

Progressive Planning

The Magazine of Planners Network

Progressive Planning at the Border



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- **The Right to the City**
- **Crowdfunding**
- **Latin America's *Third Left***

The Seventh Generation

In 1848, abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass condemned "...the present disgraceful, cruel, and iniquitous war with our sister republic. Mexico seems a doomed victim to Anglo Saxon cupidity and love of dominion."

Social Justice at the Borders

Tom Angotti

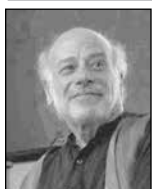
THE 2014 PLANNERS NETWORK CONFERENCE in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, held jointly with the Congreso Internacional de Planificación y Estudios Urbanos (International Congress on Planning and Urban Studies), highlighted the issues and problems of the divided transborder metropolis of Ciudad Juárez (Mexico) and El Paso (USA), places separated by an imposing border wall and checkpoints.

Our encounters in Ciudad Juárez highlight the serious consequences of having a militarized border dividing a large metropolitan region with economic and social ties that transcend the border. Urban planners need to speak out against the unjust consequences of U.S. border policies and call for more equitable economic, social and urban policies for this border region.

Why Border History Matters

It is impossible to understand anything about the daily life of the people who live and work in the Ciudad Juárez/El Paso area without setting it in the larger context of economic, social and political inequalities in the U.S. and Mexico.

- The United States has the most powerful military in the world, which stands behind the biggest economy in the hemisphere. Since its westward expansion in the 19th century, the U.S. has predominated in its



Tom Angotti is Professor of Urban Affairs & Planning at Hunter College, co-editor of *Progressive Planning Magazine*, and author of *New York For Sale: Community Planning Confronts Global Real Estate*.

relations with Mexico. This included the capture of both indigenous and Spanish-held territories and a war with Mexico, which resulted in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, events that were consistent with a wider expansionary vision that drove U.S. domestic and foreign policies. Throughout the 20th century, the U.S. backed military dictatorships and counterinsurgencies throughout Latin America, while Mexico often mediated between the nations to its north and south. By the end of the century, however, forces within Mexico allied with global capital and moved to dismantle the social welfare guarantees established by the Mexican Revolution.

- After the dramatic victories of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, President Richard Nixon launched the "war on crime." This became a rallying cry for a coordinated attack on black and Latino communities in the U.S. The "war on drugs" was a central part of this so-called war on crime, and resulted in the massive incarceration of young people of color while the majority of drug users, who are white, were largely left alone. The "war on drugs" went international as the U.S. financed counterinsurgency efforts under the guise of drug eradication and interdiction. To this day, the U.S. refuses to accept responsibility for reducing drug consumption or shift from its failed military strategies to one of reducing demand in the U.S., as proposed by many Latin American governments including Mexico.
- The 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement marked the triumph of neoliberal policies in Mexico. From the start it was an imbalanced agreement that gave the U.S. and Canada most of the

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ERRATUM:

Credit for the cover photo for Issue No. 199
(Spring 2014) was omitted. The photo is by
Teresa Vázquez.

ON THE COVER

Ciudad Juárez as seen from the bridge
crossing the border from El Paso, Texas.

Photo by Gabriel Fumero



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PN 2014 in Ciudad Juárez, México

Thank you for Joining Us at the Border

María Teresa Vázquez Castillo, Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez

WITH STATEMENTS that “in the 21ST century borders have expanded beyond defined international borderlines, and they have penetrated into cities, suburbs, towns and rural areas all over the world” and that “planning in today’s globalized spaces implies dealing with multiple borders,” the 2014 Planners Network Conference “Planning at the Borders” invited participants to “cross over and join us at the border.”

Due to the period of violence that Ciudad Juárez witnessed in previous years, some might have hesitated to attend the conference. It did not help that the United States and Canadian governments maintain travel advisories about crossing into Ciudad Juárez. In addition, other conferences and events taking place at the same time might have prevented some fellow progres-

sive planners from attending and participating in this experience. Despite the challenges, conference participants arrived at the El Paso airport, where students from the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez (UACJ) picked up most of them and took them to their hotels.

Peter Marcuse from Columbia University previewed the conference on June 4 with a talk entitled *Critical Research and the Politics of the Just City* at the Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF), which kindly co-sponsored the conference along with the Universidad Autónoma de



María Teresa Vázquez Castillo is a research/professor in the Instituto de Arquitectura, Diseño y Arte at the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, currently designing a bilateral project for planning education across borders.



ABOVE
Peter Marcuse, Fran Price, Marie Kennedy and Chris Tilly

RIGHT
The Cathedral and the Plaza de Armas in downtown Ciudad Juárez.

Photo: Gabriel Fumero

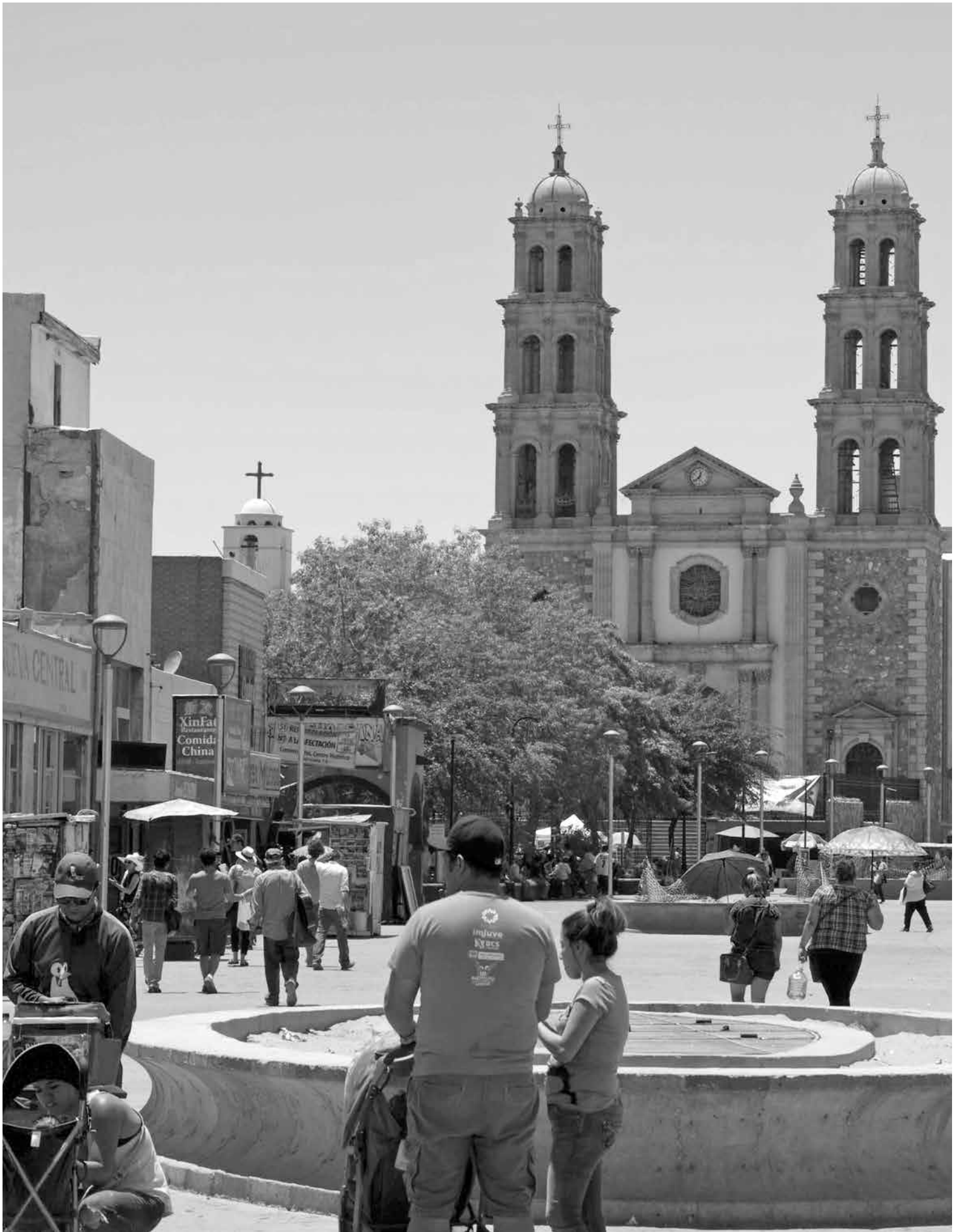


Photo: Gabriel Fumero



Photos: Gabriel Fumero



Photo: Gabriel Fumero

LEFT TOP

Thirteen simultaneous panels scheduled throughout Saturday, June 7, dealt with cross-border planning and cooperation, public transportation, housing, public space, gentrification, natural resources, indigenous groups, and urban agriculture.

LEFT BOTTOM

Tom Angotti inaugurated the conference and welcomed the Planners Network participants.

RIGHT TOP

Conference co-organizer Norma Rantisi (center) was among the audience for Thursday's keynote roundtable.

RIGHT CENTER

A presentation of the *Plan Estratégico de Juárez's* projects was the happy result of a mechanical failure on the first city tour.

RIGHT BOTTOM

Joint meals and activities with the CIPEU, an academic event that the Instituto de Arquitectura, Diseño y Arte (IADA) from the UACJ organizes annually, let participants from both conferences get acquainted.

Ciudad Juárez (UACJ). On June 5, Tom Angotti from Hunter College and university officials inaugurated the conference and welcomed the *Planners Network* participants. The program continued with a tour around the periphery of the city led by Miguel Fernández, the president of the *Plan Estratégico de Juárez*, a non-profit, nonpartisan organization that is developing numerous projects aiming to promote community participation and “a better city.” The air conditioning of the bus stopped working halfway around the city, while we experienced a temperature of 107°F. A misfortune quickly became a rich opportunity for the group to return to the offices of the *Plan Estratégico de Juárez* and listen to a thorough presentation about the *Plan*’s projects and a subsequent question-answer period with *Plan* officials Sergio Meza and Miguel Fernández.

Planners Network had programmed joint meals and activities



Photos: Gabriel Fumero



Photo: Gabriel Fumero



Photo: Gabriel Fumero

with the *Congreso Internacional de Planificación y Estudios Urbanos* (CIPEU), an academic event that the Instituto de Arquitectura, Diseño y Arte (IADA) from the UACJ organizes annually, so that participants from both conferences could get to know each other. After the session at the *Plan Estratégico de Juárez*, we returned to the Centro Cultural Universitario for a joint meal with CIPEU participants.

Later that day we had the first Keynote Roundtable entitled *Planning at the Ciudad Juárez-El Paso Border from Women's, Youth, and Children's Point of View*, moderated by Sandra Ramírez from the *Plan Estratégico de Juárez* with Susan Leticia Baez from the Gender Studies Program at UACJ as discussant. This session included Maru Hernández and Cynthia Bejarano from New Mexico State University. Maru spoke about immigrant children and Cynthia about women's activism and the femicide in Ciudad Juárez. Paula Flores, who founded Fundación Sagrario, gave testimony about the disappearance of her daughter Sagrario and her struggle to demand justice in the midst of impunity. Bety Lozoya from UACJ and Salvador Cruz from COLEF presented their work with youth. Youth, children and women are not usually included in planning and this session was aimed at making their points of view visible.

Friday was another hot day (107°F) that started with a binational tour that I led. Participants were to take a *rutera*, walk around downtown Juárez and cross the border into downtown El Paso, Texas, to replicate the trip that many Juárezenses

take to go to work everyday in El Paso. The *ruteras* are recycled U.S. school buses painted in different colors according to the route they take. They do not have air conditioning, are fast and efficient, but not as modern as buses in El Paso. We got off at Calle Juárez and walked down this regionally famous street that used to be a busy site of restaurants, bars, and medical services and that now is in disrepair but still very busy. We walked over the bridge and crossed the border. Once at the U.S. customs line, immigration officers stopped and interrogated Mathieu, a student from Denver. He faced a routine that people from Juárez often experience when crossing into the United States. After waiting 20 minutes for his release, we continued the tour and walked into downtown El Paso, which is separated from downtown Ciudad Juárez by only a seven-minute walk across the Santa Fe International Bridge.

On our way back, we visited the historic core of Ciudad Juárez, full of national and binational history, abandoned and dilapidated by waves of economic crisis and the recent period of violence.

LEFT TOP

A *rutera*, a recycled U.S. school bus, painted to indicate the route it serves, waits on Calle Juárez.

LEFT BOTTOM

The author leads a group on the Calle Juárez segment of the binational tour.

RIGHT TOP

This cross (black on pink background) painted on Father Rahm Street in downtown El Paso, TX, is perfectly titled *A Mural Protesting Femicide in Ciudad Juárez*.

RIGHT BOTTOM

A poster with photos of young missing women in Ciudad Juárez. A similar poster appears on the vacant storefront window at left.



Photo: Marie Kennedy



Photo: Marie Kennedy

Nevertheless it remains vibrant and filled with people. Another *rutera* left us right in front of the Centro Cultural where we joined CIPEU participants for a meal.

The second Keynote Roundtable of the conference, entitled *Planning at the Ciudad Juárez-El Paso Border: From Community Development to Bilateral Collaboration*, started with César Fuentes from COLEF as moderator. The roundtable provided a thorough analysis of planning in the region. Leti Peña from IADA/UAJC talked about her work in the neighborhood of Riveras del Bravo and Sergio Meza talked about the community development activities of the *Plan Estratégico de Juárez*. Salvador Barragán from the Instituto Municipal de Investigación y Planificación (IMIP) discussed the city's downtown revitalization plan. Sallie Spener from the International Border and Water Commission introduced the topic of bilateral planning of water resources. Sergio Peña from COLEF concluded

with a talk on bilateral planning and collaboration at the border.

Manuel Valenzuela Arce from COLEF-Tijuana gave the CIPEU's closing keynote speech on *Cities and Memory: Social Identities at the Mexico-US Border*. Friday, June 6, was the last day of the CIPEU conference and

ended with a joint dinner with Planners Network participants.

Saturday, June 7, was a day of PN panels and workshops. Thirteen simultaneous panels scheduled throughout the day dealt with cross-border planning and cooperation, public transportation, housing, public space, gentrification, natural

Special Membership Offer— Join Progressive Planners Network and receive:

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Register by January 1, 2015 to take advantage of this special promotion on annual membership rates in Mexico.

See page 51 for complete offer details and to register.



Photos: Gabriel Fumero

ABOVE AND RIGHT

Conference attendees from UACJ. All are invited to view photos of the conference by Gabriel Fumero, and share their own photos, at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/planners_network/.

resources, indigenous groups, and urban agriculture, among others. The complete program is at: <http://plannersnetwork2014.wordpress.com>

Peter Marcuse started the conference and also ended it with a provocative and thoughtful keynote speech entitled *Borders Between Whom and For Whom? What Role for Planners*. Afterwards, we closed the conference with a reception that served *Juárenses burritos*.

The 2014 Planners Network conference demonstrated that a trilateral (Mexico-United States-Canada) effort to bring progressive planners to Ciudad Juárez was possible in spite of the stigma attached to the city, adverse travel advisories, many busy schedules, the 107°F heat wave that lashed out across the city during the conference, and other minor vicissitudes. In Mexico, UACJ and COLEF were supportive key institutions; in Canada, Norma

Rantisi from Concordia University was an outstanding conference co-organizer; in the United States Tom Angotti and all the participants in the conference were solid pillars of Planners Network, an association that promotes change and advocates public responsibility. When PN members and non-members alike crossed the border and joined us in Ciudad Juárez, change and

public responsibility were clearly visible. Thanks to all of you on behalf of the conference organizers!!!

Finally, I am happy to announce that the Ciudad Juárez chapter of Planners Network (*Red de Planificadores de Ciudad Juárez*) was created on Thursday, June 27, the first PN chapter in Mexico! **P²**



Photo: Chris Tilly

In 107°F heat, a group toured the periphery of the city led by Miguel Fernández, the president of the *Plan Estratégico de Juárez*.



Photo: Gabriel Fumero

Progressive Planning at the Border

Peter Marcuse

The following is from Peter Marcuse's closing plenary speech at the PN 2014 Conference in Ciudad Juárez.

THE BASIC PROBLEMS we have seen here include low wages, poverty, poor housing, insecurity, inadequate infrastructure, inequality and corruption. What are the causes? They heavily involve the economy's dependence on *maquiladoras*, and the domination of foreign capital, which relies on a differential wage structure.

This is in turn enabled by the existence of a heavily policed border separating Ciudad Juárez from the stronger and wealthier power to its north, the United States. It is a border legitimated by a natural boundary, the Rio Grande River. But a boundary such as a river is not a border; on the contrary, a river is a natural geographic reality that historically brings people together rather than dividing them as, for example, in cities such as London or Paris, or nations such as Egypt. A border is artificial, made by humans, and imposed as a result of conflict to oppress or defend against oppression. A border is a wall reinforcing differences; a boundary is a seam, a melding of differences. A border is an exercise of power; a boundary is a peaceful transition.

The Rio Grande has clearly been made a border, and reflects the exercise of political and economic power. Whose power, and at whose expense? Good planning

has to answer that question, if it is to be implemented. In this case, to put it crudely, the border benefits capital, largely outside capital, permitting it to exploit the workers of Ciudad Juárez, paying them less than they would earn north of the border. The workers of Juárez pay for the existence of that border and capital north of the border benefits.

There are non-spatial borders involved here as well, divisions within each side of the border, that need to be examined to get clear on who benefits and who pays, thus who is on what side in the conflict over power. The walls and the borders run not between the peoples, but between, above and below them. And there are certainly sharp lines of conflict between those who benefit and those who suffer. The conflicts are between forces on opposite sides of the border, and within each side as well, conflicts that need to be frontally faced and dealt with.

The ultimate solution needs to be the removal of the wall that borders create, and a change in the power relations that both produce it and use it to further their power. That won't be done overnight, it will be a painful process and it is understandable why it is not highlighted in much that we have heard. We say glibly "we" should do this and "we" need do that, but we is not everybody; interests conflict sharply along the way to resolution. Not all sectors of society will be happy with any given solution.

Real change also involves changes at the national and maybe international level, as well as – in fact much more than – changes at the local level. But planners operate overwhelmingly at the local and regional level.



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

So what can planners, and Planners Network, propose that would make a difference, and point toward that ultimate goal of eliminating that wall, recognizing that the first priority must be dealing with the critical, immediate problems? If the cause of the problems is an imbalance of power, what power do planners have to influence that imbalance? Indeed, what can any group of the less powerful do by confronting those with more power?

Two things are needed to produce major changes from below: the *desire* to make changes and a *position of strength* from which to bring it about. Thus, there are subjective and objective prerequisites to making fundamental change. I deal with the subjective for planners here.

The desire to make change is an internal matter for planners including their own consciousness of the problems, the sharpness of their analysis, the composition of their own profession (which needs to include far more Spanish-speaking, immigrant, and women planners, reflecting the diversity of their constituents), and their collective commitment to an ethics of social justice underlying their work. They need to do the analysis that exposes who is doing what to whom, who the supporters of change are and who the opponents are: who is the 1% as well as who is the 99%. They need to adopt a code of ethics that mandates a commitment to make the issues of inequality, injustice and oppression a priority. That commitment is at the heart of planning and is what Planners Network has been dedicated to from its origins.

Seven Tasks for Planners

I can see seven critical tasks facing us as we pursue the necessary changes.

Task 1. Clean our own house. Strengthen within planning itself the commitment to social justice and the desire and will to bring about fundamental change. We need to be in Ciudad Juárez with our colleagues and friends in planning. We need to help them organize, support their efforts and, specifically, work jointly day to day with them to deal with those problems the borders create for them and for us – problems

which, after all, were largely created on our side of the border, not theirs. A Planners Network chapter in Ciudad Juárez might be one possibility.

Task 2. Deepen our analysis of the nature of the problems faced here, specifically those created by the border, for which, after all, we have some responsibility. In the last few days, I think we've all become aware of the complexity of the problems and the questions that remain unanswered. We might help address these questions:

- Exactly how do the economics of the border work?
- What profits are made from its existence, and precisely by whom?
- What changes could be made now, within existing border arrangements, and what changes depend on changing or eliminating those borders?

Task 3: Go public and publicize our work. We need to recognize that the desire and the necessity to change need to be understood and owned by more than just planners themselves; ultimately, only the power of the 99% is strong enough to produce the kind of change that is needed. So whatever conclusion we come to with our analysis, we need to document it, explain it, go public with it, and publicize it. But we can't believe that just because we've presented a compelling logical argument for change, change will occur. Real change cannot rely on the benevolent understanding of those in power to accept changes that will very often be against their own self-interest.

So we need to go public with our analysis and our exposés. We have to use the media, work with all segments of the public we can reach, inform, spread the knowledge of alternatives and help overcome powerful forces that impose their will and benefit from the supposed apathy of the majority. And we (planners) need to reach those we disagree with, such as the Tea Party in the United States, as well as in Mexico.

Task 4: Support change. We should use whatever power we have, as professionals, even as outsiders, to support change. In the course of ordinary events this may include: public hearings, expert testimony in lawsuits, public speaking and consulting reports. We

need to be clear on the big picture, the ultimate objective, and shape immediate proposals to be transformative so that every proposal ends with what more is needed. In other words, all plans and proposals should be transformative and lead to the ultimate goals.

Task 5: Joint U.S.–Mexico work. For those of us in academia or connected with it, we should propose joint work between U.S. and Mexican planning schools and urban programs, joint statements of our professional associations (a policy statement formulated after this conference and signed by both sides might be a first step).

Task 6: Go global. We can help put urban issues back on the agenda of international NGOs and global institutions, where others at this conference have shown them to be virtually absent.

Task 7: Look at some wild ideas! We could really do a visioning exercise that imagined a single city comprising Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, with no borders between them. This could be a joint planning studio. It could propose how the city could be laid out, what uses encouraged, what regulated, how decisions could be made, people involved. It could look at what funds might be made available by the disappearance of the border. This may be a vision, perhaps a utopia, but it could make clear the cost of having the border. Another possible project could be to analyze the impact a minimum wage law in the state of Chihuahua might have on employment in the *maquiladoras*, and help a move towards the equalization of wages on both sides of the border. This could be an eye opener to wider alternatives. Also, we could study real estate transactions and prices, see what role they play in attracting businesses to Ciudad Juárez, see if real property taxes accurately capture the true value of real estate and are sufficient to meet the service needs created by new investment and suggest changes.

We do not as planners have much power, but neither are we powerless.



7th Generation: *Social Justice at the Borders*

By Tom Angotti

continued from page 2

economic benefits and led to substantial deficits for Mexico's urban and rural populations.

- In Mexico, “free trade” opened the door to powerful corporations from the North that flooded the Mexican market with cheap goods and drove many Mexican farmers and small producers out of business. Many of the displaced immigrated to the North, providing an abundant source of low-wage labor that lacked access to many services and basic human rights.
- With the contraction of the U.S. economy after the financial crisis of 2007, Mexican and other immigrants from Latin America faced an even more precarious situation and while some returned to their nations of origin, many stayed and faced a xenophobic, anti-immigrant climate that went from demonization and racial stereotyping to detention and forcible repatriation. Spurred on by a right-wing nativist campaign, documented and undocumented workers and their families became scapegoats for the ills of an ailing U.S. economy. In response to this situation, Planners Network issued a statement in 2010 in opposition to Arizona's draconian law that targeted immigrants (www.plannersnetwork.org/2010/04/arizona-immigration-law/).
- After the 2001 attack on the World Trade Center, U.S. immigration policies became even more heavily militarized than before. Along the border with Mexico, and at enormous expense, giant walls, buffer areas, surveillance equipment and heavily armed border guards became the norm. At the same time, changes in the geography of the drug trade and the ever-ineffective “drug war,” dramatically increased the level of violence and crime in Mexico and other Latin American countries. Ciudad Juárez became one of the most violent places. It became a battlefield that resulted in the kidnapping and murder of innocent people who became collateral damage. This included women and children on such a scale that many speak of *feminicide*, *youngenocide*, and *genocide* in Ciudad Juárez. The violence has ebbed in large part because of the grassroots organizing and resistance by residents, who reclaimed their city from the armed com-

P2

batants, and an often vicious government campaign. However, the larger forces driving the violence are still in play.

Meaning of the border for planning and what planners can do

Ciudad Juárez and El Paso are two parts of a single metropolitan area sharply divided by the Mexico-U.S. border. Especially after NAFTA, capital transfers across the border became much more fluid as barriers to investment from the North were removed. Goods flowed more freely across the border as tariff barriers came down. However, no such freedom was allowed for labor. On the contrary, and particularly after 2001, labor faced more restrictions.

“Free trade” in practice, therefore, applies to goods and capital while labor has fewer freedoms. Mexico is the junior partner in NAFTA, and corporations in the U.S. and Canada get to take over Mexican markets while at the same time insuring for themselves low labor costs on both sides of the border. The unequal partnership is exemplified by the foreign-owned industries in Ciudad Juárez (known as *maquiladoras*) that pay low wages to Mexican workers who live in housing and communities lacking basic urban services in the periphery of the city. Every day thousands of higher-paid workers and managers commute from El Paso to Ciudad Juárez, highlighting the social divides reinforced by the border.

From the point of view of urban planning, the controls at the border – a 14-foot fence, surveillance cameras, sensors and patrols – are a major obstacle to the development of an efficient, effective and just metropolitan region. They affect the everyday lives of residents and workers on both sides, often negatively. The car and truck emissions at the border crossings affect air quality on both sides. The public health consequences and losses in productivity are of concern. Children who commute across the border to their schools also face much longer days. Every Mexican crossing the border, however, faces the possibility of detention and incarceration, and those who seek to evade the official crossings face the further possibility of injury and death at the hands of border patrols and vigilantes.

The Rio Grande river constitutes the international border, but a water treaty between the two countries continues to ignore severe problems of water supply and water quality in Ciudad Juárez. A more comprehensive regional solution that deals with water on both sides of the border is needed.

As Peter Marcuse noted in his keynote speech, there is a big difference between boundaries and borders. Boundaries are physical demarcations and lines on a map; borders divide communities and nations.

People everywhere have a right to the city, but when borders inhibit the exercise of these rights we need to reclaim these rights, advance a vision of borderless border metropolises, advance progressive planning cooperation across borders, join the movements for the protection of human rights for the border and immigrant populations, share our experiences and build support for more equitable cities.

Given the long legacy of the unbalanced relationship between the U.S. and Mexico, and the depth of the unjust economic and political relations between Mexico and its two powerful neighbors to the north, what can be done at the local level? How can planners in the U.S., Canada and Mexico engage these issues? How can planners in Ciudad Juárez and El Paso help to lay the groundwork for a more just metropolis?

These questions can help frame future collaborations and it is important that Planners Network play a role in stimulating them.

P²

North American Organizations Promoting Trans Border Solidarity

IN THE U.S.

Immigrant Solidarity Network, <http://www.immigrantsolidarity.org/>

National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, <http://www.nnirr.org/drupal/>

National Immigration Law Center, www.nilc.org/

IN CANADA

Immigrant Workers Centre, <http://iwc-cti.org>

No One is Illegal, <http://www.nooneisillegal.org>

Solidarity Across Borders, <http://www.solidarityacrossborders.org>

The Right to the City

Strategic Approach for the Post-2015 and the Habitat III Global Agendas

Lorena Zárate

Right to the City

The Right to the City movement has taken off in every region of the world, as people organize to prevent being displaced and to improve the quality of life in the places where they live and work. The idea was first crafted in 1968 by Henri Lefevre in Paris, when urban rebellions showed that organizing around urban issues opened up new potentials for revolutionary change. This global movement, however, has vastly different meanings, in both theory and practice, in different regions of the world and in urban realities that have vastly different histories and cultures.

We offer here two views of the right to the city, one from Mexico City by Lorena Zárate and another from New York City by Tom Angotti. Both were part of a workshop on The Right to the City at the 2014 Planners Network Conference in Ciudad Juárez.

[The Right to the City is] *the right to change ourselves, by changing the city.*

—David Harvey, 2008

DURING RECENT YEARS, documents of all kinds keep repeating the same ground-breaking facts: for the first time in human history, half of the global population – around 3.5 billion people – now live in cities; by 2050, it is expected that 70 percent of us will live in urban areas, albeit with many differences between and within regions and countries.

There is an abundance of pages dedicated to more or less detailed



Lorena Zárate is the president of Habitat International Coalition (HIC), Mexico City (hicpresident@hic-net.org www.hic-net.org).

This is an excerpt and slightly revised version of “The Right to the City: Struggles and proposals for urban reform,” in Heidi Moksnes and Mia Melin (eds), *Claiming the City: Civil Society Mobilisation by the Urban Poor*, Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2014. Available at: www.csduppsala.uu.se/publications/outlook-on-civil-society/

A similar text was published by the UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service on May 2, 2014 on its website: <http://www.un-ngls.org/spip.php?article4430>

diagnoses and descriptions of a reality that, clearly, did not come out of the blue. But it is increasingly difficult to find analyses about the underlying causes of urbanisation. The tendency to population concentration is not only *not* questioned; it is perceived as irreversible, our ‘urban future.’ There are oscillating, extreme and polarising views that do not suffice to thoroughly explain our surrounding reality; from the aphorisms that exalt the urban way of life and the role it plays in relation to rural areas – ‘development engines,’ ‘hope magnets’ – to the apocalyptic denouncement that we are on our way to having a ‘planet of slums.’ In both cases, there is little said about the distinct responsibility of various social actors, about the relation between the rural and the urban worlds or about the nuances and possibilities to transform the process.

The concentration of economic and political power is a phenomenon of exploitation, dispossession, exclusion and discrimination whose spatial dimensions are clearly visible: dual cities of luxury and misery; empty buildings and people without a decent place to live; land without *campesinos* (peasants) who are subjected to agro-businesses;

and private appropriation and accumulation of commons goods, resources and wealth that were collectively created. The conditions and rules currently present in our societies are globally condemning more than one third of the world population to live in absolute poverty. The inequalities are increasing both in the so called *developed* and *developing* countries. Impoverished neighbourhoods, so called urban slums, are home of at least one third of the population in the global South. In some Latin American and African countries, it could reach 60 percent or more.

It is not new to anyone that, especially in the last 25 years, many governments have abandoned their responsibility for any urban-territorial planning, leaving 'the market' to freely operate the private appropriation of urban spaces, almost without any restriction on real-estate speculation and exponential revenues. Thousands of families have been put under the unbearable threat of eviction, without any alternative, with particularly devastating effects on women and children.

At the same time, many current regulations ignore, or even criminalise, people's individual and collective efforts to obtain a decent place to live. In the South, between 50 and 75 percent of the available living space is the result of people's own initiatives and efforts, without any or with very little support from governments and other actors. In many cases, these initiatives go against many 'official' barriers. Instead of supporting those popular processes – what we define as 'social production of habitat' – our states have created conditions to guarantee that a few private housing developers make profits.

The Cities We Want: Struggles for the Right to the City and Urban Reform in Latin America and the World

For a long time now, we have been talking about the urgent need of an urban reform that is in solidarity with the agrarian reform. The main elements of a democratic, inclusive, sustainable, productive, educational and livable city have been part of the debates, proposals and concrete experiences of social movements, national and international civil society networks, trade unions, academic institutions and human rights activists in different Latin American countries for the last

50 years. Urban reform, and the Right to the City, are now present both in theoretical and legal frameworks and as platforms for action, social mobilisation and articulation of alternatives in other regions as well.

The Earth Summit (Rio de Janeiro 1992), Habitat II (Istanbul 1996) and the First World Assembly of Inhabitants, *Rethinking the City from the People* (Mexico City 2000) were important moments for the articulation of actors and the development of concrete proposals. Undoubtedly, this process has gained new strength and expanded in size and content since 2001 in the *World Social Forum* (WSF). Thousands of people, and dozens of organisations and networks, UNESCO and UN Habitat included, have since participated in discussions, preparations, signing and dissemination of the *World Charter for the Right to the City*, defined as the equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of sustainability, democracy, equity and social justice.

Parallel to these civil society initiatives, some governments at regional, national and local levels have created instruments to protect and realise human rights in the urban context. Some of the most progressive ones now in force include the European Charter to Safeguard Human Rights in the City (2000), the City Statute of Brazil (2001), the Montreal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities (2006), the Constitution of Ecuador (2008) and the Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City (2010) promoted by the network United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG).

At an international level, the Right to the City was taken up as official motto by the Fifth World Urban Forum, organised by the UN Habitat in Rio de Janeiro in 2010, and offered a series of massive and multi-actor activities of promotion, reflection, debate and training. Simultaneously, in unprecedented joint efforts and thanks to the role played by the National Forum for Urban Reform (Brazil) at the local level, we decided to summon the first Social Urban Forum. From both events came declarations which include a great deal of our postulates and proposals. These achievements may certainly be considered important; at the same time, this is the moment to stay active and alert to protect the collectively defined contents and move forward towards its effective implementation.



According to available studies, around 60% of the housing in Mexico has been built by the people (social production of habitat); similar percentages can be found in several countries of the Global South.



The emergence of thousands of units overnight, usually located at an over one-hour commute from the city centre, is conceived more as “plantations of houses” than as new towns or cities.



Policies affecting land and space are a key tool to reproduce or change the huge inequities affecting our societies; what kind of citizens and democracy are we producing in these *apartheid cities*?

The Mexico City Charter

The government of the Federal District of Mexico City joined the growing list of supporters after signing the *Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City* on July 2010, as a result of an advocacy process led by the Urban Popular Movement (*Movimiento Urbano Popular-MUP*). This was supported by the Habitat International Coalition-Latin America (HIC-AL), the Mexico City Commission for Human Rights and the Coalition of Civil Society Organizations for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (*Espacio DESC*). Forming an organizing committee, they have during the past years encouraged the participation of an estimated 5,000 citizens in the elaboration of the Charter through various events and consultations.

Its promoters agree that this instrument aims to confront the most profound causes and manifestations of exclusion: economic, social, territorial, cultural, political and psychological. It is explicitly posed as a social response, counter to city-as-merchandise, and as an expression of the collective interest. It is without any doubt a complex approach that demands the linking of the human rights theme in its integral conception – civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights – to that of democracy in its diverse dimensions – representative, distributive and participative.

As specified in its Preamble, the formulation of this Charter has the specific *objectives* to contribute to the construction of an inclusive, livable, just, democratic, sustainable and enjoyable city. It wishes to stimulate processes of social organisation, to strengthen the social fabric and to construct an active and responsible citizenship. Furthermore, it promotes the construction of an equitable, inclusive and solidary urban economy that guarantees productive insertion and economic strengthening of the popular sectors.

The strategic foundations and proposals that are formulated – as they are being conceived – should be valid for human settlements of any size, both urban and rural. Their contents are not only a catalogue of rights, more or less isolated, but show the enormous efforts to account for the complexity of a comprehensive view to and from the territory:

1. Full exercise of human rights in the city

A city in which all persons – children, youth, adults and the elderly, including girls and boys and women and men – enjoy and realise all human rights and fundamental freedoms, through the construction of conditions of collective well-being with dignity, equity and social justice. National, provincial and local governments must define public policies according to human rights commitments as included in the international instruments.

2. The social function of the city, of land and of property

A city whose inhabitants participate to assure that the distribution of territory and the rules governing its use guarantee equitable usufruct of the goods, services and opportunities that the city offers. It is a city in which the collectively defined public interests are prioritised, guaranteeing a socially just and environmentally balanced use of the territory.

3. Democratic management of the city

A city in which its inhabitants participate in all decision spaces – reaching to the highest level of public policy formulation and implementation – as well as in the planning, public budget formulation and control of urban processes. It refers to the strengthening of institutionalised decision-making – not only citizen consultancy – spaces, from which it is possible to do follow-up, screening and evaluation of public policies.

4. Democratic production of the city and in the city

A city in which the productive capacity of its inhabitants is recovered and reinforced, in particular that of the popular sectors, fomenting and supporting social production of habitat and the development of solidary economic activities. It concerns the right to produce the city, but also the right to a habitat that is productive, which will generate income and strengthen the popular economy, not just the pseudo-monopolistic profits of the few.

5. Sustainable and responsible management of the commons – natural, public heritage and energy resources – of the city and its surroundings

A city whose inhabitants and authorities guarantee a responsible relation with the environment, in a way

that makes possible a dignified life for individuals, communities and peoples, in equality of conditions and without affecting natural areas, ecological reserves, other cities or future generations.

6. Democratic and equitable enjoyment of the city

A city that reinforces social coexistence, recovery, expansion and improvement of public space, and its use for community gathering, leisure, creativity as well as critical expression of political ideas and positions. In recent years, a great part of those spaces, necessary for community life, have not been taken care of, abandoned, privatized and/or extremely securitized.

To be able to advance in its realisation, the Charter outlines the *commitments* that should be assumed by the local government, autonomous public bodies, educational institutions, civil society organisations, the private sector and people in general. The effective fulfillment of these commitments implies dynamic processes of interaction and negotiation among the different actors involved, and it poses new challenges for public administration. Spaces and mechanisms to incorporate organised social participation in the management of the city are demanded. All of this requires a generation of new forms of inter-sectorial coordination of co-responsible actions, assigning a more active role to the communities and urban and rural organisations when public programmes in their territories are negotiated and articulated.

In synthesis, it is possible to affirm that the Mexico City Charter conceives of the Right to the City in a broad sense. It is not limited to the defence of individual human rights in order to improve the living conditions of its inhabitants; rather, it integrates rights and responsibilities implicated in the management, production and responsible development of the city. From this perspective, it not only encompasses the construction of conditions that assure the access of all people – without discrimination – to goods, services and opportunities existing in the city, but rather poses a more radical approach, profiling the city that we aspire to and want to construct for future generations. Will the Post-2015 and the Habitat III Agendas take these experiences, propositions and commitments into account? **P2**

Right to the City in New York City

Race, Militarization of Public Spaces and Community Control

Tom Angotti

IN NEW YORK CITY, there are three major elements that have given rise to struggles against the dispossession of people and for a right to the city: race, the militarization of public spaces, and community control. Without understanding each of these, and the way they relate to each other, it is difficult to develop any strategies for organizing and planning in “the real estate capital of the world.” If we look at the long history of New York City, we can begin to understand that the struggles for the right to the city go back centuries.

Struggles for Racial Justice

The United States was born as a slave state. Even before the city was created, slaves were traded on Wall Street in Manhattan. After New York’s slaves were freed, the city’s wealthy continued to profit from the plantation economy in the South. New York City was and remains the place where surplus capital from throughout the world ends up, piling high the skyscrapers one after another. And with each wave of new real estate investment, the housing for free blacks, and

then new working class immigrants, got pushed further and further out from the center of the city. While white immigrant groups had access to new housing in the 20th century suburban boom, blacks were restricted to neighborhoods with inadequate housing and services. New immigrant groups from Africa, Asia and Latin America also found themselves excluded, and today the city remains among the most racially segregated in the nation.

One of the key urban struggles in the 20th century was to defend mostly African American and Latino communities from displacement by the federally financed urban renewal program. This struggle was closely tied to the civil rights movement, the most important social movement in our history. Urban renewal destroyed many neighborhoods and transformed them into upper income enclaves, while public housing was built on less expensive land. As the result of grassroots opposition (and the opposition of conservatives who opposed any government seizure of private property) the urban renewal program was abandoned in the 1970s. It gave way to market-driven speculation and

displacement, supported by the city’s zoning and land use policies. This kind of displacement – what we often call gentrification – is more difficult to combat. Since black and Latino communities are among the first to be gentrified, and exclusionary practices still limit the options of residents when they are forced to move, race is still very much at the center of the struggles for the right to the city.

Segregation and the Militarization of Public Space

Racial segregation has been facilitated by both the “velvet glove” of city planning policy and the “iron fist” of policing. Following the victories of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, President Richard Nixon launched the “war on crime,” which then merged with the “war on drugs.” As Michelle Alexander points out in her book, *The New Jim Crow*, these were in effect wars on black and Latino people in the U.S., particularly young men who are incarcerated for minor offenses. In New York City, “zero-tolerance policing” is the cover for massive intimidation

and incarceration of young men of color. The police practice of “stop and frisk” effectively criminalized gatherings in public spaces in black and Latino neighborhoods. After years of challenges, a major victory was won recently against this policy when a court, acknowledging that 94% of those stopped were black and Latino and less than 6% resulted in any charges, found the practice discriminatory. This was a victory for the right to the city.

After 9/11, policing entered a new phase as local police forces around the country became increasingly militarized and enlisted in the so-called war on terror. Surveillance cameras popped up all over the place, demonstrations were subject to encirclement and harassment by police, and police spying on political groups and Muslim communities intensified. Parallel to this, as real estate developers coveted every inch of land, the city under billionaire Mayor Michael Bloomberg went big-time into the privatization of public space. Private conservancies monopolized public

The New Williamsburg, Brooklyn Waterfront



Photo: Tom Angotti

parks in wealthier neighborhoods, and public plazas in downtown areas were maintained by private businesses that used them as waiting rooms for their customers. Instead of encouraging new public parks, the city promoted the development of “privately owned public spaces.” One of these new public-private spaces was Zuccotti Park, the site where Occupy Wall Street was born. Though this was a struggle about economic justice – for the 99% – it was able to take advantage of somewhat sloppy rulemaking by the owners of the land to extend the occupation as long as it did. It was shut down, along with other Occupy sites around the country, in a coordinated national police/military action.

The struggle for the right to the city in New York involves organizing to put the public back in public spaces. It involves the struggles to save public schools, libraries and community gardens, and all of these are threatened by the latest waves of gentrification. This is not only about public space and environmental quality, it is about the right to the city.

The Struggles for Housing

Over a century ago, working class tenants facing rising rents and evictions organized and won rent regulations, and fought the landlord groups who have managed to get them to expire many times. While rent regulations are currently in place, over the last two decades more than 250,000 housing units

were deregulated, using legal and illegal tactics. Many of these deregulated units are in gentrifying neighborhoods, thus aggravating economic and racial segregation. One of the major struggles for the right to the city today is the fight for a rent freeze and the strengthening of controls when the existing law expires next year. It might seem contradictory that in this city that has such a powerful landlord class there is also a persistent tenant movement. But it is perfectly understandable because every time the powerful real estate investors and landowners pursue their profit-making agenda, they provoke tenants to get organized so they can protect their homes and avoid displacement. This movement cuts across classes and income levels, though its base remains working class people of color. It also exploits a real contradiction at the heart of the local business class: their access to low wage labor would be curtailed if there were no more low-rent housing left.

Thus, resistance to the privatization of public housing is both a result of tenant struggles and elite interests, explaining why New York City still has the largest stock of public housing in the country, even while the federal government has severely cut back its subsidies. Tenant organizations are currently organizing to push back efforts by city government to develop luxury housing on public housing land (see the report, *Keeping the Public in Public Housing*, at <http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/ccpd>). This is one of the most critical struggles for the right to the city.

The Right to Land

The struggles for housing, public space and racial justice add up to a larger set of struggles for control over land in the places where we live – the struggle to control our communities. To confront gentrification and displacement, we need to develop strategies that include many different tactics for controlling land. This may include expanding public ownership and regulation of land. There is one community land trust in New York City and a new interest in creating more. But the fundamental issue is not who owns the land – it’s who controls it. It’s about democratic control over land use policy. New York City’s neighborhoods have produced over 100 community plans in the last four decades and many of them came out of struggles against ravaging developers. The right to the city is bound up with the political struggles for the democratic control and planning of land and its integration with our everyday lives. **P²**

La Figura del Peatón en la Planificación de la Movilidad en Ciudad Juárez

Frida Landa Rivera

EN ESTE ARTÍCULO se abordará la planificación de la movilidad en Ciudad Juárez, intentando identificar, si es que existe, un interés por realizar el cambio de paradigma modernista, que tuvo su mayor auge para la planificación en la década de los setenta, a causa de los postulados definidos en los Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna (CIAM) dando cabida a la separación de los usos de suelo e influyendo en la necesidad de recorrer mayores distancias.

La planificación de movilidad que integra los modos no motorizados para cubrir las distancias cortas y el uso de transporte público para distancias mayores es parte de la tendencia mundial hacia un modelo mas sostenible. Por tal motivo resulta importante hacer un recuento del momento en el que se encuentra la ciudad dentro de un panorama general.

En México existen organismos no gubernamentales que buscan la integración de los especialistas técnicos y académicos en términos de movilidad con los actores principales en la generación de políticas públicas, por ejemplo el Instituto de Políticas para el Transporte (ITDP) y el Centro de Transporte Sustentable (CTS Embarq), ese último dependiente directo del Instituto de Recursos Mundiales (WRI).



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La revisión del documento: “Planes integrales de movilidad. Lineamientos para una movilidad sustentable” emitido por el ITDP en 2012 indica que la inversión que las ciudades han realizado para planes exclusivos de la movilidad suelen ser elaborados con la intención de cubrir requisitos para la obtención de fondos de un sistema de transporte, específicamente el uso de BRT (Bus Rapid Transit) sin que esto signifique un cambio integral en el uso del territorio relacionado con la movilidad.

Otro problema es con los PIMUS (Planes Integrales de Movilidad Sustentable) del país, reconocido en el documento del ITDP, y se centra en la debilidad de peso normativo en los sistemas de planeación a nivel estatal o local. En ocasiones son contrapuestos o no complementarios a otros planes, como el caso de aquellos dedicados al desarrollo urbano. Tal situación contradice la relación inseparable de ambos conceptos, ya que la planificación de la movilidad es parte medular del desarrollo urbano.

La planificación de la movilidad en Ciudad Juárez

La infraestructura urbana en el tema de movilidad en Ciudad Juárez se sintetiza con la construcción de vías de transporte como calles, bulevares y avenidas; los medios de transporte públicos que predominan en la ciudad son principalmente autobuses concesionados y aquellos utilizados por las industrias manufactureras para el traslado de su personal, que se suman a los

vehículos particulares y comerciales. El uso intensivo de los automóviles, suele ser una solución rápida al problema tiempo-distancia ante un crecimiento disperso que incentiva la necesidad de un mayor número de viajes para satisfacer las necesidades diarias, así como el acceso fácil de vehículos de segunda mano, las disfunciones del transporte público, entre otros.

El esfuerzo entonces, debería enfocarse a un transporte multimodal que concientice a la población y a las autoridades, entre ellos el transporte público y el no motorizado. El tema de una movilidad integral es un tema a resolver en la planificación urbana por la necesidad de que todos los ciudadanos tengan acceso a diversos puntos de la ciudad para cumplir con las actividades básicas de educación, trabajo, consumo y recreación (Figura 1)

Una reforma integradora del sistema de movilidad implica acciones como la planificación asociada a políticas de uso de suelo: sistemas de consulta cívica donde los ciudadanos expongan sus puntos de vista y sean partícipes de las decisiones finales, marco regulatorio que comprenda los niveles de gobierno implicados, monitoreo constante de las autoridades regulatorias, medidas económicas que logren la sostenibilidad progresiva del sistema, integración de la movilidad no motorizada y el control de las unidades privadas y públicas referente a la tecnología que respete al medio ambiente. Esto debe ser parte del compromiso de las ciudades con la sostenibilidad.

La realidad en los planes directamente relacionados con la movilidad es distinta. Evidencia de lo anterior es la revisión del Plan de Desarrollo Urbano 2010. En primer lugar, el tipo de planificación a través de la zonificación restrictiva y poco flexible incide en la movilidad urbana al separar los usos, condición que incrementa la distancia física a recorrer, lo que aunado a la falta de infraestructura para otros medios de transporte distintos al automóvil pueden obligar a las personas a utilizar este medio al percibirlo como el más eficiente en términos de tiempo. Para efectos de acotar el tema de estudio en el contexto de la ciudad se procede a delimitar la figura exclusiva del peatón en los planes de la ciudad,

principalmente en el Plan de Desarrollo Urbano y en el material disponible del Plan de Movilidad.

El Plan de Desarrollo Urbano en Ciudad Juárez, 2010

Realicé una búsqueda y análisis de la manera en que el peatón es tomado en cuenta en el plan siguiendo el orden de contenido en los capítulos referentes a diagnóstico, estrategia y normatividad para examinar si forma parte del entendimiento de la movilidad de forma sostenible. Es importante aclarar que se consideró en el análisis la presencia de estrategias para incluir al peatón en la vida de la ciudad, y que éstas sean realizables y explícitas, de forma clara y con objetivos sujetos a evaluación.

En el diagnóstico se enfatizan tres puntos importantes. El primero es la definición que hace de la movilidad urbana como “el conjunto de desplazamientos que realizan los individuos dentro de un territorio determinado,” lo que conlleva un primer acercamiento para darle cabida a todos los modos de transporte. El segundo se refiere al reconocimiento del automóvil como eje principal del modelo que impera en la ciudad. En tercer lugar señala la relación entre la expansión de la ciudad hacia el sur-oriente influenciada por la formación de suburbios y la saturación de las vialidades por el incremento del parque vehicular.

Resulta de interés los datos compartidos resultado de encuestas domiciliarias de origen-destino de viajes que ayuda a entender el panorama general de las preferencias en los modos de transporte, como son los siguientes:

- El promedio de habitantes por vivienda es de 3.19, mientras que el promedio de automóviles en la misma unidad de medición es de 1.46. Este dato ayuda a reafirmar la predilección por el uso del transporte privado individual, que en párrafos anteriores se atribuye a la facilidad de adquirir automóviles por la condición de frontera de la ciudad.
- Se realizan más de cuatro millones de viajes por día. Dentro de este universo se percibe una disminución

en el uso del transporte público, que del año 1996 al 2001 bajó del 25% al 21% en la preferencia de los habitantes. Esta disminución también se percibe en los medios no motorizados, de los que englobando al peatón y ciclista fue en la misma temporalidad del 24% al 18%. De forma correlacionada el automóvil aumentó en su uso del 51% al 61%.

- Esta situación cambió a partir de 2006, cuando los porcentajes de uso en transporte público, medios no motorizados y automóvil fue de 22%, 28% y 50%.

En los últimos dos puntos se percibe un aumento y descenso en el uso del automóvil, cuyo pico ocurre en el 2001. La disminución para el 2006 no se refleja directamente en un mayor uso del transporte público, sino en un aumento de los medios no motorizados. Se complementa la información con datos de que la bicicleta ocupó menos del 1% en las preferencias.

Es importante mencionar que los viajes a pie favorecen las distancias cortas. En los resultados de la encuesta mostrados por el plan, se manifiesta que este tipo de viajes se encuentra en un rango de 0.1 a 1 kilómetro recorridos. Sin hacer diferencia entre viajes completos a pie o como complemento de otros medios de transporte, principalmente el público lo que va concatenado con el interés de la movilidad para apoyar los encadenamientos multimodales.

En cuanto a las vialidades se hace la división en regionales, primarias, secundarias, colectoras y locales. Se reconoce en todas ellas, a excepción de la regional que sin duda es para el transporte motorizado, la falta de infraestructura que acoja medios distintos a los del automóvil. El PDU recalca la falta de banquetas, andadores y ciclovías, principalmente en las vialidades secundarias, que suelen ser las seleccionadas para



Figura 1. Estudiantes camino a casa.

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

circular, tratando de competir lo menos posible en el espacio con otros medios. Además se precisa que la mayoría de los paraderos de autobuses se encuentran en vialidades primarias. Si se quiere insertar la figura del peatón, se reconoce la necesidad de conectarlos con el resto de la red a escala del vecindario con el fin de facilitar el transporte multimodal.

Existe en el diagnóstico un apartado individual titulado “El peatón,” en donde se hace énfasis en la seguridad del mismo, recolectando estadísticas de atropellamientos debido a la falta de protección física y señalización en las vialidades y cruces peatonales respectivamente. Se omite la forma urbana y los usos de suelo con relación al tema, aunque sí se discute el tema del poco respeto hacia el espacio de las banquetas por parte de los automovilistas que suelen invadirla al momento de estacionarse o la apropiación para la venta de mercancía.

Sin embargo este tema es más profundo, al tomar en cuenta que la banqueta suele ser un espacio en disputa; en el momento es que es espacio público pero sin establecer una verdadera responsabilidad por parte de las autoridades en su creación y mantenimiento, dejándose en manos de particulares. Esta situación lleva claramente a confusiones en el apropiamiento de la banqueta. Finalmente el apartado concluye con de la necesidad de un observatorio de movilidad para resolver integralmente el problema presente en Ciudad Juárez.

Continuando con las secciones del plan, no se encuentra un seguimiento al problema de incluir al peatón en la movilidad con acciones definidas a través de la estrategia o modernidad. La mayor aportación se encuentra en el apartado de la red alimentadora de transporte público, es decir la propuesta de BRT y la importancia de conectarlo peatonalmente con las estaciones-paradero, por lo que deberían ser accesibles a una distancia de 400 a 700 metros.

El Plan de Movilidad Urbana de Ciudad Juárez, 2013

La revisión del plan de movilidad urbana de la ciudad se hace a través de la presentación resumida presentada por las autoridades, ya que hasta el momento no se

tiene acceso al documento completo. En el apartado de antecedentes se refiere a la encuesta de movilidad realizada por el IMIP.

Si bien se considera el transporte público dentro de la movilidad, se nota una clara centralización en la inversión de infraestructura para medios motorizados, lo que contradice el concepto de movilidad de integrar el presupuesto destinado a medios sostenibles, como caminar o el uso de bicicleta. Se ha mencionado que una visión para resolver el problema de movilidad en inversión de infraestructura es incompleta. Es decir, es necesario influir en el comportamiento de las personas al ofertarles modos de transporte distintos al automóvil con el objetivo de reducir los viajes innecesarios, fuente de las externalidades negativas del uso indiscriminado.

En el resumen del plan se muestran las obras a realizar, sin tomar en cuenta el uso de suelo o incluir el tema de dispersión, además del problema tangente sobre la desorganización del transporte público. Debido a que nuestro interés primario fue el peatón nos limitaremos a señalar que no existe implícita ninguna medida que lo tome en cuenta en este documento. En la figura 2 se muestra el logotipo del Plan de Movilidad, en donde la figura central del automóvil puede darnos un reflejo del modo de transporte favorecido en Ciudad Juárez. **P²**



Figura 2. Logotipo del Plan de Movilidad Urbana de Ciudad Juárez

Fuente: <http://www.indexjuarez.org/NICIO/ARCHIVOS/Presentaciones/PMU.ppt>

Planeación Participativa

Mejoramiento Barrial y Cambio Social

Leticia Peña Barrera

LAS CONDICIONES DE POBREZA en las colonias de Ciudad Juárez, propician situaciones de vulnerabilidad social, debido a la falta de programas y políticas que atiendan las condiciones de inequidad y falta de oportunidades que viven sus habitantes. Las desigualdades sociales presentes en colonias populares fundadas a más de 50 años y las de reciente creación, son debido a la indolencia y negligencia de los gobernantes, cuyos intereses políticos no buscan resolver las necesidades reales de sus habitantes, sino la cooptación del voto.

En el presente artículo, se presenta el impacto producido en colonias populares de polígonos de pobreza. Se exponen resultados del Plan Estratégico Vecinal (PEV) desarrollado en la colonia Riberas del Bravo en 2011 y 2012 y la integración de Comités

Comunitarios de Prevención (CCP), de la violencia en la misma colonia Riberas del Bravo, Francisco I. Madero y Felipe Ángeles (2013 y 2014).

Lo que distinguió este proyecto de manera sobresaliente fue la participación comunitaria en la realización de proyectos y acciones de gestión ante la autoridad y grupos sociales; logrando incidir positivamente en el entorno y disminuyendo los índices de

violencia y de abandono de vivienda.

Hessel y Morín, expresan que “en el progreso histórico las incertidumbres del presente, las turbulencias económicas, la crisis de la civilización, todo ello, alimenta las angustias que, a falta de esperanza en un futuro mejor, buscan refugio en las certezas del pasado, se repliegan”, estas angustias, son el motor que mueven a sus habitantes a cambiarlas, para quizás no perder la esperanza.



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Formalización de los tres Comités Comunitarios de Prevención el 5 de abril de 2014, Riberas del Bravo, Francisco I Madero y Felipe Ángeles

Photo: Leticia Peña Barrera



Photo: Leticia Peña Barrera

Casas abandonadas en Riberas del Bravo, principal problema identificado por los habitantes ya que se propician sitios vulnerables al delito e inseguridad. sen Riberas del Bravo

Problemática de la ciudad.

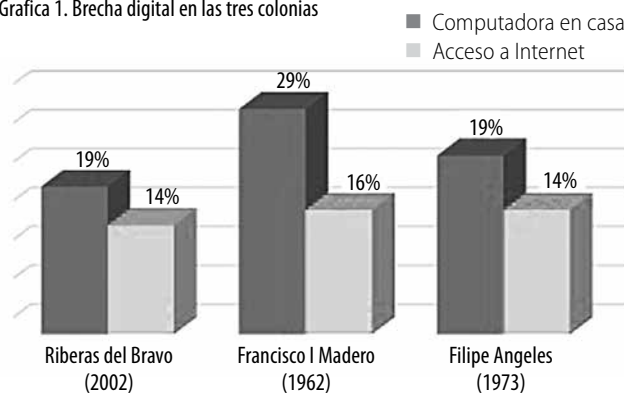
Las colonias de Francisco I Madero, Felipe Ángeles y Riberas del Bravo, comparten como situación común, indicadores de violencia que han afectado las actividades en el espacio público de sus habitantes, ya que la delincuencia ha concentrado sus actividades en sectores menos vigilados. Se observan actos de venta de droga o narcomenudeo, robo a mano armada y secuestro, asesinato en la vía pública, con actos de violencia cada vez más crueles. Otro factor de graves consecuencias es la debilidad de las instituciones responsables en proveer seguridad; incapacidad de la fuerza del orden, para contenerla y aplicar la justicia.

La imagen urbana es precaria: casas abandonadas y poco mantenimiento a la vivienda; inexistencia de espacios públicos, baldíos, panorama desalentador que desestimula la permanencia o arraigo de sus residentes.

Otro aspecto es la falta de acceso a tecnologías de la información; limitantes de acceso al trabajo para los jóvenes; o en su caso, trabajo estable, ya que no cuentan

con las habilidades y capacidades requeridas para un empleo especializado. La falta de equipo de cómputo o conectividad a internet, aumenta la brecha digital; ya que solo entre el 19% y 29% lo tienen en casa, en algunos casos se conectan a internet con el servicio de telefonía móvil.

Gráfica 1. Brecha digital en las tres colonias



En el cuadro siguiente, se registra la evaluación que los habitantes hacen sobre la calidad del entorno en el que viven y las carencias básicas que padecen. Este parrafo va abajo de la grafica 1.

Cuadro 1. Evaluación del Entorno

Concepto	Riberas del Bravo	Francisco Madero	Filipe Angeles
Vegetación en Área Verdes	50% no existe, 35% es insuficiente y 15% es suficiente	43% no existe, 38% es insuficiente y 18% es suficiente	67% no existe, 27% es insuficiente y 5% es suficiente
Vegetación en Calles	44% no existe, 30% es insuficiente y 26% es suficiente	43% no existe, 38% es insuficiente y 1% es suficiente	35% no existe, 45% es insuficiente y 20% es suficiente
Equipamiento	86% es malo, 12% regular y 2% está bien	72% es malo, 15% regular y 13% bueno	53% es malo, 34% regular y 11% bueno
Mobiliario Urbano	51% no existe, 40% es insuficiente y 9% está bien	75% no existe, 15% es insuficiente y 10% está bien	50% no existe, 39% es insuficiente y 9% está bien
Imagen Urbana	38% no existe, 52% es insuficiente y 10% es suficiente	8% no existe, 63% es insuficiente y 27% es suficiente	8% no existe, 68% es insuficiente y 20% está bien

Información de encuestas aplicadas en las tres colonias, sobre la calidad del entorno. *2011 en Riberas del Bravo y 2013 en Francisco I Madero y Felipe Ángeles (Peña, 2013)

En estas colonias la falta de equipamiento (áreas verdes, centros comunitarios, campos deportivos, biblioteca o centro cultural), el déficit de escuelas (carecen de secundaria o preparatoria) y de condiciones precarias; la falta de consultorios o centros de salud, requeridas para el desarrollo humano y que incrementan las condiciones de exclusión. En la ciudad se tiene un promedio de 0.43 metros cuadrados de áreas verdes por habitante, lo que contraviene las disposiciones internacionales que establecen nueve metros cuadrados por residente.

El desempleo, el empleo informal, el bajo ingreso salarial o la retribución eventual de la mayoría de la población en edad de trabajar son un factor de vulnerabilidad social que aumenta las posibilidades de involucrarse en actos delictivos para subsistir.

2011: Plan Estratégico Vecinal (PEV), el rescate de Riberas del Bravo

El Plan Estratégico Vecinal es un instrumento de planeación participativa que involucra, de manera colectiva a los habitantes de un sector e incorpora estrategias de desarrollo social con el Gobierno Municipal, logrando concertar y colocar la agenda de necesidades de estas colonias. Demandando y posibilitando de esa manera, la gobernabilidad.

En el “proyecto de intervención urbana” se cumplen varias fases:

a) Elaboración del diagnóstico actualizado.

- b) Talleres de consulta popular.
- c) Construcción de acuerdos para un evento emblemático.
- d) Entrega del Plan estratégico vecinal (PEV) al alcalde de la ciudad.
- e) Seguimiento de un año por medio de un proceso de intervención social, en 2012.



Photo: Leticia Peña Barrera

Brigada de forestación Riberas del Bravo etapa 8. 2014

La metodología de participación democrática, incluye la educación permanente; las acciones concertadas y colectivas con proceso de *participación-acción*, definiendo temas generadores basados en las necesidades que los propios residentes identifican como prioritarias; las actividades o mejoras se realizan en su

propio barrio con participación de niños, jóvenes, adultos, hombres y mujeres. En el PEV del 2011 se identificaron y priorizaron 82 proyectos, que se programaron para lograrse entre 1 a 5 años. El 60% son acciones que pueden realizarse por sus habitantes, sin intervención externa.

En 2012, el seguimiento planteó el diseño de estrategias comunes entre las 9 etapas de Riberas del Bravo, se constituye el Grupo de presidentes de Comités de Vecinos, quienes cada semana sesionan para coordinar las acciones y compartir experiencias de gestión. El involucramiento de 18 líderes de las 9 etapas y la gestión exitosa de apoyos ante el Gobierno Municipal, a través de la instancia denominada Operaciones Territoriales Integrales (OTI) del PEV, ha facilitado el cumplimiento del 25% de los proyectos propuestos.

En 2012, con el seguimiento al Plan Estratégico Vecinal de Riberas del Bravo, se desarrollaron estrategias de recuperación del espacio público, brigadas de limpieza de calles y casas solas, acciones de reforestación, mejoras de parques con recursos de recompensa INFONAVIT (programa de estímulos); se habilitaron espacios baldíos para la miniolimpiada, se acondicionaron y utilizaron las casas solas para los campamentos infantiles y talleres de manualidades, que son motivo de encuentro y convivencia.

Los líderes (la mayoría mujeres) toman acuerdos para apoyar necesidades de intereses de sus

residentes, mediante el consenso y participación democrática, aplicando la metodología “participación-acción”, que propicia el involucramiento proactivo de sus principales actores, siendo autogestores de su propio desarrollo.

Logros de gestión: localización de casas con fugas de agua, propuesta para el transporte, solicitud de preparatoria, la gestión de dos bibliotecas municipales, un centro comunitario, encausamiento del el agua contaminada de la acequia y solución a las fugas. Dentro del plan de acción están pendientes otros proyectos.

Comités Comunitarios de Prevención en Riberas del Bravo, Felipe Ángeles y Francisco I madero

En 2013 la asociación civil Gente a Favor de Gente, accede a recursos del Gobierno de Estados Unidos a través de la agencia USAID

por medio del Programa para la Convivencia Ciudadana (PCC), con el objetivo de conformar los Comités Comunitarios de Prevención (CCP) en tres colonias o polígonos de pobreza: Riberas del Bravo, Felipe Ángeles y Francisco I Madero. Por medio de asistencia técnica y capacitación a líderes y grupos de las tres colonias, se desarrollaron acciones de prevención de la violencia y el crimen en sus comunidades, partiendo de las necesidades detectadas.

La integración de Comités Comunitarios de Prevención, se logra a partir del visiteo casa por casa, para identificar a líderes y personas clave; en las colonias Francisco I Madero y Felipe Ángeles, para conocer la problemática de violencia. Se construye la confianza y organización con actividades de convivencia entre vecinos, se establecen procesos para relacionarse, comunidad – gobierno y grupos sociales.



Photo: Leticia Peña Barrera

Niños y jóvenes de la etapa 4 de Riberas del Bravo, valoran contar con un espacio donde se toma en cuenta su participación.

La planeación, se fortalece con la formación de liderazgos, con sesiones para la toma de decisiones, capacitación con la policía comunitaria para atender los problemas de violencia e inseguridad, se definen acciones de prevención y mejoramiento barrial.

Los Comités Comunitarios mantienen el proceso organizativo permanente de la comunidad, a partir de decisiones colectivas y de programas y proyectos que los habitantes identifican como prioritarios para gestionar con el gobierno, sector privado y organizaciones sociales.

La metodología considera tres formas para promover o definir las actividades o acciones:

- Actividades de lo cotidiano como brigadas de limpieza, gestión de apoyos, conversatorios con policía, brigadas de forestación, grupos de niños y jóvenes, comités de vecinos y el Comité Comunitario.
- Actividades de lo simbólico con eventos como la miniolimpiada, campamentos de verano, torneo interpolígonos, visitas lúdicas a museos, visitas a parques, funciones de cine, teatro (Telón de arena), talleres de habilitación, etc.
- Actividades de lo festivo para propiciar la convivencia en los grupos y barrios: la celebración del día del niño, el día de las madres (10 de mayo), de la Independencia (16 de septiembre), día de muertos (2 de noviembre) y la navidad.



Photo: Leticia Peña Barrera

Capacitación de policía comunitaria en Comité de Francisco I Madero aporta nuevas formas de vinculación entre comunidad y agentes de seguridad pública.

En estas actividades se observa el involucramiento de los diferentes líderes de jóvenes y niños, de adultos con influencia moral y social en su sector, hombres y mujeres que asisten a los comités de vecinos (comités barriales), sujetos de cambio social en su barrio, que por medio de la participación (mujeres en su mayoría), amplían las posibilidades de corregir las disparidades entre el poder social y político, este último ajeno a las prioridades de la sociedad.

Conclusión

Los cambios observados en las tres colonias a partir de los programas del Plan Estratégico Vecinal y de los Comités Comunitarios de Prevención, se refieren a un mayor control del territorio (barrios, parques, escuelas) de los vecinos, de la construcción de confianza entre ellos, la decisión en las soluciones a sus problemáticas, la

unión de esfuerzos para gestionar y obtener beneficios colectivos y la capacidad de concertar con las autoridades sus requerimientos más apremiantes, siendo un medio para acceder a la justicia social de la que han sido excluidos. Niños y jóvenes participan de estos beneficios y conforman grupos de referencia para la solución colectiva de las necesidades de su edad.

Estas comunidades han logrado ser autogestoras de su propio desarrollo en zonas periurbanas y segregadas, sus habitantes encontraron formas de desarrollo humano sin depender de instancias o periodos de gobierno; por ello, la participación-acción como metodología de intervención, aporta a la planeación participativa, mediante acciones de solidaridad social, siendo una alternativa que logra trascender el individualismo, y sus cambios sociales influyen en el bienestar de todos.

P²

Defending U.S. worker rights

Can we learn from Latin America's "Third Left"?

Marie Kennedy, Chris Tilly

U.S. LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT LAWS have become less effective in protecting workers for several decades. Planners seeking solutions have tended to look east across the Atlantic to the regulatory and collective bargaining institutions of Northern Europe. But they would do well to look south to Latin America as well. A set of Latin American social movements that we dub Latin America's "third left" (we first coined the term in a 2006 *Progressive Planning* article) emphasize bottom-up decision-making, autonomy from the state and pursuit of claims on territory via direct action. The direct action often involves appropriating productive assets and justifying the seizure by both legal and moral arguments. It may seem far-fetched to suggest that such a strategy is a promising one in U.S. workplaces; after all, worksite occupations are not a common part of U.S. worker organizations' repertoire. But a number of the building blocks of this strategy are available in the United States.

We number this left "third" to contrast it with a first left of armed guerrilla movements that peaked in the 1960s and now is in eclipse, and a second left of left-populist

electoral movements and parties that has been ascendant in Latin America over the last decade. Its distinguishing features are participatory governance, strategies centered on autonomy rather than demands directed at the state and territorial claims. High-profile instances of third left movements include Brazil's Landless Workers Movement (MST), Argentina's *autonomista* current of workplace and community organizations including the worker-run "recuperated businesses," Mexico's Zapatista movement, and the *Federación de Juntas Vecinales de El Alto* (FEJUVE), "Federation of Neighborhood Councils," in the indigenous metropolis of El Alto, Bolivia (near La Paz). This list is far from exhaustive; such organizations crisscross Latin America.

Each of the three main characteristics of the Latin American third left is worth a closer look. The third left's bottom-up, *participatory decision-making*, is often called *horizontalidad*, a word that translates poorly as "horizontalism". These organizations make much use of popular assemblies, leadership rotation, extensive consultation on major decisions and in general high levels of involvement by rank-and-file members. The first and second lefts have sought to seize control of the state, or at least use pressure to extract concessions and reforms; but for the third left autonomy means sidestepping the state and supplanting it from below. The movements do continue to make demands on the state, but the demands are typically for resources that the movements' base communities can utilize to provide for themselves rather than for state-run programs. The third left's strategy of *gaining control over territory via direct action* is perhaps the most dramatic facet of this set of movements. The central tactic in this strategy is the occupation. MST activists occupy land that they view as unutilized or poorly utilized (an interpretation that is typically



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contested by the owner of record), seeking to gain title to the land. The Zapatistas physically exclude “outsiders,” including the Mexican government and military, from some areas and establish dual power by setting up their own parallel government institutions in others. FEJUVE councils assert governance over neighborhoods in El Alto, sometimes using a combination of political pressure and purchase to acquire land for community purposes. In Argentinean recuperated businesses, workers occupy a closed business and attempt to reopen it and gain title to the enterprise. Though the Zapatistas reject Mexican law and invoke the authority of the Maya peoples who were in the territories they claim before Cortez’s arrival in 1519, some of these movements aim to institutionalize control by using existing laws: in the case of the MST, a clause in Brazil’s 1988 constitution that mandates that land should be put to socially productive uses; in the Argentinean recuperated businesses, the government power of eminent domain.

U.S. analogues with the Third Left

The most obvious recent U.S. parallel with Latin America’s third left is the 2011–12 Occupy movement,

which made a splash by occupying public spaces, making decisions via frequent assemblies and challenging the government’s authority. The occupations themselves were not able to withstand the combination of winter weather and large-scale police repression, but the Occupy movement has reorganized in varied ways that aim to shift the strategy, and in some cases the occupation tactic itself, to new arenas.

Resonances with the U.S. labor movement are more difficult to identify. Occupations of businesses are not a part of the labor movement’s repertoire of tactics. To be sure, such actions were central during the 1937 sit-down strike wave that helped launch the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)—in fact, 583 sit-down strikes took place between 1936 and 1939. But the courts never recognized such strikes as legal, and the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1939 that sit-downs were punishable as trespass and that employers could legally fire plant occupiers, even those who struck over unfair labor practices.

Occasional occupations still occur. In December 2008, 240 laid-off workers organized by the radical United Electrical Workers union occupied the Chicago factory



Zapatistas

Photo: Marie Kennedy

of Republic Windows and Doors, remaining in place six days until their demands were won, sparking some speculation that the tactic might be revived. But so far, no wave of enterprise occupations has materialized, though shortly after the Republic action another union in suit maker HartMarx, located near the Republic factory, extracted a no-offshoring pledge by threatening to sit in. Many unions provided financial and logistical support and person-power to Occupy, but we are not aware of evidence that they occupied leadership positions or sought to diffuse the strategy.

Instead, the third left's primary echo in U.S. workplaces is the worker-owned cooperative movement, and more broadly the fledgling U.S. solidarity economy movement. However, U.S. worker cooperatives account for only a tiny fraction of the workforce and the economy. Moreover, unlike the situation in some countries where unions and worker cooperatives work together within a broader labor movement (a particularly striking example is India, where the largest government-recognized union federation, the Self-Employed Women's Association, includes large numbers

of cooperatives), U.S. unions have had little to do with co-ops and have often regarded them with suspicion. Worker centers have adopted a more open stance, with day laborer, domestic worker, restaurant worker and gardener organizations launching cooperatives. Even so, worker cooperatives are typically launched by non-workplace-focused community-based organizations.

One might be tempted to attribute U.S. labor's very limited attempts to take control of workplaces to the powerful hold of property rights on U.S. law and ideology. But there is a powerful counterexample: the housing rights movement. Dating back to the 1904 New York City rent strike, the housing movement has unleashed rent strikes, eviction blockings, building occupations and squatting, and in some cases attempt to wrest ownership away from landlords—all direct attacks on presumed rights of ownership—in waves in 1917–19, the 1930s, and then in a massive nationwide set of movements from the 1960s into the 1980s.

Strategies to shift formal ownership of housing have taken varied forms. In a colorful Depression-era tactic, rural populations developed the “penny auction”, in which a farmer's neighbors would mob a foreclosure auction, bid a penny for all items on auction, and implicitly threaten anyone who was considering bidding more. More recently, New York City's Article 7A management program of the Real Property Actions and Procedures Law empowers the city to name a receiver to manage abandoned or neglected



Sunset Park Rent Strike

Photo: Sunset Park Rent Strike Solidarity Network

property, so in cases where landlords walked away or were driven away due to a rent strike, tenant unions often lobbied for a receiver allied with the organization, with a longer-term goal of shifting the building to public or nonprofit ownership or in some cases cooperative ownership by tenants. Landlord disinvestment and abandonment in areas like the Bronx meant that by the late 1970s the city government became New York's largest landlord through tax foreclosure. Tenant organizations based in these buildings demanded that the city retain the properties (rather than rapidly turning them over to new private landlords) without raising rents. New York's Union of City Tenants often brokered compromises that turned properties over to tenants as co-ops—in some cases limited equity co-ops that limited speculative gains on resale in order to keep the housing affordable over the long term. Current movements to block foreclosures and evictions are heirs of these earlier mobilizations. In short, while territorial claims backed up by direct action are relatively rare in the U.S. labor movement, they are relatively common in the U.S. housing movement. In the most recent waves of activism, many organizations experimented with more participatory governance structures, marking another point of commonality with the third left.

Could U.S. labor use this strategy?

Could U.S. labor follow this same path, or do major differences from the housing cases make it impractical? One difference is that occu-



Photo: MCT/Chicago Tribune/Bonnie Tafelet

Republic Windows and Doors factory occupation by laid-off workers.

pying one's home results in having a place to live, whereas occupying one's workplace, and even gaining collective ownership of it, still presents the problem of producing goods and services that can successfully compete in the market. But in fact, there are economic challenges to seizing housing as well—seized housing is often heavily disinvested—and in fact in Latin America seizures of farmland and workplaces are more common than housing occupations. Different laws govern housing and the workplace, but a set of existing U.S. laws could provide a rationale for workplace takeovers. These legal tools include eminent domain, tax foreclosure, bankruptcy, receivership and the confiscation of the assets of a criminal enterprise (which could in theory be extended to crimes like wage theft).

However, there is also one principal obstacle within the law to third left-type organizing by workers: the legal penalties associated with sit-down strikes. The threat of large financial penalties is particularly problematic for labor unions because, unlike most tenant organizations, unions have substantial assets, which they use for staff, facilities and programs including political campaigns and strike support. This is not to say that absent this legal obstacle, unions would naturally gravitate to a third-left strategy. But unions pay attention to success even when it involves radical and unfamiliar strategies, as seen in their recent partnerships with worker centers and union support for Occupy. In Argentina and in neighboring Uruguay, mainstream trade unions initially

shunned the recuperated business movement, but over time many came to embrace and support it.

Based on this set of ideas and issues, six advances in organizing could facilitate an autonomist approach to defending labor rights:

1. Increased civil and criminal penalties for abuse of workers.

Increased civil and criminal penalties, as in the recent wave of wage theft laws, can offer added leverage against bad-actor employers, help precipitate bankruptcy or abandonment of a business and build a case for confiscation.

2. Make confiscation a viable option.

Currently confiscation and reassignment of ownership to someone other than the first lien holder is uncommon in situations other than real estate, and it will take innovation and pressure to change this..

3. Develop a stronger body of law on collective ownership.

There is no well developed body of law regarding business ownership by cooperatives or nonprofits outside of a small number of states, nor a strong financing system designed for such forms of ownership.

4. Build a network of support and education that can help sustain worker- and community-controlled businesses.

The relevant areas for support and education are many. Brazil's MST runs local schools in its communities, manages a teachers' college to train teachers for those schools and collaborates

with universities on agronomy and other programs to train technical experts to serve its cooperatives. The organization is conducting cutting-edge research on sustainable agriculture. It relies on a network of supporters who are willing to physically engage in protest to block evictions or press demands, but also a network of lawyers, engineers and others who can offer expert advice, consultation, and pro bono help.

5. Find ways to involve labor unions while insulating them from legal penalties.

Though amendment of the National Labor Relations Act to preempt trespass laws when there is a countervailing right to defend the freedom to organize would be a tall order, more feasible may be devising legally sustainable ways for unions to support independent organizations that can more freely engage in direct action. Unions have already begun to explore this in forming partnerships with worker centers, which can, for example, engage in secondary boycott activity without running afoul of Taft-Hartley's prohibition on unions engaging in such boycotts.

6. Organize workers in ways that facilitate territory-claiming actions.

A sit-down strike or occupation of a closed business facility takes a high level of organization and solidarity. Labor organizations cannot just decide this would be a good idea, but must build the type of organization that can carry it out. Unions' increased willingness to experi-

ment with new organizing strategies outside the NLRA framework, for example the minority unionism of the United Food and Commercial Workers' OUR Walmart campaign, may be conducive to experimentation along these lines as well.

Concluding thoughts

We have argued that a third-left strategy combining horizontalism, autonomy and claims on territory is promising and feasible for U.S. labor, at a time when relatively few promising, feasible alternatives are available in the face of declining labor power and worker protection. But, in closing, we want to raise a few notes of caution. The slogan of "autonomy" does not eliminate the challenges of winning reforms; it just shifts those challenges to new terrain. Local control and participatory governance can be very effective at the local scale, but pose problems for aggregation of interests and decision-making at a larger scale. Also, Latin American and U.S. territory-claiming movements have been most successful in winning control of the least productive and valuable assets: idle land, shuttered businesses and disinvested and abandoned buildings. And even in the best cases, Latin America's third left movements remain small compared to the scale of the economic problems they confront. In short, a third-left approach is no panacea. But we would argue that it is a potentially valuable strategy for labor that should be explored, along with other such strategies, in coming years. **P²**



Fuerza Valpo!

Solidarity, Resistance, and Recovery In the Wake of Valparaíso Fires

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ON MAY 24, a coalition of neighborhood groups, students, labor unions and other civil society organizations convened a popular assembly in Valparaíso, the major Chilean port city devastated by a raging fire last month. Announcing their aim to develop a grassroots plan for the recovery and reconstruction of Valparaíso, the *Coordinadora* for the Defense of Valparaíso also demanded a temporary freeze on construction permits and the resignation of right-wing mayor Jorge Castro.

“The destruction and abandonment of Valparaíso, of which this conflagration is an unfortunate result, has authors who must assume [responsibility for] the consequences of their reproachable acts and omissions,” the *Coordinadora*’s statement read in part. The *Coordinadora* blames powerful political and economic interests for the “twin tragedies” of abandonment and real estate speculation that are destroying Valparaíso, and wants them to be held accountable.

The April 12 fire—the worst in Valparaíso’s history—raged for five days, scorching more than four square miles of land on seven hillsides. The conflagration destroyed 3,000 houses, killed 15 people and left 12,000 homeless. The city remained under military control for a month.

Valparaíso, a UNESCO world heritage site, is famous for its unique topography and architecture, characterized by brightly painted, improvised wooden houses that climb the steep hillsides, forming a natural amphitheater that overlooks the port. It is a city of political contrasts, the birthplace of both Salvador Allende and Augusto Pinochet. Boasting a strong union base that provided a bastion of popular support for Allende, it is also the home of the Chilean navy, from which the 1973 military coup was launched.

Today, Valparaíso is an increasingly popular elite tourist destination, as well as a focal point for Chile’s combative student movement. Economically, its population has one of the most unequal income distributions in Chile. Twenty-two percent of the city’s residents live below the poverty line, compared to a national average of 14%.

Like most South American cities, Valparaíso’s development patterns reflect its rigid class divisions, with the wealthy occupying the coastal flatlands in the center and impoverished families spreading out over the heights on the northern and southern periphery. The areas most affected by the fire were poor hill-

side communities, settled by urban migrant families through a continuing process of land takeovers since the early 1970s. Reportedly, Valparaíso has the largest number of *campamentos* (informal settlements) in the country.

According to a recent government survey of nine campamentos that were completely destroyed by the fire, 83% of the affected resident households are headed by women, most of whom work in the informal sector as street vendors or carton recyclers. Sixty percent of the population is under the age of 30. Many displaced families lack formal title to their land, potentially compromising their eligibility for government rehousing and rebuilding subsidies. As a result, they have chosen to remain camped out amidst the charred remnants of their homes rather than relocate to temporary government shelters and risk permanent eviction.

To be sure, fires—fanned by strong coastal summer winds and spreading quickly over difficult-to-access hillsides—have plagued Valparaíso throughout its history. In recent years, prolonged drought and unseasonably high temperatures associated with climate change have exacerbated the risks of these natural conditions. But, as noted by Sebastián Gray, president of Chile’s College of Architects, the recent fire also represents a colossal political failure of the state in terms of urban planning, design, infrastructure, public services and regulation. “The fire is the result of a complete lack of [governmental] responsibility that has accumu-

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Fires have plagued Valparaíso throughout its history. Prolonged drought and unseasonably high temperatures associated with climate change have exacerbated the risks. . . . But the recent fire also represents a colossal political failure of the state in terms of urban planning, design, infrastructure, public services and regulation.

“The fire is the result of a complete lack of [governmental] responsibility that has accumulated over the past 40 years, as the city has grown.”
—Sebastián Gray,
president, Chile’s College
of Architects

lated over the past 40 years, as the city has grown,” Gray charges.

The problem, according to Gray, is not the quality of the self-built homes, which are generally well-constructed, with solid roofs and foundations. But, apart from regularizing some land titles, the city has done little to address the collateral damage of unregulated peripheral growth. It has not discouraged settlements in the most precarious zones, or redesigned narrow, winding hillside streets to accommodate emergency vehicles. It has abandoned the water supply system invented by Valparaíso’s firefighters and municipal workers 100 years ago, which utilized a large hilltop reservoir for storage (the reservoir is finally now being renovated). The lack of working fire hydrants and water supply sources on the hilltops was a principal abetting cause of the fire.

Mounting combustible garbage in the ravines, due to the city’s failure to provide adequate hillside trash collection services, also fueled the fire’s rapid spread. Valparaíso residents blame Mayor Castro for failing to protest when ex-president Sebastián Piñera canceled national funding for a ravine clean-up program several years ago. According to Gray, over the years the Chilean state has increasingly abandoned its municipalities to fend for themselves, leading to extreme disparities in the level of services provided by rich and poor cities. Historically, despite its strategic importance as a port city, Valparaíso has been cash-strapped—in part because the port does not pay for its use

of city services and the costs it imposes on the municipality.

While ignoring the needs of Valparaíso’s poorest residents, the city’s political and economic elites have encouraged downtown redevelopment projects like the Barón Mall, a massive harbor side shopping center with superstores and hotels now under construction by a private company on land acquired cheaply from the port. The national Housing Ministry is slated to provide more than \$21 million in subsidies to the project. Although UNESCO recently warned that the development could jeopardize Valparaíso’s status as a world heritage site, both municipal and national authorities have vowed to proceed with it.

Meanwhile, the government’s post-disaster response has been widely criticized as inadequate, disorganized and delayed. Mayor Castro provoked his own political firestorm by responding to an irate fire victim, “Who invited you to live here?” At least one group of displacees has threatened to go on hunger strike in protest.

In stark contrast to the failures of the state, Valparaíso’s fire victims have experienced an unprecedented outpouring of solidarity from civil society organizations. Massive numbers of volunteers have been mobilized by labor unions, community organizations, local soccer clubs and, especially, student groups, to assist families with day-to-day survival, clean-up and rebuilding activities. Progressive planners, architects and design professionals have also played an important role in this effort.

Communal cooking facilities (reminiscent of “*Las Ollas Comunas*”—the “common pot” soup kitchens from the dictatorship era) have been established in affected neighborhoods by youth and worker organizations, spawned by a social media campaign labeled “*Una Cuadra, Una Cocina*” (“one block, one kitchen”). Local agricultural suppliers have donated truckloads of produce. Students at three universities launched a “solidarity strike” to demand time away from classes to continue their volunteer work. These community-led and self-managed relief efforts have proved to be much more successful than the formal disaster response by government agencies.

Similar to the links forged between Occupy activists and communities decimated by Hurricane Sandy in New York City, these alliances have now given rise to a nascent community-based reconstruction planning initiative. In both situations, daunting challenges and questions remain. Should residents be allowed (or entitled) to return and rebuild on precarious sites that pose a continuing environmental risk? Can a disparate grassroots coalition born of disaster maintain sufficient unity and political leverage to affect the outcome of a protracted reconstruction planning process? From New York City to Valparaíso, whether an urban catastrophe can become an opportunity for progressive change remains to be seen. **P²**

Crowdfunding Community Projects

A Transformative Community Development Tool and a Liability for Social Justice and Government Responsibility

Liz Treutel

IN THE OFTEN UNDER-FUNDED ARENA of community-based projects, crowdfunding can provide a hands-on approach to fundraising for organizers to advance projects that would otherwise fail for lack of financial support. Fiscal issues are no longer a problem limited to rust-belt cities of the Midwest, but a national and global phenomenon. Whether community groups want to improve a playground, build a bike path or plant street trees, crowdfunding can be a tool to get projects off the ground when adding a line item on the municipal budget is not an option.

Despite the widespread celebration of crowdfunding, we, as planners, must acknowledge and respond to the concerns that come about with this trend. Creating privately-funded alternatives to vital public projects or services further legitimizes public sector failures. In the long run and without proper safe-guards, crowdfunding could legitimize the privatization of public goods and shifting of responsibility for the public welfare away from government entities. This is especially concerning in low-income communities where residents may not have the ability to organize or fund initiatives that encompass their needs. Planners have a unique opportunity to shape the future of crowdfunding for projects where appropriate and help decision-makers understand when crowdfunding does not serve the interests of the community.



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Illustrations courtesy of Keith Hayes, beintween.org

Introduction to Crowdfunding

Introduced in the late 1990s and highly popularized within the last five years, crowdfunding has primarily been used to fund start-up entrepreneurial projects that often have a creative or digital focus. The widespread success and popularity of crowdfunding has promoted the flexible funding mechanism for everything from mission trips to real estate development. Through crowdfunding, individuals invest relatively small amounts of money into various sized projects, initiatives or organizations in return for a pre-determined donor gift. In some cases, donors receive a share in the claim to future assets of the entity.

Today, many non-profits, community development groups, individuals and even government entities are using crowdfunding to initiate improvement efforts in their communities, which essentially serve as public projects. For example, a non-profit, the Do Good Initiative, used crowdfunding to rebuild a primary school to serve nearly 500 students in Rwanda. In Liverpool, a non-profit used crowdfunding to support an elevated urban park, similar to New York City's Highline, at the amount of \$45,000. Recently, the New York City Council helped facilitate a \$20,000 crowdfunding effort to rebuild a restaurant damaged by Hurricane Sandy.

In this article, I will explore one example, a recent project in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, called "Matireal, a 'Creational Trail.'" Matireal is a multi-use trail built with a material composed of recycled tires, with a linear, public art gallery called the "Artery" running along an old rail corridor connecting neighborhoods

throughout the City. The project used Kickstarter, an online crowdfunding platform, to complete the first phase of the project and encourage government investment. In its design and concept, Matireal is a privately funded project with a public purpose.

About Matireal: a 'Creational Trail

Matireal uses an innovative approach to address a multitude of social, economic and environmental issues that the City's tax revenue cannot cover. Matireal is about connecting neighborhoods through art and recreation. The Matireal project founder, Keith Hayes, formed the organization "beintween" soon after the introduction of the design concept for Matireal, with the mission to "make [art] do [work]." The trail, constructed of a geotextile made of recycled tire material, gravel and grasses, was completed in November 2013, and reclaims a divested 2.4-mile rail corridor by connecting two diverse neighborhoods over a rail bridge. The public art gallery component of Matireal is currently in the development process.

Once a more integrated community, the Harambee and Riverworks neighborhoods were severed by a four-lane highway and became segregated racially and socio-economically. This separation has also made it unsafe for pedestrians, as many of them use the divested rail bridge, not designed for pedestrians, to cross the busy thoroughfare. When completed, Matireal will form a linear art-based park through the rail corridor and rail bridge to reconnect the neighborhoods physically and culturally. According to its website, the project aims to "engage all people . . . and break down major social, cultural, economic and racial boundaries by stitching these along the artery." The project is a

"simple, low-tech revitalization concept that works within a neighborhood" using an innovative, sustainable and socially just planning intervention that wouldn't have gained monetary support from the City.

Planning and design for Matireal began in the fall of 2011 when Keith Hayes wanted to find a way to combine sustainable material design and neighborhood revitalization. After designing the material and

collaborating with community groups, the first step to get the project off the ground was to purchase a \$10,000 shipping container to use for material storage and advertising. Early in the process, the project hit a wall when attempts to obtain large investments, assistance from the City or Federal grants failed. On October 29, 2012, Hayes launched the project on Kickstarter, the largest online crowdfunding platform, in an attempt to move Matireal forward. The project reached its crowdfunding goal of \$10,000 in less than a month with 230 backers. With a total of \$11,296 pledged, backers received various gifts dependent on their pledge levels, ranging from a "sincerely written Thank You from the founders" for a \$5 contribution, to 500 square feet of the trail material (for use in personal driveways, or other projects) for contributions of \$2,500 or more.

After the crowdfunded investment allowed the group to purchase a shipping container in late 2012 and move forward with development,

the City of Milwaukee and the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources (DNR) were willing to provide some support to the project several months later. The City and the Wisconsin DNR assisted with land acquisition, the donation of recycled tires to create the trail material, construction permits and safety provisions



for the project. Without the initial capital investments from Kickstarter investors, the City or State would probably not have been willing or able to provide assistance. In the case of Matireal, crowdfunding was used as a transformative community development tool to allow the innovative project to gain traction with the community, which encouraged government entities to support the project and provide assistance.

Other Examples of Crowdfunding Community Projects

Aside from Kickstarter, one can find many other examples of crowdfunding platforms used for community projects. Spacehive is a crowdfunding platform that connects community-based project initiators with financial supporters in the United Kingdom. Spacehive hosts project proposals and manages internet donations for projects in the United Kingdom as long as the project is in a public space that anyone in the community can freely access. Projects include creating a picnic area and garden in a park in Lancashire



TOP

A four-lane highway severs the Harambee and Riverworks neighborhoods.

BOTTOM

The trail, reclaiming a divested 2.4-mile rail corridor that connects two diverse neighborhoods over a rail bridge, was completed in November 2013.

and renovating a vacant store into a community street art gallery in Bristol. Spacehive is unique because, unlike Kickstarter, it is geared specifically toward projects that must be open to the public. This prevents projects from discriminating against certain users or excluding traditionally allowed public uses.

Citizeninvestor allows municipalities to raise money through crowdfunding in order to move forward on projects shelved by budget shortfalls. Only government entities or their official partners can use this online crowdfunding platform, making this a true example of crowdfunding for public projects. Citizeninvestor projects range from creating a community garden in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to building a dog park in Indianapolis, IN. Of course, the premise behind this platform is that residents will willingly contribute to government-initiated public projects beyond their current tax contributions. Thus far, this unique platform is being used for projects that are traditionally seen as extra amenities – not necessarily vital to residents' health, safety and wellness. However, Citizeninvestor creates the potential for government entities to crowdfund basic public projects that are better fit for traditional public funding.

Challenges, Opportunities, Benefits and Drawbacks

There are many challenges associated with crowdfunding community projects. The likelihood of a crowd-funded project not reaching its fundraising goal is quite high despite the many celebrated successes highlighted in the media.

Little is known about why certain projects succeed or fail with crowdfunding. Assessing crowdfunding success begins with whether it is fully funded or not, as many crowdfunding platforms return funds to contributors if funding goals are not met. Of all projects initiated on Kickstarter, only 49% are ever funded, with an average goal of those funded projects being \$5,604, a fraction of the cost of a typical community-based project. Other success criteria include whether or not the intended deliverable was completed and the time it took to complete the project. Variables that affect the success of a project include a founder's connections on social media and geographic location. In general, larger cities tend

to have a much higher success rate than small cities or rural areas. Along with the challenges for founders, funders face uncertainty of the success or quality of the deliverable. There are no accountability systems in place to monitor project progress. Similarly, if a project is initiated by an organization or start-up with the anticipation it will help or improve the community, there is no guarantee that the project will truly be public.

Just as challenges exist for securing crowdfunded financing for community projects, positive and negative implications exist regarding the outcomes of the projects. Crowdfunding provides flexibility to attain seed money for community projects and provides communities the opportunity to invest more directly in projects they support. Furthermore, crowdfunded projects can be more innovative and efficient than projects that must conform to traditional standards and regulations of the bureaucratic system.

Along with the benefits, there are also concerns associated with transforming public projects into private ventures. In *Driven from New Orleans*, John Arena dissects privatization of public goods in the case of public housing. Arena suggests that creating non-profit alternatives to public services further legitimizes public sector failures. The same risks apply when crowdfunding is used to support other community projects such as park improvements, nature trails and similar endeavors that are traditionally publicly funded through tax revenue. If the crowdfunding model becomes commonplace for public provisions, this could legitimize the long-term retrenchment and permanent shifting of responsibilities for our localities to provide basic public amenities such as utilities or welfare programs of which government entities are better suited to provide.

Planners' Roles

Perhaps most importantly, planners can act as a bridge between community organizers and government officials to make recommendations about whether crowdfunding is appropriate for a specific project. While crowdfunding public projects may adapt to budget shortfalls and realize residents' sense of place and expression of

community identity, long-term implications of crowdfunding could include shrinking government, more dependence on the private sector to provide public services and the introduction of new externalities that government intervention works to mitigate. Planners can take an active role in both improving processes for crowdfunding for public projects and catalyzing relationships between the public, project founders and government entities for crowdfunded projects.

Projects like Matireal benefit the community in many ways, but there are still issues of equity and prioritization. Rail to trail conversions or public art galleries may seem glamorous, but when cities are faced with aging infrastructure, other projects such as water and sewer systems may be higher priorities. For these reasons, crowdfunded community projects should not replace traditional public works initiatives, but can fill funding gaps in cities struggling to provide amenities.

As the Matireal project in Milwaukee illustrates, crowdfunding can be used to subsidize or initiate projects that also use traditional municipal funds. Planners can connect local entrepreneurs with government officials early in the process to encourage both parties to phase crowdfunding and public funding into a project's investment model where each is most appropriate and increase the likelihood of success. Planners could also advocate for a crowdfunding platform similar to Spacehive, one designed specifically to address the risks and rewards that come with crowdfunding public projects. This could include the requirement that projects be publicly accessible, participation in community planning processes that ensure equity and engagement from the entire community, and involvement with public officials.

Crowdfunding has the potential to create new and innovative opportunities for community projects that may not otherwise be possible. Planners could play an active role to recommend what kinds of projects are appropriate for crowdfunding, and for those that are, work to integrate key stakeholders, provide guidance and catalyze partnerships to increase the success and public benefits of crowdfunded community projects.

P²

On Ethics and Economics

Kanishka Goonewardena

AS A STUDENT, PRACTITIONER AND PROFESSOR of planning committed to socialist ideals over a quarter of a century in three countries and six cities, I can claim to have lived with a certain ‘identity crisis’. Am I a planner, an activist, an intellectual or even a radical of some kind—or, better, a combination of these? Accompanying this existential question is a nagging angst, rooted in the contradiction between my sense of what planning could be and what it is. These two have been drifting apart since I started thinking about them. And the recent discussion on the ethics of planning in these pages, following the attempts by the American Planning Association (APA) and the Canadian Institute of Planners (CIP) to modernize their professional ‘ethical codes’, tells me that this issue is not just my problem. Ethics in planning has quite properly become a matter of public dispute—thanks above all to the exemplary writings of Peter Marcuse. But I see no harmonious resolution of it on the horizon. So let me reflect on our so-called ethical dilemmas, in a way more autobiographical and anecdotal than academic.

I entered planning via architecture, even before I really knew it, as an undergraduate student in Sri Lanka in the mid to late 1980s. Politically this was an overwhelming time for most of us, as the Sri Lankan state was radically challenged by militant Tamil separatists operating in the North and East and by an ultra-leftist Maoist



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movement in the South. Revolution was in the air and we were radically politicized in the universities, which were centers of militant organization. I always recall this context to remind myself of my attitude towards architecture at a moment when it seemed that another world was not only possible but also inevitable. For even if we were mistaken then about the balance between the real and the possible, we had firmly registered the injustices of our world and resolved to make another one. I could not therefore avoid the question in studios and lectures: how could architects be revolutionary? Although this was rarely addressed by our teachers—many of them were trained at places like the Architectural Association in London—a couple of us discovered in our dusty university library a few precious books like *Town and Revolution* by Anatole Kopp, which we read alongside cheap Soviet editions of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

We realized then that architecture and revolution were indeed once united in a moment called ‘modernism’ and that urban planning was central to it—even if I was unaware of Marshall Berman’s classic *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* at the time. Being inspired by the architects of Red Vienna, Neues Frankfurt or Russian constructivists like Konstantin Melnikov, Moisei Ginsburg and the Leonid and Victor Vesnin brothers did not, however, help me much in my first job after college—as an apprentice in Colombo to my favorite teacher of architecture, a brilliant designer trained at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in the 1970s. It was a dream position for an aspiring architect, but I quickly lost the kind of discipline needed to work on fancy residences for wealthy clients in a place engulfed by burning ethnic and class conflict. I think he kindly ‘let me go’ before I quit—to take up a much less coveted job as an architect in a government of-

fice. There I thought I could be more relevant to the needs of ordinary people of Sri Lanka, who could not afford architects. So I became an urban planner, hoping very much to serve the common rather than the private interest. It was the only decision that struck me as being—as I understood this loaded word—ethical.

Ethics and planning in this sense were umbilically linked in my mind: planning was simply what enabled me as an architect to be ethical in practice. Yes, I am known to be utopian, but even then I was not so naïve as to think that a public servant in Sri Lanka, an architect at the national Urban Development Authority, could really be revolutionary. Nonetheless, I was in principle committed to the prevailing state policy of building low-income houses for the masses and investing in urban planning and design to serve those who were otherwise denied their ‘right to the city’. This was however the same state that was also murdering my fellow students by the thousands, in the North and the South, often on the mere suspicion of being ‘insurgents’. Even before the word became fashionable in the 1990s, then, I had a practical lesson in the limits of ‘insurgent planning’. But I did not give up on *revolutionary* architecture and planning. I left my government job and, thanks to some generous scholarships, devoted nearly ten years of study in the USA to my abiding topic and attendant ‘theory’.

I have to fast forward now to get to the point—which arrived just after I had become the Director of the Program in Planning at the University of Toronto in 2010. It was a letter from our provincial professional planners’ institute, saying that our planning program was due for an accreditation appraisal. And it promised more than business as usual—which is tedious enough, involving reports whose thickness alone damages the environment—because we were told that we would be evaluated according to a new set of rules, drawn up in accordance with the Canadian Institute of Planners’ hyped-up Planning for the Future initiative. This intensely debated project assumed a sweeping mandate to modernize the planning profession in Canada by revamping many things, particularly the standards for professional ethics, membership, competence and accreditation. I noticed the word *excellence* appearing with alarming frequency in the mass of documentation associated with Planning for the Future, and this made me approach the whole enterprise with due diligence.

The missionary zeal of Planning for the Future rested on a simple observation, in itself reasonable enough: the planning profession had not kept up with the demands placed on it by a rapidly changing world. Both Jane Jacobs and Lenin would have agreed with that. Yet the more one got into the substance, the more problematic it all became. To begin with, the basic concept of planning at the core of Planning for the Future offered a shockingly narrow view of the diverse array of activities in which various kinds of planners are actually engaged, by summarily reducing all that to an outdated notion called ‘land use’. It did not help that this had been the Canadian Institute of Planners’ operative yet archaic definition of planning for some fifty years, which if anything needed to be radically reformatted. But in many ways the future promised by Planning for the Future looked worse than the past, not least when it came to the crude redefinition of professional planning competence in a direction that was most unapologetically technocratic. This flew in the face of much good work done in critical planning thought, especially by those who drew on Jürgen Habermas’s celebrated distinction between instrumental and communicative reason to restore a liberal moral dimension to planning practice. We know that this is a practice increasingly subjected to the nihilist means-ends calculus characteristic of technocracy—of the sort that once claimed in Vietnam to ‘bomb the village in order to save it’, provoking a memorable ethical refutation from Marcuse and other progressive planners.

One did not of course have to be a revolutionary to find fault with Planning for the Future. Intelligent liberals and even neoliberals also read between the official lines of the Canadian Institute of Planners, expressing concern over its tendentious technocratic thrust. I have had the pleasure of talking to some of them about this noxious futurism. And one of the most articulate in their ranks, a partner of a leading international planning and urban design firm based in Toronto, once told me what he asks young people applying to work with him: not if they know cost-benefit or input-output, but whether they have read *Middlemarch*. He and I inhabit different political worldviews, but we agreed on the relevance of George Eliot (Mary Anne Evans) to a proper education in planning, which is the business of planning schools that the Canadian Institute of Planners was proposing to subsume under its technocratic vision. But not without a struggle, much to my delight.

Emails started flying between distressed professors across planning schools in Canada as soon as the threat of new accreditation standards—developed without any meaningful consultation with planning schools—became reality. The Association of Canadian University Planning Programs (ACUPP) mobilized rapidly, like an innocuous neighborhood suddenly galvanized against impending bulldozers.

So I got involved in the fractious negotiations between the Canadian Institute of Planners and representatives of Canadian planning schools, and especially in animated deliberations on Planning for the Future among fellow faculty and with students. This was not Sri Lanka in 1989, and we were not debating revolution with T-56s and AK-47s in attendance, but I relished the occasion to search our souls, asking questions about who we are and what we do. Among the positions around which some consensus emerged within the assembled group of faculty was the view that the Canadian Institute of Planners has and should have no monopoly over planning—particularly planning education. Universities too have a vital and critical role to play in planning, and their autonomy and *critical distance* from the professional world is absolutely essential to it. Mutual respect for theory and practice, so to speak, was one of the demands we put to them as a pre-condition for any agreement on new accreditation standards. As one of us wrote in an internal communication: ‘The *unique* contribution that university planning programs could make to the “future of planning” derives from the fact that we don’t have to worry from 9 to 5 about how to satisfy our clients’ demands, make a profit for our firms and hustle for the next contract; it rests on our privilege and duty to read, think, write and teach with minds of our own’.

That the technocrats of the Canadian Institute of Planners regarded our eminently liberal protestations with disdain was perhaps predictable. Unexpected was the way in which the essence of Planning for the Future once revealed itself to me. This happened not in a formal meeting, but in a Toronto pub, during a random altercation of sorts with a bureaucrat of the planning profession, who could not contain himself at my insistence that our planning program ‘would prefer not to’ seek professional accreditation under the proposed terms. He cut off my Bartleby-inflected rant on

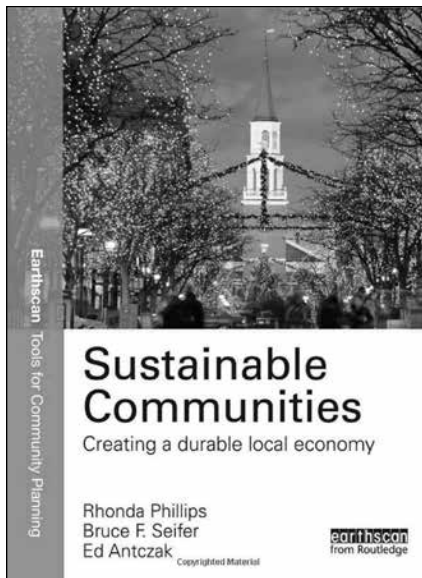
the humanist mission of the university, dispensed with the bombast of the Canadian Institute of Planners, and told the truth: Planning for the Future is not about ethics, it is about jobs. How could I ignore the plight of poor professional planners whose work is everywhere being stolen by others—architects, engineers, lawyers and God knows who else? I was stunned as he said it better than I could: what Planning for the Future is doing is nothing else but redefining planning in such a way that it would be possible to put a fence around it and say, hey, ‘only we can do business here and not you infidels’. I appreciated the candor, but could not resist a response after a few drinks. Even if the bottom line *were* jobs, would not restricting the definition of planning so tightly decrease rather than increase the work available to those who used to be called planners? Would not the future be better if we asked instead how to broaden rather than reduce the scope of our critical engagement with the problems of the world, not in competition but in cooperation with kindred spirits—experts, intellectuals, activists?

There is more to the unfinished Planning for the Future story than I can say here, but at least one lesson from it should be clear: ethics is a code-word for economics. Capitalism destroys the distinction between being good and having goods. So it is utopian in the bad sense of the word to imagine that we can somehow fix our problems in the ethical realm without also and at the same time addressing fundamental contradictions in economics if not indeed in society at large. As philosopher Theodor Adorno put it, ‘the wrong life cannot be lived rightly’. What is to be done then about the appalling gap between our professed commitment to social justice and the actually existing ethical standard of our so-called profession—which is anchored by the ‘client’ who pays the invoice, not some ethereal notion of common good? I am drawn strategically to what Lenin called ‘dual power’, which in our context points to the necessity of struggling for a better ethical code within and against the official organizations of planning, while also acknowledging in practice that much of the terrain of radical planning lies beyond those institutions. It would be dialectical to say that revolutionizing planning cannot dispense with revolutionizing the world, especially if we are to say—like I did in Sri Lanka and still do now—that planning can be revolutionary. **P²**

Book Review

Burlington Development Director Recounts History

Pierre Clavel



Sustainable Communities *Creating a Durable Local Economy*

Rhonda Phillips, Bruce F. Seifer, and
Ed Antczak

2013, Routledge: Oxford, UK and New York
304 pp., paperback 978-0415820172
also in hardcover and eBook



Pierre Clavel is emeritus professor of city and regional planning at Cornell, Details for Burlington and other progressive cities are at www.progressivecities.org.

BRUCE SEIFER, Burlington, Vermont's director of economic development for 28 years until retiring in 2012, has published a memoir (with co-authors, Rhonda Phillips and Ed Antczak) that describes his involvement in the city's struggles and accomplishments in progressive planning. The title, *Sustainable Communities: Creating a Durable Local Economy*, suggests a broader approach than is usually associated with economic development – a professional sub-field that originated with notorious smoke-stack chasing and morphed into commercial real estate deals – often to public disadvantage. This book demonstrates just how substantively different Seifer's career and Burlington's city policies were.

Burlington is as good a political story as any in the United States. Like Berkeley, Cleveland, Chicago and a number of other cities in the 1970s and 1980s, Burlington rejected business oriented government in favor of progressive mayors with redistributive and participatory approaches. The breakthrough in Burlington came in 1981, when socialist Bernie Sanders was elected mayor.

Sanders opened city hall to diverse constituencies, sought affordable housing and pursued equitable economic development. He went to the U.S. Congress and Senate after eight years, but Burlington's progressives dominated local politics for more than two decades to come. His successor, former Community Development Director Peter Clavelle, held office for all but two years from 1988–2006, while the “Progressive Coalition” maintained enough swing votes on the City Council to keep progressive programs alive in other years.

The principles behind Burlington's progressive turn are the starting point for *Sustainable Communities*: localism, redistribution, environmentalism, inclusion and nurturing a “third sector” of nonprofits. What sets this book apart is its fine level of administrative detail, illuminating not just the Progressive Coalition's priorities but also their strategies and struggles to make them real. One thing the book makes clear is the sheer enormity of work it took to achieve these goals, in terms of both volume and variety. A simple list will begin to show this.

Inclusion

Seifer often argues that his work's central goal was a simple one: "helping people." What did this mean? The authors of the book note the perception, early in Sanders' mayoralty, that Burlington had a lot of underemployed professionals. Rather than mainly working with business firms seeking support (though Seifer did plenty of that too), he helped professionals and others in need create their own businesses and nonprofits that organized groups of businesses. Women were particularly hard hit by economic inequalities. There was great interest in business opportunities for professional women, and one of the first city efforts in 1986 targeted single women in poverty, including programs in training for electrical, carpentry and plumbing trades. Contractors resisted, but Sanders backed the program, and the city began requiring contractors on city projects to hire at least 10 percent minority or female workers. There was also a Women's Small Business Program (WSBP) that translated skill development into business ownership. The authors report that over 140 new businesses were attributed to WSBP. The city's inclusion programs also targeted refugees, who were able to start several new businesses, including three grocery stores, a commercial cleaner, a taxi business, a trucking company, an interpreting service and a construction firm.

Localism

One of the top priorities for the progressive administrations was to

support local and employee owned businesses. Early in his career, Seifer devised policies that would favor locally owned businesses over big box stores and chains. As described in *Sustainable Communities*, the city wanted to promote "a business culture that survives short-term economic and political changes." In addition to roles for private sector, government and nonprofits, they sought a local business culture that a "fosters a fourth sector environment where social purposes can integrate with businesses and vice versa."

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This is the environment in which Burlington businesses like Ben and Jerry's Ice Cream and Lake Champlain Chocolates flourished. One of the best known cases of localism in action was City Market. In the 1980s a small supermarket closed and left no major food outlet in downtown Burlington.

After many false starts, the city considered an offer from a multi-national chain that would have required an \$800,000 subsidy, and resulted in a larger store than progressives wanted (and surveys of neighborhood residents suggested). The offer was enticing to many, but Mayor Clavelle and other officials resisted. Despite great controversy, the City Council declined that option and put its hopes instead in the local Onion City Cooperative – a risky choice, many thought, but ultimately a great success. Onion City came with 2000 members in its old location; in its new incarnation as City Market membership expanded to 9000. (Seifer's 37 page case history, which concludes the book, is one of its high points.)

Environmentalism

Environmentalism was a prominent goal, and it appealed across class lines. The city brought together a group called "Businesses for Social Responsibility," and Seifer helped them establish the Vermont Sustainable Jobs Fund (VSJF). The fund would invest in businesses that committed to a dual bottom line, "making profits while pursuing social responsibility for the environment, social justice, economic equity and an increased number of jobs." Up to the time of writing, VSJF had made grants to 150 firms, eventually generating \$14.5 million and 800 jobs, "building blocks of a green economy" [in] organic agriculture and local food systems, sustainable forestry, and biofuels (locally grown for local use)."

Comment

How did Seifer – and the progressives in Burlington – pull this off? None of the answers in this book – or any others I know of – are really satisfactory, but this points to a larger question about the role and usefulness of cities in general. The authors do point to certain features of the city and its politics: the progressive attitudes in the population, and the business elements that would accept the idea of social responsibility and then, with Seifer's urging, fund it. Seifer's willingness to see his responsibility in City Hall as "helping people" rather than simply "helping firms," is also a key factor. Former housing director John Davis has noted the determination of city hall progressives to work

outside the city government, reinforcing a nonprofit infrastructure that could help keep progressive programs alive while building political support.

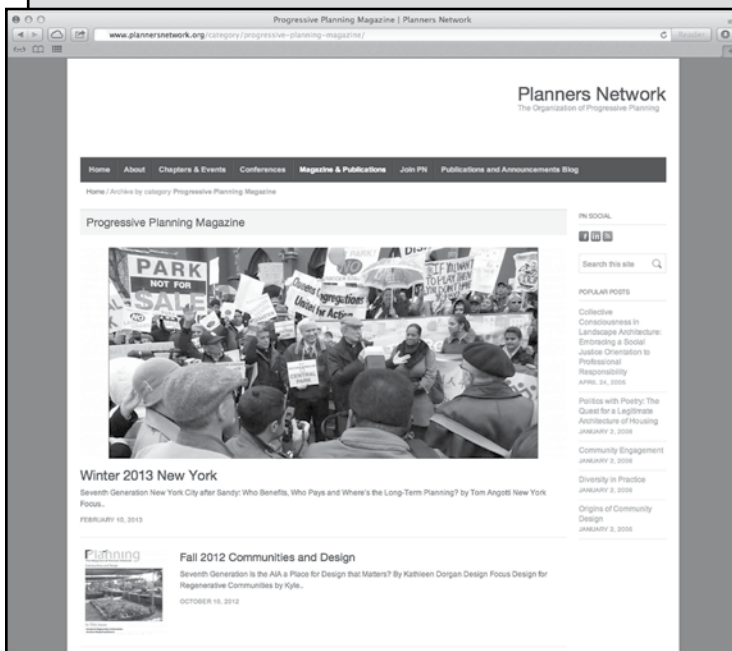
But what *Sustainable Communities* sets up, without answering, is the question of how efforts like Burlington's can be replicated, in enough cities so that the obstacles they faced can be overcome more frequently. In short, are there fundamental, structural causes for success? Is there a theory?

Part of the difficulty is that a book based on a single memoir will miss other parts of the story – Burlington's housing programs, for example. More generally, about Burlington, and other like places, we mainly know the surface,

not the detail. What we can say – and can see from *Sustainable Communities* – is that their progressive administration lasted for a long time. Thus there was a chance for institutional build-up. Over time, the environment Seifer worked in became increasingly rich and complex. For this picture we owe Seifer and his co-authors our thanks, and the obligation to look deeply at Burlington and other places that tried similar experiments in progressive economic development. **P²**

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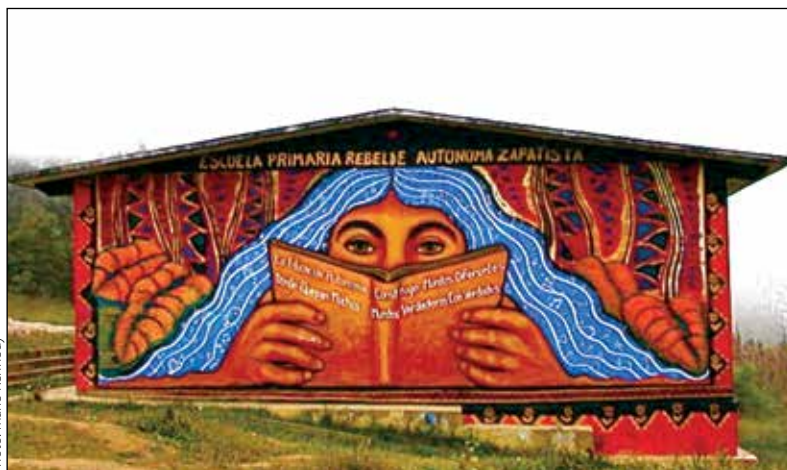


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