progressive
Planning

The Magazine of Planners Network

Planners Network Conference 2013

In This Issue

- **Conference Recap**
- **Planning for Disaster**
- **Bruce Dale: A Planner's Life**

Bruce Dale

A Planner's Life

Tony Schuman

At the PN/ADPSR Conference in New York City on June 7, tribute was paid to Bruce Dale, a co-founder of Planners Network who was active in launching the New York chapter. Bruce died of lung cancer in March of this year. He was 74 and lived in Hastings-on-Hudson with his wife, Ellen Braune, a communications strategist and longtime social justice advocate, and their daughter, Toby.

BEYOND PAYING PROPER respect to a valued friend and colleague, Bruce's life warrants our attention for several additional reasons: his trajectory sheds light on the debates surrounding the early formation of PN; it references a number of critical events and personalities of that heady period of political activism in the 1960s and 70s; and it shows the careful maturation of youthful radicalism into effective advocacy for social justice as a progressive bureaucrat within city government and the private not-for-profit sector.

Columbia '68

Bruce traced his first political stirrings to a talk at Brooklyn College, his alma mater, by Michael Harrington, whose book *The Other America* was a call to conscience to a complacent nation. But his political coming of age occurred during the student rebellion of 1968 at Columbia University, where he was an architecture student. For a week in April, architecture students occupied their building, Avery Hall, in

Tony Schuman is Associate Professor of Architecture at the New Jersey Institute of Technology.

solidarity with Black students occupying Hamilton Hall and others in three additional buildings. The students were protesting three issues: the university's attempt to build a new gymnasium in Morningside Park, a public park occupying the escarpment between Columbia in Morningside Heights and the West Harlem community below; the university's engagement in secret research for the defense department through the Institute for Defense Analyses; and amnesty for six students arrested during previous protests against IDA. On April 30, the occupation was ended through a violent bust by the New York Police Department, a move that so antagonized the campus that the university effectively shut down for the remainder of the semester in favor of teach-ins on the lawn and discussions about restructuring the university's governance system.

Inside Avery, Bruce was a key leader of the occupying students. Avery was the only professional school at Columbia that was occupied, bringing together students from architecture, planning and preservation in a rare commingling of those balkanized departments. For the most part we were middle class kids with little prior experience with political activism. Although Bruce was like us in that respect, he had uncanny political instincts, and was effective in reassuring the group when we would get upset about the latest piece of rhetoric coming from Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), patiently explaining the importance of solidarity.

Although the strike was aimed at the university, it led to several changes within the school of architecture, one of which was for students to engage in community-based studios. That fall, a half dozen students including Bruce and I were recruited to work in East Harlem by Harry Quintana, director of the Real Great Society Urban Planning Studio. Our learning curve was steep in every respect. First, was the realization that the problems confronting the low-income residents of East Harlem

Summer 2013 Issue Contents

Conference Recap

Planning for Disaster

General

www.plannersnetwork.org

Reprinting and distribution of portions of this magazine for non-commercial purposes are encouraged. Reprints for commercial purposes require written permission from the publisher. *Progressive Planning* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index.

Orange, New Jersey
Making a Place

Margaux Simmons and Jamy Lasell

Editor's Note

The 2013 Planners Network conference coincided with Placemaking 5, led by the University of Orange. Rain poured down but spirits were high. Two articles— "Orange, New Jersey: Making a Place" and "Placemaking with the University of Orange"—describe this innovative community development strategy.

THE SMALL CITY OF ORANGE in the state of New Jersey has a free university. It's an old idea, in an older U.S. city. The University of Orange is not particularly famous yet, being only six years old, but it's helping define the revitalization of a shop worn town, famous for the original factory of Thomas Edison, presidential Bush ancestors, the Colgates, and present day, a solid working class. As is demonstrated by this list of residents, a city is as much a collection of people and activities, as it is the buildings and infrastructure that make them function, which is why Orange now has a university, the University of Orange. Formed as part of a comprehensive community development strategy, the university helps link people to place and provides important lessons for other places struggling to maintain and support strong community involvement.

Orange gained its population as an upland suburb of the city of Newark; once the railroads came through in the early 1800s, it became, by extension, a suburb of the city of New York. Orange has a neighborhood known as the Valley, originally a wrinkle at the bottom of the next step of hills, carved by the East Branch of the Raritan River. The river became the drainage ditch for a busy tannery business in the early 1800s, probably based on the local dairy herds feeding NYC. In the mid-1800s a hat industry was rising in the Valley using the leathers produced locally, and eventually the actual locations of the old tanneries. At its height, most of the hats made in the United States were made in the Valley with over 30 companies participating. Multi-story hat factories for Stetson and No-name (its real name!) still dominate the low landscape. The businesses are long gone, the factories sit vacant waiting for market conditions to warrant condo conversion, surrounded by

Dr. Margaux Simmons is a retired music professor at Hampshire College. She is a composer and teaches introductory music theory at the University of Orange to strengthen the burgeoning music industry.

Jamy Lasell is a carpenter and solar installer in Manhattan and the Northeast. He plays harmonica regularly in the Valley Arts District and is a student at the University of Orange. You can find University of Orange at www.universityoforange.org.

closely packed worker housing. The mansions of the owners sprawl across the surrounding hillsides. Artists are slowly filtering into the old and new industrial spaces.

Over time, other industries used the facilities; Monroe made calculators, printers and sign makers filled cheap space after Edison and Stetson moved on. But the housing stock remained and got older. People raised families, lived, loved and died. Taxes went up, services declined, and the city slowly slipped into a downward spiral. There was no tech boom, no strong new source of local money and the housing stock suffered. As homeowners were replaced by landlords, less attention was paid to the fabric of the city.

HANDS and the University

In 1986, HANDS, a community action agency, was formed by local churches and community groups, to combat the problem of derelict housing. HANDS bought houses, rebuilt them, found and trained local buyers as homeowners and slowly whittled down the empty inventory. Using innovative tactics they have been very successful in an effort to fight the tide. Looking at the housing stock as an indicator of the health of the city, and working on the premise that people living in the city had to make the effort to keep the city up, there was a realization that the social and educational life of the population was as important as financing in the battle for revitalization. So was born the University of Orange.

"I proposed calling it the Center for Life-Long Learning," said Patrick Morrissey, head of HANDS, "but luckily Mindy Thompson Fullilove had a better idea." HANDS is interested in the whole city despite focusing its efforts in the Valley

Arts District. Branding the university with the city name helps define the place being built, the urban village of the 21st century, a just and beautiful city. That there is a university in the city helps say where the city is headed. It is a school dedicated to enriching the lives of local residents. People who work and play in the city, but live elsewhere, are participating too.

The great thing is it's free to anyone willing to do the work of studying. Teachers don't get paid, sharing their knowledge with people willing to learn. All ages participate although one of the requirements for graduation is voting in elections. Students aged under 18 vote in their school elections. Sixty- and seventy-year-olds are quite common in classes, which range from playwriting and music, to building an outdoor pizza oven at the young artists' collective, and beer making. The pizza oven

Placemaking 5 tour in Orange, New Jersey, one of the Planners Network conference workshops.

Photo: Ann Forsyth

came first, which was useful in teaching the beer-making course.

Teachers seem to find the University and offer their services. Sometimes the classes start large and get down to a core group that really wants to know, but often are small groups that study intently or complete a project. Graduation happens once a year and you can graduate as many years as you want to. Requirements include taking two courses, voting in local elections, having fun with your neighbors (a formal requirement), and attending at least one city meeting, i.e., getting involved in the local political process. While it sounds like an easy course load, graduation can be difficult for working families. But there is a sizable group that makes it every year. Molly Rose is the distributor of Passports that mark the milestones of courses completed at the U of O. "It's a self-service university, you carry your own records with you, in your Orange Passport.""We have a strong urbanism department, that has spawned projects like the bench building course originally designed for the Orange Station of the NJ Transit rail system which has few places to wait," said Molly Rose Kaufman, provost and one of two paid staff of the University this year. Staff positions are funded through a combination of private donations and grants, a major one from the State of New Jersey through HANDS.

The location for the outdoor bench making classroom at the Station was nixed by the permitting function of the city planner who is alleged to have noted that the political powers didn't want people expressing their desires for use of that space.

In the meantime, a large crowded high-rise has been announced to fill the adjacent parking lots, a typical NJ outcome when local populations have no say and public places get privatized. The benches got built on the library lawn.

Other courses have included researching the history of your own house, an activity that tends to ground the homeowner in place, knowing who lived there, and what the neighborhoods have been like, how design decisions have changed the way things look and work. There is an annual walk through neighborhoods. The fifth walk took place this spring and included discussion of various aspects of urban planning. It is the contention of Columbia Professor, Mindy Fullilove, who leads the walk, that everything you ever wanted to know about urban planning can be learned in Orange, from the Interstate highway flowing like a river through the heart of the town, to the various generations of public housing, to the repurposed Reingold brewery.

The athletic department has sponsored tournaments in three of its focus sports: ultimate Frisbee, bocce, and rock-paper-scissors. Low cost athletic facilities come in the form of public parks and streets, acquainting the participants with the limitations and opportunities of public play.

Art Curriculum

Maybe the strongest and most visible part of the university is the art curriculum. Actually, there is no formal curriculum, rather the artists organize themselves. Started

by a group of high school students who wanted studio space, they designed a course and a process that now occupies a space called Ironworks, deriving from the sign on the front of the building from a previous business. In accordance with the goals of the university, Ironworks is youth led and user driven. The excitement is palpable.

They have created three studio spaces. A painting studio is filled with color and graphic artists from after school until the wee hours of the morning. Computers bump up against easels and sheets of plywood for the street painters. A fashion studio in the back and a music-recording studio in the way back, keep pumping out products. The other front room with its roll up glass garage doors is a gallery with a steady stream of shows. It is also used on occasion as a sculpture studio, as when an 8-foot top hat, celebrating the first annual Hat City Streets Festival, was constructed there. "It was the only place with big enough doors," said the builders. There is a sculpture garden in a side yard, filled with quirky rusting pieces; first attempts that tend to get left behind when the creators move on. Beside the garden is a hydroponic greenhouse supplying salad greens to local restaurants, one of the new businesses being started in the Valley.

"When I told one Internet friend that my new goal was to graduate from the University of Orange," said one high school dropout, "she did some research and wrote me back acidly, 'You know it's not accredited.' But that's why I like it; you can take courses that

excite you, not what someone else thinks you need to know."

Molly Rose Kaufman is herself a graduate of Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, an area known for its uniquely designed emphasis on community-based education, the Five College Consortium. Hampshire College is a part of the Consortium that connects the towns of Amherst, Northampton and South Hadley in Western Massachusetts' Pioneer valley. The Five College Consortium essentially creates a larger community connected by five learning centers: four private colleges and a state university.

One can't help but think of the sapling U. of Orange as an addition to this short list of American educational centers that focus on peer group education that takes a primary role in the community de-

velopment of its environment, and imbues its students with a sense of responsibility to community, environment and humanity. Hampshire College, Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, and only a handful of others come to mind. Horace Mann, the first president of Antioch College, is quoted as saying, "Be ashamed to die until you've won some victory for humanity." "To know is not enough," the motto of Hampshire College, embodies the responsibility of community service and direct application of principles learned. The University of Orange is a vehicle for achieving those goals and puts them into practice.

Molly's grandparents lived in Orange, fighting for better schools. Both she and her mother have returned to the town to participate in its renaissance. "Orange is a cool place and the University of Orange showcases what's here." She cites

the expense of education and the new dynamic of information exchange as factors in the creation of U. of Orange. "Anyone can teach and anyone can learn," is her belief, borne out in the success of the graduates in taking lessons and formats learned in class into other organizations in the community.

Education can be an industry in itself. The university could grow from its present modest roots, taking on certificate programs, maybe continuing education opportunities for architects. There are lots of ideas and new ones pop up regularly. ESL and basic reading courses are some needs identified; teachers could be trained if instructors stepped forward.

Challenges exist for the University of Orange. Inventing the paradigm of a new structure that fills voids left by existing behemoths can be difficult. There are growing pains. The understanding that each student and teacher has to take responsibility for his or her own participation and learning in such an open and unstructured "curriculum" is an ongoing structural difference from a conventional institution. There is even more need for this aspect to be emphasized because there is no tuition required or traditional educational structures in place. Without the conventional accreditation system, and being community based, there is the ever-present issue of funding for space and facilities necessary to keep the U. of Orange going. But as each year grows this seedling, the challenges are met, in an enjoyable way that makes Orange a better place to live, volunteer and be satisfied with life.   P2

Photo: Jamy Lasell

Advertising for the Hat City Streets Festival

Placemaking with the University of Orange

Molly Rose Kaufman, Rachel Bland, Mindy Fullilove, and Michele Racioppi

Molly Rose Kaufman: Heart of Orange

The bench across from our youth arts center in Orange, New Jersey, sits underneath a tree and a mural. It is a good place for band meetings, sketching or a quiet break from a gallery opening. The story is that a woodworker from around the corner carved the bench from a tree trunk with a chainsaw right on the library lawn. That was during Placemaking 3.

Five years ago the University of Orange, a community group dedicated to lifelong learning and community development, held our first Placemaking event in Orange, New Jersey. We gathered people together to give us their ideas, concerns and dreams. Everyone walked around Orange, took photos and shared their observations contributing to a vision plan for the part of town we called the Heart of Orange.

Over time we realized our plan had great ideas but sitting around waiting for the money and permits to do it all could take a lifetime. We decided to bring everyone back together thus launching a tradition of holding a placemaking event every spring. We usually invite guests with expertise in different areas to join us so we spend part of the day learning and part of the day doing a hands-on activity. We have learned about printmaking, street poetry, workers centers for day laborers, designing public plazas and more. We have installed art projects, built benches, gone on scavenger huts and created community gathering spaces. As the U of O provost, I asked three members of the University of Orange to share something they learned from being a part of our placemaking activities. There is a public space adjacent to the Orange train station that is currently used mostly as a parking lot. The space is named Tony Galento Plaza, after an Orange boxing legend nicknamed Two Ton Tony. Two of the activities described below—Tony Galento Plaza Day

Molly Rose Kaufman is the provost of the University of Orange.

Rachel Bland worked with the U of O as a VISTA volunteer in 2009–2010.

Mindy Fullillove is a U of O founder and current Board President.

Michele Racioppi was a VISTA volunteer 2010–2011 and currently serves as a board member.

John sawing a log into a bench on the lawn of the Orange Public Library

U of O Benchmakers, including Michele Racioppi, center, carry their benches onto the library lawn.

and the Battle of the Benches—were about reimagining the parking lot in the center of our city as a vibrant plaza closely connected to Orange's buzzing Main Street.

Rachel Bland: See What is There

There's something about some dark and not so clean spaces. We have a tendency not to look at them. Our eyes kind of slide right past them and never take in what we're really looking at. The thousands of times I took the train from Orange Station, I never really stopped and looked at the station area. I was always in a rush to catch my train and always in a rush to get picked up from the station. Hundreds of people use this station, many coming from nearby towns and heading towards New York City or deeper into New Jersey. You'd never know it by hanging out in the area around the station. Because . . . no one does.

After college, when I was an AmeriCorps VISTA at the nonprofit organization HANDS and developing the University of Orange, I worked just around the corner from the train station. In a brainstorm session we decided to make the station area a wonderful public plaza, a place people might want to stay. We spoke to the local restaurants and businesses. Our friend made a beautiful map of the neighborhood highlighting all the delicious places to eat nearby. For one day, Tony Galento Plaza Day, we claimed our space. In the morning, we set up a stand for newspapers and coffee for the early morning rush. In the afternoon rush, we gave commuters water and delicious mini empanadas, all from local businesses. In the green space, we set up benches that coworkers made out of found materials and picnicked with Italian ice from another local store. Artists from the local art program made a drawing of a life-sized bear

and a larger than life Tony Galento in his best fighting stance. Everyone took turns taking pictures fighting either Tony or the Bear.

I no longer glide past underpasses, bridges or green spaces. Now I see what could be there, what is there.

Mindy Fullilove:
Learn Something New

Placemaking 3: The river, the bench and the tree had a lot of parts, namely, the river, the bench and the tree, all tied to life in our area. We got special permission from the Essex County Parks Commission to plant a tree in honor of our colleague, Kelli Copeland, who died unexpectedly, leaving us all bereft. We organized a clean-up of a lot that borders our river, which is so little some people who live near rivers like the Ohio think of ours as a stream or creek, but also very important because it was the reason for establishing so much industry in this place. And we organized "Battle of the Benches." Battle of the Benches grew out of Tony Galento Plaza Day the summer before. We made an installation in a small strip of land across the street from the train station. This included several benches, put together by an imaginative team led by Jon Foster. As we were lounging around on our new benches, having a picnic lunch in an unexpected place, we came up with the idea that lots of people would like to make benches, as Jon had done, and we would like to have a contest to see whose bench was best. As I am very competitive, I immediately decided that I wanted to WIN!!!!

Jon immediately made a flyer that was designed like a bench and could be folded and put on one's desk, as it was on mine.

The big decision was what category to enter. I liked them all. Waiting one day at the Newark Broad Street Train Station, I passed the time reading posters of the history of trains in the area. They had a drawing of a train called the "The Orange." I thought that a bench with a copy of that drawing would do very well in the "Orange Pride" category. Molly suggested I ask Vlad Jean, one of the best young artists in town, to enter with me. My job was to make the bench, his to paint the image of the train called The Orange.

Happily, Frank Racioppi led a benchmaking class. I learned how to make a bench, and I gave it the basic white undercoat. Then Vlad took over and painted "Orange Pride." It was exciting to take our bench to Orange Public Library on Placemaking Day. Lots of people came by and admired all the benches. Ours won first prize in Orange Pride, as I hoped it would. We won a lunch for four at John's Market.

Michele Racioppi:
The Process Is as Important as the Day Because You Will Make a lot of Friends along the Way

I met Gunner at Orange Valley Hardware because I showed up there one day asking if they could donate bench-making materials for our Placemaking event (it's always cool to know someone named

Gunner). I met the children's librarian and two of the library custodians because they helped me move old doors the library was getting rid of so that we could make benches out of them (knowing people at the library came in handy later★). I witnessed a bench made from a giant tree trunk being lifted by a crane and placed on the library lawn (not something you see every day). I found out that the former city council president was opening a new bakery in town because I was at her current restaurant asking for food donations. I worked with an elementary school teacher to find a bench her students could decorate. We got an old pew from a church and they painted it an "Under the Sea" theme. I learned a lot about local politics when our application for a permit to use a small part of Tony Galento Plaza was denied (★we re-located to the library lawn).

The point is, by the time the day of our Placemaking event rolled around, I actually felt like I was a part of the "place" that we were "making." My cell phone was full of new numbers and wherever I went in Orange I would see a friendly face. In less than a year, I felt more connected to and engaged in the community than I do to where I live now or even where I grew up. Those looking to plan their own Placemaking should realize that this build-up to the event is *as* important as the event itself. It is a process, not just a one-off event, and all of the experiences along the way, both good and bad, become part of the larger story. The old saying, "It's the journey not the destination," comes to mind, although in this case I would revise it to say: it is the journey *and* the destination. Enjoy both! ℙ²

Teacher Frank Raccioppi sitting on Mindy's bench to show it works.

Bruce Dale: A Planners Life
By Tony Schuman

could not be solved by architecture since their roots lay in limited access to capital and political influence. Second, was understanding our role as outsiders, able to make significant contributions but at the same time having to overcome suspicions as to our motives and our staying power as interlopers in the East Harlem community. This relationship was eased by Friday afternoons at El Tipico Bar, in the storefront below the RGS offices. I returned to Columbia that spring, but Bruce remained at RGS through the year, producing their first annual report.

The Architects Resistance

In the fall of 1968, a group of Yale architecture students, challenged by visiting professor Topper Carew, organized a walk-out protest at the New England regional meeting of the American Institute of Architects. Carew had pushed the students to examine whether the profession they were about to enter was responsive to the pressing problems in the nation's cities. Drawing on a network of friends, word went out to area schools and a group of us convened in New Haven for two days of intensive debate. Out of that meeting came the formation of a loose network, The Architects Resistance, which set out to prod the conscience of the architectural profession.

Organized around the three goals of research, action and communication, the group met periodically at East Coast schools. Yale, MIT and Columbia were the main centers, but students from Harvard, Pratt, Cooper Union, City College and Penn also took part. The organization produced three position papers: *Architecture and Racism, Architecture and the Nuclear Arms Race,* and *Architecture: Whom Does it Serve.* At a recent reunion, the first in forty years, ten core members of the original group agreed that the genesis of the organization was a desire to merge our politics and our work.

The most dramatic action organized by TAR was a demonstration in front of the offices of Skidmore Owings and Merrill, one of the largest and most prestigious architecture firms in the world, for their design of the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg, a new headquarters for the Engelhard mining industries. We argued that building for a racist apartheid regime and the corporations that flourished under its aegis amounted to racist architecture. A visit to SOM's New York office confirmed that the drawings for the buildings contained three sets of bathrooms, for white, African and "colored." The demonstration received good coverage in both the architectural press and mass media (well, the Village Voice took note) but failed to deter the firm from continuing the work.

Although TAR was unified in its focus on the large social issues, there was a built-in tension within the organization between one tendency that was focused on confronting structural social and political issues in their urban manifestations and another that wanted to go out and build the alternative world. While these two tendencies were not contradictory, they stemmed from different strategies about how to change the world. Rather than waste time and energy in endless discussion, Bruce, who was on the political side, quietly walked away from the group. Absent his energy, TAR effectively ceased to exist as a network at the end of the conference, although several local "chapters," notably in Cambridge, continued to produce white papers and hold demonstrations.

Italy and New York

Most of us graduated from architecture school by spring 1970, and faced the question of how to combine our social activism with our professional work. For Bruce, that exploration commenced in Rome, where he moved with his first wife, Renata Petroni. There Bruce was introduced into the world of Italian architectural practice, where the question of where and for whom architects worked was governed by their political affiliations. Left architects worked for Red communes. Bruce worked with Italo Insolera on restoring the historic center of Bologna and with Adolfo DiCarlo on preserving the hill towns of Umbria. He was comfortable working in an environ-

ment where the politics were up front and transparent and sympathetic to the social goals of both the firms where he worked and their municipal clients.

On returning to New York in 1975, Bruce worked with Urban Deadline Architects, a semi-collective architecture office formed during the Columbia strike to provide pro bono services to underserved communities that had developed some paying work as well. While at Urban Deadline Bruce began studies for a doctorate in urban planning at Columbia, encouraged there by Peter Marcuse and Jackie Leavitt. In the midst of these studies, Bruce moved from Urban Deadline to New York's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), where he joined the Division of Alternative Management Programs (DAMP) established to help the city contend with the tens of thousands of apartments in abandoned buildings it had taken ownership of through the *in rem* foreclosure process.

After initially treating the wave of foreclosures as a tax issue, the city finally transferred management of these properties to its housing agency. A brilliant era of progressive housing programs ensued, led by Philip St. George, who had founded U-HAB (Urban Homesteading Assistance Board), New York's first city-wide sweat-equity housing program, and Joan Wallstein, Bruce's immediate boss. Bruce quickly caught on to the policy issues involved and rose to a senior management level at DAMP, eventually directing several of the programs. While there, his door was always open to neighborhood housing activists. Bruce understood that it was essential to have a push from the left in order to create room within city government to move the bureaucracy in a more progressive direction on housing policy. In this case it meant programs to train tenants in housing management and to turn over building ownership to them when possible.

Planners Network

On August 4, 1975, Chester Hartman sent a letter to gauge interest in a national organization of progressive planners. The letter started a deliberate process that culminated in April, 1980, with the founding conference of Planners Network in Washington, D.C. While there was immediate enthusiasm for the notion

of some kind of organization, how to define the group was the subject of widespread debate. The first issue was what to call the organization, a matter of both noun ("union," "congress," "guild," "network") and adjective ("radical," "left," "socialist," "progressive"). In New York, we held meetings with members of the National Lawyers Guild and Health PAC as potential models of organizational identity and strategy.

The second issue was how structured the new formation should be, and under what principles it would operate. Chester was always cautious about over structuring at the outset before we understood what level of active commitment we would enjoy. Following the founding conference, Bruce and I, both advocates of more structure, were designated with David Wilmoth, a colleague at Berkeley, as the Organizational Structure Task Force, to draft a set of operating principles for what was then called "Union for Progressive Planning." Our *Report to Interim Steering Committee* dated December 30, 1980, proposed a four-part statement of purpose as a preamble to whatever organizational structure might ensue, with the new group to focus on: public policy, public education, projects and publications, and community (our own).

In retrospect, we probably spent more time than warranted debating fine points of organizational structure, since in the end the organization was as structured as its members wanted it to be. PN has survived quite nicely with an elected steering committee and local chapters operating autonomously. It has always depended on a few people making a major commitment to the organization, starting with Chester and continuing with a host of dedicated steering committee members. Bruce was one of the stalwart members at the outset.

Network/Forum

For ten years Bruce and I ran a series of lectures and discussions on planning issues in New York City known as Network/Forum. The name came from an amalgamation of Planners Network and the Forum on Architecture and Society, the latter a program at the NYC chapter of the AIA that Bruce and I had taken over from an older generation of progressive architects. The Forum itself was a holdover from the Federation

of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (FAECT), a union including architects that was founded in the 1930s and persisted into the 1950s. (Both the late Robert Heifetz and I have written on this history elsewhere.)

After three years of running the Forum at the former AIA headquarters on West 40th Street, we initiated Network/Forum in the fall of 1979 with a series of Friday night meetings at six pm at the CUNY Graduate Center on 42nd Street. The initial format was to screen a film on urban issues followed by discussion; the first series was called "Cities at Six." Over the next seven years we presented 45 programs, often accompanied with film, with a speakers list including many now recognized as luminaries in progressive planning and design.

Network/Forum became a rallying point for progressives in the field during the administrations of Mayors Abe Beame and Ed Koch. The evenings were informal, with wine and cheese being served after the discussion and, always, as promised, "the hat was passed" to cover the costs. The costs were modest. Bruce and I prepared the leaflets (using press-type letters in the pre-digital era), and adhesive labels typed on electric typewriters and photocopied for successive mailings. Network colleagues Jill Hamberg and others helped with the folding, envelope stuffing and stamp affixing.

Bruce was featured at both the first and last of the Network/Forum events. In April, 1980, in the spring of the first season, Bruce followed a film on Bologna with an account of how preservation efforts there focused on the human quality of urban life. Our final season, in the spring of 1986, had only three events ("Three at Six"). Bruce moderated a panel on "Housing Dollars" to address "How best to use available money to provide low-and moderate-income housing in New York City." As the title suggests, Bruce had by this time become expert not only in housing design and housing policy, but in housing finance as well. This was not a casual "on-the-job" evolution but a deliberate move by Bruce to fill in the gap he perceived in his own knowledge while working at HPD. Bruce always approached his work methodically; each phase was a new "project" to be engaged and mastered. So when an opportunity arose in 1985 to work with Mike

Lappin, founder and president of the Community Preservation Corporation (CPC), Bruce took the leap.

Community Preservation Corporation

Bruce joined CPC expecting to stay only a few years and then move on to some other form of promotion and production of affordable housing in New York presumably through work with a community development corporation. Instead he wound up staying at CPC for 27 years, rising to the level of Senior Vice President. At CPC Bruce was in charge of financing moderate income housing rehabilitation in Harlem and the Bronx, helping to stem the tide of abandonment and decay in those now flourishing areas. Effectively, Bruce had become a progressive mortgage officer. He was proud of his record of successful projects; few fell under water even during the mortgage melt-down on 2008 because of Bruce's diligence in vetting the proposals.

Bruce was always aware of the contradictions inherent in rehabilitating housing in low income areas; e.g., by improving the existing housing stock the area becomes ripe for private reinvestment and gentrification, a process that has swept over most of the Harlem and Bronx communities where he worked. But Bruce emphasized the other side of the equation —the need to stabilize and improve the properties for the working class families who inhabited them.

In January 2013, CPC honored Bruce at their annual meeting. In failing health, Bruce mustered the energy to attend the lunch and deliver brief remarks to the assembled audience of bankers, builders and housing advocates. Bruce was literally stunned when one speaker after another departed from their prepared notes to praise his work. They spoke of his integrity, his intelligence, his fairness, his courtesy, his role as teacher and mentor, and his grasp of the business of housing finance. It was clear that they understood his values and his politics, and accepted him on this basis. Bruce was tremendously moved by this event. He died content in the knowledge that he had conducted his life on his own terms, sticking to his principles while working inside the municipal and banking apparatus to produce quality affordable housing for the people of New York.   P²

RESPONSE TO
Progressive Planning in the American South

Harley Etienne

Everywhere you look these days, there are movies, songs, editorials and other media that seem obsessed with the end of the world as we know it. Or, at the very least, they are obsessed with the idea that we are living in the twilight of the American empire. Perhaps too, progressive planners are concerned with the idea that a progressive planning may be ending or at least is waning or near dead in many parts of the U.S. As Pierre Clavel and Nicola Lowe have asked in the recent issue of *Progressive Planning Magazine* (*PPM*) on the American South, "Are we . . . instead seeing the end to progress made in recent decades?" In all likelihood, yes, this is the end—of sorts. In the long run the outlook for progressive planning in the South is good but before that is achieved planners and their allies need to overcome many barriers—in the planning profession and in the relationship between African American communities and place.

Transition Times

The recent Supreme Court decisions on the Voting Rights Act and affirmative action would certainly suggest that the U.S. has come to some sort of transition point. While it might not yet be time to eulogize American progressivism, there is more than cause for concern. This is particularly true in the American South.

Harley Etienne is an Assistant Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Michigan's Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning. He is author of *Pushing Back the Gates: Neighborhood Perspectives on University-Driven Change in West Philadelphia,* (Temple University Press, 2012) and the forthcoming, *Planning Atlanta: Ruins and Resurgence,* (co-edited with Barbara Faga, Planners Press, 2014).

Despite the growth of the dynamic and booming "New South," pockets of poverty and economic dislocation exist in the central cities and rural communities.

What's worse is that despite their good efforts, progressives have been largely unable to derail the rollbacks that have wrecked the gains made in the 1950s, '60s and '70s. A good deal of this is related to the evolving political landscape that is making conservatism a damaging and proactive force against workers, the poor, immigrants and people of color. Many states in the South now have Republican supermajorities in their state legislatures, despite the increasing political and racial diversity of their electorates. In some cases, these legislative compositions have allowed for veto-proof majorities that can and have pushed rather radical conservative agendas and are doing so with abandon.

Let me be very clear: the prospects for true progressive movements and progressive planning in the South are good in the long term. The changing demographics of the U.S. are going to change the South as well and many conservatives are very aware of this fact. However, a progressive planning can only exist in the South when some very heavy lifting is done to make it clear that all is not well. The work of creating and sustaining a viable progressive agenda in the South will require a rewriting of the myth of a booming and prosperous region where poverty is relegated to small, unseen towns and to those who, through their own character flaws, have not successfully navigated the labor markets where they live.

To understand the challenges of progressive planning in the South, we must look at four major factors:

1. connections to the labor movement and modes of organizing and collective action in the context of forces that are seeking to dispossess workers of their hard-won protections;

2. diminishing connections of people to places undermining communities and decreasing importance of social institutions as change agents;

3. the glorification of African American leaders and civil rights organizations; and

4. racism within progressive planning itself.

Organizing and Collective Action

First, when looking at progressive planning—mainly through the community development movement—in cities where the organizations have thrived (e.g. Boston, Chicago, Cleveland), we can find the antecedents of that movement in the settlement house movement, Saul Alinsky–style organizing and the labor movement. But these are critical lacks in the South. Despite its ties to the Industrial Age, Southern labor has never possessed a robust labor organizing movement. One needs go no further than Douglas A. Blackmon's account of labor practices in the South in *Slavery By Another Name* to know why. Southern industrialists conspired with local law enforcement authorities to criminalize the movements of African American men and conscript them to work to pay off court fees and fines, sometimes for life. The oppressive Jim Crow regime in almost all parts of the South made organizing of any kind that much more difficult.

So, when community development came to the South in the late 1960s and early 70s, it came as the place where Civil Rights era momentum went after civil rights protections had the force of federal law. Simultaneously, non-violent protest became passé and the emergence the Black Power movement demonstrated that there was a desire to have greater local control of the dynamics that were shaping communities of color. Community development then emerged as an acceptable mode for community organizing and redevelopment. The emergence of community development was not simply the convenient evolution of the Civil Rights Movement, but a very necessary project to stem the decline that many

were seeing due to deindustrialization. White flight and capital disinvestment created similar patterns of decline and blight in many parts of the South as they had done in Northeast and Midwestern U.S. cities.

But as time passed, many of the community-development organizations formed in this era evolved and moved from advocacy, organizing and social services to property development and place-upgrading. By doing so, many such groups adopted neo-liberal logic to govern themselves and lost sight of their rich legacy and history of progressive action, community improvement, human capital development and capacity building. One need look no further than Michael Dobbins' essay in the special issue, dealing with development in Atlanta and Birmingham, to see this penchant for property development over social justice and policy and the challenges of neighborhood-based organizations in those cities.

Diminishing Connections to Community

The second major factor to consider is the social embeddedness and internal orientation of the South's major churches and social institutions. The desegregation, or alternatively, the wholesale abandonment of central neighborhoods of southern cities by whites, allowed African Americans to also move and increasingly live away from their home churches and original communities. Where new churches formed or institutions migrated to capture the attendance of the South's sizable African American community, they are less tied to the local place and community than their predecessors.

In other cases, churches and civic organizations evolved with the economic circumstances of their upwardly and geographically mobile congregants and not those left behind. In their essay, Pierre Clavel and Nichola Lowe note several progressive themes in their reflections, including growth in a Black middle class and advances resulting from the 1965 Voting Rights Act. What isn't noted is the reality that many of those changes have moved the heirs of the Civil Rights era's legacy away from the progressive roots that made that movement possible.

Messianic Civil Rights Leaders

Without doubt, the South's major churches and social institutions were the pistons of the engine that drove the Civil Rights movement. However, most churches failed to convert the energy of the 1950s and 60s into neighborhood stabilization and improvement exactly as whites and industry fled for the suburbs. Where they were able to do this, the leadership did not translate their wisdom and experience to the next generation.

Although there is scant sociological research on the subject, the glorification of Civil Rights era leaders may be partly to blame for this. Much has been made of the middle-class tenor of the American Civil Rights era, its heroes, organizations and institutions. Many heirs of that history have a pattern of following personal fame and gain at the expense of the communities they profess to represent. While de jure discrimination was coming to an end in the 1960s, de facto discrimination was, and still is, far from over. Often ignored Civil Rights heroes such as Septima Clark, Ella Baker, and, Fannie Lou Hamer (NB: not coincidentally, women) who often worked quietly and ferociously behind the scenes eschewed the "messianic" style of leadership that was at the center of progressive movements at the time. Where their contributions and efforts led to progress, their male contemporaries often failed to make their successes relevant to subsequent generations that needed to continue the struggles for economic and social justice. This is significant because it has supported a culture of paternalism between Civil Rights activists and heroes and their constituencies. The momentum transfer between the Civil Rights and community development movements that allowed the latter to mature occurred in many other cities and perhaps never fully took place in the South.

Racism in the Movement

Lastly, we must consider the possibility that racism and other –isms splintered the progressive movement beyond repair into a constellation of spinoffs. Like everything else in American society, racism, sexism and classism operate within the otherwise converging social movements that have sustained progressive planning. It would seem that different groups both within and beyond planning are so far apart from each other in interests and tactics that they don't appear to be related to one another in any discernible way. The implication here is a charge of racism within progressive planning. One example is the low percentage and number of people of color associated with progressive planning. And, are we satisfied with how people of color are represented (or their issues are represented) in the Planners Network or more broadly among progressive planners? Has real progress been made by progressive planning in mitigating the very real problems and concerns they face?

Free Riders

The session held at the Planners Network Conference in New York raised several important questions and discussions. One of the most important is the idea of "free riders" in progressive movements and debates—in other words people who join the movement but whose actions betray their stated intentions to be progressive. In our session, there was some consensus that planning thought has experienced more than some drift towards conservatism. Neo-liberal logic about place-making and place-upgrading has made itself quite at home in planning scholarship.

Nearly 20 years after his landmark commentary in the *Journal of the American Planning Association,* "On poverty and racism, we have little to say," Chester Hartman is sadly more right today than he was in 1994. On racism and poverty, we have even less to say now. If we had to explore why, we must ask the question: are those who pursue the most critical lines of research on race, gender or difference central to contemporary planning debates, or are they marginal? If so, how can progressive planners find work and address social problems at the same time? How can academic planners who pose critical research questions get published and promoted to continue to change the discourse within the field?

As Jeffrey Lowe points out in his *PPM* special issue article on diversity in planning, we see that there is not only a paucity of planning faculty of color across the nation, but remarkably few in the region where most African Americans actually live and are increasingly migrating back to. We should take precautions to

not presume that the dearth of faculty of color will always result in an inability to deal with the structural racism and economic marginalization that confronts communities of color. However, we have no evidence to support the assertion that largely white faculties at southern planning schools are consistently interested in the research agendas that actively engage those issues. It may also be useful to resurrect the American Planning Association's earlier efforts to track the diversity of the field by surveying city and county planning staffs. The larger point is that for those of us not in the South, there is a risk that most academic planners of a progressive bent become "free riders" in a larger discourse about racism in our field by only having to question the racism and injustice where we are, and not where it's thriving. This must change.

So does the PPM issue on "Progressive Planning in the American South" beg the question whether progressive planners have been OR are now placing their attention in the wrong places? Are we too focused on local inclusion and participation, while countervailing forces are working to erode and eliminate worker protections, community-focused programs at the state and national level? In other words, are progressive planners being out-maneuvered by neo-liberalism, not just in the South but everywhere? And what, if anything, do we do intend to do about it? P²

Editorial Introduction

On June 9, 2013 Planners Network and *Progressive Planning Magazine* sponsored a panel at the Left Forum in New York City. The panel was titled *Beyond Resilience: Actions for a Just Metropolis,* matching the title of the 2013 PN Conference that ended the day before. The panel was moderated by PN Steering Committee Co-Chair Norma Rantisi and included Tom Angotti, Nabil Kamel, Erminia Maricato, Peter Marcuse, and Dick Platkin.

The following articles by Angotti, Kamel, Marcuse, Maricato, and Platkin are related to the themes covered at both PN and Left Forum venues.

Requiem for a Just and Resilient New York
Bloomberg Goes out Like a Storm

Tom Angotti

WITH ONLY six months left in his 12-year rule over New York City, Mayor Michael Bloomberg is using the time left to him to close every giant real estate deal possible. And the city's planning department is gleefully complicit in the gambits. They are dutifully implementing new planning and building regulations that promote mega-development along the city's vast waterfront while doing the minimum to help tenants and homeowners with limited incomes rebuild there. The future after Hurricane Sandy, which struck the region in October 2012, is likely to be a more unjust and segregated city.

Unfortunately, Bloomberg only intensified the policies I was critical of in my article (*Progressive Planning*, Winter 2013), "New York City after Sandy: Who Benefits, Who Pays and Where's the Long-term Planning?" His recently released report, *A Stronger, More Resilient New York,* erroneously touted as a comprehensive plan, welcomes even more ambitious investment in waterfront real estate by calling for requirements to raise buildings higher and protect utilities and infrastructure—requirements that will effectively make flood-prone areas into exclusive enclaves for the rich. Thanks to billions of dollars in public infrastructure spending, from currently available federal relief funds and future city and state bonds, Bloomberg's legacy will be resilience for real estate investors and bond-holders. In the subconscious class-based cost-benefit analysis of the city's financial planners, only the most profitable development is worth the public penny.

At the same time, the city is moving ahead with plans that will lead to the privatization of public housing projects that were located in flood plains decades ago when property values in those areas were at rock bot-

tom. The New York City Housing Authority's Infill Plan would build luxury high-rise housing on eight Manhattan project sites, four of them in flood plains, taking over existing open space, recreational facilities, community centers and parking areas to make room for private development. While public housing residents are fighting the plan, Bloomberg's brain trust will not discuss the impending class struggle in which wealthy condo owners are favored to win the inevitable fights with the existing communities of working people. Nor do Bloomberg's planners acknowledge the forthcoming environmental injustice of having brand new flood-proof buildings next door to older buildings with severe deficits from years of neglect and disinvestment, whose protection would require more capital funds than the meager earnings the Authority would make from its leases to private investors.

The Planners Network Steering Committee met this June at the PN Conference in New York. We agreed that we would focus on ethical issues facing professional planners, in particular the AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct—a somewhat weak set of standards that are more honored in the breach than practice. Perhaps we can start with Bloomberg's planners and ask if they have observed principle number five:

> A planner must strive to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of disadvantaged groups and persons, and must urge the alteration of policies, institutions and decisions which oppose such needs.

Bloomberg's rebuilding czar, Seth Pinksy, for years the chief dealmaker at the mayor's secretive Economic Development Corporation, announced he is resigning to join a major real estate firm. Pinsky set in motion many of Bloomberg's giant deals and, with Bloomberg and many of his lieutenants, will return to the business world he came from to cash in on the deals. Now we know what the operative definition of resilience is! ₽²
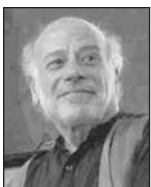
Tom Angotti is Director of the Hunter College Center for Community Planning & Development.

Un-Natural Disasters, Recursive Resilience, Unjust Compensation, Visionless Planning

Peter Marcuse

THE *DISASTERS* WE CARE ABOUT are not natural but social and they are different from the disasters of previous eras. *Resilience planning* accepts their recurrence and often uses them to further already desired urban restructuring rather than preventing them. Vulnerability to the damages and compensation for the suffering such "disasters" cause are both unjustly distributed. No vision informs disaster planning policy, and participatory planning to deal with them is badly under-developed. Good, democratic, equity-oriented planning is badly needed.

Un-natural Disasters

There is no such thing as a "natural" disaster. This is the title of the book edited by PNers Chester Hartman and Gregory Squires that followed Katrina in New Orleans. A natural event, an earthquake for example, is only a disaster if it affects people. As Nabil Kamel observes, Vesuvius was only a disaster because Pompeii lay in its path; a tornado in an uninhabited desert is not a disaster. Today, most disasters resulting from the forces of nature are avoidable; building in earthquake-prone zones can be regulated, within the limits of advancing scientific knowledge. Today, disasters are caused by social and economic arrangements, the forces of market capitalism, climate warming, filling in of wet lands for development, inadequate provisions for durable building, political terrorism, the unequal distribution of incomes leaving poor people, particularly

---

Peter Marcuse is Professor Emeritus at Columbia University in New York City.

in the global South, to settle on undesirable, therefore cheap, erosion-prone sites and only the better off to build on desirable but flood-prone zones. Erminia Maricato of Brazil clearly pointed this out in her talk.

In sum, calling socially avoidable harm caused by natural events "natural disasters" is a politically-loaded evasion of responsibility.

Recursive Resilience

Not only the causes but even more the responses to disasters are dictated by the existing economic and political structures of society. Obviously, planning for resilience is accepting the inevitability of that to which it responds, including un-natural disasters. In the real world the choice between dealing with the causes of a disaster and accepting them but mitigating their consequences, is a matter of cost-benefit analysis, weighing the costs and benefits of the alternatives against each other. But costs and benefits are not distributed randomly. Some consequences may even be desirable, and fit in with the ongoing restructuring of urban space that is a feature of mainstream economic development policy in most cities today.

Here are two examples. In New Orleans after Katrina, resilience planning served to accentuate processes already under way, desired by the power structure, and facilitated by the hurricane damage. Forty-five hundred units of public housing, long neglected both by the City and HUD and badly damaged by Katrina were demolished by the city with HUD approval, although many experts considered them quite salvageable. As Louisiana's Republican Congressman Richard

Baker said a week after Katrina, "We finally cleaned up public housing. We couldn't do it, but God did."

In the waterfront areas of New York and New Jersey hit by Sandy the result of government policies may well be that in desirable beachfront locations lower-income households, many of whom moved there and built when the area was remote and undeveloped, will take storm relief money and move. Wealthier landowners, arriving later and benefiting from extensive development and public infrastructure provision, will take the loans and grants and rebuild. The net result: the public amenity, the beach, will become what the market would have it, a semi-exclusive preserve of the well-to-do, with even more beach available for private use. And the future of damaged public housing is still very much in abeyance.

According to New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg,

"It is true in some cases, based on the level of damage and other factors, owners may want to voluntarily sell their homes and relocate. . . . The city will work with the communities and developers to strategically redevelop those properties in a smarter and more resilient way."

Unjust Compensation

The bias in the distribution of the costs and benefits of government resources in response to disasters might be most egregiously seen in the handling of compensation to the victims of disasters. For example, after 9/11, the families of those who lost their lives in the attack on the World Trade Center were provided compensation by special congressional legislation, administered through a Special Victims' Compensation Fund with clear standards rigorously applied. The measure was the loss of income from the victim that the victims' families would have received had he (less often she) survived.

The formulas were spelled out and based on the loss of earnings that would have been received had the victim lived, so that the higher the income the higher the award, with a cap on that calculation if the earnings were above the 98TH percentile of earners, or $231,000. In addition, "each claim received a uniform non-economic award [that is, independent of

earnings or need] of $250,000 for the death of the victim and an additional non-economic award of $100,000 for the spouse and each dependent of the victim," according to the Special Master's Report.

By comparison, no such fund was established for the victims of Katrina and the maximum required payment to the families of the victims was the coverage of funeral expenses! Think about how federal funds could have been distributed between New Orleans' Ninth Ward and New York's financial district if the criteria were human need, rather than financial loss.

Visionless Planning

Good planning is supposed to start with a clear statement of the goals of the plan. Here, the challenge is to start with the measures that might be taken to address the destructive forces creating the problem and then develop an idea of how areas likely to be subject to those natural forces should be handled. For the former, dealing with climate change would be an obvious priority. It is remarkable how little the big question of the causes of climate change has been linked to disaster planning. Obviously climate change is a long-range issue, and its causes will not be under control in time to affect more immediately feared disasters; yet one would think it would produce a major upsurge in attention to what could be done. Legislation would be debated in Congress, regulations proposed at all levels of government, huge funding for research would be provided, all to prevent the un-natural disasters from occurring and to deal with the complex legal problems requiring legislative solutions. This is not happening.

Relatively little long-range land use planning is going on at the local level. The issues are indeed complicated, with all kinds of difficult trade-offs needing to be evaluated—at long, medium, and short ranges. But some principles of a vision might be useful to structure a vision:

• The amenity value of many fragile locations is high. These include beaches, river banks and marshes, for example. Such natural amenities should be available to everyone and direct public ownership might be the default arrangement.

- Permitted uses should be only those not requiring permanent structures, so that evacuation in a predicted danger could be simple and fast.

- Relocation would undoubtedly be necessary and the distribution of its costs is tricky. But the principles of social justice should be prominent criteria where government assistance is involved. Need should be a dominant factor and loss of community and social networks, and possibilities of maintaining them with relocation, would be desirable.

- Complex legal problems attend any comprehensive implementation. As it stands, planning needs to take into account and intervene in legal and legislative discussions affecting:

  – Definition of the zones, now up to "normal high tide," that are publicly owned;

  – Definition of the next inland zone above high tide that is in the public trust and "subject to public trust uses";

  – Definition of the property rights of the holders of private title to land in flood-prone or environmentally sensitive areas where regulation now becomes a "taking" requiring compensation if no economically viable use of the affected property remains; and

  – Flood plain regulation by and large should not be a taking if an economical use for the affected property remains. Thus, disaster-vulnerable zoning should permit temporary uses, such as campgrounds, recreation or farming, in carefully defined zones.

- In any event, for any plan, a social equity statement should be required, spelling out in detail who is affected, both on the cost and on the benefit side, and be a major consideration in any decisions.

- Procedures need to be worked out to make decisions democratically on the many trade-offs involved, not simply at the neighborhood and community levels—where segregation by income and likely by ethnicity will be perpetuated—or only at the city-wide level where active participation and local preferences will be ignored.

Participatory Planning

Solutions will be complex and much work needs to be done to arrive at the best combinations, which will vary widely from place to place and time to time. Structuring real participation is also complex because there are multiple levels at which it is needed. First and foremost, of course, is participation by the immediate community affected. But that's not enough: decisions and resources from higher levels are inevitably involved and planning at those levels, and importantly at the federal level, is necessary. At the initial level, planning needs to respect the needs of those most directly affected letting them be involved in the rebuilding or removal decisions, and if removal, how and where, with community networks respected. At the city and national levels, major resource allocation decisions are involved. Regional plans are almost inevitably important. No technocratic report can take the place of participation at these levels, although the technical information needs to be readily accessible at each level.

Mayor Bloomberg's declaration doesn't cut it: "As New Yorkers, we cannot and will not abandon our waterfront. It's one of our greatest assets. We must protect it, not retreat from it." *Our* waterfront? No. *Whose* waterfront? must be a central part of any analysis and *whose* costs and *whose* benefits a central part of any solutions. In the New York City case, there is a well-developed Uniform Land Use Procedure in place and the city has an experienced city planning department and competent staff. But the Bloomberg Special Initiative for Rebuilding and Resiliency was kept in the Mayor's office, and its recent report does not even list the City Planning Commission or the Planning Department among the agencies they involved—not to speak of ignoring the land use review process entirely.

In sum, this is the wrong way to go: treating all disasters alike, and un-natural ones as natural; limiting planning to increasing resilience; allocating resources, whether compensatory or developmental, without regard to participatory procedures or social justice; and doing all this without a constructive vision for the ultimate results desired. Good, equity-oriented, participatory planning is badly needed.   P²

How Capitalism and the Planning Profession Contribute to Climate Change

Applying the Insights of John Bellamy Foster

Dick Platkin

Environmental sociologist John Bellamy Foster has long maintained that capitalism is inherently harmful to the environment. In several books published by the Monthly Review Press he explains that the capital accumulation process (the perpetual reinvestment of profits to maximize return) is integral to capitalism. Foster's books, which every progressive planner needs to look at, include *What Every Environmentalist Needs to Know About Capitalism* (with Fred Magdoff), *The Vulnerable Planet* and *The Ecological Rift* (with Brett Clark and Richard York).

Foster shows how, other than during short periods of global depression, capitalism results in increasing levels of energy-intensive economic activity with a host of unavoidable and expanding environmentally harmful externalities. This resulting environmental havoc, especially the increasing levels of the greenhouse gas emissions responsible for climate change, is merely the unaccounted cost of doing business. Foster further argues that these externalities cannot be eliminated through careful planning, product substitution, government regulations or programs such as a carbon tax.

Climate change denial is not limited to those who argue that global warming is a hoax or only results from natural fluctuations. Foster explains that denial includes those who claim the cause of climate change is not found in the capital accumulation process and instead, point to population growth. He identifies another form of denial among environmentalists who do not dispute that capitalism is the cause of climate change but who maintain careful planning and regulation can successfully overcome the non- and anti-ecological features of capitalism through a no-growth capitalism.

Foster further argues that established approaches to mitigate climate change, such as product substitution, technological efficiency, international treaties, localization, environmental regulation, pricing, personal self-restraint and even adaptation, will fail because of the basic operations of the capitalist economic system. In his view these "no-growth" models of capitalism are both theoretically and practically impossible.

The conclusion is inescapable. The circle cannot be squared and no efforts to create a green capitalism—in terms of broad programs that result in reduced per capita greenhouse gas emissions sufficient to bring CO_2 levels below .350 ppm or even a safer target of .250 ppm—will succeed. These strategies are all intended to allow "economic growth" to continue and are, therefore, self-defeating in averting climate change.

Problems Facing Planning and Alternatives to Capitalist Growth

Foster carefully examines the option of rigorous economic planning to create an ecological capitalism. He sees many practical problems, not just theoretical barriers to these green capitalist utopias. For these reasons he argues that production solely to meet

Dick Platkin teaches at the University of Southern California Price School of Social Policy: platkin@usc.edu, www.plan-itlosangeles.blogspot.com

human needs, including a livable environment, is an impossible goal under the current economic system:

1. The capitalist system is so inherently unstable and, therefore, prone to unpredictable economic, political, military and now climate crises, that these rapidly unfolding events effectively thwart rational planning.

2. The capitalist economic system requires an enormous sales and marketing effort to overcome its perpetual glut of overproduction, including severe crises of overproduction. While the economic system is capable of prodigious production, it is extremely limited in distribution and consumption.

3. Planned obsolescence is built into the capitalist system with enormous waste resulting from discarded products and production lines, especially as the product development cycle has become so compressed.

4. Luxury goods are produced for an opulent minority.

5. The class contradictions of the capitalist system require a huge penal and police system to control the working class and enormous military establishment to confront insurgencies and inter-imperialist competitors.

6. At the financial level the economic system has developed elaborate speculative instruments that accelerate the business cycle and magnify climate-related disruptions, such as the floods and droughts that hamper agricultural production.

7. Technology produces toxic waste at all steps of the production process: extraction, shipping, fabrication, distribution, sales, use and disposal.

8. Many products are cheap (e.g., plastics) but highly destructive at all stages of production. Packaging and containers comprise half the price of goods. For cosmetics and household goods the price is even higher.

Planning, the Urban Growth Machine and Climate Change

Foster does not, however, explain how the capital accumulation process operates at the municipal level, and how the myriad of local greening schemes now being planned and implemented are inadequate or could potentially be enhanced to succeed. While other researchers, in particular Harvey Molotch in *Urban Fortunes* and Tom Angotti in *New York for Sale,* have identified the capital accumulation process as the driver of the urban growth machine, especially through speculative real estate investment and supportive infrastructure, we still do not have a clear understanding of the environmental implications of this process and how the city planning profession has played a deliberate or unintended role. We can, however, use Foster's global insights in understanding and changing urban environments.

While liberal city planning's major achievements, such as sanitation, parks and open space, mass transportation, public housing, the War on Poverty, Model Cities and the Great Society, have improved the quality of life for most urban residents—and temporarily reduced inequality—the planning profession's acquiescence to militarism and auto-centric cities has played a major, ongoing role in the generation of the greenhouse gases responsible for climate change. These are the climate consequences of "redevelopment," traditional zoning, shopping centers, freeways, suburbs and single-family homes. Megastorms, such as Hurricanes Katrina and Sandy, did not just happen, but are a result of enormous industrial processes, including the construction of vast, sprawled metropolitan regions.

John Bellamy Foster presenting at the IAMCR 2013 Conference, Dublin City University, June 2013

In the next phase of this dangerous progression, neoliberal planning has been more than complicit in the generation of urban real estate bubbles. In parallel with cutbacks, furloughs, spying and policing, it actively promotes the deregulation of zoning, environmental review, and mitigation programs.

> While liberal city planning's major achievements have improved the quality of life for most urban residents, the planning profession's acquiescence to militarism and auto-centric cities has played a major, ongoing role in the generation of the greenhouse gases responsible for climate change.
>
> •

As a result, neoliberal land use rationales, policies and practices ensure that the generation of greenhouse gases will seamlessly continue onward from the liberal era. While neoliberal planning tolerates beneficial but peripheral programs—such as design review, streetscapes, biking, tree planting, community gardens, and recycling—

this is because these popular programs seldom interfere with the urban growth machine and the larger capital accumulation process. In fact, sophisticated developers have learned that they can garner support for their detested mega-projects by offering local critics such "community benefits" as parklets, temporary jobs, speed bumps, landscaped median strips and occasional meeting rooms.

From the standpoint of both the environment and equity, liberal and neoliberal planning has failed in the United States. The role of progressive planners is, therefore, to explain this failure and then offer alternative planning approaches that can actually make a difference. Beyond a critique of the planning profession and sharing an explanation of how its history, even when well-intentioned, has contributed to the current and projected climate crisis, there are some options that we must now analyze, develop and explain in accessible language.

Option 1 is the eco-socialist vision advanced by John Bellamy Foster in which the purpose of production is consumption and the entire production process is carefully assessed to eliminate the many excesses and environmentally harmful externalities that Foster inventories. But, what would eco-socialist cities look like? On this topic Foster is vague, but we have the conceptual tools and knowledge to develop his vision. While the steps from a political vision to achievement of the enormous political victories that would make eco-socialist cit-

ies possible are intricate, a clear vision does make that overwhelming process more attainable.

Option 2 is what we can call utopian seeds and they are likely to become a major component of eco-socialist cities. These include experimental ecological communities as well as the programs—such as biking, community gardens and playgrounds—that I labeled as peripheral under neo-liberal planning. But, these "crumbs-off-the-table" can grow into major components of urban life under different circumstances, such as eco-socialist cities.

Option 3 is the fight backs that so many progressive planners undertake, usually when they are contacted by local communities involved in campaigns to resist liberal and neoliberal planning projects. From experience we know that few of these campaigns are, in themselves, victorious. We also know that in those rare cases the urban growth machine, in its economic and political dimensions, still grinds on and on. But, our challenge is not just to offer our technical and political skills to local communities, but share our insights and visions of alternative cities in which these perpetual campaigns would no longer be necessary.

These three alternatives to liberal and neo-liberal planning are already underway, but without our continuous help there is no guarantee that any of these approaches will succeed. Likewise, there is no guarantee that they will fail and this open future is what should drive us. **P²**

Limits and Opportunities in Post-Disaster Recovery

Lessons from Past Disasters and Actions Toward a Just Metropolis

Nabil Kamel

THERE IS A GROWING ACCEPTANCE among disaster scholars today that post-disaster outcomes tend to be less favorable among disadvantaged social groups than for the rest of society. This is especially the case among the poor, minority, women and elderly and is reflected in almost every recovery indicator including housing, employment, injuries, and mental health. While current disaster responses typically replicate the status quo and reinforce inequalities, community-based approaches were able, under specific conditions, to chart a different recovery path and generate positive transformative change. Progressive planners can learn much from these alternatives.

The Social Construction of Disasters

When hurricane Katrina battered the city of New Orleans and im-

Nabil Kamel is an assistant professor in the School of Geographical Sciences and Urban Planning at Arizona State University. He has a PhD in urban and regional planning from UCLA and his work deals with the reproduction of uneven development in post-disaster recovery, spaces of resistance in the city and insurgent planning practices.

ages of its poor, black, elderly, and disabled residents left behind in a drowning city were broadcast worldwide, everyone realized what sociologists have been saying for decades: disasters are not natural but social phenomena. Disasters are social phenomena in at least two respects. The first is like the "observer effect" of quantum mechanics where the observer alters the thing they are observing. A natural phenomenon or event turns into a disaster only when it intersects with human life in one form or another. A hurricane in the middle of the ocean or an earthquake in an uninhabited area is not a disaster but a natural phenomenon, just like the explosion of a star in another galaxy. It is only when humans place value on the losses caused by the natural event that it becomes a disaster, whether it is the human death toll or the destruction of a coral reef.

Second, disasters are socially constructed in the sense that they are caused by human actions that are taken (or not taken) before, during, and/or after the occurrence of the natural event. In the case of planning for example, these actions can include flawed mitigation, preparedness, and prevention measures related to existing hazards, incompetent management of emergency response, or inadequate recovery efforts. As such, disasters can be defined as temporary but extreme stresses on social systems that cause essential needs to be in excess of existing available resources. It is the notion of temporary versus permanent damage to normal life that distinguishes disasters from catastrophes.

The Politics of Disaster Recovery

This understanding of disasters started to take shape in the early 1980s in the wake of a series of major disasters such as the 1984 Union Carbide gas leak in Bhopal in India, the 1985 Mexico City earthquake and Hurricane Gilbert in the Caribbean. These disasters were particularly revealing from several viewpoints:

- Inadequate government agency responses undermined the claim of governments as legitimate administrators of social order;

- Collusion between governments and businesses can amplify human and material losses;

- Abandoned and neglected marginalized communities exposed a distinct pattern of uneven disaster losses and of uneven recovery outcomes that is clearly defined along race and class lines and

- Finally, the resilience of marginalized communities in the face of persistent adversities highlighted the importance of alternative forms of organizing post-disaster recovery.

In the United States, the genealogy of contemporary disaster policy and mainstream research can be traced to the post-war period when the Cold War and the "Red scare" placed the survival of the (capitalist) state at the center of disaster-related efforts. Unfortunately, this approach to disaster management has outlived that period and continues to inform disaster planning and policy today. In fact, one of the main functions of post-disaster government programs is to maintain social order and to restore "normalcy"—defined as pre-disaster conditions. This is why, in the aftermath of a disaster, financial assistance to individuals and families is based on uninsured losses rather than on unmet needs. Also, market forces—through private investments, insurance premiums, real estate values, and risk assessment—are considered the primary drivers of post-disaster recovery and through pricing they regulate future development in relation to risks.

In reality however, private investments tend to shy away from low-income communities, especially during periods of economic contraction. On the other hand, during a booming housing market, speculative investments are likely to outpace planning controls, cause gentrification, and displace low-income residents. Under both conditions, private investments inadequately address recovery and reconstruction needs of poor communities. As a result, post-disaster outcomes in the United States (as well as most countries today) tend to reproduce—if not exacerbate—pre-existing inequalities and exposure to hazards.

West Oakland: A History of Resistance

Having said that, there are instances when post-disaster recovery has brought about progressive change and generated positive developmental outcomes. One of these instances is the case of the West Oakland neighborhood after the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake in California. When the 6.9 magnitude earthquake hit the San Francisco Bay Area in Northern California, it caused the death of 63 people and over $6 billion in damage. Most of the fatalities occurred when the double-decker Cypress Viaduct portion of Interstate 880 in West Oakland collapsed, killing 42 people.

The freeway was built in the 1950s and local residents adamantly resisted the construction of the Cypress Viaduct section that tore through their African American community. This resistance came at a time of high political activism with the Black Panthers leading that movement. After the Loma Prieta earthquake, CALTRANS, the state of California Department of Transportation, decided to re-build the Cypress Viaduct in its same location. The decision ignited long-standing resentment and the community mobilized to oppose the reconstruction plans. A coalition that included local residents, business owners, environmental groups, and the very same Black Panther leaders of the 1960s now in their later years but still as dignified and militant for their community rights. This coalition had also the support of the mayor of Oakland, Lionel Wilson, the first African American mayor of Oakland.

Together they were able to convince CALTRANS not only to change the freeway alignment to bypass the neighborhood, but also to retain a portion of construction jobs locally and to train local residents to meet job requirements. The previous freeway site was re-named Mandela Parkway and got a modest landscaping facelift. While the character of West Oakland has been transformed significantly by the gentrification that took place during the last housing boom, traces of the urban struggle of the 1950s and 1960s are still discernible in the scars left by the old freeway alignment and by a strong level of community organizing.

Canoga Park: A Networked Community

Another example of progressive change in unexpected places is the case of Canoga Park following the 1994 Northridge earthquake in Southern California. Canoga Park is one of the poorest communities of the San Fernando Valley with

above average concentrations of Hispanic minorities, elderly, and low-income households. Just a few miles away from the earthquake epicenter, homes in Canoga Park sustained considerable damage. Because the earthquake hit during a period of real estate lull, a significant number of homeowners had negative equity—i.e., with a mortgage amount that was greater than the property market value—and walked away from their properties.

Two community-based organizations in the valley stepped in to deal with what became known as the "ghost town" syndrome. The first was the West Valley Community Development Corporation (WVCDC), a non-profit corporation founded one year after the earthquake to address unmet needs in the community and linked to the well-established Our Lady of the Valley Catholic Church. WVCDC was able to cobble together funds from several public and private sources and acquired and rehabilitated 8 single-family one-bedroom units that were red-tagged (condemned) and made them available for low-income and elderly residents. It also rebuilt a 12-unit affordable housing apartment building in Canoga Park.

The second organization was New Economics for Women (NEW), which was started ten years earlier by the Comisión Femenil, an organization of Latinas for the social, political, and economic advancement of women with a history of active involvement in the San Fernando Valley. NEW had a more ambitious vision for its involvement in Canoga

Park. It reclaimed an abandoned Water and Power site and built the 119-unit affordable Tierra del Sol project. NEW combined the housing development with a charter elementary school for 520 students from kindergarten through fifth grade; a 3,500-square-foot learning center with after-school instruction; a 12,800-square-foot community center; and a comprehensive set of social and educational programs for all ages. In order to finance the project, NEW pieced together a number of public grants, tax credits, earthquake funds, and private donations and it was not until 2001 that significant progress started to be made.

Lessons for Progressive Change

Several factors enabled positive post-disaster outcomes in both the Canoga Park and Oakland cases. These factors included strong personal contacts, well-established formal and informal organizing, experienced and dedicated professionals and academics, a coalition of diverse interests, the creative use of public and private resources, and about 10 years for tangible results to materialize. Both cases also show how a number of non-planning institutions (formal and informal) were able to reinvent themselves and carry out urban planning and post-disaster recovery activities in the aftermath of the disaster. This was possible because these institutions were well respected within their communities. They had established ties with local agencies, politicians and other organizations, which allowed them to leverage resources and access information. They also were able

to find support from planning professionals and academics or had staff with planning backgrounds.

The lessons from these two cases for planning actions that can lead to progressive change include:

a) attention to preparing and mobilizing resources, people, and communities at various scales and locations;

b) systematic sharing of information regarding various arenas where progressive action is likely to be realized as well as other ones that need further strengthening;

c) proactively selecting and engaging issues that maximize the chance of successful progressive change;

d) creating constant pressure on abusive, exploitative and fraudulent practices and institutions; and

e) seeking common ground and building tactical alliances with developers, policymakers, investors, consumers and media and revising notions that treat them like homogenous and monolithic blocks. These actions apply not only to post-disaster recovery, but in fact are possible only when they are included under "normal" conditions and embedded in everyday practices.   P²

Vulnerability and Risk in the Metropolis of the Periphery

Everyday Life in Brazil's Cities

Erminia Maricato

As I write these lines an unprecedented movement spearheaded by young people is taking to the streets of Brazilian cities. The protest started in opposition to a proposed increase in the fares for public transportation. The demands have expanded to a wide range of targets. There are many interpretations of what is happening. A dispute is emerging over the presidential election of 2014 and representatives of the political right, center and left are on the streets. Despite this diversity of protesters, however, one thing is clear: the urban question is at the center of events and there must be a change of course. The presentation I made at the Planners Network/Left Forum panel revealed the main causes underlying the explosions that occurred only a few days later and that led thousands of young people into the streets across the country.

The Cities of Peripheral Capitalism

Floods, landslides, massive traffic jams, increased violence, organized crime, segregation, urban sprawl, continuous flooding, and pollution of air and water. Along with the illegal occupation of marginal land by the poorest people and the exponential growth of the population living in slums, these are the conditions found in the cities at the periphery of capitalism.

Erminia Maricato is a Professor at the School of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo: www.erminiamaricato.net; erminia@usp.br

Excluded from the formal housing market, many people occupy sand dunes, mangroves, protected natural areas, watersheds, and the unstable banks of rivers and streams. What in other places might be considered "disasters" are everyday realities.

No matter what you call it—underdeveloped country, southern country, dependent, peripheral, semi-peripheral, developing or emerging—the cities in countries like Brazil continue to function in a way that challenges the new conceptions that they are "newly developed" countries. While modernization advances it is also delayed, a characteristic of peripheral capitalism throughout the history of Brazil, now repeated in the latest phase of globalization.

These are some of the main features of cities on the periphery of capitalism: social inequality and spatial segregation, lack of state control over land use in the city, illegal production of housing by low-income populations (which in some cities can be the majority of the population), a real estate market that is highly speculative and restricted to a portion of the population, and precarious and inaccessible public services. The process of (late) industrialization that occurred in Brazil was characterized by low wages. The production of the illegal city by the residents themselves contributed to the reduction in the cost of labor and therefore favored capital accumulation in many multinational capitals during the second half of the twentieth century, when urbanization and industrialization of the country accelerated. Brazil grew at rates higher than 7 percent between 1940 and 1980 without, however, guaranteeing the civil and social rights of its people.

Brazil's Land Use Reforms

In response to the self-built illegal city, Brazil now has a detailed planning law aimed at bringing about change. But the law lives within a bureaucratized state, which is also slow in acting. In this context, the problems with urban planning are greater. The state is also dominated by traditional patronage as well as influence from economic interests from outside the country.

Since the 1980s, Brazil underwent a remarkable transformation with dramatic changes in demographic, urban, environmental, social and economic conditions. In towns, neoliberal guidelines restricted public investments in social policies, which deepened historic social injustice. As economic growth ebbs, unemployment and violence are increasing. Between 1980 and 2010 the homicide rate rose 259 percent. In 1980, the average number of murders in the country was 13.9 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants but by 2010 it had increased to 49.9.

Paradoxically, it was during this period that a new urban policy flourished, supported by social movements, researchers, architects, lawyers, engineers, social workers, parliamentarians, mayors and non-governmental organizations. They developed the Urban Reform Platform and many municipalities developed a "new type" of democracy and new urban practices. Besides prioritizing social participation—with participatory budgeting, for example—city governments started to face the problems of illegal or informal areas that until then were invisible in urban planning and public administration. This movement succeeded in creating a new legal framework for land use policy, housing, sanitation, urban mobility and solid waste, and new institutions such as the Ministry of Cities, the Council of Cities and the National Urban Conference.

Economic Growth, Persistent Inequality

With the election of Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva as President of Brazil, the economy and employment bounced back and the government introduced social policies to combat poverty and hunger. These included the *Bolsa Familia* program, which subsidizes poor families, Payroll Credit (*Credito Consignado*), Energy For All (*Luz Para Todos*), *Pro-Uni* (scholarships for poor university students) and *PRONAF* (support for family agriculture). The minimum salary increased 55 percent in real terms between 2003 and 2011. The official poverty level decreased from 37.2 percent in 1995 to 7 percent in 2009. However, inequality persists: the poorest 10 percent earned 1.1 percent of all revenue produced in the country, while the top 10 percent got 44.5 percent of the total.

The federal government launched plans for the resumption of economic growth and the recovery of investments in the economic and social infrastructure through the 2007 Program to Accelerate Growth. In 2009 it launched a housing program called *Minha Casa Minha Vida,* which included subsidies for housing aimed at sections of the population whose income ranged between zero and five minimum wages. This program was designed by Dilma Rousseff—then a leading official and now Brazil's President—and entrepreneurs of the real estate and construction sectors. The intention of the federal government was to cope with the economic crisis of 2008 and contain the possible decline in employment. The exemption from taxes for various branches of Brazilian industry was also part of a federal anti-cyclical economic policy.

Despite all of the legal and institutional advances after nearly 30 years of absence of urban policy by the federal government, Lula resumed investments in housing and sanitation on a significant scale. Paradoxically, this has had disastrous results. It appears as if urban policies are not part of the national agenda. Cities were seen as places for investments to fuel economic growth and employment without regard to urban and environmental consequences. The new urban reforms, once supported by social movements, seemed to evaporate with the decline of the movements whose leaders were swallowed up by government and other institutions.

With a highly speculative real estate market, urban spatial segregation was renewed. In São Paulo, the price of real estate increased 153 percent between 2009 and 1012. In Rio de Janeiro the increase was 184 percent. A

part of the middle class was included in the residential market but not the many layers of urban households who have the greatest needs for housing. Urban land remains hostage to the interests of real estate capital. Violent evictions, unthinkable only a few years ago, were resumed. Fires in slums became more frequent, especially in large areas valued by real estate developers.

The New Crisis of Mobility

The deficits in the urban transportation sector have exacted the greatest sacrifices of the population, especially the poorest people who live in the peripheries of metropolitan areas. Since the 1980s, government at all levels has not paid attention to urban transportation needs. The precarious situation of public transport in Brazilian cities is associated with record car sales, driven by rising incomes and tax exemptions for cars, and this has led to record traffic jams. In the last five years (2007–2012), the number of cars has almost doubled, causing congestion that has social, economic and environmental consequences. Only recently has scientific research revealed the numbers of health problems caused by cars and air pollution. In the City of São Paulo, in 2011, 1,365 people died in traffic crashes; the figure for Brazil was approximately 40,000.

The average travel time by public transport is two hours and 42 minutes. For one third of users it is more than three hours. Yet almost 40 percent of all trips in Brazilian cities of more than 60,000 inhabitants are made on foot. Due to a the lack of money or a lack of transportation, young poor people live in exile on the outskirts of large cities under pressure from violent police and drug trafficking.

No official document on urban mobility policy states that the automobile is the preferred mode of transportation, but in fact it receives more subsidies when compared with public transportation or other non-motorized options. Most urban infrastructure projects are for roads. Lobbies for big construction contractors dominate municipal budget considerations and this is directly related with the logic of electoral campaigns.

Urban Problems of Peripheral Capitalism

To solve our urban problems in Brazil we have laws that are celebrated around the world. We have plans, at least in all cities with over 20,000 inhabitants. We have the technical knowledge, experience in urban management and we have sophisticated proposals for urban policies. But we don't have enough power to implement them. This is one of the many problems we face at the periphery of capitalism.

Cities are, by definition, places of workforce reproduction. Urban space is also used for the reproduction of capital. There is a deep conflict between these roles. The appropriation of profits, rents and interests in the production or use of urban space competes for public funds with social policies for transportation, housing, sanitation and health. This competition also leads to the social exclusion of those who are forced to make the greatest sacrifices due to poor living conditions and the risks they must live with in the urban environment.

Mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup or the Olympics, both planned for Brazil in coming years, only make things worse. They bring with them a tsunami of capital and force cities and their governments to make absurd expenditures. Afterward, the events leave their host cities with white elephants, as happened in South Africa, China and Greece after their international games.

People living in the cities at the periphery of capitalism continue to experience high risks and vulnerability to disasters. This historically and socially constructed condition worsened with the neoliberal policies that led to the containment of public spending (during the 80s and 90s), and also increased when urban policy was ignored in favor of economic growth. The vulnerability of the poor increased due to the speculative housing boom, the exponential increase in the number of automobiles, and the neglect of public transportation.

P²

Confronting Mass Incarceration

Scott Humphrey

A T THIS MOMENT, more than 2.4 million people are being held in jails, prisons and work camps across the United States. Historically unprecedented in scale, we are witnessing what a growing number of scholars and activists call "mass incarceration." At a per capita rate, as well as in absolute terms, the United States incarcerates more of its people than any country in the world. The extent to which this problem affects one social group in particular, men of color, means it reaches beyond individuals and families to disrupt communities and society as a whole. At the Planners Network national conference in June, two panels focused on understanding this issue and ways in which progressive activists and professionals can work to bring about fundamental change. They pointed to problems of planning's passive acceptance of incarceration, as well as the progressive potential of planning to help organize opposition and reframe debates.

Justice and Organizing

We started our conversation in the Saturday morning session titled "Justice and Organizing: Professional Communities and Mass Incarceration." Raphael Sperry of Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR) began by framing the scale of the problem. According to Bureau of Justice

statistics, of the more than 2.4 million people in this country in jails, prisons and work camps, about 40 percent are African American, compared to less than 14 percent in the nation's general population. The United States also distinguishes itself from its political and economic counterparts in the OECD with its use of capital punishment and solitary confinement.

To Sperry, understanding the role of design professionals in contributing to this system is vitally important. ADPSR is at the forefront of an organizing campaign to revise the American Institute of Architects' (AIA) Code of Ethics to condemn spaces that are designed to violate international human right standards, in particular, execution chambers and solitary confinement cells. Sperry convincingly argued that when professional architects and planners either actively participate in their creation, or passively look the other way when peers do so, they effectively grant these inhumane spaces their stamp of approval. If we do not take action to oppose the places where mass incarceration, capital punishment and solitary confinement happen we silently reaffirm the status quo.

Amy Fettig of the ACLU represents one of the many groups that have endorsed Sperry and ADPSR's campaign. The ACLU is in the midst of an organizing effort to end 23 hour per day solitary confinement in the United States, which in many cases exceeds the 15 day period established by international human rights standards as a maximum to avoid permanent mental harm. In a series of moving images, Fettig illustrated the stark reality of life inside a solitary cell. For many of us in attendance, these pictures helped to demonstrate the truly egregious conditions in which thousands

Scott Humphreys is a graduate student in Urban & Regional Planning at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. He can be reached at humphreyscott49@gmail.com

suffer for months and, in some cases years, without natural light, recreation or human interaction.

Confronted with such images and the testimony of individuals like acclaimed author and activist Mumia Abu-Jamal who currently sit on death row or in solitary confinement awaiting decades of incarceration or execution, it can be difficult to understand the perspective of decision makers, political leaders and officials who defend the current penal system. In her remarks, panelist Charlene Sinclair of Union Theological Seminary encouraged the participants to grapple with Judith Butler's concept of *cultural intelligibility,* the notion that normative values are imposed through the lens of the dominant contemporary culture, to address this complex issue. The behavior of key actors in our coercive legal and penal institutions, including probation officers, lawyers, judges, law enforcement officials and policymakers, is filtered through a lens of *intelligibility* that informs what they view as possible. As the dominant lens in contemporary American society remains white, male and heterosexual, the range of possible actions will, in most cases, limit individual behavior to that which reproduces racist, gendered and heteronormative claims on power.

No New Jails in Champaign County

This insight was provocative as I reflected on the work that I have been doing in Illinois as a member of the "No New Jails in Champaign

County" campaign. As we began our conversation in the afternoon panel titled "Confronting the Police State in Central Illinois," I began to rethink the *frameworks of intelligibility* that influence key players in our local context, including the county board, sheriff and chiefs of police.

More than one year ago, key elected officials in Champaign County were aligned on a plan to expand the newer satellite jail in an effort to replace what was widely described as an old and obsolete downtown jail. They viewed new jail cells as the obvious response to crowded and substandard conditions in the current facilities. At that time, the only question was the scale of the expansion: how many beds? Without any effort to engage broader human service, educational or community group participation, they proceeded with internal dialogue and began to talk numbers; the county administrator claimed $22 million could be available for jail financing. In a rural Midwestern county, this is a significant debt obligation that would limit financial flexibility over the coming decades, almost certainly making it more difficult to increase spending on programs for populations with special needs.

Last summer, a "Project Planning Group" that included the sheriff and county administrator attended a conference out of state that educated them on how to build a jail, including a seminar on tactics to limit citizen interference. Facility building was the only option that was *intelligible* to officials at that time; as a result, they pursued a jail expansion

fervently. Thanks to the presence of a progressive county board member who was a leader of racial justice organizing in the community, we learned of their quickly unfolding plans and began to mobilize.

In the course of about a year, their momentum has been derailed and a holistic criminal justice system needs assessment is underway. Due to a coalition of progressive activists in the community that includes elected officials, students and faculty at the University of Illinois and long-time citizen watchdogs, people across the county are having a much broader conversation about the role of jails within the context of public safety. As the campaign grew, so too did our understanding of the various effects of current penal/legal practices on different populations. Advocates of individuals with mental illness (who make up as many as half of the people in the jail according to the sheriff) now had a space where they could dialogue with residents of neighborhoods targeted by racist policing to swap stories and share concerns.

Planning students, in particular, contributed to the campaign by producing reports on the incarcerated population, mapping their home addresses and describing the extent to which your chances of being locked up in Champaign County depend more on where you live and your skin color than the severity of your offense. African Americans are disproportionately represented in the jail system by a factor of more than four times their share of the county's general population. Perhaps

more strikingly, more than a quarter of those incarcerated come from just a few neighborhoods in the northern part of the city of Champaign.

As information from reports aligns with the experiences of families and neighborhoods, more people in the county are beginning to make demands on their elected officials, contributing to a growing swell of activism. As we assert a stronger presence at meetings, in task forces and in local media, we begin to influence the range of options that elected officials can pragmatically pursue. In a sense, we make alternatives to the contemporary legal/penal system more *intelligible*. Seen this way, planners, design professionals and activists play an important role in producing alternative visions to realize a just city.

A Progressive Agenda

The PN conference provided a crucial forum for discussing mass incarceration that I hope we build on in the years to come. For those who principally oppose the racist, classist and sexist norms of our current legal/penal system, we must work actively to confront the various institutions through which that system functions. This means supporting the campaigns of ADPSR and the ACLU but going well beyond a harm reduction model that seeks to limit the worst aspects of our current system.

As we oppose the construction of new jails, immigrant detention facilities and state and federal prisons,

we should actively produce alternative visions of criminal justice. This means that planners must become knowledgeable advocates of approaches to public safety that replace the conventional model of facility building. We should pause to learn from those who favor restorative justice as a victim-centered practice that removes the mandatorily punitive reins from the hands of people like sheriffs and judges. As we come together to share ideas in conferences and through articles in *Progressive Planning,* let's link campaigns with compelling models of alternative practices that move us in a coordinated, concerted direction to break down coercive institutions and promote justice and equity across the United States.   P²

Resources

For more information on Champaign County's "No New Jails" Campaign, please visit:
   http://nationinside.org/campaign/stop-jail/

For more on the subject of mass incarceration and African Americans, interested readers should check out Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Era of Colorblindness* (New Press, 2012)

ACLU's Stop Solitary Campaign:
   http://www.aclu.org/we-can-stop-solitary

ADPSR's Ethics Reform:
   http://www.adpsr.org/home/ethics_reform

Harold Washington's Leadership Legacy

Xolela Mangcu

I N THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS since I finished my dissertation on Harold Washington as the first African American mayor of Chicago, I have been struck by the near-absence of any reference to his legacy for the city. This elision is rather odd given his decisive intervention in transforming Chicago from a city governed through a combination of patronage and racism under Richard J. Daley's Democratic Party machine to one that was more open, inclusive, and diverse. But why would there be such silence over an experience that Pierre Clavel and Wim Wiewel have described as "one of the high points in the history of American cities?" Why would there be such grudging recognition of Harold's legacy given the city's economic turnaround around under his stewardship—the city had successive balanced budgets, its bond ratings was upgraded to A by Standard and Poor's for the first time in twenty four years and by Moody's for the first time in thirteen years. My own suspicion is that Harold Washington's memory is as contested as his election was, and is therefore better left unmentioned. It behooves those who worked with him or appreciated his leadership of the city to speak out about his legacy.

I came to Cornell as a former student activist involved in the liberation movement's search for alternative models of local government. But I was not the only South African to be inspired by Harold Washington's

story. I recently interviewed retired Supreme Court Judge Albie Sachs about his visit to Chicago in 1992 as part of a high level ANC delegation:

> "[T]here were about ten of us members of the Constitutional committee of the ANC, travelling through the United States meeting a variety of people who could give us information and viewpoints useful for the drafting of a new constitution for South Africa . . . and about two thirds of the way through we spent a couple of days in Chicago. . . . The organizers of the trip had sensibly decided that we would find it interesting to meet people who had been involved in the Harold Washington administration of Chicago. And we did. My memory is of meeting people who were filled with a glow of achievement. . . . One of the people addressing us used a phrase of Harold Washington's I have never forgotten: 'No one, whoever you are, will escape my fairness.'"

This emotional response to Harold Washington was not captured in many of the evaluations I was finding in the city planning literature. In that literature there were mainly three less-than-satisfied responses. First, planners argued that Washington did very little to alter structural inequalities in the city. In his Ph.D. dissertation, under the same supervisor as mine, Ken Reardon argued that Washington failed to alter the structure and patterns of local economic development in Chicago. Barbara Ferman wrote that "Washington altered some components of the regime, i.e., its composition, overall orientation and ordering priorities. But the institutional framework and larger political culture, and their influence on political behavior remained

Xolela Mangcu is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Cape Town, and author of the recently published *Biko: A Biography* (Cape Town, Tafelberg Press, 2012), the first comprehensive biography of the martyred anti-apartheid activist. His email address is xolela.mangcu@uct.ac.za

unchanged." David Ranney argued that the existence of a Black mayor such as Harold Washington allowed private developers such as J. Paul Beitler to continue making fortunes "while at the same time preventing out and out rebellion by Black and Latino communities."

Second, the critics argued that because of the focus on the person of the mayor there was no long term institutional legacy to speak of after Harold's death. Manning Marable wrote that "Washington had failed to identify a logical successor who would support and defend the progressive accomplishments of his administration … the charisma of a Harold Washington was no substitute for an effective political organization, which could have kept together the various class and ethnic forces that had challenged the Democratic machine during the 1980's." Future U.S. President, Barack Obama, who had been inspired by Washington's election to relocate from New York to Chicago, noted that "There was no political organization in place, no clearly defined principles to follow. The entire [sic] of black politics had centered on one man who radiated like a sun. Now that he was gone, no one could agree on what that presence had meant." In a recent interview, one of Washington's most trusted advisors, Hal Baron, wistfully said that "When Harold died we did not really have an organization."

Third, and related to the last point, was that Harold was not in office long enough to effect lasting changes in Chicago, and that no sooner was he dead than the machine resurrected itself. Thus Barack Obama likened his funeral to "a second death" as the political vultures hovered over the carcass of the body politic: "but power was patient and; power could outwait slogans and prayers and candle-light vigils."

However, this narrative of despair did not turn me off. I was aware Albert Hirschman's observation that "the social energies aroused during the course of a social movement do not disappear when that movement does. They are kept in storage but become available to fuel later and sometimes different social movements." For Hirschman, and for me in this case, "in a real sense, the original movement must therefore be credited with whatever advances or successes were achieved by those subsequent movements: no longer can it be considered a failure." I knew this in more than a scholarly sense, from the experience of South Africa's Black Consciousness

movement. Despite failing to provide a robust materialist critique of apartheid, leaving no organizational infrastructure behind and Biko dying too soon, the movement had still produced a consciousness that made it possible for a new generation of leaders to emerge.

I was also persuaded in a scholarly sense by Raymond Williams' argument that the distinction between the base (the economy) and the superstructure (political order) that seemed to inform much of this narrative would not be of much use in getting to grips with my research topic. Williams had argued that "in failing to grasp the material character of the production of a social and political order, this specialized materialism failed . . . to understand the material character of the production of a cultural order." To Williams, the concept of the superstructure was then not a reduction but an evasion. I therefore set out to Chicago with mainly one question in mind: "what could Harold Washington have left behind that the materialists evaded?" Could there be other ways of looking at Harold Washington's long term impact on his followers that were different from those of the planners?

Within the constraints of Chicago's capitalist political economy and the patronage and racism bequeathed to the city by the Daley machine, Harold Washington set out to achieve two main objectives. The first was the redirection of city resources away from downtown real estate development to neighborhood development. The second was to increase minority representation in

Photo: Steve Kagan/Gamma Liaison

Harold Washington

city government. These objectives would be achieved through participatory and open government.

Harold's success in redirecting city resources, as well as federal community block grants, to the neighborhoods has been well documented. What has not been well narrated is how this shift to the neighborhoods affected the political culture of the city. Having been part of the political and policy process the neighborhoods could not be expected to take a backseat. An example is the budgeting process. Under Harold's administration the city had open and participatory budget processes, which was a departure from the days when the respective aldermen and the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club decided how city funding would be distributed. While the power of this Club has been restored since Harold's death, the situation could never go back to what it was before Harold. For example, communities now participate in the Aldermanic Menu Program, which gives each of the city's fifty wards $1.32 million to spend on capital improvements (street repairs, sidewalks, curbs, lighting etc). While the funds can still be manipulated to strengthen the hands of the aldermen, some wards have adopted a participatory budgeting approach to the use of these funds. It is also politically smart to do so in the context of a much more assertive neighborhood political culture. Recently, Rahm Emmanuel launched the Small Business Advisory Council to promote small business growth in the neighborhoods. However, Emmanuel is facing growing community anger over plans to close schools in some of the poorest neighborhoods in the city.

One of the organizations responsible for the rise in neighborhood consciousness was Project Vote, which Obama joined after a recommendation from the mayor's office. It was during his time at Project Vote that he entertained the idea of switching roles and become the candidate himself. The opportunity came when Alice Palmer publicly announced that she was giving up her State Senate seat to concentrate on her efforts to run for the U.S. Congress. The rest, of course, is history as Obama scaled the political ladder of Illinois and then U.S. politics.

In an interview with National Public Radio's Cheryl Corley, Obama captured my view about Harold

Washington's impact on the consciousness of a new generation of leaders: "Watching him as a larger-than-life figure and seeing the impact he had on the confidence of the African-American community, it had a lasting impact on me. And I suspect that was the first time when I fully appreciated the potentials of a political figure, not just to pass laws, but also to change people's attitudes." The impact went beyond the African-American community—a women's commission was established and women and Latinos were appointed to head several city departments. Or as Kari Moe put it to me during the course of my research:

> "You will never get an administration as white as it was pre-Harold. That's one standard where the clock could not be rolled back. Once Harold had been mayor the wall of photographs would not be the same because there you would have Harold's picture and you have the Harold Washington Library and every black child in Chicago now has this hero."

And now the three most senior political officials of Cook County come from Harold's coalition: Toni Preckwinkle is the president of Cook County, and has done such a good job in her current position that she stands a chance of being re-elected. She will not be drawn on whether she might challenge Rahm Emanuel in 2015. She remembers the days she worked in Rob Mier's economic development department. "I was still a munchkin then," she says. Yet another member of Harold's coalition, Jesus Garcia, is now Treasurer of Cook County. Garcia was one of the Latino activists who lobbied Harold to run for office because of his progressive position on Latino affairs while he was still State Senator. David Orr, the present Clerk of Cook County, was one of the 21 aldermen on Harold's side during the notorious Council Wars—when a group of 29 led by the racist and corrupt Ed Vrydolyak blocked the mayor's policy initiatives at every turn. Vrydolyak is now serving a prison sentence for corruption-related charges. Orr was also the author of the city's first ever Ethics Ordinance. He was mayor for a week after Harold's death while the City Council tried to maneuver about who should succeed. They finally installed Eugene Sawyer as their preferred candidate against Harold's ally Tim Evans. Between the two of them, Sawyer and

Evans split the African-American vote, and Richard M. Daley would become mayor for the next 22 years.

There would be a change of culture in City Hall under Daley but even he had to take care not to alienate the neighborhoods. He vowed to retain the city's affirmative action programs, which remain Harold Washington's lasting legacy. Daley also retained some of the women staff Harold had hired including Valerie Jarrett, who in turn hired Michelle Obama in the planning department under Daley. Meanwhile Obama, who had taken a break from community organizing to study at Harvard, returned to Chicago in 1993 to work for Harold's former Corporation Counsel Judd Miner, who was now running one of the better known civil rights law firms in the city. Jarrett, who came from a prominent African American family in Chicago, introduced the Obamas to the Daleys and members of his network now running the city. It was a new machine that relied less on local patronage than on global banker money. Driving its strategy was Harold's former media strategist David Axelrod.

It was from a combination of this network and Black community support that Obama began to rise to national prominence. The network consisted of powerful and individuals lawyers, bankers, media—closer to John Mollenkompf's growth elite than Harold Washington's community based coalition. To be sure, Obama had the instinct for community organizing from the day he moved to Chicago, the home of community organizing in the United States, but he lost that connection when he went into office. It is that instinct that is behind his decision to resuscitate Organizing for America (OFA). The group was originally set up in January 2009 as part of Obama's consolidation of his volunteer network. However, he allowed it to lapse during the course of his first term, a mistake common to many people who assume office on a wave of popular support, and a mistake Harold Washington was careful not to make. OFA's resuscitation in 2013 as a non-profit agency—now known as Organizing for Action—is aimed at recovering ground lost to conservative groups in his first term.

No one really knows if Harold Washington would have behaved differently had he stayed longer in power or had he sought higher office. What we do know, in the words of Dick Simpson, is that "Harold paved the way for Barack, but Barack is no Harold." P²

Planners Network on the Web

Currently available at www.plannersnetwork.org:
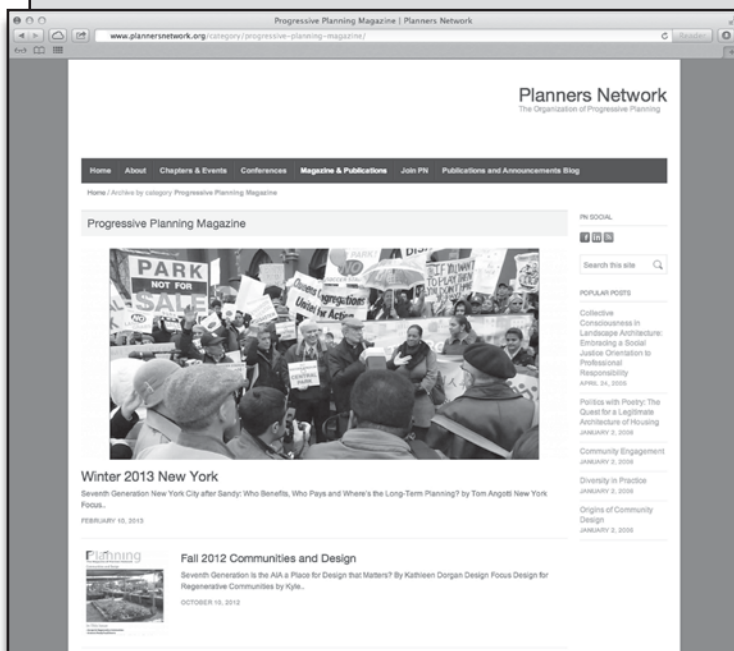
The latest e-Newsletter

Downloadable student Disorientation Guide

The latest Individual Membership Directory

Local PN Chapter details

Information on Young Planners Network

Over 200 articles from *Planners Network Magazine* and *Progressive Planning* from 1997 to the present

PDFs available of all issues 2001 – 2011

PDFs of current year issues (PN members only)

13 Case Studies and Working Papers

Planners Network issue statements

Planners Network History

Join **Planners Network**

Back Issues

Back issues of *Progressive Planning* are available (in print).
Visit our web site for a full description of the issues and details of how to order.

$10 – Single issue
$8 – Each for more than one

Order at
www.plannersnetwork.org

Or send a check to:

Planners Network
106 West Sibley Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY 14853, USA

Join the Conversation, Join the PN LISTSERV

You'll find new ideas, debates, and news of jobs and events on our lively Listserv. *Be part of it.*

Free to members and non-members.

To join send an email 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.

How to Advertise

Reach progressive planners around the world by placing your ad in *Progressive Planning*.

Reasonable rates, big impact.

For rates, closing dates, sizes and other details check *www.plannersnetwork.org*

The Planners Network Statement of Principles

The Planners Network is an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social, economic, and environmental planning in urban and rural areas, who promote fundamental change in our political and economic systems.

We believe that planning should be a tool for allocating resources and developing the environment to eliminate the great inequalities of wealth and power in our society, rather than to maintain and justify the status quo. We are committed to opposing racial, economic, and environmental injustice and discrimination by gender and sexual orientation. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, jobs, safe working conditions, and a healthful environment. We advocate public responsibility for meeting these needs, because the private market has proven incapable of doing so.

We seek to be an effective political and social force, working with other progressive organizations to inform public opinion and public policy and to provide assistance to those seeking to understand, control, and change the forces which affect their lives.

Join the *Progressive Planners Network* and Receive all these Valuable Benefits!

- 4 Quarterly Issues of **Progressive Planning Magazine**

- The monthly **Members Only e-newsletter** — filled with job openings, events and conference calendar, member updates, online resources, and more

- **Full and Free Access** to over 10 years of online PN archives

- **News** about PN events

- **Discount** for the annual PN Conference

USA		Canada	
$25	Students, community activists, and income under $25,000	$25	Students, community activists, those unemployed, and low income
$35	Income between $25,000 and $50,000	$35	Income between $25,000 and $50,000
$50	Income over $50,000	$50	Income over $50,000, organizations and libraries
$100	Sustaining Members	$100	Sustaining Members
$200	Super-Sustainers	$200	Super-Sustainers
$1,000	Lifetime Members	$1,000	Lifetime Members
$50/yr	Organizations and libraries		

International Members: Please send US funds only.

- -

Your Information

NAME

TITLE   FIRM/INSTITUTION

ADDRESS 1

ADDRESS 2

CITY   STATE/PROVINCE   ZIP/POSTAL CODE   COUNTRY

EMAIL (FOR QUERIES)

❍ **Current Member** ❍ **Renewing Member**

Payment

❍ **PayPal** at www.plannersnetwork.org
This is simple, saves us money, and you don't have to send in this form! Note what you are buying in the "payment for" box.

❍ **Check** Enclosed payable to Planners Network

Mail *completed form to: Planners Network, 106 West Sibley Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, USA*
Fax *order to: 607-255-1971*

progressive Planning

The Magazine of Planners Network

In This Issue—

- **Placemaking in New Jersey**
- **Harold Washington**
- **Confronting Mass Incarceration**

Iana's Bench: Made for Tony Galento Plaza Day, and one of the inspiration's for the Battle of the Benches at Placemaking 3, Orange, New Jesey.

Time to Renew?

Please check the date on your mailing label and if it is past, this will be your last issue unless we receive your annual dues **RIGHT AWAY!** See inside back cover for minimum dues amounts. And while you're at it send us an UPDATE on what you're doing.

M O V I N G ? Please send us your new address.

www.plannersnetwork.org