No. 163 www.plannersnetwork.org Spring 2005

PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

The Magazine of Planners Network

Federal transportation dollars at work: I-94 and I-35E near downtown St. Paul, MN.

Fighting for Balanced Transportation in the Motor City

By Joe Grengs

No other governmental program comes close to influencing the divided geographic patterns of our metropolitan regions like that of federal transportation. Yet most citizens would be hard-pressed to name who decides how and where transportation dollars are spent. Metropolitan planning organizations, or MPOs, are the bodies through which billions of federal dollars are distributed to state and local governments each year in support of transportation projects. Nearly every transportation project you see—new roads, fixed roads, interchanges, bus lines—has federal transportation dollars behind it. MPOs decide which projects get funded and which do not. These projects, in turn, influence where homes, jobs and stores are located. Yet the people who make up these MPOs, and the manner in which they arrive at their decisive choices, are mysterious to all but the most dedicated citizen activists. [Cont. on page 8]

INSIDE:

The SEVENTH GENERATION

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

Wake-up Calls and Networking: APA 2005 in San Francisco

By Tom Angotti

The annual conference of the American Planning Association (APA) is usually a bit like those of the Elks, Lions and Rotary International: tables selling trinkets and tote bags, tours of the town, celebratory speeches, processed food service and plenty of awards. Add to that the giant exhibition selling GIS products, and it's a jolly time for the planners who can afford it or whose bosses will pick up the tab.

But this year APA seemed to offer more than the usual token fare of substantive content that challenges planners to look at the political implications of their work and questions of equity. I take my hat off to the organizers of this conference. Amid the usual nuts-and-bolts workshops like "Impact Fees and Environmental Protection," "Security Planning for Transit" and "Meeting the Challenges of Consulting," there were a good number of panels that broke the usual mold of narrow, self-serving, technocratic planning. On the frontier were the nine sessions on food systems, seventeen on minorities and social equity and five on ethics. PNers Leah Birnbaum, Karen Chapple, Richard Milgrom and Barbara Rahder ran a session on activism in planning and I was in a session that challenged planners to oppose the occupation of Iraq.

An important moment at the conference was the presentation and discussion of a report by the APA Diversity Task Force highlighting the low visibility of planning in minority communities, the high cost of APA activities, limited opportunities for advancement for planners of color and the lack of focus by APA on issues that matter to planners of color. It is certainly a good sign that APA is grappling with the concrete manifestations of racism as they affect the organization and its members, but there was a good deal of skepticism that the profession was ready to make a leap out of its historic passivity before racial injustice. Hopefully, this will be a wake-up call.

Also, among the mobile workshops that mixed tourism and local boosterism, there were a few tours that looked at the unseemly downside of official planning.

The PN Tour

Unmatched, however, was the Disorientation Bus Tour organized by the San Francisco Chapter of Planners Network. Starting in Nob Hill, we drove through the Tenderloin and Civic Center, stopped in the gentrifying South of Market and went through Potrero Hill to Bayview/Hunter's Point. There we got a first-hand account of the environmental justice struggles and community plans to improve this waterfront area. At the gates of the Hunter's Point complex we heard a fascinating story from two community activists: San Francisco Supervisor Sophie Maxwell, who also chairs the Board's Land Use Committee; and attorney/activist Karen Pierce.

Hunter's Point hosts a power plant, sewage treatment plant and wholesale produce market that attracts heavy diesel trucking. As a result, the largely African American neighborhood that abuts the area has the highest rate of hospitalization for asthma in the city, and a high rate of breast cancer for women under age 50.

Maxwell said that "the San Francisco Planning Department had plans for the area that were all housing, but there are businesses here." She has been advocating a plan that preserves jobs, provides at least 35 percent low-income units and is subject to approval by the local community. "I ran on planning, not banning," she said.

The PN tour ran on volunteer energy and public transit. It cost only $1.25, the price of a bus ticket, a tiny fraction of the cost for APA tours.

ACSP and the Rebel Flag

Perhaps the lowest point of the conference came during the meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP). The elected representatives of this organization of plan- **[Cont. on page 7]**

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Progressive Planning is published quarterly by Planners Network, Inc., a non-profit corporation in the State of New York.

Progressive Planning is indexed in the Alternative Press Index.

Statement of Principles

The Planners Network is an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social, economic, and environmental planning in urban and rural areas, who promote fundamental change in our political and economic systems. We believe that planning should be a tool for allocating resources and developing the environment to eliminate the great inequalities of wealth and power in our society, rather than to maintain and justify the status quo. We are committed to opposing racial, economic, and environmental injustice, and discrimination by gender and sexual orientation. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, jobs, safe working conditions, and a healthful environment. We advocate public responsibility for meeting these needs, because the private market has proven incapable of doing so.

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Progressive Planning seeks articles that describe and analyze progressive physical, social, economic and environmental planning in urban and rural areas. Articles may be up to 2,000 words. They should be addressed to PN's broad audience of professionals, activists, students and academics, and be straightforward and jargon-free. Following a journalistic style, the first paragraph should summarize the main ideas in the article. A few suggested readings may be mentioned in the text, but do not submit footnotes or a bibliography. The editors may make minor style changes, but any substantial rewriting or changes will be checked with the author. A photograph or illustration may be included. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. Send to the Editor at tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu or Planners Network, c/o Hunter College Dept of Urban Planning, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021. Fax: 212-772-5593. Deadlines are January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

Upcoming Topics (articles welcome):

Global Warming and Energy
Design, Arts and Culture
Race and Planning
Indigenous Planning

Sprawl and Justice

By Thad Williamson

Critics of suburban sprawl in the United States have generally focused on four broad issues: 1) the fiscal consequences of sprawl; 2) the environmental consequences of sprawl; 3) the impact of suburbanization on struggling central cities; and 4) the potentially negative effect of continued sprawl on quality-of-life in suburbs themselves. Increasingly, however, advocates and analysts have cited a fifth potential problem with sprawl: It may be damaging to "community" and to local civic life. My new analysis makes it clear that sprawling environments undermine active political engagement in a substantial manner.

The claim that space may significantly affect citizens' daily habits, including habits of civic participation, has intuitive appeal. It makes sense that residents inhabiting places characterized by accessible non-commercial public spaces, pedestrian-friendly streets, ample public transit and frequent opportunities for interactions with strangers (or random interactions with friends and acquaintances) might come to develop different civic habits than persons inhabiting spatial environments dominated by automobiles and strip malls.

Indeed, it is a widely shared assumption among planners that the organization of space can influence human behavior. But many social scientists remain wary of "environmental determinism," noting that claims about environmental influences are based more on anecdote and intuition rather than hard evidence.

An increasing body of evidence, however, suggests that at least some characteristics of suburban life may have important effects on civic behavior and broader social attitudes. An important study by J. Eric Oliver of data from the 1990 Civic Participation Study found that cities with greater levels of economic diversity have higher rates of participation in local politics, and that in the South, residents of older cities (measured by the median age of a locality's housing stock) are more likely to be civically engaged. Another study by Juliet Gainsborough showed that suburban residents are substantially more likely to hold conservative social attitudes, even after controlling for a range of individual and contextual demographic characteristics.

To date, however, no study has systemically explored the relationship between the peculiar spatial features characteristic of suburban sprawl and explicitly political forms of civic engagement. My own research seeks to help fill this gap by linking contextual data from the 2000 US Census, collected at the census tract level, with the 2000 Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (SCCBS), which details the civic and social habits of nearly 30,000 Americans.

Measuring Sprawl

I define sprawl as a form of suburbanization marked by low-density, automobile-oriented development and the funneling of population growth to the outer fringes of metropolitan areas rather than to established older neighborhoods.

In recent years, a number of scholars studying sprawl have attempted to quantify the concept by constructing numerical indices of sprawl, usually using the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of analysis. I break with that trend and instead seek to disaggregate sprawl into several component parts, each measured at the census tract level. The four core sprawl-related measures I employ are:

- density (persons per square mile of land in tract)
- neighborhood age (based on age of median housing unit in tract)
- automobile reliance (based on percentage of solo auto commuters in tract)
- locality boundedness (based on percentage of workers in tract living and working in the same municipality).

Regarding the last measure, this is used in place of the traditional dichotomy of city versus suburb. Rather, tracts with high levels of boundedness are generally located in central cities while tracts with low levels of boundedness function as suburbs. Using this continuous measure helps take better account of ambiguous places and of poly-nuclear MSAs than the traditional city versus suburb distinction.

Employing this disaggregated approach to sprawl has two key advantages. First, it avoids the problems and ambiguities inherent in efforts

to formulate numerical indices based on multiple indicators. Second, it allows us to consider the possibility that different dimensions of sprawl might in fact have different sorts of effects on civic and social life.

Likewise, focusing on the census tract as the unit of analysis, as opposed to the county or the MSA, also yields important advantages in studying the effect of space on individual behavior. (The municipality itself is not an available unit of analysis for this data, as a substantial number of respondents live outside incorporated places.) First, counties and MSAs obviously vary internally substantially with respect to these measures of sprawl; focusing on census tracts allows us to capture the impact of differences between neighborhoods within the same MSA as well as differences across MSAs. Second, as a theoretical matter there is good reason to think that a person's more immediate local environment should have a greater effect on his/her behavior than the county or MSA environment as a whole.

Measures of Political Participation: The SCCBS

The SCCBS, conducted in 2000 by the Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, consists of forty-one community-level samples (ranging in size from 368 to 1,500 cases) as well as a representative national-level sample of 3,003 persons. Most of the community-level samples correspond to either MSAs or central cities within MSAs; a handful correspond to entire states or to rural areas. The survey covers an enormous terrain of social and civic behavior, but I focus my analysis here on four specific forms of non-electoral political participation:

- Membership in a local reform organization within previous twelve months
- Membership in a political organization within previous twelve months
- Attendance at a political rally or meeting within the previous twelve months
- Participation in a march, boycott or protest within the previous twelve months

Table 1.

Descriptive Relationship Between Sprawl-Related Variables and Political Participation

Rate of participation in given activity in previous 12 months, by spatial characteristic

	Reform	Pol. Org.	Rally	Protest
Tract density > 8000 persons/mile	23.8%	12.5%	22.1%	11.9%
Tract density < 1500 persons/mile	17.6%	8.6%	16.9%	5.6%
Solo driver commuters in tract < 65%	25.3%	12.7%	23.2%	14.5%
Solo driver commuters in tract > 85%	20.4%	10.3%	19.1%	7.4%
Median year housing unit in tract built < 1950	25.0%	12.3%	22.6%	12.2%
Median year housing unit in tract built > 1980	20.4%	10.4%	19.4%	7.6%
70% or more in tract work/live same place	22.9%	11.8%	21.6%	10.4%
20% or less in tract work/live same place	17.8%	8.6%	16.8%	5.9%

Table 1 shows the descriptive relationship between each of these forms of political participation and the four core sprawl-related variables noted above.

As Table 1 shows, non-electoral political participation is substantially higher in more urban census tracts—i.e., tracts in which density is higher, housing stock is older, there is less reliance on the car and there are fewer out-of-town commuters. This finding is interesting, but it raises two further questions. First, does the relationship between less sprawl and more political participation hold up after controlling for individual and contextual demographic factors? And second, which of these sprawl-related variables are in fact most decisively related to political participation? ⇨

To answer these questions, I analyzed the relationship between the four core measures of sprawl and political participation, controlling for a full battery of individual and contextual factors, including age, income, education, race, gender, employment status, marital and parental status, years lived in the community, homeownership status, citizenship status, language spoken at home, individual commuting time, tract-level income and education levels, tract-level racial and economic diversity, tract-level commuting time, county-level crime, tract-level residential stability, region (Northeast, South, Midwest or West) and rural residence.

Several different kinds of analyses showed that three of the four sprawl-related variables—automobile dependence, neighborhood age and community boundedness—were significant predictors of political participation. In each case, more sprawl (greater reliance on cars, newer neighborhoods, more out-of-town commuters) is associated with reduced participation. The fourth sprawl-related variable, density, actually has a slight impact in the opposite direction. Conditional on the other sprawl-related variables, greater density is linked with less political engagement. (High density may be understood here as operating as a proxy for large city size, long established in the participation literature as having a negative effect on individual engagement.)

This countervailing effect is dwarfed, however, by the impact of the other three variables. This finding supports the suspicion of many political theorists and urban commentators that our suburban environments are not particularly hospitable to explicitly political activity—and runs counter to the long-standing view that residence in a smaller place always leads to greater political participation.

But why is this the case? At first blush, the answer may seem obvious: As a practical matter, outspoken, publicly visible political engagement is generally easier in traditional urban environments compared to sprawling areas. The presence of pedestrian onlookers as well as publicly accessible spaces make urban environments a natural habitat for protests, rallies and other forms of political expression. In contrast, as Margaret Kohn has helped document, suburban commercial environments often explicitly ban political activity of any type.

But not all forms of political engagement take place in public spaces. Group meetings, for instance, can happen behind closed doors in private homes, offices, churches and other spaces which are just as accessible in suburbia as in cities. As such, it may seem unlikely that the protest-friendly quality of traditional urban places alone explains this finding. Three additional categories of explanation deserve consideration here.

Self-Selection?

Perhaps these observed findings simply reflect patterns of self-selection—i.e., persons who are interested in politics systematically cluster into urban areas while the disinterested head for exurbia. It is impossible to completely rule out the possibility that at least some self-selection is part of the story, but three cautionary observations about this possible explanation are in order.

First, the relationship between sprawl and political participation described above holds up even after we insert additional controls for individuals' interest in politics, political ideology and labor union membership status (if any). In short, the most obvious sources of self-selection are already controlled for in the analysis.

Second, as scholars Juliet Gainsborough and Lance Freeman have each observed, if self-selection is part of the story, we must inquire into why it is that activist-minded people think of the city as the place to go. Surely the answer to that question must have something to do with the specific character of urban life.

Third, from the standpoint of evaluating whether we think sprawl is a positive development in American life, it may matter relatively little whether sprawl is the cause of reduced political engagement, the *expression* of privatistic, non-political attitudes or (as seems likely) both.

Social Networks?

Another possible explanation focuses on the possibility that social networks of the kind likely to help pull residents into political engagement may be weaker in suburban areas. Decades of popular literature and journalistic commentary have associated suburban life with social isolation and loneliness; perhaps the story with political participation is simply a particular application of a larger phenomenon.

Further analysis of the SCCBS, however, provides little support for this hypothesis. Persons living in low-density areas, for instance, are actually more likely to attend club meetings, and spatial context appears to have little systemic relationship to the number of friends and confidantes an individual reports having. (Long individual commuting times are linked to fewer friends and confidantes, however.) Moreover, suburban residents report higher levels of social trust—often taken as the best single measure of social capital—than persons living in high-density areas. Associational life in sprawling America appears

no less vigorous than associational life in classic urban spaces; what is different is the level of specifically political activity.

The Construction of Self-Interest and the Sociological Imagination

A third possible explanation—advanced in different ways by political theorists such as Susan Bickford, Loren King and Margaret Kohn and consistent with previous research by Juliet Gainsborough—is that residents of sprawling areas come to construct their own political self-interest, as well as their image of social reality, differently than residents of urban areas. The intuition here is that inhabiting a privatized environment in which most publicly accessible spaces are oriented around shopping and the automobile might shape one's view of other citizens and of the nature of public goods in a way distinct from inhabiting a prototypical urban environment marked by human-scaled street life and non-commercial public spaces. In short, the built environment might affect the way residents come to think about the social world and their own place in it.

Further examination of the SCCBS provides substantial support for this hypothesis, beyond the observed relationship between sprawl and reduced political participation. Residents of sprawling areas are substantially more likely to be politically conservative than residents of urban areas (even after controlling for partisan composition within one's county), and such residents are less likely to report having an Asian American friend (even after controlling for neighborhood racial composition). Suburban residents are also less likely to have a gay friend (though this may be in part a result of the clustering of gays and lesbians in cities). In short, it appears that sprawling spatial environments are correlated with a less expansive social imagination, which in turn may impact the propensity of residents to engage in political activity.

In my judgment, this sort of explanation and the relative hospitality of urban places to visible public activity are probably the most important factors in explaining the observed correlation between sprawl and reduced participation.

That judgment, however, is provisional. Much more evidence, including on-the-ground case studies and, if possible, experimental evidence, will be needed to flesh out both how and why sprawl is linked to depressed political engagement.

Thad Williamson is co-author (with David Imbroscio and Gar Alperovitz) of Making a Place for Community: Local Democracy in a Global Era *(Routledge, 2002). This fall he will be joining the faculty of the Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond. This article is based on his doctoral dissertation,* Sprawl, Justice and Citizenship *(Department of Government, Harvard University, 2004), as well as a forthcoming scholarly article co-authored with Dan Hopkins.*

7th Generation cont. from page 2

ning schools voted 7-5 in favor of going ahead with plans to hold the 2005 annual conference in South Carolina, despite the NAACP boycott protesting the state's decision to continue flying the Confederate Flag. Conference host Clemson University then withdrew its offer to host, citing the split in the organization and the substantial protest among planning educators who said they would not attend if it were held in South Carolina. Plans are now being made for an alternative venue.

The ACSP flap should serve as a wake-up call for progressives in planning academia—educators and students alike. The academy is filled with too many self-professed liberals who think racism died with the civil rights legislation of the 1960s, that it's only kept alive by a few recalcitrant rednecks and that we live in an enlightened, color-blind society. The reality is that minority enrollment at planning schools is not significantly better than it was forty years ago, advocacy/equity planning is still treated as an optional elective or historical curiosity in many schools and segregated communities are still the norm.

Networking and Planners Network

One of the best things about the Planners Network annual conference is that it always places issues of equity and advocacy center stage. There are no pretensions that networking among activists and professionals is our objective, while the other professional conferences leave networking to chance. And the PN conference is comparatively affordable.

But we're in no position to preach to the APA or ACSP. We can do a much better job of promoting concrete actions to turn the tide against racism in the profession, working with progressives in these other organizations. Our chapters should create environments in which planners of color and potential planners of color will participate fully. PN members who recognize the importance of racial equality should heed the wake-up calls sounded in the APA and ACSP and ask if we too aren't dozing and need a wake-up call.

Grengs cont. from page 1

The problem with MPOs is that most of them are biased against central cities in their voting structure. By allotting votes on a "one government-one vote" basis instead of a "one person-one vote" basis, MPOs grant outlying suburban jurisdictions considerably more political power in the decision-making process compared with center cities. Scholars and activists contend that this bias exacerbates sprawling urban development and further disadvantages poor households and people of color in the urban core. Whether this bias leads to worsening social equity remains an open question, but on a procedural basis a highly skewed representational scheme within an MPO may be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause, thus making such a structure unconstitutional.

Should the actions of transportation officials be subject to democratic accountability? Not in the state of Michigan, according to a judge's ruling in August 2004. A civil rights lawsuit alleged that transportation officials in the Detroit metropolitan region choose projects and spend public dollars in a way that favors the largely white and wealthy suburbs and unfairly ignores the needs of the central city and its inner suburbs. At issue was the voting structure of the MPO. The judge found that voting strength of an MPO need not be in proportion to population because an MPO has limited responsibility as a special-purpose government. Unfortunately, as a result of the ruling, Detroit's famously segregated metropolis will continue to develop under the influence of a skewed procedure that builds in a bias toward building roads for suburban commuters over strengthening transit service for inner-city bus riders. But the case does offer important lessons that planners elsewhere can learn from to mount challenges against undemocratic practices in transportation funding.

The Metropolitan Planning Organization in Detroit The Southeast Michigan Council of Governments (SEMCOG) was formed in 1968 under Michigan law to serve as a multi-purpose regional planning agency. Like other councils of government that emerged around the country by the mid-1960s, its primary purpose was to coordinate the activities of public services—such as highways, transit, water and sewers—that crossed municipal boundaries. In 1974, the federal government designated SEMCOG the MPO for the Detroit region, granting SEMCOG new responsibility for allocating federal transportation funds. The Detroit region currently receives about $1 billion of federal transportation funds each year.

Joining SEMCOG is voluntary. The organization has a membership of about 150 cities, townships, villages and school districts. It is governed by a set of bylaws that call for an executive committee (EC) to oversee project selection, with delegates coming from their home communities by appointment, not by election.

Membership on the EC is based on a one government-one vote basis, with some modifications to account for heavily populated counties. For example, the city of Detroit is allocated three delegates on the EC for its population of 950,000. Livingston County, a fast-growing area on the furthest periphery of the metropolitan region, is allocated four delegates for its population of 157,000. In other words, Detroit gets one vote for every 317,000 people while Livingston County gets one vote for every 39,000 people. Figure 1 on the following page shows the geographic distribution of people and votes in the region.

The disparity in voting strength between the urban core and outlying communities is magnified when we consider the degree of racial segregation in the region. Detroit is 82 percent African American, while Livingston County is less than one-half of one percent African American. Indeed, 73 percent of all blacks in the metropolitan region live in the central city of Detroit.

The Coalition of Challengers

After unsuccessfully requesting that SEMCOG change its biased voting structure, a coalition of community activists filed a lawsuit against the MPO. They claimed that the voting structure needs to be replaced with one that better reflects jurisdictional populations. They also pointed out that what began in the 1960s as a voluntary organization to coordinate regional plans has evolved into a powerful governmental agency responsible for distributing $1 billion in federal transportation funding and drawing up long-range plans for everything from road projects to wastewater infrastructure to economic development. If a voting structure skewed in favor of suburbs leads to the selection of projects that favor predominantly white residents in outlying communities, they claimed, then transportation officials may be discriminating against racial minorities who live primarily in the urban core.

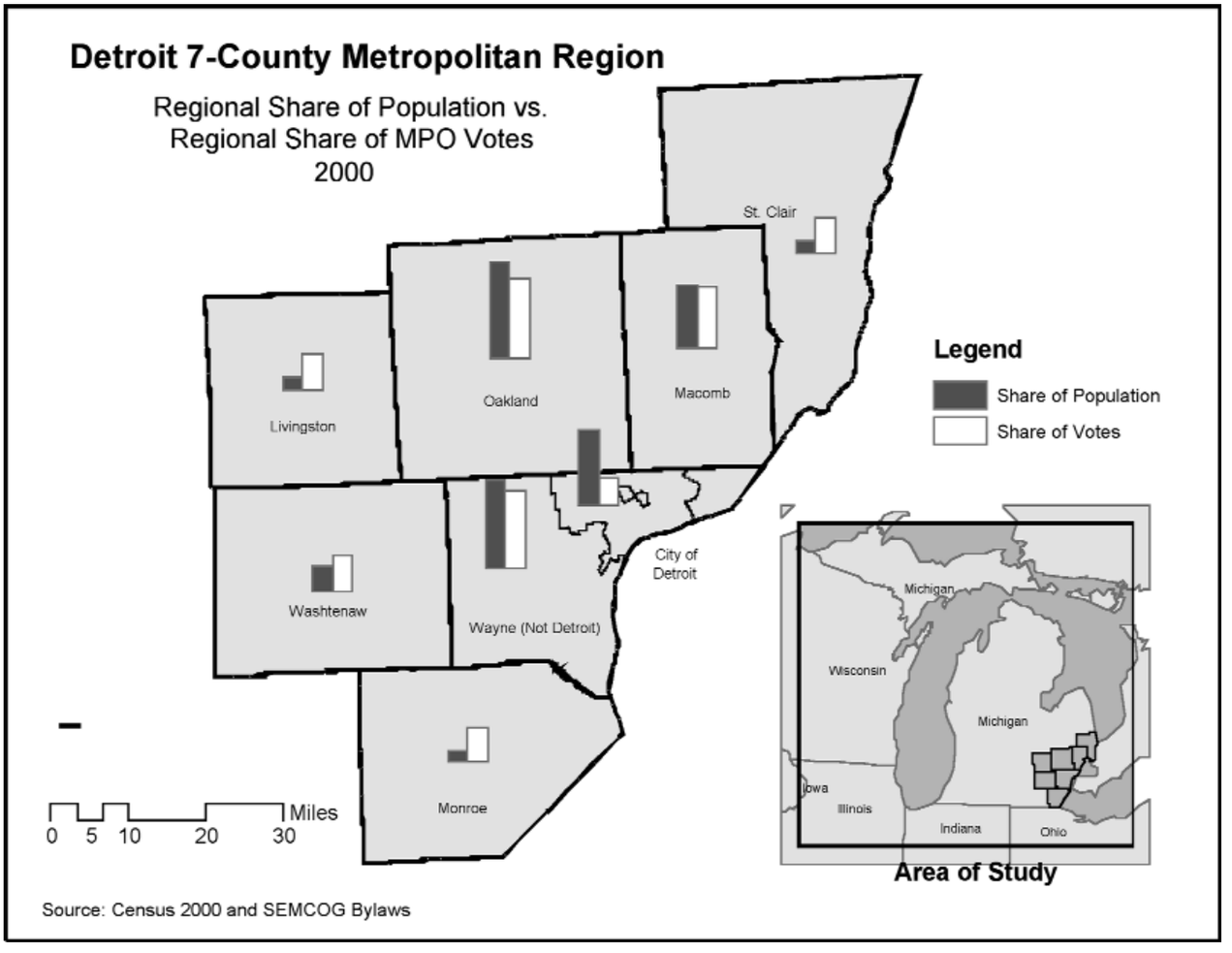
The first member of the coalition of plaintiffs was one of the MPO's member units of government, the city of Ferndale. As a first-ring suburb north of Detroit, Ferndale has lately been feeling many of the stresses associated with central cities, including deteriorating infrastructure, concentrated poverty and a diminishing tax base. The city manager, Tom Barwin, has long been an outspoken critic of sprawl-inducing policies in the Detroit region. As

he told the *Detroit News* last January, "SEMCOG is so heavily skewed and weighted toward sprawl, it doesn't even pass the straight-face test. We have some of the country's worst roads. We're one of the last areas in the nation without a working mass transit system. And we're at least $60 billion short of being able to maintain the infrastructure we already have."

Other plaintiffs included: MOSES (Metropolitan Organizing Strategy Enabling Strength), a faith-based community organization with over seventy member congregations in the central city and inner-ring suburbs and a mission of fighting the effects of urban sprawl on concentrated poverty and racial segregation; the Transportation Riders United (TRU), a Detroit-based non-profit mass transit advocacy group; four private citizens; and attorney Richard Bernstein, a longtime advocate for disabled persons. Blind since birth, Bernstein argues that SEMCOG's voting structure harms its ability to sufficiently fund mass transit. As he told the local newspaper the *Metro Times* in August, "The system that exists does not provide that basic level of services. If you can't drive, and you can't afford someone to drive for you, you don't have a life here. And that, we argue, violates provisions under the Civil Rights Act and is illegal under the law." The plaintiffs were represented by attorney and former community organizer Gary Benjamin and his law firm, Michigan Legal Services, an anti-poverty coalition of attorneys.

The Issues in the Courts

The plaintiffs in MOSES v. SEMCOG made two main claims. First, they claimed that SEMCOG should be subject to proportional representation based on a one person-one vote requirement. In the absence of such representation, they claimed, the citizens of underrepresented jurisdictions are denied equal protection of the law. The second main claim alleged that SEMCOG's voting structure violates a civil rights act under Michigan law known as the Elliott-Larsen Civil Rights Act.



The judge, the Honorable John H. Gillis, Jr., in the Third Circuit Court of Wayne County, denied both claims. ⇨

He ruled that "the one person-one vote doctrine does not apply to SEMCOG." His decision hinged on two essential issues: that SEMCOG delegates are appointed rather than elected, and that SEMCOG is more a special purpose government than a general purpose government. A state government may select some government officials by appointment, "and where appointment is permissible, the one person-one vote doctrine does not apply." On whether appointment is constitutional in this case, the judge further noted that even though SEMCOG carries the substantial responsibility of allocating $1 billion annually, it is not the amount of funding but the "*nature* of the activities in which a governmental unit is engaged." As a local government with a limited purpose, SEMCOG lacks the kinds of power that a general purpose government possesses, such as levying taxes, condemning property or issuing bonds. Therefore, SEMCOG can be governed by appointed delegates and is not subject to proportional representation.

The Elliott-Larsen Civil Rights Act states that a citizen may not be denied the "full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages or accommodations of a place of public accommodation or public service because of … race." The judge found that the plaintiffs brought insufficient evidence on this claim: "They have not shown how [the voting structure] burdened African Americans more harshly than members of other racial groups as required to show a disparate impact" and they "also failed to plead any causal connection between the voting structure of SEMCOG and the underdevelopment of mass transit."

Lessons from the Case

The case is currently under appeal, but it has already revealed a number of lessons for mounting new challenges in Detroit or elsewhere. First, on the issue of whether an MPO ought to be considered a general purpose government and therefore subject to proportional representation, legal questions remain. In a similar lawsuit filed in the United States District Court of Connecticut in 1973, a non-profit community-based organization claimed that a council of governments made no adjustment for population variations among the member units of government and would result in a gross under-representation of the central city of Hartford. Like the SEMCOG case, the court ruled that a council of governments may appoint its delegates and is therefore not subject to the one person-one vote doctrine. But in a dissenting opinion, a judge questioned whether a council of governments is properly considered merely special purpose rather than general government, and signaled that substantial power over public funds may one day be open to challenge: "This control of the purse strings for the building of such a large assortment of facilities is essentially 'governmental' in nature in a day and age when municipalities are frequently financially incapable of total self-reliance." The power over public funds by an MPO has substantially increased since the Connecticut case, especially after passage of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA), and challenges elsewhere should place special emphasis on the elevated responsibility granted MPOs since their inception in the 1970s.

A second lesson from the case is that a civil rights legal challenge requires enormous research to establish disparate impact. In the SEMCOG case, the attorneys collected an impressive array of support for the case from nationally recognized researchers, including David Rusk. But the burden of proof is especially high in civil rights cases. Planners have an important role to play in clearing this high bar of proof. Planners in universities can provide number crunching, planners in professional agencies can provide data and insider information and planners in community-based organizations can mobilize citizens and provide personal testimonies from harmed bus riders.

Third, a broader coalition of plaintiffs may be required. The judge noted in his opinion that only three plaintiffs claimed to be members of a protected class under the civil rights act. Furthermore, he noted that although MOSES and TRU advocate for people living in poverty and dependent on mass transit, "the class of impoverished persons is not a protected class" under the law. Evidently, a more explicit link between plaintiffs and people of color will be required to successfully bring suit on civil rights claims. Including other governments that are members of the MPO would have strengthened the legal claims in this case. Conspicuously absent was the city of Detroit, which declined an invitation to join the lawsuit, a point the judge was quick to note in his written opinion.

MPOs across the nation do outstanding work in the face of rising responsibilities and few resources, and they do it while balancing competing interests in what can often be ugly regional politics. But most of them also carry forward an old-fashioned "one government-one vote" decision-making process that is no longer suited to the great responsibility that comes with shaping the geographic landscape of our metropolitan regions. Planners and community activists elsewhere should consider the lessons of this Detroit case if they hope to bring into better balance the built-in bias that contributes to urban sprawl.

Joe Grengs, an assistant professor at the University of Michigan, is a member of TRU and provided expert witness testimony in the lawsuit.

Strategies to End Domestic Violence and Promote Community Sustainability

By Jessica Dexter

Domestic violence is a significant obstacle to the sustainability of any community. The combined exertion of force and shame prevents victims of domestic violence from participating as full and equal members of society. A community cannot function properly when the voices of its citizens cannot be heard. The National Center for Injury Prevention and Control's 2003 report, *Costs of Intimate Partner Violence against Women in the United States*, estimates that domestic violence costs our society over $5.8 billion per year in medical and mental health expenses and lost productivity. Although the problem of domestic violence has long been invisible as a community concern, planners and others who work in the field of community development can incorporate domestic violence consciousness into their work, creating a healthier and more vibrant community for everyone.

Consider Laura, a woman with two children who is thinking about leaving an abusive relationship. The decision to leave is by no means an easy one, but over the past twenty years the legal system has evolved to legitimize domestic abuse as a crime and make leaving an abuser a safer option than it has been in the past. But many people do not realize that leaving is only the first in a series of challenges Laura will face. Can she provide food and shelter for herself and her children? Does she have the skills and education to find a decent job? Does she have access to child care? Does she have a way to get to her job, the grocery store, the school, the doctor? Does she find meaning and inspiration in her life that will help her gain confidence and a sense of purpose after years of abuse?

Communities can empower survivors of domestic violence to change their lives for themselves by ensuring that community systems makes the transition out of an abusive relationship as painless as possible. A strong community and a sense of place can boost a survivor's self-esteem and dignity. The planning process is an ideal time to assess the network of support a community offers to someone like Laura, who is unsure if she can make it on her own. Planners can be the ones to initiate this next step toward ending domestic violence once and for all.

This checklist can help a community see itself through the lens of a survivor of domestic violence. It suggests planning principles that can benefit the entire community, and it may also be a way to start generating ideas for creative local solutions to domestic violence.

Checklist of Planning Principles to Protect Domestic Violence Victims

Housing
- ☐Sufficient number of affordable housing units;
- ☐Mix of affordable housing types, suitable for both single-parent families and individuals;
- ☐Emergency shelters, and sufficient space to meet demand;
- ☐Speedy access to permanent affordable housing; and
- ☐*Bonus:* Dedicated housing project for domestic violence survivors.

Transportation
- ☐Essential services—e.g., groceries, schools, medical facilities, police station, courthouse, legal assistance, workplaces, counseling, child care, library, post office, parks, physical fitness centers— are easily accessible by foot or public transportation;
- ☐Walkways are safe, e.g., well-lit, equipped with call boxes; and
- ☐Safe, clean and affordable public transportation system in operation.

Land Use
- ☐Development is compact, diverse mix of uses;
- ☐Town center is pedestrian-friendly;
- ☐Abundance of public spaces—places to meet and interact with people, places that build community; and
- ☐Community is vibrant, has strong sense of identity.

Economic Development
- ☐Adequate number, variety of jobs; and
- ☐Education and training available and accessible to single parents, low-income individuals.

Community Facilities & Services
- ☐911 response system;
- ☐Police have domestic violence response training, protocol;
- ☐Police have speedy response time;
- ☐Schools have domestic violence awareness education;
- ☐Medical facilities, reproductive health care locally available and accessible;
- ☐Domestic violence hotline;
- ☐Domestic violence advocacy group active in community;
- ☐Community awareness of services available to help domestic violence survivors;
- ☐Affordable child care;
- ☐Affordable elder care facilities;
- ☐Community education programs;
- ☐Library has books, information on domestic violence;
- ☐System to protect against release of survivors' personal information (address, phone numbers, etc.);
- ☐Variety of cultural events free and accessible to all community members;
- ☐Safe public access to beauty: open spaces, natural park areas, historic areas, etc.;
- ☐Opportunities to enhance physical fitness;
- ☐Unemployment insurance, welfare, food, heating, medical assistance available and accessible to domestic violence survivors; and
- ☐*Bonus:* Program to provide survivors with cell phones for emergency use.

Jessica Dexter studies environmental law at Vermont Law School and has worked as an assistant planner for the City of Bayfield, Wisconsin.

Community Development as Improvised Performance: *How a New York Housing Project Turned Around*

By Esther Farmer

Community-building is about building relationships. It is the activity of putting people together so they can create new conversations and activities. This is a story about the community-building process in a large low-income housing project in Brooklyn, New York, where community development was framed and envisioned as "improvisational performance."

This framework of improvisational performance helped turn around a project that was ridden with violence due to the competition between gangs over the drug trade. I worked for six years (1993-1999) as a manager of the project, Maple Houses, in Brooklyn's East New York.

Framing community development work as improvisational performance helps community members realize their capacity to create new environments or "stages" on which to perform new unscripted plays. Community development professionals are like theatre directors. Improvisation keeps them and community members focused on the creative process as opposed to fixated on outcomes.

Even the Pizza Man Delivers

By the end of 1994, the drug violence in Maple Houses appeared to be over, suddenly, but it actually was not sudden. The relative peace was hard won and the result of a complicated, uneven and messy process.

One of the keys to the turnaround at Maple Houses was a truce between drug gangs. The Tenant Association (TA) brokered a meeting of rival gangs, and the gangs agreed to stop the drug dealing and violence in the project. A tenant patrol was organized in every building. Children could be seen on playgrounds. Residents went outside on project grounds to talk to neighbors. Where once the pizza man would never deliver, as one newspaper reported, "Even the Pizza Man Delivered." The city started investing in the area again, built a new playground and started a program called Operation Commitment. The media printed stories about the changes.

To understand this process, imagine the following conversation. The head of the Tenant Patrol approaches a former gang leader who is just out of prison and attempting to get a job with the contractors working at Maple. She asks him what he thinks of the recent death of a young man, the sixth death in several months. He says it's terrible. He knows the young man and his family, and feels that something needs to be done. She asks him what he thinks is possible. He suggests that he talk to some of his people. She says great and asks him to let her know what comes out of this conversation and that she is interested in helping in any way she can to facilitate more of these discussions. This conversation was a new performance for the participants. No one had ever asked the young people to play the role of leader in this way before.

These kinds of conversations were the ordinary and extraordinary performances that changed everything at Maple. Many of the key actors in this truce would formerly not even be in the same room together, much less engaged in a conversation. The gangs responded to the demand to end the violence at Maple because the leadership of the community included them in the ongoing collective effort to create new ways of doing things.

Performance as a Tool for Development

The Russian developmental and educational psychologist Lev Vygotsky examined how children learn and develop by doing what they don't know how to do. His theories are the basis for the performance approach to community-building. In this approach, community-building can be viewed as similar to improvisational ensemble building. Every activity in the ensemble (community) has an impact on the overall development of the ensemble, and everyone involved has responsibility for strengthening the ensemble. Community-building is a collective, creative ensemble process—people conversing, performing and sharing a commitment to the ensemble they continuously create.

Too often, poor people in inner-city communities are related to and also relate to themselves as "fixed" in the sense of lacking the capacity to devel-

op. People see themselves as "broken" and in need of experts to "repair" them. Often young people, especially young people of color, are labeled or categorized. These categories often become so calcified and entrenched that they are seen as almost impossible to transcend. Performance is one way out of this rigidified understanding.

Performance helps people see their capacity to be other than who they think they are, other than who they have been and how they have been related to, all critical components if we are serious about empowerment. Performance is a powerful tool for communities to grow. When communities develop, they do so by "becoming" or going beyond themselves. When a community discovers its power, it discovers that it can do something it didn't know it could do. It discovers that there is such a thing as power and that the community can wield it.

The role of expertise is to support communities and their members as they build environments in which it is possible for them to perform creatively. This is in contrast to the traditional role of expertise—knowing and imposing solutions, fixing problems or scrambling to do damage control. In fact, the improvisational framework does not attempt to solve problems. The approach starts from the premise that community development processes cannot be, nor should they be, controlled. The community must create their own processes from the bottom up.

Constructing Improvisational Performances

Consider how professional actors are taught improvisational techniques. They are trained to relate to what the previous speaker says, and to build on that.

Now imagine the stage setting at Maple Houses. The Tenant Association (TA) leader has had many conversations with young people in gangs. They say they want to stop the violence but they can't talk to each other. The TA leader, who is not part of the fight between the gangs, talks to some former gang leaders who are also not part of it and who have credibility in the community. Together they set up a meeting. Here is a new stage setting never before attempted. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss how to do what everyone says they want: End the violence at Maple. Everyone is uncomfortable on this stage. You can feel the tension. No one knows what to do. What they have in common is their desire to end the violence. They are now creative partners in a new dialogue.

When people are placed together in a new way on a new stage, there is no trust. It's risky business. The environment is not necessarily safe. But neither safety nor trust is a pre-condition for improvisation. In this situation, the community was demanding a new performance from the young people. The young people were also asking for a new performance from the adult leaders. There was no agreement that the meeting was called to build trust. The stage was set so that people could perform differently. Participants learned that it was possible to do something new even with all the distrust, fear and antagonism.

The Director Supports Emergent Leadership

The community development professional, like the theater director, can help to set the stage and get people to perform in ways that support relationship-building. When I got to Maple, the staff was demoralized, the residents were constantly fighting among themselves and the staff and the residents had a very tense relationship. The TA was ineffectual. The environment was hostile to new ways of doing things and there was almost no participation at community meetings.

When a community discovers its power, it discovers that it can do something it didn't know it could do.

As I began building relationships with the residents, staff, local police and other community players, it became clear that there was a tremendous leadership vacuum. My task was to be ready to seize the opportunities for new leadership that could appear at any moment. The recognition, identification and support of emerging community leadership is one of the most important jobs of community development work.

The most important leaders who came forward were two long-time women residents. One was rumored to be a "troublemaker" by the previous administration. Her son was murdered a few years before in what was supposed to be drug gang infighting. She came into my office one day angry about the lack of community participation and democracy in the Tenant Association. I agreed with her and asked her what, if anything, she wanted to do about it. I could not "fix" this problem. From the beginning of our relationship, I related to her as an agent of change.

The other woman who came forward to play a leading role was providing leadership on a daily basis in her building, one of the worst in the project. She came to me with several other residents and told me that she wanted to set up a twen- ⇨

ty-four-hour tenant patrol. I said great and asked her what she needed from me. We immediately got to work. She organized the building, set up the patrol and enlisted the help of former gang leaders who were interested in doing something new in the community.

I introduced these two important actors to each other and together we made plans to expand the patrol to the rest of the development. This was a creative activity, a community improvisation. We started by asking the question, "Who was already providing leadership in each building?" In hundreds of similar settings we found that people were able to act if the community developer as director empowered them to improvise and helped them "cast" the actors and get the props they needed.

The "good/bad" dichotomy that is so prevalent in our culture is a barrier to change and often prevents communities from organizing all of their strengths.

Tenants and Staff: A Creative Partnership

Improvisation is most powerful when people agree to be put together in a work environment in previously improbable or unthinkable situations. The situational context gives the participants the space to do something different and to experiment with goals of improving things for the community as a whole.

After the TA election I gave the TA president space in the management office for her to work. This was quite controversial. While it is customary to give the TA president space, it is not considered good practice in this traditional institution to keep her near the employees. But I wanted her to see the kinds of issues that the staff deals with every day, and the staff to see how hard she worked on behalf of Maple.

The TA president was put in a situation that required her to perform beyond herself. She developed her own capacity by virtue of having access to a professional management environment where she was invited and expected to succeed. She learned to write grants, create tenant programs and appreciate how difficult the staff's job was. Both she and the staff were not only *in* the environment, they were constantly engaged in collectively *creating* the environment.

Both the office staff and the TA president learned a tremendous amount from seeing each other work every day. They began to rely on each other for their complementary strengths and look to each other for help. The staff learned how powerful it was to have a tenant leader on its side. She could advocate for resources the staff could not get. For example, when there were staff shortages, the TA president would use her clout to get new staff.

Expand the Plot: Young People as Community Builders

Although there is general agreement on the importance of inclusion in community work, there is also a certain not-so-subtle bias, particularly in traditional institutions, that there are some people who are simply not acceptable to work with. The script is written so that certain people are acceptable to talk to and others are not. At Maple, we broke these barriers. New conversations were possible because there was no litmus test for participation.

The "good/bad" dichotomy that is so prevalent in our culture is a barrier to change and often prevents communities from organizing all of their strengths. If you start from the premise that drug users and dealers are all "bad" and that you should only work with people who are "good" or "squeaky clean," you severely limit the possibilities. The new **[Cont. on page 24]**

Planning Open Space:
The World Social Forum and Neoliberalism

By Josh Lerner

The World Social Forum (WSF) and neoliberalism seem to have little in common. Neoliberalism is the world's dominant political and economic ideology, promoting a system of competitive individuals governed only by the invisible hand of the almighty market. The World Social Forum is a "people's alternative" to the neoliberal-leaning World Economic Forum. This January's fifth annual WSF, held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, brought together over 155,000 people from 135 countries, all driven by a shared rejection of neoliberalism and commitment to fight for another "social" world.

Despite fundamental contradictions, however, the WSF and neoliberalism both claim to create unregulated "open space"—non-hierarchical and uncontrolled physical and social space that permits free interaction. If neoliberalism stands for unregulated open space, should social forums as well? How can the Forum experience help us learn how to better plan spaces that promote social change? To answer these questions, we need to first take a full look at what people did at the Forum, and then assess what these activities accomplished. Based on this assessment, I propose that the WSF and other progressive forums can be more powerful forces for social change if we focus less on protecting them as unregulated open spaces and more on planning them as equitable, educative and democratic spaces.

The View from Inside: What Happened at the Forum

This year's WSF encompassed days of panels, workshops, meetings, concerts, rallies, art events, eating, producing, shopping, gatherings and parties. How people experienced the Forum varied greatly and there is no single way to describe it, but I will try to provide a general account of how many participants experienced it.

For many people, the WSF process began before arrival in Porto Alegre. Organizations that wanted to arrange events were required to submit proposals two months in advance. Unlike in previous years, the proposals were posted in searchable databases on the WSF website, and organizations were asked to communicate with groups planning similar activities in order to combine events. This process was gradually and often cryptically explained in WSF emails: "The aggregation process is volunteer and comprehends at least four action modalities that may be matched." Some organizations began collaborating and later hosted joint sessions, while others did not.

To register for the Forum, participants from the North paid $12 per person and $100 per organization, while participants from the South paid $4 and $50, respectively. There is little official demographic information about participants, but it appeared that at least 75 percent were Brazilian. Asians, Africans and racial minorities from the North seemed very underrepresented. The costs of participation, including plane tickets, were cheapest for those who participated the most (Brazilians) and most expensive for those who participated the least (Asians and Africans). Although the participants seemed to be gender-balanced, panel speakers were disproportionately male.

The Forum took place along a 10-kilometer stretch of the Guaíba River bank in hundreds of tents and buildings. It was divided into eleven themes (e.g., communication, human rights, sovereign economies), each housed in its own area. Each theme area contained a WSF information center, internet and communications tent, information fair with organization booths, food and beverage vendors and discussion areas. In between the theme areas, there were performance stages, exhibits, discussion circles and special tents. This year, the Forum introduced the "Mural of Proposals," a wall in each theme area on which organizations could publicize action plans or conclusions reached during sessions. According to Forum planners, the site was carefully arranged to encourage social interaction between participants and create a sense of community within and between each area.

Besides the opening and closing ceremonies, the Forum schedule consisted of over 2,500 diverse self-organized workshops and panels, spread out over four days. Some sessions addressed specific issues, while others had a broad scope. Some focused on a specific organization or program while others attempted to bring together differ- ⇨

ent initiatives. The sessions were between two and nine hours long, scheduled over four time slots each day. Most events were in panel or seminar format, with speakers followed by audience questions. A few workshops included small group discussions or popular education techniques to facilitate participation and dialogue, but most networking and collaboration took place before or after each workshop.

Many people were unable to participate in the full diversity of events. Numerous sessions were cancelled or simply did not happen, sometimes because of competition with larger organized events. Participants were often unable to participate in chosen sessions because of non-existent or insufficient translation. Simultaneous translation services were provided in some sessions, but not the majority. At least half of the sessions were in Portuguese with no translation, and the primary language of each session was not listed in the printed program. Many people had difficultly hearing or sitting through the speakers because of excruciating heat, noise from fans and sounds from neighboring tents.

Photo by Josh Lerner

Childrens' presentations at the World Social Forum.

Discussions and structured activities were often impaired by the constantly changing and diverse participants. With the majority of sessions either cancelled, without translation or uncomfortable, most people browsed events and drifted in and out of tents. The mix of participants also presented obstacles to groupwork. For example, a typical discussion group might include ten *campesinos* from a Brazilian grassroots movement, three Brazilian NGO professionals, two Argentinean activists, two curious American youth and two representatives of NGO coalitions in India. The different participants approached discussions with different, and often conflicting, interests, knowledge and ways of communicating.

Outside of the workshops and panels, people participated in a sea of movies, art exhibits, concerts, theater and other cultural activities. The Forum program included listings of these activities, and the site was covered with posters, flyers and promoters advertising different events. Much of the art and activities provided different perspectives on issues—such as refugees, factory occupations and disability rights—discussed throughout the Forum,. Some events encouraged active participation and discussion, and many participants initiated their own independent artistic projects. Participants frustrated with the workshops and panels often opted to participate in the cultural and artistic activities instead.

Other people went shopping, browsing through the vast array of food, clothing, crafts and merchandise, all sold by small street vendors. This "solidarity economy" was designed according to principles of democracy and equity. The Forum employed over 1,200 workers through solidarity enterprises, which were required to use "collective management and property of the means of production of goods or rendering of services with the democratic participation of the organization or enterprise members in the decision-making process." A supply center provided fresh, organic, non-processed foods to vendors, and an exchange market allowed people to swap goods and services. Vendors were prohibited from selling Coca-Cola, and almost all the food and beverages were locally produced. The internet tents only used open source software.

Although not part of the organized Forum activities, many of the most productive meetings and networking took place in informal and often spontaneous gatherings. During the day, clusters of people converged on the picnic tables and discussion spaces scattered throughout the Forum. Every night, individual organizations or delegations hosted parties or dinners in the city. Porto Alegre's sidewalk cafes and bistros were full of Forum participants. In these informal spaces, small groups of people socialized, networked, shared experiences and sometimes discussed ways of collaborating.

What Was Accomplished at the Forum?

Assessing what the Forum accomplishes can help us determine how it might accomplish more. Many people say that the Forum serves to "bring people together and exchange ideas." People often came together without talking, however, and exchanged

ideas without listening. So what comes out of the Forum? To be more concrete, we can think of four main accomplishments: 1) encouraging existing actions; 2) facilitating learning; 3) establishing new connections; and 4) organizing new actions. By evaluating to what extent these were accomplished, we can learn from the successes and problems and envision ways of achieving more through social forums.

1) Encouraging existing actions
The Forum provided people with feelings of solidarity, encouraging them to continue in their struggles. The frequent polemical speeches, personal testimonials and mass rallies brought people together to offer and receive support from each other. Although these events may not have offered new ideas or facilitated networking, they appeared to energize many participants and strengthen their convictions. This encouragement may be especially valuable for relatively weak or marginalized groups and movements.

2) Facilitating learning
Participants learned new information, ideas and ways of thinking. The information fairs and discussion spaces provided comfortable opportunities for informal learning. Working through the logistic challenges of hot, loud, multi-lingual workshops was a learning experience for dealing with real world challenges to communication and collaboration. Participating in the solidarity economy helped people envision how an alternative economic model might work. This learning through action, however, only extended as far as the action—with few democratic decision-making processes, for example, participants often learned little about democracy. Most sessions approached learning from what Brazilian popular educator Paulo Freire described as the "banking" method, with expert panelists attempting to deposit information in passive participants. These panels offered few opportunities for informal, social or dialogical learning.

3) Establishing new connections
The Forum established connections between people who otherwise might not have met. By bringing together activists from many different countries, movements and issues, the Forum created a unique mix of people. The many informal spaces, social events and thematic gatherings in Porto Alegre provided welcoming environments for social interaction, although most workshop sessions did not facilitate much mixing. Some of the connections created between participants opened new doors for future collaboration, communication and resource sharing.

4) Organizing new actions
Participants developed new action plans and strategies at informal gatherings and at some of the structured workshops. They organized new networks, protests, websites, organizations, listservs, meetings and campaigns. The Mural of Proposals helped groups publicize and broaden these new actions. It is not clear, however, how many actions were actually developed in Porto Alegre, since few sessions provided time or a forum for organizing or groupwork.

Photo by Josh Lerner

Participants mingling at the WSF.

The WSF clearly accomplished much, and yet not as much as it could have. Unfortunately, it is difficult to more precisely assess what was accomplished since there was little measurement or evaluation of the results, besides the Mural of Proposals. It seemed that most people were inspired, learned new information and established new connections. Many people also expressed frustration at not learning as much information, meeting as many contacts or engaging in as many productive discussions as expected.

The Limitations of Unregulated Open Space

The Forum's achievements and limitations are largely a result of the type of physical and social space that organizers planned. The WSF attempted to create unregulated open space for free and non-hierarchical communication, and to some extent it succeeded. Most events were organized independently by individual organizations or coalitions, with little external control. People were free to enter and leave any event and participate as desired. This freedom was at times empowering, inspiring and magical.

The Forum's emphasis on unregulated open space, however, also led to some of its main limitations: inequitable participation, unpro- ⇨

ductive activities and undemocratic decision-making. These limitations are similar to those of neoliberalism and the idealized "free public sphere," and they can be traced to three assumptions: 1) regulation inherently impairs free interaction; 2) productive activities are best left to individual discretion; and 3) guiding hands are neutral and benevolent. Because these assumptions are not always accurate, neither neoliberalism nor the WSF actually create spaces that are as open as claimed.

By discouraging regulation, neoliberalism and the WSF enable existing power hierarchies to dictate economic and social interactions. For neoliberalism, reducing trade quotas, tariffs and regulations create a more open, but not level, playing field on which more developed corporations of the North can easily exploit less developed economies of the South. In

Photo by Josh Lerner

World Social Forum in action.

Porto Alegre, unregulated workshop discussions and decision-making often enabled the most powerful participants to dominate—panelists, NGO experts, loud or confident voices, Portuguese speakers. In contrast, the Forum's regulated solidarity economy empowered street vendors and cooperatives while disempowering corporations.

Unregulated open space encourages more individual autonomy over productive activities and less central planning, which often leads to wasted time and energy. As neoliberal privatization and deregulation download state planning to the whims of the market, increasingly independent corporations become more wasteful (Enron, Bechtel, the US health care system). At the WSF, insufficient coordination between sessions led to many repetitive or cancelled workshops, while the lack of structure within sessions often made it more difficult to learn, network and organize together.

For both neoliberalism and the WSF, the power of small coordinating groups deters democratic decision-making. The architects of neoliberalism (WTO, IMF, World Bank) claim that they only facilitate the natural and inevitable course of international development, even as their decisions shape the basic conditions of this development. The WSF is allegedly driven by its participants, even though logistic decisions (Forum location, dates, registration fees) of the self-selected Brazilian Organizing Committee and International Council dramatically affect participation. For example, the main session organized to discuss the future of the WSF was only in Portuguese.

What Kind of Space Should a Social Forum Be?

If the emphasis on unregulated open space limits what the WSF can accomplish, what other kinds of space could help us overcome these limitations? More broadly speaking, if social forums are meant to model and lead us towards the world we want, would this world be anything more than an unregulated open space?

If neoliberalism stands for unregulated open space, let us stand for something more. The Forum participants may not agree on specific goals, but after five years we should be able to say something about another world besides that it is possible. To start, let us say that social forums and the world they seek to create are spaces of equity, education and democracy. What we learn from social forums depend on what we try to accomplish through them. By creating more equitable, educative and democratic forums, we can therefore learn how to build a more equitable, educative and democratic world.

1) Equitable Space

Social forums should correct resource and power inequities by promoting equitable participation. They can encourage more equitable attendance by charging higher registration fees for those with the greatest ability to attend and offering subsidies for those with the least ability to attend. This means not only charging higher fees for participants from the North, but also higher fees for participants with low travel costs and more subsidies for those coming from far away. Locating forums in cities that are cheap airline destinations would enable more people with few resources to attend.

Forums could also facilitate more equitable participation amongst participants. They could promote gender equity by asking that 50 percent of speakers or facilitators at any session be women, +/- one person. Requesting that official speakers talk for no more than one-third of the session would enable more people to participate in discussion. Higher registration fees or more volunteers could be used to provide interpreters at every event so that participants would have a more equal opportunity to understand and contribute.

2) Educative Space

The spaces and activities of forums should be designed to actively facilitate learning. This year, the Forum moved towards more educative spaces by eliminating large plenaries; next it could request that sessions include small group discussions or activities to encourage social learning through dialogue and deliberation. Sessions could be asked to provide written or visual materials (handouts, flipcharts, pictures, powerpoint presentations) to make information more accessible to more people in more ways.

We might also recognize that formal sessions are not the only way to learn and do more to facilitate informal social interactions throughout the Forum site and host city. The site's discussion spaces, information tents, art exhibits and vendors fostered more learning than many sessions. Future forums could add more opportunities for informal education by further integrating educational art, movies and popular theater into the world of panels and workshops. We could also think more about how forums could better facilitate the education of those in the surrounding city and world not present.

3) Democratic Space

Social forums should encourage and facilitate democratic decision-making. Neoliberalism is based on politics imposed from above, and alternative politics from below require more participatory democratic processes. To democratize decision-making *within* forums, the Forum coordinators could provide session organizers with information on democratic decision-making processes, and then ask them to identify not only their session's format but also its decision-making process.

To democratize decision-making *about* forums, we could draw on the multi-layered decision-making of Porto Alegre's other acclaimed innovation, participatory budgeting. For example, participants of local forums could elect delegates to regional forum councils and participants of regional forums could elect delegates to an international forum council to help decision-making filter from the local to the global.

So why has the WSF not more actively promoted equitable, educative and democratic space? Some of its leaders have strongly opposed the Forum being anything but neutral space. The Forum's open space, however, is not neutral. Its unregulated interactions and predetermined contours empower certain participants and exclude others. Open space, though, does not need to be unregulated. Rather, planning and organization can make it more genuinely open. Moreover, the Forum is already more than open space—its solidarity economy demonstrates the power of upholding other basic principles. To become a more powerful force for social change, the Forum must recognize and move beyond the limitations of unregulated open space.

Photo by Josh Lerner

Urban session at the WSF.

This debate is not only about the WSF, however. Local, regional and national social forums that have recently emerged face similar challenges. Other civil society and people's convergences, even if they are not called social forums, must also decide what kind of spaces to be. The debate over the WSF's open space therefore points to broader questions for discussion: What kind of spaces should progressives create to communicate and work together? And how can we plan spaces for social change?

Josh Lerner is a member of the Planners Network Steering Committee and represented Planners Network at the World Social Forum.

Justice By Design?

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The dorms feature river views from many rooms, well equipped computer/internet facilities, laundries, air conditioning, and daily towel service. **Reservations close May 9, 2005, and require payment in full.** Refunds for cancellations after May 9 will occur only if we can reallocate the room.

Riverbend Commons: 220 Delaware St. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455, Information Desk: 612-625-8786. Close to the Weisman Art Museum, Riverbend is a new building and features "two-person, two-room suites" (two **single** rooms, each with kitchenettes, share a bathroom). Five to seven minute walk to the main conference venue at Rapson Hall. See http://www.housing.umn.edu/student/halls/riverbend/index.shtml.
Price per person: **$44**. Parking per car: **$8** per car per day.

Thursday June 2	____	One night at $44	$_____
Friday June 3	____	Two nights at $88	$_____
Saturday June 4	____	Three nights at $132	$_____

I know this is a single room but I would like the other person sharing the bathroom to be _____
I will need parking for _____ cars at $8 per car = $_____
I would like wheelchair accessible accommodations _____

Middlebrook Hall: 412 22nd Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455-0424, Information Desk: 612-625-0536: Across the Mississippi River on the West Bank of Campus near the arts precinct. "Two-person suites" sleep four in two rooms each with two beds; bath is shared by the two rooms. Twelve to fifteen minute walk to the main conference venue at Rapson Hall. See http://www.housing.umn.edu/student/halls/rooms.shtml#middlebrook.
Price per person: **$30.** Parking per car: **$8** per car per day.

Thursday June 2	____	One night at $30	$_____
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_____

Match me to a roommate: ____
I will need parking for _____ cars at $8 per car = $_____
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Radisson Metrodome: 615 Washington Avenue SE, Minneapolis Minnesota 55414, reservations 612-379-8888. Located quite far from the Metrodome but very close to the main conference venue at Rapson Hall, the Radisson provides a full-service hotel option. Bookings can be made directly with the hotel. Mention the Planners Network Conference when you call (612) 379-8888 or (800) 333-3333 for a reservation. Price per room: $104 plus 13% sales tax.

Your Information

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City:_____State/Province: _____ Zip/Postal Code:_____ Country: _____

Email (for queries/urgent information): _____ Member: yes/no

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___Credit card information: Visa: ___Mastercard: ___

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Mail to: Planners Network, 1 Rapson Hall, 89 Church St SE, Minneapolis MN 55455. Fax to: (612) 626-0600

Justice by Design?

If you are registering for Friday, please select a tour. Please rank your preferences 1, 2, and 3. If you only select one and it is full, you may be placed in another tour.

1. Indigenous Planning in Minneapolis and Mille Lacs
John Koepke, UMN Department of Landscape Architecture and Richard Milgrom, MDC

2. Ecological Restoration in the Center Cities
Tour leader: Laura Musacchio, UMN Department of Landscape Architecture

3. Urban Food Systems
Tour leader: Beth Munnich

4. Central City Open Space and Low Impact Design
Note: Involves significant walking in an urban setting
Tour leader: Katherine Thering, MDC

5/6. Housing: From Public and Nonprofit Housing Development and Redevelopment to Recent Innovations in Affordable Housing Design
Tour leaders: Ed Goetz, UMN Planning Program, Gretchen Nicholls, Center for Neighborhoods, and Ann Forsyth, Metropolitan Design Center
(Please note that this tour is a combination of two tours advertised earlier)

7. L(a)RT: Public Art and Design on the Minneapolis Light Rail
Note: Transportation will be predominantly on light rail with a bus connection
Tour leaders: Kristine Miller, UMN Department of Landscape Architecture and Shelly Willis, UMN Weisman Art Museum

8. Transit Oriented Development and the Light Rail:: From Affordable Housing to the Mall of America
Note: Transportation will be predominantly on light rail and on foot
Tour leader: Frank Fitzgerald, MDC

Tour descriptions are online at www.designcenter.umn.edu

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2nd Preference _____
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Please note if you have any specific needs _____

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Bush to Cities: "Drop Dead"

By Gregory D. Squires and Charis E. Kubrin

The 1977 Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) has generated trillions of dollars for urban and rural neighborhoods that had traditionally been redlined by financial institutions. But the Bush administration, with the help of its financial service industry friends, continues its assault on this law and on the low- and moderate-income communities the law has served. As a famous newspaper headline read when Gerald Ford refused financial assistance to New York City in the midst of its fiscal crisis thirty years ago, George Bush has basically told the nation's cities and many of its rural communities to drop dead.

The CRA requires federally regulated depositories (e.g., banks and thrifts) to provide loans, investment capital and other financial services to neighborhoods that have long been underserved by financial service providers, but to do so consistent with safe and sound lending practices. No quotas are required. It does not mandate credit allocation, just good loans to good borrowers.

The CRA has triggered $4 trillion in loans and investments for low- and moderate-income communities, according to the National Community Reinvestment Coalition, which monitors banking polic[illegible]nd practices. Between 1993 and 2002, (the CRA was most vigorously enforced in the mid-to-late 1990s) loans to blacks increased by 79 percent, to Hispanics by 185 percent and to whites by 30 percent. At the same time, loans to low- and moderate-income borrowers grew by 90 percent and to middle-income buyers by 51 percent.

Researchers at Harvard, the Federal Reserve Board, the US Treasury and various academic institutions report that CRA has worked for lenders and communities alike. Traditionally underserved neighborhoods are getting more loans, while lenders are generating revenue off of profitable loans—and the CRA has been instrumental in leveraging them.

Our own research has found that one outcome of such reinvestment as spurred by the CRA has been a reduction of crime. Access to capital, and other economic resources, reduces the incentive to engage in illegal activities. When the opportunity structure permits people to pursue valued goods via "acceptable" means, the likelihood of resorting to deviant or criminal means goes down. In a case study of Seattle, Washington we found that each $10,000 increase in a neighborhood's average mortgage loan led to a reduction of 1.25 violent crimes per 1,000 residents—even after accounting for poverty, unemployment, population turnover and other factors commonly associated with crime. For a typical Seattle neighborhood this translates into a reduction of 6.25 violent crimes each year. And the effects were even stronger in our analysis of lenders covered by the CRA.

But the law is under attack. Initially the CRA required federal financial regulatory agencies to examine the lending, investment and service activities of all covered institutions with assets over $250 million. Smaller lenders had a more streamlined review focused just on their lending activity. But under Bush, the Office of Thrift Supervision (OTS) raised this threshold to $1 billion for all thrift institutions. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), Comptroller of the Currency (OCC) and Federal Reserve Board issued proposed rules in mid-February that would dilute enforcement for lenders they supervise with assets between $250 million and $1 billion. For example, the investment test would be eliminated and these lenders would no longer have to publicly report where they make small business or community development loans. In a more sweeping rollback, OTS subsequently eliminated the mandatory investment and service tests, making these voluntary for large lenders. These changes threaten to cut the number of branch banks in low- and moderate-income communities, reduce financing for affordable housing development, undercut a range of housing and business development reinvestment activities and make city streets more dangerous.

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Particularly at a time when predatory lending has emerged as the most critical consumer finance issue and financial wrongdoing is surfacing across of range of financial service providers (Riggs ⇨

National Bank, Fannie Mae, Marsh & McLennan), more transparency rather than less is in order. The CRA should be strengthened, not weakened.

For example, the law should cover all mortgage lenders (e.g., mortgage brokers, insurers, securities firms) and not just depository institutions. Lender CRA evaluations should be downgraded for those engaged in predatory lending. Predatory lending practices include charging far more in fees than can be justified by the risk, lending based on the value of the property with no regard to the borrower's ability to repay (which often leads to foreclosure and loss of a family's life savings) and targeting minority and elderly households (as is currently the case) who are most vulnerable to high-pressure sales tactics and other exploitative practices.

As Robert Rubin, a director of Citigroup and former Treasury secretary, and Michael Rubinger, president of Local Initiatives Support Corporation, which finances community development projects, both concluded, "Low-income families can be part of the mainstream economy only if they can buy homes, start businesses and live in stable, vibrant communities. If the United States is to compete globally, we need everyone to contribute. In these uncertain economic times, keeping the Community Reinvestment Act strong is in the interest of all Americans."

The Bush administration's attacks on cities and distressed rural communities undercut efforts to achieve the "ownership society" it purports to endorse. The CRA has been a vital tool for creating and increasing access to capital for many who have long been locked out of the economic mainstream. Keeping it strong is clearly in the interest of all of us.

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leaders emerging were not 100 percent clean. How clean can anyone be in a very poor neighborhood? The culture that promotes the dichotomy of the "evil drug dealers" versus the "good people" is ineffective since human beings living in communities, particularly communities where the drug trade touches everyone, are simply not one or the other.

Unusual Bedfellows: Police and the Community

Another important relationship was cultivated between a very effective community police officer and the TA president. I worked to find ways for them to work together, without knowing what the outcome would be. The relationship was delicate because the TA was working with kids who were in and out of the drug trade. This officer was respected (and respectful) and young people avoided doing anything illegal on his beat so as not to force him into a compromising situation.

At one meeting to plan a bike race, the officer came up with the idea to ask the FUJI bike company to donate parts, and then he organized his co-workers from the local police precinct to volunteer to fix the bikes of local youth. FUJI and the police responded in a way we never thought possible. Before the race, we had hundreds of kids backed up for ten blocks, some having two unconnected wheels that the cops then built into a bike. The police stayed till after midnight until every kid that was in that line had a bike for the race.

Many of the youth at Maple had never seen a police officer doing anything nice for them. Activities began to snowball. We organized bike rides, talent shows, afterschool centers. Agencies such as local Health Maintenance Organizations asked us what they could do to participate. Local small business owners began coming to meetings.

The Importance of Conceptualizing the Process

Conceptualizing the community-building process as performance is useful to understanding and shaping community practice. People at Maple were supported to put themselves in situations that were "beyond" themselves so they could perform in new ways. The work of getting beyond the traditional barriers to inclusion created the environment for new improvisations and developmental processes. Everyone advanced beyond themselves through the activity of talking to people not traditionally regarded as friends. The young people and the police, the tenants and the workers all engaged in these unusual improvisations and collectively participated in creating new forms of community life.

New "improvisational scenes" were constantly tried with little commitment to a pre-conceived outcome. Improvisational performance is particularly useful in conceptualizing this work because the very nature of improvisation keeps the focus on the process and eliminates the tendency to fixate on the outcome.

Esther Farmer has been a community organizer and public housing manager for thirty years and is on the staff of the East Side Institute for Group and Short-Term Psychotherapy. A longer version of this article will be published under the title "Community Development as 'Improvisational Performance'" for the Journal of the Community Development Society.

Prison Privatization: *Frugal Spending or Investment Scam?*

By Margaret Cowell

Although the management of correctional facilities in the United States has always been a contentious issue, it was seen as a particularly important matter during the latter half of the 1980s. Surges in both the number of prison inmates and the costs associated with incarceration resulted in rampant overcrowding and poor conditions throughout much of the prison system. Critics began to question whether or not the public sector, with its inherent lack of competition, was capable of providing high-quality goods and services at the lowest possible prices. Many surmised that the public sector was not efficient, and consequently, the public began to look for alternative solutions. One such alternative was privatization, which allows government functions and responsibilities to be contracted out to private companies. Although the push towards privatization could be seen in many different areas of government, the prison industry became one of the most important targets of this movement. For planners concerned about the continuing erosion of the public sector, the prison privatization movement reminds us to consider the consequences of our current and future political and economic policies.

Research has argued that overcrowding was one of the major catalysts of privatization within the prison industry. Most of the overcrowding could be attributed to the government-sanctioned "war on drugs." Between 1980 and 2000, the incarceration rate nearly quadrupled with the implementation of mandatory minimum sentencing guidelines, which increased the amount of prison time that drug offenders were forced to serve. This rapid increase in incarceration rates and the inelastic nature of the demand for prison beds encouraged the construction of more and more prisons. The rising costs associated with housing and rehabilitating the growing number of inmates in an already mismanaged correctional system created a burden on taxpayers and their government and a crisis for the public sector. Privatization was heralded as the solution.

As policymakers developed ideas about how best to direct the privatization movement, three different approaches to privatization emerged. Private firms could finance and construct prisons, manage activities within existing prisons or assume responsibility for both construction and management. Although examples of all three approaches exist in our prison system today, the majority of private involvement takes the form of the third option—the simultaneous management, construction and operation of prisons.

Proponents of privatization argued that the separation of the day-to-day administration of prisons from the state's supervisory tasks would improve accountability and raise standards of service delivery. This separation was thought to provide a valuable disconnect, one in which competition for contracts would create an incentive for private agencies to continually improve.

In a somewhat parallel argument, supporters also argued that contracting services to private agencies would decrease public functions and rid the state of non-essential tasks. According to the laws of comparative advantage, the state would outsource selected tasks, thereby allowing it to become more efficient in carrying out its other responsibilities. Supporters also noted that private agencies are less restricted by bureaucratic rules and regulations and thus are able to perform more efficiently than the public sector.

Although the benefits of privatization may seem appealing, they are far outweighed by a host of externalities and hidden costs. One of the main problems that politicians and economists have had with the privatization of prisons is rooted in the US Constitution. Historically in the US, the state was called on to be solely responsible for the enforcement of criminal punishment. Many argued that prison privatization would detract from the public realm and blur the lines between the people and their government. As this power shifted from the public sector to the powerful hands of large multinational corporations, opponents feared that profit would become the driving motive, while rehabilitation and justice would be pushed aside.

Another major criticism of privatization was that the policy is endorsed by entrepreneurs whose consideration for the greater common good ⇨

may be questionable. Businesses in the prison industry often do more than provide prison services—they ultimately create a demand and a subsequent supply for new forms of privatized space. In order to be profitable, private contractors must create a demand for prisons, so the judicial system must supply more and more prisoners. The end result is that there becomes a potential market for prisoners. The greater the number of "customers" in a prison, the lower the unit cost is per prisoner. Under the auspices of privatization, prisoners become a commodity to be used as a source of revenue at the most basic level. Just as prisoners were profitable for their labor in the past, they are now profitable because of their ability to generate government per diem payments for the private corporations that incarcerate them.

One of the major claims offered by privatization supporters was that private companies were able to finance, operate and manage public prisons at a much lower overall cost to the general public. Practical evidence for this claim remains largely inconclusive. Although some researchers have predicted cost savings of up to 20 percent, most research has reported savings of less than 5 percent. If one were to compare the cost of private and public prisons of similar size and security levels, there would be a negligible difference in cost. Furthermore, when comparing costs, private prison calculations often fail to account for public subsidies and usually do not reflect the full price paid by taxpayers. Related expenses—educator salaries paid by school districts, utility bills paid by public works departments, medical staff salaries paid by local health agencies and the cost of contract preparation and monitoring of these private facilities—are often overlooked. Although it is difficult to assign specific costs for all of these factors, to completely ignore them in a cost-benefit analysis is to offer misleading conclusions at best.

In addition to ignoring hidden costs, supporters often fail to take the long-term effects into account. Opponents, on the other hand, see beyond the few rather enticing short-term benefits and take note of the long-term detriments to society. One of the negative externalities associated with this privatization push is disproportionate incarceration rates amongst the poor and people of color. As Rose and Clear report in *Criminology* (August 1998), "The residential segregation of African Americans in urban communities means that some of their neighborhoods have suffered war-level casualties in parenting-age males during the increase of imprisonment since 1973." The Bureau of Justice Statistics reported in 2001 that approximately 32 percent of African American males, 17 percent of Hispanic males and less than 6 percent of white males would enter state or federal prison over the course of their lifetime. William Upski Wimsatt, in his 1999 book *No More Prisons*, argued that while the ratio per capita of white to black drug users in the US was roughly 1:1, the sentencing rate of whites to blacks for drug possession was 1:10. This trend, Wimsatt argued, was a form of systemic racism and exacerbated the perpetual losers problem often mentioned in urban economics. Supporters of this view argued that if we continue to incarcerate urban minorities and fail to rehabilitate them, we would deprive people of opportunities for advancement and perpetuate a cycle of urban poverty and neglect.

On a slightly different note, economists are also wary of the concentration of wealth and power that currently threatens the private prison industry. There are fourteen private correctional facility firms in the world, but two firms maintain control over more than 75 percent of the entire worldwide market. Although seemingly harmless, this concentration of power—a potential oligopoly—limits the amount of choice the government may have when looking for correctional companies to work with. There also is the possibility that these two companies will align powers, creating a situation where there is little incentive for them to provide prison space at low costs.

As planners, it is important that we stay attuned to the issue of prison privatization as it continues to unfold. American prisons, like many government entities, are entrusted with the well-being of large portions of the population and contribute greatly to the economies of many small towns and cities. In the two decades since prison privatization began, 158 private correctional facilities have been created in thirty American states. Currently, private prisons account for less than 10 percent of the US prison system, but that number is likely to increase in the future. Although this article has argued against prison privatization, it must be acknowledged that the private sector's mere presence has forced the public sector to reconsider how it conducts its prison operations. It is imperative that this inward reflection continues so that energies are directed at improving the state of prisons, rather than simply creating a new system fraught with parallel problems.

Margaret Cowell recently received her masters degree from the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University at Buffalo and is currently conducting research in Buffalo, NY.

Engaging the Pervasive: *A Productive Way to Discuss Racism*

By William M. Harris, Sr.

The South shall rise…again. Welcome to the New South…Atlanta. Y'all come to Jackson…the best of the New South. For the best in hospitality, come visit the South.

These are more than simply slogans to attract the tourist. They represent the never-say-die attitude of those who have been raised or long-lived in the "Ole South." So much of the attitude of the New South is packaged in the history of relations between the races, especially between blacks and whites. The package contains not only the views of Southerners, but also those of other parts of the nation that are both positive and negative. This region of the nation continues to struggle in its efforts to unravel that package of race relations.

A century after William E. B. DuBois posited that the problem of race in America is the color line, his visionary observation remains intact. Recently, President Bush announced during his trip to Africa that slavery had been inhuman; however, he never apologized for the American role in the barbaric institution of human bondage based entirely upon skin color. Even with the untimely comments of Senator Trent Lott calling for a return to the good old days, the nation expressed disbelief while many championed an end to affirmative action. In June 2003, the US Supreme Court ruled conditionally to permit the continuance of affirmative action practices as a valid consideration in college admissions. In the South, schools remain very segregated. Private segregation "academies" are fashionable and often operate at the expense of public schools. Public policy at the federal and state levels permits charter schools with the purported purpose of ensuring a better education for all children without regard to race. Private social clubs ensure limited interaction among the races in many social, political and economic exchanges.

Yet in the twenty-first century, the nation is still unable to discuss the plague that has haunted it for nearly four centuries. Lewis Coser advised that conflict may be useful if it leads to productive outcomes. *Getting to Yes*, authored by Roger Fisher, Bruce M. Patton and William L. Ury, also offers that the collective discussion of competing interests is central to successful problem-solving. Martin Luther King, Jr. similarly suggested that coming together around difference in race perspectives must be sought through mutual interaction and discussion. Communicative planning is another theory positing the need to involve stakeholders in open discussion of desired end states that benefit all.

The most significant advantage of humans over other life forms is the ability to hold reasoned discussion. In this paper I offer five useful techniques that are proven means of improving race relations through deliberative discussion. The five points suggested are:

- Form a group of diverse individuals who inwardly wish to improve relations between the races.
- Arrange an agenda that is realistic—but to the point—in dealing with critical issues.
- Appoint a facilitator who is skilled in combative discussions and has the respect of all sides.
- Record in written or electronic form the meetings and share the minutes with all in attendance.
- Insist upon an action to be taken as a result of each meeting that is within the resources, human and fiscal, of the group.

This approach comes out of my experience of nearly three decades working to build effective groups. During the Civil Rights Movement, the idea was to build massively, the larger the involvement the better. That orientation is effective where public demonstrations and protest are in order. Those who were involved, however, still report how ineffective the large group was when serious negotiations were called. In my work with African American women in public housing, we formed small groups in which the members were familiar with the issues and committed to meet the challenges, known and unknown. The small group was less likely to be infiltrated and threatened by the opposition. Equally, the small group more quickly acquired a level of respect from the wider community and was able to convincingly expand participation.

Diverse Group of Individuals

Absolutely fundamental to the success of the program is the composition of the team of participants. That selection must be characterized by including the correct group of people while excluding those likely to be unproductive. Of course, it is not a trivial matter to select the correct group of participants, but there ⇨

are some rules that may prove useful. Avoid labels such as liberal or conservative. These labels are rarely productive except in political campaigns and arguments among friends. Having a "deep pocket" decision-maker in the community is necessary. That individual may be a business sector leader or philanthropist. A youth between the ages of fifteen and eighteen should also be included; the currency of language and desire of the young is important to capture. Also to be included is a member of the military because poor people and inner-city residents are greatly represented in the armed forces and a measure of respect has been gained by those who serve. Ideally, a retired officer would best serve the group. No group should be selected without an educator. Care must be taken, however, to select an educator who operates in the real world as opposed to the theoretical world because action must be the immediate goal. An intellectual argument about the merits of participation or failed experience of a research project is neither timely nor relevant for the given situation. A prominent journalist will prove helpful to the group. She should have comprehensive historical memory, be respected for fairness with the community and be articulate. Then there is the medical professional. Ideally, a representative of this field should be someone who is knowledgeable in both health services and environmental risks. Lastly among the notables is an accomplished athlete. An important measure of the appropriate athlete is the level of community service contributed over a period of years.

Less prominent perhaps, but equally important, are the other citizens who must confront issues of pervasive racism regularly. These include plant supervisors, labor leaders, homemakers, fine artists, public safety personnel, craftsmen and mechanics, small businesspersons, neighborhood leaders and the homeless. As in the case with those mentioned already, interest and commitment to problem-solving must be the primary selection criteria for participation in the group.

If it is important to be extra careful in selecting those to be members of the group, then it is equally important to decide upon those to be excluded, at least at the beginning of the group discussions. As is the case in all exclusionary enterprises, there is a risk of criticism and challenge. The primary purpose of the gathering is to build leadership and advance a cause that challenges the status quo. In order to achieve the level of required leadership, identification of willing risk-takers, and sustained involvement, those already connected to the decision-making apparatus should be excluded. Rarely does a major problem exist in bringing the already connected to the table later; they will come to protect their interests. They also will come to expound their leadership effectiveness. The challenge will be to get their participation without prolonged debate while insuring them no real threat is present to their vested interests. Nevertheless, it is suggested that ministers, elected officials and naysayers be excluded. These individuals have a history of dominating group discussions. Similarly, they too often have vested interests that limit objective thinking and discussion. In addition, these individuals are accustomed to having followers and do not take easily to be equal participants in an effort to solve problems. However, as the group builds internal strength and trust, these individuals may be added slowly.

Arrange an Agenda

Every meeting should have an agenda. The agenda is designed to establish limits to the issues to be discussed, time of discussion, meeting place and order of presentations. The agenda also sets leadership roles to guide discussion. When issues are substantial, it may require a discussion facilitator to prevent drifting and excessive irrelevance in the items under discussion. The agenda must be allowed to be revised and approved by the participants.

Of course, the agenda must reflect the issues central to the community. It is likely that an agenda related to solving problems of racism in a community will contain topics of history, incidents, fears, advantages and disadvantages of the problems, needs of the community, fiscal resources available for problem-solving and human capital resources. Clearly, each of these issues and others may require one or more sessions (each with an agenda) for consideration.

Appoint a Facilitator

When a meeting holds promise for combative discussion, it is necessary to provide for an objective, experienced individual to direct the session. The facilitator must have had experience dealing with the issues to be discussed. At the same time, she must be able to remain distant and avoid expressing personal views during discussion. It is useful to permit the facilitator to assist in constructing the agenda. An experienced facilitator will know how to structure meetings for efficiency and effectiveness. Once the meeting starts, the facilitator must have the confidence of the group in her ability to permit adequate discussion, control against irrelevant discussion or behavior and summarize significant points or findings. Acting as a consultant to the group, the facilitator should be paid for services; this will allow the group to make a decision as to whether it will continue to use the facilitator's services and ensure professionalism by the facilitator.

A facilitator must possess at least two basic characteristics. First, she must be able to develop rapport with the audience. To this end, she must understand race

and class issues, gender issues that are race specific and exploitation of language that may be quite different than her own. Second, she must be able to manage the group without dominating it, maintain clarity of the issues discussed and report *all* the issues presented, whether or not they are significant to her.

Record Meeting Results

It is difficult enough for an individual to recall accurately the results of a meeting. It is nearly impossible for individuals within the group to collectively remember the results of a meeting. Thus it is necessary to record the important issues discussed, decisions made and next actions. Because this phase of the group interaction is so critical, a recorder must be assigned. That individual should have excellent skill in making reports of meetings. Although electronic recording may be employed, there is still a need to have a document that can be shared with the all members (or some who may have been absent) in attendance. Since the program will require many iterations, minutes of each session are important. Having an accurate history of the meetings is likely to encourage continued participation. Lastly, a record of activities serves to permit replication of the successful elements of the process.

Action Plan

A goal is a desired end state. Few would disagree with improving race relations as a desired end state. Objectives are refinements of goals that have specific, measurable ends. Ideally in the discussions, objectives would be produced that would provide a path to improving race relations in the community. To achieve definable objectives, the group must mature in unity and mutual respect for the potential of obtaining improved race relations. It is the set of objectives that make possible a realistic action plan.

Too often discussion groups fail to advance beyond talk. Considering a matter as important as relations among African Americans and whites, it is critical to move to action. Certainly the single best test of the effectiveness of the discussions is the degree to which steps are actually taken to improve race relations and thereby the quality-of-life for all residents of the community.

Action, of course, may take many shapes. Because Americans value education so highly, the group may decide to focus attention in that area. Perhaps the group will decide to experiment expanding desegregation in the public schools. A committee may be formed to advance that effort through negotiation with the school board. A monitoring committee, student identification and selection committee and financial support committee may be formed.

Or the group may decide to focus attention initially upon greater economic development opportunities for African American-owned small businesses. Again, the approach may have taken different means. A committee might work with the mayor to increase contractual agreements with black businesses. Or a committee might work with local large companies to get them to purchase goods and services from these businesses. Still another committee may be appointed to expand advertisements directed toward African American firms.

Perhaps the initial challenge to small growth is how the group advances its efforts with respect to the larger community. Above, I referred to my successful experiences working with small groups of public housing women. These women were black, poor and mostly rejected by the middle and upper classes. It was their resolve to empower themselves and others. They were not racist. They were not eager to gain large amounts of money or public recognition. They were not seeking separation from those who were so frequently unkind in their comments about "welfare queens." They *were* brave; they confronted challenges that most would have walked away from out of fear. It was the courage of these women that resulted in the larger community gaining respect for the cause presented by them.

A second question nearly always relates to how a small group may convince the larger community about issues such as racism, violent crime, inadequate public education and environmental degradation. The larger community is not ignorant of these issues. It is neither fair nor just to blame the victim, the oppressed poor. It is not the sole responsibility of the small group to convince the larger. When the issues are clearly framed, the larger community must act in self-interest to join the smaller group to rid the community of forces that adversely affect every member of the community.

The action options available to the group are numerous. That action is necessary and clear. The purpose of these discussion groups is to improve livability for citizens who have found mutual, cooperative gathering difficult. The challenge of difference can be discerned through thorough investigation into the causes and consequences of people living in a competitive environment. The proposed discussion methodology is simple; that is the power of it. It only takes the will of sincere people.

William M. Harris, Sr. is professor and chair of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at Jackson State University. He is a fellow of the American Institute of Certified Planners and longtime advocate for African American self-determination against white racism and oppression.

Following up on June Manning Thomas: *Assessing Obstacles to PhD Programs for People of Color*

By Camille Tuason Mata

"Social exclusion" is a term developed by neo-Marxians in the academic arena. In the planning discipline, social exclusion has resonated among populist or participatory planners, who have seen the importance of engaging in practices that bring marginal groups (minorities, the poor) into the planning process. Populist planners have examined social divisions in communities and aimed to mitigate the causes for these divisions. Among this cohort, the social exclusion debate has found a home. The analytical lens has rarely, however, been used on planning departments to "map out" the reasons for inequitable access to planning careers. While white men have prospered tremendously in planning both as professionals and academics, women and people of color have not. The virtual absence of people of color from planning is especially notable given that populist planning intimately involves communities of color that would have much to contribute to the intellectual advancement of the field. One area that particularly requires examination is the PhD. The paucity of students of color in doctorate planning programs should concern all interested in the intellectual future of the field.

June Manning Thomas has written one of the few critical essays on the topic of diversity in planning professions. Her brief 2003 article, Educating Planners: Unified Diversity and Social Action, is a comprehensive and illuminating critique of the lack of diversity in academic and professional planning careers. She offers some startling statistics that illustrate the diversity and gender gap. The presence of women in the planning profession had increased from 7.5 percent in 1968 to 45.4 percent in 1994, but they remain a minority in upper-level planning positions. Nevertheless, women have gained some ground; they are the fastest growing cohort in American planning schools, a promising sign of their future representation within the profession. In percentage terms, they are a sizeable minority of the student body in graduate programs (41%) and at least 32 percent of undergraduate programs. Comparatively, planners of color are abominably scant. Using membership data from the American Planning Association, Manning Thomas estimates African American representation in the planning field at under 3 percent and notes that representation is equally bad for other minorities, with the possible exception of Asian Americans.

Within faculty ranks, women have fared less well. Manning Thomas's study pointed out that in 1989 only 12 percent of planning faculty were women, a percentage that had not improved much by 1994, when there was one female for every five male faculty members. For faculty of color, the numbers have actually declined. These faculty percentages, again, stem from a lack of diversity in PhD programs across the country. Manning Thomas reports that African Americans made up a mere 6.4 percent of the doctoral student body in 1982, and less for Hispanic/Latino Americans and Native American students. The 1990 *Guide to Graduate Education in Urban and Regional Planning* showed only a slight improvement for African Americans in the intervening eight years—they now were reported to make up 7.30 percent of the doctoral student body. They slightly edged out Asian Americans, who constituted 2.17 percent of doctoral students, as well as Native Americans (.28%) and Hispanic/Latino Americans (2.02%). The future does not look very bright, either, considering minorities collectively constitute just 20.18 percent of the planning student body, inclusive of both masters and doctorate programs.

The link between innovations in planning theory and diversity is real. This is especially true for social justice work. New knowledge and perspectives are needed to understand the causes behind such popularized topics as sustainable agriculture, poverty, affordable housing, environmental justice, etc. As W.E.B. DuBois explains in his discussion of "double consciousness," people of color experience marginalization in the social realm in a very intimate way, both as recipients of discrimination and observers of society's treatment of the marginalized. They see how urban policies and practices can squeeze them out of, for example, the housing market, since they are often the victims of social stigma and rarely the beneficiaries of competition for employment or professional advancement. They also see how one injustice buttresses another, as in average wage earnings; they comprehend that the black-white disparity in housing access is tied to that of black-white earnings. Simultaneously, they are equally conscious of their status in society, a cognizance gained from observing the way the dominant white culture perceives them or sometimes condescends to them. Academic planning departments must be willing to embrace and integrate these multifaceted experiences into planning curriculum if the discipline is to reframe existing theories in such a way that renders incisive approaches to tackling social injustice. Faculty of color, as observers and recipients of marginalization, can meaningfully contribute to perspectives that shape planning theory and practice.

So, what then may explain why students of color are poorly represented at the doctorate level? Despite growing attention to the homogeneity of planning doctoral students, faculty have not been sufficiently outspoken about their failures to attract people of color into PhD programs. Furthermore, little effort is exerted to raise consciousness about the reasons behind lack of diversity, heightening the barriers surrounding PhD programs. After all, boundaries cannot be broken down if the reasons for their presence are not succinctly understood. To broaden accessibility, faculty should begin looking inwards, as they have the power to decide on (1) the curriculum, (2) who to admit and (3) who to fund.

One explanation for the lack of diversity is the curriculum. Even a rough perusal of planning departments reveals that most schools do not value a multicultural curriculum. Theories on urban form, for example, are drawn from European and US models that too often erase cultural variances characterizing most contemporary cities. Approaches to urbanism, therefore, become unresponsive to a pluralistic populace. An equally relevant point to make in this regard is the absence of courses that teach the relationship between urban form and such socio-economic processes as decline in minority neighborhoods, a subject that offers a fertile array of possible research topics for those interested in multiethnic communities.

A corollary consideration is the type of theories integrated into the curriculum. When populist approaches burst onto the scene in the 1960s, attention in the field shifted towards planning's many social implications. In spite of this development, populist planning remains second to procedural planning in many departments, thereby promoting more conservative theories about the growth and structure of cities. Some faculty may favor the primacy of procedural planning, maintaining loyalty to the architectural roots of urban planning. This attitude, however, discourages people of color from pursuing a PhD since it makes it hard to see the relevance of this work to improving social conditions in their neighborhoods.

An example of the disjunction between infrastructure and social processes is transportation. It is normally taught as a benign planning concept, but deeper analysis evidences systematic racial bias underlying transportation plans. Transportation routes, for instance, often serve white and colored communities unequally. An example of this is the Bus 9 route in Honolulu. Bus 9, serving Palolo Valley, is the only one that travels along this route. It cuts through a low-income, primarily Samoan community, which is given the moniker "The Ghetto." Buses on this route stop running around 9:00 PM , much earlier than their counterparts on the Bus 1 route, which drive down Wai'ale'ale Avenue through a slightly more affluent, racially-mixed part of the community.

A second example was reported by Nightline in the 1990s. A young girl was killed while crossing a busy highway on her way to work. A mall sits on the opposite side of the highway. Interviews with individuals in the girl's community revealed that the bus transporting passengers from that neighborhood (a low-income, primarily black one) to the mall, where many from the girl's neighborhood worked, did not pull into the parking lot like those servicing primarily white neighborhoods. Instead, it stopped on the side of the busy highway across from the mall, endangering all passengers who alighted at that bus stop.

In worst case scenarios, black neighborhoods defer to transportation plans in favor of economic development for the city. Transportation systems cut through entire black neighborhoods, causing them to disappear, displacing black households and causing grave hardship.

The virtual homogeneity of planning thought eliminates opportunities to discourse where or how to reconcile the structure-process disjunction, and leaves people of color with little choice: Conform to the schools' paradigms or leave the program. But these students are precisely the kinds of candidates needed in doctoral programs if the boundaries of planning theory are to expand. Their experiences with marginalization gives way to novel approaches to examining planning's role in society. Otherwise, it remains encumbered in Western traditions, thus failing to respond to realities facing troubled communities.

People of color can also be barred from doctorate programs due to faculty biases. Since they determine who to admit and to fund, any presumptions they hold about which student would succeed in a doctorate program would color the democracy assumed to be intrinsic in admissions decisions. The regressive trend of affirmative action policies speaks optimistically about universities' color-blindness that holds little water when juxtaposed against planning departments. Although admissions committees might claim to support a multicultural department, in their minds they believe white students are a better investment. The same may logic hold true for funding, which by extension significantly alters the demographic constitution of the doctoral student body. The funding needs of applicants of color might be higher, but they are less likely to receive funding compared to white applicants because of such bias. To reconcile these discrepancies, faculty members need to be more honest about the motivation behind their decisions.

The proliferation of diversity in planning rests on the faculty. Because they decide who to admit, they are at the forefront of the discipline's evolution, a position that carries with it a tremendous responsibility regarding how the discipline is shaped and the ethics that it follows. An academic climate that nurtures lively discourse and respects multiculturalism is one that has yet to become a reality.

Camille Tuason Mata has a masters degree in urban and regional planning from the University of Hawaii at Manoa. She has recently applied to doctorate programs.

The Social Dimensions of Landscape Architecture

Landscape architecture has long had strong links to planning. However, in recent years the moral basis of the profession of landscape architecture has moved towards a concept of ecological stewardship rather than social concern. These two articles by Brown and Jennings, and by Crewe, lay out some of the challenges for developing a socially-conscious landscape architecture as well as some areas where landscape architects can collaborate with progressive planners. While Crewe is hopeful about the capacity of landscape architects to engage social issues, Brown and Jennings raise some important questions about the challenges of doing so.

Ann Forsyth, Issue Editor.

Plural Design and Landscape Architecture *By Katherine Crewe*

Plural design is design which give users a voice. It seeks to empower residents through increased knowledge about their environment, knowledge about potential outcomes of new development and improved self-esteem. It typically focuses on groups with little access to design resources. Designers commonly work in advocacy firms such as Barrio Architects in Los Angeles or New York's Pratt Institute, or in the many urban design and service learning programs in universities and public agencies. Work differs from the mainstream in many ways, focusing more on funding, hands-on training, awareness raising and innovative alternatives; it can even involve surveillance over many years. Projects are often small and piecemeal, although they serve a broader goal of social equity. Plural design is motivated by the belief that the structure of conventional design practice separates citizens from key decisions about their local environments.

For landscape architects, many of whom have small firms, plural design can be particularly difficult given the prolonged commitment and low fees. There is no strong tradition of social architecture within the profession of landscape architecture, whose roots lie in comprehensive planning rather than social advocacy. *Landscape Architecture* magazine, for instance, features only a small percentage of community projects as part of their overall output. Typically these projects have involved low budget urban gardening, such as Nuru's work with San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners (SLUG) where a staff of some 100 welfare recipients established productive food gardens for low-income neighborhoods; however work did not survive changes in local administration and leadership. Comparable projects for many landscape architects have been sidewalk and street improvement plans, playgrounds in low income neighborhoods, gardens for the disabled, and on occasion a high-profile community project in the aftermath of an urban crisis, such as the Barrio Planners' Uhuru Garden the East Los Angeles which celebrates African American heritage after the riots in 1994. Perhaps a more sustained record of landscape architects' community involvement comes with service learning programs run by professional schools throughout the US, in which students participate with local neighborhoods to restore streetscapes, alleyways and community gardens.

At key periods since the 1960s, however, large-scale government projects have provided for citizen participation and participatory design, often in the aftermath of urban renewal or highway development. The federally funded $985 million-dollar Boston Southwest Corridor Project (1976-86) involved 36 landscape architects as part of collaborative plans for five miles of transit line from inner-city Boston to outlying Forest Hills. This transit project, built as compensation to the city's older neighborhoods after demolition for a proposed cross-city freeway, included not only a submerged transit line and eight new train stations, but a wide network of parks, trails, playgrounds and ball courts along the tracks to strengthen communities and improve circulation. Since the 1980s ISTEA projects have again involved landscape architects in participation and neighborhood regeneration.

With the growing public awareness of environmentally contaminating and harmful land uses, landscape architects' expertise has become increasingly useful in large-scale projects. Typically these projects include participation and surveys of adjacent residents, addressing livability and safety concerns in an endeavor to create a revitalized and diversified urban fabric. In these endeavors, landscape architects typically contribute chains of pedestrian-oriented space to connect marginalized neighborhoods to the mainstream circulation patterns. A recent downtown Seattle project has cre-

ated new pedestrian-oriented parks along its run-down waterfront to connect low income neighborhoods to the Pike Place Market, while a river restoration project in San Antonio has connected poor neighborhoods to the downtown, as has the recent Portland Pedestrian Master Plan, or the Tango Nuevo project in Buenos Aires. In addition to design, landscape architects contribute a specialized knowledge of environmental laws, regulations and restoration strategies, an increasingly crucial factor for defending disadvantaged communities against environmental injustice. Randolph Hester (landscape architecture's champion of community design) notes in his writings for *Places* and *Landscape Journal* that whereas in the old days of urban renewal and freeway battles 'idealism and commitment had sufficed' to win community battles, today champions need more sophisticated knowledge. Fortunately the range of strategies for plural design has increased with new computer-generated simulation techniques, perhaps helping designers to engage more meaningfully with communities about their future.

Whenever plural design is incorporated within mainstream and city-wide revitalization, the question arises whether this will effectively empower excluded groups over time, or instead legitimize corporate encroachment. Landscape architects' commitment to the quality and sustainability of the natural environment, however, promises to ensure their long term commitment to plural design in spite of the mainstream and traditional nature of so much of their work.

Katherine Crewe is an Associate Professor of Planning at Arizona State University. The term plural design comes from work with Ann Forsyth published in Landscape Journal *and* Landscape Architecture Magazine.

Collective Consciousness in Landscape Architecture: *Embracing a Social Justice Orientation to Professional Responsibility*

By Kyle D. Brown and Todd Jennings

Excerpted with minor revisions from Brown, K .D. and T. J. Jennings. Social Consciousness in Landscape Architecture Education: Toward a Conceptual Framework. Landscape Journal. *Volume 22, No. 2. Copyright 2003. Reprinted by permission of the University of Wisconsin Press.*

The practice of landscape architecture is diverse, and the implications are far-reaching. The consequences of planning and design efforts affect landscapes and stakeholders at a variety of scales well beyond the contractual scope of work, whether the client or practitioner operates in the public or private sector. This means that the profession is involved with decision-making concerning the use, allocation and preservation of resources. This, more often than is recognized, pushes the practice of landscape architecture into the political realm, forcing it to confront the realities of political power as well as the institutional and social structures that embody this power. However, we argue that the collective consciousness of landscape architecture has failed to explicitly recognize the political nature of its practice, particularly at it relates to social justice issues. This lack of recognition has resulted in an apolitical service ideal espoused by the profession within the United States. As an alternative, we advocate developing an explicit collective consciousness within the profession, and offer the principle of social justice as a foundation for such a consciousness.

Claims of Responsibility in the Discourse of Landscape Architecture

Within landscape architecture there have been significant discussions of the professional's responsibilities to society. The social agenda conceived by Frederick Law Olmsted for the profession of landscape architecture focused on a sense of shared community and dedicated service to meeting the social, psychological and physical needs of society. Olmsted's early calls for service to society have persisted through the present day. Editorials by leading landscape architects have promoted the idea of service to the welfare and concerns of society. A number of important texts on landscape and design theory have explicitly espoused ideals of service to society in a variety of forms. Many more texts are implicit in their promotion of various social ideals.

There is clearly no shortage of ideas about what landscape architects should be concerned about and responsive towards, but the increasing complexity and diversity of practice has been translated into many competing concepts of responsibility. A common theme throughout many discussions of service by the profession is the notion of stewardship, or caretaking of the landscape, which has long been associated with the profession. Yet as scholars have pointed out, the collective understanding and application of the term stewardship has varied substantially over time. The result is a term that Robert Scarfo describes as "undefined, unsubstantiated ⇨

and ambiguous," as it attempts to describe a wide variety of responsibilities and work situations. In his study of the profession, Patrick Miller concludes that the diversity of the profession "presents problems in the fundamentally different ways in which certain segments of the profession view the landscape and approach design," and Kathy Crewe and Ann Forsyth (*Landscape Journal* 2003) have proposed a typology of approaches to landscape architecture that reflect a diversity of goals, processes, ethics and understandings of nature and power relationships.

Within this diversity of views about the profession and service to society, responsibilities towards socio-political issues such as equality and justice are much less apparent than the commitment to the physical environment. While there are efforts made to address such issues by a number of individuals, there is a serious lack of explicit discussion of equity and justice in society, or recognition of power, oppression and privilege within communities in which landscape architects work. It can be argued that the activities of landscape architects engaged in these issues may be substantial but not reported in the mainstream professional publications. Similarly it can be argued that such practitioners draw insight from rich literature on these issues in philosophy, the arts or social sciences, rather than texts in landscape architecture, but this is precisely our point. The lack of discourse within the discipline that explicitly engages institutional and social power structures in the practice of landscape architecture reflects an overall collective consciousness that is largely apolitical and as such, perhaps even naive.

Claims of Responsibility within Professional Codes

In addition to the discourse revealed in the literature, a profession's responsibilities to society are also informed by the official codes of ethics by the professional societies. For our purposes, it is useful to compare these codes in the professions of landscape architecture, architecture and planning with regard to what they explicitly say related to socio-political issues. The American Society of Landscape Architects' (ASLA) *Code of Professional Ethics* asks members to "understand and endeavor to practice the ethical standards of the *Code of Environmental Ethics*." Although not reiterated within the text of the professional code, the *Code of Environmental Ethics* outlines objectives based on a number of principles including:

• The health and well-being of biological systems and their integrity are essential to sustain human well-being.
• Future generations have a right to the same environmental assets and ecological aesthetics.
• Long-term economic survival has a dependence upon the natural environment.
• Environmental stewardship is essential to maintain a healthy environment and a quality-of-life for the earth.

These principles offer some guidance in the practice of landscape architecture. While it could be argued that their vagueness opens them to multiple, perhaps conflicting interpretations, they do express concern for the welfare of society, particularly with regard to relationships with natural systems. However, this welfare is decidedly contextual, obligating the professional to only "understand and endeavor to practice" in response to this concern.

The American Institute of Architects' (AIA) *Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct* calls for its member to "serve the public interest" in their work. But the AIA code fails to provide any operational definition or guidance for its members in terms of what specifically is in the public interest, beyond the act of "serving."

The profession of planning provides the most explicit discussion of values and concern for social issues within its professional code. The American Institute of Certified Planners' (AICP) *Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct* requires its members to serve the public interest, similar to the AIA code. However, the AICP code addresses the problem of defining the public interest by challenging members to develop their own "conscientiously attained concept of the public interest." In addition, the code makes specific obligation to those who lack formal organization and influence, particularly the needs of the "disadvantaged."

The comparison of these codes in terms of fostering collective consciousness yields interesting insights. Architecture provides the least guidance for its members by employing, without elaboration, some undefined notion of the public interest. From architecture's apolitical statement, it is difficult to envision how this notion could generate professional identity or solidarity in terms of support for one's actions by one's colleagues. Planning is the only profession to address political structures with specificity, but it is perhaps most interesting for its call for members to attain their own concept of public interest. As such it is simultaneously political in nature and cognizant of a multiplicity of views about the nature of power structures. While this flexible approach accommodates a variety of perspectives, it may raise questions about the extent of the solidarity and identity it provides the profession if practitioners' concepts of public interest vary dramatically.

Landscape architecture is explicit in its commitment to the physical environment and could also be interpreted as implicitly addressing a wide variety of social issues. However, the ASLA code could still be considered apolitical in that it lacks explicit recog-

nition of the institutional and social structures that influence power and decision-making. This apolitical perspective is reinforced by educational standards that require programs to teach "professional practice methods, values and ethics," but offer no guidance or expected outcomes as to how or why values and ethics should be addressed, and makes no mention of power structures or their accompanying social justice issues. There is not even explicit connection to the *Code of Environmental Ethics* or the values it reflects within these educational standards. This offers little support for beginning landscape architects in their efforts to develop operational understandings of responsible professional behavior.

The Apolitical Perspective and the Potential for Justice

We have seen how the diversity of practice has introduced a wide variety of interpretations concerning the social responsibility of landscape architects. The ASLA professional code expresses concern for the welfare of society, particularly in terms of ecological issues, but explicit recognition of institutional and social structures which influence decision-making in the landscape is limited in the discipline's discourse, and is virtually nonexistent within professional codes or supporting educational standards. This neutrality may be in response to the diversity and complexity of approaches to practice as previously described. However, by being silent on the politics of practice, the implication is that students and new professionals are socialized to view practice as inherently apolitical rather than charged with political implications that require conscious claims of social responsibility and/or commitments to social justice.

Given the diversity of approaches to landscape architecture and the multiplicity of views, it seems unlikely that a single unifying collective consciousness will emerge to inform professional practice. Landscape architecture is not unusual in this regard. A number of researchers have pointed out that homogeneity within professions is not an accurate assumption. However, heterogeneity does not mean that professional practice should adopt an apolitical perspective for the sake of accommodating all views under one umbrella. Designs and plans prepared by landscape architects have consequences to the public realm. Practitioners must explicitly recognize how their actions either reinforce or alter existing social structures in order to take responsibility for them and the implications of their design for the civil, political, cultural, social and economic rights of all stakeholders.

Drawing upon the AICP code as a model, we advocate an approach that promotes the conscious attainment of a concept of social responsibility within each practitioner. One can imagine competing concepts of social responsibility emerging around different traditions within landscape architecture, and it is essential that these traditions be explicitly engaged in landscape architecture education in order to support transmission and transformation of beliefs that are the foundation of collective consciousness. The design studio offers the ideal environment to engage such issues, as it traditionally serves as the core for design education.

As an initial step in examining how the design studio can engage such issues, we propose an approach rooted in social justice. Philosopher John Rawls argues that justice is the fundamental virtue of functioning societies. Justice is the foundation of the progressive and advocacy planning traditions and integral to what Crewe and Forsyth describe as the "Plural Design" tradition. Justice is particularly suited to political issues encountered in practice due to its focus on institutional and social structures. And it is arguably broad enough to encompass the principles of sustainability outlined in the ASLA *Code of Environmental Ethics* as well as many other contemporary concerns of landscape architecture. While social justice has received limited attention within landscape architecture to date, we believe that it holds great promise as a foundation for collective consciousness in landscape architecture and is worthy of examination as a foundation for education as well as practice.

For Further Reading:

Brown, Kyle D. and Todd J. Jennings. 2003. Social Consciousness in Landscape Architecture Education: Toward a Conceptual Framework. Landscape Journal. Volume 22(2): 99-112.

Crewe, Katherine and Ann Forsyth. 2003. LandSCAPES: A Typology of Approaches to Landscape Architecture. Landscape Journal. 22(1): 37-53.

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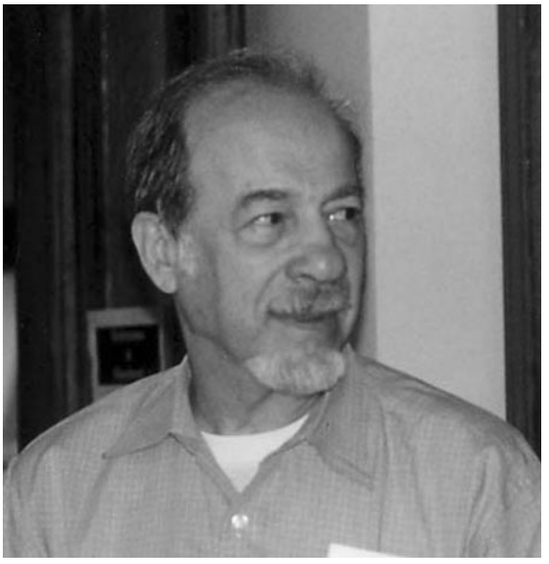
In Remembrance

Progressive planning has recently lost a number of its founding figures and key practitioners. This issue of Progressive Planning magazine contains remembrances of early advocacy planner and founder of Planners for Equal Opportunity, Walter Thabit; community designer and landscape architect Carl Linn; housing advocate Cushing Dolbeare; and global planning advocate Gill-Chin Lim. To paraphrase one of the rememberances, their passing leaves a huge void, but their good works and influence remain.

Walter Thabit



Walter Thabit, one of the first advocacy planners in the United States, died peacefully at his home in New York City on March 15, 2005 at age 83.

Walter helped found the Cooper Square Committee in 1959, which defeated a Robert Moses urban renewal plan. He prepared the *Alternate Plan for Cooper Square*, which proposed that the original residents of the site should be the beneficiaries and not the victims of the *Plan*. This was the very first community-based plan in New York City, and after more than forty years, Cooper Square activists, led by Walter's companion Frances Goldin and with Walter's help, have succeeded in preserving and producing an unprecedented amount of low-income housing. In 1964, Walter founded and led Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO), the predecessor to Planners Network. He was also an advocate planner in Newark, Philadelphia, Poughkeepsie, White Plains and New York City, where he worked in Cooper Square, Morningside Heights and East New York. Walter was recognized by Planners Network as a pioneer of advocacy planning in 2004 (see *PP 160*, Summer 2004).

Aside from his advocacy work, Walter's credentials and experience in mainstream planning were substantial. He was director of planning in Baltimore from 1954 to 1958. He ran his own planning firm in New York City for seventeen years. He was a senior planner with the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission from 1976 to 1980 and the Department of Transportation from 1980 to 1988. Up until his retirement, he was director of Ferry Planning.

Walter taught and lectured at the New School for Social Research, Hunter College and Long Island University, and wrote over 100 articles and reviews in major newspapers and for the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*. In 2003, New York University Press published his book *How East New York Became a Ghetto*, an unsparing look at the racism which creates ghettos and destroys communities (see the review by Lewis Lubka in *PP 159*, Spring 2004).

Walter was a constant supporter and critic of *Progressive Planning Magazine* and I have appreciated his unending commitment to good planning and to telling it like it is. In one of my last visits to Walter, he shied away from being considered as just an advocacy planner, and at one point said he was "an urban planner—with ethics." This is so true.

– Tom Angotti

(Planners Network will sponsor a memorial for Walter in the fall of this year in New York City. If you would like to take part contact Tom Angotti at tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu. Walter requested that contributions be made in his name to Planners Network or the Cooper Square Committee at Coopersquarecomm@aol.com).

We asked some of Walter's friends and colleagues to share their thoughts about Walter. Other contributions for future issues are welcome.

David Gurin - Toronto, Canada
The news of Walter's death sent me looking in filing cabinets for *An Alternate Plan for Cooper Square*. I didn't find it in any file folder, but rather on my shelf of New York books, between Nathan Silver's *Lost New York* and Robert A. M. Stern's *New York 1960*, both formidable, thick volumes. I must have put the thin cerlox-bound *Plan* there a few years ago because I felt it was as important as any scholarly tome. It was a pioneering work and I see that much of what it proposed is finally being built more than forty years later, a testament to Walter's and many other Lower Eastsiders' dedication to making housing available to people of all classes.

What might be forgotten in 2005 is that despite noble sounding intentions, the federal urban renewal program of forty years or so ago was a plot against the poor and against traditional city life itself. City planners embraced it without figuring out its consequences. Walter and the Lower East Side community understood the problems urban renewal would cause in their neighborhood the same year (1961) Jane Jacobs denounced the program in *Death and Life of Great American Cities.* When Jacobs' own West Village neighborhood was threatened with government renewal, she sought advice from the Cooper Square activists.

Later, federal and local governments issued rules about citizen participation in city planning, but these bureaucratic edicts neither captured the spirit nor achieved the results of Cooper Square. Walter's Alternate Plan remains the model for citizen participation.

I got to know Walter while observing Cooper Square for a master's thesis on citizen participation in city planning. Later I worked for him in Soho, East New York and East Flatbush, and at Mobilization for Youth on the Lower East Side. He was an exacting boss and often got exasperated with the municipal foolishness he had to deal with, but he was also kind-hearted and generous when it mattered.

Walter was a master doodler and some of his sketches were funny. I have one entitled *Walter at Work 12/21/81*. It shows a man with moustache and Vandyke, feet on desk, dreaming of lying on a sunny beach. Sailboats glide by and, curiously, the moon and a star are in the sky. Which brings me to a little known New York fact: The parking signs for alternate-side-of-the-street parking—the ones with a diagonal broom through a P in a circle—were designed by Walter when he worked for the city's Department of Transportation. As you walk through the city, Walter's handiwork is everywhere.

Jackie Leavitt - Los Angeles, California
I first met Walter when he was part of the five-member National Committee for Full Employment (along with Stanley Aronowitz, Hamish Sinclair, Herbert Gans and Robert Heifetz) that hired me to be a resident planner in Newark, New Jersey and work with the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP). It was 1965. The preceding year Linda Davidoff had worked with NCUP and this time the idea was to learn more as a participant and share my newly minted Columbia University knowledge about planning. The energy of the movement, living with people who were experiencing and fighting poor housing conditions, urban renewal, etc. overshadowed the academic knowledge. When the summer project ended, I remained in Newark and in need of a job. Walter offered me one, but that time I didn't stay long, opting instead to work for a planning consultant closer to what was now home in Newark, New Jersey. I recall Fran Goldin being a bit aghast that I turned down the opportunity. A few years later, by then more knowledgeable about planning consultancy and wanting more out of a job, I was fortunate when Walter again offered me a position, this time working on the then-new project, Model Cities. I accepted and stayed many years, first at the office on Reade Street and then, when more space was needed, at Murray Street. I worked on projects in East New York, White Plains and Cooper Square.

During this same period, Ruth Galanter and I formed the Urban Underground, one of the Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS) groups. Ruth worked for Health-Pac and when it moved to the upper floor at Murray Street, Walter's office became a base for more than just my planning work. At the time, he was heading Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO). Back then, I remember thinking how much more radical the Urban Underground was, mounting public opposition not only by testifying at city council hearings and writing reports, but demonstrating in front of General Motors (having leafleted them previously) on transportation policies (the brainchild of David Gurin, then also working for Walter); building a much smaller version of Berkeley's People's Park, to protest the upzoning to R-10 of an apartment building adjacent to Cooper Square; and writing a platform piece on "what was planning really about" and passing it out to people attending a planning conference at Long Island University, passionate in our convictions to expose the profession's inbuilt contradictions. ⇨

Walter never prevented this activity; in fact the only time I ever recall his preventing me from writing what I wanted was when I dedicated a report to the "women" of White Plains with whom I worked and he asked me to change that to people. Walter was my first mentor. His own writing, which he carefully crafted while lining up the filters of his cigarettes on his desk or making intricate doodles, was polished and precise. His debriefings with me when we stopped at Junior's on the way back to Lower Manhattan after every East New York meeting, and his openness and generosity in letting me find my way, helped shape my views about the ethics and practice of planning. As important was his commitment to his work.

Walter never stopped believing that planning could be used for something good. He never stopped working. He was a good person. I used to measure the quality of people's hearts if Jessie Allen, an NCUP organizer, was understood through his thick Florida accent and his choice of words (prostitution for prosecution). Walter passed the test with flying colors, wondering what the issue was. When I moved away to Los Angeles for the first time, I would return to Murray Street, see Walter and pop into the corner diner as if I hadn't missed a beat.

When I moved back to Los Angeles in the late 1980s, I would see Walter on various occasions. Most recently, I shared my sketchings with Walter, again finding a language that was common to us both. His thoughtful comments about a Community Scholars project that I had sent him ideas about were replete with questions about this or that, or mixed in with praise, questions about what exactly was the relationship to planning.

I will miss him. I have learned from him so that memories of his voice remain with me as do his writings, to which we all are lucky to have access.

Marci Reaven - New York City

I've had the great pleasure over the last year or so to talk with Walter Thabit about his long involvement with the Cooper Square Committee. In 1959, Walter, Frances Goldin, Staughton Lynd, Thelma Burdick and a number of other activists began to fight Robert Moses over a patch of territory in the Lower East Side stretching from 9th Street to Delancey and from 2nd Avenue to 3rd Avenue that Moses' Slum Clearance Committee wanted to bulldoze. These activists formed the Cooper Square Committee and embarked on an amazing and decades-long adventure that not only prevented the bulldozing and displacement of thousands of low-income residents and small businesses, but also improved local living conditions. They set themselves up as one of the earliest community planning groups and insisted, with periodic success, that the city recognize them as a partner. The group had incredible strengths, but their secret weapon was surely Walter Thabit.

Without Walter there would have been no *Alternate Plan* to Moses' plan, no way to achieve the Committee's philosophical goal—that renewal of the Cooper Square area should benefit those affected by the program, not cause them to suffer from it. Delivered to the city in 1961, the *Alternate Plan* has a modern ring to it. The Committee's critique could have been written today, but in the early 1960s there were few precedents for such thinking.

The *Plan* reads, "A renewal effort has to be conceived as a process of building on the inherent social and economic values of a local community. Neglecting these values through programs of massive clearance and redevelopment can disrupt an entire community. While there is no such thing as a definable neighborhood on the Lower East Side, there are communities of interest, both large and small. There are ethnic, social, cultural and economic associations and dependencies. And there are the individual preferences through which these associations and dependencies are sustained and nurtured. … For loss of a few members, a social club or a meeting room will close; for loss of a few dozen, a church or a store can be lost. When one member of a family moves, others may no longer stay. The whole social fabric is liable to be destroyed."

For thirty years I've happily lived and worked in the economically, ethnically and architecturally diverse neighborhood that Walter, Frances and their colleagues preserved. I'm privileged to have learned from Walter and honored to have the chance to thank him.

Chester Hartman - Washington, DC

I regard myself as something of Walter's heir. My first contact was in 1964, at the annual AIP (former name of APA) convention in Newark, where Walter proposed starting an organization of planners that would relate to and support the Civil Rights Movement. I was studying the negative impact of urban renewal in Boston's West End and gladly joined the steering committee of this new group. That was the beginning of Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO), which he led and which then led to formation of Planners Network, in 1975. I founded PN for the same reason Walter started PEO: to create a social justice presence in our profession, to bring together planners who want to use their tools to fight against racial and economic injustice. Walter was a real inspiration to many of us. We will miss him. We will carry on his good works.

Lew Lubka - Fargo, North Dakota
I miss Walter Thabit, dear friend, colleague, mentor, critic and comrade for thiry-five years. This memoir includes a fraction of the many personal details of our association.

Sometime in the 1960s I met Chuck Kaswan at a planning conference in Cincinnati. Chuck was a New York City planner and a leader in Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO). Chuck, Walter and some others were having lunch in a cafeteria overlooking Fountain Square when Thabit, tongue-in-cheek, asked, "Did you hear about the canary who did it for a lark?" Usually serious, he could be hilarious.

For many, PEO was a beacon for socially responsible planning. In about 1966 I attended a PEO conference in New York City. Paul Davidoff, Leo Lillard, Yale Rabin, Bob Bogen, Dave and Judy Stoloff, Bob Heifetz, Chet Hartmann, Clarence Funnye and Mike Abeloff were some of the progressive planners I met there. The Vietnam War was escalating and PEO took a strong position against it. Thabit asked me to critique the AIP Code of Ethics. The recommendations were given to AIP and in time they revised the Code to include consideration of the needs of the poor and minorities in planning.

PEO got traction in the Civil Rights Movement and Walter's persistence helped the organization grow nationally. It had considerable influence on the profession, and among planning faculty and students. I learned about advocacy planning from Thabit and his rabbits (as we sometimes jokingly referred to his staff). Walter's *Alternate Plan for Cooper Square* saved this vibrant neighborhood from the city's clearance scheme and advocacy became a national concept.

During this time, Section 701 of the federal Housing Act provided funds for city planning, since a community was required to have a plan before it could get housing grants. Yes, there was money for something not connected to war or further enrichment of the well-to-do. Many jurisdictions discovered the value of the "comprehensive plan." Walter helped me to go beyond the "Mickey Mouse" stuff and prepare plans that had lasting value.

When I returned to the US after three years as planning director of Halifax, Nova Scotia, Thabit recommended me for a job with Hoboken Model Cities. He was the consultant and I got to work with him. Then I spent a year as manager of the Rochdale Housing Cooperative in Jamaica, Long Island. At this time I became editor of *Equalop*, the PEO newsletter. Walter was encouraging, but demanded quality. From Rochdale I returned to Hoboken Model Cities, this time on Thabit's team. He gave you an assignment and let you do your thing. At the scheduled time, you would make a presentation to him and the rest of the staff. He would go through everything, challenge the accuracy of the data, suggest better graphics, point out gaps, make you defend your conclusions. He had a way of asking questions that made you think. After reworking the piece, there was another review. When he finally approved it, the product was impeccable. This was by far the best learning experience I had in the planning field.

My last job in the New York City area was housing director for the National Urban League, examining the role of citizen participation in urban renewal projects. As a consultant to the project, Walter provided valuable advice.

PEO eventually ran out of steam. Fortunately, Chet Hartman revived it and today, with Tom Angotti and others, Planners Network has continued the traditions of PEO. Walter was involved in PN to the very end, asking for contributions in his name.

I got to be a professor in the graduate planning program at North Dakota State University in Fargo. We would meet at planning conferences, talk over the phone, email and get together during my visits to New York. I would meet him at his apartment; we would talk, go to lunch. Frances Goldin, his devoted companion, often came along.

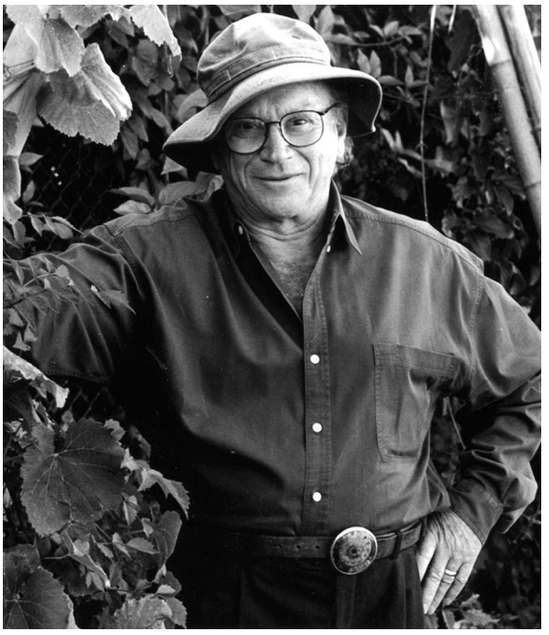
Walter organized a PEO reunion in the 1990s. He showed the forty attendees the progress in East New York that grew from his work there. His last major undertaking and crowning achievement was to write *How East New York Became a Ghetto*, a book that exposes the flagrant racism and unbridled connivance of government, banks and developers to profit at the expense of the most vulnerable of society.

Walter and Frances were on their way to visit me in Fargo on 9/11when the World Trade Center was attacked. Their plane was diverted to Wisconsin and they went back to New York a few days later. They did come to Fargo in September of 2003 and we had a wonderful time. Walter loved to play poker, blackjack, craps and roulette, and handicap horses. We spent an afternoon at the Shooting Star Indian Casino on the White Earth Chippewa Reservation not far from Fargo.

Walter's passing leaves a huge void, but his good works and influence remain. Tough as steel in fighting for his principles, he was tender at heart. In all the years of our association, we never had a cross word, and he always was a gentleman. ⇨

Remembering Karl Linn, 1923-2005

By Carl Anthony



Karl Linn, landscape architect and founder of the community design movement in the late 1950s, died February 3, at his home in Berkeley, California. Linn, 81, was responsible for many innovations during a half-century as a leader in the field. He was an early innovator in environmental psychology, a pioneer in the community gardening movement and a founding member of Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR), an organization with a mission to promote peace. Perhaps his most enduring contribution, through ideas and the example of his works, was to teach a whole generation of architects, designers, planners and activists to see latent beauty in urban blight and find ways of organizing to build community in such abandoned places.

The Beginnings

Karl Linn was born in 1923 to the only Jewish family in the tiny village of Dessow, in northern Germany. He grew up on a tree farm, a training center for gardening and "horticultural therapy" for the mentally ill, which his mother established in 1910. Students would mingle with the mentally ill, and all tended the orchard's 2,000 cherry, apple, plum and pear trees. Persecuted by the Nazi regime, Linn and his family fled to Palestine in 1934. There Linn studied agriculture and helped found a kibbutz. In Palestine, however, Linn was uncomfortable with the way Jews were treating Arabs. Responding to these new tensions and given his early experiences with anti-Semitism in Germany, Linn felt a need to explore human nature and relationships more deeply. At age 23 he moved to Switzerland and was trained as a psychoanalyst at the Institute for Applied Psychology in Zurich. He later immigrated to New York, where he helped to establish a school for emotionally disturbed children and conducted a private practice as a child psychoanalyst. "My experience with racism motivated me to devote my life to contribute to the emergence of a humane society," Linn said in a 2003 documentary film that focused on him and one of his community gardens. "That's the way I've attempted to live my daily life."

Linn found working in clinical settings unfulfilling. In 1952, convinced that nature could be a powerful force for emotional healing, he shifted the focus of his career. Bringing discipline from his work in psychotherapy, Linn became a professional landscape architect and contributed to the emerging new field of environmental psychology. He undertook many projects in the landscape architecture field in and around New York City. Known for his sensitivity and creativity, he was landscape architect for Mies van der Rohe's famous Seagram Building and, working with a team that included architect Philip Johnson, designed the indoor landscape for the building's Four Seasons Restaurant.

Designing landscapes for increasingly affluent clients gradually undermined Linn's sense of social relevance. He began to experience the suburbs where he worked extensively as highly privatized, devoid of community. After several years working on the yards of wealthy suburban clients on the East Coast, he realized how cut off from social life his clients were in their suburban nuclear family.

Working in the Community

I met Karl Linn in 1959 when he brought his landscape architecture students to Heritage House, an African American cultural center in North Philadelphia. The City of Philadelphia had given Heritage House a large historic building, on Broad and Masters Street in a run-down section of the city. The building had a large, rather bland courtyard, which Karl's students transformed into a garden.

As head of the youth division of Heritage House, I was often in the building, and I watched the work progress. I was drawn to Karl first because I was interested in architecture. I noticed that he had a very practical approach to design and building. Even though he was a professor at the University of Pennsylvania (Penn), he wasn't afraid to get his hands dirty. But most of all, as I look back, I think that Karl and I became friends because through his own life he had struggled with racism.

After our meeting at Heritage House, Karl and I spent a lot of time together. We walked the streets

and back alleys of North Philadelphia, looking for vacant land that could be reclaimed—I, a tall, lanky young African American, he, a short, intense Jewish refugee with a thick German accent. We talked to a lot of people who were sitting on stoops or on chairs on the sidewalks, street musicians and kids playing pavement games. Karl taught me to see the potential of the empty lots, the back alleys and the backyards shaded by ailanthus trees, and the destructive and uncaring impact of large urban renewal demolition projects.

I learned that Karl was running something that he called a community design studio at Penn, and that he saw the run-down neighborhoods of North Philadelphia not as blighted, but as a source of inspiration and a potential resource for building community. The idea behind the studio was to provide design services to disenfranchised communities while teaching students to grapple with real-world problems. These studios led to important innovations in the design and planning fields, namely increased citizen participation in planning and acknowledgement that users may have different needs than those considered important by standard middle-class clients.

Drawing on his youthful experience of cooperation and mutual aid in the kibbutz, and guided by his own mentor, pioneering social psychologist Lawrence K. Frank, Linn applied the American tradition of "barn raising" to the creation of gathering places he called "commons." The idea behind commons was to foster the development of a new kind of extended family living, based not on blood but on friendship, mutual aid and intergenerational support.

Karl always insisted that people have the capacity to spontaneously transform their environment with the means at hand. He dramatically demonstrated this principle at Melon Park Neighborhood Commons in North Philadelphia. There was a little alleyway behind a vacant lot, right across from a women's prison. Karl got the neighbors to each bring an old dinner plate from home and made this incredible event out of smashing plates, the pieces of which were then used to pave the alley. The result was the most beautiful mosaic I've ever seen. At Melon Park, students and residents planted greenery; salvaged lumber, old bricks and even marble steps from buildings slated for demolition; and built playgrounds for kids and gathering spots for adults. To bureaucrats in the development agencies, this neighborhood was considered blighted. To me, what was so wonderful was the way Karl participated in celebrating what people had.

During the early 1960s, Karl's students took on projects in a dozen Philadelphia inner-city neighborhoods. With the rising interest in the Civil Rights Movement, Karl created the Neighborhood Renewal Corps, which took on projects in many other cities, providing architecture, landscape architecture and planning services for African American and other vulnerable communities. The community design-build studio was replicated in a number of other universities, including Harvard, MIT, Columbia, Pratt Institute and UC-Berkeley. Many students who participated in these studios went on to distinguished careers in the field. In 1965, planner Paul Davidoff coined the term "advocacy planning" to define the scope and role of this kind of design service.

Ultimately, Karl taught me to see the connections between the environment, architecture and the quest for social justice, in some ways anticipating the movement for environmental justice three decades before the field had a name.

Places for Peace

Challenged by social philosopher and urban planner Lewis Mumford, then a visiting professor at Penn, Linn joined SANE, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. When the nuclear arms race heated up in the early 1980s, Linn began to conduct studios, workshops and charettes with his students at New Jersey Institute of Technology (NJIT) and other schools, introducing exercises developed by Buddhist scholar Joanna Macy and Interhelp, an international organization of psychotherapists designed to help participants get in touch with their suppressed fear and anxiety about the possibility of nuclear destruction. Sharing their grief with others provided great relief and empowered them to work to preserve life.

Retiring early from his tenured position at NJIT in 1986, Linn worked full-time for nuclear disarmament as a founding member of ADPSR. Chairing its committee on education, he worked with students of landscape architecture, architecture and environmental design who realized that losing faith in the future was undermining their ability to work. He helped them organize gatherings and conduct charettes and workshops on the creation of peace gardens, peace parks and other places for peace. He and I collaborated on a conference and publication of the International Federation of Landscape Architecture, bringing together designers and builders of these projects.

The Urban Habitat Program in San Francisco

Linn moved to the San Francisco Bay Area in the late 1980s. I had closed my architecture and planning office and was looking for something else to do. ⇨

Karl had met conservation leader David Brower, founder of Earth Island Institute, and suggested that Brower ought to extend his environmental concerns to the condition of inner cities. Karl introduced me to David, who, after a number of meetings, invited me to join the Board of Earth Island. The environmental movement was beginning to come under criticism because of its racial composition—its lack of membership, staffing or leadership by people of color. Through these discussions, David, Karl and I reached agreement to form Urban Habitat—an environmental justice organization with a mission of developing multicultural environmental leadership and restoring inner-city neighborhoods—as a project of Earth Island. As environmental justice became a national movement, Urban Habitat organized a Bay Area delegation to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, DC. As a participant in the conference, Karl presented a well-received report describing his work on urban land reclamation and bio- remediation of polluted and vacant land. Following the conference, Karl served on the board of San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners for seven years and helped to found East Bay Urban Gardeners and the People of Color Greening Network.

The Karl Linn Community Garden in Berkeley

Through all of his achievements, there was a paradox in Karl Linn's life: While he spent much of it trying to build community, he was often an outsider to the communities he was seeking to build. Growing up in a well-off family in Germany, he was the only Jewish child in a neighborhood where most of his friends were both poorer than he and not Jewish. After escaping from the Nazis to Palestine, Linn tried unsuccessfully in the 1930s and 1940s to build a community that included Arabs and Jews. He worked tirelessly in African American communities in the 1960s but often found himself as a disappointed outsider during an age of identity politics. When Linn moved to Berkeley, he found himself part of a vibrant mixed-income, multiracial community. His neighbors and friends, learning of his work, requested the City of Berkeley to dedicate, as a surprise for Linn's 70th birthday, a dilapidated community garden on city-owned land to honor his lifelong service to community and peace. In the last decade of his life, growing out of this celebration, Linn guided the creation of a cluster of neighborhood commons projects in the Westbrae neighborhood of northwest Berkeley, where he lived with his wife, pianist-composer Nicole Milner.

Linn recruited and organized a team who refurbished the Karl Linn Community Garden and designed and constructed a handcrafted commons. In this project, he learned that a commons, where gardeners come regularly to tend their plots, is cared for with more consistency and enthusiasm than earlier neighborhood commons that had focused more on physical construction than on vegetation. The Karl Linn Community Garden has been the fulfillment of Linn's aspiration to build community through environment.

Linn soon transformed unused land across the street, owned by the regional rail system BART, into the Peralta and Northside Community Art Gardens, where ecological innovations and works of art intermingle with lush vegetation. As part of the American Society of Landscape Architects' Centennial Celebration, Linn transformed a section of the Ohlone Greenway adjacent to the Peralta Garden into an interpretive exhibit of the natural and cultural history of the Westbrae neighborhood. The project, which features a large kiosk made with volunteer labor, depicts the history of the Ohlone people—who, along with the Mexican "Californios" who moved there in the nineteenth century, were the area's original residents.

Linn's work on the Berkeley community gardens was documented in an hour-long film, *A Lot in Common*. The film, directed by Rick Bacigalupi, was released in 2003 and aired on PBS stations nationwide. The College of Environmental Design at UC-Berkeley will house his archives, and Bancroft Library's Oral History Project recently completed a series of interviews about his life and work. Some 300 people gathered in March for a Berkeley memorial service for Professor Linn. A celebration of his life is being planned in New York.

Carl Anthony is acting director of the Ford Foundation Community and Resource Development Unit, where he leads the Foundation's Sustainable Metropolitan Communities Initiative and its Regional Equity Demonstration. The views in this article are his own and do not represent the opinions of the Foundation.

More information about the upcoming New York celebration: www.karllinn.org.

For more information about the film *A Lot in Common*, visit www.alotincommon.com.

For a transcript of Linn's interview with the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, visit http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/ROHO.

Obituary for Cushing N. Dolbeare

Excerpts from the National Low Income Housing Coalition Press Release

Cushing N. Dolbeare died of cancer on March 17, 2005 at her home in Mitchellville, MD. She was 78. Cushing began the National Low Income Housing Coalition in 1974 when she organized the Ad Hoc Low Income Housing Coalition in response to the Nixon administration's moratorium on federal housing programs. She served as NLIHC's executive director from 1977 to 1984 and again from 1993 to 1994. She remained active with NLIHC as a researcher, policy analyst and board member until her death. Cushing was one of the nation's leading experts on federal housing policy and the housing circumstances of low-income people. She designed the methodology for and was the original author of *Out of Reach*, NLIHC's widely cited annual report on the gap between housing costs and wages of low-income people. She was also well-known for her work on analyzing federal housing subsidies, documenting the disparity between the cost of tax-based subsidies that benefit homeowners and direct spending on housing assistance for low-income households. Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) appointed Cushing to the Bipartisan Millennial Housing Commission, chartered by Congress in 2000 to examine and make recommendations to Congress on providing affordable housing for all Americans. In 2002, she was appointed senior scholar at the Joint Center for Housing Studies at Harvard University. At the time of her death, she was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Enterprise Foundation, and the Boards of Directors of the Housing Assistance Council, the Alliance for Healthy Homes and the National Housing Conference. Cushing is survived by her husband of forty-nine years, Louis P. Dolbeare, their son Louis N. Dolbeare, their daughter Mary O'Kane, her sister Alice Lynd and four grandchildren.

Remembrance: Gill-Chin Lim

We are sad to announce the recent passing of Gill-Chin Lim, professor at Michigan State University, who died in a car accident in February. Gill was an active member of the planning field and had recently contributed an article for a special issue of *Progressive Planning Magazine* entitled "Food Problems: A Structural Model and the North Korean Case." (See *PP* 158, Winter 2004.) Included below are selections of a remembrance sent out on the PLANET listserv by Lim's colleague, June Thomas.

Dear All,

…For the past few years it has been a wonderful pleasure to occupy the office next to Gill's. Anyone who goes into his office must pass my door. This has offered an unusual opportunity to watch the various comings and goings, and to converse with him occasionally about various things large and small. The last few days before his death he came into my office several times, once to ask me to join him for lunch at the faculty club. Because of conflicting schedules I was not able to attend that luncheon with him on February 9, a luncheon that he was leaving when a truck hit his car. (This luncheon hosted a visiting international scholar, of course.) But my last conversations with him let me know that he was in a good place, mentally, reaching out in ways he had not done before that I cannot explain easily. In his last few weeks he shared memories of his first days as an international student here in the US that he had not shared before, and his visits with me and Professor Zenia Kotval—located in the same part of the hallway—became more frequent.

…Gill transformed our small URP program in ways hard to describe. Because of his extensive connections with South Korea, he arranged for a program that allows us to receive, as master's URP students or one-year urban studies students, planning professionals from Korea, sent abroad by their companies. These professionals work for the national housing corporation and for the national land development corporation, which are something like HUD, with the powers to build new towns and multi-family housing on a grand scale. And so our classrooms have become bi-cultural. This has given us a wonderful opportunity to open the windows of the world for our domestic students, and to learn about planning somewhere else. Gill not only made the contacts to make this possible, but he set up a steady stream of support mechanisms, complete with staff, frequent visits of our faculty to Korea and lots and lots of hosting of Koreans coming here. All of this worked because of Gill's steady presence, focused initiative and extraordinary ability to get people together for dinners, lunches, convocations, visits, etc.

… As Gill opened the windows of the world for our US students and for Korean practitioners, he opened them for our faculty as well. We will miss him greatly, but we will always remember his matchless contributions. I would encourage all of us to follow the principles he espoused as we seek to tap the strengths of diversity among our students.

June

June Manning Thomas, Ph.D., FAICP
Professor, Urban and Regional Planning Program
Co-Director, Urban Collaborator Program,
MSU Extension

PN UPDATES

PN Chapter News

Update from the PN Student Chapter at the University of Oregon

The Planning and Policy Action Network (PPAN), the PN student chapter at the University of Oregon, recently hosted a successful public event on "Biodiesel and Oregon's Future," featuring the president of Sequential Fuels and a representative of the local air pollution authority. The event was co-sponsored by Mainstreet Moms Operation Blue, a group of politically active moms interested in having school district bus fleets use biodiesel as their fuel of choice.

PPAN has also organized a session on "Retrofitting Suburbia" for an upcoming conference in Eugene called HOPES (Holistic Options for Planet Earth Sustainability). The panel will explore the relationship between the built environment, neighborhood design, land use and transportation as we seek ways to retrofit a 60-year-old suburban development pattern to accommodate more sustainable and healthy development paths. Speakers will include Michael Ronkin from the Oregon Department of Transportation, Carol Heinkel from the Lane Council of Governments and Marc Schlossberg from the University of Oregon.

Update from PNer Jamie Cutlip of the San Francisco Chapter

The San Francisco Bay Area Chapter of Planners Network hosted "Leaving the Postcard: A Disorientation Bus Tour of San Francisco" on Sunday March 20, 2005 during the APA conference. Fifty participants jumped aboard the outbound 19 Polk public bus line and journeyed through San Francisco's Russian Hill, Nob Hill, Tenderloin, Civic Center, South of Market, Potrero Hill and Bayview/Hunter's Point neighborhoods. This reality tour of San Francisco included demographic, economic and historical information, and revealed how a progressive lens can tell an alternative and often surprising story of these dynamic neighborhoods facing development pressures. The tour concluded in Hunter's Point with reflections by San Francisco Supervisor Sophie Maxwell and Karen Pierce, president of the Bayview/Hunter's Point Community Advocates and coordinator of the San Francisco Health Department's Health and Environmental Assessment Task Force. To find out more about the San Francisco Bay Area Chapter, visit us at http://groups.yahoo.com/group/pn-bayarea or contact Jamie at jamie@urbansolutionssf.org.

Update from PNers M. Jason Blackman and Mia Hunt of PN-Concordia

The Concordia University Chapter of Planners Network, located in Montreal, co-sponsored a public forum with the University Rector's Office on November 24, 2004 entitled "Quartier Concordia: The Urban Campus, Community and Public Space." The forum, attended by seventy-five people from the university and community, considered the potential impacts of the expansion plans for Concordia's downtown campus.

There were five speakers who participated in the forum: Michèle Gauthier, landscape architect from Groupe Cardinal Hardy (the firm with the winning redevelopment scheme); Jeanne Wolfe, emerita professor and former director of McGill University's School of Urban Planning; Clarence Epstein, director of special projects for the Rector's Cabinet of Concordia University and estate manager and fundraiser for the University's art gallery; Pierre Gauthier, Concordia professor and architect; and Paul-Antoine Troxler, coordinator of the Peter-McGill community citizen's organization. The forum was moderated by John Zacharias, chair of

Concordia's Department of Geography, Planning and Environment. The panel presentations were followed by a lively discussion in the question-and-answer period.

PN Member Updates

PNer Gus Newport was appointed executive director of the Institute for Community Economics (ICE). ICE was founded thirty-seven years ago and established as the national Community Land Trust (CLT) intermediary organization, which includes providing technical assistance for CLTs and operating a revolving loan fund. Prior to joining ICE, he was general manager of Radio Station KPFA in Berkeley, California. KPFA is the oldest free speech, donor-funded radio station in the US. Gus has performed a variety of tasks including serving as a consultant to several major foundations in the field of community-building. He directed the Community Building Support Center for the Urban Strategies Council. He also directed the Partnership for Neighborhood Initiatives (PNI) serving Palm Beach County, Florida and the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI). Gus also was a lead consultant assisting in the launch of the Neighborhood Partners Initiative, a community-building initiative developed by the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation that served two neighborhoods in Harlem and three in the Bronx. Gus has served on several faculties including: University of California, Santa Cruz; University of Massachusetts, Boston; Yale; and Portland State University. In addition, he served on two United Nations sub-committees and was the US vice president to the World Peace Council. He also served on the Conference of Mayors advisory council. Gus was the mayor of Berkeley, California for two terms, 1979-1986.

PNer Dick Platkin is currently a city planner for the City of Los Angeles in charge of liaisoning with the city's new neighborhood councils, as well as for community planning issues and cases in the northern half of the San Fernando Valley, a major Los Angeles region. Dick is developing a panel for the June 2005 PN conference on the urban policies of big city mayors. His case study will be Los Angeles, in which an incumbent Democratic mayor is facing four Democratic Party challengers...all of whom propose raising the sales tax to hire more cops. New contact information: Email: dickplatkin@yahoo.com; Phone: 818.374.5037; Address: Department of City Planning, Room 351, 6262 Van Nuys Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 91401.

PNer John Nettleton, directing community & economic development at Cornell Cooperative Extension/NYC, has just received notice from New York State Energy Research & Demonstration Authority (NYSERDA) that the joint demonstration project with Brookhaven National Labs and Brooklyn's Apartment House Institute will be funded to demonstrate biofuel (B20- #2 fuel that is 20 percent plant [soybean oil] product) use as heating fuel in NYC apartment buildings. This effort will illustrate the large-scale potential for domestically-grown fuel sources that can offset imported petrol. Roughly one-half of home and apartment heating demand in the Northeast is for oil heat, and over 1.9 million NYC households rely on oil heat. To be kept up-to-date on the project, email John Nettleton at jsn10@cornell.edu.

PNer Alejandro Rofman, Ph D in economics, has recently been appointed honorary professor at the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina. This appointment is offered to academic scholars with long-lasting teaching and research activities in one of the schools of the University. Dr. Rofman has been working as full professor at the University of Buenos Aires since 1972. His academic activity has been developed in the School of Economics. Last year, he was head of a research team charged with designing a comprehensive plan for enhancing socio-economic performance of the small peasants in the poor rural lands of Argentina. The research was supported by the Federal Secretary of Agriculture and it will be available in Spanish next May. All those interested in receiving a copy of the research report, please send home or email address to Mr. Rofman. Alejandro can be reached at srofman@fibertel.com.ar.

PNer Marc Schlossberg recently published a report through the Mineta Transportation Institute called *Using Spatial Indicators for Pre- and Post-Development Analysis of TOD Areas: A Case Study of Portland and the Silicon Valley.* The report is available online at http://transweb.sjsu.edu/pubs.htm. A related article, titled "Comparing Transit-Oriented Developments Based on Walkability Indicators," was recently published in the *Transportation Research Record*. Finally, Schlossberg's GIS and Social Planning class recently engaged with a local neighborhood in a community asset mapping project utilizing ArcPad GIS and PDAs. Summaries of this project and other exciting ArcPad-based community development work can be found at: www.uoregon.edu/~schlossb/arcpad/.

RESOURCES

Publications

Exceptional Returns: Economic, Fiscal and Social Benefits of Investments in Early Childhood Development, by Robert G. Lynch (54 pages, October 2004), is available from the Economic Policy Institute, 1660 L Street, NW, #1200, Washington, DC, 20036. Phone: 202.775.8810. Information available online at www.epinet.org/books/exceptional/exceptional_returns_(full).pdf.

Designing for the Homeless: Architecture That Works, by Sam Davis (161 pages, 2004), has been published by University of California Press.

Community Building, Community Bridging: Linking Neighborhood Improvement Initiatives and the New Regionalism in the San Francisco Bay Area, by Manuel Pastor, Jr., Chris Benner, Rachel Rosner, Martha Matsuoka and Julie Jacobs (16 pages, January 2004), is available from the Center for Justice, Tolerance & Community, University of California, 1156 High Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95064. Phone: 831.459.5743. Web: http://repositories.cdlib.org/cjtc/rgu. Email: cjtc@ucsc.edu.

Addressing Community Opposition to Affordable Housing Development: A Fair Housing Toolkit, by Sara Pratt and Michael Allen, has been published by the Housing Alliance of Pennsylvania and is available for downloading at www.knowledgeplex.org/showdoc.html?id=68549. Pratt and Allen also offer half- and full-day workshops. Phone: 202.277.5551. Email: sleepratt@aol.com.

The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America, edited by Xavier de Souza Briggs, foreword by William Julius Wilson, published by Brookings Institution Press (420 pages, 2005), Paper Text, 0-8157-0873-4, $29.95.

China's Urban Transition, by John Friedmann, published by University of Minnesota Press (168 pages, 2005), $18.95.

Events

June 20-24, 2005. "Poverty in America: Empirical Trends & Theoretical Explanations," sponsored by the University of Michigan National Poverty Centre, will be held in Ann Arbor. For more information, visit www.npc.umich.edu/news/events/summer05.

June 20-21, 2005. "When Women Gain, So Does the World," the 8th International Women's Policy Research Conference, sponsored by the Institute for Women's Policy Research, will be held in Washington DC. Phone: 202.785.5100. Email: conference@iwpr.org.

October 20-23, 2005. The 11th biennial of the Society for American and Regional Planning History will take place in Coral Gables, Florida. For more information on the conference, visit www.urban.uiuc.edu/sacrph/.

November 2-4, 2005. "Brownfields 2005," the official national brownfields conference cosponsored by US EPA and the International City/County Management Association (ICMA) will be held in Denver, CO. The conference is free, and registration info and other details can be found at www.brownfields2005.org.

Online Resources

Online Professional Development for Urban Planners. The Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy is offering online professional development courses in land use law, leadership and management and urban design and place-making. Designed to meet the needs of busy professionals, Bloustein Online Continuing Education for Planners (BOCEP) will offer nine courses between April and September 2005. Each five-week course is taught at a graduate level by experts in the subject, both working professionals and expert researchers. Students can access the course from any computer with an internet connection and participate at their convenience. There are no scheduled class meetings. Every class will provide ample opportunities for planners to discuss issues and resolve problems in collaboration. While courses are not eligible for graduate credit, students who complete a track of courses will receive a Certificate of completion from the Bloustein School. Each course costs $250, but discounts of up to $100 are available for Bloustein School alumni and members of partner organizations: Planners Network and the New York and New Jersey chapters of the American Planning Association. Each class is limited to twenty-five students. Interested planners should reserve a seat to ensure that they get into their preferred course. For more information, visit http://policy.rutgers.edu/bocep/bocep or contact: Leonardo Vazquez, AICP/PP, Instructor. Phone: 732.932.3822 x711. Email: vazquezl@rci.rutgers.edu.

Context-Sensitive Solutions Resource Center. Context-Sensitive Solutions (CSS) is a relatively new mandate from the Federal Highway Administration to design streets and roads that fit in with their physical setting and respond to the desires and needs of the community. Project for Public Spaces (PPS), in collaboration with Scenic America and the FHWA, developed, designed and built a resource center to allow transportation professionals, elected officials and concerned citizens to initiate and participate in a better community-oriented transportation planning process. The site was opened to the public at the January 2005 Transportation Research Board annual conference. Please visit the site at www.contextsensitivesolutions.org. Practitioners and advocates with suggestions or recommendations, or who wish to contribute in any way, should contact Phil Myrick at PPS. Phone: 212.620.5660. Email: pmyrick@pps.org. Web: www.pps.org.

JOIN PLANNERS NETWORK

For three decades, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning, social and environmental justice. PN's 1,000 members receive the Progressive Planning magazine, communicate on-line with PN-NET and the E-Newsletter, and take part in the annual conference. PN also gives progressive ideas a voice in the mainstream planning profession by organizing sessions at annual conferences of the American Planning Association, the Canadian Institute of Planners, and the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning.

The PN Conference has been held annually almost every summer since 1994. These gatherings combine speakers and workshops with exchanges involving local communities. PN conferences engage in discussions that help inform political strategies at the local, national, and international levels. Recent conferences have been held in Holyoke, MA; Rochester, NY; Toronto, Ontario; Lowell, MA; East St. Louis, IL; Brooklyn, NY; and Pomona, CA.

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

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

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$25 Subscription to Progressive Planning only

$35 Income between $25,000 and $50,000

$50 Income over $50,000, organizations and libraries

$100 Sustaining Members -- if you earn over $50,000, won't you consider helping at this level?

Canadian members:
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Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

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

$30 for students, unemployed, and those with incomes under $30,000
$40 for those with incomes between $30,000 and $60,000
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$120 for sustaining members

Make cheques in Canadian funds payable to: "Planners Network" and send w/ membership form to:

Amy Siciliano
Dept of Geography, Room 5047
100 St. George St, University of Toronto, M5S 3G

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

PURCHASING A SINGLE ISSUE

Progressive Planning is a benefit of membership. If non-members wish to purchase a single issue of the magazine, please mail a check for $10 or credit card information to Planners Network at 1 Rapson Hall, 89 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55455-0109. Please specify the issue and provide your email address or a phone number for queries. Multiple back issues are $8 each

Back issues of the former Planners Network newsletters are for sale at $2 per copy. Contact the PN office at pnmail@umn.edu to check for availability and for pricing of bulk orders.

Copies of the PN Reader are also available. The single issue price for the Reader is $12 but there are discounts available for bulk orders.
See ordering and content information at http://www.plannersnetwork.org/htm/pub/pn-reader/index.html

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

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

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

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World Social Forum and Neoliberalism

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In Remembrance of:

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