

PLANNERS NETWORK

July/August 2001

The Publication of Progressive Planning

No. 148

THE SEVENTH GENERATION

In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations.

From the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy

PN 2001 in Rochester Voices of Change

By Ken Reardon

Nearly four hundred neighborhood leaders, professional planners, planning students and planning academics participated in this year's national conference, which was held at the University of Rochester in New York on June 21-24. Nine local colleges and universities and the City of Rochester joined Planners Network in hosting the conference. The primary focus of the conference was the critical role grassroots activists are playing in mobilizing residents across race, class, gender, religion and ideology to address important environmental, economic and social problems.

The conference began with a welcoming reception on Thursday night at which Mayor William A. Johnson and City Council President Lois Geist spoke. Friday morning began with a

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This issue is supported by a grant from
THE FANNIE MAE FOUNDATION

THE ROAD FROM ROCHESTER

Voices from the PN 2001 Conference



Rochester: The Path Less Traveled

By Mayor William A. Johnson, Jr.

Why did Rochester take the path less traveled when we decided to create a partnership with citizens to chart our future? Lewis Mumford put it as well as anyone when he said that

“the best economy of cities is the care and culture of human beings.”

Rochester — like other cities — was created by human interaction, not government. Since its incorporation, Rochester has had four different kinds of government: a trustee system, a weak mayor system, a city manager system, and a strong mayor system. Every 40 years the form of government changed. It never really mattered. What always kept the city going was the positive interaction of its residents.

Most mayors like to think they're the most important person in the city. Most elected officials are threatened by anything they can't control. And citizen-based planning can be unpredictable, messy and very difficult to control.

I guess I feel comfortable with an empowered citizenry because I didn't follow the traditional political route. I didn't rise through the ranks of the local Democratic Party to be anointed mayor. I was head of the Urban League of Rochester for 21 years. I saw how citizens' views were rarely respected, and this as much as anything prompted me to run for mayor. In 1993, I entered the Democratic primary as a genuine outsider, a challenger to the political estab-

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Planners Networker **UPDATES**

Let your fellow members know what you are up to — send in your update today!

Norma Rantisi, Updates Editor
Planners Network
379 DeKalb Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11205
Fax: 718-636-3709
norma.rantisi@utoronto.ca

MEMBER PROFILE: BARBARA RAHDER

Barbara Rahder has been an active member of Planners Network since the late 1970s. She was the organizer for the PN Conference in Toronto last year (June 2000) and is currently co-chair of the PN Steering Committee. She holds the position of Associate Professor and Graduate Program Director in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University. Barbara actively recruits for PN in the metropolitan Toronto area and has been involved in other progressive planning movements, including Women Plan Toronto, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, National Action Committee on the Status of Women, National Network on Environments and Women's Health and the International Network for Urban Research and Action. Below, she discusses the origins and evolution of the PN chapter in Toronto.

PN/Toronto by Barbara Rahder

The first Planners Network conference, held at Cornell University in 1978, inspired a group of graduate students who attended from the University of Toronto (including me) to organize a similar event and network in Canada. The Planners in Search of Politics conference was held at the University of Toronto in 1980, and brought together almost 200 students, faculty, planners, architects, social housing advocates and political activists from across Canada. At the conference, we focused on issues related to regional inequalities, environmental politics, and urban neighborhood organizations. At the end of the conference, we organized ourselves into five chapters, one each in Toronto, Montreal, Hull, Regina and

Halifax. We agreed that the production of our network newsletter, which we called *Communiqué*, would circulate from one chapter to the next, so that various parts of the country could be actively involved in generating material and reporting on what was happening in their region. This, as it turned out, was not such a good idea. After the first two *communiqués* were produced, one by the Toronto group reporting on the conference and the second by the Montreal group focused on the Montreal Citizens Movement, the Canadian network fell silently into disarray. We did not recognize, at the time, the importance of having an organizational home to coordinate our network.

While a few of us have remained members of PN since those early days, the vast majority of Canadian PN members have joined in the last five years. Having a Canadian on the PN Steering Committee, organizing a PN chapter in Toronto, including a PN-Toronto email list, and holding the PN 2000 Conference in Toronto (20 years after our previous Toronto conference!) have all helped boost interest in progressive planning in Canada. At present, Canadians make up roughly 10% of the total PN membership. So, while we haven't established our own network, I like to think that we Canucks have become an important part of the increasingly international Planners Network, and that we are helping to foster awareness about experiences, strategies and perspectives beyond the boundaries of the USA.

MEMBER NEWS

Norman Krumholz, Professor at Cleveland State University's Levin College of Urban Affairs and author of *Making Equity Planning Work*, has received the 2001 Homer C. Wadsworth Award for his role in advocating economic and social justice as an urban planner, civic activist, exemplary teacher and prolific writer.

A celebration of the life and work of anti-poverty and welfare rights activist **Richard Cloward** will be held on September 20, 2001, 5:00-8:00 pm at the Proshansky Auditorium, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 365 Fifth Avenue. Those interested in sponsoring the event are asked to make a tax-deductible contribution of \$50. To RSVP, e-mail: Tsampson@SFSU.edu. For further information, contact Ken Grossinger at (202) 966-2305.

Winton Pitcoff and **Lisa Ranghelli** write:

after six months of travel, we're finally settling down. As of August 7 our new address will be 117 Massasoit St., Northampton, MA 01060-2044 and our new phone numbers will be 413-582-0764 (Winton) and 413-582-1291 (Lisa). We're back to using our permanent email addresses (win@change.org and lisa@change.org) rather than Yahoo addresses. Our travelogues from our trips, along with some photos from the trip and of the new house, are available at www.change.org/trip/

ERRATUM. The last issue of PN (No. 147) was incorrectly numbered 146 on the front page. The numbers are correct on all other pages.

Welcome ...

NEW PLANNERS NETWORK MEMBERS

Christopher Holme, Sabine U. Vonaulock, Gustavo Romero, David A. Lewis, Ronald M. Wolanski, Rolf Pendall, C.A.R.D.I., Janet Abu-Lughod.

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... and Special Thanks! SUSTAINING MEMBERS

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PLANNERS NETWORK

Editorial Office

Hunter College Dept. of Urban Planning

695 Park Ave., NY, NY 10021

<http://www.plannersnetwork.org>Email: tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu

Tel: 212-650-3130 Fax: 212-772-5593

EDITOR Tom Angotti**EDITORIAL BOARD** Eve Baron, Ann

Forsyth, Kara Heffernan, Norma Rantisi

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Miriam Axel-Lute, Barbara Koerble, Fernando

Marti, Dick Platkin, Katherine Rankin, Alejandro

Rofman

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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.

PLANNERS NETWORK**The Road from Rochester****Voices from the PN 2001 Conference****Features**

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Planners Network seeks articles that describe and analyze progressive physical, social, economic and environmental planning in urban and rural areas. Articles may be up to 1,500 words. They should be addressed to PN's broad audience of professionals, activists, students and academics, and be straightforward and jargon-free. Following a journalistic style, the first paragraph should summarize the main ideas in the article. A few suggested readings may be mentioned in the text, but do not submit footnotes or a bibliography. The editors may make minor style changes, but any substantial rewriting or changes will be checked with the author. A photograph or illustration may be included. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. Send to the Editor at pn@pratt.edu or Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11205. Fax: 718-636-3709. The deadlines are the first day of the first month of the issue (e.g., May 1 for the May/June issue; July 1 for the July/August issue).

UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES [Articles welcome]:

Economic Cooperatives (September/October)

Youth and Community (November/December)

Just and Sustainable Transportation

A Critical View of Community/University Partnerships

Is There an Energy Crisis and Why?

The New Urbanism

Changing the Culture of Planning Toward Greater Equity

by Norman Krumholz

I want to report on my impressions of planning after years of close association with the American Planning Association (APA) and American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP), and much conversation with planning practitioners around the U.S. I have come to believe there is a new culture evolving in planning.

The New Planning Culture

First, the new planning culture does not reject politics, it embraces it. Robert A. Walker's book *The Planning Function in Urban Government*, recommended that planners needed to relate more closely to their mayors if they wanted to be more effective. Many planners have followed this advice, and have sought to be closer to the executive in the decision-making process. Structurally, there are fewer planners in government working for appointed planning commissions and more working for departments with a direct line of accountability to the mayor or city manager. These planners believe that, if their work is to be more effective, planners need political support as well as good intentions and technical skills.

According to such observers as Anthony Catanese, Mel Levin and many others, their proximity to the mayor's office has meant greater short-term operational planning effectiveness (Levin, *Planning in Government: Shaping Programs that Succeed*). Such planners are *Close to Power*, as William Lucy puts it in the title of his book, and they like being there. And, as planning issues become more regional and complex, more local and even state politicians are beginning to see political stakes in planning decisions and want to keep the process closer to themselves. So the new culture of planning is more political. It is also becoming more diversified, with more and more planners moving out of traditional jobs in local government and working outside of city hall for banks, developers, foundations and non-profit community development corporations (CDCs). They are becoming generic urban professionals who are expected to function across a wide variety of settings.

Second, the new planning culture is marked by a fascination with the current scientific business and management approach popularized in such books as *Reinventing*

Government by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler and *In Search of Excellence* by Thomas Peters. In this perspective, government should be run more like business. Planners are "entrepreneurs in the market" and "managers"; citizens are "customers;" and planning helps "customers be empowered to solve their own problems" and, of course, "the customer is always right".

Third, the new culture of planning is less concerned with the long-range and more sensitive to short-range outcomes. My informal conversations with practicing planners suggest that planners are doing fewer comprehensive long-range plans and are spending more time on strategic planning, economic development projects, real estate deals and nurturing public-private partnerships. This is a partially a product of sharp cut-backs in federal largesse, but also a more dynamic and turbulent metropolitan environment in which change happens faster than it used to. Also, planners with executive responsibility who act as close advisors to mayors do not enjoy the luxury of time, but must join the rest of the firemen in city hall's hot shot alley and deal with the crisis of the moment.

Fourth, where the old culture of planning was top-down, the new culture is intensely interactive and participatory. Citizen participation is now mandated by federal regulations and is the order of the day, whether token or real. The lessons of the highway program and urban renewal programs of the 1950s and 1960s were not lost on the planners or the public, and groups affected by planning decisions are a lot more vocal than they used to be. This is especially true in such states as California where initiatives and referenda are extensively used. As a result, planners take their proposals out to the neighborhoods as draft documents and are prepared for resistance, discussion and negotiated modifications.

Fifth, in terms of design, the new culture of planning values the intimate and small-scale more than the monumental. Its prophets are much less likely to be Frank Lloyd Wright or LeCorbusier than Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zybek and Peter Calthorpe and its recommendations are less likely to be super blocks and towers in the park than the mixed land uses, short blocks, and front porches incorporated into neighborhood designs of what is known as Neo Traditionalism or New Urbanism. In the New Urbanism's lexicon, zoning, segregated land uses and insensitive suburban development are responsible for virtually everything: traffic congestion, the decline of the central city, the loss of community and the aesthetically unappealing strip mall development of "roadside America". Some exponents of

the New Urbanism blame the insensitive designs of the recent past for much more. A *NY Times* article (May 6, 1999) following the Littleton, Colorado school massacre ("How urban design is failing teenagers") implied that teen age problems of alienation and anomie could be traced to insensitive suburban design. In that event, the new culture of planning continues to echo the old culture's belief in environmental determinism, with design principles affecting human behavior. Disney's new town of Celebration, Florida carries the same message, while ignoring the distributional effects of costs and benefits.

In my judgement, there is much to commend in the new culture of planning. Planning *is* political, and a direct line of responsibility to the chief executive seems likely to improve both operational effectiveness and the quality of planning. But being close to political power may come at a cost. What will the mayor ask the planners to do? What happens to the long-term or the ideal vision? How will the planners retain their professionalism in the face of a thoroughly politicized world when the mayor asks them to provide support for some favored proposal which they know on analysis to be valueless? These questions can only be answered in specific circumstances, but they are real, nonetheless.

With respect to the new culture's interest in the New Urbanism, I must confess that I am cautiously favorable. The New Urbanism's small blocks, hidden garages, mixed land uses, bay windows and porches are at least in the service of a coherent neighborhood vision as opposed to the accumulation of developer's shortcuts that have produced the real sprawling suburbs of the late twentieth century. No doubt, the New Urbanism will be oversold and likely will do little for distressed central cities or neighborhoods sunk in poverty, but the concept has already achieved a tremendous popular response, and I think it will make a significant difference in development patterns of the future.

Problems with the New Culture

I am less than enthusiastic about the trend toward scientific management adopted by some of the new planners. Citizens may not be customers to some of us, but we all applaud the idea of empowerment and accountability, and the idea of a citizen as a customer may improve the responsiveness of planning. All to the good. But the customer focus doesn't fit all situations. In the world of business, customers provide revenue in exchange for goods and services. In public life, by contrast, most revenue is generated by taxation and allocated by legislation. So the idea that public clients are customers is metaphorical rather than literal.

Of course, governments do more than provide goods and services; they also enforce obligations and punish violators. Are jailed prisoners "customers" of the justice system? Are "customers" free to pay their taxes or "empowered" to choose not to pay or do government agencies like the IRS exist precisely to coerce (not empower) them into paying? And is the "customer always right" in planning? No clerk at WalMart is going to tell the fat guy to put down the two-gallon tub of ice cream and not buy it because it's bad for his health, but city planners sometimes have to do just that -- tell their customers that some things they might want to do like cut down the Redwoods, build on the wetlands and green spaces, overcrowd their apartment houses in the hopes of getting more rent or racially segregate people are not to be tolerated.

Other problems also intrude. The government-as-business movement (that really goes back to the Progressives and the city manager idea) contains a powerful criticism of faceless, unresponsive bureaucrats and invites public distrust of *all* governmental agencies. A blind application of business management principles may undermine the integrity of all public bureaucracies and perhaps even come to threaten democracy. Another serious criticism is that the "managed state" involves a process of cost transfer from central to local governments; from public to private sectors; and from public to private households. Business organizations are after all, run by "managers" who decide what core services to offer and which difficult, costly, high-risk customers to exclude. Incentives exist for managers to control their costs. The logic under these conditions tends to shift as many costs as possible from the state to private families. Organizations and managers may look more "efficient" in the process, but people who are wealthy, healthy and vocal may end up with lots more resources than people who are weak, quiet and poor.

Most seriously, the new culture of planning, with its focus on scientific management and the bottom line, but without a long-term vision of a better city or a better society, confronts planning with the question of the role of planners in the face of market failures, when such failures produce unemployment, poverty, racial segregation and environmental ruin. The new culture of planning seems hardly able to resolve such fundamental problems, but the problems exist and, in some respects, have gotten worse over time. For example, books like Goldsmith and Blakely's *Separate Societies* and Massey and Denton's *American Apartheid* show us how racial segregation and concentrated poverty have worsened over time. How will the new culture of

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planning deal with the fact that vast economic disparities now exist between our central cities and their surrounding suburbs; that poverty and joblessness is intensely concentrated within central cities; that children who grow up in persistently poor environments have virtually no chance to escape into the economic mainstream of America? I believe the new culture of planning will do little for these deep and fundamental problems of poverty and race. For these reasons, I believe a third culture of planning must be created.

A Third Way

A third way of planning must recover its reformist roots and vision of a better, long-range future for our cities and regions. Without such a vision, the current "new" version of planning is not much more than an exercise in business administration, strengthening the already powerful hand of business and politics as usual. Instead, planning should be used as 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 [see PN's Statement of Principles]. Further, the third culture of planning should be used to assure that the basic requirements of life -- adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care, jobs and a healthful environment for all Americans -- should exist. The overarching objective of this new culture of planning should be to produce the "just" city, that is, a democratic city with a free, consensual mode of political decision-making; an entrepreneurial capacity able to provide welfare but create wealth as well; and an egalitarian distribution of wealth and services. In this third culture, planners should continue to embrace a close relationship with the political process and a respect for business, but without losing sight of equity and the broad public interest in the elements mentioned above.

How might we help achieve this third culture of planning? It is unlikely that any professional organization will lend itself easily as a source of cultural redefinition for at least three reasons: first, they usually limit themselves to highly general role statements because they represent so many different practitioners; second, because they are usually dominated by their older, more conservative members; and third, because the roles of any profession are determined less by

their organizations than by the people who hire the professionals. Still, APA and AICP have been slowly moving in a more progressive direction for the past fifteen years. APA has indicated its support for social equity by endorsing its progressive Agenda for America's Communities in 1992, by publishing through APA Planners Press the book *Planning and Community Equity* (1994), by establishing awards that honor such equity planners as Paul Davidoff and Cushing Dolbeare, and by insisting that at least twenty percent of all panels at APA annual conferences have social equity themes.

This momentum can be continued by requiring that all AICP members contribute a number of hours of pro-bono service in low-income neighborhoods as a condition of continued certification; that the AICP certification test contain a good share of equity planning questions; that special efforts be made to recruit minorities on all boards and committees; and that university programs that stress participatory research in low-income neighborhoods be recognized. For example, AICP honored Professor Ken Reardon and the University of Illinois for their outreach planning program in East St. Louis and named as a planning landmark Planners For Equal Opportunity, founded by Paul Davidoff and others in the 1960s. It is slow going, but the professional organizations are responding.

What can Planners Network members do? First, join APA and AICP and run for office to change both organizations in your direction. There are

30,000 planners in APA. Many of them agree with PN's ideas. Let's try to change the minds of the others. Secondly, write PN pieces for *Planning* magazine and for the AICP *Casebook*. Third, support community-based planning. And finally, give your ideas to the AICP Task Force on Social Responsibility.

Our work is cut out for us. The status quo brings us rising poverty, continued racial and economic segregation and environmental ruin. If we—professional organizations, professional schools, and planning practitioners—believe that change in the direction of more equity is possible and that our work may contribute to that change, there is much that all of us can do.

Norman Krumholz is Professor at Cleveland State University and President of the American Institute of Certified Planners.

PN / LATIN AMERICA

Alejandro Rofman

Descentralización y participación popular en ciudades del sur de América Latina

Una experiencia nueva, conteniendo un radical cambio en las relaciones entre el Estado local y la sociedad urbana, se está llevando a cabo en importantes ciudades de Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay en la última década.

El paradigma de la descentralización político-administrativa surgió en la discusión acerca de la organización institucional de las aglomeraciones urbanas latinoamericanas conjuntamente con la crisis de la deuda externa y los programas consiguientes de Ajuste Estructural. Ello ocurrió desde mediados de la década de los 70, cuando asonadas militares derrocaron a gobiernos constitucionales con el propósito de viabilizar la plena adopción del modelo neo-liberal y desterrar toda estrategia política tendiente a reorganizar las bases de las sociedades nacionales sobre el esquema de una más equitativa distribución del poder, la riqueza y el ingreso.

En esa nueva constelación de fuerzas en el Cono Sur, en los diferentes países comenzó a difundirse la propuesta de descentralizar las estructuras administrativas y de gestión del Poder Político a fin de acercar la población a las decisiones político-administrativas del Estado. Tal objetivo, sobre todo durante la década de los 80, cuando la democracia representativa regresó al poder, fue adoptado como bandera por los organismos de financiamiento multilateral (Banco Mundial) y los de control de la gestión financiera de los países endeudados con acreedores externos (Fondo Monetario Internacional). La campaña de estos organismos, con la excusa de respaldar el principio democratizador y participativo de una auténtica descentralización del Poder, fue el de eliminar el peso de los gastos en educación y salud de los Presupuestos Nacionales para transferirlos a los locales (provinciales, estatales o municipales). Los sistemas educativos y sanitarios que estaban a cargo del Estado Federal fueron transferidos, sin los recursos correspondientes, a los gobiernos de más bajo nivel jurisdiccional. De este modo,

dado que el abultado endeudamiento externo había sido asumido con preponderancia por los distintos gobiernos nacionales de la Zona, había recursos libres para hacer frente a los intereses de dicha deuda.

Este remedio o engaño con respecto a una auténtica descentralización tuvo un vuelco importante en la reciente década en varias aglomeraciones urbanas de magnitud en el Area, cuando gobiernos democráticamente elegidos fundaron su propuesta al electorado en la democratización del Poder Político local. Es el caso de Rosario, en Argentina, Montevideo, en Uruguay, y Porto Alegre, en Brasil, entre otras experiencias. En cada una de esas ciudades, cuyo tamaño fluctúa entre uno a tres millones de habitantes, programas de descentralización política y de auténtica participación popular han sido llevados a cabo exitosamente, lo que les ha permitido a las respectivas coaliciones políticas o partidos políticos enrolados en corrientes de izquierda o centro-izquierda ser reelectos con mayorías absolutas en los comicios efectuados entre 1999 y 2000.

El método utilizado ha sido trasladar poder de decisión a las distintas jurisdicciones en que se dividieron los respectivos municipios, con administraciones elegidas o consensuadas con las poblaciones de tales distritos. En cada una de ellas no solamente comenzaron a funcionar estructuras decisionales altamente participativas que se hicieron cargo de funciones antes reservadas al gobierno central, con recursos transferidos por éste, sino también se discutieron -- y se sigue haciendo -- los perfiles de los gastos incluidos en cada presupuesto anual municipal. La participación de la población ha llegado a instancias muy valiosas como la supervisión del área municipal de hospitales públicos o la determinación de las prioridades para las obras públicas o el control de la transparencia en el manejo del dinero destinado al gasto público.

Lo que es más significativo es que el proceso de descentralización y democratización del Poder así encarado sigue profundizándose en las tres experiencias citadas, agregándose no solamente nuevas iniciativas que quedan en manos del control popular sino también organizando éstas y otras tareas reservadas a los niveles barriales en Centros Comunitarios construidas a tal efecto, adonde se van concentrando acciones culturales, deportivas y sociales, con activa participación de la sociedad local.

Por último, la citada política ha sido una herramienta muy colaborativa en la aplicación de Planes de Desarrollo de las citadas ciudades y de otras del Area Sur del continente tanto

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en la preparación como en la puesta en marcha de Planes Estratégicos de Desarrollo Sustentable basados en la consulta y la decisión de los sectores sociales más diversos de las respectivas aglomeraciones. De este tema, nos ocuparemos en colaboraciones posteriores. A este respecto, quienes deseen conocer información actualizada sobre las iniciativas en marcha en el Area, les damos cuenta de la dirección electrónica de la Secretaría de la red Mercociudades: Dra. Karen Soboleosky -- karen@rosario.com.ar y utpe@rosario.com.ar -- y la dirección electrónica del director del Plan Estratégico de Bahía Blanca, Argentina -- planifes@bb.mun.gba.gov.ar

Alejandro Rofman es Sub-Secretario de Desarrollo Sustentable- Gobierno de la ciudad de Buenos Aires.

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PLANNERS NETWORK READER

ORDER NOW FOR THE FALL SEMESTER!

This 60-page collection of PN articles is a veritable potpourri of progressive planning. The best of PN from the last half-decade.

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Mass Transit on the Rise: Is Everyone Benefiting?

By Joe Grengs

Public officials have been celebrating a startling resurgence in public transit ridership in the U.S. in the last few years. But are the neediest people being left behind? Several trends suggest that transit accessibility between high-poverty neighborhoods in central cities and metropolitan opportunities in the suburbs may be worsening in some places. And two federal transportation bills passed in the 1990s that were intended to create more equity in the distribution of transportation resources may instead be contributing to worsened accessibility.

The Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA) and its follow-up, the Transportation Equity Act of 1998 (TEA-21), are justifiably supported by most progressive planners. ISTEA represents the first time that national policy officially recognized the harmful effects of automobile driving. Both bills encouraged alternative forms of travel like mass transit, and they appreciably opened up decision-making to non-traditional constituencies. The new laws have succeeded, if modestly, in spreading benefits across a broader spectrum of constituents than ever before. Growing federal funding for bicycling illustrates how non-traditional constituencies are beginning to get a piece of the transportation pie. Federal contributions to bicycling increased every year between 1991 and 1997, growing from about \$5 million to over \$250 million annually over the six-year life of ISTEA.

Good News for Most Transit Riders

Transit advocates have good reason to celebrate. Federal subsidies for transit grew nationwide by about 30 percent between 1992 and 1998, and transit is gaining in popularity. Suburban commuters are starting to accept mass transit as a reasonable alternative to the maddening daily routine of crawling through freeway congestion. People across the nation overwhelmingly support policies for clean air, and mass transit is one way of getting people to stop driving a car — the one daily activity that most contributes to pollution for nearly every American adult. Recent evidence of a shift in attitude toward transit can be seen in data from the American

Public Transit Association. Transit ridership increased nationwide for the fifth straight year, and the total number of riders is the highest in 40 years. Growth in transit ridership is now outpacing growth in both population and driving. In 2000, the number of transit trips grew by 3.5 percent while for the first time in 20 years the number of vehicle-miles driven by automobiles remained flat.

Discouraging Trends for Some Transit Riders

These welcome developments in transit ridership represent trends in the aggregate, however, and may obscure how some people are benefiting while others are not. Transit-dependent people concentrated in poor neighborhoods form a distinct interest group in transportation politics, and they might be missing out on the recent good news for transit riders. They are more vulnerable than most groups by virtue of their dependence on a publicly provided service, less capable than vehicle owners of adapting to changes in land-use patterns, and they have fewer resources for exerting influence in local politics.

These welcome developments in transit ridership represent trends in the aggregate and may obscure how some people are benefiting while others are not.

Despite the recent progress in public transit on the whole, other trends suggest worsening service for the most distressed central city neighborhoods, where the largest proportion of people are dependent on transit and where the majority of welfare recipients live. Four trends illustrated with examples from Rochester, New York suggest declining transit accessibility in poor neighborhoods. First, land development continues to pull jobs and people away from the city core. Two-thirds of all new jobs nationwide between 1960 and 1980 went to the suburbs. In Rochester between 1992 and 1997, the total number of jobs grew in the suburbs by 8.2 percent while dropping in the central city by 4.5 percent. And suburban population in Rochester has steadily grown while central city population has dropped every year since 1964, when the suburbs surpassed the city population.

Secondly, poverty and neighborhood isolation is escalating in the urban core of many cities. In 1970, the municipality of Rochester had just four high-poverty census tracts (40 percent or more living in poverty). By 1990, just 20 years later, the number of high-poverty tracts jumped to 20, almost all of which were tightly clustered at the urban core.

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Third, people in the inner city are not only poor but also disproportionately without cars. More than half of all households in 12 high-poverty census tracts are without cars in Rochester's inner city. Disparities in mobility are not just a class issue but a race issue too. In Rochester in 1990, 44 percent of all households headed by African Americans in the central city were carless, and this figure jumps to 56 percent of all black households in high-poverty neighborhoods.

All three trends appear to be worsening. Perhaps most damaging, however, is a fourth trend: some transit agencies are trimming inner city bus service. And federal policies may be shaping these local decisions.

The Influence of National Policy on Central Cities

How might these otherwise progressive federal laws — ISTEA and TEA-21 — be harming the inner city? Two changes during the 1990s provide clues. First, ISTEA opened access to decision-making, but high-poverty neighborhoods are socially isolated and at a disadvantage in the new pluralistic bargaining process. The dramatic growth in bicycle funding noted above shows how ISTEA undermined traditional political attachments and introduced openings in a decision-making process that was once practically closed to outsiders. Unfortunately, not all interest groups are equally capable of adjusting to the new political openings. The new reliance on a more open bargaining process, although welcome in most respects, may disproportionately obstruct the interests of central city bus riders for several reasons: 1) Voter turnout is significantly lower in central cities; 2) The social isolation of high-poverty areas diminishes political participation; and 3) Metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs — the agencies that allocate millions of transportation funds) — tend to underrepresent central city interests.

A second change that is likely to harm those who depend most on good transit is more obscure. ISTEA and TEA-21 provide subsidies to strengthen mass transit, which would appear, on the surface, to benefit vulnerable households by supporting mass transit in general. However, even while support for transit grows, national policy has at the same time encouraged a shift in emphasis within the transit program. Local transit providers are compelled in some cities to shift

funding and service away from their inner city, bus-riding constituency toward suburban constituencies of downtown commuters who leave their automobile at home by choice. Several indicators reflect the shift in emphasis toward suburban transit. First, capital spending is skewed toward commuter and heavy rail, the modes used disproportionately by suburban commuters in the largest cities; in 1997, 53 percent of capital spending went to rail while serving just 33 percent of passenger trips. Between 1990 and 1997, service (in vehicle-miles operated) increased 12 percent faster for commuter and heavy rail than for buses. Ridership (in passenger-miles) increased by 23 percent during this same period for commuter and heavy rail combined, but declined for buses by nine percent. Second, federal operating subsidies have been declining steadily since 1980, leaving a growing financial burden to the local level. Raising new taxes for inner city buses, however, is unlikely in metropolitan areas where the balance of population is tilting toward the suburbs. Third, new, smaller suburban transit systems are attracting federal funds disproportionate to population. Finally, several external mandates are combining to drive up costs for transit agencies, forcing service cutbacks in some cities.

Loss of Transit Access

Are transit-dependent people in high-poverty neighborhoods actually losing transit access, as these trends suggest? Planners don't know. Standard transit performance indicators are not designed to detect declining accessibility. Besides failing to account for land-use changes over time, the indicators are reported at the metropolitan-region scale, providing insufficient detail for assessing change at the smaller neighborhood scale.

Are transit-dependent people in high-poverty neighborhoods actually losing transit access, as these trends suggest?

Must successful modal shifts in the suburbs necessarily be paired with diminished accessibility for poor people?

While progressive planners should celebrate the recent advances in public transit ridership, they should also recognize that obscure sources of federal influence may be diminishing accessibility of needy neighborhoods, and thus reinforce "hyperghettoization," a deepening of geographic isolation of poor people of color.

Joe Grengs is a PhD candidate in City and Regional Planning at Cornell. He can be reached at jdg17@cornell.edu.

Insights from a Plant Closing and Economic Development Planning

By Jennifer S. Tiffany

How much of a say do dislocated workers have in planning or evaluating job creation schemes? None, usually. What follows is a summary of a study based on the 1998 closing of a Rubbermaid plant in Cortland, NY. The study shows how planners can use a participatory method to locate displaced workers and to engage them in assessing the impact of economic development efforts and creating better local strategies.

In early 1998, Rubbermaid, Inc. announced that it was closing its Cortland, NY housewares plant as part of a corporate restructuring effort aimed at increasing shareholder profits. This move put 467 workers (nearly one percent of Cortland County's total population) out of work. The Rubbermaid facility had received extensive economic development assistance and had been viewed as a positive response to decades of local manufacturing job losses. During 2000-2001 I surveyed seventy-one former Rubbermaid employees about the effects of the closing as part of my dissertation research. The study aims to demonstrate the value of engaging dislocated workers in framing the economic development initiatives intended to assist them, to suggest new ways of measuring job quality from local workers' perspectives and to provide a case-study evaluation of the economic development actions associated with Rubbermaid-Cortland.

Finding and Involving Dislocated Workers

It is rare that there is a complete list of the workers who lose their jobs when a plant closes. Plant closures are a painful experience, and workers who lose their jobs may be hesitant to reopen old wounds. Workers often disperse to new jobs and communities after plant closures, some moving great distances. To meet these challenges, I used respondent-driven sampling (RDS), a research sampling method developed by sociologist Doug Heckathorn in which participants recruit their peers. RDS has several strengths—as a recruitment method for planning research: 1) It generates a statistically unbiased sample; 2) Participants who might hesitate to become involved are drawn in by the encouragement of their peers; and 3) It fosters informal discussion of the issues raised in the study among participants and their friends.

Rubbermaid-Cortland as Economic Development?

Rubbermaid-Cortland created the number of jobs anticipated during its tenure in the community (1985-1998). It provided jobs for people who had been displaced by previous layoffs and plant closures. Thirty-nine percent of the participants had come to their jobs at Rubbermaid immediately after a layoff or plant closing. Many Rubbermaid workers came to the plant from low-wage service sector and agricultural jobs. Rubbermaid offered better wages, benefits and opportunities for education and training than the previous jobs held by the workers. It was secure work; many workers kept their jobs for over ten years. However, the median wages paid to women workers were far less than those paid to men.

Upon examination of workers' job trajectories after the closure, the Rubbermaid case study suggests many areas for improvement of economic development practices—particularly in terms of transition planning and access to education and training. Immediately after the Rubbermaid closure, nearly all workers experienced precipitous declines in job quality. Median wages dropped by 17 percent at the same time as the skills demanded by the new jobs stayed constant. Benefit levels fell; commuting distances increased; job satisfaction fell; stress measures increased; and workers reported many financial problems (postponing medical appointments and home repairs, falling into debt, selling their homes, needing to rely on food banks and other sources of public assistance). Only half of the workers accessed education and training programs; many commented that they would have valued and benefited from further education if they'd had the option. Some workers moved away to seek jobs, and about 10 percent still live in other, mostly southern, states.

Most former Rubbermaid workers (46 out of 71) have held two or more jobs since the plant closure, with some holding as many as eight jobs in three years. Many (30 percent of those who held more than one job) lost their initial jobs within a few months because the firms also downsized in 1998. On average, workers describe their current jobs as significantly better than the first jobs they accepted after the plant closure. Some ground has been gained in comparison to the pre-Rubbermaid jobs and the initial job after Rubbermaid, but ground has still been lost in comparison to the jobs at Rubbermaid. Median hourly wages (in 2000 dollars) fell from \$11.23 at Rubbermaid to \$11.00 at the current jobs. The

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current job pay rate is better, however, than the \$9.32/hour paid on average in the first jobs accepted after Rubbermaid. Median commuting distances have increased by 33 percent.

Gender Differences

Wage levels and commuting distances demonstrate the most extreme gender differences. While median wages paid to both men and women declined significantly and recovered only partially since the Rubbermaid closure, the pay scales for men were and are significantly higher than those for women. The lower pay received by men in their current jobs is higher than the pay received by women at Rubbermaid, and much higher than the pay received by women in current jobs. At the same time, women commute more than twice as far to jobs as men. 71 percent of men and 50 percent of women continue to work in the manufacturing sector in their current jobs (compared with jobs in the manufacturing sector held by 53 percent of men and 58 percent of women prior to Rubbermaid). Unionization rates among men declined overall, from 19 percent prior to Rubbermaid to 10 percent in current jobs; rates among women increased very significantly, from 3 percent prior to Rubbermaid to 25 percent in current jobs. (Rubbermaid-Cortland was not unionized.) These findings suggest that economic development strategies need to address significant gender inequalities and differences.

In constant 2000 dollars, the estimated annual earnings loss to all Rubbermaid employees amounts to about \$1,764,497 (\$3,778 per worker) for the first job after Rubbermaid, and to about \$416,777 (\$892 per worker) for current jobs. However, because of the out-migration of workers, the loss to the local community is much larger – an estimated \$4,099,411 for the first job and \$2,920,951 currently. Workers who took part in discussions of the survey identified the documented community-level earnings loss as a bargaining chip that could help to encourage local investment in workforce development and retention.

What Makes a “Good Job” Good?

The Rubbermaid study suggests that important aspects of job

quality pertain either to workplace relationships (appreciation, resolution of grievances, quality of supervision, security) or to the ongoing development of skills, capabilities and choices. Dynamic factors subject to and demonstrating change over time (such as regular raises, enough income to meet needs, promotions, skills development) were more significant than static variables (such as hourly wage rates) in predicting job quality. Job quality was strongly correlated to an index of life stress and satisfaction, with poor jobs predicting significant declines in personal and household well-being. Assessments of job quality, which need to take into account more than wage and benefit levels, are important and can provide insights into local needs.

Lessons for Economic Development Planners

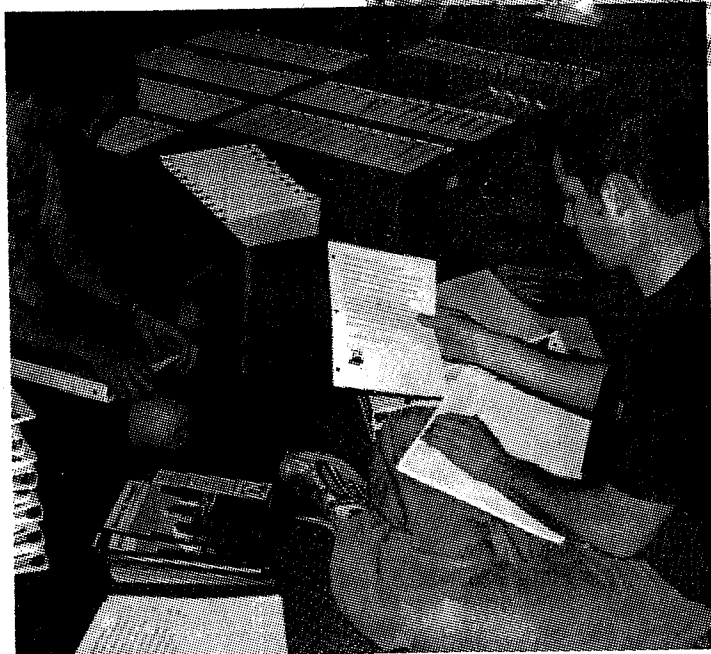
In discussions about the survey, the dislocated Rubbermaid workers adopted both job quality and employment security as economic development objectives. They re-conceived economic development as a dynamic, ongoing process in which social capital and skills development during a firm’s stay in the community and transition planning and continued workforce education after a firm’s departure demand at least as much attention as the recruitment and retention of businesses. Economic development is a long-term process, which contributes to or degrades local social development, community and household well-being, and the employment trajectories, lives and livelihoods of individual workers. Retention and development of the local workforce is crucial, above and beyond the retention of businesses.

Finally, there is a basic question of political as well as economic democracy. The workers who are the “targets” of economic development efforts have important insights to offer and should be “at the table” when policies and programs are framed.

I found that RDS was a useful method to help engage workers who might otherwise not tell their stories or express their views on local economic development. The next step is to see that these insights help to frame actual policies and programs.

Jennifer S. Tiffany is Director of Cornell University’s Parent HIV/AIDS Education Project. She is a Ph.D. Candidate in City and Regional Planning and can be reached at jst5@cornell.edu

PN 2001 SCRAPBOOK



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lishment. I won the primary and general elections with a slogan of "We, not me." That slogan has become a credo for my administration.

When I came to City Hall, the model for Neighbors Building Neighborhoods, or NBN, had been created, but not yet fully implemented. At the Urban League I had dreamed of a process whereby citizens could create neighborhood plans that were fully supported by City Hall. NBN was a dream come true for me. I made it the first priority of my new administration.

When we announced the NBN model to the public in 1994, citizens were skeptical. Many neighborhood activists were burned out from trying to get results from the system. Up to that point, citizens had an advisory role for city policy, if it went that far. NBN really gave power to the people.

In Rochester, residents now help establish the city's budget priorities for housing, public safety, economic development, human services, land use, capital improvements and Community Development Block Grants. Through the NBN process, we've created a body of citizens so steeped in the planning process that they've become stewards of their neighborhoods.

What we are doing, essentially, is redefining the terms "citizenship" and "community" — and therefore "democracy." This is what it really means to say Rochester is taking the path less traveled.

Today, every politician in America champions "community" and "citizenship." But, as we know, these terms can mean very different things. On the right, they symbolize the pledge of allegiance, respect for authority and religion and the replacement of the welfare state by private agencies that appeal to the spirit of voluntary cooperation. For people on the left, a revival of citizenship and community seems to require economic as well as political decentralization.

Words like "citizenship" and "community" make us feel good, which no doubt explains their popularity. But, if you listen carefully to the speeches of people like George Bush or Hillary Clinton when they talk about community — as they often do — they are really talking less about community and more about their fear of forces that destroy com-

munity — social fragmentation, hyper-competitive capitalism and self-seeking individualism. They don't use these terms, of course. But beneath the rhetoric and bluster, that's what they are really talking about. Most politicians bemoan the disintegration of the traditional family. A few even bemoan the disintegration of traditional neighborhoods. But it is absolutely beyond the scope of their imaginations to seriously consider the reconstruction of face-to-face communities as a way of restoring a sense of connection.

The reality is that most politicians owe primary allegiance to powerful institutions — big governmental structures and big businesses. Most politicians work to perfect these institutions. This is not necessarily a sign of corruption or superficiality, but an old strain of political thought in America. It's the idea that humans act in self-interest, even interests that are dishonest and immoral. According to this line of thinking, the institutions of a society must be virtuous,

because the individuals composing them may be evil.

What we are doing is redefining the terms "citizenship" and "community" — and therefore "democracy." We believe that a community must always remain a matter of face-to-face interaction. That this idea can seem radical in America is, to me, a sign of how much we view people as objects, not the subjects, of community.

In Rochester, we assume that virtue lies in self-respecting and empowered men and women, not in powerful, bureaucratic institutions. Institutions work by leveling people and cities to a common type. This is why reforms such as urban renewal failed. All cities were categorized according to a set of standardized

pathologies such as "blight" or "poverty." Standardized "solutions" were then imposed on them. And then, when urban renewal inevitably failed, people in damaged neighborhoods were expected to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. This is hardly a way to inspire people. In Rochester, we sensed the inadequacy of both the right-wing and left-wing definitions of community. We believe that, in its deepest and richest sense, a community must always remain a matter of face-to-face interaction. That this idea can seem radical in America is, to me, a sign of how much we view people as objects, not the subjects, of community.

The Neighbors Building Neighborhoods process has produced interesting results. Because NBN is based on the participation of individuals, not just neighborhood groups, people who don't usually get involved are becoming active. Involvement translates to visibility. State government in New York is devolving to counties, leaving urban neighborhoods at the bottom of the pecking order. Through NBN, we've seen better leveraging of Monroe County for investments in city neighborhoods. Legislators will listen to citizen-voters rather than administrators. Non-profits, such

as the local United Way, have also gotten the message that they should listen to the residents of the neighborhoods they serve, rather than doing their own thing. The budgets of many non-profits now reflect the priorities of neighborhood plans.

As we empower people, we also embolden them. I have to keep reminding residents that I was elected, and they were not. I have a compact with the voters. I can't give up all my power. In Rochester, we're still testing the boundaries of our partnership. We're testing the limits of self-government.

What we are doing inside the city also energizes people outside the city. The NBN process does not extend beyond the city's political boundaries. The City of Rochester occupies only 36 square miles of a 700 square mile urbanized area, and we can't extend our municipal boundaries through annexation. Yet the influence of NBN outside the city is noticeable and growing. Other local governments in the region do not have a tradition of involving citizens in the planning process. Major projects are announced by local leaders, almost as done deals. At public hearings, people are rarely asked whether or not they want a project. Usually, they are given a narrow range of options, none of which materially alters the proposal. Maybe they can decide what color paint they want on a \$60 million development in a popular park, or maybe they can decide how big a sign they want on the new highway exit in their back yards, or maybe they can decide what kind of fence they want between their homes and the new Walmart. People are often force-fed new initiatives, and they are beginning to resent this. They see what is happening in the city, and realize it doesn't have to be this way. They want a voice at the beginning of the planning process.

Over the past couple of years, suburban residents have been using a rationale developed in the city to force significant changes in projects in their towns. Many county political leaders won't admit that citizen pressure led to the changes. They see it as a sign of weakness, not power. In the city, we hold the opposite view. We realize that, ultimately, we end up with a lot more power when citizens lead the way.

I'm not sure where Rochester's experiment in citizen-based planning will lead. Certainly, it will continue to transform city government as it transforms our neighborhoods. Perhaps within a few years Rochester's government structure will again have changed, as it has every 40 years or so since we became a city. Certainly, NBN will influence other local governments in this region. At minimum, they will have to open up their planning processes.

I seriously question whether self-government can work beyond the local level. On the one hand, people in this country are getting more interested in the things that make their neighborhood, their city or their region different from anyone else's. On the other hand, the economy more and more drives people away from any serious sense of community and towards individual survival strategies, which plays into the hands of further centralization rather than self-government. With due respect to the protesters in Seattle and Quebec City, there's no way to restrain or turn back globalization and its consequences. The best we can do is try to manage global imperatives.

I personally would like to see cities demand a seat at free trade negotiations like the Summit of the Americas. Every business that opens in Rochester and every other American city comes with its hand out looking for subsidies. Corporations use cities as pools to siphon billions of dollars in financial subsidies into their pockets. In other words, cities are ground zero for free trade and globalization. If cities are forced to play this costly game, they should have a voice in global trade policy. The U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National League of Cities should be at the table with the WTO and IMF.

In closing, I would like to extend a special welcome to our international guests. In the area of planning, experience in one country may inform other countries. When London moved to a mayoral system of government, for example, it looked to U.S. precedents. Unfortunately, the same readiness to look beyond our borders is not a hallmark of the U.S. way of doing things. We can learn a lot from other nations. I'm not just talking about planning techniques like setbacks or traffic calming. I'm more interested in exploring policies that could significantly impact American cities — things like gun control in Canada and Australia, education in Germany and Japan, public transportation in Brazil, drug control in the Netherlands and energy pricing in Argentina. These are fundamental planning issues.

In Rochester, we have a proud tradition of vigorous debate, followed by meaningful action. We have a tradition of taking the path less traveled. Frederick Douglass and Susan B. Anthony wouldn't have gotten anywhere if they kept their mouths shut or stayed put in their living rooms. NBN would not be possible if citizens didn't feel it was worthwhile to dedicate their precious time to their neighborhoods.

William A. Johnson, Jr. is Mayor of Rochester, New York.

Seventh Generation/Continued from Page One

keynote address, "The Six Myths of Urban America," by Professor William W. Goldsmith from Cornell University. Responding to his presentation were: Alejandro Rofman of Buenos Aires, Barbara Rahder of Toronto, Hank Herrera of Rochester and Leonardo Vargas-Mendez of Ithaca. [Excerpts from Goldsmith's presentation will be printed in a future issue of PN]. Another highlight of the day was Mayor William A. Johnson's formal remarks. In his presentation, "The Road Less Traveled: Rochester's Neighbors Building Neighborhoods," Mayor Johnson explained why his administration instituted this highly participatory approach to municipal planning and governance that involves thousands of Rochester residents in the policy-making process. The Mayor's speech is the lead article in this issue of PN.

Following the Mayor's remarks, conference participants had the opportunity to spend the afternoon with neighborhood activists involved in a variety of community-based planning, development and design efforts. During these community-building site visits local residents described the thrills, spills and chills of "bottom-up" planning. Conference attendees had the opportunity to spend time with residents struggling with the effects of rapid development in Rochester's Charlotte area, neighborhood leaders pursuing urban agriculture as an "import substitution" approach to local economic development and civic leaders seeking to address the devastating impacts of uncontrolled sprawl. Other site visits examined Ithaca's recently launched participatory neighborhood planning program, the commercial revitalization efforts of Rochester's Sector 8, the waterfront revitalization initiative along the Southwest Genesee River and the neighborhood preservation efforts of religious leaders and museum activists from the Susan B. Anthony House.

The community site visits ended with a remarkable visit to the A.M.E. Zion Memorial Church, one of the main stops on the Underground Railroad as well as the home church of Frederick Douglass. Following a welcome by Reverend Errol Hunt, participants were treated to a one-act play called "Emancipation" in the church sanctuary that featured a dialogue based on the words of Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Susan B. Anthony, and John Brown. The play was followed by a moving history of the church by an 87 year old elder of the congregation. The evening ended with a marvelous meal prepared by the congregation and served under a large tent erected in the church parking lot, followed by a leisurely stroll back to the U of R Campus

along the South Genesee River pedestrian path.

The second day of the conference began with a presentation on "The Competitive City" offered by Susan M. Christopherson from Cornell's Department of City and Regional Planning. Conference participants had the opportunity to attend one of eleven workshops covering such themes as: environmental justice, community/university development partnerships, regional planning and local economic development. Norm Krumholz, former APA and AICP President, gave the luncheon talk, which focused on "Changing the Culture of Planning Toward Greater Equity" [see page 4 of this issue]. Following lunch, ten more workshops were offered on topics such as regional workforce development, alternatives to prison development, sustainable development, affordable housing and moving the planning profession to the left.

Following the afternoon workshops, participants had the opportunity to take one of six mobile tours. The tours went to: Mt. Hope Cemetery, Highland Park, the Susan B. Anthony House, the George Eastman House, Rochester's Artist Walk Neighborhood, and the urban agricultural projects of the NorthEast Neighborhood Alliance. In addition, Eric Mann, founder of the Los Angeles Labor Strategy Center and lead organizer of the Los Angeles Bus Riders Union, and his wife Lian Hurst Mann offered a special intensive workshop on "movement organizing" which forty people attended. The conference ended with a banquet dinner followed by a keynote address by Eric Mann, who described the heroic struggle of poor inner city Los Angeles residents to secure basic access to mass transit services through direct action organizing, and used this experience to raise questions for PN regarding its current and future organizing challenges and opportunities.

The conference was followed by the Planners Network Annual Organizing Breakfast Meeting. During the meeting plans were discussed to transform Planners Network, our bi-monthly publication, into a quarterly urban affairs, policy and organizing magazine. In addition, plans were made to organize Planners Network events at the 2001 Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning meeting to be held in Cleveland, and the 2002 American Planning Association conference to be held in Chicago. Individuals were recruited to participate in PN's newly-organized Speakers Bureau. Shortly after the close of the conference, Ann Forsyth arranged for Ken Reardon to speak at the Harvard School of Design, which will be the kick-off event for this new outreach and fundraising effort. Finally, Tom Angotti announced plans to hire a staffperson to advance

PN's organizing effort. For more details on the organizing meeting, see *PN News* on page 19.

The 2001 Planners Network National Conference was a terrific event due, in large part, to the student volunteers from Cornell University, our Local Host Committee and the more than sixty PN members who participated as presenters in the conference's twenty-one workshop sessions. Attendance was very strong and included representation from Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and the United Kingdom. We received very positive feedback on the keynote addresses by Goldsmith, Johnson, Argust, Christopherson, Krumholz and Mann. In addition, participants valued the community-building site visits. We plan to publish a booklet on "principles of good practice for democratic planning arts" based on these sessions. Many who attended the Conference's Annual Organizing Breakfast Meeting felt PN was moving towards a more serious commitment to organizing with its new publication format, speakers bureau and outreach activities at the upcoming ACSP and APA conferences. We invite all of our members to help advance PN's progressive planning agenda during the coming year by:

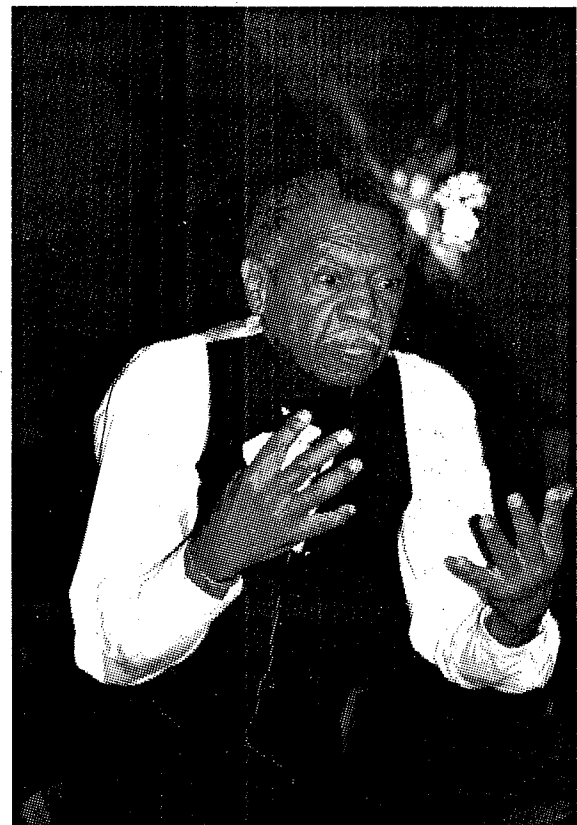
- Encouraging friends and colleagues to become sustaining members of the organization.
- Inviting a PN speaker to your campus or community by contacting Ken Reardon of the PN Speakers Bureau at: kmr22@cornell.edu.
- Organizing a local chapter of PN in your community to create a forum to discuss and take action on important urban planning and policy issues confronting your community and our society!

In doing so, we will be honoring these famous words of Frederick Douglass which appeared on the cover of our 2001 Planners Network National Conference booklet, from an 1849 letter to an abolitionist associate:

Let me give you a word on the philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all absorbing, and for the time being putting all other tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean

without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to, and you have found the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue until they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

Ken Reardon is Professor of Planning at Cornell University and was the main organizer of the PN 2001 conference in Rochester.



From the play "Emancipation" at the A.M.E. Zion Memorial Church, home church of Frederick Douglass, in Rochester during PN 2001

LETTERS

The Shadows of a Strategic Planning Consultant

By Carlos B. Vainer

In the November/December 2000 issue of Planners Network, Jordi Borja proposes "to shed light on the shades of strategic planning." Borja rejects our criticisms of strategic planning in Brazil. He acknowledges "valid elements" in this criticism, but objects to the use of "loose terminology" which he complains "has become habitual."

Borja is one of the most celebrated international consultants on urban planning, chosen by nine of ten multilateral agencies such as the World Bank, European Community and Habitat. Since he occupies high positions at the main international forums and has been hired by governments of large cities worldwide, particularly in Latin America, there is no reason to believe that he or his planning model are hidden in shadows. On the contrary, urban strategic planning is in vogue, under the spotlight of journals of architecture and urban planning. It is proclaimed and sold as the panacea to our urban diseases, able to provide cities with the capability to face the contemporary challenges of globalization and postmodernity. In other words, urban strategic planning is to heal the injuries inherited from the modernist era, in which other consultants had diffused their "universal" models.

Far from shedding light on urban strategic planning, which he has helped spread throughout Latin America, Borja offers well-known but worn out incantations about the neutrality of techniques. One expects more from someone who is able to manipulate with the same *aisance* the classics of Marxism and tool kits on planning from the Harvard Business School, from someone who does not hesitate to quote Gramsci while at the same time asking cities to compete to attract transnational capital.

Urban planners cannot operate with neutrality. The claim that they can is nothing more than a strategic move to keep politics far from discussions about the city and urban planning. Neutral, post-modern neo-technocratic planners merely mimic their declared enemies, the old neutral, modern technocratic planners. Those who claim neutrality ask us to imagine a world where everybody shares the same values and views. In this world everyone speaks the same language, words like governance, public-private partnership,

globalization, urban productivity and competitiveness, sustainability and attractiveness. They condemn national governments and the state *tout court*. The debate needs to be continued. Borja should listen to critics of his Latin American adventures. In our fight against the globalization that Borja and his plans reinforce and try to legitimize, we reject the fatalistic idea that this process is inexorable and inescapable. In this, we agree with those who have protested in Seattle, Prague and Porto Alegre, those who are members of the Landless Movement in Brazil and the Zapatistas in Mexico.

We who criticize "strategic urban planning" are scholars, intellectuals, planners, militants and citizens who refuse the role of extras in a ritual of patriotic consensus. We refuse to celebrate subordination to global corporate interests. We believe there are other ways of reinventing the city, ways that many cities are experiencing in Brazil and in other countries. We invite participants in this debate to step out of the shadows of strategic planning and examine the many good examples of resistance, participation and democratic planning with which residents and their representatives fight for more equality, better living conditions and more popular power.

By shedding light on those who are not invited to sit at the globalization banquet table — where our cities' strategic destinies are being decided — we will also better view the ambiguous game of light and shadow played by international planning consultants. With better vision, and by including more participants, we can more effectively take charge of our own destiny.

Carlos Vainer is Professor at the Institute for Urban and Regional Planning and Research, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro – IPPUR/UFRJ. The author is grateful to William W. Goldsmith, without whom this text would never be presentable in acceptable English. The author is fully responsible for all the ideas, judgments and arguments.

ORGANIZER/FUNDRAISER

Planners Network, an international organization of progressive planners, activists and academics based in New York City, is seeking an organizer/fundraiser to build membership, coordinate outreach, seek grants, organize a Speakers Bureau, and supervise student assistants. Salary commensurate with experience. Full-time or part-time. Send resume to Planners Network Steering Committee, c/o Pratt Institute GCPE, 279 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205, or pn@pratt.edu

PLANNERS NETWORK NEWS

From PN Editor and Co-Chair Tom Angotti:

In September of this year I will begin teaching at the Dept. of Urban Affairs & Planning at Hunter College in New York City. PN's editorial office will move to Hunter with me. The administrative office will remain at Pratt, where new Steering Committee member Ayse Yonder will coordinate PN activities. Hunter, Pratt and others will co-sponsor the monthly PN forums in New York City.

Starting January of 2002 PN's bimonthly newsletter will become a quarterly magazine called *Planners Network: The Magazine of Progressive Planning*. Over the last six years PN's publication has gradually changed from a newsletter with short vignettes and an occasional article to a magazine with many articles. We've received nothing but encouragement to continue this trend, though it will be a long way to develop a sustainable publication with a paid staff. Right now we produce PN six times a year with an entirely volunteer staff. This is becoming increasingly difficult. Thus, the need to publish four times a year instead of six. I expect the issues to continue to grow in size as we are now in the enviable situation of having more material than we can print (only a few years ago we had to scrape to get a few articles). Members of the new Editorial Board are: Tom Angotti, Editor; Ann Forsyth; Eve Baron and Kara Heffernan, Resources Editors; and Norma Rantisi, Updates Editor. Anyone interested in working with the magazine as a Contributing Editor should contact Tom Angotti at tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu. Contributing Editors will help solicit articles and contribute articles from time to time, or organize special theme issues.

Out of a series of meetings at the PN 2001 conference in Rochester we note the following changes and developments:

New interim members of the PN Steering Committee are: Ayse Yonder, Professor at Pratt Institute's Graduate Center for Planning & the Environment in Brooklyn, NY; Richard Milgrom, Professor of Planning at SUNY/Buffalo in New York; and Ann Forsyth, Professor at the Harvard University School of Design.

Applications are still being accepted for the position of Organizer/Fundraiser at PN.

In May, Co-Chair Barbara Rahder represented PN at a meeting of the association of Brazilian planning educators in Rio

de Janeiro. PN has been invited to participate in a meeting in Belem, a city in Northeastern Brazil, October 3-7 of this year. The invitation is from the city of Belem, whose mayor is in the Workers Party. Participants are expected to make presentations about aspects of progressive planning in North America and raise funds for their air fare. If you're interested in going contact Barbara Rahder at rahder@yorku.ca.

At the ACSP (Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning) conference in Cleveland November 8-10, 2001, PN is sponsoring a panel on Progressive Planning which includes Tom Angotti, Barbara Rahder and Richard Milgrom. Richard Milgrom is organizing a PN reception. For information contact him at rmilgrom@calpoly.edu. Richard will begin teaching at SUNY/Buffalo in Sept.

Due to the high cost of postage, the minimum annual dues for PN members outside the United States, Canada and Mexico will now be \$20.

The PN 2002 conference is proposed to be held in Amherst, Massachusetts. For more details contact Ken Reardon at kmr22@cornell.edu.

We have discussed the possibility of sponsoring a Planning track at next summer's ACSA (Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture) conference in Havana, Cuba. For details contact Richard Milgrom at rmilgrom@calpoly.edu.

We are sending a letter to the department chairs of every planning school asking that each school have a faculty and student PN liaison, and that schools invite lecturers in the PN Speakers Bureau. If you're interested in being a liaison, contact Steering Committee member Fernando Marti at fernando@urbanecology.org.

Ken Reardon and George Cheung will be coordinating PN activities at next year's APA (American Planning Association) conference in Chicago. If you're interested, contact Ken at kmr22@cornell.edu.

Fernando Marti is developing a new PN brochure and a PN button. He is helping re-design our publication and organizing a chapter in the SF/Oakland Bay Area. To get involved contact him at fernando@urbanecology.org.

There are active PN chapters in New York City and Toronto. Over the last few years new PN members have joined from Brazil and Argentina. Chapters are forming in the Bay Area (see above) and Buffalo. Rachel Bland in England is working on establishing a chapter in Europe and has submitted a proposal to establish a PN publication there.

RESOURCES

Resources Editor: Kara Heffernan

Publications

Boomburbs: The Emergence of Large, Fast-Growing Suburban Cities in the US, from the Fannie Mae Foundation, examines how some suburbs are experiencing problems—like traffic congestion, limited public services, and scarce affordable housing—typically associated with inner cities.
www.fanniemaefoundation.org/news/pr/2001spr/010622.shtml

Changing Urban High Schools, from the Cross City Campaign for Urban School Reform, are proceedings from the October 2000 conference of the same name sponsored by the Campaign and the Annenberg Institute for Urban School Reform. Available at:
www.crosscity.org/reports/chg_urb_hs.htm

Creating a Local Greenprint for Growth, from the Trust for Public Lands, is a report-in-progress, the latest chapter of which discusses ways to encourage public participation and communication in designing a community greenprint. Available at:
www.tpl.org/tier2_kad.cfm?folder_id=1245

An Economist's Perspective on Urban Sprawl, prepared for the California Senate Office of Research, attempts to better understand the incidence of urban sprawl in order to help decision-makers chart effective policies to deal with it. Available at: www.sen.ca.gov/sor/reports.htm

Exposing Urban Legends: The Real Purchasing Power of Central City Neighborhoods, from the Brookings Institution, explains how researchers in Milwaukee created an alternative to private marketing data and offers a template for using similar data to create urban economic profiles elsewhere. Available at:
www.brookings.edu/es/urban/pawasaratexsum.htm

How Smart Growth Can Address Environmental Justice Issues, from The National Governor's Association, examines how Massachusetts, Maryland, and New Jersey are building on the community-based planning and brownfields redevelopment elements of their smart growth efforts. Available at:
www.nga.org/center/divisions/1,1188,C_ISUE_BRIEF^D_2071,00.html

Improving Lives and Communities through Participatory Action Research, from the Cornell Cooperative Extension, a 90-minute video on different aspects of implementing Participatory Action Research in extension work. Available at:
http://specevents.video.cornell.edu:8080/ramgen/PAR/par_stream.rm.

Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity, from the Brookings Institution, analyzes racial and ethnic changes in 102 large metropolitan areas and finds that patterns of minority suburbanization vary significantly between different areas and different ethnic and racial groups. Available at:
www.brookings.edu/es/urban/freyexecsum.htm

Now Hear This, from Fenton Communications, a report on a new way to think about developing a strategic communication campaign for social change work. Available at:
www.fenton.com/resources/nht_report.asp

Paycheck to Paycheck: Working Families and the Cost of Housing in America, from the National Housing Conference, reviews data from the 1999 American Housing Survey and analyzes what this data means for working families. Available at:
www.nhc.org/nhcimages/paycheck.pdf

Prospecting Among the Poor: Welfare Privatization, from the Applied Research Center, examines how private companies, since welfare reform in 1996, are faring in their delivery of social services to the poor. Available at:
www.arc.org/welfare/prospecting.html

Public Assets, Private Profits, from the New America Foundation, discusses the growing appropriation of public assets in the US and the spread of market values to new areas of life. Available at:
www.newamerica.net/events/transcripts_assets/PA_report.pdf

Smart Growth for Neighborhoods: Affordable Housing and Regional Vision, from the National Neighborhood Coalition, examines the findings and policy recommendations of researchers and practitioners addressing the effects of smart growth on affordable housing. Available at:
www.neighborhoodcoalition.org/

US Metro Economies: A Decade of Prosperity, prepared for the US Conference of Mayors, documents the Gross Metropolitan Product of the nation's 319 largest metro areas. Available at:
www.usmayors.org/citiesdrivetheeconomy/index3.html

Papers/Grants/Awards

The American Association of Geographers is seeking proposals for its 98th Annual Meeting entitled "Cities in Less Developed Areas" March 19-23. Deadlines vary. For more information visit
www.aag.org/AnnualMeetings/Intro.html

The Community Youth Development Journal is seeking submissions for its Spring 2002 publication on environmental stewardship. Submissions should demonstrate the efficacy at youth/adult partnerships around environmental stewardship while considering issues of race, social justice, privilege, and poverty. Deadline: February. For more information visit
www.cyjournal.org/2001 Winter/WN_environment.html

Food First Books, a publisher of works on social justice, is accepting completed manuscripts or full first drafts on topics such as the global food system, environmental justice, poverty, economic and social human rights, economic globalization, and movements for social justice. For more information contact Sal Glynn at
salglynn@foodfirst.org

Terrain, A Journal of the Built and Natural Environments, is accepting submissions for its upcoming online publications which will have the themes of "Ocean's Edge" and "People in Place". For more information visit www.terrain.org/about/themes.htm

The Urban Affairs Association is seeking proposals for its 32nd Annual Meeting entitled "What's Right About Cities and an Urban Way Of Life?" March 20-23. Deadline: September 4. For more information visit: www.udel.edu/uaa/participate.html

The Who Plans Europe's Future? conference is seeking papers for its 7th international symposium on the impacts of information and communication technologies on urban and spatial planning February 27-March 1. Deadline: October 31. For more information visit www.corp.at/corp2002/index.htm or email corp@multimediplan

Events

September 6-9. 11th Institute for Women's Economic EmPOWERment entitled "Bridging Race & Class Differences to Build Women's Power". Peachtree City, GA. Sponsored by the Ms. Foundation. www.ms.foundation.org/institute01.pdf

September 9-12. 2001 CUED Annual Conference. Philadelphia, PA. www.cued.org/2001_annual/2001start.htm

September 14-15. A Celebration in Honor of John W. Reps, Professor Emeritus at Cornell University and National Planning Pioneer. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY. <http://crp.cornell.edu/reps>

September 18. March and Vigil for Children's Rights at the UN in New York City. Call on governments to keep the promises made at the 1990 World Summit for Children, and call on the U.S. government to ratify the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Kids Meeting Kids, 324 W. 96 St., Basement, NY, NY 10024 212-662-2327, kidsmtgkids@igc.org

October 6-9. 5th Annual Conference of the Community Food Security Coalition entitled "Taking Back the Food System: Strategies for Healthy Food, Farms, and

Communities". Washington, DC. <http://www.foodsecurity.org/index.html>

October 16-21. National Trust for Historic Preservation National Preservation Conference entitled "Preserving the Spirit of Place". Providence, RI. <http://www.nthpconference.org>.

October 17-21. NCCED's 31st Annual Conference. Pittsburgh, PA. www.ncced.org/pages/conferences/paconf.html

October 22-26. 31st International Making Cities Livable Conference. San Francisco, CA. Send 200 word abstracts by Sept. 20 to Suzanne H. C. Lennard, IMCL Conferences, PO Box 7586, Carmel, CA 93921 Fax: 831-624-5126. Tel: 831-626-9080. www.livablecities.org

November 7-9. The Enterprise Foundation's 2001 Annual Network Conference entitled "Community: A Capital Idea". Washington, DC. www.enterprisefoundation.org/training/netconf/overview.asp

Jobs

CALIFORNIA

The newly formed Community Justice Network for Youth seeks a **Project Director** for duties such as expanding its membership base, establishing an internal communication system, tracking policy initiatives, developing and implementing campaigns and media strategies, and fundraising. Salary: \$40-50K. Application deadline: August 17. For more information contact James R. Bell at sfjames@earthlink.net

The School of Public Administration and Urban Studies at San Diego State University seeks an **Assistant Professor** with an emphasis in any of the following: environmental planning, physical planning and graphic design, or land use and community planning. Knowledge of a wide variety of software programs used in public and urban affairs also required. For more information contact Dr. Roger Caves at rcaves@mail.sdsu.edu

The Stuart Foundation seeks two **Program Associates** to provide administrative and program support for its Strengthening Public Schools and Strengthening Communities programs. For full position description call 415.393.1551.

CONNECTICUT

The Equity Trust, which runs programs in land reform and community development finance, seeks an **Executive Director**. Compensation: modest, based on need, in addition to room and board, transportation, medical care, payments for debts and dependents, and a stipend. For more information call 860.376.6174 or email equitytrust@aol.com.

DISTRICT of COLUMBIA

The Center for Science in the Public Interest, a non-profit consumer-advocacy organization, seeks a **Policy Advocate** to work on a variety of health and environmental projects focused on, among other issues, agricultural uses of antibiotics, nutrition, and environmental effects of the American diet. For more information visit www.cspinet.org/job/index.html

The District of Columbia's Historic Preservation Office seeks an **Historic Preservation Program Manager/Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer** to manage the District's Historic Preservation Program and the day-to-day administration of the State Historic Preservation Office. Salary: \$80-90K. Application deadline: August 31. Application form available at www.dcop.dcgov.org

The Economic Policy Institute seeks an experienced **Labor Economist** with interest in: the determinants of the distribution of wages and income; the role of labor-market institutions in economic inequality and employment creation; and international comparisons of labor-market performance. For more information visit www.epinet.org/jobs.html

Grantmakers for Effective Organizations (GEO), an association of foundations, corporate giving programs, and other grantmakers, seeks its first **Executive Director**. Salary: \$65-70K. For more information contact Larry H. Slesinger at Slesinger Management Services, 301.320.0680 or LSlesinger@erols.com

Resources

Continued

ILLINOIS

Blocks Together, a grassroots community organization, seeks a **Community Organizer** and **Youth Organizer** to work with low-income Latino and African American residents of Chicago's West Humboldt Park and North Garfield Park neighborhoods. Salary: \$23-25K. For more information contact Claire Marcy or Melissa Spatz at 773.276.2194 or Btogether@aol.com

The Campaign for Better Transit, an initiative to organize Chicago-area commuters and supporters of public transportation, seeks a **Project Director** to take responsibility for organizational and board development, fundraising, financial management, and overseeing day-to-day operations. Salary: \$48K. For more information visit www.ncbg.org/documents/cbtjob.html

DevCorp North, a CDC located in northeast Chicago, seeks an **Executive Director** to provide leadership to the organization and direct staff in the creation and implementation of the Corporation's commercial and economic development programs. The ED should be able to assume the roles of Consensus Builder, Fundraiser, Manager, and Strategic Planner. Salary: \$45-55K DOE. For more information contact Dorothy Gregory at 773.338.9054.

The Northwest Neighborhood Federation seeks a Bilingual Spanish or Polish school-based **Community Organizer** for its work in Chicago's Belmont-Cragin neighborhood. The Organizer has responsibility for the development and maintenance of 6 school-based organizations and for developing, training, and expanding the leadership base. Salary: \$25-35K DOE. For more information contact John Gaudette at 773.545.9300.

INDIANA

The Calumet Project for Industrial Jobs, which works on economic justice, workers' rights, and community development issues in Northwest Indiana, seeks an **Executive Director**. Salary: low 30s. Application deadline: August 1. For more information contact David Klein at 219.845.5008 ext. 223 or dklein@calproject.org

MARYLAND

The Association for the Study and Development of Community seeks 2 **Research Assistants** to coordinate projects, provide technical assistance, conduct interviews, and enter, code, and analyze data. For more information visit www.capablecommunity.com

NEW YORK

Demos: A Network for Ideas and Action, a research and advocacy organization working on strengthening democracy and sharing economic opportunity, seeks an Associate Director to work closely with the Director in developing and implementing all aspects of the Democracy Program. Salary: \$55K. For more information visit www.demosusa.org/About/default.asp?page=/About/assdirect.htm

The Nathan Cummings Foundation seeks an **Environmental Program Director** to manage all aspects of its Environment Program grantmaking process. For more information contact Annette Ensley at ae@cummings.ncf.org or visit www.ncf.org

The National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions, which provides capital, management support, training, and education to its member credit unions, seeks a **Deputy Executive Director** to work closely with the Executive Director to raise grants, supervise programs, and advocate. Application deadline: August 31. For more information call 212.809.1850 or email email@natfed.org

Project Enterprise, a nonprofit micro-credit organization that works in

Harlem and East New York, Brooklyn, seeks **Center Managers** to provide micro-loans and training to low-income entrepreneurs. Salary: \$25-30K DOE. For more information visit: www.projectenterprise.org/involvement/positions.htm

OREGON

Growing Gardens, an urban gardening program, seeks an **Executive Director** to oversee all management, fiscal, program, and planning activities. Salary: \$36-45K DOE. For more information contact Eamon Molloy at molloye@excite.com

VERMONT

The Northeastern Vermont Development Association, the regional planning and development commission for three northeastern counties in Vermont, seeks a **Planner** to work on two programs: regional planning/community development and regional transportation planning. Salary: \$26.5K DOE. For more information contact Merike Petrich at merike@nvda.net

MULTIPLE LOCATIONS

Good Jobs First, a project of the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy that promotes corporate accountability in economic development, seeks a **Research Project Director** for its Chicago office, a Senior Analyst for its DC office, and a Research Analyst for its New York office. For more information visit www.goodjobsfirst.org/gjfhiring.htm

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JOIN PLANNERS NETWORK

For over 25 years, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning and social justice. PN members in 38 states of the U.S. and 16 other countries receive this bimonthly publication, 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 international levels. Recent conferences have been held in Washington DC, East St. Louis IL, Brooklyn NY, Pomona CA., Lowell MA, and Toronto, Canada.

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

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

- \$15 for those with incomes under \$25,000, students and unemployed
- \$20 for those outside U.S., Mexico & Canada
- \$25 for those earning between \$25,000 and \$50,000
- \$45 for those earning over \$50,000
- \$50 for organizations and libraries
- \$100 Sustaining Members -- if you earn over \$50,000, won't you consider helping at this level?

Canadian members: See column to right.
Dues are tax deductible.

PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

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

- \$25 for students, unemployed, and those with incomes <\$40,000
- \$40 for those with incomes between \$40,000 and 80,000
- \$70 for those with incomes over \$80,000
- \$150 for sustaining members

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

Barbara Rahder, Faculty of Environmental Studies
York University
Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3

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

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

The PN WEB SITE is at:

www.plannersnetwork.org

The PN LISTSERV:

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

PN ADVERTISING RATES:

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| Full page | \$250 |
| Half page | \$175 |
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- Yes!** I want to join progressive planners and work towards fundamental change.
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In This Issue

THE ROAD FROM ROCHESTER

Voices from the PN 2001 Conference

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Address Correction Requested



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Your Last Issue?

Please check the date on your mailing label. If it is **MAY 1, 2000** or earlier this will be your last issue unless we your annual dues **RIGHT AWAY!** See page 23 for minimum dues amounts. And while you're at it send us an **UPDATE** on what you're doing.

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