

PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

The Magazine of Planners Network



Photo by Mark Saunders

New York City's Olympic Bid—Why?

By Peter Marcuse

Cities have pursued hosting the Olympic Games out of a variety of motivations, often more than one. Absent from these motivations in recent years has been the original purpose of the Games: to promote peace through the substitution of friendly athletic competition for war. "The Games have always brought people together in peace to respect universal moral principles," the Athens promoters said. When an Iraqi soccer team took the field in the Athens Olympics, there was no reference to the fact that their country had been invaded by a foreign power, that war was in fact being waged by participants in the Games against the peoples of other participants. But then, the Games have become spectacle, entertainment, rather than a component of an international relationship among states and peoples based on universal moral principles. [Cont. on page 6]

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THE ATHENS OLYMPICS
AND ROMA
COMMUNITIES

LEIPZIG'S OLYMPIC
WISH

OLYMPIC GRAFFITI

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PLANNERS
NETWORK
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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

Integrating Vision and Ethics: A Feat of Olympian Proportions

By Richard Milgrom

Cities that host the Olympic Games must undertake huge planning processes—in many cases, the Games are used to drive the largest urban development projects those cities will ever see. Many outsiders still think, however, that the Games are little more than a 17-day sporting event and they pay little attention to the objectives of those who advocate for Olympic bids. If we think that the goals of planning and urban development should involve considerations of equity, social justice and environmental protection, the intentions of the development communities that sponsor bids are often far from honorable. In fact, while small segments of the population make great financial gains from the Olympics, it is usually the most vulnerable members of society that pay the highest costs. While this may not differ dramatically from many other urban development processes, this model of development is masked behind a rhetoric of global peace and fellowship, and, of course, the moral and health benefits that athletic endeavors are supposed to represent.

Plenty has been written about the funding scandals in the bidding processes, and the related corruption of members of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) that have finally started to catch up with "Olympic Movement." Of course, the pharmaceutical enhancement of athletes has led many to question the ethical foundations of these athletic events that the IOC likes to suggest represent "universal moral principles." In the mainstream media, however, less attention has been paid to issues related to the planning and reshaping of cities that takes place in the build-up to the Games. Perhaps more importantly, there has been little discussion about whose agendas are served by the plans that are implemented behind the façade of sport and spectacle, an issue that Peter Marcuse addresses here in the New York context.

All of the people who have contributed to this issue of *Progressive Planning* have experience with addressing the issues of equity and power that are raised during Olympic bidding processes, some during the Games themselves. Contributors have taken some time to examine the social, economic and environmental impacts of the Games. For most, the benefits that Games boosters promote are often offset by the negative effects that are felt by the poorest residents of urban areas, from the diversion of public funds away from servicing community needs to the damage done to important natural systems.

Local Games promoters will also justify their proposals by suggesting that hosting the Olympics will act as a catalyst to accomplish some of the objectives laid out by advocates of social and environmental justice. Stephen Goldsmith, who played the role of both activist and municipal planner in Salt Lake City's Winter Games, discusses the challenges of attempting to integrate vision and ethics. That this challenge is international in scope is made clear by Matthais Bernt's discussion of Leipzig's failed bid for the Games. There, bid organizers used the potential of this global event to get infrastructure funding from the German government, while developing plans that endangered fragile ecological systems.

Anita Beaty of the Metro Atlanta Taskforce for the Homeless documents the displacement of homeless populations from the center of the city in the lead-up to the 1996 Games. She has witnessed the criminalization of homelessness to ensure presentable images of the city for international audiences under the guise of promoting "quality-of-life" [Cont. on page 8]

ERRATA:

The article "How Planners Can Change Public Policy Through Social Action" in the Summer 2004 issue of *Progressive Planning Magazine* was written by Jackie Leavitt. Ayse Yonder was incorrectly by-lined as the author.

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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 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):

- U.S. Urban Policy After the 2004 Elections
- Global Warming and Energy
- Design, Arts and Culture
- Race and Planning
- Indigenous Planning
- University-Community Partnerships

2004 Athens Olympic Games Bring Misery to Roma Communities in Greece

Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions

As the world's attention turns to Greece for the 2004 Summer Olympic Games to witness the excitement and glory of the world's biggest sporting competition, there is a lesser-known and darker side to the staging of the Games of the XXVIII Olympiad. The Athens Games once again reveal that events of such magnitude are almost always accompanied by human rights violations, such as the forced eviction of whole communities in host cities. Nearly 140 Roma (formerly known as Gypsy) from the Marousi community have been forcibly evicted and several other Roma communities threatened with forced eviction in the Greater Athens area in the last two years, as preparations for the Olympic Games have gained momentum.

Local organizations in Greece such as the Greek Helsinki Monitor report that a majority of the Roma families who were forcibly evicted from their homes have not been provided with adequate compensation, reparation or resettlement. Even when resettlement and compensation have been granted to Roma families of the Marousi community, only Greek Roma have been eligible, with non-Greek Roma who have legal residency status (such as Albanian Roma) excluded from the process.

Preparations for the Olympic Games in Athens have been a double-edged sword. While it has created massive employment and economic opportunities for many Greeks, it has also caused uncertainty and severe economic hardship to Roma communities in the Greek capital. Municipal authorities have used the upcoming Games as a pretext to carry out forced evictions of Roma communities, even when the land they inhabited was not required for the construction of Games-related infrastructure.

According to the Greek National Commission for Human Rights, "The holding of the Olympic Games has been an occasion for driving the Roma out of many regions. Local communities (very often untruthfully) invoked the need for the construction of sports facilities in order to get rid of the Roma, as was the case in Mexico in 1968."

The municipalities of Halandri, Aghia Paraskevi, Aspropyrgos and Aharnai / Menidi—all of which are in the Greater Athens area—have resorted to such

arguments to threaten Roma settlements with forced eviction or to actually carry out such evictions.

In the second scenario, the actual construction of infrastructure for the Olympic Games has led to the forced eviction of a Roma community. The settlement of the Roma community of Marousi was located in the Greater Athens area adjacent to the main Olympic complex.

Although no other Roma settlement has been directly affected by the actual construction of Games-related infrastructure, local government authorities such as the municipality of Nea Alikarnassos in Crete have openly claimed that they want the land on which Roma settlements are built to construct sports facilities and other infrastructure required for the 2004 Summer Games.

The Roma community living in Marousi, a suburb of Athens, was directly affected by the construction of Olympic facilities because its settlement is located in the vicinity of the main Olympic stadium. In 2002, the Marousi Roma were asked to vacate their settlement because the 2004 Olympic Games Committee had decided to construct a parking lot and road enlargements. Initially, the Marousi municipal authority came to an agreement with the community, which stipulated that adequate compensation and resettlement would be provided to the community in exchange for vacating the land they had been living on for decades. This agreement was signed in August 2002 between the Marousi mayor, Panagiotis Tzanikos, and a representative of the Roma association Elpida.

The agreement, which affected a total of 137 persons, was by no means a fair and just one, as it stated that compensation and resettlement was limited to Greek Roma and purposely excluded non-Greek Roma, such as the Albanian Roma, with legal residency status in Greece. According to the terms of the agreement, forty Greek Roma families were to be paid a reasonable sum of money to be used as a monthly rent subsidy. The agreement also stipulated that the Roma families would be resettled in heavy-duty prefabricated houses that would be constructed by the Marousi Municipal Authority. In the longer term, the agreement also underlined that this relocation would be temporary and that

the Municipality would work towards guaranteeing permanent resettlement to the families.

On the basis of this agreement, the Roma families started leaving their settlement. Some of the families opted for rented housing while others sought temporary accommodation in the homes of relatives. Although the Roma community of Marousi honored their part of the agreement, it soon became evident that the Municipal Authority was not prepared to implement its various obligations under the arrangement. According to reports from the Greek Helsinki Monitor, the Municipal Authority soon defaulted on the payment of rent subsidies to the Roma families. Roma families who had moved to rented accommodation struggled to meet their monthly rental payments when the subsidy payments stopped coming from the Municipal Authority. This led to landlords evicting a number of Roma families from their rented accommodation from September 2003. Several of the affected Roma families have voiced their concern that the agreement was merely a pretext to lure them to vacate the land they have been living on so Olympic-related infrastructure could be constructed, and that the Municipal Authority of Marousi never intended to honor the arrangement.

In January 2004, the Marousi Municipal Authority claimed to have paid all forty of the Roma families the money it owed them—which in some cases was in excess of more than six months of accrued subsidies. However, a letter dated 12 February 2004 from the Mayor of Marousi to the Greek Ombudsman's Office mentioned that only fourteen Roma families had been paid all the subsidies they were owed up to January 2004 and that twenty-one others had only received payments up to November 2003. By May 2004, payments from the Municipal Authority for the period since January 2004 had defaulted once again causing severe economic hardship to the families. The Mayor of Marousi made a statement in March 2004, saying that the families would cease receiving monthly rent subsidies until they had filed applications for housing loans for Roma. According to the Mayor, payments would resume once all the families had made loan applications. Such a move by the Municipal Authority arguably raises questions about its commitment to abide by its contractual obligations, as no such provision exists in the agreement signed in 2002.

In addition to the Municipal Authority's failure to provide the promised rent subsidies, reports also indicate that no initiative was taken to implement the resettlement part of the agreement. There has been no response from the Mayor's Office to ques-

tions from the families about when the resettlement arrangements will be ready or where they will be situated.

The plight of the Marousi Roma community is merely one example of the widespread practice of illegal forced evictions of "undesirable" Roma in Greece. In most cases, local municipal authorities are the ones carrying out forced evictions and failing to implement resettlement and compensation initiatives even when such measures have been agreed upon.

As the world counts down the days to the opening ceremony of the Athens Olympics and local authorities strive to present the city in the best possible light, it is important to consider how this may affect the Roma community there.

The run-up to the Olympic Games could well bring about further forced evictions of "visible" Roma communities in a last minute bid to "clean up" and "beautify" the greater Athens area, before the world's cameras descend on Greece.

Local NGOs have expressed concern that the predicament of Roma communities affected by the Olympic Games could be neglected altogether by local authorities once the event is over. Several international and local NGOs, including COHRE, have repeatedly asked the International Olympic Committee to intervene in the matter to ensure that such injustices do not eventuate. COHRE also made a presentation about Olympics-related forced evictions in Greece to the 32nd Session of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Geneva in April. COHRE called upon the Committee to raise this issue in its constructive dialogue with Greece and make evident in its concluding observations that the run up to the Olympic Games should not lead to further forced evictions of Roma communities in Athens. Scott Leckie, executive director of COHRE, said, "Local authorities in Greece must abide by international human rights law and standards related to the enjoyment of housing rights and ensure that no further violations take place."

Forced evictions and discrimination against racial minorities goes against the very spirit and ideals of the Olympic Movement, which aim to foster peace, solidarity and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles."

Reprinted from the Housing Rights Bulletin, Volume 1, Number 3, pages 1, 6, 8-9. The Housing Rights Bulletin is a publication of the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions.

Marcuse [cont. from page 1]

What then provokes cities and nations to clamor for the privilege of hosting the Games? Spectacle is surely among the reasons: furthering the role of the city as entertainment, for passive consumption by its residents and visitors, the role of the bread and circuses that ancient Rome used to quiet its citizens. But spectacle also in a deeper sense, the sense in which David Harvey has written about it as to the city, Guy Debord as characteristic of society as a whole: a representation of reality rather than the reality itself, a false façade concealing the truth. Thus in the Olympic arena "nations" "compete" peacefully; there are rules that must be obeyed by all, judges, fair winners and fair losers; all have equal opportunities to participate and do so based on merit alone; the Games are enjoyed by all; the people of the world can sit home and watch on television and need not be concerned that the outcome will affect their own lives. How different from the real competition among nations, the absence of rules, the unfairness of might makes right, the painful consequences for so many, the sharp contrast between poverty and wealth.

"What is surprising, however, is the play the city's Olympic bid is receiving in an atmosphere where its success is unlikely...."

But specific cities want to host the Olympics for more mundane reasons. Some cities, ambitious for a larger place in the sun, want them simply to draw attention to their existence and qualities, as major public relations coups: Athens certainly, Barcelona, Sydney largely, Berlin at the national level in 1936. Others see them mainly as profitable ventures for all concerned, bringing money into town, glamorizing the city: Los Angeles, probably. Some see them as the lever with which major infrastructure projects, otherwise desired, can be achieved, and national support attracted: Barcelona again, maybe Montreal. In the most recent rounds, all hope to make a profit out of hosting the Games, at least for the tourist industry, but perhaps for others also.

For New York City, the "others" that might make a profit from the city's Olympic bid are a little

different from typical candidate cities; New York is always a little different. The City has no need to put itself on the map by having the Olympics; it's already there. Whether the city government can make a profit out of increased tax revenues or contributions is debatable; it contends at least it will have no losses. Tourism is already a major industry; whether mega-events, like the recent Republican National convention, or such as the Olympics would be, really add that much or that widely is debated. The concern for security, in some cases verging on paranoia and defying common sense, adds substantial costs that must be deducted from the benefits that might be expected. As this is being written, however, the whole discussion seems academic since the smart money is betting against the city winning the designation for which it is applying, to host the games in 2012, against the competition of London, Madrid, Paris and Moscow.

What, then, is pushing New York City's bid? One should not discount civic boosterism. That was probably what moved Mayor Giuliani first to endorse the idea when Dan Doctoroff, then an investment banker and now deputy mayor for economic development in the Bloomberg administration, presented it to him, and what gets celebrity endorsers behind it. Some good government groups back it not so much because they want the Olympics, but because, according to Robert Kolker writing in *New York Magazine*, it sprinkles fairy dust on projects that armchair urbanists have lusted after for years." The proposals the planners put together for the 2012 bid they labeled an X plan: a north-south transportation axis using ferry service from Staten Island up the harbor and up the East and Harlem Rivers, and an east-west axis using existing rail lines from Flushing Meadows in Queens to the Meadowlands in New Jersey. And where the axes cross, the bid website says:

"The Olympic Village will be at the center of the 'X,' on the East River in Queens, directly across from the United Nations. From the Olympic Village, athletes riding fast ferries and special dedicated commuter trains will almost never have to go on a New York City street to get to their events."

So not that much in it, during the seventeen days of the actual Olympics, for the average New Yorker.

But it wasn't average New Yorkers or celebrities or planners that put up the well over \$20,000,000 of private money that under-

wrote the city's bid. It was businesses that had a vested interest in New York City, and in particular in its real estate: developers, institutional investors, financial institutions, construction firms. In the over \$1,000,000 contributor category are Goldman Sachs & Co., JP Morgan Chase, Merrill Lynch & Co. Inc, Time Warner, Verizon Communications. In the over \$100,000 category are well-known major players in New York real estate: The Rudin family, Fisher Brothers, Forest City Ratner Companies, Glenwood Management Corporation, Tishman Construction Corporation, Turner Construction, Boston Properties, Inc., Cushman & Wakefield, Edward J. Minskoff Equities Inc., Jack Resnick & Sons, Inc. Milstein Properties and others. But that is hardly surprising; real estate is big business in New York (former Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messenger used to say that "real estate is to New York what oil is to Dallas"), and those in real estate are after all the ones with the largest and most direct financial stake in New York's economy.

What is surprising, however, is the play the city's Olympic bid is receiving in an atmosphere where its success is unlikely, and here the focus suddenly shifts to the proposal to build a stadium and 11,000,000 square feet of office and related uses on the far west side of Midtown Manhattan. The Far West Midtown Plan is one that includes the area of the present Javits Convention Center and the Hudson freight yards. The plans suggest that this area will be covered over with a huge platform on which would be built a stadium seating 75,000 people that would be home to the New York Jets, now based across the river in New Jersey's Meadowlands. The city would be responsible for the platform, estimated at \$3,000,000,000 (that's billions), and for extending the #7 subway line to the area from its present terminus at Times Square. The Convention Center would be expanded by 1,000,000 square feet with the potential of also using the stadium if desired. Beyond this, the Plan calls for zoning that allows for 28 million square feet of office space, 12 million square feet of residential, 1.5 million square feet of hotel and 700,000 square feet of retail.

So what does this mega-project have to do with the Olympics? The stadium. The Jets want it badly; with the potential revenue from naming rights, luxury skyboxes and a huge seating capacity, it could be a gold mine. But there is major opposition to it from the community in which it will be built; it hardly rates as a local amenity, it makes little use of a spectacular

waterfront site and alternative uses would be much more appealing. Others, many others, object to its costs. There is a complex financing plan developed by Dan Doctoroff in which the costs (over what the Jets would pay) are essentially covered by floating bonds, repayable through tax increment financing allocating increases in real estate taxes to repay the bonds, but with ultimately a city guarantee behind them. Experts, including the city's Independent Budget Office, question whether the demand for space will really produce the tax revenues being projected; others argue that, with an already substantial vacancy rate for office space, the project will undermine efforts to develop Lower Manhattan and the World Trade Center site.

Given all these questions, the stadium is a hard sell. It was originally an idea of Rudolph Giuliani's, who wanted to build it for the New York Yankees as his enduring personal legacy to the city. But the Yankees wouldn't buy, and independently Doctoroff came up with the Olympic bid idea and sold it to Giuliani. Now, in effect, the Olympic bid has been shanghaied to bolster the stadium project, which in turn has been made part of the city's far west side plan. From a purely Olympic point of view, a stadium in Queens would make much more sense, and if Shea Stadium were to be renovated and used, much cheaper. The state legislature seems likely to approve bonding for parts of the project, including expansion of the Convention Center, but without the stadium. Yet Doctoroff, for whom the whole idea, in his own words, has become "an obsession," and now Bloomberg behind him, have been adamant: Everything depends on the stadium. And, Doctoroff argues, since the International Olympic Committee will meet to decide on a final host city in July 2005, a shovel should get in the ground before then. This is perhaps the hottest issue in New York City land use politics since Westway—a proposal to bury part of the West Side Highway and build a park on its roof—was defeated in 1985.

So in the end, New York City's Olympics bid seems to be more about a huge real estate development on the far west side of Manhattan, anchored by a football stadium (and about the fixations of important people in government), than about Olympic sports competitions or, certainly, than about peace, even at a city level.

Peter Marcuse is a professor of planning at Columbia University in New York.

7th Generation [cont. from page 2]

(for whom?). While some may suggest that this displacement was an isolated incident, a reprinted article from the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions reports on the displacement of Roma people in Athens during this year's Games. Beaty's important point is that the acceptability of these practices of displacement during the Games appears to set precedents that become policy over the longer term with the backing of Business Improvement Associations and their allies. Advocates of the Games like to talk of the positive legacies that the Games leave behind in terms of new facilities and city beautification—but the legacy that Beaty deals with daily is the effect new policies have on the civil liberties of vulnerable urban dwellers.

Peter Phibbs and Kat Martindale include a less blatant type of displacement in Atlanta in their discussion of housing markets and the Olympics. As another Olympic legacy, the city razed and redeveloped public housing near its center, reducing the number of affordable rental units and providing new market-rate housing. Gentrification of this sort has been witnessed in other host cities too—and the authors report on its effects in Sydney and Barcelona.

In recent years, the IOC has jumped on the environmental bandwagon as a marketing ploy. In addition to sport and culture, it added the environment as the third pillar of the Olympic Movement, and since the Sydney "Green Games" all Olympic bids

have attempted to make claims of minimizing ecological impacts. Helen Lenskyj followed the debates about the shades of green claimed in Sydney and reports here that the realities of the 2000 Games did not live up to the hype provided by the organizers. The organizers and their government allies worked to silence and manipulate the environmental activists who raised critical issue about the Games implementation.

Chris Shaw and No Games 2010 have also worked to raise environmental issues about the Vancouver Games bid. The IOC's respect for the environment, however, is just one of several myths Shaw takes on here using evidence from the British Columbia Lower Mainland, and with tales from other cities. Shaw's stories point to issues that manifest themselves at the local level. The bid process encourages inter-jurisdictional and local promoters, smelling profits, to easily lose track of the bigger goals. But when it comes to upholding the pursuit of moral principles of social and environmental justice that it claims are at the heart of its mission, the IOC argues that it has no right to interfere in local issues.

A network of activist groups is starting to emerge that can counter the claims of Olympic boosters. Unfortunately, much of the data that can now be presented in opposition to these massive urban development schemes is only available because of the damage that has been inflicted on vulnerable communities by previous Games.

Richard Milgrom is co-chair of the Planners Network Steering Committee.

Atlanta's Olympic Legacy

By Anita Beaty

Winning the right to host the 1996 Summer Olympic Games provided a long-awaited rationale for Atlanta's civic boosters and urban planners to "clean up" the city's visible poverty and homelessness. From the time that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) made its award announcement in 1991, not only was this rationale available, it also became acceptable even to formerly liberal elected officials. Even they were willing to accept assurances like "just for the games" and "we can tolerate anything for a couple of weeks." The proclamations, however, were met with protests from groups like the Metro Atlanta Task Force for the Homeless (MATFH) and Concerned Black Clergy, both of which led the Olympic Conscience Coalition made of laborers, homeless people, activists and residents of predominantly poor communities.

Arguing that there would be no public cost for hosting the Games, Atlanta's planners justified the massive construction projects by claiming that they would boost employment and improve infrastructure. This was the opportunity Atlanta needed, they claimed, to reinvent the city and bring the world to downtown Atlanta. The real legacy of the Olympics, however, has been one of increasingly aggressive harassment of homeless people in downtown Atlanta, harassment that pits city officials and business owners against those with fewest resources.

But these same planners and their colleagues had themselves begun moving out of the downtown area into suburban communities, where the challenges of urban life plagued them less. They now used the Olympic Games as the excuse for getting rid of poor and homeless people in downtown Atlanta, the majority of whom were African Americans. City officials and business leaders saw this as an opportunity to cleanse the inner city and pave the way for a suburban invasion. It should be noted that since 1987, the most prominent downtown business coalition, Central Atlanta Progress (CAP), had paid for plans that would have gentrified downtown. While they had previously used phrases like "vagrant-free zone" and "sanitized corridor," they were now settling for the less controversial, and commonly-used term "Business/Downtown Improvement District."

Charles Rutheiser, author of *Imagineering Atlanta*, summed up the situation by noting in a *Village Voice* article: "What the Olympics can do is bulldoze away barriers to development, clearing the

path for massive urban renewal projects that otherwise would be unthinkable."

The skyrocketing value of downtown property that housed poor people had been the object of desire for urban developers for years. CAP, with its loyal public officials, saw the Olympics as an easy way to remove poor and homeless people from sight. This convergence of redevelopment goals, with attendant gentrification and downtown "cleansing," was explicitly intended to attract the world to Atlanta, beginning with local suburbanites and disenfranchised business owners who had fled the urban core.

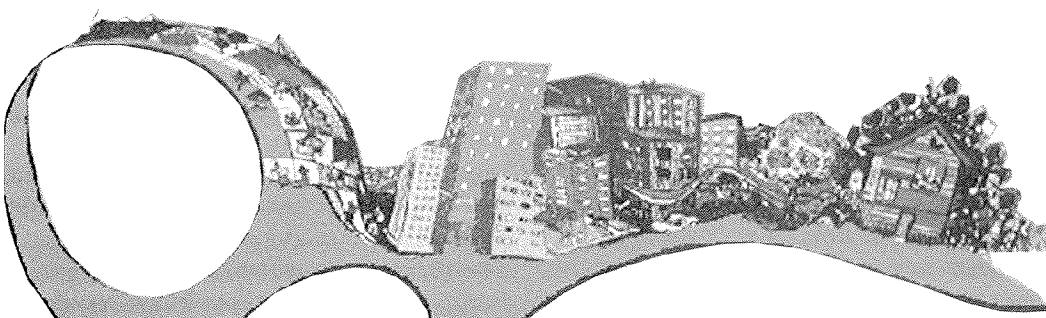
One strategy employed in this endeavor was the criminalization of behaviors that are necessary for a homeless person to survive. Under the new rules, these behaviors could get the homeless sent to jail and out of sight. By 1991 CAP and some elected officials were ready with a legislative agenda that made "remaining in a parking lot without a car" illegal. There are no public toilets in Atlanta and it is illegal to urinate or defecate in public. Sleeping in parks is called "urban camping" and is against the law. Many middle-class Atlantans seemed undisturbed by this development; the prevailing attitude seemed to suggest that people who are arrested must be criminals or they wouldn't be arrested!

By documenting the arrests of 9,000 homeless people during the year before the Olympics, the Task Force for the Homeless helped five homeless men bring a lawsuit in Federal Court that resulted in temporary relief for the men and a Federal Court Order insisting that arrests without probable cause cease.

The strategies of harassment, however, have not stopped. Perhaps the most devastating legacy of the 1996 Olympic Games is the well-established pattern and practice of legislating against normal behavior and using arrests and sentences as "deterrents" to being poor and homeless. The systematic elimination of civil rights for people with no private space of their own is the chief legacy of the summer of 1996.

Recently, during three consecutive months in 2003, the Task Force tallied arrest citations from Atlanta Police Department (APD) records and found that 1,100 to 1,500 homeless men were arrested in each of those months for "status" offenses. Status offenses are those violations of city ordinances that make certain behavior illegal—behavior that is in most cases ⇒

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required when a person lives “in public,” without housing. Eating, sleeping, urinating, defecating are activities that are illegal to perform in public in Atlanta. Because there are no public toilets, too few shelters and little if any affordable housing, arrests for “public urination,” “urban camping” and other related offenses are frequent, victimizing those people who are already excluded from many areas of the city.

Atlanta is already noteworthy throughout the world for its arrests and “relocation” of homeless people during the Olympics. But Atlanta Mayor Shirley Franklin recently reported to a group of advocate organizations, led by Concerned Black Clergy and the Task Force, that she intended to strictly enforce the “quality-of-life” ordinances that were passed before and after the 1996 Games. The Mayor had already issued an executive order prohibiting individuals and groups from feeding people meals in public, particularly in Woodruff Park, where homeless people often congregate. Mayor Franklin marketed her policy by insisting that “feeding the hungry in public is a health hazard,” thus angering local advocates and faith communities. Several prominent activists, ministers and a City Councilmember engaged in civil disobedience to make the point that no group or individual could be stopped from feeding hungry people. In fact, lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and public interest groups insist that since there is no ordinance prohibiting feeding people in public, the Mayor’s order cannot be enforced by the police.

During the Games, CAP, instigator of the “quality-of-life” ordinances and harassment policies, created the “Ambassador Force.” These uniformed people had no police or arresting authority but were encouraged to partner with police to get homeless people off the streets. This private security force continues today to work with the police to clear the streets of homeless people. CAP Vice President David Wardell also heads the Ambassador “wake up patrol.” As reported in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, he argues, “It is all about vigilance. It is like a beehive. If you let it grow, it grows and grows and festers.” Wardell’s comments suggest that unless there are arrests and harassment of homeless people who sleep in doorways, they will multiply. CAP boasts that arrests for “quality-of-life” ordinances have increased 239 percent in the past year.

Typical of homeless people who sleep outside, one man, quoted in the same newspaper article, says that “moonlighting cops working security for hotels harass the homeless when they try to sleep in a small, overgrown park on Piedmont Avenue.” He says that “they woke him once... and charged him with disorderly conduct. I can’t be disorderly if I’m asleep,” he says. “They dragged me off in handcuffs.”

Mayor Franklin’s Commission on Homelessness, appointed in October 2002, includes representatives of the downtown business community and, recently, representatives of other local governments and the state of Georgia. The group’s recommendations include raising several million dollars to rehab a section of the city jail. Mike Casey, activist and volunteer from The Open Door Community, reports that this project creates a political excuse for judges to “sentence” individuals to shelter.

There seems to be no coincidence in the fact that the large (400-bed) downtown shelter operated by Atlanta Union Mission (AUM) will move out of downtown, and AUM will operate the jail facility, now called “The Gateway.” The new Gateway will offer 250 to 300 beds, only forty-five of which will be for emergency use. Other services and shelters are being made offers they can’t refuse—to offer their services at “The Gateway” or move out of downtown. The concentration of services at the jail facility is planned as the city’s response to homelessness. The net reduction in beds and services is obvious and simple to document. The relegation of homelessness to the jail, and pressure on service providers to move to other areas, are the latest developments in a plan that used the Olympic Games of 1996 to begin the process of ridding the downtown of obvious homelessness.

Isolated incidents of homeless people coming to the city from other areas in the state because they need services are publicized to warn local businesses and governmental representatives that other jurisdictions are “dumping” their homeless people in Atlanta. In fact, the opposite is more often the case. The city of Atlanta and other organizations spend thousands of dollars on “Family Reunification” programs, sending homeless people back to their hometowns.

As one man said to the newly-elected president of the Atlanta City Council, “Every time I walk out of this building, I know I’m gonna be stopped by the police. I have lost three jobs because I was stopped and arrested; can you do something about that?”

In spite of lawsuits and Federal Court Orders, the Mayor and Central Atlanta Progress maintain a policy of harassment and arrest as a deterrent to homelessness. Additional lawsuits are planned, and continuous voter registration of homeless people can make a difference. In the meantime, thousands of men and a few women are routinely harassed and arrested in the seat of Civil Rights.

Anita Beaty is the executive director of the Metro Atlanta Taskforce for the Homeless, <http://www.homelesstaskforce.org/>.

Declining City, Big Ambitions: Leipzig’s Olympic Wish

By Matthias Bernt

In order to experience the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) announcement of the “Candidate Cities” for the 2012 Games, thousands of Leipzigers congregated in Augustplatz Square on 18 May 2004. Big screen TVs broadcast live reports, bands played music and the cheerful crowd waited to celebrate the expected inclusion of Leipzig in the next round of bidding. Politicians and planners had pinned their hopes for urban regeneration on participation in this high profile bidding process. But what happened came as a shock: When the IOC representative announced the names of the finalists, Leipzig was not included. Citizens who had come in anticipation of a celebration and city leaders assembled on the main stage needed several minutes to understand what had happened.

Indeed, what had happened? Leipzig’s situation was peculiar compared with many of the other bid cities, particularly high profile centers like London and New York. As the second biggest city of the former East Germany, Leipzig had been a center of industry, science and culture. But it has suffered massive deindustrialization and urban decline in the period following German Reunification. In the course of one decade more than 80 percent of industrial jobs were lost and the unemployment rate increased to 20 percent, remaining close to that level today. The population declined as well. Although the official figures show a drop from 557,000 in 1990 to 495,000 in 2002, real population loss is actually about double since these statistics do not account for the annexation of several suburbs that took place in the mid-1990s. Housing vacancies have also skyrocketed, up to 60,000 apartments or 15 percent of the whole housing stock. In order to address this problem several thousand apartments, mainly in prefabricated housing estates, have already been demolished and the city is planning to take down an additional 15,000. Demographic forecasts suggest further population decline and an increasingly elderly population living in a city “perforated” by vacancies and demolitions.

Leipzig is in a desperate situation and city leaders are willing to seize any chance to reverse the decline. The Olympics appeared to offer such an opportunity. The Olympic Games and their accompanying urban development were seen as a “growth machine” that could get Leipzig’s econ-

omy out of its sickbed. Although this view seems rather simplistic, it was nearly uncontested in Leipzig’s planning discussions and public support for the bid was at an overwhelming 90 percent.

Two types of reasons were given for the enthusiastic endorsement of the citizens. First, in a surprisingly overt manner, the Olympic bid was seen as an instrument to gain access to federal money to build the infrastructure needed to stimulate growth again. As the costs of the Olympics are rarely absorbed entirely by the host cities, the federal gov-



Soviet era housing in Leipzig

ernment was expected to pay the lion’s share of that check. Thus, in competition with other German cities, the Olympic bid was used as an attempt to jump the queue for federal infrastructure subsidies. In fact, the central government had already stepped up with funding for new roads to illustrate the suitability of Leipzig as an Olympic host city.

Second, the longer-term and more significant motivation for the bid was the common understanding that the Olympics would act like a “genie in a bottle,” granting the wishes of Leipzigers. It was imagined that the Games would spark growth of 30,000 inhabitants, bringing with it an immense economic boom that would help the city become a media center and hub to Eastern Europe. ⇒

Ernst Bloch's "principle of hope" became the main planning idea. In a surprisingly simple logic, the dominant argument became following: If Leipzig would only believe in its future, demonstrate its strong will to succeed and supply enough infrastructure, this belief could lead to a "miracle" (like the peaceful revolution in 1989). This would convince investors to come to this unique place and make citizens' dreams a reality. In order to house all the new elites who would be desperately looking for accommodation in the revitalized Leipzig, plans were made to build 3,000 to 4,000 luxury apartments in an environmentally-sensitive area at Lindenauer Hafen—even though vacant apartments and large-scale demolitions were in close proximity. New hotels were to be built for up to 150,000 expected visitors (equivalent to about one-quarter of Leipzig's whole population).

No less ambitious were the plans for sports facilities. To mention but one example, the central stadium would have provided 82,000 seats to meet Olympic requirements, but could have been reduced to 20,000, thereby making it suitable for use by Leipzig's soccer club after the Games. It should not be unmentioned that the team, FC Sachsen Leipzig, plays in the lowest professional German League and attracts a maximum of 10,000 fans to its most important games.

Apart from the question of whether small Leipzig realistically had a chance against competitors like New York City, London and Paris, a number of critical points were overlooked in this politics of "wishful thinking."

The first point, mainly discussed by local ecological grassroots organizations, was the environmental costs. Though the city administration committed itself to "green games" with "zero" net land consumption, substantial concerns were voiced about the plans to concentrate the main venues in the basin of the Elster River. The Elster and Pleiße Rivers both flow close to the center of Leipzig, cutting the city into half. The rivers are lined with forests, parks and greenspaces and activists argued that the Olympic stadia and other venues and infrastructure needed for access would carve up the green corridor. Not only would implementation of these plans have diminished the quality of greenspaces and the waterfront for human use, development would disrupt natural systems and disturb several bird species that nest in an adjacent sanctuary. The same organizations also spoke against the plans to build new apartments at Lindenauer Hafen, a former industrial brownfield that was showing signs of ecological recovery, conquered as it was by spontaneous vegetation, including some very rare species.

More fundamental points were raised by the contradictions between the needs of a declining city and its remaining inhabitants and the non-negotiable demands of Olympic Games. What sense would it make to demolish housing apartments at one place and at the same time construct new ones close by? Would there be demand to fill the capacity of new railway infrastructure after the Games? What would happen to the hotel capacities after the Olympic tourist bubble burst? The apprehension was that a city "whose dress has become to big" and which will continue to shrink would never be able to generate sufficient demand to use the newly constructed infrastructure. The immediate demands imposed by the Games would minimize the options for any reasonable approach to long-term city planning and the result of all the big dreams would be high costs that could only be absorbed by the dubious predictions of population and economic growth.

The voices of the critics remained largely unheard, or at least unheeded. In a more and more delusional atmosphere, public opinion was exclusively directed to the "opportunities" rather than the risks of Olympic Games. In an oft-cited quotation, the head of Leipzig's Planning Department promised that the city would "jump ten years of urban development" with the help of Olympia. Local newspapers published articles on a daily basis praising Leipzig as more charming, more European, more hospitable and more historically important than all its competitors. Some newspaper commentators highlighted the absurdity of the city's optimism: One suggested that salmon in a lake close to Leipzig would spawn punctually when the IOC made its anticipated positive decision. As the decision date loomed, it became impossible to discuss any critical points about the Olympic plans. Even the questions put to the Planning Department by journalists about an exit plan to be implemented in case Leipzig would not get the Games were answered with a harsh "Leipzig solely has a plan for entrance/access, not for exit."

With these lofty expectations the IOC's decision on 18 May came as a serious blow to remaining civic pride. The reason for the bid's early failure was especially hard to bear when it was announced several days later: Leipzig, the IOC announced, was just too small to host the Olympic Games. Following that revelation, one journalist suggested that Leipzig's planners desperately needed "psychological therapy." Whether they will have the chance to see a doctor or will need to repress their trauma remains to be seen.

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An Environmental Success Story? Sydney 2000 Olympic Games

By Helen Jefferson Lenskyj

During the 1990s, when preparations for the Sydney 2000 Summer Olympic Games were in process, "sustainable sport" was a relatively new concept in sport and environmental circles. There was little research on the negative effects of sporting activities and facilities on the natural environment, or on the threat to athletes' and spectators' health posed by contaminated sporting sites. Like most hallmark events, the Summer and Winter Olympic Games often cause and/or exacerbate environmental problems. Waste management, energy consumption, transportation and materials recycling are all potential problem areas, as well as the obvious threats to the natural environment posed by the huge influx of tourists to one urban or alpine area.

Recognizing the economic benefits of corporate environmentalism, the International Olympic Committee amended its Charter in 1991 by introducing environmental requirements for bid cities and by developing an environmental policy. The guidelines emphasized the need to minimize or, where possible, eliminate harm to the environment, as well as to remediate damaged areas such as brownfields.

Remediation and conservation efforts in the Homebush area—the site of the Sydney 2000 Olympics—were the subject of extensive research in the 1980s and 1990s. By 1995, the Olympic Coordination Authority and community-based environmentalists agreed on three priorities: pollution control of soil, sediment and water; conservation of resources; and protection of biodiversity (the flora and fauna, the people and their environment).

The original 1993 Environmental Principles developed by the Sydney Bid Committee stated a commitment to water conservation; waste avoidance and minimization; protection of human health with appropriate standards of air, water and soil quality; and protection of significant natural and cultural environments. These documents failed to note, however, that the Olympic site at Homebush and the waterways at Homebush Bay were heavily contaminated with toxic waste: dangerously high levels of dioxin, asbestos, heavy metals and phthalates, a result of a history as the site of abat-

toirs, brickworks, armament depots, chemical plants and industrial dumps. Critics discovered that at least four scientific analyses and remediation plans for the site had been commissioned by the New South Wales (NSW) government between 1990 and 1992, but that it had decided not to take any action before the bid was submitted to avoid jeopardizing its success.

In the mid-1990s, the NSW government committed AUS\$21 million (about US\$15 million) towards the cost of removing 30,000 cubic meters (39,240 cubic yards) of contaminated sediment from Homebush Bay, not only because of its proximity to the Olympic site, but also because property developers planned luxury apartment complexes on the shores. However, Greenpeace campaigner Dr. Darryl Luscombe, as well as other experienced scientists, claimed that the government's standard of dioxin toxicity fell short of international standards of "best practice."

Greenpeace had a mixed relationship with Sydney 2000 from the outset. In 1993, Greenpeace Australia prepared one of the five prize-winning designs for an environmentally sustainable Olympic Village, and collaborated with other companies on the final version. Greenpeace Campaigner Karla Bell was cited in Sydney 2000 publicity as endorsing the Olympic Village, but in 1997, Bell, as an independent environmental consultant, was one of many critics to express concern over the organizers' cover-up of the toxic contamination and the government's cost-cutting approach to remediation. More radical environmentalists, including many Greenpeace activists, had long argued that there was no such thing as a safe landfill. On-site treatment, removal and off-site treatment or incineration of toxic waste were the three preferred methods, while the "bank vault" system of containment used at Homebush was considered to be the least safe. The report card that Greenpeace ultimately issued in August 2000 gave the Sydney Olympics a bronze medal and 6 out of 10. Greenpeace campaigner Mark Oakwood was critical of the NSW government for failing to keep its promise of complete remediation of the Homebush Bay area. In a graphic illustration of their concern, Greenpeace activists created a ⇒

"crop circle" in a field under the Sydney airport flight path that spelled out the word TOXIC, with an arrow pointing to Homebush.

For their part, Olympic organizers were generally defensive in their response to the environmentalists, whom they accused of being "unpatriotic" and "unAustralian" for drawing public and media attention to the contamination problems at Homebush. On the issue of public relations, Green Games Watch 2000, another community-based group, obtained a copy of a government document that revealed its cynical and manipulative approach to environmentalists. Bureaucrats were advised to promote a message of cooperation and openness, and to avoid giving out specific information on remediation parameters in order to engineer the support of environmentalists and the media. Despite this hostile reception, groups like Greenpeace and Green Games Watch 2000 were tireless in their efforts to keep the Sydney organizing committee and the NSW government accountable.

In 1998-99, environmentalists identified new threats involving satellite Olympic venues outside the Homebush area: the yachting facilities, water polo pool, cycling venues and beach volleyball stadium. Over a two-year period, local residents and environmental groups organized dozens of public meetings and protests, with varying degrees of success. Bondi Olympic Watch, for example, mobilized hundreds of protesters and gathered thousands of signatures on a petition to hold the event elsewhere. They finally convinced Olympic organizers to reduce the height of the beach volleyball stadium and the time during which a large section of the beach would be closed for construction. Refusing to be duped by promises of "facelifts" to the existing buildings and compensation to businesses, Bondi Olympic Watch rejected boosters' claims that these outcomes constituted "Olympic legacies."

In 2000, protesters followed through with their earlier threats to lie in front of the bulldozers when the excavation of the beach began. Several were arrested but the project continued with only slight delays.

Local opposition to the construction of cycling facilities—the Olympic velodrome and cycling track in Bankstown—was largely unsuccessful. The Council proceeded to build a polluting drain through an endangered fragment of woodland, as well as destroy AUS\$28,000 (about US\$20,000) worth of native bush regeneration that had been carried out by the Bankstown Bushland Society to preserve this woodland, which was protected by the 1995 *Threatened Species Conservation Act*. Overriding two environmental groups' objections, the NSW government approved Olympic organizers' development application for a criterium cycling warm-up track through a *second* endangered and protected woodland.

The Sydney 2000 experience demonstrates the limitations of a market-driven approach to environmental issues. Hallmark events like the Summer and Winter Olympics impose inflexible deadlines and rigid templates for sporting facilities, with little or no recognition of a local community's environmental needs and priorities. Equally serious is the threat to democratic decision-making posed by what Sydney environmentalists aptly called the Olympic juggernaut. There was repeated evidence of these patterns during preparations for Sydney 2000, as organizers pressured local councils to speed up development approvals, fast-track environmental and social impact assessments and bypass community consultation—all in the interests of the Olympic industry.

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Golden Scam: Fantasy and Reality in the Olympics

By Christopher A. Shaw

The artificial frenzy of the Athens Summer Olympics are now safely behind us and the media have returned to covering real news. Those locked to their TVs for the seventeen days of saturation advertising during the summer were probably unaware that the war in Iraq was still raging, that missile defense (Star Wars) was still a hot issue in Canada and that over 250,000 people filled the streets of New York City to protest the war and the presidential nomination of George Bush. Perhaps most Canadians are not back from never-never land yet since the debate of the moment seems to be how to increase Olympic funding so that Canadian athletes can bring home more baubles next time. The Canadian minister responsible for sports noted that cutbacks by various levels of government had crippled school athletics; here in British Columbia the provincial winter and summer games that used to occur annually are now held only biannually. The minister's modest proposal was that funding should go to restore school sports, a notion that met with denunciation, if not outright ridicule, by Olympics boosters.

The frenzy for more medals typifies the glaring disconnect between the stated goals of the Olympic movement—peaceful competition, athletic excellence for its own sake, etc.—versus the crass reality that at every level controlled by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) the Olympics are driven by the prime directive of greed. Instead the Olympics are an overly commercialized venture that consistently fails to deliver on its promises of economic development, leaving the host cities and nations with enormous debts and a set of sports facilities that do little to address local needs. In the end, cities are left with Olympic debts that mean that they are even further from the goals of justice and excellence than they were when they started along the Olympic route.

It takes media and government acquiescence, if not outright connivance, to convince the public that the IOC is really a charity and that the local franchisers are acting in the public's best interests. Yet they do this time and time again and most people fall for it. In contrast, it is worth noting that the true spirit of the original Olympic movement survives in the Paralympics, which draw practically no media attention and are widely ignored, surviving

as a stark testament to what the Olympic movement once may have been but is no longer.

The IOC and its supporters have been extravagantly successful at making the Olympics the sports equivalent to Santa Claus. The head of Vancouver's organizing committee once remarked on a radio program that "the five [Olympic] rings could be used to sell anything to anyone." In the following, I highlight some of the myths that surround the Olympics, using Vancouver's 2010 organization and planning as key examples juxtaposed against the recent Athens Games.

The first myth is that the IOC is a benevolent organization only concerned with promoting elite amateur sports. In fact, the IOC is a mega-multinational corporation whose tentacles touch nearly every country on the planet. Its vast revenues come from selling TV rights, sponsorships and product lines, in essence no different than Wal-Mart's except that its products are athletes rather than kitchen gizmos. The IOC cleared nearly a billion dollars on the Athens games in TV rights alone, all of it tax-free. In fact, the IOC always enjoys tax-free status, yet is not a charity, a religion or a non-profit organization. IOC representatives and their families get accommodation in five-star hotels, meals, transportation and all other expenses paid for by the local Games committee, costs that are in turn passed on to local taxpayers. IOC members have diplomatic immunity. They are, by all measures, a new royalty above any petty national or local laws.

The IOC promotes sports much like McDonalds promotes good nutrition and health. In television coverage from Athens, the actual events were cleverly segued into commercials featuring Ronald McDonald to create the impression that Ronald was part of the competition. Such marketing is typical, highlighting the fact that the IOC sees sports and elite athletes as mere commercial backdrops. IOC President Jacques Rogge's latest admonition to Canada to increase funding for Olympic athletes may be less a goodwill gesture for these athletes than the action of a corporate CEO concerned that part of his product line is not up to market standards. It did not escape notice that he didn't offer any of the IOC's money for this purpose. ⇨

Local IOC organizing committees and business boosters mouth the platitudes but know precisely what this is all about: lots of public money for their pet projects, usually free land to build these projects on, and fire sales of Olympic venues after the Games depart. Vancouver's organizing group remains a who's who of corporate and real estate tycoons whose companies are ready and able to take advantage of public funding for Olympic venue construction and land sales. The money to be made by the IOC and the local boosters can be huge, hence every Games in memory have featured IOC officials and local Olympic organizers caught up in sleazy financial scandals.

Ah, the pure beauty of elite sports! In our hearts we know that the Games have less noble motivations. Those in doubt of this should contemplate the near hysteria that the Canadian media and much of the public exhibited when Team Canada *only* won twelve medals. If the Games were truly about the notional ideals, we wouldn't care. Yet, clearly, we very much care about medal counts and our "national pride."

One of the greatest Olympic myths is that the Games are an economic miracle in the making. This would be funny if it didn't have such dire economic consequences. Athens' initial cost estimates were pegged at about \$7 billion, but came in somewhere between \$15 and \$20 billion according to the *Los Angeles Times*, all without counting many of the infrastructure costs. The overall costs to Greece were so extreme and so far over budget that international lending institutions have downgraded Greece's credit rating.

Even worse, if past Games are any indication, the Greeks may never see the real bill. A mysterious fire destroyed the local organizing committee's books in Nagano; Australian and US auditors are still trying to figure out where all the money in their countries went. In this regard, Vancouver is off to a running start since the Bid Corporation (now Vancouver Olympic Committee or VANOC) never fully accounted for the \$34 million of mostly taxpayer money that they spent competing for the 2010 Games. The godfather of Vancouver's Bid Corporation, Jack Poole, previously lost investors nearly \$1 billion while CEO of a failed real estate company.

As part of the "economic miracle" myth, Games boosters make extravagant claims about vast increases in jobs and tourism, yet the former are transitory and the latter illusory. Athens has just been down this path, desperately hoping that jobs and tourism will rescue them from the yoke of Olympic debt. Even the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), however, an ardent Games sup-

porter (they usually get the television rights and CBC's president sits on various corporate boards with members of VANOC), noted that the jobs in Athens have now largely vanished. As for tourism, Athens and Vancouver might want to examine what happened to Sydney and Salt Lake City after their Games: Tourism actually went down.

Many of those in Vancouver who thought they were on the inside track are finding out the hard way who really calls the shots when it comes to the various mega-projects for 2010. The most recent case concerns the future Olympic skating oval, suddenly snatched away from Simon Fraser University (SFU) in the city of Burnaby by the neighboring city of Richmond. Before the Games were awarded, VANOC's head, John Furlong, had gone to a skittish Burnaby City Council to convince them to get on board and support Vancouver's bid. The "goodie" offered to them was the skating oval, which he promoted as a legacy item for future generations of SFU students. Burnaby City Council and Mayor Derek Corrigan signed on to this manna from heaven deal, oblivious to what dealing with the privateers who run the Games can be like. Behind the scenes, Richmond came up with a far more extravagant proposal for the venue linked to unspecified city funding and a major casino. VANOC proceeded to manipulate facts to justify the new Richmond plan, all without public consultation. To the dismay of Corrigan and SFU, "their" skating oval was suddenly Olympic history. Richmond's Mayor and Council, along with the press, justified this cutthroat approach as being in the "Olympic spirit" of competition, as indeed it was.

It is notable that Corrigan led the challenge to the most massive of the 2010 mega-projects, the Rapid Airport Vancouver subway, or RAV. It took three tries, but RAV supporters managed to get the local transportation authority's approval and the billions of dollars needed to build the subway following a series of backroom deals and political skullduggery at all levels of government. Shifting the skating oval to Richmond was not only a case of VANOC helping its friends, but also a public whipping for Corrigan to let other uppity officials know the fate that awaits those who get in the way.

One of the most enduring myths about the Games is that the IOC respects the environment, which it calls the "third pillar of Olympianism," but oddly, other priorities often get in the way. Athens, like previous Olympic cities, claimed to be the "greenest" ever, but the reality was far different. Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund reported major problems with the Athens Games. Greenpeace gave the city a score of only 1 out of

10: Instead of planning development to avoid wildlife habitat and to be powered by renewable energy, the opposite occurred. Prized countryside was spoiled to make way for the table tennis hall, the rowing lake was built on an endangered coastal ecosystem and the easily available Mediterranean solar energy was never tapped.

VANOC has made similar green promises, yet slightly more than a year into the process, environmental concerns seem to be headed for oblivion. Examples include a four-lane highway that will run through a protected environmental area in West Vancouver, rammed through despite strong objections of local residents. The Nordic venues will be built in the Callaghan Valley adjacent to Whistler, then turned into an all-season resort with golf courses and hotels. Many of the proposed developments are slated for unceded land of First Nations. Even more insidious is the avalanche of spin-offs linked to the Games—massive resort development plans that span the province. Not only are many of these proposals designated for lands that belong to native people, the sites are often considered sacred. Yet First Nations concerns are like green concerns, easily ignored if they stand in the way of profits.

Accountability and transparency in the preparations for the Games are often trumpeted by Games organizers, yet, as in Athens, reality is quite different. Vancouver's original Bid Society was dissolved by a previous provincial government for failing to account for its expenditures of public money. The Bid Corporation that won the Games with taxpayers' money has yet to provide those same taxpayers with detailed financial records. The city of Vancouver continues to hide the actual cost of the Games, notwithstanding Mayor Larry Campbell's oft-quoted claim that the Games won't cost Vancouver "one penny." The hidden costs are well over \$138 million, according to documents released to No Games 2010 by the city of Vancouver after an Access to Information request filed by Phil Legood, a radio journalist on Vancouver COOP radio. The costs are sure to increase. It may be only coincidence, but the provincial government cut the budget to the Auditor General and denied him a major role in monitoring Games costs. Even the method by which VANOC appointed John Furlong was shrouded in secrecy: Other candidates for this top position were never named and reporters who tried to ask questions at a hotel where VANOC was meeting were frogmarched out of the hotel by security staff, as reported on global TV and in local media.

Another myth is that the Games bring people together and promote human liberty, notwithstanding that each Games locks down the host city

as security concerns, real or imagined, arise. Police and the military rule the streets, using increased surveillance of all citizens and often newly enacted laws that ban anti-Olympic protests. Athens spent nearly US\$2 billion on security, yet couldn't protect the marathon or swimming venues from disruptive spectators in tutus and clown suits. Athens also poisoned thousands of stray dogs, many of which were pets, and displaced hundreds of Roma (Gypsy) people, often without compensation. According to many sources, including the Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions, Beijing is doing the same to thousands of its citizens as it prepares for 2008. Atlanta arrested or bussed thousands of homeless out of the city so that they wouldn't spoil the Olympic ambience. Thousands of homeless and poor in Vancouver's downtown eastside might easily discover that they are just as dispensable as the environment or First Nations' land if human rights stand in the way of the mighty Olympic dollar competition. Aside from such abuses, security costs are likely to become key issues as 2010 approaches. A virtual guarantee is that VANOC's piddling \$177 million security budget will mushroom to match Athens' since security costs have their own internal logic: It's hard to invite the world to visit, then gamble that all will be fine with security on a shoestring.

The IOC presents itself as an organization that exists to serve humanity, ever the good shepherd promoting peaceful collaboration amongst nations and athletes—maybe not so humble but still the Santa Claus of sports. It's a fine illusion and one that has endured for over a hundred years.

But the Games represent a loss—the loss of opportunity. The billions spent, the human resources wasted and the rights squandered can never be recovered and, like a Greek tragedy, are totally predictable. When the Games have come and gone, those in the host city wake up to a massive financial hangover and begin to ponder what might have been. They could have dreamt of social justice for their fellow citizens and fiscal prudence for their children. Instead they fell for the Olympic's golden myths. As for the IOC, it moved on: there's a sucker born every minute and another city ready to believe the dream. Its days, however, may be numbered: There is a growing international anti-Olympic movement, one that will be heard from in years to come. The IOC's free ride may be coming to an end.

Chris Shaw is an associate professor at the Research Pavilion of the Vancouver General Hospital. He was also a spokesperson for NO GAMES 2010.

There's Gold in the Property Market: The Olympics and Housing

By Peter Phibbs and Kat Martindale

A total of 311 athletes from thirteen countries participated in the first modern Olympic Games held in Athens in 1896. In the recent Games in Athens, the largest ever, 11,099 athletes from 202 countries took part. The cases of Barcelona, Atlanta and Sydney highlight how recent Olympics have been used as an urban redevelopment program, one that has decreased affordability and displaced low-income residents. This dark side of the Olympics is of crucial concern to planners.

Games, although about 20 percent of this amount was on security. The requirement to construct a large number of new venues and improve urban infrastructure often in an unreasonably short period of time (about seven years) has often resulted in widespread redevelopment of low-cost residential areas. The improved infrastructure and redevelopment also has meant that there have been considerable gentrification pressures after the Games have finished. The short period available to plan and construct Olympic facilities and infrastructure has also meant that a variety of planning mechanisms which normally act to protect low-income communities are abandoned.

The potential housing impacts of the Olympic Games include:

- Demolishing existing, usually low-income, housing stock to make way for Olympic facilities;
- "Managing" the homeless population to improve the image of the city;
- Disrupting existing tenants to make way for short-term but economically rewarding Olympic tenancies;
- Increasing housing construction prices as the large Olympic construction program generates shortages of labor and materials;
- Crowding out public investment in housing; and
- Accelerating gentrification issues as a result of urban redevelopment and infrastructure investment.

The effects of recent Olympic Games on their residential communities are described in the following sections.

Barcelona

Barcelona, in Catalonia in Spain, had a population of 1.6 million in 1991. It had suffered from decades of population stagnation and economic decline. The Barcelona Olympics, more than any Games before or since, were instigated as an urban redevelopment project of a vast scale. A major role of the Games was to promote intense urban change.

The staging of the Games required construction of major facilities, many of which required the demolition of existing housing. In particular, the

construction of the Poblenou Olympic Village resulted in the displacement of traditional working-class housing.

A very clear social and economic impact of the games was an increase in the cost of housing. Between 1986 and 1992 there was a 250 percent increase in the price of new and existing homes. The scale of these increases was spectacular even compared with the price movements in the capital Madrid.

A post-Olympics impact study by Professor Brunet points to the "sudden and ferocious" revival of the Barcelona real estate market, a market that had been in steady decline since 1975. The market reached a low in 1982 and remained firmly in decline until March 1986. Brunet traces the rise in the market to just after the Olympic nomination in November 1986. Four factors were highlighted as reasons for the effect:

- Barcelona became more attractive;
- Land for building was scarce;
- Construction costs had risen; and
- Disposable household income had risen, permitting greater expenditure on housing.

The first and third factors listed above can be directly attributed to the Olympics. The second factor has links with the Olympic construction program—Barcelona's ambitious urban redevelopment schemes resulted in severe land price escalation.

The other aspect of large-scale event-driven redevelopment projects is the 'crowding-out' effect that can result in decreased affordable housing construction and altered patterns of public expenditure. In Catalonia, social housing formed around 50 percent of new housing construction between 1981 and 1985. By 1991 it represented only 6 percent. Commentators attribute this decline to both the financial demands of the Olympic works program and the fact that developers were interested in more prestigious and high-return investments.

Atlanta

The Atlanta bid was an entirely private-sector venture, like the Los Angeles bid and Games. Government officials were caught by surprise when Atlanta was selected to hold the 1996 games. Unlike Barcelona, the bid was not linked to an ambitious urban development program.

In May 1996, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development published a special study on housing and the Atlanta Olympics. This was part of its regular publication *U.S. Housing*

Market. It reported a strong local economy boosting the Atlanta area housing market. In particular, the for-sale housing market was one of the most active in the country. The number of single-family houses authorized by building permits averaged 33,000 units annually from 1993 to 1995. The report stated that the sales market had cleared the increased supply, resulting in increased house prices. The years 1994 to 1996 also saw a boom in apartment construction. There were 8,100 multi-family units authorized by building permits in 1994 and 12,700 units in 1995. These were the highest levels since the previous boom in the late 1980s, a result of the 1987 stock market crash.

The study also cited overall market improvement coupled with the inflationary effect of the Olympics as contributing to rent increases substantially above the national average in the two years prior to the



Large-block residential development in Strathfield completed just prior to the 2000 Olympics.

Games. According to the residential rent survey of the Consumer Price Index, Atlanta area rents rose 5.6 percent in 1995, more than twice the national average rate for urban areas.

Clear signs of property speculation in the months leading up to the Games were also observed. The hothouse environment that existed in the market in the year preceding the games was very much a result of media hype and a "panic syndrome" of wanting to get stock on the ground in time for the Olympics "property boom."

A major housing issue in Atlanta was the displacement of residents of the mainly African American Summerhill neighborhood to make way for the construction of the Olympic Stadium. The ⇒



Old two-story flats: traditional residential apartments in Strathfield, a suburb adjacent to the Sydney Olympic site.

The Olympics have evolved from a sporting competition to very much a global competition between cities. While problems in Montreal led to a debt of CAN\$1.5 billion, the Los Angeles Games highlighted the potential of the Games to make money, largely from television rights. In 1960, CBS, the American television company, paid US\$440,000 to cover the Rome games. In 1995, NBC purchased the rights to cover the Games until 2008 for US\$3.6 billion.

The increasing scale of the Games and their prominence as a showcase for international cities has led to increased expenditure by the host country. It is estimated that the Greek government spent about US\$8.5 billion on the recent

other direct Olympic effect was the conversion of the Techwood / Clark Howell public housing development into a mixed-use development as part of Atlanta's Olympic Legacy program.

In Summerhill in 1990, 70 percent of households had annual incomes below US\$15,000 in a city where the median household income was US\$43,000. Techwood / Clark Howell was one of the United States oldest public housing schemes. These estates were regarded as the least desirable of the forty-five complexes managed by the Atlanta Housing Authority. The estates were situated on prime real estate, adjacent to Georgia Institute of Technology and opposite the corporate headquarters of Coca-Cola.

Several development plans were prepared for the sites. Eventually, the Techwood and Clark Howell sites were replaced by the smaller mixed-income Centennial Place site using Hope VI funding. The Olympics provided an opportunity for a coalition of business and elected officials to implement a long-held plan to remove poor people from the downtown area of Atlanta. The redevelopment led to the loss of about 450 public housing units. Larry Keating has described how this development repeated past mistakes of public housing redevelopment in the US.

Similar to the Barcelona Olympics, Atlanta witnessed infringements of the civil liberties of homeless and street people. The human rights implications of this situation prompted a proposal for a United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) fact-finding mission to Atlanta.

From very early on, the Atlanta Task Force for the Homeless was alert to the potential for "street sweeps" occurring during the Olympics. Street sweeps involve the police clearing homeless people from view by the administration of local ordinances or charges of suspicion to commit crime. The Task Force identified a number of new city ordinances that were passed in the wake of the Olympic nomination, such as the unlawful entering of a vacant building or remaining in a parking lot. Most significantly, though, was the "6 month ordinance," designed to increase the sentence for violation of city ordinances from two to six months.

Sydney

Sydney differed from Barcelona and Atlanta in that the construction of Olympic facilities involved no demolition of existing residential areas. Most of the concern about the effects on

the residential market before the Olympics was focused on the short but substantial impact surrounding the event itself. Largely because of tenancy legislation operating in the State of New South Wales, however, this proved not to be a major problem. Instead, the legacy of the Olympics has been to reinforce a previous trend of increasing rents in the inner and middle areas of Sydney. The major site of the Olympics was an industrial area that had acted to keep a downward pressure on rents in the surrounding areas. During the build-up to the Games, large numbers of new residential developments were built in the area and these tended to push rents and house prices up. This trend has continued in the period after the Games.

In Sydney between 1990 and 2000 there was strong growth in rents in Sydney Statistical Division, the Australian equivalent of the US Census' Metropolitan Area, especially in the inner and middle rings that contain the majority of Olympic investment. The same rental growth was not experienced in outer areas of the city. It is not possible to accurately say to what extent the Olympics had an effect on rents in Sydney. Nevertheless, it would be reasonable to conclude that the building of US\$3 billion worth of facilities and substantial improvements in transport and other infrastructure would have some acceleration of gentrification in the inner and middle rings of Sydney.

There was also pressure on low-cost accommodation, especially boarding houses. While accurate data are not available, a number of large boarding houses were converted to tourist use. Again, while the Olympics did not start this trend, the conversion of boarding houses was accelerated by the onset of the Olympics.

Conclusion

Based on recent history, the Olympic Games, while achieving international prominence for the host cities, have not provided benefits to low-income residents. There has been a history of displacement of low-income communities, rising rents and house prices, harassment of the homeless, the crowding out of public investment in housing and the displacement of tenants. These effects are most severe when there is a need to displace low-income communities to construct Olympic facilities.

Peter Phibbs teaches in the Urban and Regional Planning program at the University of Sydney. Kat Martindale is in the doctoral program at the same university.

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Photo courtesy of Metropolitan Design Center

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Fool's Gold: Some Observations of Salt Lake City's 2002 Winter Olympic Games

By Stephen Goldsmith

Honorable men envisioned a Winter Olympic Games in Salt Lake City in 1960, almost forty years before the Games were actually staged in our oasis on the edge of a desert. These men believed that long- and short-term economic development opportunities were the genuine gold medals of the games. Exhibiting the magnificent natural environment of our metropolitan area framed by international athletic competition, and placing the community's fine cultural institutions on center stage for the world to witness would, in their vision, allow Salt Lake City to reach new heights as an international city. Not one among them foresaw the dishonor that would eventually emerge, or the disappointment of the area's businesses when the chilly reality of the Games actually settled in during the winter of 2002. Those who pioneered a vision of Olympian ideals coming to the Wasatch Mountains never imagined the rocky trail they would cut in order to ignite the Olympic torch.

Over the decades that preceded the Game's arrival, my role in planning the city's Olympic venues and infrastructure changed dramatically. In the earliest years, when I was barely out of high school and Curt Goudy's "Wide World of Sports" was regularly televised into my Saturday afternoons, the thought of bobsleds screaming across our desert ice was an exciting fantasy. After all, such events would bring James Bond-like brands of beauty and speed and skill to our backyard. Within a few years I came to realize that environmental impacts of the Games could be severe. Local activists were trying to save our canyons from the intrusion of tens of thousands of outsiders whose outdoor activities threatened the fragile ecology of our sacred landscapes. For many this was an ethical issue. My growing understanding of the delicate balance of the vision and ethics required to stage the Olympic Games caused my youthful enthusiasm to be replaced with defensiveness.

In the 1980s, as I was developing affordable housing and workspace for artists and craftsmen in an underutilized, blighted neighborhood on the edge of the capital city's central business district, my defensiveness was transformed into a vigilant activism. I stopped watching from the sidelines as

community leaders and activists argued about the planning of venues needed to win the Olympic bid. These conversations were taking place in the boardrooms and country club dining rooms of the Game's boosters. Simultaneously, environmentalists were meeting in their living rooms, strategizing ways to mitigate threats to our watersheds, air quality, mobility, flora and fauna. I had not imagined that I would eventually be leading a campaign to stop the development of one major venue, the speed skating oval. It was to be built in the neighborhood where my organization was bringing new health and vitality to a district that, at the time, had the highest crime rate in Utah.

For those of us working to create shelter for and bring health care to homeless families, a newly elected mayor's Olympic vision for the neighborhood threatened our efforts to continue developing the emerging cultural district we called home. In our minds, this was a new kind of crime that threatened our neighborhood. We had spent years working with city planning officials, city council members and previous mayors to establish plans that would rejuvenate the neighborhood and its resident communities. The collective goal was to create a mixed-use, mixed-income district with a diversity of housing types, cultural amenities and social services. Adopted plans falsely secured our belief that we were working as a team with city officials. But in the early 1990s the arrival of a new mayor undermined our confidence.

The city's young planning director at the time, a man who had worked closely with us to develop plans for the area and enthusiastically supported our efforts, suddenly tried to sell us the mayor's new vision. Those of us who saw through his job-saving marketing efforts were incredulous. In the process he lost his credibility with most city leaders outside of the mayor's inner circle. The mayor's plan was ultimately defeated, but only after a long, highly publicized and divisive fight. Six-years later, through an unlikely evolution of public process, I was appointed planning director of Salt Lake City.

The year was 2000, and the Games were now less than nineteen months from opening ceremonies. It had become clear to many observers that man-

aging the Games was not a community effort at all, but rather a top-down exercise. The Olympic Organizing Committee, the *official* Game's planners, held cards that trumped nearly every ideal the original proponents had hoped to achieve. The city's cultural institutions, touted as world-class during the bidding process, became understudies to international artists imported for the Games. Local restaurateurs, with a few exceptions, were closed out of potentially lucrative contracts in favor of single vendors contracted to feed the throngs of visitors who would enter the Olympic village and venues. Public sculpture commissions were awarded to out-of-state artists, and performing artists were flown in to entertain Utah's guests. With the exception of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, an institution needing no additional international exposure, local arts organizations were pushed out of the spotlight.

When the darkness of 9/11 placed new security fears on top of the old ones, priorities for the public realm began shifting. Barriers put in place to thwart terrorists became barriers to local residents who had hoped to welcome the world. The well-documented scandal around Salt Lake City's bid committee was regularly in the news, and there was a collapse of confidence around anything Olympian. Notable exceptions were the creation of certain venues, including the speed skating oval now sited far away from the neighborhood we had preserved. For the athletes these facilities were first-rate. But for many in the community the original visions were buried under an avalanche of distrust and fear. For those in Salt Lake City without the money to actually see the athletes perform, the promise of witnessing the real spirit of the Games was threatened.

As planning director I was increasingly frustrated. The mundane need to establish temporary parking lots—acres upon acres of asphalt—was an ever-present drain of staff time. Finding ways to make zoning regulations flexible enough to accommodate shifts in security and mobility plans suggested by the FBI and Justice Department confounded policymakers fearful of unknown impacts. The growing tensions were met with shrinking patience. The official Organizing Committee was moving forward with its plans, sometimes circumventing city policy, begging forgiveness rather than seeking permission for changes to public spaces, the development of staging areas and places for public protest. Disorganization in the final weeks before opening ceremonies was only brought under control through compromise on the city's part. Control of content, security, mobility, staging, rules of conduct for visitors, property rights and

civil rights all appeared to collapse beneath the avalanche of distrust and fear. But for the determination and resolve of Mitt Romney, head of the Organizing Committee, and new Mayor Rocky Anderson, two men who understood that the show must go on, the fear could have been paralyzing.

Through it all, I was determined to hold on to the spirit of excellence and human achievement that seeded the vision forty years earlier. Though economic development was not foremost on my mind, the underlying sense of excellence—this idea of Olympian achievement—continued to press upon me in my role as planning director. Having defeated Olympic boosters and policy-makers, and having proven wrong the editorial arrogance of local press, my activist colleagues joined me in an effort to apply the idea of excellence to other city-building efforts. One particular project and its internationally-recognized architect became organizing elements for one last Olympic project.

Moshe Safdie was selected to be the architect for the city's new public library. Safdie had won an architectural competition among other internationally known architects. He and I had gotten to know one another in the years preceding the Games, and he had been a confidant during the time when the mayor was preparing to remove the previous planning director from his position, replacing him with me. During this period Safdie and I spent time speaking generally about ethics in the design professions. My rigid view, that too many architects are responsible for the degradation of our human settlements and the environment, found some resonance with the architect, and we explored the topic from time to time. With storms building around the Olympic bid scandal, vision and ethics were in the arena of public discourse once again. Together with our friend and colleague Samina Queraeshi, former director of design arts at the National Endowment for the Arts, we organized a symposium and exhibition titled: "The Physical Fitness of Cities; Vision and Ethics in City-Building."

The event became known as Fitcities, and it brought together a field of exquisite thinkers on the topic. Along with Safdie and Queraeshi, we convened Michael Sorkin, Bill McDonough, Terry Tempest-Williams, Will Rogers, Linda Pollak, Doris Koo, Donlyn Lindon, Tim Beatley and others two days before the Game's opening ceremonies for an international symposium. Within City Hall we installed an exhibition featuring some recent examples of excellence in city-building from around the world. We featured [Cont. on page 37]

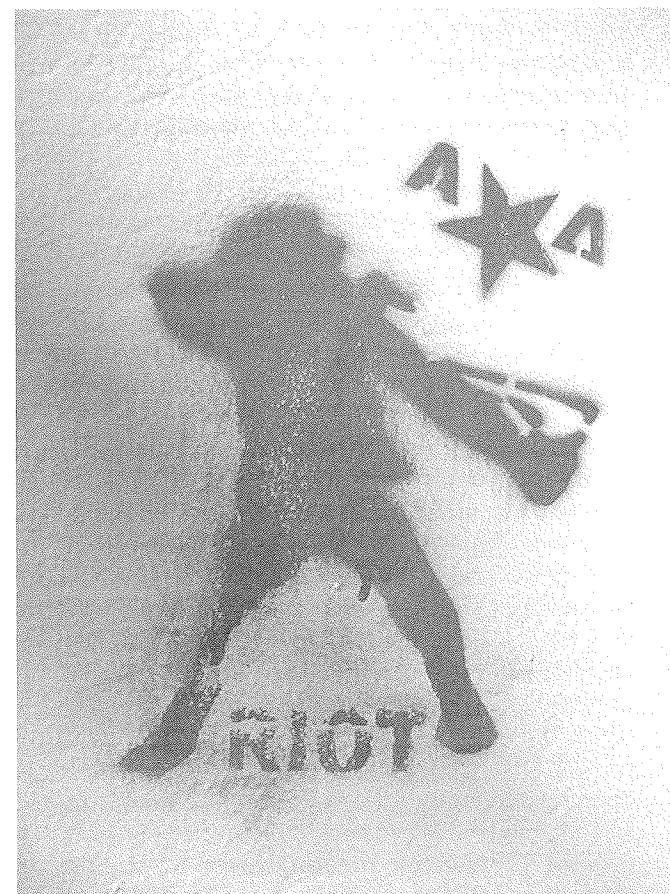
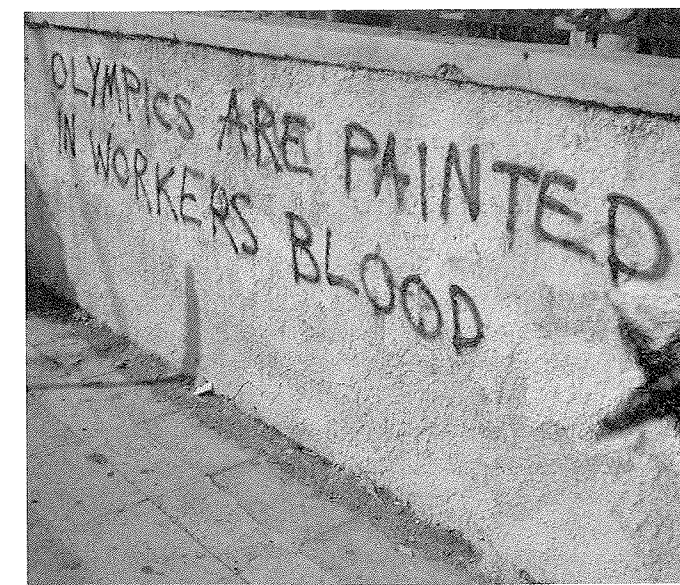
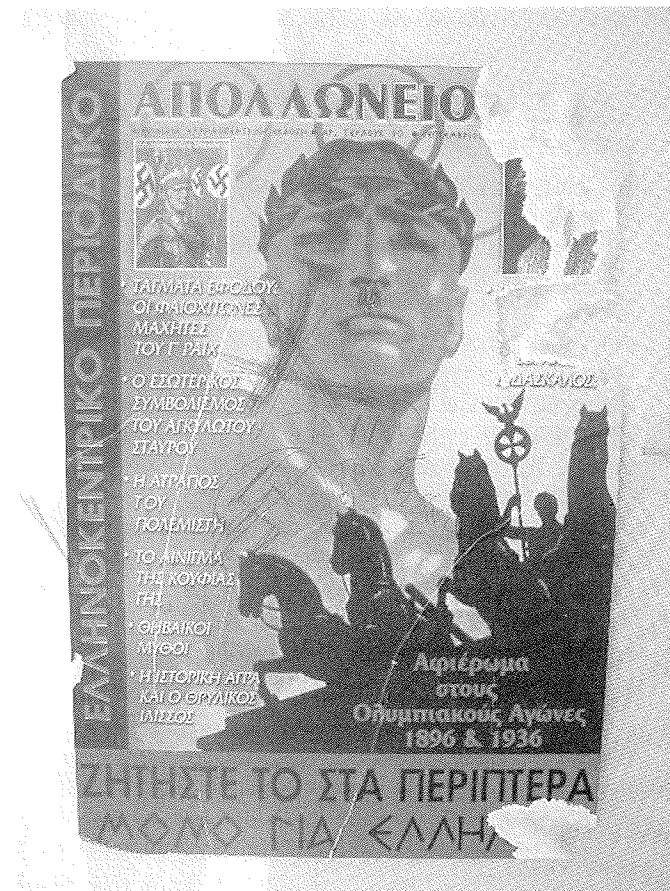
Olympic Graffiti

Resistance to the Olympics in Athens took many forms but was hidden from the consumer/spectator's view. The graffiti threats never materialised but the existence and persistence of the anti-olympic messages on walls all over non-tourist Athens is simultaneously a critique and an example of the spectacular façade of the Olympics.

How many workers were killed building the Olympics? One? Hundreds? Do the statistics matter?

That graffiti persists after the event and much is in English demonstrates that the Olympics are an international problem. Those who have suffered the virus feel compelled to warn others of its side effects.

All photos: Mark Saunders, www.spectacle.co.uk



George W. Bush and the Cities: The Damage Done and the Struggle Ahead

By Peter Dreier

On April 29, 2002, the tenth anniversary of the civil unrest, George W. Bush came to Los Angeles to speak at a church-sponsored community development center at the 1992 riot's epicenter, South Los Angeles. Given the occasion, reporters might have expected the President to announce a new initiative to address the nation's serious urban problems. But Bush came to Los Angeles—in a brief interlude between fundraisers—bearing only rhetoric.

"You know, we live in a great country," he said. "I'm proud of America. I'm proud of our country. I'm proud of what we stand for. Oh, I know there's pockets of despair. That just means we've got to work harder. It means you can't quit. It means we've got to rout it out with love and compassion and decency."

"As President, Bush had three policy priorities: cut taxes, especially for the most affluent; reduce government regulations on business; and increase American military spending. With a Republican majority in Congress, Bush was able to accomplish all three goals."

Bush sought to be both preacher and historian: "Out of the violence and ugliness came new hope," he said—this in the middle of a neighborhood where only 23 percent of commercial buildings destroyed by the riots were back in business, where 43,800 fewer jobs existed than did in 1992 and where more than one-third of residents lived in poverty.

The President touted his most visible urban program—encouraging churches to sponsor social programs such as homeless shelters, food kitchens and drug counseling. His proposal, which stalled in Congress because of disagreements over federal funding for religious activities, added no funds for

these worthy, though band-aid, efforts, simply calling for redirection of existing moneys. Indeed, thanks to his \$1.3 trillion tax cuts, mostly for the wealthy, Bush made it impossible for Washington to provide any significant aid to the nation's cities or to the poor.

It isn't difficult to understand why Bush paid so little attention to urban America. In 2000, Al Gore beat Bush among city voters by a 61 percent to 35 percent margin, virtually tied Bush among suburban voters by a 47 percent to 49 percent margin and lost in rural areas by a large 37 percent to 59 percent margin. Not surprisingly, Bush saw no reason to shape his policy agenda to appeal to urban voters.

Are Cities Making a Comeback?

As we entered the twenty-first century, some urban experts and journalists proclaimed that an urban renaissance was underway. Data from the 2000 Census showed some promising signs. During the 1990s some major cities, including New York and Chicago, reversed their long decline in population. The nation's urban crime rate was the lowest in a decade. So was the urban unemployment rate. Home ownership rates for Latinos and blacks had increased, although the gap with whites remained significant. Also, by 2000 the nation's overall poverty rate (11.3 percent) and that of its central cities (16.1 percent) was lower than it had been in twenty-five years. Even air quality improved in many urban areas.

But the positive trends were neither inevitable nor durable. As the nation's economy drifted downward after 2000, the indicators of an urban revival—reductions in poverty, crime and the number of uninsured families—reversed their direction. The improvements in cities during the 1990s were due largely to an unprecedented national economic expansion, reinforced by federal policies that reduced unemployment, spurred productivity, lifted the working poor out of poverty and targeted private investment to low-income urban areas.

The Clinton administration's expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), a wage supplement for the working poor, particularly helped

people in cities and inner suburbs. So did Clinton's efforts to promote community development corporations (CDCs). These non-profit groups have built most of the affordable housing in the past decade, but the shortage of federal funds for housing ensures that they can have only a marginal effect on improving America's inner cities.

Urban Conditions During the Bush Years

As President, Bush had three policy priorities: cut taxes, especially for the most affluent; reduce government regulations on business; and increase American military spending. With a Republican majority in Congress, Bush was able to accomplish all three goals. The attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 helped reverse Bush's declining favorability ratings and made it much easier for him to persuade Democrats to vote to boost defense spending, invade Afghanistan and Iraq and appropriate funds for a domestic "war on terrorism." Bush inherited a federal budget surplus from Clinton, but the combination of huge tax cuts and increasing military spending led to record budget deficits, leaving hardly any discretionary funds for social or anti-poverty programs. Initial public support for Bush's focus on war and terrorism also limited the Democrats' willingness to challenge his handling of the troubled economy.

After the end of the previous recession in March 1991, the nation embarked on nine straight years of job growth. In contrast, the so-called "Bush recession" ended in November 2001, but over the next two years the nation experienced what some economists called a "jobless recovery," with American firms sending a growing number of both blue-collar and white-collar jobs overseas. During Bush's first three years in office, the unemployment rate increased from 4 percent to 6 percent, adding more than 3 million people to the jobless ranks. The number of people out of work for more than six months doubled. Median annual household income fell \$500 between 2000 and 2003. The nation's poverty rate rose from 11.3 percent to 12.5 percent; an additional 4.8 million Americans fell into poverty, reaching 36 million by 2003.

By 2003, almost as many poor Americans lived in suburbs (13.8 million, 38.5 percent of the poor) as in cities (14.6 million, 40.5 percent of the poor). The suburbanization of poverty might be good news if these families lived in predominantly middle-class suburbs with good schools. But most of the suburban poor live in troubled communities beset with problems once associated with big cities: crime, hunger, homelessness, inadequate schools and public services and chronic fiscal crises.

The Bush years saw a continual fraying of the social safety net. The number of Americans without health insurance climbed from 39.8 million to 45 million (15.6 percent of the population). Some of the dire predictions about Clinton's welfare reform program came to fruition during the Bush years. Robert Reich, Clinton's secretary of labor, had warned that "[w]hen unemployment starts creeping up again, a long line of people are going to be in trouble because we've taken away a safety net." For example, the proportion of families who leave welfare but cannot find jobs rose from 50 percent in 1999 to 58 percent in 2002. The number of former welfare recipients still in poverty increased.

As soon as Bush took office he broke his campaign pledge to govern as a "compassionate conservative." His most symbolic "urban" initiative was a plan to redirect federal funds for social programs like homeless shelters, food banks and drug rehabilitation programs to agencies sponsored by "faith-based" organizations. The plan was exposed when John Dilulio, the conservative political scientist Bush recruited to run the faith-based program, leaked a letter to *Esquire* magazine criticizing the President and his advisors for their "lack of even basic policy knowledge, and the only casual interest in knowing more" about urban problems, observing that "there were only a couple of people in the West Wing who worried at all about policy substance and analysis."

Bush forged a bipartisan consensus in Congress to pass the "No Child Left Behind Act," requiring local schools to increase student testing and to issue annual "report cards" on their progress. The purported goals were to improve student achievement (particularly in inner city and minority neighborhood schools) and raise standards, including hiring more qualified teachers. Education experts estimated that the nation's schools would need at least \$84 billion to comply with the new federal standards, but Bush only asked Congress for an additional \$1 billion. Without adequate funds, local systems could not hire more teachers, reduce class sizes or provide existing teachers with additional training. Schools in inner cities, those most likely to have low-achieving students but lack the resources to add teachers or improve facilities, would be hurt most by the new law.

Housing for the poor was barely on Bush's radar screen. In his first three years as president he kept the HUD budget roughly the same, but in 2004 he proposed major cuts to the Section 8 housing voucher program, eliminating 250,000 vouchers in 2005 and 600,000 vouchers by 2009, a 30 percent cut. Low-income tenants would face a rent increase of about \$2,000 a year. In May 2004, testifying ⇨

before Congress to justify these cuts, HUD Secretary Alphonso Jackson claimed that "being poor is a state of mind, not a condition." This comment infuriated several members of the Committee, including Michael Capuano (D-MA), who told Jackson, "Apparently you don't know anyone facing eviction or not being able to pay their rent." Jackson's statement unwittingly revealed the Bush administration's underlying view that poverty is due primarily to character flaws among the poor.

Under Bush, rents and housing prices increased faster than incomes. In 2000, the national "housing wage"—the amount someone who is working forty hours a week has to earn to afford a typical two-bedroom apartment in a particular area—was \$12.47; by 2003, the national housing wage was \$15.21, much higher in many cities. Overall, rents as a percentage of income rose from 26.5 percent in 2000 to 29 percent in 2003. The nation's homeownership rate increased to 68.3 percent in 2003, but many working-class homeowners found that the American Dream was a bit slippery: The share of FHA loans in foreclosure at the end of 2003 reached a record 2.93 percent, and among subprime loans, 5.63 percent were in foreclosure.

During the Bush years, the nation's economic distress, including the spiraling federal deficit, created fiscal havoc among states and cities. Governors and mayors, including Republicans, complained that

Washington was leaving them in the lurch. The skyrocketing cost of health care strained states' ability to pay for its share of Medicaid. Governors were forced to cut funding for health care, schools, transportation and other basic services. Nor could they cope with the cost of implementing the new federal welfare-to-work mandates because rising unemployment made it nearly impossible to find jobs for many former welfare recipients. City officials, reeling from the loss of federal and state aid, had no choice but to cut essential services, including for public safety, libraries, road repair and public schools.

The cities' fiscal trauma was compounded by the Bush administration's most expensive federal mandate—complying with its "war on terrorism" and "homeland security" initiatives after 9/11. The federal government required cities to dramatically increase security measures at airports, ports and sports events, and to improve emergency preparations related to water systems, the 911 telephone system, public health and public safety, but failed to provide municipalities with adequate funds to buy equipment or to add and train staff. Cities spent \$70 million a week simply to comply with each "orange alert" security threat warning from the federal Department of Homeland Security. It took the Bush administration and Congress a year-and-a-half after 9/11 to enact legislation to provide states and cities with funding to improve airport security and other measures, but a year later, few cities had received the funds they were promised. Moreover,

the Bush administration changed the formula for distributing homeland security funds to the detriment of cities where the threats are greatest, in favor of less endangered (and, by the way, more Republican) areas. In 2003, Wyoming received \$61 a person in federal homeland security assistance, while California got just \$14 and New York City got less than \$25.

Ironically, the 9/11 tragedy reminded New Yorkers and all Americans just how much they depended on government, not only in emergencies, but also in normal times. Even those who typically object to "big government" spending and aid to cities acknowledged that Washington had a responsibility to help New York City recover and rebuild. Moreover, for at least that moment in history, the nation's heroes were the police, firefighters, EMTs, ambulance drivers, hospital staffers, public health experts and other public employees whose courage, commitment and compassion helped people cope with one of the worst single tragedies in the nation's history.

After a few days delay, Bush came to the scene. With New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani at his side, Bush promised to help New York City's residents, workforce and businesses rebuild and recover from the economic chaos. He pledged more than \$21 billion to help New York City, but two years after the tragedy, some city officials complained that the Bush administration was slow to allocate the funds. Indeed, by the time the Republican convention was held in New York in August 2004, the city had received less than half the funds Bush promised.

The Bush administration devoted more resources and attention to rebuilding Iraq than to rebuilding America's cities. It failed in both: in Iraq, due to incompetence; in the US, due to lack of concern.

A Reform Agenda for Cities

On many fronts the Bush administration is the most conservative regime of the past century. During the Bush years, progressive urban activists and policy practitioners had little success in promoting reforms at the federal level. With Congress in Republican hands, there was little progressives could do but try to stop bad things from happening: US invasion and occupation of Iraq, the Patriot Act and other invasions of civil liberties, dismantling of federal consumer, environmental and worker protection laws, slashing of programs for the poor, crony capitalism, corporate scandals and tax breaks for the wealthy. Small victories, such as stopping Bush's efforts to restrict overtime pay for millions of workers, had to suffice.

There is, however, growing momentum at the local level for progressive urban policies. The most dramatic example is the growing number of cities (now more than 100) that have adopted living wage laws, a tribute to the alliances between unions, community organizations and faith-based groups that have emerged in the past decade. The community reinvestment movement has made significant headway in forging grassroots coalitions to stop banks from redlining urban neighborhoods and engaging in predatory lending as well as to build partnerships with lenders to expand housing development. In some cities, housing activists have joined forces with unions and other groups to push for inclusionary zoning laws and municipal housing trust funds, such as the \$100 million annual fund in Los Angeles.

"Progressives have increasingly recognized that any effort to address the nation's urban crisis must forge alliances with some parts of suburbia."

Battles at the local level—e.g., to improve housing conditions, unionize low-wage workers in the service and light manufacturing sectors, resist bank redlining and predatory lending, improve public schools, fight against environmental hazards, expand public transit—can win improvements in people's lives. But progressives know that we really cannot solve our nation's urban problems without changes in federal policy. To level the playing field for union organizing campaigns we need to reform the nation's unfair labor laws. To improve conditions for the growing army of the working poor we need to raise the federal minimum wage and expand participation in the EITC. To provide adequate resources to housing poor and working-class families we need a National Housing Trust Fund or other legislation to expand federal subsidies. To address the nation's health care crisis we need some form of universal national health insurance. To improve our public schools, especially those that serve the nation's poorest children, we need to increase federal funding for smaller classrooms, adequate teacher training and sufficient books and equipment. To redirect private investment to cities and older suburbs we need to provide sufficient funds to clean up toxic urban brownfields. To address the problems of growing traffic congestion we need federal funds to improve public transit of all kinds as well as federal laws to limit tax breaks and other incentives that promote suburban sprawl and "leapfrog" development on the fringes of metropolitan areas. ⇨

A Future for Urban Policy?

In this issue, Peter Dreier points out the appalling disdain of the George W. Bush administration for central cities and the poor. At the time of this writing, we don't know who will head the next administration. But whether it's Kerry or Bush, the next president will face certain cruel realities: a crippling national deficit, a war that will continue to cost billions even if withdrawal appears on the horizon, and a conservative Congress and Supreme Court ever on the lookout for "liberal" programs.

Given these conditions, and the likelihood of either a reluctant or just plain recalcitrant president, what are progressives in community development and planning to do? What strategies should we be inventing or reinventing? What new challenges do we face? We invite your ideas and opinions for the next issue of Progressive Planning. We'd like to cover every subject of concern to progressives, including housing, environment, race, poverty, health care, education, transportation, and so forth. We welcome short comments or articles up to 2,000 words. The deadline is November 30. Send articles to: tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu and chartman@prrac.org.

Progressives have increasingly recognized that any effort to address the nation's urban crisis must forge alliances with some parts of suburbia. Congress is now dominated by suburban districts and suburbanites now comprise a majority of all voters. So the building blocks for an effective progressive movement today start in cities and move outward to working-class suburbs and some liberal middle-class suburbs. Recognizing this, labor unions, community groups like ACORN, Gamaliel Foundation and the Industrial Areas Foundation, environmental organizations, faith-based activists and urban public officials have started reaching out to the working-class suburbs near city borders. They know that they must work together regionally to limit suburban sprawl and traffic congestion or to channel jobs and economic development into declining business districts—in contrast to engaging in cut-throat competition to outbid each other for private investment.

In their book *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, John Judis and Ruy Teixeira show that a growing number of middle-class professionals who work outside the corporate world and live in newer suburbs share a progressive outlook on both economic and social policy and could be enlisted in a coalition that addresses issues of economic fairness, limits on suburban sprawl, revitalization of cities and expansion of social programs such as health insurance and child care.

The Clinton administration's ambivalence about pushing an urban agenda reflected the Democratic Party's own divisions. Democrats pay more attention to cities than Republicans do because many of their key constituency groups live there. The safest seats in Congress are those urban districts that routinely elect progressive Democrats. But Election Day urban turnout is typically much lower than turnout in wealthier suburbs, especially in mid-term elections. This can hurt Democrats higher up on the ticket—candidates running for governor and the US Senate, as well as for president.

At the same time, many Democrats, especially those representing suburban districts, are closely linked to big business interests who oppose progressive taxation, Keynesian pump-priming and social spending, including housing assistance for the poor.

The history of the past century shows that progress is made when people join together to struggle for change, make stepping-stone reforms and persist so that each victory builds on the next. This kind of work is slow and gradual because it involves organizing people to learn the patient skills of leadership and organization-building. It requires forging coalitions that can win elections and then promote politics that keep the coalition alive.

Grassroots organizing is rarely dramatic. The news media rarely pay attention to the small miracles that happen when ordinary people join together to channel their frustration and anger into solid organizations that win improvements in workplaces, neighborhoods and schools. The media are generally more interested in political theater and confrontation—when workers strike, when community activists protest or when hopeless people resort to rioting. As a result, much of the best organizing work during the last decade—including efforts during this election year—has been unheralded in the mainstream press.

Organizers understand that the defeat of George Bush is a necessary (though not sufficient) precondition for moving a progressive agenda for America's cities and metro areas. It is no accident that during the 2004 election season many labor unions, community organizations, environmental and women's groups and liberal Democrats have put significant resources into grassroots efforts to register and turn out voters in the key swing states and Congressional districts. In Florida, for example, ACORN helped initiate a statewide ballot initiative to raise the state minimum wage and is registering thousands of urban residents, mostly in low-income, minority neighborhoods, to increase turnout on Election Day.

No one expects a Kerry administration to be the salvation for America's cities, but even a moderate Democrat in the White House will provide openings for progressive reform that were impossible during the Bush years. Equally important, if voters restore a Democratic majority in either the House or the Senate, many of the key committee chairs will be allies in the struggle for progressive reform. In this presidential election, as in none that we have experienced in our lifetimes, it is essential that the incumbent be defeated if a progressive agenda is to get a fair hearing.

Peter Dreier is E.P. Clapp distinguished professor of politics and director of the Urban & Environmental Policy Program at Occidental College. This article draws on the revised edition of his book, co-authored with John Mollenkopf and Todd Swanstrom, Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the 21st Century (University Press of Kansas, 2004). He is also co-author of The Next Los Angeles: The Struggle for a Livable City (University of California Press, 2004). He served for almost a decade (1984-1992) as senior policy aide to Boston Mayor Ray Flynn. A version of this article will appear in an upcoming issue of Social Policy.

The Suburbanization of New York: Home Town, No Town or New Town?

By Jane Holtz Kay

Is America's greatest city succumbing to "bur-b'ism"—the mall-dom, car glut and sterility of suburbia? Is the nation's most vibrant urban nexus substituting suburban sprawl for the pulsating vitality of its neighborhoods?

Look at the vanishing ma-and-pa stores, the disappearing door-to-door cafes, the neighborhood groceries usurped by superstores, the idiosyncratic bookstore bowing to Barnes and (Ig)Noble chains. The sidewalk, the preserve of the vaunted flaneur, is cut up by big box store driveways where industrial-strength, anonymous Best Buy or Home Depot parking lots shoot SUVs and Hummers toward the pedestrian. Forget window shopping as storefronts displaying knickknacks, idiosyncratic attire and tasty food samples vanish at the base of blank-faced new towers that shun the jam-packed displays of the once-lively art of window dressing. Find a neighborhood of the last generation and, as sure as the Bronx is up and the Battery's down, you find this more suburbanized style of building and streetscape. Goodbye to the ethnic restaurants and coffee hangouts drowned by the tsunami of Starbucks chains.

Aaron Naparstek, returned from a German Marshall Fund scholarship in Germany where he studied human, not automobile, accessibility, blames the usual suspects of the super-scale and the suburban as he surveys his Brooklyn neighborhood (see his article on traffic planning in the Summer 2004 PP). Talking to the Planners Network conference at Hunter College in the summer of 2004, he cited the missing ma-and-pa shops and street life.

Across Manhattan the super-projects multiply, from a Home Depot now entering Chelsea to an oops-there-goes-the-neighborhood sports arena. These pricey stadiums are supported by the New York mayor and powers-that-be, who serve their investors but undermine the neighborhoods. Likewise, new office buildings are wrapped with skirts of vacant asphalt and windowless first floors, and pursue a suburban pattern of development far from the tight, packed, pedestrian-pleasing vistas that made New York.

"An unjust and inefficient allocation of public space," says Naparstek. And one that represents

the least socially responsible way of movement and construction, the dedicated city cyclist tells his fellow urban aficionados. Beyond the economic and physical loss of life, this suburbanization and rupturing by the parking lots and congestion they inspire create the *Walls and Bridges* (the title of the 2004 PN Conference) that isolate communities. When the price of entry to a job is a car that costs the owner \$7,000 a year (vs. public transportation, biking or walking), the "wall" is social and financial as well as physical. Add the pedestrian obstacles as not-so-progressive planners in the Department of Transportation permit the massive parking lots that surround a phalanx of big box stores, and use of the public realm shrinks: Accessibility is denied and urbanity lost for the sidewalk flaneur.

Not So Suburban

Not everyone agrees with this dark prognosis. Planner Tom Angotti offered a less gloomy view that resonates with non-New Yorkers like this writer who still admires Manhattan's nitty-gritty, vibrant urban mix. "This is the last city to cave in to the suburban big box store," says Angotti. "It hasn't happened here the way it's happened in the rest of the country." Big boxes have slowly taken over parts of the outer boroughs but have been slow to invade Manhattan and the most densely populated areas, he notes. More significantly, in his eyes, "A coalition of community-based organizations defeated a 1990s zoning proposal that would have opened up still more land for big box development."

You can also make a case that the suburbs are picking up on the lost sense of neighborhood in New York City, and "that the suburbs are being urbanized," Angotti continues. He describes the new development: increased density and vitality of commutable places like Teaneck or Montclair, New Jersey. Others, like this writer, are less certain when they look at some of the Corbusian towers destined for the outer boroughs and the still-lacking walkability and shopability of their environs.

Still, the planner goes so far as to parallel the oft-lambasted big box chain with the department ⇒

stores of yore. He notes that the new Home Depot in Manhattan will offer no parking. The major offense of the giant chains is that beyond Manhattan and other urbanized neighborhoods they build super-scale parking lots. Built for drivers, not walkers, they no longer function as drop-by department stores with a variety of goods. Like other New Yorkers, Angotti distinguishes between the big boxes in the outer fringes of the city where a car is a necessity and Manhattan's Burlington Coat Factory or Bed, Bath and Beyond, where cabs are plentiful. Throughout the planning community, caring stewards worry that driving is up everywhere and transportation agencies across the country still function as giant machines for the laying of asphalt and the production of traffic in faceless, sprawling regions.

The Up-Scaling of Old Neighborhoods

The sense of personal loss is stronger in older Manhattan neighborhoods. Speak to those who witness the transformation and you hear their nostalgia mixed with regret for the bygone landscape, the home grounds of place, play and the personhood of their childhood. One young lawyer recalls the fading urbanity of his Germantown childhood (on Manhattan's East Side) only a generation ago, and points to new chain stores and sterile apartments. "They're all the same," says the once lanky youngster who grew up with his six siblings at the top of 89th Street. "It's very difficult to find the flavor of the neighborhood."

Once the world outside his door was animated by the annual Steuben Day parade with Knights of Columbus marchers in overalls, summer afternoons with pool and baseball at the Rhinelander club, live German music, youngsters playing in Carl Schurz Park, borscht and sauerkraut. Today, the up-pricing and building of denser, higher units threatens and drives out large families like his own, and sterilizes the once-colorful community. Clean-up comes and trace elements linger but the flavor is gone.

To transportation activist Charles Komanoff, the most obvious and disturbing sign is the super-sizing of apartments—combining two, three or four units into one and creating giant spaces (4,500 square feet or larger, say) in gut rehabs. "Not only does this keep lifting the price bar," he notes "but it squanders space that others could have or once did have, and thus works against density."

Another advocate for the poor and for low-income housing looks out of his sleek modernist windows on the attractive new mixed-income row houses and cleaned streets of the

"new" Harlem and disagrees with complaints of the homogenization of the neighborhood. His working life as a lawyer salvaging low-income renters from being squeezed out by greedy landlords may contradict with his gentrifying neighborhood, but to use the term "suburbanization" as an epithet undercuts a more complicated analysis.

The up-scaling of a once-poor neighborhood bears no simple "suburbanization" label or "tale of two citizens," the one displacing the other, but is a mixed blessing. And Harlem was no heavenly abode. While some local bodegas and neighborhood stores vanish, this activist and other advocates for the poor applaud the fact that some up-scaling brings options to the single-choice, non-competitive earlier ma-and-pa markets that made for pricey milk and high cost goods with no competitors to drive them down. On the other hand, if "poverty preserves," as the preservationists say, such massive takeovers as Columbia University's new campus plan present a clearer case of urban gentrification or up-scaling—reminiscent of the criticisms of the new Hudson River Park, which made a derelict site a landscaped attraction but privatized and commercialized a once-public site.

The most frequent complaints of "suburbanization" sound from the most visible corners of the city, it seems. Opponents to the new New York regularly bash the development at 2 Columbus Circle or the sterilized glamour of the new Times Square, where backlit billboards seem like commercial barnacles obscuring the nitty-gritty old city. These commercial banalities may make old-timers long for the grainy urbanity of Jon Voight and Dustin Hoffman's seedy "Midnight Cowboy" landscape of a generation ago or lament the loss of the non-plastic reality of the sidewalk *noir* of days past. Still, in 2004, on the 100th anniversary of Times Square, you can see the sparkling bulb-lit theaters renewed, and, for all the semi-sanitized Ralph Lauren-ized billboards, visitors take the new tours. They weave or bump along the new family crowds, pausing to applaud the old theaters with nary a nod to the palpably gritty, squalidly seductive old imagery in this homogenized (should we say suburbanized?) zone.

It is the question of the hour as cities attract new congregations and cleanup: How can we cherry-pick the pleasurable, even hygienic, elements of the best of the suburban way of life—the lack of crime, the good schools, the tidy parks—without the sanitized boredom? What indeed is suburbanization beyond the pejorative that repels New

Yorkers and other urban aficionados? How can the city be safe and vibrant, blessed with the good schools and edged lawns of suburbia, but relieved of their "Stepford" boredom, classism and racism? How can we get away from the stereotypes of torpid domestication and transfer their positive elements to an urban nexus?

Thinking Like a City

To "think like a city" is no simple task for the urbanist, to be sure. Thinking like a city means thinking of an urban complex of sidewalks not roads, of intimate-scaled stores and shops, door-to-door, store-to-store, not massive concrete block concoctions whose sign medium is the message. Urban planning is not aloof federally-funded, road-driven design and gaps of parking lots, but public access to public transit. Not lawns green from poisonous pesticides versus sidewalks, their weedy blooms shoving through the cracks, their ailanthus pushing skyward. Not lone drivers in loan cars to nowhere. Another way of looking at urbanism is as a community of workers and travelers sharing sidewalk space, nurturing greenspace, promoting affordable urban space and, hence, creating a city mix, a wonderland of diversity.

So why, I ask, if you were New York City, would you ever want to think like a suburb? If you were blessed with the largest train system in the world—2000 miles of track including over 700 just of subway lines—why would you put the pedal to the metal and be stalled in traffic? "Peripatetic," "jammed" and "cramped" are positive descriptions for urbanity. Sprawling, spread out, isolated, these are the sorry suburban goals of the twentieth century. Tell that to the DOT, too, whose action plan is to move traffic, turning, say, Queens Boulevard into a twelve-lane monster, failing to reinforce a metropolis and a way of life that still retains great diversity.

Thinking like a city is not a restrictive gesture, as the great historian John Reps offered in describing the beginnings of the City Beautiful movement during the last century. In the frenetic activism of the World's Fair of 1904, St. Louis "sought, and largely got, playgrounds, public baths, tree planting, overhead wire removal, billboard regulation, wastepaper basket installation, sanitary inspection of poor neighborhoods, civic clean-up drives and other goals," he wrote. Plunk in the middle of the classically composed City Beautiful movement, the southern town got urban animation and life and, one should add, some quite splendid and even walkable suburbs. So did New York, along with

countless elegant suburbs by the Olmsteds and others between Manhattan and Los Angeles, all connected to vastly improved public transportation and services. Walkable suburbs. Not sprawl.

Real cities view their clear-cut zones as part of the grid of life past. By this definition, Ground Zero should not be reclaimed as merely a green or sculptured wasteland punctuated by a sky-soaring shaft, but as a place to mark the past memory of tragedy with the present vitality of reuniting the streets of Lower Manhattan as part of the urban core, not corpse, of the New York to come.

Thinking like a city, finally, is thinking like sidewalks, shops and *Streets for People*, as William Whyte had it, people-filled places at a human non-automated scale. Feet first for pedestrians, street fairs, book sales. The stuff of activism, even rebellion, in public spaces shaped for protest as it grows, and pleasure day-by-day. No longer should we bow to the adage "I went to join the revolution but I couldn't find a parking place." We must walk and reinforce the underbelly of rail to subvert suburbanism with community-building. To be sure, old, like new, New York has always been "suburbanizing," to use the epithet of the day. But, if nothing else, it is also undergoing a change that is the essence of urbanity.

Surely, after allotting all the goods of what we call "suburbanization" to the few for generations, the next half-century can and should shift to urbanizing for the many. And it has. Parks are better, neighborhoods cleaned, a back-to-the city and fix-the-city movement in process. When you turn the harsh, highway-esque underbelly of the Queensborough Bridge into a chic bar, you are not gentrifying or suburbanizing an industrial artifact for the swells but utilizing it to enhance the urban scene. When you restore Olmsted parks, improve schools and services and keep the sidewalks and streets for people, you are making sure that New York City will never be a Lost Eden smothered by the anti-city extremes—sprawl or the slums—but a place of opportunity for an inclusive urban legacy. Stewarded by those who care enough to vitalize its future, it is just this kind of living city that can endure and grow as the still-new century advances.

Jane Holtz Kay (jholtzkay@aol.com) is architecture critic for The Nation, and author of Asphalt Nation, Lost Boston and Preserving New England. She is currently writing Last Chance Landscape and assembling a collection of essays on the built and natural environments. See www.asphaltnation.com for more information

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PN UPDATES

PN NEWS

Steal Our Book: Print out the Planners Network Student Disorientation Guide!

The PN Disorientation Guide is now available online, in time to reach out to students puzzling over the content of their planning education. Compiled through the collaborative efforts of a team of PN students and activists, the guide reflects many of the issues and challenges each generation of would-be planners encounters as they begin in the field. Along with articles that challenge current planning and educational paradigms, it also contains dozens of ideas for events and activities. Students and professors are encouraged to print out and distribute copies at orientation sessions and organizing meetings.

While originally intended to aid student organizing efforts, the Disorientation Guide reflects the thoughts and resources of a broad spectrum of PN members and can also be read as a snapshot of PN thinking and activities. It has inspired us to consider many different follow-up projects, such as a comprehensive timeline of progressive planning, formalized resource databanks, popular education workshops, or even an anonymously written review of planning schools. Your feedback on both the Guide and these future endeavors is welcome. We hope the Disorientation Guide inspires you to continue to think creatively about the planning field. The guide can be downloaded in PDF format at www.plannersnetwork.org - please print, share, and distribute!

Campus Tour to Promote PN!

Thanks to Steering Committee member Josh Lerner for recently undertaking a campus tour in the U.S. to promote Planners Network! Josh's stops included Baltimore, Ann Arbor, Chicago,

Champaign-Urbana, Iowa City, Seattle, Eugene, Los Angeles and San Diego, where many of our new local chapters are based or are forming. Students and professors in each city organized PN info sessions or public events, to discuss progressive approaches to local planning issues and the role of Planners Network in connecting and supporting local planning struggles.

For more information about local PN organizing and events, see the updated lists of local chapter contacts and PN university representatives below. Many of the local chapters and PN members who participated in the campus tour are working on similar issues, so please send updates and news to the listserv and e-newsletter!

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PN MEMBER UPDATES

PNer Carlos Balsas (Ph.D., University of Massachusetts, Amherst) has recently accepted a position as Assistant Professor in the School of Planning at Arizona State University. His new e-mail address is Carlos.Balsas@asu.edu.

PNer Kanishka Goonewardena was recently granted tenure at the Department of Geography at the University of Toronto. Some of his latest articles include: Kanishka Goonewardena and

Katharine N. Rankin (2004) "The Desire Called Civil Society: A Contribution to the Critique of a Bourgeois Category," *Planning Theory*, July 2004, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 117-149; and Kanishka Goonewardena, Katharine N. Rankin and Sarah Weinstock (2004) "Diversity and Planning Education: A Canadian Perspective" *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, Vol. 13, No. 1, supplement pp. 1-26.

PNer Jane Holtz Kay is architecture critic for the *Nation* and author of *Asphalt Nation, Lost Boston and Preserving New England*; her work has appeared in such publications as *Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Orion, The New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, Boston Globe, Planning, and Sierra* magazines. She is currently working on a book tentatively titled *Last Chance Landscape*. Her site may be reached at www.janeholtzkay.com; or www.asphaltnation.com. It includes illustrated articles, essays, along with a resume, contact material and speaking topics.

PNer Liz Leduc (formerly at University of Massachusetts - Amherst) is now at the Northeastern School of Law in Providence, Rhode Island. Her new email address is leduc.e@neu.edu.

PNer Katharine N. Rankin was recently granted tenure at the Department of Geography at the University of Toronto. Her book, *The Cultural Politics of Markets: Economic Liberalization and Social Change in Nepal*, was published this year by University of Toronto and Pluto Press. The book explores how neoliberal ideology - and its manifestation in global forms of capitalist accumulation - articulates with local culture through an ethnographic study of the social embeddedness of markets.

Goldsmith [cont. from page 23]

best practices in all elements of human settlement building; architecture, landscape architecture, planning, social and environmental justice interventions, mobility and engineering. We attempted to raise the processes of settlement building and environmental stewardship to a place that paralleled the coming celebration of athletic achievement.

Many of the honorable men who conceived Utah's Olympic ambition lived to see the Games. They also watched as the indicted leaders of Salt Lake's winning Olympic bid were exonerated for wrongdoing. Activists kept environmental impacts to a minimum and ensured that an unin-

formed and overzealous mayor's ideas of urban revitalization were aborted. The Olympics did not give birth to the kind of economic development so many envisioned. What has become clear in the process of staging international events like the Olympic Games is that vision and ethics need to coexist. Implementing and guiding plans for such events, with all of the forces that press upon the political, cultural and environmental landscape is, in itself, an Olympic event. Maybe someday they'll award medals, too.

Stephen Goldsmith is director of the Rose Fellowship Program for the Enterprise Foundation.

RESOURCES

PUBLICATIONS

Why the Poor Pay More (November 2004) A book by Gregory D. Squires that documents predatory lending practices that target vulnerable segments of society. For further information: http://www.greenwood.com/books/BookDetail.asp?dept_id=1&sku=C8186

"Private Sector Partnerships: Investing in Housing and Neighborhood Revitalization" (34 pp) is the June 2004 issue of *NHC Affordable Housing Policy Review*, published by and available (possibly free) from the National Housing Conference, 1801 K St. NW, #M-100, Wash., DC 20006, 202-466-2121, nhc@nhc.org, www.nhc.org

"HUD Housing Programs: Tenants' Rights" (3rd. ed., 2004) is available (\$355, CD-ROM included) from the National Housing Law Project, 614 Grand Ave., #320, Oakland, CA 94610, 510-251-9400, mail to: lclaudio@nhlp.org

"Transportation Equity Act Reauthorization: How Good Federal Transportation Policy Can Work for Latinos" by Eric Rodriguez and Patti Goerman (May 2004), is available (\$5) from the National Council of La Raza, 1111 19th St. NW, #1000, Washington, DC 20036, 202-785-1670, www.nclr.org/

"The Geography of Poverty and Service Provision" (August 2004) Using three cities—Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington—as examples, this paper by Scott Allard analyzes the shifting geography of concentrated poverty and its impact on access to social services. Available at: http://www.brookings.edu/metro/pubs/20040816_allard.htm

"The Gay and Lesbian Atlas" by Jason Ost and Gary Gates, (242pp, May 2004), published by the Urban Institute.

"Your Fair Housing Rights" is the generic title of a series of 4 well-done pamphlets published by the Washington, DC Department of Housing & Community Development. They deal, respectively, with Disability, Religion, Race/Color/National Origin & Sex. For copies, contact Sonia Gutierrez, DHCD, 801 N. Capitol St. NE, Wash., DC 20002, Tel.: (202) 442-7200.

EVENTS

December 2, 2004. Moving from Green Buildings to Green Neighbourhoods. Speaker: Bert Gregory, AIA, President and CEO, Mithun Inc., Seattle Venue: Simon Fraser University at Harbour Centre, 515 West Hastings, Vancouver. This lecture will focus on an integrated approach to the development of green neighbourhoods. Case studies from Portland and Seattle will be highlighted. Admission is free. As seating is limited, reservations are required. Call 604-291-5100 or e-mail cs_hc@sfu.ca

February 22-26, 2005. 41st IMCL (International Making Cities Livable) Conference on "True Urbanism & the Healthy City" in San Francisco/Carmel, California. For more information, visit: <http://www.livablecities.org/>

March 6-10, 2005. 42nd IMCL (International Making Cities Livable) Conference on "True Urbanism & Civic Values" in Charleston, South Carolina. For more information, visit: <http://www.livablecities.org/>

April 27-May 1, 2005. 36th Annual Conference of the Environmental Design Research Association. The theme for EDRA conference in Vancouver, BC is "Design for Diversity." For more information, visit: <http://www.edra.org>

June 20-21, 2005. The Institute for Women's Policy Research will hold its 8th International Women's Policy Research Conference, When Women Gain, So Does the World, in Washington, DC. The conference will be held in conjunction with the Research Network on Gender, Politics and State (RNGS). For more information on RNGS, visit their website at: <http://libarts.wsu.edu/polisci/rngs>

July 22-24, 2005. A World Beyond Capitalism Conference. A multi-lingual, multi-racial alliance building conference in Portland, Oregon. Volunteers worldwide, including work-from-home or bilingual volunteers, are greatly needed. Through love, solidarity and international outreach ...the unreachable is achievable ...A World Beyond Capitalism! <http://www.awbc.lfh-niivaaaa.info> or <http://www.lfhniivaaaa.info/awbc.html> Website accessible in over 23 languages.

AWARDS

2005 Rudy Bruner Award for Urban Excellence, Closing Date: December 13, 2004: Eligible Applicants: The project must be a real place, not just a plan or program. Programs alone will not be considered. Since site visits are integral to the award process, the project must have been in operation for a sufficient amount of time to demonstrate success. The project must be located in the contiguous 48 states. It is not feasible to conduct site visits at international locations. There are no distinct categories. Projects may include any type of place which makes a positive contribution to the urban environment. Urban environment is broadly defined to include incorporated cities, towns, or villages; a neighborhood within a city; an urban county; or an officially recognized region made up of two or more cities. Applications may be initiated by any person who has been involved in the planning, development or operation of a project. Previous applicants and Honorable Mention winners may re-apply. Previous winners are not eligible. For more information, contact: Bruner Foundation, 130 Prospect Street, Cambridge, MA 02139, Fax: 617-876-4002, info@brunerloeb.org, Tel. 617-492-8404

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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.

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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>

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

The PN LISTSERV:

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

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