toda la población, reciclando los edificios y acondicionando los terrenos para uso recreativo y cultural.

Dado los intereses en juego, la excepcional ubicación de esta área de la ciudad, lindera con el macro y microcentro pero alejadas de la contaminación aérea y sonora que tales zonas producían, apareció el negocio inmobiliario. Si se reacondicionaba la zona y se la dotaba de equipamiento público adecuado (accesos terrestres, redes de transmisión eléctrica y comunicacional, embellecimiento de las calles y avenidas con implantación de árboles, etc.) se iba a producir, en forma inmediata, una elevada renta del suelo que facilitaba la inversión privada y desechaba todo destino no lucrativo. La cesión, en forma de venta, de edificios y lotes de tierra amplios permitió el ingreso de empresas de gran porte, que arrendaron oficinas en los galpones remodelados y levantaron lujosas torres de departamentos de muy elevado precio unitario. Hotelería internacional de cinco estrellas y restaurantes para clientela de consumo conspicuo terminó por convertir la zona en un barrio para la franja de más alto poder adquisitivo en la ciudad. El destino de uso público quedó totalmente relegado a franjas reducidas de suelo urbano transformadas en parques y paseos que a varios años de que la inversión privada había logrado instalarse a pleno aún están incompletos en equipamiento y accesos. El transporte público, por supuesto, es totalmente inexistente por lo que los sectores sociales de

bajo ingreso carecen de alguna posibilidad de acceso a la zona si no disponen de automóvil privado.

La Región Metropolitana y la ciudad de Buenos Aires, habitada por más de 13 millones de personas con elevada deficiencia en áreas verdes, perdieron una gran oportunidad, por la combinación de una administración pública corrupta y una visión mercantil de la tierra urbana, que era de todos y se convirtió en patrimonio muy apetecido para pocos.

Esta lamentable experiencia, ahora totalmente irreversible, deja valiosas enseñanzas. En primer lugar, aún cuando la definición del destino de este espacio de propiedad del Estado fue tomada en el seno de un marco democrático formal la difusión de la ideología dominante de la privatización a ultranza de todo patrimonio público apto para encarar negocios privados pudo más que la débil defensa instalada por organizaciones sociales sin prensa y sin eco colectivo. La inmensa mayoría de los millones de habitantes de la ciudad y su región metropolitana no se enteraron de la discusión previa a la decisión sobre el destino de los terrenos. Los que sí tuvieron conocimiento del proceso fueron fácilmente engañados con las promesas incumplidas o convencidos con la tenaz propaganda proveniente de todos los

ámbitos del Poder justificando la apropiación privada antes que el uso público. Por entonces estaba difundido por el gobierno nacional un slogan propagandístico que lo explica todo. Decía: “Achicar el Estado para agrandar la Nación”. Es indudable que la lucha por la preservación del espacio público con destino a vivienda popular, recreación, cultura, deportes, preservación del medio ambiente, etc. no puede realizarse sin mecanismos de contrainformación de la que emite el Poder económico y financiero y sin una intensa tarea de adoctrinamiento de los sectores populares.

La segunda enseñanza que deja esta triste experiencia es que, al menos en la Argentina, no hay democracia real si sólo nos atenemos a la democracia formal. La resolución oficial se produjo en el marco de un gobierno electo por el pueblo pero la total ausencia de consulta a la población y de ingerencia directa de ésta en la toma de decisiones sobre cuestiones urbanas estratégicas muestra lo incompleto del armazón democrático formal y la necesidad de una activa, vigilante y decidida participación popular en la resolución del uso de los espacios en una ciudad que debe ser de todos y no de un grupo privilegiado de inversores de altos ingresos.

## Public Land and Private Appropriation

### English Translation

**By Alejandro Rofman**  
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Over the last decade Buenos Aires has seen one of the most deplorable maneuvers in the management of the city's urban land, which is expensive and in short supply. Vacant public land in the old port, Puerto Madero, was incorporated into the system of private urban land in a major deal benefiting real estate, instead of being used as public space to serve the city's residents.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the Argentine government built Puerto Madero, the nation's main port on the Plata River in Buenos Aires. The port received substantial immigration from Europe and consumer goods serving the nation. It was the main point of export for agricultural goods to Europe. The port had many warehouses, piers, and land to serve the railroads. When the port was no longer adequate to serve the volume of exports, at the end of the 19th century, the government built a new port

further south called Puerto Nuevo. More than twenty huge warehouses and vast stretches of land along the river were left vacant for almost a century.

In the 1980s, the government of Carlos Menem, faithful to the neoliberal trend that invaded Latin America and our country, created a corporation run by the national and local governments whose purpose was to sell or lease the existing facilities and use the earnings to provide public spaces by rehabilitating land and buildings for recreational and cultural uses. Real estate interests emerged because of the central location of the port and its relative separation from the air and noise pollution of the downtown. The area was to be renovated and provided with adequate public infrastructure (for example, utilities, communications, amenities, and street beautification) which would immediately raise the value of [Cont. on page 35]

## Book Review: *How East New York Became a Ghetto* By Walter Thabit

Review By Lewis Lubka

New York University Press, 2003, 303 pages, \$30.

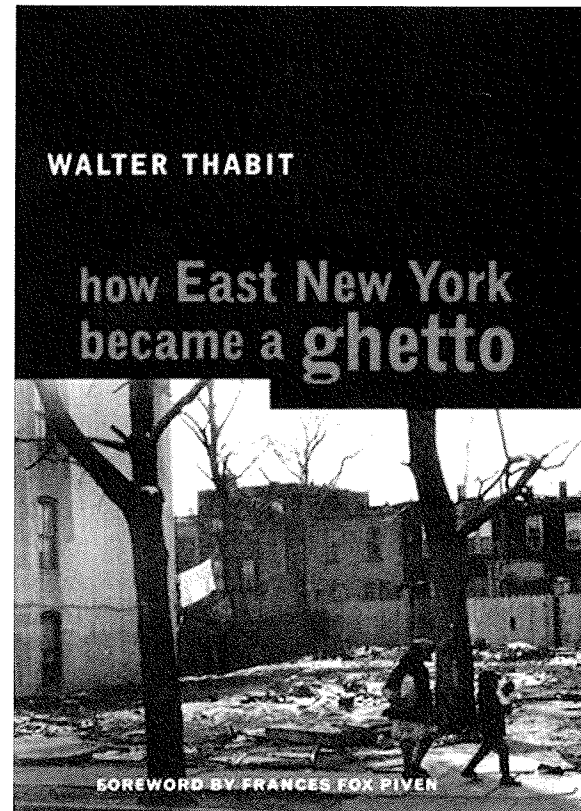
Walter Thabit packs an enormous amount of valuable information into 303 pages, including endnotes, index and bibliography. The timeframe is 1965 to 1973. The place is East New York, Brooklyn. Thabit details the terrible living conditions of the 100,000 Brooklynites who, for lack of other options, have been forced to live in the pit that is East New York. Thabit does a Herculean task of documenting the various factors that led to the ghettoization of East New York. He shares details on the timing, the players and the areas involved as the ghettoization process swept over dozens of blocks like a wild fire. And fire there was, with many burned structures, abandoned dwellings and vacant lots.

Thabit earned a national reputation for "advocacy planning" from his work in Manhattan's Cooper Square neighborhood. He found flawed "official" data on the condition of this then-vibrant community of artists, small businesses and a decent housing stock. After accurate data was developed and the community mobilized to fight back, the city plan for highways and other "clearance and renewal" schemes was thwarted. Thabit also was an organizer of Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO), the membership of which peaked in 1970 with 600 members from coast-to-coast. Planners Network became the successor to PEO.

Facing a complex, almost hopeless situation in East New York, Thabit brilliantly marshaled his staff and worked with local leadership, community organizations and institutions in an attempt to reverse its deterioration. This happened while the US was spending billions of dollars to exterminate the Vietnamese, yet funds for housing, health, education and all the other things needed in East New York were grossly insufficient.

The book reveals the rapid transformation of what was once a solid piece of urban fabric into a squalid, burned-out, dangerous place. Credit is given to the churches and other groups that helped the effort, despite a tilted playing field. Thabit never

loses sight of the humanity of those who suffer from violence, unfit housing, crime and lack of a host of resources taken for granted outside the ghetto: suitable healthcare, education, transportation, recreation and shopping facilities. He shows why housing affordability is crucial when there is grinding poverty, high unemployment and rent or mortgage gouging which eats up as much as 50 percent of income.



Statistics are used creatively to compare East New York with other ghettos around the country and non-ghetto neighborhoods, enabling the reader to appreciate the magnitude of the problem. Also included is research on various demographic and sociological trends that explain the migration of Puerto Ricans and blacks from the South. Details on the removal of minorities from New York's Upper West Side explain why they ended up in East New York. Anecdotes lighten the text and enlighten the reader. For example, from Chapter 16, "Policing the Ghetto":

A killing occurs in a housing project. Hundreds gather at the scene or look out of upstairs windows. Police officer Fahey's reaction: "They should dynamite this fucking place. Looking up at the faces above, he shakes his head in disgust. 'Fuckin' baboons.'

A stolen car, chased by police, crashes. The driver runs into a nearby building. Four white NYPD cops chase him to the roof. The NYPD boys are on their way down as the housing cops arrive. They point toward the roof. The housing cops find the suspect semi-conscious. Blood trickles from his right ear. 'Damn,' says a housing cop disapprovingly, 'get a bus' (ambulance). The hospital reports a broken femur, a bruised heart and a fractured jaw caused by the car accident. Not explained is how the victim could run up to the roof with those injuries. This is a 'freebie.' When a crime involves a car accident, some police respond enthusiastically because they can administer a beating and blame the injuries on the collision. Police often beat helpless prisoners.

How East New York Became a Ghetto is a powerful indictment of society's failure to deal with its inadequacies, and Thabit unabashedly takes the side of the poor and minorities victimized by the pervasive and virulent racism that he calls American apartheid. There is no false "objectivity" here, the facade behind which many estab-

### Rofman [cont. from page 33]

the land, facilitate private investment and make any investment without a profit motive unlikely. The sale of land and buildings made possible the involvement of large scale enterprises that rented out offices in the renovated warehouses and built expensive luxury apartment towers. Five star international hotels and restaurants made the area a destination for people with the highest incomes.

The land reserved for public uses was reduced to small strips for parks and walkways that are still not fully developed or accessible years after the private land has been fully developed. Public transportation is entirely non-existent and lower income people have no way to get there unless they own a car.

The Buenos Aires metropolitan area has 13 million residents and a severe deficit in green space. A significant opportunity to develop public land was lost because of a corrupt administration and a market approach to urban land.

lishment planners conveniently cop-out. Still the book is long on problems but short on solutions. Thabit tries hard, but there is only so much that can be done within the profits-before-people system. Yet the words capitalism and socialism are never used. In this reviewer's opinion, if the problems of the ghetto are to be solved, planners will have to envision a society that transcends capitalism and the same old, broken-down merry-go-round. Our imagination and vision seem to have been worn thin by so many years of deception and unfulfilled promises in the US and with the failed socialist experiments abroad. At the same time, some so-called radical American planners attacked socialism from the left, putting as much or more energy into that as they did criticizing the US.

This book will be useful to housers, planners, politicians, social workers, government agencies, researchers, sociologists, psychologists, housing developers, students and anyone interested in the problems of the ghetto. Had it been available when I was teaching city planning, I would have used it as a major textbook, though it would have benefited from more maps, photos and web references. Thabit even includes a retrospective chapter on changes almost up to the date of publication. Sadly, improvements have been few and far between; in the intervening years, not much has changed for the better in East New York.

### Important Lessons

Even though the decision to redevelop this public land was made through a formal democratic process, the dominant ideology of extreme privatization overwhelmed the weak opposition of civic groups who didn't have access to the mass media. The vast majority of residents were unaware of the debates that preceded decision making. Those who were involved were easily deceived by false promises or convinced by the intense propaganda emanating from the government. At that time the government's slogan was "Smaller government, bigger nation."

There can be no real democracy if we only have formal democracy. The official decision was made by an elected government but without consulting or involving the people. An active, vigilant and determined participation is needed in deciding how urban space should be used. The city should be for everyone and not a privileged group of wealthy investors.

Summary in English by Tom Angotti

# WALLS OR BRIDGES?

## Strategies for Rebuilding Communities

### PLANNERS NETWORK CONFERENCE

JUNE 25-27, 2004  
NEW YORK CITY

Co-sponsored by:

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and

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Conference Committee co-chairs:

Tom Angotti (tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu) Ayse Yonder (ayonder@pratt.edu)

#### Keynote and Plenary Speakers and Panelists (List in formation):

Sheela Patel, International Slum Dwellers Organization\* - Eddie Bautista, NY Lawyers for the Public Interest\* - Peter Marcuse, Columbia University - Ron Shiffman, Pratt Institute - Hiram Monseratte, NY City Council Member - Adesio Fernandes - Jan Peterson - Ethel Velez - Eva Hanhardt, Municipal Art Society - Jacqueline Leavitt, UCLA - Walter Thabit [\* To be confirmed]

#### Thursday June 24

Opening Reception and Plenary, Municipal Art Society, 457 Madison Ave. @ 51st St. (5 pm)

#### Friday June 25

Participatory Community Workshops (9 am - 3 pm)

Cooper Square, Manhattan -- NYC's oldest community plan for low-income housing

East Harlem, Manhattan -- Public housing tenant organizing

Williamsburg, Brooklyn -- Low-income housing in a gentrifying waterfront neighborhood

East NY, Brooklyn -- Housing development and community gardens

Corona, Queens -- Economic development & Olympics in a diverse immigrant community

Dutch Kills, Queens -- Planning for a mixed use neighborhood

South Bronx -- Housing and economic development in revitalized neighborhoods

East Tremont, Bronx -- Housing rehabilitation and community renewal

Staten Island -- Supportive housing and social justice

Speakers, Reception and Dancing at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn (5 pm)

#### Saturday June 26

Workshops, Speakers and Plenary Panels at Hunter College, Brookdale Campus, Manhattan (1st Ave. & E. 25th St.)

#### Sunday June 27

Planners Network Organizing/Breakfast Meeting, Hunter College Brookdale Campus (9 - 12 am)

### CONFERENCE CALL

The quality of urban life is undermined by inequality, poverty, violence and war. Cities are divided into enclaves by walls that segregate by privilege, race and ethnicity. These divisions are increasingly evident in the Middle East and South Asia, but are growing throughout the world and in North America as well. At the same time communities are struggling to rebuild bridges and networks that unite people.

In New York City, the 9/11 disaster prompted many proposals for rebuilding Ground Zero and lower Manhattan, but the rebuilding process has been dominated by powerful interests that have turned their backs on the communities that were most seriously affected. Civil rights and access to public spaces are being curtailed. The "war on terrorism" throughout the world is destroying many bridges and erecting new walls. Globalization is increasing economic inequalities, racism, and political repression.

Community-based planning offers inclusive, democratic models for urban planning based on social, economic and environmental justice. The Planners Network conference seeks to engage discussions about these experiences and help develop progressive planning strategies for the future. How can planning help build secure and sustainable cities? How can planners oppose the destruction of war and natural disasters and strengthen networks leading to peace?

### CALL FOR WORKSHOP PROPOSALS

The conference organizing committee invites proposals for speakers, participatory workshops, and panels on topics related to the conference themes, including workshops hosted by community-based organizations in the city's five boroughs. The committee will give preference to open, participatory discussions. Send your ideas and proposals to Tom Angotti and Ayse Yonder at pn@pratt.edu or Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205.

### REGISTRATION

Register now and save. Register on-line at [www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org) or mail in the tear-off below. Late registration after May 1. Low-cost housing options will be available. Three-day registration fee includes five meals, neighborhood visits, and one year subscription to Progressive Planning.

Regular	\$175	Late	\$200	Regular one-day	\$100
Student	\$100	Late	\$125	Student one-day	\$ 65
Low-income	\$ 50	Late	\$ 60	Low-income one-day	\$ 30

### HOUSING

Low cost housing available June 24-29:

Hunter College Dorms (Brookdale Campus, 1st Ave. and E. 25th St., Manhattan)

All single rooms, bath/showers on floor, no A/C. \$35/night, 2-night minimum; linen charge.

Pratt Institute Dorms (Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn)

Double rooms, shared bath/shower, A/C \$30/person/day + \$10 linen charge

Single rooms, shared bath/shower, A/C \$40/person/day + \$10 linen charge

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Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Fax \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Email \_\_\_\_\_

Friday Workshop: 1st Choice \_\_\_\_\_ 2nd Choice \_\_\_\_\_

Registration: Full/Fri or Sat \_\_\_\_\_ Regular \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Student \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Low-income \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Housing: Location \_\_\_\_\_ Check-in date \_\_\_\_\_ Check-out \_\_\_\_\_ \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total amount: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (U.S. dollars only)

Credit Card \_\_\_\_\_ Expiration \_\_\_\_\_

Check enclosed \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205

# PN UPDATES

## PN NEWS

Tom Angotti and Ayse Yonder will accept the AICP President's award on behalf of Planners Network at the 2004 APA Conference in Washington, DC on Monday, April 26. We'll have a PN booth at APA and anyone who would like to help at the booth should let Tom (tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu) know; we get free passes for booth workers.

The Planners Network Steering Committee decided to put together a new Reader with selected articles from Progressive Planning Magazine. The last Reader was published in 2000.

## PN OBITUARY

### *Tributes to Alma Young*

With the permission of the authors, we are reprinting two of the tributes to Alma Young (Professor at University of New Orleans) that were sent to the Faculty Women's Interest Group (FWIG) list-serve. Alma was a PN member, and there was recently a memorial service for her at the Urban Affairs Association conference in Washington D.C.

**From Jane S. Brooks, University of New Orleans:** It is still difficult for me to believe that my long-time friend and colleague Alma Young is gone. We spent more than twenty years together at the University of New Orleans (UNO) teaching and building the Urban and Regional Planning program. Actually, we came to UNO within one month of each other in 1976 and shared a small office for two years. This is a way to really get to know someone well! Alma was always a supportive friend, and we shared many life-changing events including the birth of Alden, her son, in the same year as my younger daughter, Courtney.

Alma was a major force in the metropolitan New Orleans area. She chaired numerous boards and commissions including the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans, the Downtown Development District, and the Greater New Orleans Foundation Youth Advisory Committee. She was director of the Toyota

Families for Learning Program, a family literacy program for New Orleans Elementary Schools. The many boards that she generously gave her time and talent to are too numerous to list here. However, the response from leaders throughout the city to her loss has been overwhelming.

Most important to me was Alma's role as a gifted teacher and mentor of students at the masters and doctoral level. The outpouring of grief from many of her past students at UNO attests to the mark that she made as an educator. So many graduates have called to share stories of how Alma quietly but firmly guided them in the classroom and on into their professional careers. Her legacy is an important one in the New Orleans community and beyond this region through the students that she taught.

Although Alma left New Orleans in 1997 to become the Coleman A. Young Professor and later dean at Wayne State University, she was still tied to UNO and to her former colleagues. I enjoyed greatly working with her on the Urban Affairs Association board and could always count on a fun session of "catching up" on each others lives at the UAA Conference. While Alma's contributions as an administrator, teacher and mentor are valued by so many, I will always treasure the fact that she was a wonderful friend. Alma, I will miss you so much.

**From Susan S. Fainstein, Columbia University:** Alma Young and I had parallel careers, although she was some years younger than I. We both majored in political science at Radcliffe and got our PhDs in that discipline from MIT. Then we both went on to teach in planning programs. Like me, she found great satisfaction in teaching planning because, as a discipline, it is much more problem oriented than political science.

I think her academic background permitted Alma to speak clearly about the issues closest to her heart—especially the obstacles to youth from impoverished backgrounds, but also to the politics of urban development and to injustices in the Third World. She was an important scholar, teacher, and mentor, who could draw broadly from the social sciences in her approach to planning issues.

Although we had not yet met, our common backgrounds led Alma, decades ago, to invite me to speak at UNO. (At that time, I had not yet received many such invitations, and I was very flattered). She graciously gave up her time to show me New Orleans. Subsequently I always looked forward to UAA and ACSP meetings where she and I would get together for coffee or lunch. I treasured these times because of her insightfulness and her ability to deal with tense issues in a dignified and calm manner. The news of her sudden passing was extremely shocking; like everyone in the community of urban scholars, I will miss her.

## PN MEMBER UPDATES

PN'er **Sam Boskey**, a former Montreal city councillor and member of the Planning Commission, is now working for Quebec Education Ministry helping school boards implement adult education policies. He is also occasional guest lecturer on planning issues.

**Kami Pothukuchi** from Wayne State University writes: Thank you for putting out a very nice special issue on food and planning! I enjoyed reading all the articles, especially Tom Angotti's response to Gill-Chin Lim's piece on the North Korean case. In all, the issue brings together a variety of food-related community planning issues from the perspectives of social justice, sustainability, local and regional connection, and health—all concerns of progressive planners! I have noticed two errors (both mine in their origins) in my piece. The first was brought to my attention from a Rochester resident following the submission of the piece; the other slipped the final editing process because the reference was in the last-but-one version but dropped in the final submission (following advice to edit for length): 1) The store that was built in the Upper Falls neighborhood of Rochester, NY ended up being a Top's rather than a B-Kwik, as originally planned. 2) The example from Portland, Oregon is "New Seasons Market" not "All Seasons Market."

PN'er **Ezra Haber Glenn** recently changed jobs, and is now back in the public sector working as the director of commercial & economic development for the city of Somerville, Massachusetts. He can be reached at eglenn@ci.somerville.ma.us if you have any great ideas about creating GOOD jobs or revitalizing downtowns.

PN'er **Tasha Harmon's** paper Integrating Social Equity and Growth Management: Linking Community Land Trusts and Smart Growth, has recently been published by the Institute for Community Economics (ICE). Copies can be purchased from ICE for \$10 plus \$3 shipping. To order, contact: Michelle Lancto, Institute for Community

Economics, 57 School Street, Springfield MA, 01105-1331, Phone: 413-746-8660, michelle@iceclt.org. You may also request to be placed on the notification list for the companion paper Integrating Social Equity and Smart Growth: An Overview of Tools, also written by Tasha Harmon, which will be available in April. Tasha is a writer and strategic planning consultant living in Portland, Oregon. She spent seven years as the executive director of the Community Development Network, (the association of community development corporations in Portland), and five directing the Center for Popular Economics in Amherst, Massachusetts. She is a founder of the Coalition for a Livable Future a ten-year-old association of over fifty organizations promoting a compact, equitable and sustainable future for the Portland metropolitan region. She helped to create the Portland Community Land Trust and served on its board for its first four years. She is a founding member of the Northwest Community Land Trust Coalition, and has served on the steering committee for the Community Land Trust Network and the board of the Institute for Community Economics. In addition to this pair of papers, Tasha is the author of articles on the relationship between smart growth and housing affordability appearing in the NIMBY Report of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, Connections, the journal of the Coalition for a Livable Future, and Planners Network Magazine. She speaks nationally on smart growth and housing affordability and on the community land trust model. She has a BA from Hampshire College and a Masters in Regional Planning from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

From PN'er **Peg Seip**: I have been working in Newark, NJ for the last two years for the Trust for Public Land running a program that builds parks and playgrounds through community and school participatory design. I'm happy to connect with anyone working in Jersey on progressive planning issues, particularly around community-based planning and development. For anyone who remembers the two baby boys who came to Lowell with us, Sam and Zach are five years old and full of vigor! I can be reached by email at: margaret.seip@tpl.org or awschuman@comcast.net.

From PN'er **Kevin Nelson**: I have been on the fringe of Planners Network the last few years due to previous employment priorities. I was most involved back in the mid-1990s during and soon after graduate school at the University of Illinois. While there, I worked closely with Ken Reardon and the helped organize the Network Conference in East St. Louis. I attended the Brooklyn conference the next year, but have not been closely involved since then, although I would certainly like to be. A little over a year ago I started working for the US EPA's Smart [Cont. on page 41]

# RESOURCES

## PUBLICATIONS

**Campaign Finance as an Equality Issue.** A 2002 study sponsored by the Fannie Lou Hamer Project, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights/SF Bay Area, the Greenlining Institute and National Voting Rights Institute is available at [www.nvri.org](http://www.nvri.org).

**Racism (2nd ed.)**, by Robert Miles and Malcolm Brown (184 pp., 2003, \$18.95), has been published by Routledge Press, 800.634.7064.

**Achieving the Goals of Welfare Reform: The Experiences of Latina Women**, by Marcia Bok (21 pp., Nov. 2003), is available (free) from [marciabok@aol.com](mailto:marciabok@aol.com).

**The Road Not Taken? Changes in Welfare Entry During the 1990s**, by Gregory Acs, Katherin Ross Phillips & Sandi Nelson (2003), is available from The Urban Institute, 202.261.5709, [paffairs@ui.urban.org](mailto:paffairs@ui.urban.org), [www.urban.org](http://www.urban.org).

**Good for the Soul, Good for the Whole: Faith-Based Community Organizing & the Renewal Of Congregations** is a 16-page, 2003(?) pamphlet, available (likely free) from Interfaith Funders, 1 Dover Lane., Syosset, NY 11791, 516.364.8922, [interfaithfunders@yahoo.com](mailto:interfaithfunders@yahoo.com).

**Educational Alternatives for Vulnerable Youth: Student Needs, Program Types & Research Directions**, by Laudan Aron & Janine Zweig (2003), is available from the Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash. DC 20037, 202.261.5709, [paffairs@ui.urban.org](mailto:paffairs@ui.urban.org), [www.urban.org](http://www.urban.org).

**The Next Upsurge: Labor & the New Social Movements**, by Dan Clawson (2003, \$18.95), has been published by Cornell Univ. Press, 800.442.5645, [www.cornellpress.cornell.edu](http://www.cornellpress.cornell.edu).

**Lifting the Lid Off the Family Cap: States Revisit Problematic Policy for Welfare Mothers** is a Jan. 2004 Policy Brief, available (no price given) from the Center for Law & Social Policy (headed by former PRRAC board member Alan Houseman), 1015 15th St. NW, #400, Wash., DC 20005, 202.906.8000, [www.clasp.org](http://www.clasp.org).

**Many Families Turn to Food Pantries for Help**, by Sheila R. Zedlewski & Sandi Nelson (2003), is available (possibly free) from the Urban Institute, 202.261.5709, [paffairs@ui.urban.org](mailto:paffairs@ui.urban.org), [www.urban.org](http://www.urban.org).

**Mending the Health Care Divide: Eliminating Disparities in Access for Minority & Low-Income Communities** is a background sourcebook (ca. 100 pp.) prepared for the Nov. 1, 2003 conference of the above title, sponsored by the UNC Center for Civil Rights and School of Public Health. Contact Allison Stelljes at the Center, 919.843.3921 about receiving a copy.

**Evictions: The Hidden Housing Problem**, by Chester Hartman & David Robinson (41 pp.) appeared in Vol. 14, Issue 4 of Housing Policy Debate, along with commentaries by Michael Schill, Dennis Keating and Lenore Monello Schloming/Skip Schloming. Copies of the entire issue are available, free, from the Fannie Mae Foundation, 4000 Wisconsin Ave. NW, N. Tower, #1, Wash., DC 20016-2804, fax: 202.274.8111, [fmf-pubs@fanniemaefoundation.org](mailto:fmf-pubs@fanniemaefoundation.org).

**Immigrants and TANF: A Look at Immigrant Welfare Recipients in Three Cities** by Karen C. Tumlin & Wendy Zimmerman (25 pp., Oct. 2003), is available (likely free) from the Urban Institute, 2100 M St. NW, Wash., DC 20037, 202.833.7200.

## INTERNET RESOURCES

**Living Cities Interactive Databooks** is a new interactive application that allows users to query 2000 Census data, generating rankings of the largest 150 US cities on more than 150 demographic indicators (population, educational attainment, race/ethnicity, employment, immigration, commuting, age, income/poverty, household/families, housing trends, etc.). It complements the Living Cities Databooks available for many large cities. [www.brookings.edu/urban](http://www.brookings.edu/urban).

**The Design Center for American Urban Landscape** announces that its new image bank is now available at <http://www.designcenter.umn.edu/imagebank/index.html>. The Design Center Image Bank contains over 17,000 images, including low-level oblique aerial photographs and eye-level images. Another 11,000 images will be added during 2004. The current focus of the collection is the Twin Cities metropolitan region in Minnesota and dates from the early 1990s through the present. Both built and natural environments are included with many images of typical environments—such as downtowns and suburban sprawl—that are relevant to other locations. As long as the Design Center is credited, image use is generally granted without permission with some exceptions as outlined on the site. For some large scale uses we ask to

be contacted for permission but will generally gladly grant it.

## EVENTS/CONFERENCES/SEMINARS

**April 22-23, 2004.** How to Turn a Place Around: Creating Great Neighborhood Spaces, Project for Public Spaces, New York City; phone 212.620.5660. For more information, e-mail [jwintrob@pps.org](mailto:jwintrob@pps.org), [www.pps.org](http://www.pps.org).

**April 26-27, 2004.** Housing in 2004 is the theme of the annual National Low Income Housing Coalition conference in Washington DC. For more information, visit [www.nlihc.org](http://www.nlihc.org).

**May 17-21, 2004.** Sustainability Symposium, US Dept. of Housing and Urban Development Chicago, University of Illinois, Great Lakes Center for Occupational & Environmental Safety & Health, Chicago. For more information call 312.353.3161, e-mail [Eugene\\_Goldfarb@hud.gov](mailto:Eugene_Goldfarb@hud.gov) or visit [www.hud.gov/local/il/working/environtrain04sched.cfm](http://www.hud.gov/local/il/working/environtrain04sched.cfm).

**June 10-13, 2004.** The Institute for Community Research (ICR) in Hartford, CT is sponsoring Crossroads: Critical Issues in Community-Based Research Partnerships, a national conference that will critically explore issues related to community-based research partnerships, methodology and methods of dissemination. ICR is currently accepting applications for workshop and panel discussion proposals that address how class, ethnicity, race, gender, culture and power impact research partnerships; and gaps between communities and the institutions that serve them. For more information, visit [www.incommunityresearch.org/news/CrossroadsConf/presentapps.htm](http://www.incommunityresearch.org/news/CrossroadsConf/presentapps.htm). Deadline for proposal is March 15, 2004. Application may be submitted via email, mail or fax to: Crossroads Conference Call for Proposals Institute for Community Research, 2 Hartford Square West, Suite 100, Hartford, CT 06106, phone 860.278.2044, fax 860.278.2141, email [crossroads@icrweb.org](mailto:crossroads@icrweb.org). If you are sending your application via email, please state Crossroads Presentation Proposal in the subject line.

## Updates [cont. from page 39]

Growth office focusing on the environmental impacts of land development. Specifically my work involves reviewing smart growth codes and regulations, as well as connecting smart growth and affordable housing. Other areas of work include brownfields redevelopment, children's health issues and university-community partnerships. For web information, visit: <http://www.epa.gov/smartgrowth>. If you have not done so already, please visit the Smart Growth Network site (<http://www.smartgrowth.org>) to see what we are working on with our partners. Thanks. Kevin M. Nelson, AICP, US EPA, Office of Policy, Economics and Innovation, 1200 Pennsylvania Ave NW (MC 1808T), Washington, DC 20460, Phone: 202-566-2835; Fax: 202-566-2868, Email: [nelson.kevin@epa.gov](mailto:nelson.kevin@epa.gov).

**August 2004.** The Interarts Foundation is organizing, together with UNESCO and the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECI), an International Congress on Cultural Rights and Human Development within the framework of the Universal Forum of Cultures Barcelona 2004. The Congress is expected to be a major encounter of experts, international organizations and networks from different fields related to cultural rights, human rights, cultural diversity policies and human development. You can sign up for participation on the Forum's website under [www.barcelona2004.org](http://www.barcelona2004.org) or [www.interarts.net](http://www.interarts.net). For further information, contact Annamari Laaksonen at [alaaksonen@interarts.net](mailto:alaaksonen@interarts.net), Belén Roldán at [broldan@interarts.net](mailto:broldan@interarts.net), Jordi Baltà at [jbaltà@interarts.net](mailto:jbaltà@interarts.net) or Uta Staiger at [ustaiger@interarts.net](mailto:ustaiger@interarts.net).

**September 16-18, 2004.** Conference on Race/Ethnicity and Place, Washington DC. Binghamton University, Howard University and the Association of American Geographers invite paper and poster presentations. Details about the conference are available online at [www.aag.org/meetings/place.html](http://www.aag.org/meetings/place.html).

**October 20-24, 2004.** 3rd International Caribbean Conference: Relations between Africa, Asia, Brazil and the Caribbean. Abstracts and papers can be sent either by email to [ocabrera@fchf.ufg.br](mailto:ocabrera@fchf.ufg.br) or else to the following address: Centro de Estudos do Caribe no Brasil Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Filosofia Universidade Federal de Goiás Campus II Samambaia 74001-970, Goiania - GO Brazil Tel: 55.62.521.1457 Fax: 55.62.521.1013. For more information, see: [www.fch.ufg.br/CaribeBrasil](http://www.fch.ufg.br/CaribeBrasil) or email [ocabrera@fchf.ufg.br](mailto:ocabrera@fchf.ufg.br).

## FELLOWSHIPS

**New Judith McManus Price Scholarship.** The family of distinguished planner Judith McManus Price continues her gift of sharing with a generous endowment that established a scholarship in her name. The scholarship is open to women and minority students enrolled in PAB-accredited planning programs, who intend to work in the public sector. Apply by April 30, 2004. For more information, contact Susan Turner at [sturner@planning.org](mailto:sturner@planning.org).

PNer **James DeFilippis**, Assistant Professor of Black and Hispanic Studies at Baruch College, City University of New York, is the author of "Unmaking Goliath: Community Control in the Face of Global Capital" The publisher, Routledge states: "Unmaking Goliath" offers a fresh approach to understanding the impact of economic globalization on cities and communities in the US. Arguing against those who say that our communities are powerless in the face of footloose corporations, DeFilippis considers what localities can do in the face of heightened capital mobility in order to retain an autonomy that furthers egalitarian social justice. "Unmaking Goliath" explores how we go about accomplishing this in practical, political terms. The book investigates these issues by analyzing contemporary collectivist organizations in housing, banking and industry and tracing their fortunes in the era of globalization.

## URBAN PLANNERS OPPOSE THE WAR IN IRAQ

We are urban planners and professionals in the fields of community preservation and development. We oppose the U.S. war in Iraq as a politically unacceptable means of resolving the problem of disarmament and dealing with the despotic regime in Iraq. The Bush administration has turned its back on the United Nations and proceeded despite overwhelming opposition throughout the world. The invasion of Iraq increases instability and heightens the dangers of terrorism throughout the world.

Urban planners and professionals in community development have special reasons for opposing this war:

1. Urban planners are dedicated to the preservation and development of cities. We cannot support a war that destroys the physical and social infrastructure of cities. Baghdad is a city of 4.5 million people and large numbers of civilians will die as the result of U.S. bombing.

2. Urban planning is concerned with human welfare and improvement in the quality of life. We cannot support a war that will bring widespread hunger, homelessness and extensive human suffering.

3. The earliest cities were founded in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, in what is now Iraq. The numerous ancient historic treasures in Iraq are threatened by the extensive U.S. bombing campaign.

4. Urban planning in America is based on principles of participation and equity. We cannot support a war that imposes the will of the mightiest nation in the world on a population that is helpless and at the mercy of a foreign military force. The U.S. occupation of Iraq will only expand inequalities and facilitate the plunder by the U.S. of Iraqi resources and labor.

5. Democratic urban planning is based on preserving and developing open and integrated cities with accessible public spaces. The U.S. is reinforcing the establishment of elite, walled enclaves in the Middle East, and on its own border. The U.S. supports, through its foreign aid, the construction of walls, very much like the Berlin Wall, that divide people based on ethnicity.

6. Since 9/11, urban planners are being called upon to consider security concerns in the urban development process. We do not believe there are any methods for building "defensible cities" simply by using physical design. Public security is best guaranteed by building cities and societies that minimize social inequality and maximize social interaction. We are concerned that the Bush administration's homeland security efforts are reinforcing inequalities, creating more fear and instability, and increasing social isolation.

We call on all professionals in the urban planning and community development fields to join the global protest against the U.S. war.

The Planners Network Steering Committee, 2003

Tom Angotti  
Ann Forsyth  
Fernando Marti  
Richard Milgrom  
Barbara Rahder  
Ken Reardon  
Gwen Urey  
Ayse Yonder

Planners Network is an association of progressive urban planners.  
www.plannersnetwork.org

# JOIN PLANNERS NETWORK

For three decades, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning, social and environmental justice. PN's 1,000 members receive the Progressive Planning magazine, communicate on-line with PN-NET and the E-Newsletter, 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, the Canadian Institute of Planners, and the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning.

The PN Conference has been held annually almost every summer 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 Holyoke, MA; Rochester, NY; Toronto, Ontario; Lowell, MA; East St. Louis, IL; Brooklyn, NY; and Pomona, CA.

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

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

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

*Canadian members:  
See column at right.*

Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

### PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

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

- \$35 for students, unemployed, and those with incomes <\$40,000
- \$55 for those with incomes between \$40,000 and 80,000
- \$75 for those with incomes over \$80,000
- \$150 for sustaining members

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

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

### PURCHASING A SINGLE ISSUE

Progressive Planning 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. Multiple back issues are \$8 each

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 \$12 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](mailto: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.

### Progressive Planning ADVERTISING RATES:

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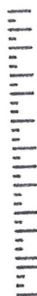
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World Social Forum

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Community Planning

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## Your Last Issue?

Please check the date on your mailing label. If the date is **more than one year ago** this will be your last issue unless we receive your annual dues **RIGHT AWAY!** See page 43 for minimum dues amounts.

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

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