

# PLANNERS NETWORK

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<http://www.plannersnetwork.org>

No. 128

## THE SEVENTH GENERATION

### REGIONAL PLANNING AND REASON

So you're a planner? That's just what we need.

Ever hear that before?

Why is it some people think planning can set things right? If cities are a mess, they think planning will bring order to chaos, reason to insanity. Isn't this just another example of the American belief in wonder drugs and the perfect orgasm? It's no wonder that the same people usually ask in the next breath, "Well, what exactly do planners do?" They see planning not only as possible salvation. It's a mysterious domain for trained technicians only. It's magic!

Formal Western planning is based on this simplistic myth — that there's someone out there who can fix all our problems because they *know* something we don't. The Enlightenment and ensuing industrial revolution worshiped Reason, because it was monopolized by the ruling classes. From Haussmann's Paris to the West Side Highway, rational planning was supposed to bring law and order to a world thrown in disorder by the same ruling regimes. Thus, urban renewal, master plans and grand schemes to remake the physical and social face of cities.

Folks who've been victims of planning aren't so easily fooled. If see **7TH GENERATION** page 11 ►

## PORTLAND, OREGON

# WHO PAYS THE PRICE FOR REGIONAL PLANNING?

## *How to Link Growth Management and Affordable Housing*

By Tasha Harmon

The Portland Metro region is hailed all over as the mecca of growth management — a unique regional planning tool that limits suburban sprawl and central city disinvestment.

But is growth management good for low-income people? Can growth management incorporate strategies to increase equity? Our experience as advocates of affordable housing in Portland suggests that it can, but not without concerted action by activists.

### Arguments for Growth Management

Recent work by David Rusk, Myron Orfield, Manuel Pastor, John Powell and others demonstrates that suburban sprawl and urban disinvestment increases the isolation and challenges faced by low income people and reduces the overall quality of the regional environment. Others argue for growth management as a less costly alternative to sprawl. They say that sprawl increases public expenditures for new infrastructure while existing infrastructure in central cities and older suburbs is allowed to disintegrate.

However, there are also costs to growth management. When you make the choice (in

our economic system) to limit the available land supply, require more parks, protect environmentally sensitive lands, and build mass transit, someone's got to pay the price. Poor people usually carry a disproportionate burden and rich people benefit most from growth management — as they would from unregulated growth. As with many neighborhood revitalization efforts, the success of growth management is too often measured by asking whether "the community" or "the neighborhood" improves, without asking whether that improvement comes at the expense of low income residents.

I side with the folks who believe that sprawl is ultimately more costly for the poor (and for all of us) than growth management (done right). Many costs are born by households because of the kind of region they live in — transportation costs, the costs of services or amenities in regions where they are very inequitably distributed, the costs of not being able to find work because the regional economy is doing poorly, or because there are no entry level jobs in some communities

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# Planners Networker **UPDATES**

**Send your PN Update to us today! You can email Membership Editor Dalila Hall <dhall@pratt.edu>, send a fax to her at (718) 636-3709, or write a postcard or letter and send it to our national office:**

**PLANNERS NETWORK  
379 DeKalb Avenue  
Brooklyn, NY 11205**

**Cathy Klump**, of the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana, IL, wrote to inform us about the goings on of the new Illinois chapter of PN. She also included the Jan. 1998 edition of the chapter's newsletter which covers information about recent and upcoming PN-IL chapter activities. They also have a web-site <www.uiuc.edu/ro/pnetwork> that includes information about PN, how to join, upcoming events at the UICU community, links, and an electronic version of their newsletter. If you are in the Champaign-Urbana community and would like to learn more contact Cathy at <c-klump@uiuc.edu> or check out their website.

**Tim Stroshane** writes with the following news: The City of Berkeley, California has completed and released its first-ever draft Berkeley Homeless Continuum of Care Plan." The draft Plan addresses maintenance-of-effort issues and gaps in services and affordable housing posed by welfare destruction, the continuing upward spiral of housing costs in Berkeley, and managed care.

The draft Plan is a joint effort of Berkeley's Independent Task Force on Homelessness and an interdepartmental

team of City staff. Surveys of homeless service users and service providers were conducted in late 1996 and findings were incorporated into the development of a background report, "Homelessness in Berkeley," and the draft Plan.

Copies of each document are available at no charge by contacting Tim Stroshane, City of Berkeley Housing Department, 2201 Dwight Way, 2nd Floor, Berkeley, CA 94704; calling 510/665-3472; or emailing Tim, <TIS1@ci.berkeley.ca.us>.

**Ann Forsyth** sent in this query: The Urban Places Project, a unit at U.Mass Amherst that I co-direct, is currently working on two projects in South Holyoke, in Massachusetts. We have two requests for materials.

1. In the first project, we are working with Nueva Esperanza, the main CDC in the neighborhood, to conduct a feasibility study for an indoor vendors market in a Main Street building they own. We are looking at space planning, financial aspects, management, etc. We are interested in finding out about other markets in very low-income neighborhoods (South Holyoke's 1990 poverty rate was 64%) and in Latino areas.

2. In the second project, we are working with two related youth programs — YouthPower and El Arco Iris — to document their work. Over the past few years these programs have worked with young people on a number of projects involving neighborhood planning, public art, and urban design. At the neighborhood level youth have been involved in project design, data collection, analysis, planning and design proposals, presentations, and construction. They have also had input

into the city-wide comprehensive planning process.

Our job, as part of a tiny grant, is to help the youth and youth leaders document these activities in three ways: a short video or other kind of audio-visual presentation aimed at making other youth interested in these kinds of activities; a role-play exercise or game; and a short manual of techniques aimed more at the adults who work with youth. Age groups for youth range from about 8 through 15.

We are particularly interested in audio-visual materials, role plays, and games.

Does anyone know of examples?  
Thanks in advance for your help.

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Please don't be bashful about contacting us with your news for our Updates. I look forward to your notes and e-mails.

—**Dalila Hall**, Membership Editor  
<dhall@pratt.edu>

## Welcome...

new **PLANNERS NETWORK** members!

Ranu Basu, Ramya Bavikatte, Suby Bowden, Whitney Dahlman, Chris Grant, Judith Mayer, Jeffrey Segal, Sigmund Shipp, and Mitchell Skov.

## Thank You

renewing members!

Mary Cassidy Anger, Joseph G. Feinberg, Norman Krumholz, Allan Lichtenstein, Lucilla Fuller Marvel, Gray Smith, Brad Smith, and Jordan Yin.

Contributions since the last issue total \$?????. Thanks for supporting PN!

# PN NEWS

## NEW STEERING COMMITTEE MEETS

On February 21, nine of the fourteen newly elected PN Steering Committee members met for a full day at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, NY. The highlights of the meeting follow.

### Reports

Tom Angotti reviewed the history of PN and the evolution of the organization over the last four years. In 1997, PN was incorporated as a 501(c)3 nonprofit corporation in NY State. No change was made to the by-laws but members are urged to send in any proposals for changes to Patricia Nolan or Peg Seip, who will be reviewing the by-laws.

The Champaign/Urbana chapter has produced a chapter newsletter, held several public forums and organized a demonstration. They currently have about 50 members. They are organizing a Women in Planning conference for fall 1998.

The New York chapter continues to offer its monthly forum series.

Other chapters or activities may be brewing in Seattle, Boston, Los Angeles, Arizona and the Research Triangle.

There was a general discussion about how PN could broaden its membership, how to define PN and the function it should serve. A future issue of PN will be devoted to "Whither Planners Network."

### Newsletter

The SC generally approved of the recent changes in the newsletter, which now has more articles and fewer resources than previously, and a regular editorial

column (Seventh Generation). PN continues to serve as a valuable place for the discussion of non-mainstream perspectives, and this is the source of its strength and potential. The Editors noted that there has not been much feedback from members, and the SC suggested polling members to find out what they think of the publication. Some minor style changes were suggested.

The following suggestions were made for special issues: energy politics; local responses to globalization; class and inequality; transnationalism and immigration; and participatory planning. We will initiate a regular editorial on current political issues to be signed by the SC.

The SC decided to regularly post the newsletter on the PN Web site. It was also decided to change the Web address to a simpler one, [www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org), and Winton Pitcoff offered to pay for the change as his contribution to PN. Thanks, Winton!

### Conferences

No conference is scheduled for 1998. PN will participate in the Urban Affairs Association conference in Louisville in 1999, by organizing at least one workshop that links urban theory with practice. Interested members should contact Patricia Nolan or Ken Reardon. We will also look into the possibility of an east coast conference in 1999; possible sites are Boston, Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore. Interested members should contact Peg Seip.

In 2000, the PN conference will be in Toronto; in 2001 on the west coast (location to be determined); and in 2002 in New York City.

### Publications

The SC agreed to pursue the proposal to publish a book on community-based planning from a progressive perspective. The edited volume would combine articles on the global, national and local context for community planning with case studies and discussions of strategies. A sub-committee will develop a proposal and seek interested publishers. Interested members should contact any one of the sub-committee members: Tom Angotti, Winton Pitcoff, Barbara Rahder, Ken Reardon or Arturo Sanchez.

### Finances

John McCrory distributed the 1997 financial report showing an operating deficit of approximately \$1,500. In general, PN runs a \$5,000 annual deficit, but in recent years this has been made up by conference earnings. The net income from last year's Pomona Conference, about \$4,000, has yet to be received. It cost about \$1,000 in fees to incorporate; legal services were contributed pro bono by a prominent New York law firm.

It was noted that since no conference is planned for 1998, PN's operating deficit would need to be made up in other ways. The SC decided to undertake a fundraising campaign to raise an additional \$5,000 from member contributions by seeking 50 contributions of \$100 each. Steering Committee members will be contacting selected members to ask for contributions. John McCrory will be looking into the use of credit cards for membership contributions.

### Co-Chairs

Four new co-chairs were elected: Tom Angotti, Marie Kennedy, Patricia Nolan and Peg Seip.

The Steering Committee will meet next at the November 5-8 ACSP conference in Pasadena, California, where we hope to have a PN reception.

# METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE AND REGIONAL PLANNING

## *Four Cities, Four Approaches*

by Dalila Hall

### PORTLAND, OREGON'S METRO

Metro is the only directly elected regional government in the United States. It serves more than 1.3 million residents in three counties, and 24 cities in the Portland, Oregon metropolitan area. Established in 1979 in response to a state wide land-use planning program (1976) that required all cities to establish an urban growth boundary, Metro was initially responsible for land-use and transportation planning and regional services such as solid waste management and operation of a metropolitan zoo. These responsibilities have since expanded to include solid waste disposal, regional parks and green-spaces, technical assistance to local governments, and authority over convention, cultural, sports and exhibition centers in the region.

The central feature of Portland's regional plan is growth management. The Urban Growth Boundary's (UGB) purpose is to prevent sprawl development from consuming natural areas and farm lands. Another key feature of the plan is to preserve central cities by keeping investment within the boundary. Growth control is addressed by two tools: open space designations within the boundary and rural reserves beyond the boundary.

Open space designations protect natural resources such as water sheds, parks, and tree stands. Rural reserves, along connecting corridors in the Metro area, maintain farm land and space between communities. Urban areas within the region are classified as Neighborhoods (inner & outer), Centers (towns & regional), and Corridors and Main Streets which connect all the above. Within these urban areas densities are higher than average than in most western cities and lot sizes are smaller than average at about 7,000 square feet. These urban areas are serviced by a well utilized light rail and bus system.

Metro is currently developing a plan for the year 2040.

### METROPOLITAN NEW YORK'S REGIONAL PLAN ASSOCIATION

The Regional Plan Association (RPA), founded in 1929, is the nation's oldest regional planning organization. The RPA is a non-profit civic organization working on issues facing the NY-NJ-Connecticut metropolitan area. The Association's work is funded by individual members, private foundations and corporations. Working in an advisory and research capacity the RPA has created and promoted three long-term plans in 1929, 1968 and 1996. Areas of research include land-use planning, transportation, economic development, the environment, governance and social policy. The Association seeks to build coalitions between government and private organizations, and to foster public participation.

Their Third Regional Plan, *A Region at Risk*, published in 1996 states, "...for the first time the challenge facing the RPA and the region is not managing growth, but preventing decline." The plan recommends enhancing the region's "Three E's" foundation: economy, environment, and equity. These are portrayed as interlocking rings which intersect to shape the quality of life. By investing in this foundation, the region will be able to attract

### Planners Network Needs Your Help!

Did you know that last year's PN conference in Pomona actually raised about \$3,700? If it weren't for the conference, we wouldn't have had enough money to keep the newsletter coming to you.

This year, there won't be a PN conference. This extra-large roster issue is costing more than usual to print and mail, but member donations aren't enough to cover this cost. We have found ways to trim expenses — even as we grow in size — such as printing on lighter-weight paper to keep the cost of postage down. But, we still need more help to sustain PN! See the information about our Sustainer Campaign on page 50.

and retain people and businesses and remain competitive in the global economy. Their recommendations are organized into 5 campaigns: Mobility, Greenswards, Centers, Workforce, and Governance.

## MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA'S METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

The Metropolitan Council was created in 1967 by the Minnesota legislature to oversee regional planning for the Twin Cities Area. This area encompasses a seven county region with 190 local governments and includes about 2.5 million people. The area is divided into 16 districts of equal population and each district is represented by one council member. An additional member acts as the Council Chair. All representatives and the Chair are appointed by the governor.

The Council's first regional task was the coordination of an area wide sewer system. Since then responsibilities have expanded to include long-range plan development for services such as aviation, transportation, parks and open space, water quality and water management. They are a housing and redevelopment authority and the proposing agency for the area's growth management plan, Metro 2040. The plan aims to: reduce sprawl by keeping development compact, preserve agricultural land, set up an "urban reserve" to be developed after 2020, revitalize the region's urban core, and target certain areas for job development.

Currently there are two bills before the state's legislature on the matter of whether or not Council members should be elected rather than appointed. It is believed that elected representation would give the Council the necessary political power to fully implement its plans.

## TORONTO, CANADA'S METRO AND THE NEW CITY OF TORONTO

Created in 1953 by the provincial government of Ontario, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (Metro) was part of a two tier system of government. Metro served as the upper tier of government that coordinated public works, land-use planning and development for the thirteen cities of greater Toronto. At that time the local municipalities (lower tier) were to retain most of their functions while Metro would concern itself with regional issues. In 1967 the thirteen municipalities were consolidated into the six municipalities of Toronto, East York, Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough and York. Over time Metro began to share some of the local responsibilities.

Today the region has a population of 2.4 million people and is the eighth largest metropolis in North America.

Metro was governed by a 34 member council (28 councilors & 6 mayors). Initially the councilors were indirectly elected by the various city councils but beginning in 1988 they were directly elected by the people in their wards.

Beginning on January 1, 1998, the new City of Toronto was created by the conservative provincial government. The six municipalities plus Metro have been condensed into a single government made up of 28 wards. It is governed by 56 councilors (2 from each ward) and one mayor. Only the mayor is elected by all city residents. The councilors are elected only by those residing in their respective wards.

Sometimes referred to as the Megacity, the new City of Toronto is already facing criticisms that it is wiping out local democracy, politicizing residents, and that it will exacerbate central city and suburban inequalities.

Information for this article was compiled from a variety of sources where you can find more detailed information. For your convenience, a few of these are listed below.

### Websites

#### Metro

Portland, Oregon

<<http://www.multnomah.lib.or.us/metro/>>

#### Regional Plan Association

New York, New Jersey, Connecticut  
Metropolitan Area

<<http://www.rpa.org>>

#### The Metropolitan Council

Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota

<<http://www.metrocouncil.org/>>

#### Metro / City of Toronto

Toronto, Canada

<<http://www.city.toronto.on.ca/>>

### In Print

Hiss, Tony, & Yaro, Robert D. *A Region at Risk: The Third Regional Plan for the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Metropolitan Area*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1996.

Orfield, Myron. *Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press; and Cambridge, MA: The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1997.

Walljasper, Jay. "Portland's Green Peace: At Play in the Fields of Urban Planning." *The Nation*, October 1997, pp.11-15.

—Dalila Hall

New York

# RACE, CLASS & SPACE

## *A Historical Comparison of the Three Regional Plans for New York*

by Tony Schuman and Elliott Sclar

### Region and Race: An Introduction

The raw material of American planning history derives from two concerns: the physical problems associated with regional growth and the social ones connected to race and class. New York, because it is simultaneously one of the nation's oldest cities as well as its largest, has been the crucible in which these powerful forces have engendered the now standard pattern of segregated sprawl which characterizes all too much of metropolitan America.

This is a critical juncture at which to focus on issues of race and class in the tri-state metropolitan region. The physical isolation of African-Americans in compacted inner city ghettos has reached such proportions that serious scholars now invoke the specter of apartheid to describe the situation. The two largest cities in the region, New York and Newark, are among the most segregated in the United States; both cities score highly on every index used to measure racial isolation and concentration. Moreover, both cities have shown an increase in these indices from 1970 to 1990, indicating that racial segregation is now firmly built into the physical and social fabric of the region.

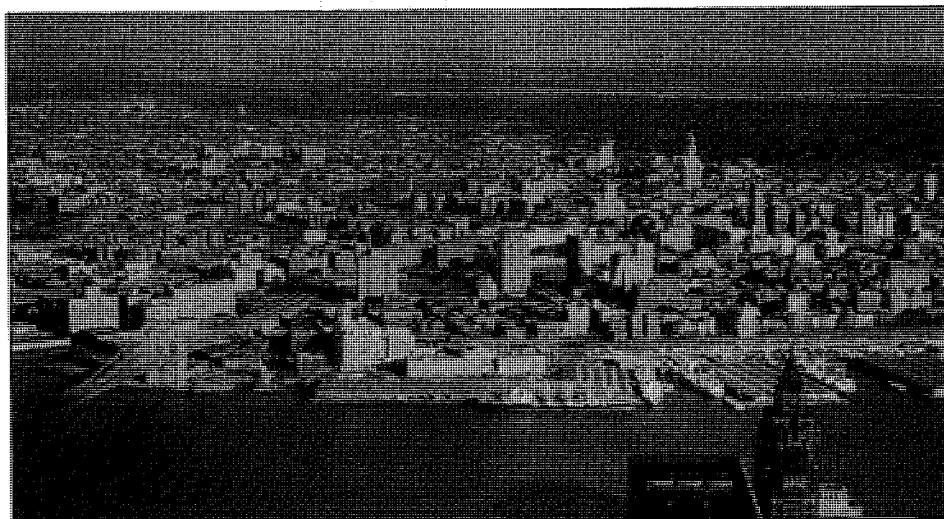
As this racial concentration has consolidated, structural changes in technology and the global economy have transformed the local job market. This is most notable in the loss of 140,000 production

and craft jobs in the region that provided good paying jobs to unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Concomitant with this shift in the economic base has been a dramatic redistribution of income to the point where the United States now has the highest gap between rich and poor of any industrialized nation, an imbalance that is particularly severe in the tri-state region. There are at present more than two million poor people in the region. Many of them reside in the area's central cities. As Douglas Massey and Nancy A. Denton persuasively argued in *American Apartheid*, this interaction of poverty and segregation is responsible for the creation and perpetuation of a black "underclass." The contemporary black ghetto is a place of consistently high unemployment, low median income, low median house values, low school test scores, a high per-

centage of single parent families and births to unwed mothers and a high incidence of substance abuse and crime. The result is an environment where these effects not only occur, but are common or normative.

This article explores the relationship of physical and social planning through an analysis of the three regional plans for New York produced by the Committee on the Plan of New York and Its Environs, established in 1921, and its successor, the Regional Plan Association (RPA): the 1929 Regional Plan for New York (RPNY), the 1968 second regional plan, and the 1996 third regional plan.

For over sixty years, the RPA has been the voice of the progressive business community, whose leaders seek to assure economic efficiency by promoting coherent regional planning competitiveness. While the first two plans treated the minority and immigrant workforce as a burdensome nonproductive sector, the current plan identifies this population as a critical component in workforce growth and competitiveness. Recognizing discrimination and segregation as obstacles to labor force productivity, the third plan gives prominence to issues of education and access to jobs. At the same time, however, the plan stops short of a concerted attack on segregation.



Brooklyn and Queens viewed from Manhattan.

## **The (first) Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs (1929)**

From the closing decades of the nineteenth century, when transit severed the ancient tie between residence and work place, there has been a strong impulse to channel the spatial evolution of walking cities into coherent metropolitan regions. Although the roots of conscious regionalism antedate the RPA and its predecessor, the Committee for a Regional Plan, the RPA is America's oldest formal regional planning organization. It owes an evident intellectual debt to earlier attempts at regional rationality found in the English Garden Cities Movement and Burnham's Plan for Chicago. In 1921 when the Russell Sage Foundation established the first Committee for a Regional Plan under Charles Dyer Norton's leadership, a powerful consensus behind the notion of regional rationality was already in place.

At about the same time that regionalism was becoming a clearly articulated focus within the nascent planning profession, the mechanization of agriculture was transforming large numbers of rural African-Americans into urban immigrants. In the opening decades of the present century this population of former slaves and their descendants began leaving the southeast for the great cities of the northeast and midwest. In 1910, 90,000 African-Americans lived in New York City, less than 2 percent of the population. By 1920 their numbers had grown to 150,000, about 3 percent of the population. By 1930, when the RPNY was released, the African-American population had more than doubled again to 327,000, roughly 5 percent of the city's population.

The framers of the RPNY were concerned that the foreign and Negro population, in addition to constituting a nonproductive burden on the economy, would interfere with the efficiency of the residential and commercial real estate market. Chief economist Robert Haig expresses

this concern succinctly in his study "Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement" in Volume I of the Regional Survey that underpins the first Regional Plan:

Some of the poorest people live in conveniently located slums on high-priced land. On patrician Fifth Avenue, Tiffany and Woolworth, cheek by jowl, offer jewels and gimcracks... on substantially identical sites.... In the very heart of the 'commercial' city on Manhattan Island south of 59th Street, the inspectors in 1922 found nearly 420,000 workers, employed in the factories. Such a situation outrages one's sense of order. Everything seems misplaced. One yearns to re-arrange the hodge-podge and to put things where they belong.

**The poor, including immigrants, Jews, and Negroes, are not viewed as human resources worthy of attention and assistance in their own right, but as impediments to the efficient functioning of the regional economy.**

This, of course, is in large measure the logic behind New York's first zoning resolution whose passage, along with slum clearance and tenement house reform, was championed by Lawrence Veiller and Robert DeForest, later head of the Russell Sage Foundation, the principal sponsor of the first Regional Plan. These earlier efforts shared with the RPNY an overriding emphasis on physical infrastructure as cause and cure for the region's problems. The poor, including immigrants, Jews, and Negroes, are not viewed as human resources worthy of attention and assistance in their own right, but as impediments to the efficient functioning of the regional economy. The "sense of order" that Haig and his colleagues sought to promote reflects class prejudice as well as the desire for economic efficiency. The physical plan itself is a series of proposals of breathtaking scope to re-order the region through the construction of an

elaborate network of bridges, tunnels, highways and parks. While the intention of the first regional plan was primarily to ease congestion and improve productivity, as implemented by New York City construction czar Robert Moses, it ultimately had a devastating long term impact on the social stratification of the metropolitan region.

This is especially poignant in light of the authors' express denial of such an intention: "What we have to refrain from are those details of housing or sanitation or social order that have no direct relation to the development of the land, the transportation system, or the general scheme of city building. What we have to pursue as

our primary task is the making of a comprehensive ground diagram."

## **The Second Regional Plan (1968)**

By the time the second plan was promulgated, the question of race was unavoidable. Deteriorating conditions led to urban riots and the appointment of a Presidential Commission on Urban Unrest — the Kerner Commission — whose final report warned that the United States was rapidly becoming two nations, black and white, separate and unequal. In this context, of the eight reasons the RPA gave as warranting a second regional plan, number two on the list (after "Uncontrolled Urbanization") was: "A segregated society: the growing separation of rich and poor, Negro and white. The movement continues of white, middle- and upper-income families from the older cities to the suburbs."

see RPA on page 8 ➤

Despite the prominence that race is given in the plan, however, instances of overt discrimination such as willful housing segregation are never discussed. Instead the issue is handled mainly as a matter of economics. The absence of African-Americans and Puerto Ricans in

1969 by the City of New York. One of the key innovations of that plan was the introduction of special district zoning to attract and retain an elite work force in a new national center. Thus the first special district, at Lincoln Square, had two goals: to reinforce New York's hegemony as a cultural capital and to provide a southern anchor for the revitalization of the Upper West Side.

**The third plan is very different in tone from the previous documents in its expression of alarm over both wasteful land consumption and a decline in the economic competitiveness of the region.**

the spreading suburbs is seen as a problem of insufficient affordable housing. In terms of employment the report calls for the perennial solution: more job training and, however quaint it may appear in our laissez faire age, guaranteed public employment.

On the issue of metropolitan fiscal resources the second plan was remarkably prescient. It called for a federal takeover of welfare as the necessary condition for allowing cities to cope with the pressures of the urban in-migration of poor people: "[Cities] will never be pleasant places to live compared to the newer areas until the cost of poverty-related public services is lifted from them. Nor will the poor ever have the quality of education and other public services needed to raise themselves from poverty as long as the cities must contribute a large share of the costs." As with the first plan, the second regional plan places its heaviest emphasis and greatest specificity on those matters which lead to a more efficient and compact region. The principal difference is that the role assigned to the center has shifted. The second plan reverses the doctrine of decentralization and projects Manhattan as a national center of commerce and finance. To a large extent it formed the basis for the Master Plan published in

Concurrent with this courtship of an elite workforce, the 1968 regional plan reflects the social turmoil of the times in its recognition of issues of race and poverty. Written in a period of economic expansion, however the plan permits itself the luxury of assuming that education and training will rapidly open the doors to universal economic prosperity, placing its faith in "the steep climb in income that this economy could provide for everyone if recent economic trends can be continued and the prosperity widely distributed." The history of the past thirty years demonstrates how much this over-optimistic economic projection was off the mark.

In similar fashion, the plan invoked the contemporary political climate, notably the rise of the black power movement, to justify not taking a strong stand on residential segregation: "In many ghetto areas, a suggestion to move out is not popular right now... However, it does seem likely, that good housing outside the ghetto would be welcome by many Negroes and Puerto Ricans, as long as it were convenient to jobs and services and good schooling. This effort to improve housing quality and promote integration would fail in large part if housing that should be replaced is filled with new

unskilled unemployed in-migrants as soon as it is vacated, as has been happening in the Region's core." This section is notable both for its frank description of the dynamics of ghetto housing and the affirmation, in passing, that integration is a goal.

**The Third Regional Plan**

In its emphasis on the metropolitan transportation network the third regional plan follows the general thrust of the RPA's earlier efforts. It calls for expanding rail freight and for filling in missing links in existing commuter rail lines to create a regional rail system, including access to La Guardia and Kennedy airports. But the third plan, entitled "A Region At Risk," is very different in tone from the previous documents in its expression of alarm over both wasteful land consumption and a decline in the economic competitiveness of the region. It is the latter aspect that bears most directly on workforce issues. Between 1989 and 1992, the region lost 770,000 jobs, the largest job loss in any metropolitan area in the country since World War II. At the same time, the composition of the region's work force has changed: nearly half of those working or seeking work are women, and over a third (36 percent) are Hispanic, Asian, or African-American. Over the past decade, white male workers have decreased in absolute numbers. In New York City, 59 percent of the work force is comprised of racial or ethnic minorities. Moreover, the future work force will, in all likelihood, continue this trend because all population growth in the region is accounted for by foreign immigration, principally from the Dominican Republic, China, and the newly independent states of the former Socialist bloc.

The result of these demographic changes is that the third plan reverses the RPA's historic perspective on minority and immigrant labor: instead of being



maligned as a nonproductive burden on the overtaxed resources of the region, this group is seen as a critical component in the region's return to economic vitality. As a consequence, the plan is focused on measures to bring the immigrant work force into the cultural and economic main stream, primarily through education programs. The RPA cites evidence linking education levels to a rise in income and, notably, productivity: "[A] recent study by the National Center on the Educational Quality of the workforce indicates that a 10 percent increase in the education level of a company's workforce improves its productivity by nearly 9 percent... a larger increase than that caused by comparable increases in hours worked or investments in computers, machinery or other equipment."

In other words, the ethnic and racial minority work force is now cast as human capital. In a region forecast to be a majority minority society by 2010, the education of this labor force is a matter of paramount concern. The difference in skill levels is identified as the most significant cause of the increasing polarization of the economy into high- and low-income segments. The draft plan emphasizes the dramatic decline over the past decade in wage levels of high school versus college graduates: in 1989, a 30-year old high school graduate made only 68 percent of the income of a college graduate, compared with 88% in 1979. Consequently the plan's recommendations seek to improve the skill level of the immigrant and minority workforce by bolstering English language programs, currently over-subscribed in the region, and calling for state assumption of local school budgets. While these measures reflect a new generosity towards the minority workforce, there is also evidence that the RPA is making a virtue of necessity. The plan also calls for tightening immigration policy to better match the supply of incoming skills to the demands of the local labor

market.

At the same time the plan demonstrates a high level of appreciation for the nontraditional contributions of the immigrant and minority community to the general well being through development of an informal economy. The plan endorses activities such as home-based business, street vending zones or bazaars, and incubator facilities to help unlicensed businesses improve their performance and gain necessary skills and credentials. Impressively, while the plan emphasizes assimilation of foreign immigrants, it also calls for foreign language instruction for native English speakers to improve their entry into the global economy.

Thus the third regional plan represents a major step forward in focusing on labor force participation as a critical component in regional prosperity. It elevates "equity" along with "economy" and "environment" as one of three foundation stones for improving quality of life in the region. But if the plan is forthright in acknowledging that the region is "shamed by its persistent racial and income segregation," it soft peddles many of the formidable obstacles to transforming the region's social and economic imbalance. While a

levels and causes of isolation that distinguish these three forms of residential concentration.

While the issue of segregation is identified, including the desire of the white middle class to keep "them" out, the plan offers no targeted response to this issue. A case in point is the discussion of "housing" incorporated into the "Governance" initiative, which, as in the second plan, speaks more to issues of affordability than to racial integration. For this it relies on voluntary efforts and moral exhortations: "Communities should welcome and include all races, ethnic groups, income groups and age groups." The review of New Jersey's experience with the Mt. Laurel court decisions is instructive here. The Mt. Laurel cases, resulting from a lawsuit brought by the NAACP against exclusionary zoning in the New Jersey Township of Mt. Laurel to open up the suburbs to lower income inner-city residents, resulted in a court-ordered mandate for all New Jersey municipalities to provide their fair share of low- and moderate-income housing. The Council on Affordable Housing (COAH), established by the New Jersey legislature to oversee compliance with the decisions, created a

**While the issue of segregation is identified, including the desire of the white middle class to keep "them" out, the plan offers no targeted response to this issue.**

concern is expressed for bringing low-income communities into the economic main stream, no concerted campaign is articulated for breaking up the ghettos. In fact, the word "ghetto" does not appear in the document. Rather, "racially-segregated inner cities" are identified along with older working-class neighborhoods and immigrant ethnic "enclaves" as areas physically isolated from suburban job markets. The emphasis is on the relation to employment, not on the differences in

mechanism called the Regional Contribution Agreement which permits municipalities to buy their way out of up to half their obligation by making a financial contribution to another municipality within the same housing region. The result of this experience is that while New Jersey has added thousands of new units of affordable housing under the Mt. Laurel program, it has had little impact on inner city movement to the suburbs.

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## RPA

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During a series of Roundtable discussions preceding the draft plan, the Mt. Laurel experience was discussed in some depth at a session on "The Habitable Region." When this discussion found its way into the draft third regional plan, however, its thrust had shifted. Instead of identifying the absence of black migration to the suburbs as a shortcoming of the Mt. Laurel plan as implemented by COAH, the draft plan tries to reassure its readers who fear that "affordable housing" will bring unwanted "outsiders" into their communities: "The fears are misplaced, because the 'outsiders' are the community's own grown children, teachers, firefighters, and police officers who want to stay in the town where they grew up or now work but cannot afford to." Similarly, a discussion of the Gautreaux court decision in Chicago, which mandates housing vouchers to allow public housing residents to rent apartments in outlying suburbs, fails to examine fully the improved life circumstances these families have found outside the ghetto. While the recommendations call for building housing for all residents of the region regardless of race or income, there is no mechanism suggested as to how this might be accomplished, only a brief allusion to federal Fair Housing Laws. There is no discussion of pro-integrative strategies which have been successful elsewhere, such as targeted mortgage assistance.

### The RPA's Dilemma

The timidity of the RPA's discussion of suburban segregation is emblematic of the internal contradiction at the heart of that organization. More importantly it is emblematic as well of the political difficulty we as a society have in effectively addressing our urban problems. On the one hand, the RPA is at the forefront of

efforts to promote coherent regional development that conserves natural resources as it nourishes human ones. On the other, the corporate sponsorship that helps to make it an effective planning organization also limits the scope of practical initiatives which it can put forth. Typically, where longer term social issues clash with more immediate political imperatives, the social issues are given second priority.

Thus "the sweeping vision" heralded in the first plan or the "radical restructuring of the status quo" promised in the second are compromised from the start. It was precisely this tension that was at the heart of the famous Adams/Mumford debate in the early 1930s. Writing in *The New Republic*, Lewis Mumford argued that there was no "regionalism" in the plan, that it merely confirmed chaotic methods governing regional growth and proposed no serious attempt at regionalizing the organization of production. The Regional Plan for New York and Its Environs, Mumford charged, "was conceived... in terms which would meet the interests and prejudices of the existing financial rulers... and its aim from the beginning was as much welfare and amenity as could be obtained without altering any of the political or business institutions which have made the city precisely what it is." Thomas Adams, author of the plan, responded angrily by accusing Mumford of being an ineffectual idealist, an "esthete-sociologist," and defended the plan as a practical and workable set of proposals. As a later commentator observed, Adams was "so concerned not to interfere in any way with existing rights and institutions that he rejected even the possibility of public intervention in low-cost housing."

This pragmatism pervades the Third Plan as well. While the plan's section on "Equity" recognizes that "governance is critical to breaking down remaining segregationist barriers," the section on gover-

nance offers no specific proposals to address segregation directly. Except for a proposal for state assumption of school financing, the RPA relies again on voluntary cooperation among the over 2,000 separate administrative entities in the region. Here the authors acknowledge that problems besetting the educational system go far beyond formulas of per capita expenditure per student, but the proposed remedy does not address underlying inequities of neighborhood conditions, concentrated poverty and the like. The principle of "home rule" is held sacrosanct despite a very clear understanding of the costs of this system:

The net result of this property tax-based and highly fragmented system is a region in which the cost of living is among the highest in the nation and the quality of life it offers its citizens is declining. Unsustainable growth and development patterns are established; the future workforce is inadequately educated and unprepared. Low-density automobile dependent sprawl is encouraged; centers of all sizes are emptied of residents, jobs, and retail establishments; and open space and sensitive natural resources are consumed.

Citing widespread popular skepticism about big government, the authors are wary about proposing new layers of municipal or regional government. Instead they argue cautiously that the home rule-based governance system should be improved rather than dismantled. Their presentation misses the fire of former New Jersey Governor Jim Florio's keynote address at the RPA's 1991 Regional Assembly, where he spoke candidly about the need for government initiatives and tax increases to provide necessary services and infrastructure improvements. Florio paid a high political price for his willingness to move ahead of current political wisdom. In his farewell "State of the State" address, Florio warned, "It's time to stop living in a fantasy where we think small is automatical-

ly better when in fact the price we pay is the duplication and inefficiency of maintaining 611 school districts and 567 totally independent municipalities awash in administrative redundancies. The bottom line cries out for more cooperation, coordination, and, yes, regionalization."

## Conclusions: The Regionalization of Racial Conflict

When the first regional plan was gestating, in the late teens and early twenties, the orbit of racial conflict was within five miles of the central business district (CBD). Harlem was the flash point of urban racial change as speculators recouped their losses by converting a white community into a black one. By the time of the second plan, in the early 1960s, the racial front lines had moved further out from the CBD. The emblematic fight in Forest Hills, a middle income neighborhood in Queens, was triggered by a decision to locate a large public housing project at the edge of the neighborhood. The City was ultimately forced to back away from its original plan. Instead of a larger number of low income housing units, it substituted a drastically scaled back plan replacing most of the family apartments with units for the elderly. The site of the most recent racial clash, unfolding as the third regional plan was being readied for release, is Leonia New Jersey, a predominately white middle class, inner ring suburb just across the George Washington Bridge, about 15 miles from the CBD. Leonia sits adjacent to Englewood, a racially integrated suburb with a heavily black public school population. The fight is over court ordered regionalization of suburban schools to promote racial integration.

In none of these cases did or will the outcome bring a satisfactory resolution. By the 1930s Harlem was an overcrowded ghetto with a large concentration of very poor people. Forest Hills, which was a prestigious urban neighborhood until the

1970s, is no longer a preferred social destination, serving at best as a stopping point on the way out of the city for those with upwardly mobile ambitions. The pressures on Leonia are similar to ones felt in Yonkers and Mount Vernon in Westchester County. They will only push more middle class people further into the hinterlands. These three examples are important because they demonstrate that the unsolved regional problems related to race do not go away as a result of infrastructure improvement. Instead they make the next round of planning more difficult. Indeed if Massey and Denton are correct, the regional crisis will only get worse as the effects of racial segregation are compounded by fading economic opportunity. By not targeting the dismantling of the ghetto as a priority concern, the RPA is not only missing an opportunity to link social and physical planning in a comprehensive way, but is making a potentially serious error. Either we make a concerted effort to open up the region or we can stand by and watch as the white middle class withdraws into ever more remote and gated reserves and devotes an ever higher proportion of both private and public wealth to personal protection. The state of California already spends more of its resources on prison construction and maintenance than it does on higher education. It is hard to imagine how such choice an allocation of resources can ever be a recipe for a healthy and prosperous democratic society.

*This article is excerpted from a paper presented by the authors in 1995 at the 6th Conference on American Planning History and has appeared in shorter form in MetroPlanner, Newsletter of the APA Metro NY Chapter.*

**Tony Schuman**, <schuman@tradewind.net> Associate Professor of Architecture at the New Jersey Institute of Technology, and **Elliott Sclar**, Professor of Planning at Columbia University, are collaborating on a book about community planning in the United States.

## 7TH GENERATION

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your neighborhood has been flattened and discarded by the urban renewal bulldozer, you learn to ask who does the planning, and who benefits from the new order? You question the claims of scientific planning and pure reason. You can do this even without kneeling before the altar of post-modern discourse, or advocating absolute chaos.

## Reason and Equity

In the last decade, more and more people in the U.S. are saying that what we need is regional planning. Suburban sprawl is wasteful and inefficient. It isolates communities and is bad for the environment. Most Americans live in large metropolitan regions and most planning is municipal, fragmented and parochial. True enough.

But who will do the planning for the region? The majority of people in metropolitan regions live in suburbs. Will they remake the whole region in their image? Will powerful downtown business interests join with them to remove all obstacles to the global marketplace, including communities with poor people and people of color? Will regional planning put more power in the hands of those who have produced the disorderly sprawled behemoth in the first place?

And who will benefit from regional planning? Who gets the bonus from a more efficient infrastructure, including transportation, energy, water and other services? In other words, what about equity?

Equity is the big political question. It has thwarted steps towards regional government and planning since the creation of New York's Regional Plan Association almost seventy years ago. Since poor people and people of color tend to be concentrated in central cities, will greater regional authority nullify whatever political power they have? As long as suburban

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## 7TH GENERATION

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apartheid rules, will regional planning bring efficiency at the expense of equity? The articles in this issue on Portland and New York address these questions. Tasha Harmon suggests how in Portland, a national model for regional planning, reducing sprawl and enhancing equity are not necessarily in conflict. But Portland is a relatively small and well-to-do region. The critique of the Third Regional Plan of New York by Tony Schuman and Elliot Sclar shows the extent to which fundamental equity issues may have slipped off the agenda in the nation's largest metropolitan region. John McCrory's story of waste management in New York City shows how planning on a larger scale doesn't by itself guarantee either efficiency or equity.

The longest surviving regional initiative in the U.S. — the Regional Plan Association in New York — is a non-prof-

it organization with no formal power to implement its recommendations. It operates in a federal system where government delegates all planning functions to the states and has done little to establish or support regional planning authorities. So we are a very long way from acting regionally even if people are beginning to think regionally. As Peter Hall lamented in *Cities of Tomorrow*, "the philosophy, as in New York, was planning as the art of the possible: planning should remain an advisory function, it should not try to achieve more than marginal changes, and it must work within the limits of existing powers."

But the inefficiencies and inequities of the current setup keep raising the question of regional planning. Progressive planners need to have some answers.

Regional planning and regional government are well established in many European, Latin American and Asian countries. They have made possible greater environmental conservation and sensible land use planning. But experiences there

show that the creation of regional authorities alone is not the answer. In Europe, for example, the biggest contributors to regionalism are national and municipal governments that are in tune with a regional perspective. They rest on urban traditions that are disdainful of the sprawled, fragmented U.S. ideal.

In North America, Toronto's metropolitan government has been one of the best examples of how regionalism can benefit from cooperation between regional authorities and local municipalities. But look at what just happened there. A conservative legislature abolished Toronto's municipalities and created one powerful regional government. This will insure the monopoly of suburban power and throttle progressive efforts to create a more efficient and equitable region. All in the name of regionalism.

That's why we have to ask, "What about equity?"

—Tom Angotti

## PORTLAND

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and no affordable housing in others. Well thought out growth management strategies are more likely to help us produce affordable communities where people of different incomes can live.

I would rather see us deal proactively with the problems of growth management than allow disinvestment and sprawl. The issue is how we redistribute the burdens and benefits of growth management more equitably and how we can use growth management strategies to reduce inequities in the region.

### What Metro Has Done

The Portland region has taken a unique approach to growth management. In 1979, voters in the region created Metro, the only directly elected regional government in the U.S. Its charter gives it

broad powers to do regional planning and regulate land use throughout the three-county region, and to address what it identifies as "issues of regional concern." Metro started the 2040 planning process which has, over the past nine years, engaged broad public debate and input as it developed a vision for the region's future. The results are the 2040 Growth Concept (a map) and the Regional Framework Plan, which defines the shape that growth will take in the region for the next 45 years. This Plan is binding on local jurisdictions through Functional Plans that cover various topics. It calls for a compact urban form, with higher density development focused along transit corridors and in town and regional centers, a more diverse housing stock in all communities, a diversified transportation system, and protection of green spaces and natural resources within the urban growth boundary. Lands outside the urban growth

boundary are to be preserved from urban development.

The 2040 strategies and the Urban Growth Boundary appear to be succeeding in preventing the worst of the "donut" effect we see in many urban areas, where poverty is concentrated in the central city and older suburbs and jobs and wealth flee to the outer suburbs. Still, there are strong counter-trends. We are seeing gentrification in many "undervalued" neighborhoods in Portland and some suburbs. There is a great deal of redevelopment of old industrial areas in Portland into new residential neighborhoods, largely for middle and upper income singles. Though many of the jobs in other Portland neighborhoods and inner suburbs have left, and much of the job growth in the region is taking place in the wealthier suburbs, downtown Portland has shown strong job growth in the past few years. Housing densities in the region are increasing and

there are more housing options (i.e. smaller homes on smaller lots, townhouses, apartments, etc.) for both rental and homeownership. But these new options are not "affordable" by advocates' standards, except in some cases where they are directly subsidized.

All of this appears to leave low-income people less geographically isolated than they are in many other urban regions, but far less integrated than we would like them to be. Growth management strategies already adopted have had some positive effects on equity compared to the strategies (or lack thereof) in other regions. But the burden of growth still falls disproportionately on low-income people.

### **Activists Bring Equity to Growth Management in Portland**

Housing affordability and the displacement of low-income people from communities undergoing "revitalization" and reinvestment were not on Metro's radar screen in 1994 when the Coalition for a Livable Future was founded. An association of 40 non-governmental organizations, the Coalition is determined to make the question of the burdens and benefits of growth, and growth management, major issues throughout the region. It came together to propose amendments to the 2040 growth concept and in the past three years, equity issues have become much more central to discussions at Metro, and among elected officials and others concerned with growth management in the local jurisdictions.

The Coalition has focused the initial stages of our fight on two issues: housing affordability and reinvestment in existing "distressed" communities. We recognize that there need to be larger regional and local economic development strategies, policies to address wages and income polarization, and tax-base sharing and other strategies to address fiscal inequities between local jurisdictions in the region.

We have done preliminary work on these issues, but have neither the expertise nor clout to be able to use land use planning (and therefore Metro) to move forward in these arenas.

The Coalition was successful in its attempts to get Metro to include in its objectives stronger language on the importance of focusing public investment in existing communities with excess capacity to absorb more housing and jobs. This philosophy fits well with Metro's larger vision of a compact urban form with vital "regional centers" spread throughout the region. Metro has also taken some land use actions to move towards this goal. They have kept the urban growth boundary tight, and required upzoning and mixed-use zoning in some areas. Metro also designated some of the former vital commercial strips in now distressed communities as "main streets", signaling to local jurisdictions that these areas should be primed for reinvestment. This strategy seems to be succeeding in many sections of Portland by directing new public and private investment to neighborhoods that for over a decade had seen no redevelopment except by non-profits.

Affordable housing became a central organizing issue in the Coalition's platform because the need was so compelling and because it was so clearly an issue that had to be addressed on the regional level. We have found it easy to get people to understand that we live in a regional economy. Many people live in one community, work in another, and shop in a third. But the property tax system for funding local government infrastructure and services makes some kinds of development more welcome than others. A few jurisdictions have the lion's share of the new job growth and very little of the housing needed by the low- and moderate-income workforce that keep those businesses profitable. This means that the services and infrastructure (schools, police

and fire protection, parks, etc.) provided to those workers and their families are paid for by jurisdictions that are not benefiting directly from the property taxes paid by the businesses. In addition to resulting in the perpetuation and growth of fiscal inequities between regions (as is well described in the work of Myron Orfield), this dynamic also leads to long commutes, increased traffic congestion and air pollution, and high transportation costs. Time and money are lost that might otherwise be invested in housing, education, family and community activities.

### **Growth Management and Housing Affordability**

The real estate industry has been quick to blame growth management for raising housing prices and making housing unaffordable. But consider a few facts:

- Housing prices in the Portland region have nearly doubled in the last 10 years. Many "undervalued" neighborhoods have seen housing prices (and rents) double in the past two to three years. Meanwhile, real wages for low- and moderate-income people have stayed essentially flat.
- The Portland region was rated the second least affordable housing market in the nation by the National Homebuilders Association in 1997. While the Portland area has nothing that looks like a "ghetto" to most people, there is a severe shelter-poverty problem in the region.

The Homebuilders Association's lobbyists argue that the Urban Growth Boundary (UGB), over-regulation and high system development charges (SDCs) are responsible for the housing price increases. They cite rapidly increasing raw land prices since 1990 and argue that the way to insure sufficient affordable housing is to add well over 10,000 acres to the UGB (the urbanizable land), decrease regulation and SDCs, and let "the market" take care of the problem.

There are several deep flaws with this

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## PORTLAND

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analysis. First, there is no evidence that bringing more land inside the UGB would actually bring home prices down significantly. Data provided by Metro shows clearly that an almost identical rapid rise in home prices occurred from 1973 to 1979, the last rapid growth boom in the region, when there was still so much undeveloped land inside the UGB that even the Homebuilders admit it couldn't have been influencing prices. Secondly, the Homebuilders' strategies would not address the many factors beyond land prices in the housing cost equation. For example, average house size in the region has increased by 20% in the last 15 years.

The Coalition believes that housing prices are set at "what the market will bear" in this consumer society where many middle and upper class people willingly pay exorbitant prices for more housing than they need. Most low-income people have no choice in the matter. There is no reason to believe that lowering land costs for the homebuilders will achieve any significant decrease in housing prices while the boom goes on.

Many homebuilders also note that there is deep resistance in many communities to housing built on smaller lots, townhouses, duplexes, accessory dwelling units and, of course, multi-family housing. Banks have also been reticent to lend on projects that differ much from the standard suburban subdivisions (despite strong demand for Portland's fine and much loved stock of old, neighborhood-scale multi-family housing built along the streetcar lines and just north of downtown in the early 1900s).

Affordable housing advocates and the Homebuilders agree that barriers to affordable housing exist. Metro is currently addressing these barriers by mandating major zoning changes. However, it remains to be seen whether the public will

go for it. While there is a clearly stated popular preference for a tight UGB, many people have serious qualms about the increased density required to accomplish it. Whether they will allow real changes on the ground in their own communities is an open question.

The Coalition believes the rapid increase in demand, very weak requirements for housing diversity, and greed have created higher land and home prices and higher rents. Our solution is to get Metro and local governments to make proactive housing affordability strategies a central part of the growth management strategies for the region. To this end, we have supported the kinds of zoning changes Metro is mandating, pushed (with some success) for more local and state funding for subsidized housing, and worked to strengthen the nonprofit housing sector. We have proposed adoption of a wide variety of regulatory tools on the regional level, including:

- A Fair Share Approach. Each jurisdiction in the region should provide a "fair share" of the affordable housing needed in the region.
- Inclusionary Zoning. A percentage of the housing units in any project above a given size should be affordable to people of moderate incomes without public subsidy.
- Replacement Ordinance. This would require the replacement of affordable rental housing lost to demolition or conversion. (The Community Development Network, the Community Alliance of Tenants and others are also proposing a more comprehensive replacement ordinance for adoption by the City of Portland).
- Condo Conversion Ordinance. This would regulate conversion of affordable rental housing to ownership, providing protection for tenants and the rapidly shrinking affordable rental stock.
- Permanent Affordability in Exchange for Public Subsidy.
- Government Investment Tax. This measure would capture a significant percentage of the increase in land val-

ues that occurs due to government regulation (i.e. bringing new parcels inside the UGB) or investment.

- A Speculation Tax to penalize rapid resale of properties for high profits.

## Regional Affordable Housing Successes

This past December Metro formally recognized affordable housing as "an issue of regional concern." They incorporated affordable housing in Metro's Regional Framework Plan (RFP). They mandated the use of a "fair share" approach to affordable housing in the region, based in part on an examination of the jobs-housing balance. And they committed themselves to setting "fair share" standards for housing in each jurisdiction in the region. The RFP mandates a replacement ordinance, and several preliminary steps that could support inclusionary zoning. The Metro Code regulating the expansion of the UGB also includes strong language about housing diversity. It includes a requirement that some percentage of the housing developed on the added lands be affordable to people at or below 80% of median family income without public subsidy (a working definition of inclusionary zoning). Metro also made a commitment to staff an Affordable Housing Technical Advisory Group, which will include planners, advocates, homebuilders, elected officials, and other interested parties, to refine the policies in the RFP and work on other housing affordability strategies. Metro is likely to commit funds to hire a housing planner in July of 1998. We are moving forward.

Despite this progress, growth management can only do so much to address equity issues. There are many counter-trends, including:

- Oregon passed two regressive property-tax limitation measures in the past four years. These severely restrict local government funding for important infrastructure and services. In general, anti-tax attitudes appear to be get-

ting stronger in Oregon despite the fact that people here get more from local governments for far fewer dollars than in many other areas.

- Major fiscal inequities still exist between local jurisdictions in the region. The property tax system is so complex that any kind of tax-base sharing will be difficult without a total overhaul of the tax system.
- The apparently progressive state policy of shifting school funding from local property taxes to the state and "equalizing" funding across the state (combined with limits on property taxes) has resulted in a significant cut in funds for Portland's public schools, which educate 90% of school age kids in Portland. Portland had been one of the few central cities in the nation that did a better job of funding its schools than most of its suburban jurisdictions.
- A recent ballot measure on mandatory sentencing is forcing the state spend massively on new prisons. In one community in the region, a prison is being sited on what was a major affordable housing site.

At the moment a major backlash is building among some local jurisdictions against Metro's stance on affordable housing. Whatever the outcome, we are convinced that growth management can be a tool for efforts to create equity in our region. Growth management can play a positive role in addressing the needs of low- and moderate-income people.

As the struggle progresses, we need to be asking ourselves what it would take to create a truly progressive growth management program. Would costs somehow be borne in proportion to one's ability to pay? How would this be designed? What would a fundamentally progressive settlement pattern and urban form look like? And, how do we get there from here?

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## NEW YORK CITY

# THE FIRST REGIONAL GOVERNMENT STILL CRIES FOR PLANNING

## *The Case of Waste Management*

By John McCrory

Proponents of regional governance as a means of correcting disparities between central cities and their suburbs can find a real-world test of their theories in New York City, which became the nation's first major regional government one hundred years ago. Manhattan's consolidation with the four adjacent boroughs (Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island), which were mostly suburban and rural at the time, made regional governance and planning possible in the largest city in the United States. But what happened?

In 1898, there were grand visions of an efficient and rationally-planned metropolis. Then, as now, a key selling point of consolidating regional government was that poorer areas would be able to share in the region's overall wealth. With access to Manhattan's tax base, the other boroughs were promised the same level of services the central city enjoyed, from street-cleaning to parks to transit. Federal intervention has reversed this aspect of the relationship of central city to suburbs in most American metro areas, but contemporary regional governance proposals essentially make the same promise.

The metropolitan region of New York has grown far beyond the city's boundaries in recent decades. But, the city's complex combination of central city and low- and high-density suburbs, its multiple employment and commercial centers,

and its heterogeneous patterns of land use and population from district to district resemble the metropolitan regions of other parts of the U.S. closely enough that it can still provide a useful example for identifying some likely outcomes of regional governance.

Another promise of consolidation is greater efficiency, achieved by eliminating duplication and ensuring uniformity of service. But does uniformity of service delivery qualify as efficiency in a heterogeneous region — in which the service needs of different communities are not uniform? How can one-size-fits-all service be efficient when it provides too much service to some neighborhoods but too little to others? Efficient services are those provided in appropriate measure to a community's needs — that is, provided equitably.

The fallacy that equity and efficiency are tradeoffs needlessly complicates discussions of regional governance and planning. The misguided notion that providing uniform service through centralized government leads to efficiency, however, has long been the rationale for New York City's consolidated government.

Social equity and local control have been among the many victims of this century-long experience. Such shortcomings are evident in the story of how New York City handles its garbage — a citywide

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# GARBAGE

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service every citizen relies on each day for which responsibility is centralized in a single agency, the Department of Sanitation (DOS), with an apparently simple mission.

## A Neverending Game of Catch Up

In the year the City of Greater New York was created, Manhattan had begun achieving success with the most forward-looking waste management program of its time. During the previous four years, Streets Cleaning Commissioner Col. George Waring had stopped dumping the city's garbage in the ocean, instead implementing a radical program that included recycling and composting. Diversion of reusable materials had significantly reduced the waste stream and solved a major regional environmental problem.

Consolidation, however, led to an unfortunate change in the political winds. By forging new coalitions in the outer boroughs, Tammany Hall recaptured the mayor's office. The reformers were out after only a single term. The recycling program was soon scrapped and the city resumed ocean dumping.

As the city's population and waste stream grew in coming decades, the city supplemented ocean dumping with landfills and incinerators. A successful federal lawsuit brought by a coalition of New Jersey coastal cities forced the city to end ocean dumping in 1935. Ambitious plans for new incinerators had to be scaled down during the Great Depression and World War II, so the city's sanitation infrastructure continually lagged behind its needs. Most garbage ended up as landfill for public works projects like Robert Moses' parks and highways.

In an effort to stem the rising tide of garbage it handled, in 1957 the city stopped collecting commercial waste, instead requiring businesses to hire pri-

vate companies to take their garbage away. This strategy succeeded in diverting some of the waste stream to incinerators and landfills outside the city. But this shift created a business that soon became a mafia cartel that inflated the cost of private garbage collection by up to ten times the reasonable market price. The mob controlled the business until just two years ago, when federal prosecutors finally succeeded in cracking the industry and sending the leading bosses to jail.

By the 1960s, the city was burning almost a third of its trash in its 22 municipal incinerators and over 17,000 apartment building incinerators. Since then, public awareness of the environmental costs of landfilling and incineration have gradually forced the city to shut down its old landfills and incinerators, including those in apartment houses. The last municipal incinerator closed in 1992, leaving only a single waste disposal option for the 14,000 tons of residential and public waste DOS collects each day. Sanitation trucks take the trash to the nearest of the city's marine transfer stations and dump it in waiting barges that carry it across the harbor to the Fresh Kills Landfill.

## Fresh Kills: You Can't Fill a Bottomless Pit

Situated on the western shore of Staten Island, the Fresh Kills Landfill covers 2,100 acres, and is so large it can be seen with the naked eye from space. Its highest mound is only slightly shorter than the Washington Monument. First opened in 1947, today Fresh Kills is the largest landfill in the world. It is also of dubious legality. Operating under a series of federal consent orders, it is unlined and leaches thousands of pounds of toxics into nearby estuaries each day. Its odor reaches into neighborhoods on both sides of the Arthur Kill, which separates Staten Island from New Jersey. It will be a likely superfund candidate for the next century.

As early as the 1960s, there were predictions that Fresh Kills would soon run out of room. Federal and State estimates predicted it would be full by 2005. Technical changes required by the consent orders managed to extend its life a few years, and there are some DOS engineers who privately believe they could find ways to keep it open forever. But DOS eventually conceded Fresh Kills would have to close by 2017, and began planning how to cover and cap the entire landfill after it closes. However, no thought was given to how the city would adapt its waste management infrastructure once Fresh Kills was no longer an option.

The consent orders and several federal lawsuits filed by local citizens groups and the Staten Island Borough President also made Fresh Kills' future uncertain. Development following the opening of the Verrazano Narrows Bridge in the 1960s had transformed the once sparsely populated Staten Island into a middle-class residential borough. For the residents in other boroughs, Fresh Kills was in that magical land called "Away," but for Staten Islanders, the landfill's odors and environmental problems were close at hand and became a top issue. The city still failed to plan ahead.

Ultimately, local citizens were more proactive than the city. Staten Island Citizens for Clean Air (SICCA) and Borough President Guy Molinari continued to press their separate lawsuits. SICCA's Barbara Warren says that in late 1995, when their case was finally coming to trial, her group approached Molinari and the city to seek a settlement. SICCA believed they were going to win easily in court, forcing the landfill to close ahead of DOS's plans. The city agreed, but instead of settling, quiet negotiations began between Molinari, DOS and the mayor. SICCA was kept at arm's length.


## Here Comes the Trash


Meanwhile, residents in Brooklyn and



Despite such problems, even activists who are fighting waste transfer stations admit a single facility isn't so terrible. Problems mount when several transfer stations concentrate in one neighborhood, which is exactly what has happened.

# WASTE TRANSFER STATIONS by Community District

 DOS Marine Transfer Station

 Landfill

The map displays the five boroughs of New York City, with community districts numbered. Shaded areas indicate the presence of waste transfer stations:

- Manhattan:** Community districts 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. Shaded areas are located in community districts 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.
- Brooklyn:** Community districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. Shaded areas are located in community districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.
- Queens:** Community districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. Shaded areas are located in community districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.
- Staten Island:** Community districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. Shaded areas are located in community districts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Forty years later, a visitor to these districts will find that the residential uses have held on even while industry and

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well as the most noxious facilities, with almost 90% of the "permitted capacity" for putrescible waste — the mixed, wet garbage that gives off rotten odors that can be smelled for blocks around.

### Neighborhoods Call for Fair Share

In 1990, New York City created a "Fair Share" rule that required consideration of the local impact of various new public facilities. The guidelines would ensure the benefits of needed services and burdens of unwanted uses were distributed equally among every district of the city. Community activists from neighborhoods with large concentrations of waste transfer stations scored a major victory when they managed to win a new law that required DOS to create siting regulations for waste transfer stations.

The Giuliani administration fought this specific provision in court, ultimately losing at each level. Last month, DOS finally drafted siting regulations. They are predictably toothless and riddled with exemptions, practically grandfathering existing transfer stations. Sanitation Commissioner John Doherty says he is unable to place limits on concentrations of transfer stations, claiming he is bound by the city's zoning ordinances.

The latest developments at City Planning offer no hope in this regard. The department is currently engaged in rezoning parts of the city's 581 miles of waterfront. Their new proposals improve the way residential and natural waterfront areas are regulated, but fail to correct the industrial zones that are actually mixed-use areas. Heavy industrial zones will continue to be confined to a few low-income areas of the city. This rezoning will effectively lock-in the existing problems of waste transfer stations for the near future.

### SICCA Wins, Sort Of

In 1994, conservative Republican George Pataki won a narrow upset victory over Mario Cuomo in the race for Governor. Pataki had greatly benefitted from large turnouts in heavily Republican Staten Island, much as Republican Rudolph Giuliani did in the previous year's mayoral election. For the first time in decades, Republicans held the most important executive position in both the state and the city. This unusual alignment of the political stars shined favorably on the borough, and Molinari — also a Republican — was not about to let the opportunity slip away. "You could say there was a political debt to pay," says Molinari's staff attorney Dan Master.

In late May of 1996, after several months of quiet negotiations, this Republican triumvirate held a surprise press conference to announce Fresh Kills would close in 2002. Two days later, a law to close the landfill was passed in the state legislature.

In theory, this long overdue decision gave the city an excellent opportunity to restructure waste management and adapt to the changing expectations the public placed on DOS. As long as the mission of DOS had remained straightforward and simple, it seemed to function quite well. Indeed, as recently as the mid-1980s, DOS was thought by many observers to be one of the best-run city agencies. But the department's mission had gradually evolved over the years as the public's increasing environmental awareness resulted in state, federal and local laws to regulate waste more strictly. In 1989, the department's mission was even more fundamentally altered when the city passed the most ambitious recycling laws in the nation. Today, DOS is more commonly described as incompetent, demoralized, and frustrating to work with.

In practice, DOS has failed to adapt to new demands. Its recycling programs

have been disappointments. Ideas for improving recycling are not in short supply among the city's environmental advocates, but DOS has resisted change every step of the way. An unsupportive mayor hasn't helped either: Giuliani cut funds to the recycling budget once he entered office, calling recycling "a fad." (The budget was restored by the City Council last year.)

The decision to close the city's last remaining landfill has not resulted in better planning, efficiency, or greater social equity. Indeed, the closing of Fresh Kills was not a planning decision. Rather, it was a back-room deal that did not involve SICCA, the citizen coalition that had fought for years to shut down the landfill, or any similar group. "It was purely a political decision," says Brooklyn's Boyd. "And like all purely political decisions, it was made without any forethought, without any planning."

Instead of planning informing decisionmaking, decisionmaking was forcing a straitjacket on planning. After deciding the landfill would close, Giuliani appointed a task force of agency heads, staffers, and representatives of industry to work out a plan. Guy Molinari served as chair.

Representatives from the other boroughs and environmentalists had been left out of the back-room dealmaking, and they were excluded again from the Mayor's task force. Environmentalists were livid. How can you create a plan to close the city's landfill without input from the very people who have been working to improve waste management and recycling, they asked? After several months of aggressive lobbying, the mayor finally appointed two environmentalists to the task force: SICCA's Warren and Jim Tripp of the Environmental Defense Fund. Even then, Warren and Tripp were kept out of the decisionmaking loop. As Warren describes it, the rest of the task force would meet officially with them, asking them questions as though they were mere-

ly giving testimony, then adjourn the meeting and go off to discuss things by themselves. Warren tried to protest, but says she didn't get much support, not even from Tripp.

Giuliani also called on the boroughs to prepare their own plans for adapting to the absence of Fresh Kills. The apparent reasoning was that the task force would sketch out a guideline and the boroughs would fill in the blanks.

By the spring of 1997, the task force had released its report and the City Council was holding hearings to prepare its own response. The task force report was predictably short on details. It called for continued use of the city's marine transfer stations: barges would still carry the garbage, just somewhere other than Fresh Kills.

There was also a suggested timeline of annual targets, diverting waste from Fresh Kills to phase it down gradually. Warren had managed to exact this concession in the final days before the report was released. "They were all ready to publish the report when I said, 'wait, you've set the date for closing the landfill, but you haven't said anything about how we're going to get there'" she explained. The annual targets were the result.

This timeline would come to haunt the city's other environmental advocates when DOS treated the targets as law and initiated interim plans to shift garbage from Fresh Kills-bound barges to land-based commercial waste transfer stations. More trash was now on its way to the already saturated neighborhoods of the South Bronx, Greenpoint-Williamsburg, and Red Hook.

In summer the borough reports were completed, and the City Council released its report in October. They all featured a number of suggestions for improving recycling and waste prevention — ideas DOS had either resisted or ignored since beginning recycling a decade ago. The City Council went a step further, demand-

ing a moratorium on the siting of new transfer stations until acceptable siting regulations were approved.

But all of these reports are more notable for what they omit than what they include. None of them proposes any substantively new plan for phasing out the city's reliance on Fresh Kills. None envisions any realignment of operations or authority around the new mission of maximizing waste prevention, recycling, and composting. None of them offers any specific proposal for deconcentrating the blight of transfer stations so the responsibility would be evenly shared by all parts of the city — i.e., "fair share" planning. In any case, since their release the reports have only gathered dust.

### **Contracts for Corporations**

As the foregoing shows, the city is throwing away an historic opportunity to plan for a more efficient and equitable system of waste management, and to do it with citizen groups and neighborhoods. Instead, the mayor is using the opportunity to issue huge contracts to his business pals.

Last year DOS issued three Requests for Proposals (RFPs) soliciting bids from waste management companies for handling the city's residential waste once it is diverted from the landfill. These RFPs are in effect the most important planning documents in the city — a sign that no serious planning is occurring.

By their nature, RFPs result in technocratic 'solutions.' When an agency doesn't know how to adapt to a new requirement, instead of involving the public to solicit ideas and to develop a comprehensive plan to handle the new demands, they typically hire professionals to give them a narrowly-defined answer that doesn't address long-term problems.

Professionals, eager to be chosen for future contracts, dare not offer any suggestions that might disturb the status quo.

These RFPs are no exception, having

been set up so only large corporations could meet the qualifications.

Furthermore, DOS — or any city agency for that matter — has a greater incentive to issue RFPs than undertake community-based planning and problem solving. Community-based programs tend to be funded through local politicians who can use them to increase their local power base. Contracts, on the other hand, can benefit the Mayor and his agency appointees; Funneled to large corporations, they can result in hefty campaign contributions and invite corruption at the highest levels of government, as occurred at the Parking Violations Bureau during the Koch Administration.

### **Centralized Decisionmaking and Fragmented Political Response**

In the case of waste management, New York City's centralized decisionmaking process has resulted in a one-size-fits all method of collection even though the composition of the waste stream is radically different from one neighborhood to the next.

DOS's centralized authority has also proven susceptible to political influence that leads to an unequal distribution of the negative impacts of this citywide service. Although zoning is partly responsible, the heart of the waste transfer station problem is environmental injustice: the well-worn path of least resistance.

One hidden part of the original political deal for Fresh Kills has since come to light that demonstrates this reality. DOS was instructed to reject any proposals from companies that would create new waste facilities, including transfer stations, in Staten Island, a largely white, middle-income borough. Instead, white and ethnically diverse working-class neighborhoods in the other boroughs are the only available targets.

The unequal distribution of negative impacts fragments communities' ability to see **GARBAGE** on page 20 ➤

# GARBAGE

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respond by forcing officials and citizen groups in each borough and neighborhood to look out for their own interests. In Manhattan, for example, a borough advisory board is examining the possibility of combining residential and commercial collection and handling it all through the borough's three municipal marine transfer stations. There are only a few commercial waste transfer stations in Manhattan, so most of the 8,000 daily tons of commercial waste currently gets trucked to transfer stations in Brooklyn. Clearly, if Manhattan succeeded in channeling all its garbage through the marine transfer stations, Brooklyn would benefit. But Brooklynites are so busy holding the line in their own communities that they have little time to follow what's happening outside their borough.

Political leaders in the Bronx and Queens have been somewhat less active on the issue. In the Bronx, the problems of the city's waste system have had to compete for attention in a packed field of environmental and economic inequities. In Queens, transfer stations generally cause less public concern. They tend to be smaller in size and more sensibly sited in areas that are truly industrial. The borough also produces less putrescible commercial waste, and only five of its twenty-two transfer stations handle this type of garbage.

Staten Islanders are still nervously waiting for the landfill to actually close and many say they'll only believe it when they see it. Barbara Warren has been a vocal advocate on the waste transfer station problems of the other boroughs. But her concern is rare among Staten Islanders, who more commonly exhibit little sympathy for places like Greenpoint-Williamsburg and are still bitter over the failure of other boroughs to make closing Fresh Kills a priority in the past.

Even within boroughs like Brooklyn, where the Borough President has been a leader in the fight against inequitable concentrations of waste transfer stations, the issue isn't really on the radar screen of more affluent and politically connected neighborhoods. People in, say, Park Slope or Borough Park don't see or smell waste transfer stations every day, so they are not out marching in the streets against them.

Differences in the character and politics of each borough, as well as the differing priorities of neighborhood and environmental advocates in each borough, lead to a fragmented approach and hinder the emergence of any citywide coordination or vision. The mayor and the centralized department are able to turn a deaf ear to neighborhood protests and free to ignore the complaints and suggestions of environmental watchdogs. Finally, most individuals and groups that have a broader planning focus, such as the Regional Planning Association, don't appear very interested in the problems of managing New York City's waste.

## Imperial Government versus Regional Planning

The example of waste management in New York City shows that even when there is a single jurisdiction, thoughtful planning and social equity are no guarantee. In fact, the recent history of DOS demonstrates that centralizing authority for a large region of heterogeneous communities serves to divorce decisionmaking and accountability from local needs and input. The result is poor planning and incompetent service delivery that cannot be judged equitable or efficient by any measure.

Would it be any different if there were a single jurisdiction covering the entire New York metropolitan region, with its 19 million people and not just New York City's 8 million? I doubt it, since at the grassroots, where the rubber meets the road in city politics, the diversity of opin-

ions, needs and priorities is certain to make it more complicated.

The consolidation of New York City has not provided an easy solution to the problems of fragmentation. On the contrary, because of government's shortcomings, New Yorkers saw it necessary to continually evolve an astounding number of intervening and overlapping layers of official and unofficial government: block associations, political clubs, interest groups, Business Improvement Districts, trade associations, community districts, city council districts, advisory boards, and school boards. Despite continuing attempts to consolidate authority, different levels of power have persisted along with a fragmented political structure for decision making.

It would be churlish to simply characterize this fragmentation as political infighting. Different neighborhoods with different populations, local economies, and patterns of land use naturally have different sets of interests and priorities. We must recognize their differences are legitimate.

The ideas of consolidation and centralization appeal to the desire for rational efficiency, but maybe fragmentation is the more natural process. Of course, it is sensible to be wary of decentralization, since it can lead to great inequalities, but neither should we accept metropolitan governance or regional solutions uncritically. A middle way between the two must be found: one that places some real control and decision-making authority at the local level, but that also ensures a balance throughout the region. Each locality must contribute its fair share and bear its fair share of the region's burdens. Sounds a lot like democracy, doesn't it?

*John McCrory is Editor of Planners Network and a graduate student in city and regional planning at Pratt Institute.*

# RESOURCES

## CONFERENCES, CONVENTIONS, WORKSHOPS, SEMINARS & EVENTS

**Thursdays, 7:00 pm. Housing Notebook**, WBAI, 99.5 FM, New York. Weekly radio program sponsored by the Metropolitan Council on Housing and hosted by Scott Sommer.

**Essential Skills for Public Officials**, The Michigan Municipal League, Lansing Center, Lansing MI. This highly interactive workshop will provide practical ideas for working effectively with both local officials and community residents. This is your opportunity to not only learn more about being a skillful elected leader, but also to network with others who serve as you do. Fee: \$95-\$170. For information, contact MML at (313) 669-6315. FAX: (313) 662-9399.

**Building Learning Communities**, Management and Community Development Institute. (MCDI). Tufts University, Medford, MA. Thirty-eight one to four day interactive courses that teach skills and examine issues related to creating, developing, and maintaining the capacity of individuals, organizations, and communities to engage in neighborhood revitalization. Contact: Steve Schnapp. (617) 627-5666. EMAIL: <sschnapp@tufts.edu>.

**Coordinating Transportation and Land Use**, Three Day Intensive Course on Tools and Techniques. The National Transit Institute is offering a new training course to identify and disseminate the most useful information, evidence, tools, and techniques which are now available for integrating transportation and land use planning. Contact Amy Van Doren: (732) 932-1700, ext. 21. EMAIL: <avd@rci.rutgers.edu>.

• **March 24: Strategies for Allocating Bus and Subway Service in NYC**. 6-8pm. Auto-Free NY: John Tucker III, VP Operations Planning, NYC Transit. 115 W 30th St. #1207, Manhattan. (212) 475-3394.

• **March 30-April 1: Washington Policy Conference**, Brownfields, Business and Job Creation, Federal Policy Update, Washington, DC. Contact National Congress for Community Economic Development, 11 Dupont Circle, Ste 325, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 234-5009. FAX: (202) 234-4510.

• **April 4: Lead, Asthma, and Environmental Justice -- Strategizing for Action**. Northeast Environmental Justice Network. Bunker Hill

Community College, Boston, MA. Contact Angele White, National Lead Information Center, (800) 424-LEAD, ext. 499.

• **April 15-16: Transaction 1998 — NJ State Transportation Conference**. Atlantic City. For registration or vendor information, call (908) 903-1077.

• **April 17, 6:00 pm: Planners Network Forum**. Urban Health in Crisis. Robb Burlage, moderator. Yolanda Garcia, Nos Quedamos and Eva Hanhardt, NYC Dept of Environmental Protection, panelists. Nicholas Freudenberg, Hunter College Center on AIDS, Drugs, and Community Health and Mitchell Silver, President, APA Metro New York Chapter responding for the professions. Follow up conference to be held on Sept. 18 & 19 (see below).

• **April 19-22: Second Annual National Lead-Safe Housing Conference & Exposition**. Philadelphia, PA. (800) 590-6522.

• **April 20: Albany Earth Day Lobby Day**. Contact Environmental Advocates, (518) 462-5526.

• **April 20-22: Social Capital — An International Conference Bridging Disciplines, Policies, and Communities**. Michigan State University, East Lansing MI. This conference is designed to bring together academics and practitioners from different disciplines and divergent practices who share an interest in social capital and its consequences. The goal is to define the essential characteristics of social capital, measure its importance, and investigate practical uses. WEB: <www.jsri.msu.edu/soccap>.

• **April 24: Sustainable Transportation**. University Transportation Research Center Visiting Scholars Seminar. 9:30AM. David Banister, University of London. 1 World Trade Ctr., 43rd Fl., New York City. Info: (212) 650-8050.

• **May 5: Creating the Capacity for Growth**, Regional Plan Association's 8th Regional Assembly. (212) 785-8000.

• **May 31-June 3: 12th International Conference on Business Incubation**. National Business Incubation Assn. Philadelphia, PA. For more information, contact JoAnn Rollins, (614)593-4331. EMAIL: <jrollins@nbia.org>.

• **June 3, 1998. Public Anger and Community Decision Making**. Sponsored by APA and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. Audio Conference Training Series. Info: Carolyn Torma or Candace Kane: (312) 431-9100.

**June 25-27: 1998 Microcredit Summit Meeting of Councils**. New York City. A campaign to reach 100 million of the world's poorest families with credit for self-employment and other financial and business

services. Contact: (202) 546-1900. FAX: (202) 546-3228. EMAIL: <microcredit@igc.apc.org>, WEB: <www.microcreditsummit.org>.

• **July 9-12: Moving the Economy Conference**. Toronto, Canada. An international forum to discuss the economic advantages of sustainable transportation. Contact: Moving The Economy, c/o Urban Development Services, 12th Fl, East Tower City Hall, 100 Queen St, West Toronto, Ontario, M5H 2N2 CANADA. (416) 392-1560, x85854. FAX: (416) 392-0071. EMAIL: <mte@city.toronto.on.ca>.

• **July 15-18: 8th International Planning History Conference and 4th Australian Planning/Urban History Conference**. "The Twentieth Century Urban Planning Experience." The University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. The deadline to submit papers has been extended to the end of February 1998. More detailed information on travel arrangements, accommodation, and sponsors is on the conference internet homepage at: <http://www.fbe.unsw.edu.au/events/1998/plan-hist/>. All conference inquiries and abstracts to: Dr Robert Freestone, Faculty of the Built Environment, University of New South Wales, Sydney NSW 2052, Australia. PHONE: +61-2-9385-4836. FAX: +61-2-9385-6264 EMAIL: <iphs98@unsw.edu.au>.

• **September 18 & 19: Meeting the Urban Health Challenge: A Joint Public Health and Urban Planning Agenda**. New York City. Though the disciplines of public health and urban planning emerged with the common goal of preventing urban outbreaks of infectious disease, little overlap between the fields exists today. The health, environmental and development problems facing urban residents cannot adequately be addressed without approaches that integrate public health and urban planning assessment, regulatory and intervention strategies. The conference will explore academic, professional, government and community-development links between the disciplines. Contact: Hunter COEH Conference Abstracts, 425 E. 25th Street, Box 621 New York, NY 10010. EMAIL: <dkass@hunter.cuny.edu>.

• **July 18-21: Sustainability and Community — Critical Connections**. 30th Annual International Conference of the Community Development Society. Kansas City, Missouri. More information on the WEB: <http://comm-dev.org/>.

• **October 3-7: 1998 International Association for Public Participation Annual Conference**, Mission Palms Resort, Arizona. "S.P.I.C.E.: Synergy, Participation, Involvement, Community, Enrichment." Call (602) 965-8736 or (800) 644-4273 for more info, or surf to <www.pin.org/conf.html>.

• **October 29-30: 1998 Chapter Conference**, NY Metro American Planning Association. Call For Presentations. "Planning and the New York Metropolitan Region in the 21st Century." Share your revolutionary ideas, gain visibility and enhance your professional growth..Contact Mike Skowronek, 267 Warren St #1, Brooklyn, NY 11201. (212) 266-8599 daytime, (718) 596-6557 evening. FAX: (212) 266-8555. EMAIL: <mikeskow4@aol.com>

## PUBLICATIONS

**The Encyclopedia of Housing**, covering more than 500 topics, from Abandonment to Zoning, will be a valuable resource. Completed after nearly 7 years of work, the new Encyclopedia of Housing includes contributions from nearly 250 housing experts (*many of whom are Planners Networkers* — Ed.). Peer-reviewed entries, selected by a distinguished Board of Consulting Editors and written in plain language, offer brief definitions, historical background, descriptive statistics, policy analysis, and critical assessment. Entries also contain suggestions for further study, listing classic works and key publications. **The Encyclopedia of Housing**, edited by Willem van Vliet, University of Colorado. \$149.95 hardcover. 732 pages. ISBN 0-7619-1332-7. WEB: <[www.sagepub.com/sagepage/encyclopedia\\_of\\_housing.htm](http://www.sagepub.com/sagepage/encyclopedia_of_housing.htm)>.

**The National Council for Urban Economic Development** publishes information about its 6 year-conferences and 12 professional economic development training sessions on a page in its website. Surf to <[cued.org/cued/conference](http://cued.org/cued/conference)>.

**National Housing Institute/Shelterforce Online.** <[www.nhi.org](http://www.nhi.org)>. Thoughtful news and analysis of housing and community development issues. The site is filled with hundreds of articles and resources and is regularly updated with news and information critical to the housing and community development field.

**Yellow Wood Notes.** This publication concerns itself with rural sustainable community development and planning. Contact: 95 South Main St, St. Albans, VT 05478. (802) 524-6141. FAX (802) 524-6643. EMAIL: <[hn4402@handsnet.org](mailto:hn4402@handsnet.org)>

**Natural Resource Defense Council.** This site contains a large index of info on environmental issues such as air pollution, toxics, wilderness, land use. <[www.nrdc.org/nrdc/world.html](http://www.nrdc.org/nrdc/world.html)>

**Travel-Time Impacts of Mayor Giuliani's Midtown-Manhattan Crosswalk Barriers.** <[www.tstc.org/reports/ckmidtn.html](http://www.tstc.org/reports/ckmidtn.html)> Interesting analysis of the now infamous and possibly permanent pedestrian barriers in midtown Manhattan.

**Dissenting from the President's Initiative on Race.** A set of 27 short pieces of "Advice to the Advisory Board [to the president's Race Initiative, chaired by John Hope Franklin]." Available without charge from the PRRAC, 1711 Connecticut Ave NW Washington, DC 20009. Provide a large self-addressed, stamped envelope with \$1.47 postage.

**Affordable Housing Costs in Portland, Oregon.** The City of Portland and the Housing Development Center, a local nonprofit providing technical assistance for housing development, have just completed a study of the costs (acquisition, construction and soft) of affordable housing in Portland. To order this study, cost is \$8, including shipping and handling: Housing Development Center, Attn: Affordable Housing Cost Study, 2627 NE Martin Luther King, Jr Blvd, Portland,

Oregon 97212. (503) 335-3668. FAX: (503) 335-0475. EMAIL: <[hdc@teleport.com](mailto:hdc@teleport.com)>.

**Transportation, Energy, and Environment: How Far Can Technology Take Us?** A new book published by the American Council for an Energy-Efficient Economy (ACCEEE) presents up-to-date assessments of the role of advanced vehicle and fuel technologies in moving transportation systems towards greater sustainability. Available for \$38.00 postpaid from ACCEEE Publications, 1001 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste 801, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 429-0063. EMAIL: <[ace3pubs@ix.netcom.com](mailto:ace3pubs@ix.netcom.com)>.

## FUNDING

**International Lelio Basso Prize for Economic and Political Alternatives.** The International Lelio Basso Prize consists of two \$10,000 awards to be given to the 2 prize winners. Works to be considered should be submitted by July 15, 1998. Lelio Basso International Prize - Secretariat Raffaele Piria, c/o Prof. Elmar Altvater, Freie Universität Berlin, Dept of Political Science, Ihnestr. 21, D-14195 Berlin, Germany. PHONE: 49-30-838 4964. FAX: 49-30-838 4066. EMAIL: <[piriaraf@zedat.fu-berlin.de](mailto:piriaraf@zedat.fu-berlin.de)>.

## DO YOU HAVE A WEBSITE?

**Let the Planners Network community know about it! Send a note or email with the URL to us and we'll print it in our PNER Updates. You can also use the pn-net listserv to spread the word.**

## HELP SUSTAIN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNERS NETWORK!

**During the past few years, we've worked hard to expand the content of the newsletter. Like what you've seen? Because there's no PN conference this year, We need your help — see page 50 for information about our Sustainer Campaign.**

## PN CHAPTERS

### Champaign-Urbana, Illinois

Contact: Ken Reardon, (217) 244-5384; <[kmjr@ux1.cso.uiuc.edu](mailto:kmjr@ux1.cso.uiuc.edu)>.

### New York Metropolitan Area

Contact: Tina Chiu, (212) 854-9564, <[jc307@columbia.edu](mailto:jc307@columbia.edu)> or Kevin Huang, (718) 783-0499, <[KHuang8598@aol.com](mailto:KHuang8598@aol.com)>.

Starting or renewing a local chapter of Planners Network? Tell us, and we will list your contact information and news here! Write to Membership Editor Dalila Hall, <[dhall@pratt.edu](mailto:dhall@pratt.edu)>.

## PN ON THE INTERNET

We have a new web address! The PN web site contains case studies, working papers, and more. Surf to:

**<http://www.plannersnetwork.org>**

To subscribe to our email listserv, email: **[pn-net-request@pratt.edu](mailto:pn-net-request@pratt.edu)** with the body blank and the subject: **subscribe your-email-address**

# **JOBS**

**Looking to fill an open position with someone you can count on? PN is your link to the right person. Send your job announcement to the national office or email it to Resources Editor James Miraglia: <anarcho@prodigy.net>. Please limit listings to 50 words! Otherwise, we will be forced to shorten them as necessary.**

## **NATIONWIDE**

**Researchers.** The Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) is currently recruiting campaign research staff for positions in Connecticut, Boston, Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Washington DC, and the San Francisco Bay Area, and has openings elsewhere on occasion. To apply, send cover letter and résumé to: Recruitment, HERE Research Department, 1219 28th St NW, Washington, DC 20007-3389. FAX: (202) 333-6049.

## **CONNECTICUT**

**Housing Executive Director** sought to lead and implement activities of community-based development corporation. Need self-starter with housing development, finance, and community outreach experience. CDC is starting tax credit/historic rehab project. Competitive salary and benefits. Résumés to 1410 Norman Street, Bridgeport, CT 06604.

**Transportation Planner,** South Central Regional Council of Governments North Haven, CT. Two positions: (Intermediate Level) Salary — \$40,000 to \$45,000; (Entry Level) Salary: \$30,000-\$33,000. Opportunity at a regional planning organization. Requires familiarity with basic transportation planning process and concepts. Herbert Burstein South Central Regional Council of Governments, 127 Washington Ave, 4th Fl, West North Haven, CT 06473. (203) 234-7555. FAX: (203) 234-9850. EMAIL: <scrcog@connix.com>.

## **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

**Grassroots Associate.** The only national nonprofit organization solely dedicated to preserving and enhancing the scenic character of America's communities and countryside, seeks a individual to play a key role in the organization's efforts to help states and communities to preserve and enhance their distinctive scenic character. Send cover letter, résumé, current salary, and three recent writing samples to VP-Policy and Communications, Scenic America, 21 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036.

## **GEORGIA**

**Senior Planners,** Atlanta Regional Commission Atlanta. Senior Planner, Commute Connections Program; Division Chief, Manage Transportation Planning Division. Send résumé with cover letter referencing position and salary history to: Human Resources Division, Atlanta Regional Commission, Bldg 200, Ste 300, 3715 Northside Parkway, Atlanta, GA 30327-2809. FAX: (404) 364-2599. EMAIL: <HR@ATLREG.COM>.

## **ILLINOIS**

**Canvas Director.** The REACH Project is a city-wide coalition campaign to reform the security deposit system, organize for tenants rights, promote sustainable reinvestment of security deposit funds and resolve landlord-tenant disputes through mediation rather than litigation. Send résumé, letter to: Fran Tobin, REACH Project, 1545 W Morse, Chicago, IL 60626. (773) 973-7282. EMAIL: <ftobin1@uicvm.uic.edu>.

## **KANSAS**

**Transportation Planner,** City of Topeka, Topeka KS. Competitive salary and benefits. Please submit letter of application, résumé, and professional references to: Michele Smith, City of Topeka, 215 SE 7th St, Rm 170, Topeka, KS 66603-3914. (785) 368-3867. FAX: (785) 368-3605 EMAIL: <personnel@cjnetworks.com>.

**Planner I.** The City of Topeka and Shawnee County, located in The heart of NE Kansas, is seeking qualified applicants for a Planner with the Metropolitan Planning Department. Please submit letter of application, résumé, and professional references to: Michele Smith, City of Topeka, 215 SE 7th St, Rm 170, Topeka, KS 66603-3914. (785) 368-3867. FAX: (785) 368-3605 EMAIL: <personnel@cjnetworks.com>.

## **MISSOURI**

**Planner,** City of Liberty, MO. Starting Salary Range: \$2,654 - \$3,119 per month, depending on qualifications; excellent fringe benefits. The City of Liberty, a progressive community of 25,000, is seeking an urban planning professional for current and long-range planning duties in the Community Development Department. Send résumé and professional writing sample to: Personnel Coordinator, City Hall, PO Box 159, Liberty, MO 64069.

## **NEVADA**

**Land Use Planner.** Nye County Planning Dept., Pahrump, NV, is seeking a experienced or knowledgeable planner to work under the Director of Planning. Applications and résumés to: Ron Williams, Director, Nye County Planning Dept., PO Box 1531, Tonopah, NV 89049. Applications can be obtained from: Debbie Jeffery, Nye County Administration, P.O. Box 153, Tonopah, NV 89049 (702) 482-8126.

## **NEW YORK**

**One Year Visiting Professor,** University at Albany, State University of New York. The Department of Geography and Planning invites applications for this one year position, to begin in Fall 1998. PhD in Geography, Planning or related fields required. Send *vita* and names/addresses of three references to: Christopher J. Smith, Chair, Dept of Geography and Planning, ES 244A, University at Albany, 1400 Washington Ave, Albany, NY 12222. Telephone: (518) 442-3249; EMAIL: <cjsmith@cas.albany.edu>.

**Urban Planner,** City of Yonkers Yonkers, NY. Salary to \$35,000. Attractive benefits package. The City of Yonkers, 4th largest city in New York State, has an opening for an entry level planner. Send résumé, salary history to Commissioner of Personnel, City of Yonkers City Hall, Yonkers, NY 10701

**Land Use Planner,** Girl Scouts of the USA, New York City. Hiring range: high \$50s. Provides on-site consultation services and technical assistance to local Girl Scout councils in property development, long-range planning, systems maintenance and overall property management; develops resources, plans and delivers relevant workshops. Send cover letter and résumé to: J. Jacobs, Staffing, Girl Scouts of the USA, PO Box 1966-APA, New York, NY 10156-0612.

**Junior Level Planner.** New York City office of multi-disciplinary engineering/planning/design firm seeks junior level planner for immediate position. Résumés and representative samples of previous work to: Rosemary Reilly, Office Administrative Management, 90 West Street, Ste 1700, New York, NY 10006.

## **OREGON**

**Grants Administrative Supervisor,** Snohomish County, Everett, WA. Salary: \$4,249 - \$5,173 per month plus benefits. The Department of Planning and Development Services has an opening for a Grants Administrative Supervisor. Contact: Grants Administration Supervisor, Human Resources M/S 503, 3000 Rockefeller Ave, Everett, WA 98201-4046.

## **VERMONT**

**Research Assistant.** A full-time position is available as of August 3, 1998 with Yellow Wood Associates, Inc. of St. Albans, Vermont, a small consulting firm dedicated to improving the quality of life in rural communities. Our core purpose is to educate rural communities about the development choices. Qualified candidates will have a Master's degree in rural, agricultural, or community development, applied economics, business administration and marketing, natural resources, environmental studies, or equivalent. Min. 2 years experience in a non-academic research setting. Strong interest in rural America, sustainable development, and capacity building. Potential exists for long-term career growth and development. To receive a detailed job description please contact Frances Young by phone at (802) 524-6141 or email at <HN4402@handsnet.org>.

# Planners Network Member Roster

## HOW TO USE THIS ROSTER

All the information printed in this roster comes from the Planners Network membership database.

The roster is arranged alphabetically by name, for our current 700 members. Each entry lists a member's information in the following order:

**Name**  
**Organization**  
**Street Address**  
**City, State, and postal code**  
**Country (if not United States)**  
**Telephone**  
**FAX**  
**EMAIL**  
**WEB page URL**

When available, a personal statement is included at the end of each entry.

If you discover incorrect or missing information in an entry, please use the form on page 49 to let us know, or send an email to Dalila Hall, Membership editor <dhall@pratt.edu>.

An index by  
country, province,  
and state begins  
on page 47.

We hope you find the roster easy to use, but if you have suggestions for improving it the next time, please let Dalila know!

### ORGANIZATIONS

#### City of Akron

Dept of Planning Library  
166 S High Street Room 405  
Akron, OH 44308

#### Aldersgate Community Development Center, Inc.

715 North 80th Street  
East St. Louis, IL 62203  
(618) 397-8494

#### American Planning Assn

Merrian Center Library  
122 So. Michigan Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60603-6107

#### Assn for Neighborhood & Housing Development

305 7th Avenue Suite 2001  
New York, NY 10001

#### Carolina Planning

Dept of City & Regional  
Planning  
University of North Carolina  
Chapel Hill, NC 27599

#### Center on Budget/Policy Priorities

777 N Capitol Street NE #705  
Washington, DC 20002

#### City Limits

120 Wall Street 20th Fl  
New York, NY 10005-4001

#### Columbia University

Avery Library  
New York, NY 10027

#### Cornell University Library

110 Olin Library  
Ithaca, NY 14853-5301

#### Economic & Planning Systems

1815 Fourth Street Suite B  
Berkeley, CA 96704  
(510) 841-9190

#### Grassroots Policy Project

2040 S Street NW Suite 203  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 387-2933

#### Habitat International Coalition News

Cordobanes No. 24  
Col. San José Insurgentes  
Mexico City, 03900 D.F.  
Mexico  
(525) 651-68-07  
FAX: (525) 593-51-94  
<hic@laneta.apc.org>

#### University of Illinois-Chicago

College of Urban Planning &  
Public Affairs  
1007 W Harrison Street Rm 1180  
Chicago, IL 60607  
<schorsch@uic.edu>

#### Municipal Art Society

The Information Exchange  
457 Madison Avenue  
New York, NY 10022

#### The Neighborhood Works

2125 W North Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60647

#### News from Aprovecho

80574 Hazelton Road  
Cottage Grove, OR 97424  
(503) 942-8198

#### University of North Carolina

CB#3938 Davis Library  
Serials Dept  
Chapel Hill, NC 27514-8890

#### Planners in Latin America

University of New Mexico  
School of Architecture &  
Planning  
Albuquerque, NM 87131

#### Shelterforce

439 Main Street  
Orange, NJ 07050

#### TRANET

Box 567  
Rangeley, ME 04970

#### UHAB Newsletter

120 Wall Street 20th Fl  
New York, NY 10005-4001  
(212) 479-3300

#### The Urban Ecologist

405 14th Street Suite 900  
Oakland, CA 94612

#### The Workbook

Box 4524  
Albuquerque, NM 87106



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I am currently finishing my MSP from FSU, with a concentration in international development. My Master's research is entitled: "The Relationship Between Municipal Govern-ments and Nongovernmental Organizations in Urban Services Delivery in Developing Countries." (P.S. I even quote Tom Angotti!)

**Tom Angotti**  
Pratt Institute GCPE  
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I teach in the graduate planning program at Pratt Institute and work in community-based planning. I am involved in environmental justice and transportation alternative efforts. Interests include Latin America and global urbanization.

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Presently I'm a Board member of the Sutphin Boulevard Local Development Corporation, where I'm responsible for community outreach for residents and small business programs. We are working on the revitalization of stores and a commercial strip. As a member of the Neighborhood Housing Assn, our group won 2nd prize (June 1997 Buffalo, NY Neighborhood Reinvestment Corp.) for a proposal providing programs for inner city youth. I am also a member of the Better Community Civic Assn.

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For many years a health planner,  
I now work as a health services  
researcher and sociology  
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ties the connections to planning  
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Currently, I am working at the  
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Community organizing and  
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ing, racial justice, economic jus-  
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Frequently visits Mexico, includ-  
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**Karen R. Brown**

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(203) 972-7971  
<kqb7481@is4.nyu.edu>

I am very interested in expansion of infrastructure and social/human services to support women's transition from TANF/public assistance to employment — such as child care, transportation, and supportive work policies.

**Michael S. Brown**

3951 Foothill Road  
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**Dennis Brunn**

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**Anna Bubel**

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**James M. Buckley**

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**Paul Buckwalter**

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Inter-University lecturer in Urban Health (Columbia Public Health, New School Health Services) with interfaith seminars, colleges. Sponsored National Council of Churches program: Resources for the Civic Conversation, national and local health care justice and "healthy communities" campaign: seminars, conferences, Harlem/Northern Manhattan Community Health Alliance; soccer dad (Matthew's nine).

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Co-Director, Institute for Sustainable Development at Long Island University. Assistant Professor of Environmental Studies Southampton College. Research interests: US environmental movement and sustainability in urban/suburban communities.

**Daniel P. Carr**

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Rural family homelessness addressed by Genesis House, supported by congregations, individuals and business in an atmosphere of love, dignity and belonging. Build social institutions such as churches, summer camps for fun with God and work projects.

**Michael Casto**

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Send us the correction form on page  
49 to bring us up to date!**

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# ROSTER INDEX

## BY COUNTRY, PROVINCE, AND STATE

### ABOUT THIS INDEX

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### INTERNATIONAL

**ARGENTINA:** Alejandro Rofman

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## Oh no! My roster entry isn't right!

We have done our best to provide accurate information for each member in this roster, but inevitably there may be mistakes or out-of-date information. This roster is based on our membership database, maintained by Dalila Hall, Membership Editor. If you move, be sure to let Dalila know your new address, but also any new phone numbers. Let her know when your email address changes, too! To help us make sure all the contact information for you is correct, send us this form so we can enter the changes to the database. Thanks!

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A brief statement describing your work, interests, and activities:

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# PLANNERS NETWORK SUSTAINER CAMPAIGN

Planners Network is growing and diversifying. The newsletter is becoming a strong voice for progressive planning. PN's conferences mix community participation with professional planning. More local groups are forming, and new publications are being developed. And this month's newsletter includes a complete roster of the geographically diverse PN membership.

But PN has only one source of income — member contributions. Our average contribution is about

\$25, which leaves us with an annual deficit of from three to five thousand dollars. This year, there's no PN conference to help make up the difference. And the roster costs an extra \$1,000.

### OUR GOAL IS 50 CONTRIBUTIONS OF AT LEAST \$100 EACH.

If you're having a fairly good year, won't you help sustain PN? If it's time for your annual contribution, can you be a little more generous? Your contribution to PN is tax-deductible.

## WHITHER PN?

Planners Network started 23 years ago with discussion and debate about the role of progressive planners. As the political climate changes, we need to constantly re-evaluate who we are and what we should do — individually and as an organization, within our professions and more broadly.

One of the big questions we have always faced is whether we should be more than a communications network. Should we go beyond the newsletter, conferences, local forums and the many informal activities that bring us together? Should we initiate direct action, lobbying, or other campaigns, and on what issues?

Over the years, PN membership has become more diverse. We include people working in community development, housing, environmental justice, health and human services, transportation, urban and rural planning, etc. What critical issues should we focus on?

We invite you to send in your thoughts and ideas. They can be short notes or longer articles, up to 1,500 words. Items will be considered for a special PN issue this fall. Submit your work via mail to the PN office or via e-mail (pn-net@pratt.edu). Other upcoming issues include:

**May, Number 129 — Sustainability** Richard Milgrom, Guest Editor

**July, Number 130 — Planning and Gender** Ann Forsyth, Guest Editor

**September, Number 130 — Planning & Race** Marie Kennedy, Guest Editor

Please submit articles, notes, updates, and resources typed and double-spaced. Feature articles of 500 to 1,500 words are always welcome. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. All electronic submissions should be sent as ASCII text. Send your submission to the editors at <pn@pratt.edu> or the address given at left. All resource and job listings should be directed to James Miraglia's attention <anarcho@prodigy.net>.

FOR MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning and social justice. PN's 1,000 members receive this bimonthly magazine, network online with PN-NET, 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 and American Collegiate Schools of Planning.

The PN Conference has been held annually each spring 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 inter-national levels. Recent conferences have been held in Washington, D.C., East St. Louis, IL, Brooklyn, NY, and Pomona, CA.

Whether face-to-face, in print, or over the internet, PNers are part of a network that shares progressive ideas and experiences. Join Planners Network and make a difference while sharing your ideas and enthusiasm with others!

Annual financial contributions are voluntary, but we need funds for operating expenses. The Steering Committee recommends the following amounts as minimums for Network members:

- \$15** for those with incomes under \$25,000, students and unemployed
- \$25** for those earning between \$25,000 and \$50,000
- \$45** for those earning over \$50,000
- \$30** for organizations and libraries

# THE PLANNERS NETWORK

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. This includes opposition to racial, economic and environmental injustice, and discrimination by gender and sexual orientation. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, shelter, 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.

☐ **Yes!** I want to join progressive planners to work for fundamental change.

☐ I'm a renewing member — Keep the faith!

Enclosed is my check payable to **PLANNERS NETWORK** for \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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NOTES: Your contribution is now tax-deductible!

International members, please send a check in U.S. funds as we are unable to accept payment by credit cards or in other currency at this time.

Thanks!

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## MOVING?

Please make sure to let PN know if your address changes. It saves us money and helps ensure you don't miss an issue!

## YOUR LAST ISSUE?

The date on your mailing label indicates when your current membership expires — make sure to renew if this date is coming up soon! If it is already expired, we need to hear from you before May 1st or you won't receive PN anymore. See the inside back page for contribution suggestions. Thanks for your continued support!



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