

PROGRESSIVE PLANNING

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Graffiti seen in New Orleans' Lower Ninth Ward, March, 2006.

Towards a Transformative View of Race: *The Crisis and Opportunity of Katrina*

By **John a. Powell, Hasan Kwame Jeffries, Daniel Newhart & Eric Stiens**

"You simply get chills every time you see these poor individuals....so many of these people...are so poor and they are so black, and this is going to raise lots of questions for people who are watching this story unfold." - Wolf Blitzer on CNN, September 1, 2005

Immediately after Hurricane Katrina ravaged New Orleans and the Gulf Coast, journalists and laypeople struggled to find the words to express their outrage over the situation. In a very real way, the devastation wrought by the storm challenged normative perspectives on race and class in this country. The disturbing images of poor African Americans struggling to survive in an abandoned city and the inadequate response of the government forced uncomfortable thoughts into the national consciousness. Suddenly, race and class mattered, and mattered more than most people were prepared to acknowledge.

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MANY OTHERS...

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

Katrina, Race and the Sorry State of the Planning Profession

By Tom Angotti

Racism. If there is one thing that explains the post-Katrina catastrophe, it's race. We all know about the gross incompetence and insensitivity of FEMA and state and local government. We all know that the federal government has failed to allocate sufficient resources for housing, cleanup and recovery. We all know about the lack of good planning before and after Katrina. But these are effects, not causes.

If the most devastated areas had been white and wealthy, no doubt there would be a Marshall Plan for New Orleans that by now, almost one year after the disaster, already would have been implemented. Instead, most of those who are poor and black and lost their homes are still waiting. Government at all levels has allowed the lily-white suburbs in the New Orleans region to keep their doors shut (during the storm, some police even prevented fleeing blacks from exiting the city). The mostly white homeowner neighborhoods in New Orleans are doing OK.

To use the phrase made popular by Cornel West in his book of the same title, "race matters." Indeed, racism is at the heart of the Katrina disaster.

But if race is so important, it is the one issue that planners have avoided in the storm of rebuilding activity. The planning profession was slow to take action on the pathbreaking issues of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, and it is virtually missing in action today. Planning's chronic color blindness goes much deeper than Katrina and plays a pernicious role in the more "liberal" planning academia. As Planners for Equal Opportunity (the predecessor of Planners Network) did in the 1960s, progressive planners, including Planners Network, need to speak out more forcefully and start a national dialogue on race in the planning profession.

Professionalism and the American Planning Association

To its credit, the American Planning Association (APA) was quick to move into action after Katrina and offered help to federal and local governments. APA co-sponsored the November 10-12 Louisiana Recovery and Rebuilding Conference and sent a Planning Assessment Team to New Orleans. APA's Executive Director Paul Farmer testified before a Congressional subcommittee, recognizing the Katrina challenge as "the largest and most complex planning effort in our lifetime." Farmer laudably stated that "the rebuilding process requires ongoing participatory planning that involves all community members, regardless of their current location." But this statement that obliquely acknowledges the marginalization of the black and the poor displaced by Katrina is buried in a mountain of APA rhetoric obscuring the fundamental issues.

The official response to Katrina by APA's leadership is mostly a vehicle for promotion of the planning profession, as if the main problem were competence and professionalism and not racial inequality. APA advances good urban planning as essential to the rebuilding process and underlines the importance of comprehensive and participatory planning, but the organization foregoes the more expansive views mentioned by Paul Farmer in his Congressional testimony and narrows its focus to building the capacity of the local planning administration. APA's Planning Assessment Team offered many good recommendations for improving local zoning and master plan practices, and even reported that they heard claims (without verifying them) that local planning was "not inclusive." But in essence, what the team proposed is to strengthen the capacity of local institutions that have proven themselves incapable of democratic and equitable planning. [Cont. on page 6]

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Statement of Principles

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

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

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

Upcoming Topics (articles welcome):

Global Warming and Energy
Politics and Water

And the Winner in the New Orleans Mayoral Race Is...

By Chester Hartman

This is being written in between the April 22 New Orleans general election (rescheduled from its original Feb. 4 date by Gov. Blanco under pressure from a federal judge) and the May 20 required run-off for the mayoralty, since none of the 22 (sic) candidates got a majority. And while predicting election results is a known hazardous occupation, I am willing to go out on a limb and assert, with confidence, that for the first time since 1978 (when Moon Landrieu – later to become HUD Secretary in the Carter Administration – occupied City Hall) New Orleans – a roughly two-thirds Black city prior to Hurricanes Katrina and Rita – will have a white mayor: current Lieutenant Governor Mitch Landrieu.

The mayoral election had/has important symbolic as well as practical future implications. New Orleans has been one of the most solid centers of Black political power in the country. Four of the city's seven City Councilors were African-American. Of the state's seven Congressional districts, only New Orleans had an African-American majority. Four of the nine African Americans in the State Senate are from New Orleans, as are one-third of the state's House representatives.

The aims of the city's white power structure post-Katrina were baldly laid out in a Sept. 8, 2005 *Wall Street Journal* feature. One James Reiss, a wealthy supplier of electronic equipment to shipbuilders and Nagin-appointed Chair of the city's Regional Transit Authority (who, the newspaper reported, helicoptered in an Israeli security company – presumably outside of his RTA duties – to guard his fancy house and those of his neighbors), speaking as a representative of “the city's monied, mostly white elite” (*WSJ*'s language), had this to say: “Those who want to see this city rebuilt want to see it done in a completely different way: demographically, geographically and politically.” Can't get much more direct than that: goodbye underclass, goodbye Blacks.

The April 22 Results

As readers may recall, the April 22 results were as follows: Current (Black) Mayor C. Ray Nagin led the pack with 38 percent of the vote, followed by Landrieu with 29 percent. In third place was the white businessman/zoo-aquarium executive Ron Forman with 17 percent whose support came largely from Nagin's white conservative 2002 base, and who, two days after the general election, unsurprisingly announced his support for Landrieu, yielding a combined total for the two leading white candidates – if April patterns hold – of 46 percent. Most like-

ly, voters for other also-ran white candidates will add to the total for Landrieu – whose campaign also is far better financed than Nagin's. (One calculation supporting my prediction: Landrieu needs to receive just 30 percent of the votes of the white candidates who finished behind him in order to come out on top on May 20.) And while the racial voting pattern showed Nagin getting his support overwhelmingly from Black voters, Forman getting his overwhelmingly from white voters, Landrieu drew from both racial groups: over one-quarter of Blacks voted for him. The Landrieu family name echoes well among the city's Black population: Moon openly opposed KKK-er David Duke's earlier gubernatorial and senatorial election bids, and Mary Landrieu (Mitch's sister) was the original co-sponsor (along with Republican George Allen of Virginia) of the recent well-publicized bipartisan US Senate resolution formally apologizing for that body never having passed federal anti-lynching legislation (a measure the House passed three times, following which Southern Senators, using “states' rights” arguments and the filibuster and other parliamentary tactics, prevented a floor vote). On the other hand, Nagin – formerly the darling of New Orleans' whites – got less than 10 percent of the white vote, a huge drop from his 2002 win, when he won by large majorities in every one of the majority-white precincts (against another Black candidate, Police Superintendent Richard Pennington) – and lost in majority Black precincts. The *Times-Picayune* – the city's main newspaper – endorsed Forman and will undoubtedly endorse Landrieu for the run-off.

Nagin, a former cable TV executive, was, as noted, originally elected/selected with widespread support of the white power structure as a safe Black mayor. His tenure prior to the hurricanes has not been particularly impressive or progressive (his nickname was Ray Reagan). Following the August disaster, he was no Rudolph Giuliani, either in image or fact (even accounting for the enormous hype around Rudy's post 9/11 performance). In January, he made some truly stupid remarks about God's role in the storms and flooding, predicting that (as God wanted) New Orleans would be “chocolate city” once again – widely interpreted as a bid for black support, but angering many whites, leading the white power structure to abandon him. That he did as well as he did on April 22 most likely is due to Black voters' resentment against the “get Ray” movement in the weeks and months prior to the election, rather than true support for the man.

City Council elections produced four run-offs as well, and it is unclear whether the Council still will have a Black majority.

Voter turnout on April 22 was, according to some, surprisingly good – but far from what we should expect and demand from a sound democratic process and system. About 80 percent of voters who took part in the 2002 election cast ballots. But the racial gap was enormous: Turnout among registered voters from black neighborhoods was about half that of voters from white neighborhoods. A racial gap of this nature unfortunately characterizes the nation's voting patterns generally, but on April 22 in New Orleans it was about double the normal rate. In 2002, blacks cast 62 percent of 135,000 votes; in 2006, they cast 52 percent of 108,000 votes.

The drop in overall turnout to a very large extent clearly was a function of the various difficulties and barriers to voting among the evacuees. But to an extent it also likely reflected a weakening of ties to the city among many of those now living elsewhere – often in better conditions, with better schools for their children (New Orleans' public schools were a disaster of their own before the storms hit) and possibly new jobs. Recent predictions (in one case buttressed by a Rand report using a seemingly credible methodology) are that the new New Orleans will have a vastly lower population – the Rand report estimates the high 200,000s.

(John Logan of Brown has produced a detailed analysis of the election, available at www.s4.brown.edu/Katrinareport2.pdf)

The Diaspora

The race- and class-dictated disparate impacts of the hurricanes, as well as the similar patterns regarding the evacuation process and the fate of New Orleanians in the months that followed set the stage for the election results. The city's white population suffered far less damage and displacement, and those whites who had to leave were in a better position to return quickly. Conversely, the two-thirds of the city that was African-American evacuated in far higher proportions and is far less able to return. These people are now scattered in large numbers in such cities as Houston, Jackson and Atlanta, but are all over the map, from Rhode Island to Alaska. And obviously, this dispersion pattern and the diaspora it created profoundly affected the April 22 vote, as it will on May 20.

While exact numbers don't exist, roughly 3/5 of the city's nearly 500,000 pre-Katrina residents were still living away from the city on April 22. This presented a massive problem for the democratic process, which was only partially solved. Absentee voting on this scale was a first in U.S. history.

Absentee voting procedures – cumbersome and with changing instructions over time – were unfamiliar to

most voters, and in many cases there was no reliable address for receiving the requested ballot (FEMA's inhumane rent subsidy and eviction policies made that a big barrier). Mail service to and from New Orleans was far from perfect. Nor was FEMA willing to make available its (far from perfect, but still usable) list of evacuees' addresses (citing "privacy concerns"), to facilitate communication and at least some form of traditional campaigning. A state law requiring first-time voters to vote in person (why, has never been adequately explained) disenfranchised many evacuees – especially those who recently turned 18 – unless they were able and willing to return to Louisiana to vote.

Under pressure from civil rights groups and others, the state undertook a publicity blitz with newspaper ads and TV/radio spots. The state also set up ten satellite voting places in border areas of Louisiana so that evacuees could travel from their temporary homes in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Texas and other nearby states to vote (and voters could cast their ballots there on five specified days in advance of election day). And many hardy, committed souls made the trip – in some instances traveling by car five and more hours each way, while others, in San Antonio, Houston and other cities, took advantage of the bus service provided by ACORN and other community-based organizations – an amazing show of commitment, given the lengthy trip (six hour each way from/to San Antonio). But the state refused to establish similar satellite facilities in Houston, Jackson, Atlanta, Dallas, Chicago and other cities where thousands upon thousands of voters were residing (nor would the courts or Justice Department order this) – which of course would have increased turnout enormously. (Lawsuits challenging the election, citing 1965 Voting Rights Act mandates – by People for the American Way Foundation, NAACP, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law – are still a possibility. NAACP President/CEO Bruce Gordon, in a March 2 letter to Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, urged Department of Justice support for postponement of the election unless/until the known defects can be cured.) Faxed voting was another option (although at the price of losing the secret vote protection), but access to faxing machines (plus the minor costs) limited this route. People whose lives are so disrupted and hassled simply to get day-to-day tasks accomplished understandably may have been deterred by the prospect of a long trip and possibly long waiting lines. (Even within the city, similar barriers and concerns existed: Fewer than 1/3 of the city's normal 256 polling places were operating, requiring consolidation into a far fewer number of makeshift polling places, decreasing knowledge about where to vote, as well as accessibility – compounded by the city's still very broken public transit system – and likely long waits.)

As many critics observed, satellite voting procedures were established for citizens of Iraq, Mexico, South Africa and Armenia living in the U.S. That [Cont. on page 32]

Angotti [Cont. from page 2]

The report from the Louisiana Recovery and Rebuilding Conference, which also involved the American Institute of Architects, National Trust for Historic Preservation and American Society of Civil Engineers, is filled with many of the platitudes that have historically obscured the racial and class biases underlying the theory and practice of planning. The report proposes that everyone “speak with one voice.” This kind of call for harmony typically comes from groups in power and only helps to drown out the voices of those who are left outside. Every professional group and elected official is quick to call for “racial equity” and “diversity” in planning, but this has become a politically correct cover for policies that are effectively exclusionary. It conceals the nation’s racial “blind spot,” which allows us to see everything except race as the problem. And, as Jon Powell points out in his article in this issue, racism is easily discarded as a major issue by reducing it to a matter of individual and personal discrimination.

In sum, APA’s post-Katrina response feeds into the myth that the basic problem is lack of competence, and all that’s needed is professionalism.

Planning Academics Drop the Ball on Race

Planning academics, including many of those who are quick to look down their good liberal noses at the unenlightened local planning practitioners that make up the base of APA, are no less challenged when it comes to dealing with racism.

The Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP), the main North American organization of faculty members at planning schools, needs to come to grips with its own racial blind spot. Last year, ACSP failed to heed the NAACP’s boycott of South Carolina and went ahead and scheduled its annual conference there, then was forced to relocate it after an outcry from the membership. Now, ACSP is proposing a ranking system for planning schools that it claims would help schools gain prestige and funds. In the absence of other measures to even out the inequalities among regions and schools, such a system is bound to favor the larger and wealthier schools. While adopting the obligatory declarations in favor of equity and diversity, ACSP would be reinforcing the nationwide drift towards the commercialization of education and the quantification of performance standards, forcing planning schools to compete with one another to earn scarce resources, and placing those that already have more at a distinct advantage. We need an

ACSP that can stand up for the principles of academic freedom, intellectual experimentation and racial equity independent of the educational marketplace. Unfortunately, ACSP’s annual conference is as much a showcase for the production of papers and academic entrepreneurs as APA’s is for the buying and selling of professional products. Self-promotion is the unifying principle, not professional ethics or equity.

The ACSP leadership was also caught napping when the Planning Accreditation Board (PAB) recently issued new guidelines for accrediting planning schools. Michigan State Professor June Manning Thomas, co-editor of the book *Urban Planning and the African-American Community: In the Shadows*, noted that the PAB guidelines exclude criteria about diversity and the social dimensions of planning. She was seconded by many other academics. The new PAB guidelines would take us back to the days before the civil rights movement and Paul Davidoff’s critique of a purely physical planning that was emblematic of the profession’s racial blind spot.

It wasn’t too long ago that the PAB, with support from ACSP, struck any mention of affirmative action from the guidelines, following the advice of those fearful of a legal challenge from the right. And here we have the tragedy of planning academia. At a national level, the proportion of African-American students in planning schools is still under 3 percent, just about where it was forty years ago. The figures for Latinos aren’t much different. Affirmative action was a victory of the civil rights movement and meant that planning programs should aggressively seek minority students and faculty. Although it is still on the books nationally, affirmative action has been crippled by court challenges, white claims of “reverse discrimination” and the general right wing campaign to roll back the gains of the civil rights era. Our mostly white planning faculty, most of whom no doubt find racial discrimination abhorrent at the personal level, have a collective blind spot because they can’t see the immense institutional barriers to racial equality that surround and penetrate the schools where they teach. What, we have to ask, are ACSP, PAB and APA doing to change the exclusionary character of the profession they purport to represent? Affirmative action isn’t about filling quotas or meeting quantitative goals, it’s about recognizing the fundamental issues of social justice and quality of life in our diverse communities of color and advocating for changes in the political, social and physical environment that help wrest power from those who continue to benefit from racism as an institution.

powell et al. [Cont. from page 1]

When a national dialogue began, however, it was clear that the existing vocabulary was incapable of explaining what everyone was seeing. Like CNN's Wolf Blitzer, many people were left stumbling over the links between race and class and trying to figure out why Katrina's destructive force disproportionately impacted African-American and poor communities.

Soon after the levees broke, politicians and pundits tried feverishly to ease our discontent. They assured us that nature is colorblind and that the government response, although clearly inadequate, was not a result of racial animus. We were told that class and poverty, rather than race, were the keys to understanding the crisis. Conservatives even went so far as to drape poverty in the rhetoric of welfare-as-dependency, arguing that government assistance had created a culture of victimization. Progressives, for their part, talked about the absence of an adequate safety net to deal with persistent poverty.

Still, questions about *why* African Americans are more likely than whites to be poor, and why poor African Americans are more likely to live in areas of concentrated poverty, were neither asked nor answered. The mainstream media did make an effort to broach the issue of race, but the resulting discussions either suffered from a reliance on racial stereotypes, or failed to move beyond race-based human interest stories. There was little critical discussion about how historical patterns of segregation contributed to the racial layout of the city, and how structures worked together to produce racial disparities and economic inequality.

Trapped in Individualistic Mode

For far too long, Americans have been trapped in an individualistic mode of thinking about race and racism that requires that there be a racist actor in order for there to be a racist action, and that separates race and class into distinct categories. As the full extent of the damage to New Orleans became clear, the nation as a whole struggled to make sense of the situation by filtering visual images and sound bites through the dominant individualistic framework. Consequently, people asked: Is President Bush a racist or simply incompetent? Were so many poor African Americans affected by the storm because they were poor or because they were black, or was it because of their culture? Would the response to Katrina have been different had New Orleans been mostly white? How could so many things have gone wrong in a country that prides itself on responsibility and opportunity?

Unfortunately, narrow thinking about racism as a product of individual intent is not particularly help-

ful. Not only does it tend to be divisive—the conversations that follow often center on assigning blame and finding culpability rather than on making change—it diverts attention away from the role of structures and institutions in perpetuating disparities, while simultaneously locating racism in the mind of individuals. Katrina has provided a rare chance to discuss the links between race, equity, justice and democracy.

Those who rejected racism as a contributing factor to the disaster, as well as those who knew it was somehow relevant, focused so much of their attention on identifying or dismissing the racist behavior of individuals, including the president, that the overall discourse on the role of race and racism lacked substance. For the most part, there was no discussion of the myriad of ways that race informed the social, economic and political factors that converged long before Katrina made landfall and made New Orleans ripe for a disaster that would hit the city's black residents the hardest.

Just about everyone failed to discuss local patterns of residential segregation. They ignored the fact that grossly disproportionate numbers of African Americans lived in neighborhoods that were below sea level. Some pointed out that African Americans comprised 98 percent of the Lower Ninth Ward, but said little if anything about how this came to be. Similarly, some noted the sickeningly high poverty rate among the city's black residents, but said nothing about how racialized poverty contributed to the crisis. Neither the concentration of subsidized housing nor the lack of car ownership among poor blacks—which made it impossible for many to flee in their own vehicles as was called for by the city's middle-class-oriented evacuation plan—were mentioned. Racialized divestment in schools, public health and other critical institutions in the core city, which impacts the suburbs as well, has existed for decades, but unlike the wind and the water, it garnered little attention. We do not believe that anyone intended to strand poor blacks in New Orleans. Nonetheless it was predictable, given that we tend to regard poor people differently than we do others.

The inability of Americans, both white and black, conservative and progressive, to analyze the Katrina disaster in a way that would have rendered visible the central role of structural racism in the disaster was the result of the narrow way we tend to understand racism. The normative conceptualization of racism is that it is a deliberately harmful discriminatory act perpetrated by people who possess outmoded racial beliefs. It is the aberrant behavior of white supremacists and is easily identified by the discriminatory intent of perpetrators. Furthermore, it is static. It is an offense commit- ⇨

ted by a particular person at a specific moment in time. Racism happens, and then it ends.

How Space is Racialized

We need to ask how and why segregation is maintained. The answer can no longer be found in explicit arrangements of *de jure* segregation, but instead in the impacts of a variety of structural arrangements. The creation and recreation of black ghettos in the United States is no mystery. We can trace the ghettos back to race-specific practices by governmental agencies, including the Federal Housing Administration, and to uneven tax allocation, zoning laws, transportation spending and the devolution of power to ever-smaller jurisdictions. The degree to which this discussion is largely “off-the-table” is not a function of the relative difficulty of pinpointing the origin of the conversation, but rather reflects the degree that individual agency has been privileged at the expense of collective action and social structures.

Answering why segregation persists to this day is somewhat more complicated. Part of the reason is because it fosters racialized poverty and opportunity. While poverty is certainly a phenomenon that crosses racial and geographic lines, the face of poverty in this country is overwhelming urban and African American. Segregation also helps us *race* society. It continually helps recreate the social categories to which we commonly ascribe racial meaning. White space, or the outer-ring suburbs, plays an important role in maintaining an increasing fragile white privilege. So too does the existence of ghettos. Divestment from urban areas (53.1 percent of African Americans live in central cities) has had radically disparate racial effects, even in the absence of overt racial intent. Consequently, areas of racialized poverty are accepted as natural, as if they have always, and will always, exist.

Residential segregation has produced “white space,” which is tremendously unstable. As globalization expands in a post-Jim Crow era, and as the identity of a particular space comprised of individuals who are “white” comes under assault, “white space” means less and less. Many whites are averse to being labeled racist, but they also refuse to surrender forms of privilege, such as access to preferred residential space. What needs to be propelled forward is the idea that racialization of space affects us all.

A New Lens, Vocabulary, Avenue for Change

Employing this lens provides a new vocabulary for talking about race and thinking about racial justice. No longer must we be caught up in issues of guilt and blame, in pointing fingers or decrying our innocence. Using this new lens allows us to understand how race continues to sort opportunity in this country, without having to find racists.

First, we must eliminate concentrated poverty. Prior to Katrina, New Orleans had one of the highest rates of concentrated poverty in the country, second highest among the nation’s fifty largest cities. Most of these places need to be rebuilt, but they neither can be rebuilt as static replicas of what they were, nor can this opportunity be used as an excuse for displacing residents. There is tension here, to be sure, between the right of displaced residents to return and creating affordable housing that is not concentrated in a few sections of the city. This tension, however, can be mitigated in large part by involving those most affected by the storm in the planning process.

There are multiple proposals on the table for how this can be accomplished including: housing voucher programs, expansion of the low-income housing tax credit, inclusionary zoning and models based on previously successful housing programs, such as the Gautreaux experiment in Chicago and HUD’s Moving to Opportunity program. The very scale of the rebuilding that needs to occur can be an advantage, as well as a challenge, because it offers an opportunity for a re-visioning of what an integrated and livable city might look like.

Also, a racially and economically just framework has to focus on access to opportunity. It is clear that this needs to occur in New Orleans and the Gulf Coast area, but it also must include the thousands of displaced residents who may or may not return voluntarily. We run the risk of simply shifting the black urban poor from one city to another, and from one opportunity-deprived community to another. The planning process must include provisions for connecting the “Gulf Coast Diaspora” to affordable housing, job training, economic opportunities, quality education, transportation and healthcare. We must treat the citizens of New Orleans as a democracy should, that is, with equal opportunity for all.

We must focus on providing access to opportunity explicitly, both during the reconstruction process as well as afterwards. The reconstruction of the Gulf Coast will be labor-intensive and require tens of thousands of people working in tandem in order to be successful. Current and former residents of the Gulf Coast should be hired first, and local laborers should be paid a living wage. We must put job training programs into place so that residents are able to take advantage of the opportunities available during the redevelopment. Citizens need to have meaningful oversight of the billions of dollars that will be brought in by private development corporations to guarantee that development occurs in a way that benefits their communities, and not simply the shareholders of these companies. Transit problems were a principal reason that the violent impact of Katrina was so disproportionately shouldered by poor African Americans. We must not allow this to occur in the future. State and local author-

ities should implement immediate plans for the evacuation of residents who lack access to personal transportation. Transit also remains a key factor in connecting people with parts of metropolitan areas where opportunity flourishes, job growth is occurring, and high-quality schools exist. The expansion of public transit has to be a priority going forward.

Access to educational opportunities significantly affects well-being later in life. Not only must the public schools of New Orleans be repaired, but planners must think proactively about the linkages between residential integration and school integration. In 2003-2004, for example, 46.9 percent of public schools in Orleans Parish were in the “academically unacceptable” category, in contrast to only 5.7 percent of schools across Louisiana. Planners must begin to consider how residential segregation, which leads to school segregation, is affecting test scores, causing all of our children to suffer today and shutting them out from opportunity in the future.

Lastly, health and environmental concerns are going to remain a part of life in the Gulf Coast area for decades. Officials need to take all precautions to ensure the safety of workers involved in the cleanup and redevelopment process. They need to mandate uniform standards for cleanup so that some communities do not disproportionately shoulder the burden of exposure to toxins. Most importantly, there needs to be a long-term monitoring and grievance system established to ensure the health and safety of Katrina survivors, one that provides affordable access to healthcare if health problems arise in the future. There have been remarkable advances in “green building” over the past two decades, as well as in more environmentally-friendly methods of construction and waste disposal. Redevelopment plans need to include environmental planning as an explicit part of the process.

Throughout this process, we must be proactively attentive to the ways in which all of these aspects of opportunity—housing, education, job training, employment, healthcare and transportation—interact with one another structurally. Adopting a regional approach to planning, therefore, is essential. Segregation, fragmentation and concentrated poverty create barriers to opportunity for people of color and undermine the vitality and competitiveness of the entire region. An approach to rebuild in a just way must look at the region as a whole unit and create ways to more equitably distribute resources and opportunity throughout. It is not a coincidence that some of the poorest parts of New Orleans are also the places where the African-American population is very high. It is important to consider how segregated space interacts with race and poverty, economic health and democratic norms. The resource disparity between cities and

suburbs hurts not only inner-city residents and those that live in areas that have become isolated, but also encourages a dysfunctional fragmented system. This system encourages destructive competition, such as sprawl, inefficient duplication, divestment in infrastructure and people. The health of the city and older suburbs is linked to the health of the entire region.

Finally, we must keep the discourse of race and racism alive and inclusive, rather than subterranean and divisive. This will take some strategizing given the current inadequacy of public discourse. We might support national and local media campaigns, community initiatives, grassroots organizations, interdenominational efforts and political maneuvering to transform our understanding of race and class. We will need to pay particular attention to not only the needs of poor and middle-class blacks and other nonwhites, but to those of poor and middle-class whites as well. Globalization and devolution place the vulnerable on precarious footing, which will require us to work together to recreate more equitable life opportunities in New Orleans and throughout the nation.

Given the hesitancy of the United States to confront or discuss race, even after a disaster like Hurricane Katrina brought it to our attention, it is time for a new way of speaking about race and racism. As we stumbled over words to describe the pictures that appeared in our newspapers and on our television sets, we discovered that we did not have an adequate frame for articulating what was going on, not only in New Orleans, but all across this country every day. Katrina demonstrated that race and class are still salient topics in the US, but discussing and understanding how they matter is an important part of envisioning a racially just and democratic society.

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Katrina's Race and Class Effects Were Planned

By Gregory D. Squires

The race and class effects of Katrina were by design. The fact that poor people and racial minorities suffered by far the greatest harm was guaranteed by decades of public policy and private practice. If the hurricane was a natural disaster, allocation of its costs were determined by political decisions grounded in longstanding social and economic inequalities.

The most obvious race and class implication, of course, is that those with the means to do so left. They had cars or money for planes and trains, along with friends and contacts who could provide shelter in other locales. Guests trapped in one luxury New Orleans hotel were saved when

Allocation of the hurricane's costs were determined by political decisions grounded in longstanding social and economic inequalities

the hotel hired a fleet of buses to get them out. And patients in one hospital were saved when a doctor who knew Al Gore contacted him. The former vice president was able to cut through government red tape and charter two planes that flew the patients to safety.

More importantly, the conditions shaping the race and class effects of Hurricane Katrina have been building for decades. In New Orleans, as in virtually all communities, various processes of racial segregation have resulted in the concentration of middle-income whites in the outlying suburban communities (and in New Orleans, communities literally on higher ground), while blacks have been concentrated in the central city.

Racial steering by real estate agents. Exclusionary zoning in suburban municipalities. Federally subsidized highways to help suburban commuters get to their jobs. Tax breaks to subsidize suburban

business development. The concentration of poor people in inner-city public housing projects. These are just some of the forces in New Orleans and elsewhere that led to racial segregation and the concentration of poverty. The sprawl machine has been operating to spread wealth outward and concentrate poverty in the central city.

Douglas Massey, co-author of the classic book *American Apartheid*, has long warned of the catastrophic consequences of racial segregation and concentrated poverty. He observed that "any process that concentrates poverty within racially isolated neighborhoods will simultaneously increase the odds of socioeconomic failure." The disproportionate suffering in New Orleans is illustrative of that failure.

Neglect of critical infrastructure needs also shaped the inequitable consequences of Katrina. As has now been widely reported, officials long knew the protective levees surrounding the city were inadequate, leaving it vulnerable to precisely this type of disaster.

New Orleans, however, is hardly the only city that has failed to maintain its infrastructure. Whether it is the deteriorating subway system in New York, inadequate earthquake protection in San Francisco, aging water mains in Chicago and Washington DC (and no doubt elsewhere), cracking roads and bridges most everywhere and other declining public services, we have failed to maintain vital systems in the US. Most cities are disasters waiting to happen.

In its *2005 Report Card for America's Infrastructure*, the American Society of Civil Engineers concluded: "Congested highways, overflowing sewers and corroding bridges are constant reminders of the looming crisis that jeopardizes our nation's prosperity and quality of life." Assessing twelve infrastructure categories, the Society gave the nation a grade of D for its infrastructure maintenance efforts. The Society also noted that there had been little improvement in recent years and asserted the need for an as-yet unfunded \$1.6 trillion infrastructure investment over the next five years. The

consequences have not been and will not be race or class neutral. As James Carr, senior vice president of research for the Fannie Mae Foundation observed, if the city of New Orleans had been a more diverse community, it may well have had the political clout to secure the levees long ago.

Still, we persist in treating vital government services as costs to be reduced rather than as investments to be maintained. Low-income people and people of color, who are more dependent on public services, are disproportionately affected by this way of thinking. They are, after all, more dependent on public transportation to get to work, local police to keep their neighborhoods safe and emergency services of all sorts. Furthermore, they have fewer private resources to serve as cushions in times of stress, including periods of unemployment, unexpected illness or natural disasters like hurricanes.

But all of us pay—in varying degrees—when public transit systems come to a halt, earthquakes destroy bridges and floods destroy entire neighborhoods, if not cities. Even suburban employers and homeowners lose when they cannot get the workers or services they need. A combination of tax cuts for the wealthy and an expensive war in Iraq do not help this situation. But the race and class effects undermining quality of life are not the result of any particular presidential administration, and it is not just the poor or racial minorities who lose. In connecting the plantation mentality that has long shaped race relations in New Orleans with the devastation wracked by Hurricane Katrina across the entire region, historian Christopher Morris concluded, “If the city never recovers, it won’t be just because of the natural environment. It will be because long ago the whites of New Orleans, and whites in Washington and around the nation, made a bargain

with the devil of white supremacy, and now they, we, will have now lost it all.”

Some of this reflects overt racial prejudice. But it is a deeper reflection of what has become known as “color-blind racism,” whereby we convince ourselves that current inequalities result from the failures of those who suffer rather than the continuing effects of historical and contemporary forms of institutionalized privilege. To illustrate, then-FEMA Director Michael Brown said the human suffering following Katrina could be explained by “people who did not heed evacuation warnings.” Images of black looters, of course, reinforce traditional stereotypes and do little to encourage a broader, sociological understanding of these events. But that is the challenge we must confront, in New Orleans and elsewhere.

This hardly suggests a vast conspiracy against poor people or racial minorities. But it is evident that a series of decades-long public policies and private practices that clearly privilege middle- and upper-income communities, predominantly white ones, have made the inequitable effects of natural disasters like Katrina inevitable.

The race and class effects of Katrina should come as no surprise. We have been planning them for decades.

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Remembering Jane Jacobs

Jane Jacobs, one of the most important guiding lights in progressive planning, died April 25 in Toronto. We invite notes, articles, and commentaries about her life and work for a future issue of Progressive Planning. We are especially interested in unique or critical analyses that go beyond well-deserved praise that is due to one of our most inspirational pioneers. Planners of almost all persuasions have found something of value in her work, but we would like to discuss the meaning of Jane Jacobs for progressive planning. Contributions may be from 50 to 2,000 words. -- *The Editors*

From Here to Autonomy: Mexico's Zapatistas Combine Local Administration and National Politics

By Chris Tilly and Marie Kennedy

In January of 1994, the ski-masked Maya rebels of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) rocked Mexico by rising up in arms in Mexico's southernmost state, Chiapas. Twelve years later, the Zapatista movement is still at work amidst a long-standing but uneasy truce, and it continues to attract the attention of much of Mexico, if not the outside world. Movement spokesperson Subcomandante

Perhaps of more interest to progressive planners, however, is the unfolding of autonomous local government. Zapatistas in dozens of Chiapas *municipios* (the main unit of local government in Mexico, typically the size of a US county) are carrying out an intriguing experiment: Without unseating the official governments, they have created parallel "autonomous" governments that deliver services, administer justice and attempt to model an ideal of good government—all based on traditional Mayan forms of governance. Whatever the final outcome, this new demonstration of Zapatista audacity is definitely worth understanding.

Mexico since 1994: The More Things Change...

Since 1994, the national government has sporadically negotiated with the Zapatistas while simultaneously building up troop strength. Thousands of troops today are posted in Chiapas (estimates range from 18,000-70,000), with added backup from paramilitaries. Nonetheless, the Zapatistas continue to demand autonomy for Mexico's sixty-two indigenous groups that comprise 7 percent of the population and have long been poor, dispossessed and despised. With participation from organizations representing fifty of the indigenous groups, the Zapatistas succeeded in negotiating the San Andrés autonomy accords, signed by the government in 1996.

Implementing the accords, however, required an act of Mexico's Congress. Hope for such legislation ran high when voters in the 2000 elections, for the first time in seventy-one years, broke the Institutional Revolutionary Party's (PRI's) control of the presidency. President-elect Vicente Fox, who ran on the ticket of the conservative National Action Party (PAN) but garnered support from across the political spectrum as the candidate of "change," vowed to resolve the problem in Chiapas "in fifteen minutes." He endorsed a version of the San Andrés accords, but in Mexico's Congress, where no party held a majority, leaders

Photo courtesy of Marie Kennedy



Gloria Benavides, a.k.a. Commandante Elisa

Marcos, now calling himself Delegate Zero, is touring the country to campaign against *all* of the candidates in this year's Mexican elections and in favor of a grassroots left movement to transform the country.

of his own PAN, the PRI and the left-leaning Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) instead cut a deal to pass a watered-down, ineffectual autonomy law. After a prolonged silence, in August 2003, the EZLN announced that it would implement the San Andrés accords directly, through five newly created “Good Government Councils,” each grouping a number of autonomous municipalities.

As of 2006, Fox’s six-year term is ticking to an end. The current front-runner for president is the PRD’s Andrés Manuel López Obrador, a populist in tailored suits who governed Mexico City before throwing his hat into the national ring. López Obrador is the hope of some on the left, and the despair of others. He pledges to prioritize job creation (Mexico’s job growth has lagged far behind the expansion of the workforce, swelling the informal sector) and to rebuild the welfare state—which sweetened the PRI’s pill of one-party rule until debt crisis and market-friendly reformers dismantled it. But he also promises the economic powers-that-be in Mexico to maintain financial stability and fiscal restraint—promises at odds with the increases in spending that would be needed to carry out the populist planks of his program. Moreover, many Mexicans view the PRD, like the other major parties, as corrupt.

What Is Autonomy?

There’s a lot more to autonomy than simply declaring it. In the early years of the Chiapas stalemate, being an autonomous municipality meant in some cases that the Zapatistas maintained roadblocks, charged tolls and posted signs (“You are entering autonomous territory”); in other communities, autonomy was primarily a state of mind. Over time, however, the military wing of the Zapatista movement ceded more authority to the civil wing, and the civil wing built up local communities’ abilities to consult, plan and decide. Gloria Benavides, a former member and prominent civilian supporter of the EZLN and known to many, including the government, as Comandante Elisa, wryly stated, “The political discussion on the civil side often results in good ideas; when the military decides, things usually go badly.”

The building blocks of autonomy are, in order of increasing geographic scale, communities, *municipios* and regional organisms. At the regional level, the Good Government Councils, which are decision-making bodies, coexist with the *Caracoles*, complexes of regional services. (*Caracol* translates to “snail” or “conch,” and is used as a symbol for communication.) The *Caracol* based in the village of Oventik, in the

centrally located Chiapas highlands, provides the space for the Good Government Council that serves the seven neighboring *municipios*. In that *Caracol*, we noted primary and secondary schools, a large clinic and a cluster of “productive projects:” cooperatives for crafts, cultivation of coffee and mushrooms and beekeeping; an agroecology group that consults with local farmers; a shoemaking shop; and a language school for international visitors. Importantly, the *Caracoles* also serve as contact points for supporters from Mexico and around the world. As the Political Commission of the Oventik *Caracol* expressed to us, the *Caracol* is “a window, a door so that all can enter into the communities, so that they can see and be seen. Through the people who enter from all parts of the world, we travel to all parts of the world.”

The rubber really hits the road, however, at the *municipio* level. In Magdalena de la Paz, the seat



Making Zapatista boots.

of the autonomous *municipio* of the same name, we were treated to the unusual spectacle of two parallel and competing sets of government institutions. There are two primary schools, two clinics and two city halls. On one side of the central plaza is a large, windowless shed of rough boards with a metal roof where we were met by men and women wearing traditional Mayan garb—beribboned hats set off by short white tunics or woolly ponchos for the men, multicolored blouses and skirts with distinctive weaves identifying the community of origin for the women. Across ⇨

Photo courtesy of Marie Kennedy

the plaza stands the home of what the autonomous authorities call the “bad government,” a standard-issue brick and stucco office building. We didn’t go inside, but in front stood a group of men (only) wearing the cowboy hats, plain-colored shirts and jeans typical of Chiapas *mestizos* (assimilated mixed-race people). To complete the picture, the official government calls the municipality “Magdalena *Aldama*,” substituting the name of a *mestizo* hero of Mexico’s independence movement for the suffix “de la Paz,” which means “of peace.”

Photo courtesy of Marie Kennedy



A new aqueduct.

Such dual local power is typical of the Zapatista *municipios*. As Miguel Pickard of the Center for Economic and Political Research on Community Action (CIEPAC) explained, “The Zapatista presence in the communities ranges from a tiny minority to an overwhelming majority.” The Zapatista organization itself has very exacting requirements: In addition to adhering to its ideological principles, members must follow a set of

standards that includes rejecting any aid from the official government and abstaining from alcohol. So it is not surprising that at least some in each community decline to join. “The issue,” Pickard said, “is how to convince people to give you legitimacy, if not through an election.” (The Zapatistas reject the current electoral system.)

How do the autonomous authorities manage? It’s certainly not through access to greater resources. Unlike the official government, the autonomous authorities do not charge taxes (the Zapatista highway tolls were dropped in 2003). Instead, they discuss the community’s needs with them, take up voluntary collections based on ability to pay and solicit voluntary community labor. Coffee and craft co-ops bring in additional revenues. International solidarity supplements these internally generated funds—the clinic at Magdalena, for instance, has been supplied by Médecins du Monde for a number of years—but doesn’t provide a dependable resource base.

Good Government Pays

Instead of revenue collection, the key seems to be, in the words of the Maya communities, good government. As the municipal authorities of Magdalena told us through their spokesperson, “The idea is to demonstrate that we can do this work. We’re trying to end the government’s power to use the people just to build the strength of the parties. We are resolving all our problems on our own, with our own words, in our own way, without the involvement of the [official] government.” According to CIEPAC’s Pickard, it’s working. “The most impressive thing I hear about,” he said, “is the justice system. For the first time in over 500 years, indigenous people are getting justice! They’re getting it in their own language, they can be heard, it’s not corrupt, the authorities can’t be bought off.” The result, he added, is that Zapatista, non-Zapatista and even anti-Zapatista community members seek out the autonomous judicial authorities, even for complex and contentious issues, such as conflicting land claims.

Eastern Michigan University Political Scientist Richard Stahler-Sholk writes that in one Zapatista region he studied, officials reported that they hear more complaints brought by *non-Zapatistas* than Zapatistas! The Magdalena officials confirmed that people often come to them after failing to get satisfaction from the official side of the plaza. People displayed a refreshingly pragmatic attitude, saying that when a case proves especially difficult, they consult with the “bad government” to resolve it. Many non-Zapatistas also sign up for “good

government” driver’s licenses, according to Pickard, even though the official police do not recognize them.

Zapatista governing structures are also, quite explicitly, schools of participatory democracy. Policing and jurisprudence lean heavily on discussion and negotiation rather than coercion. *Municipios* choose their leaders in assemblies. At the next level up, in the *Caracoles* and the Good Government Councils, the movement rotates people through for short stints, trying to spread around the experience of governing.

Another advantage the autonomous councils bring to the table is that they build on long-standing Maya traditions. Bernardo, a young Mayan taxi driver who swore he would never join the Zapatistas because “they want to run the country like Fidel Castro—you know their slogan, ‘Everything for everybody,’” nonetheless told us he likes the fact that they are preserving Mayan ways. Language and costume are the most visible signs, of course. Enrique, a young Zapatista activist, noted that collective work and community collections are part of the Maya culture as well. (One powerful Maya custom is that communities only speak through designated spokespersons; thus, although we had individual conversations with several members of Zapatista communities, we were told in no uncertain terms that it would be inappropriate to identify them, so we are using pseudonyms.) Alberto, an anthropologist who studies the Maya, added that Mayan peoples value simplicity and humility, and view costly possessions with suspicion—perhaps rendering the unfinished boards of Magdalena’s “other” city hall more appealing than the polished surfaces of the official one.

A final element of modern-day Maya culture is the community church. Alberto declared that worship consists of “a Catholic façade on top of traditional Maya religion.” Thus the typical Maya church has walls lined by a dozen or more saints wrapped in layers of cloth and decked out with mirrors and pine needle-strewn floors (but no pews) where families come to burn rows of candles and traditional healers make offerings of incense and live chickens. Enrique commented that in divided communities like Magdalena, the church and its associated saint’s day fiestas are the one space where everybody gets together. He said that lay preaching within the church is the most important forum for Zapatistas to address the rest of the community.

The Zapatista local authorities, however, are seeking to break with *some* age-old traditions, in

the name of...tradition. Current-day Mayan society before 1994 was, like most surviving pre-modern cultures, oppressively sexist. Arranged marriages, codified male authority in the home and the village and widespread domestic violence kept women socially and physically subordinated. But during the EZLN’s 1983-93 underground phase, Maya women threw themselves into organizing and came to make up one-third of the rebel army’s ranks. Their payoff was a Revolutionary Women’s Law, promulgated by the



Photo courtesy of Marie Kennedy

Clashing cultures in a store in Magdalena.

Zapatistas during the 1994 uprising, proclaiming equal rights, including the right to choose who and when to marry, and whether and when to have children. The existence of the law does not mean that gender equality has been achieved in Zapatista communities. Paciencia, a young activist, stated, “It’s not easy to change this in just a few years.” But the fact that the communities endorsed it at all is a milestone.

In Magdalena, the municipal council consisted of five men and six women. They proudly told us that including women was a new policy, but claimed that it was also a return to ancient Maya custom: “Before the arrival of the Spanish, women were so important that they performed all offices. It was the Spanish who put an end to this when they came, so now it is necessary to reclaim this practice.” This amazing declaration was blunted somewhat by the fact that the other two arms of government, the judges and the police, were all ⇨

male, and that although all the male councilors were present, only two of the six women were (presumably because the others had household duties). Members admitted, “We still have a long way to go.”

It would be a mistake to view Zapatista autonomy as simply a process separating a few communities from the rest of Mexico. Although local administration is the most concrete aspect of autonomy today, Zapatismo envisions autonomy as *all* of society governing itself, replacing the state and neoliberal capitalism with “freedom, democracy and justice.” In short, autonomy in its full realization amounts to revolution.

Missed Connections

Stubborn independence, intensive consultation with the community and deep roots in Mayan culture have helped the “good governments” to win local support. But the same factors have in some cases estranged the Zapatistas from poten-

Ledesma of the Center for Political Analysis and Social and Economic Research (CAPISE). “We also know of thousands who have joined. If you ask, twelve years after 1994, are there more or fewer Zapatistas, the answer is we don’t know, nobody knows.”

Some sectors of the broader Mexican and global left have also become disillusioned with Zapatismo. To be sure, some of this boils down to straightforward ideological disagreements, in part because the Zapatista perspective has more in common with the anarchist tradition than the socialist one. José (a pseudonym), a recent college graduate and militant in the Chiapas-based People’s Resistance Movement of the Southeast (MRPS), which has moved away from supporting the EZLN, offered meaty criticisms of Zapatista actions—and particularly inactions. José lamented that on many occasions the Zapatista movement has failed to speak out against fierce repression of non-Zapatistas. Global activists have likewise been perplexed as to why Zapatismo has declined to send representatives or even messages of solidarity to like-minded global gatherings, such as the World Social Forum, but continues to organize its own global conferences, to which it expects others will come.

Some of this standoffishness doubtless stems from simple left sectarianism, however, there is more to it than that. Zapatismo is very consciously accountable to the communities that support it and deeply committed to decision-making through consultation. But given the revived Maya customs of decision-making via wide-open community assemblies and the search for consensus, this is bound to imply long silences toward the outside world, and in some cases, no statement at all. Perhaps this is not all bad. “The Zapatistas say little and do much,” noted Alberto, the anthropologist. “That’s the opposite of the politicians, who say alot but do very little.” In any case, there is a very real tension between being a truly community-based movement and serving as a touchstone for the left in Mexico and the world.

A final reason for strains between Zapatismo and the broader left is simply that the Mayan languages, worldview and style of communication are utterly foreign to most people formed in a more western way of looking at the world. As Ledesma of CAPISE put it, “Left intellectuals speak from the head; Mayas speak from the heart.” Certainly these two left intellectuals found ourselves struggling to communicate. In our group’s meetings, the Maya custom of having a designated spokesperson and a required set of greetings,

Photo courtesy of Marie Kennedy



Consejo Autonomo Magdalena la Paz

tial allies, Mayan and otherwise. According to a 2004 report by the Network for Peace-Chiapas, a broad coalition of groups working for peace and indigenous rights, many grassroots Chiapas organizations formerly allied with the Zapatistas have distanced themselves over the issue of whether to accept government aid—especially once a new state administration elected in 2000 showed itself more disposed to dole out aid to community-based groups. Political Scientist Stahler-Sholk commented that government aid programs have been “clearly tailored and administered in Chiapas for the political purpose of dividing communities and attracting supporters away from the Zapatista cause.”

Does this mean that Zapatismo is shrinking? “We know of thousands who were Zapatista and left, who couldn’t take the hardships,” says Ernesto

sometimes supplemented by the Zapatista variation of ensuring that each person says his or her piece, tended to lead to very formal and repetitive—if sometimes insightful and even poetic—presentations and responses to questions.

The “Other Campaign” & the Challenges of Autonomy

This varied set of baggage accompanies the Zapatistas’ still considerable political prestige as they embark on the Other Campaign (*Otra Campaña*, or *Otra* for short), their answer to the presidential campaign. Delegate Zero has an ambitious itinerary that entails a visit to every state of Mexico before the July elections to listen and speak with those who want to build “democracy, liberty and justice” from below. The Zapatistas identify this campaign as a risk equal to the initial 1994 uprising (among other things, the physical risk to Marcos himself is enormous), but essential to break through the geographic isolation of their autonomy project.

Some on the left criticize the *Otra* for attacking López Obrador, the presidential candidate of the center-left PRD, on equal terms with the others. But Ledesma of CAPISE points out that the party’s vote against the San Andrés accords, which would have codified indigenous autonomy, is “fundamental to understanding the Zapatistas’ fury against the PRD.” He added that Jesús Ortega, who coordinated the vote deal, has been named by López Obrador to run his campaign. Moreover, the criticism of all the parties resonates with ordinary Mexicans’ disgust for politics as usual. There is no doubt that Marcos will give the candidates some “Pepto-Bismol moments,” in Ernesto Ledesma’s words. The big question is whether the Other Campaign will achieve its bold goal to build a new, nationwide movement. “It’s a bet on the

grassroots organizations around the country,” Ledesma said. “The Zapatistas have bet everything on this initiative—and it might not work.”

For those concerned with community development, the most recent twists in the Zapatistas’ path hold a mixed set of lessons. They have taken the process that is sometimes called “indigenous planning”—grounding decision-making about space and public life in the strengths, resources and traditions of a particular community—farther than almost any other group of similar size and prominence. Their pioneering development of autonomous governments in the shadow of the official ones offers a provocative model worth emulating and adapting. At the same time, their community-rooted, Maya-inflected style of politics, the reason for their success in Chiapas, has itself thrown up barriers between them and a broader progressive movement. With the Other Campaign, the Zapatistas hope to bridge these barriers and put Mexico’s political and economic elites on the defensive once again. If they can successfully mesh local grassroots autonomy with national coalition-building, all of us should be taking note.

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The PN e-letter has member updates, jobs, conferences and other announcements. Often PNers in the same city ask us how they can get in touch with other PNers, and the best we can do is send them names and addresses. Email is also the best way to let you know when your membership/subscription has to be renewed. If you don’t want to receive the e-letter, we can keep you off that list, but please send us your email address so we can contact you when we need to.

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Special Section on Gender and Violence

Including:

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Women's Fear of Victimization and Crime: *Fallacies, Paradoxes, Effects and Responses*

By Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris

It is early morning at the bus stop on Central and 7th in downtown Los Angeles. A woman is waiting for the bus, nervously clutching her purse close to her body. There are no pedestrians on the street, just a few parked cars behind a barbed-wire fence. The nearby corner is occupied by a run-down motel with a liquor store on the ground floor. A man in ragged clothes appears to be sleeping, curled up on the sidewalk outside the store, not far from the woman. Broken glass, empty beer can, and other trash litter the bus stop where the woman is standing. She nervously surveys the street for the bus. From time to time she throws a fleeting look at the sleeping man. At last the bus arrives, and the woman disappears behind its protective doors.

The woman I observed that morning at the bus stop was clearly scared of a potential source of danger personified in the face and body of a sleeping man. The fear of "stranger danger" was accentuated by the fact that this man was homeless, unpredictable and possibly mentally ill. Her fear of victimization—imagined or real—was also enhanced by the desolate built environment that surrounded her.

Fear of victimization is quite widespread among women. Almost every survey that looks at fear of crime reports that women are much more fearful than men. While fear of rape and serious violence is certainly a major concern, women are also fearful of groping, sexual comments and harassment, threats and other nuisance crimes that have sexual undertones. In explaining the gendered nature of fear of crime, feminists highlight these often "invisible" and underreported crimes against women.

To understand women's fear of crime in public spaces, I first look at facts and fallacies surrounding this issue, as well as the effects. Then I show how fear operates by reporting on two surveys of women in Los Angeles parks and bus stops. Finally, I discuss design and policy responses to women's fear of victimization.

Fallacies, Paradoxes and Effects of Women's Fear

Women's high level of fear of victimization and crime does not seem to be justified by police reports and statistics, which consistently show low rates of reported crime against women in public spaces. This has led many to conclude that women's fear of crime is irrational. What the official statistics do not show, however, is that significant numbers of intimidating and even violent acts against women go unnoticed and underreported. In a public culture that often blames the victim, women are often embarrassed to report sexual offenses against them. Rape, therefore, remains consistently the most underreported serious crime.

A second fallacy is the "spatial mismatch" between the locations in which most violent acts against women usually occur and the settings most feared by women. While most violent crimes against women are perpetrated by familiar and familial persons at home or in other private settings—not by strangers in public spaces—parental admonitions, highly publicized media stories, crime prevention classes at schools and warnings by the police all tend to emphasize the threat that women face in the public realm.

A third fallacy equalizes all women under a broad and uniform category, ignoring important distinctions related to age, race, class, cultural and educational background, sexual orientation and disability

status. Fear is not essentially a female quality, just as boldness is not essentially a male quality. Fear in women is, rather, socially constructed.

Fear has significant consequences for women and leads them to use precautionary measures and strategies. These range from adopting certain behavioral mechanisms when in public to choosing specific routes, travel patterns and public places over others to completely avoiding places and activities deemed unsafe. In some instances, women stay behind locked doors or barred windows, or in gated communities. From childhood, women are inundated by parental and societal warnings regarding their behavior and appearance in public. How and where they walk, to whom they talk and what they wear in public are determined by well-learned rules of "keeping safe." Women's presence in public spaces often involves an element of vigilance, a constant awareness of others also using the same space.

An emerging literature on women's health finds that safety concerns prevent many women from recreational walking and outdoor physical activity. When income, vehicle ownership and time constraints are controlled for, women are expected to walk less than men because of fear for their safety. For minority women in particular, fear of crime is a very important barrier to walking and exercising.

Feared Spaces

Women's fear of public spaces often appears to be firmly situated in particular built environments. Men and women produce mental maps of feared environments based on their prior experiences, as well as on the reputation that the urban fabric acquires from media stories and accounts of others. Two types of spaces are particularly frightening to women: enclosed spaces with limited exit opportunities, such as parking structures, underground passages and subway stations; and deserted open spaces, such as empty public parks, recreational areas and desolate transit stops. The former type provides opportunities for criminals to trap and attack women, while the latter type allows potential offenders to conceal themselves and act outside the visual range of others.

Factors that induce fear of public environments include darkness, desolation, limited opportunities for occupants of surrounding establishments to provide surveillance, lack of maintenance and poor environmental quality. Women report being fearful in public transportation settings, such as waiting at empty bus stops and railway stations or sitting alone in empty buses and train cars. While women perceive private automobiles as the safest means of transportation, having to park them in desolate parking structures leads to considerable stress.

Women in Parks and at Bus Stops: Evidence from Los Angeles

Fear of victimization and feelings of vulnerability have been considered partly responsible for an underrepresentation of women in public spaces. This pattern emerged clearly in a study that examined the uses and users of parks in four socially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods of Los Angeles. In this study, I used observation and survey research of users in the four parks to identify types of use, likes and dislikes and level of perceived security. A systematic random sample of eighty park users was surveyed in each neighborhood's largest park of during peak use time.

Women were a minority in all four parks, even though it was mostly women who accompanied young children to the playground. There was a significant difference between men and women regarding feelings of safety. Ninety-three percent of men felt safe during daytime, while only 75 percent of women claimed the same, with African-American and Latino women being the most fearful. Over three-quarters of the women stated that they would never visit the park after dark unless their visit was for an organized event, such as a concert.

An additional indication of women's level of discomfort in parks was reflected in the fact that they would rarely visit the park alone. While one-quarter of male respondents indicated that they came to the park alone, a very small percentage of women (7 percent) did so; those that did were mostly found in the parks of the two higher-income neighborhoods and were primarily involved in jogging or walking their dogs. Indeed, it was a rarity to see a solitary female simply "hanging out," relaxing and enjoying the environment of the park. As one woman explained, "If you come to the park alone you may be perceived as asking for trouble." Most women felt that they needed a specific reason to be in the park.

Women waiting at Los Angeles bus stops have a specific reason to do so. Most are captive riders, dependent on public transit for travel. The problem of crime on buses and at bus stops is particularly troubling for inner city residents. To better understand their needs and fears, I surveyed a random sample of 95 female and 107 male bus riders who I found waiting at ten high-crime bus stops. While safety concerns were prominent among these bus riders, feelings of vulnerability and lack of safety were more pronounced among women. Fifty-nine percent of the women felt unsafe waiting for the bus, compared to 41 percent of men. Almost one-third of respondents claimed to have been victims of a crime when on the bus or at a bus stop during the last five years. Over one-half of these crimes involved robbery. Individuals already victimized were more fearful than those who had not been exposed to crime. ⇨

Different types of crime were more “visible” to women than men. Drunkenness, obscene language, verbal threats and groping were of particular concern for women riders. Some women complained that they were particularly leery of individuals standing behind them at the bus stop—strangers gulping from bottles in brown bags or homeless people mumbling obscenities. Many women claimed that they were often overcome by eerie feelings while waiting alone for the bus, surrounded by vacant buildings or fenced lots with no human beings in sight. Many of the problems concerning women at bus stops and on buses represent crimes of “public offense” and go largely underreported. Most women stated that they do not report such offenses because they do not believe that the police “will do anything about them.” Underreporting transit crime is aggravated by the fact that some transit riders in the Los Angeles bus system are recent immigrants who are fearful of the police because of their undocumented residency status.

Responses to Women’s Fear

How can we respond to women’s fear of crime? Some feminists argue that little real gains can be made regarding women’s safety unless men’s behavior is challenged. While this argument contains a high degree of truth and is definitely worth advocating for, it also requires structural changes of the educational, legal and penal systems, and even changes in social attitudes. Complementary measures of lesser scope but easier to implement and enforce include a series of design and planning strategies that seek to “design out crime” and lessen women’s fear.

Studies have shown that certain features of the immediate environment may affect the likelihood of crime. For example, it is easier for criminals to commit crimes near major streets. The greater the number of escape routes in the vicinity of a site, the easier it is for a criminal to escape. The surrounding land uses can also affect crime, with certain land uses (e.g., liquor stores, taverns, pawn shops, pool halls, vacant lots and abandoned buildings) considered to be “crime generators.” My own studies have shown that certain characteristics of urban form and bus stops influence transit crime. The clear message yielded by these and other empirical studies is that urban form and the layout and appearance of public spaces influence perceived and actual safety.

While crime prevention is situational and should be tailored to the social and spatial specificities of each setting, certain planning and design strategies hold particular promise for blocking crime and reducing fear of crime in public spaces. One strategy is to fix “broken windows” by ensuring good maintenance and cleanliness of the public environment and streetscape. Another strategy, to increase natural sur-

veillance of public spaces by neighboring establishments, would involve orienting buildings with windows and storefronts facing the street, placing bus stops in front of open-front establishments, replacing pedestrian underground passages with ground-level crossings and eliminating empty alleys. Research has also shown that good lighting of streets, parks, bus shelters and stations can reduce assaults and perceptions of fear. Similarly, the elimination or distancing of “bad neighbors,” such as liquor stores, seedy motels, bars, check-cashing establishments, pawnshops and adult bookstores and movie theaters, from the vicinity of parks and bus stops can ease women’s fears and concerns. The creation of safe “hang out” places, such as senior citizen centers within larger public settings, can also help a user group feel safe by giving members a sense of territoriality and group ownership. At the same time, the needs, views and concerns of women should be incorporated into the planning and design of public settings and services. This can only happen if cities and public agencies include women’s groups in their strategic planning processes.

Further research on the patterns of victimization and perceived fear, as well as ways of response, is also needed. Research priorities should include: 1) tackling the underreporting of crime against women through the development of research methodologies that give better estimates of crime incidence; 2) understanding the different types of fear and victimization concerns faced by different groups of women; 3) developing safety guidelines for different types of public settings at the pre-planning stage; and 4) developing post-occupancy evaluation protocols and safety audits for different types of public settings.

In conclusion, fear affects women’s propensity to engage in activities in public environments. At the extreme, angst over personal vulnerability may result in agoraphobia, a fortress ideology, the suppression of social engagement and the complete avoidance of activities in public spaces. At a minimum, however, fear can produce stress, intimidation and a general reluctance to patronize public spaces. Research on women’s needs coupled with design and policy interventions that aim to enhance the safety of streets, parks, bus stops and other public spaces are the necessary first steps for reducing women’s fears of crime and victimization.

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Femicide in Ciudad Juárez: What Can Planners Do?

By María Teresa Vázquez-Castillo

Femicide is a word whose definition women in Ciudad Juárez can explain very well. They learned and appropriated the word in the process of trying to make sense of the more than 400 murders of women that have taken place in this Mexican border city since 1993. In the last thirteen years, mothers, friends, activists, students, academics and other sectors inside and outside Ciudad Juárez have organized what is now an international movement of women. Their main concerns have been to find the murderers and to claim justice, to find *who* is committing these heinous crimes against women. This article, however, urges progressive planners to focus on *what* needs to be done to stop the femicide in Ciudad Juárez. In this fast-growing region characterized by uneven urbanization processes, the *maquiladora* industry, the narco-economy and corrupt police, women's lives are endangered as they move through unsafe public space that lacks protective urban infrastructure.

Many different hypotheses have emerged about the femicide. Public officials have been appointed to "investigate" the cases, only to then be removed. None of these public officials was awarded decision-making power to act or prosecute. Researchers and journalists have even denounced and publicized the names of the culprits supposedly involved in the femicide, but the Mexican government has neither taken any legal action nor initiated a serious investigation. After thirteen years the gender violence continues, and it is now spreading to other urban areas, such as Chihuahua City.

Meanwhile, some people are in jail, accused of being the murderers even though they claim they are innocent. The mothers of the victims have denounced that some of those in jail are scapegoats, there to placate the public's outrage. Yet even with these people behind bars, the murders have continued. Two lawyers of the jailed have been killed and the lives of two journalists who have written books about the femicide in Juárez—*Huesos en el Desierto* (*Bones in the Desert*) and *Harvest of Women*—have been threatened, too. One of

them was even kidnapped, severely beaten and hospitalized for several months.

In order to understand this femicide, it must be put in the context—of the characteristics of the city, the urbanization that has taken place here, the profile of the women who've been murdered, and the responses that have emerged both to protest the femicide and to claim justice.

Ciudad Juárez

Ciudad Juárez is a border city of approximately 1.3 million inhabitants located across from El Paso, Texas. About 60 percent of the population is immigrants who are unable to cross the border into the United States and therefore stay in



Photo courtesy of María Teresa Vázquez-Castillo

Ciudad Juárez. The city has become one of the fastest growing in Mexico, not only because of the immigration, but also because of the investment made here. In the 1960s the Border Industrialization Program started promoting assembly plants, or *maquiladoras*. In 1992, with the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), favorable conditions for foreign capital permitted the siting of further *maquiladoras*. According to the *Instituto de Estadística, Geografía e Informática* (INEGI), by 2000, about 308 *maquiladoras* employing 250,000 workers existed in Ciudad Juárez. ⇨

Many of those employed are single young women migrating from other states. Sexist men in border states who resent the increasing presence of working females in public spaces call these women *maquilocas*, meaning flirtatious women who work in *maquiladoras*

Race and Class of the Femicide

It is not difficult to infer the class and racial implications of the atrocious murders of the more than 400 women who have been reported kidnapped, raped, tortured, mutilated and killed. The murderers

important to understand the urbanization of Ciudad Juárez and the roles of the *maquiladora* industry and the criminal economy. First, as new waves of immigrants, attracted by the possibility of crossing the border and by the jobs available in the maquiladora industry, have arrived in Ciudad Juárez, the pressures on housing and urban services have increased. As has been the case in other Mexican and Latin American cities, the new arrivals tended to relocate to the edge of city, where land was cheaper but infrastructure and urban services were lacking. The layout of Ciudad Juárez is sprawling, and many of the women kidnapped and murdered either lived in the “new” settlements on the edges of the city or their bodies were found in these newly urbanized areas.

The murderers have attacked women who are most vulnerable in the urban space of Ciudad Juárez—those who use public transportation, who do not have a car and who, in many cases, walk long distances in order to take a bus or a collective taxi. Thus, the rapid urbanization process prompted by the relocation of global capital to the border area has created an unsafe city that lacks urban infrastructure, some of the most important of which are affordable housing, appropriate transportation and public lighting.

Impunity in the city is rampant in this border area that is now known as one of the most dangerous cities for women. The criminal narco-economy has free rein and has taken the lives of both men and women in the region. Some of the names denounced as possible culprits have been identified as men belonging to the high society of Ciudad Juárez and to the business and economic elites in the region. In addition, some local journalists affirm that those potential murderers might be linked to the criminal economy in the area.

A Planning Point of View

From a gendered planning perspective, the built environment of this city contributes to the violation of human rights. You might ask: How can a city reproduce human rights violations of young low-income women? I recently saw the answer in one of the latest European documentaries about the murders in Ciudad Juárez. In this film, the filmmaker follows the routine of a young woman from the time she leaves home to the time she comes back home from work. The woman leaves home late at night to go to her job in the *maquiladora*. *Maquiladoras* have different shifts and her shift starts at midnight.

have been killing only young working-class women of a certain profile: short and thin with long, dark hair and brown skin. The victims have been between fifteen to thirty-nine years old, and many were originally from other Mexican states.

While the murderers enjoy impunity, public officials and the local police have accused the victims of being prostitutes, of leading double lives and of being the provokers of the assaults. The records, however, show that many of the victims were *maquiladora* workers, while others were students, housewives or workers in another economic sector.

Roles of the Urbanization, Maquiladoras, and the Narco-Economy

Many explanations for the femicide have been advanced. From a planning perspective, it is



Photo courtesy of Maria Teresa Vázquez-Castillo

In order to catch the bus, she needs to walk in the dark, with no sidewalks or streetlights to guide her way. She carries a flashlight to see where she is walking. Like many other people who go to Ciudad Juárez either looking for a job in the *maquiladoras* or trying to cross the border, this young woman lives in the informal settlements of Ciudad Juárez, many of which lack access to urban services. This lack of urban services has a gender component, that of not providing safety to women in Ciudad Juárez.

The work of the mothers, relatives, activists, academics, students and other men and women in the region and around the world has created a growing global movement of women protesting the femicide in Juárez. At the local level, the light posts in Ciudad Juárez, painted in pink with a black cross in the middle, serve as memorials for the murdered women. In some cases, those post have the legend: *¡Ni Una Más!* Not one more!

Big crosses have been planted around the city as if the city itself had become a huge cemetery as well as a huge memorial site for the murdered women. In addition to crosses, the residents of Juárez witness the visits of women from around the globe who travel to take back the streets and participate in international demonstrations in Ciudad Juárez. In 2004, the US portion of a demonstration gathered in El Paso, Texas, the twin city of Ciudad Juárez, and marched, crossing the border to meet the women in Ciudad Juárez.

Different local and bi-national organizations have emerged to respond to the femicide. Some have survived the threats, intimidation and lack of resources for many years, while others have not. These organizations include: Justicia para Nuestras Hijas (Justice for Our Daughters); Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa (Our Daughter Come Back Home); Comité Independiente de Derechos Humanos de Chihuahua (Independent Committee for Human Rights in Chihuahua); Casa Amiga (Friendly House); Amigos de las Mujeres de Juárez (Friends of the Women of Juárez); El Paso Coalition Against Violence on Women and Children at the Border; and other human rights organizations and NGOs.

These groups have organized conferences and meetings and presented two films about the femicide: *Señorita Extraviada* or *Missing Young Woman* (Lourdes Portillo) and *La Batalla de las Cruces* (Patricia Ravelo). The Mexico Solidarity Network organizes groups in the United States to periodically visit the moth-

ers of the victims and learn about Juárez so as to serve as constant witness to the violence.

What Remains to Be Done?

The question always remains for progressive planners and planning academics as to what needs to be done by different social actors in the city and in the world to stop this femicide and to make both private and public spaces safer for the women of Juárez. The response



Photo courtesy of María Teresa Vázquez-Castillo

needs to be informed by the twelfth demand of the Resolutions of the International Conference on the Killings of Women of Juárez hosted by the Chicano Studies Department at UCLA on November 1, 2003. The mothers and activists who attended the conference wrote these resolutions, the twelfth demand of which reads:

12. We demand that the government of Ciudad Juárez, its planning entities and major employers in the region work jointly to provide the necessary infrastructure that will make Ciudad Juárez a safer place for everybody, in which women can have the freedom of movement, as any other human being, without fearing for their lives and their safety.

After the failure of the political and legal entities to bring justice to the murders of the ⇨

women of Juárez, women participating in this transnational and international women's movement have started pointing out some solutions, very basic in appearance: adequate street lighting, transportation provided for the *maquiladora* workers and affordable housing close to jobs. These solutions target the provision of safer urban infrastructure. This war

levels so that violence in Ciudad Juárez stops. This is a call for Planners Network to establish a relation with the groups supporting the movement of the Women of Juárez in order to cooperate in the organization a bilateral/international meeting to work out a grassroots plan for Ciudad Juárez. This plan should effectively be carried out by grassroots organizations and the civil society in Juárez. A plan whose central elements be to provide responses from the grassroots, to make of Juárez a safer city, to stop the femicide, to stop the terror.

Conclusion

Roads, housing and other urban services are not in place to support the labor force that has emerged as a result of the infusion of global capital in the form of the *maquiladoras*. Therefore, men and women working in the *maquiladoras* look for shelter in areas that were previously undeveloped, but these areas lack services. Globalization, which has manifested itself in the movement of firms to other countries, has prompted an unplanned urbanization in Mexico for which the planning offices have not made the *maquiladoras* accountable. I am not saying that we need to take away our eyes from the murderers, but I am saying that, in addition to finding *who* is responsible, we need to think about *what* can be done to create an infrastructure that makes Ciudad Juárez a safer city for all women and men. Although new infrastructure, an improved urban form and community development will not stop the femicide, these are powerful tools for creating safer urban spaces. In addition, women and men in Ciudad Juárez deserve a democratic, grassroots planning process led by their voices and their demands.

against women is affecting all residents of the city as the impact of the tragedy has resulted in the disintegration of families, the departure of families from Juárez and, in some cases, the suicide of men close to the victims.

The call then is for progressive planners to get involved and support the work of the women of Juárez. Through a participatory approach, and in conjunction with the different activists and community organizations in and outside Juárez, progressive planners could collaborate by sharing community planning and neighborhood organizing tools that people in Juárez could use to increase safety in the city as well as to work a their own city planning from the grassroots; a plan that includes responses to be implemented from the individual to the group

For socially responsible planners, to ignore the femicide in Ciudad Juárez is to ignore justice in cities, especially now that the femicide has spread to other countries like Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. These countries have also opened their doors to the *maquiladoras*, and the women murdered have been mostly indigenous women.

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Photo courtesy of María Teresa Vázquez-Castillo



Femicide and Economic Development in Juárez Mexico: Part of a New Gender Agenda in Planning

By Elizabeth L. Sweet

Gender Violence as a Planning Issue?

Urban violence remains fairly unexplored in the context of urban planning literature and coursework for new planners. The gendered implications of urban violence are even more uncharted for urban planners. While in other disciplines there is significant literature addressing gender and violence, in mainstream planning outlets, such as the *Journal of the American Planning Association* and the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, there have been very few articles that address safety and violence, and none that address gendered violence. *Environment and Urbanization* only had its first issue dedicated to violence in 2004. In that issue, Caroline Moser laid out a road map for “conceptualizing urban violence,” but nowhere in the article is the word femicide mentioned. Planners need to move beyond blaming the victims of gender violence.

What is gender violence? What is violence against women (VAW)? Are they the same or different? What is femicide? When does something become gender violence and not an individual crime without gender meaning? Is it also a class and/or race issue? Are there individual perpetrators, groups or societal and cultural norms that permit, encourage and execute it? What are the causes of gender violence and VAW? While there are many agreements, treaties and organizations that offer different definitions, there are others that suggest that the act of defining gender violence would be unconstructive as it is dynamic, constantly evolving and changing. Any definition, therefore, would inevitably be insufficient to capture a complete meaning. For this paper, the definition of femicide I use is the killing of women, somehow related to the fact that they are women. This phenomenon is growing and has been documented in Mexico, Guatemala and Canada. In most cases poor and indigenous women are the targets.

I argue that neoliberal, or neoconservative, economic development planning and implementation have contributed greatly to the conditions under which femicide can take place. The femicide in Juárez, Mexico, illustrates this issue.

Detailing the Femicide

As the article in this issue by María Teresa Vázquez-Castillo outlines, Juárez is a city in the state of Chihuahua, on the border with El Paso Texas, which has hundreds of *maquiladoras*, or assembly plants. Currently about 50 percent of the *maquiladora* workers are women, and the average salary is four dollars a day.

Almost 400 women’s and girls’ bodies have been found since 1993. At least 500 women have been reported missing, but the figure could be as high as 5,000. Many of the victims were raped, tortured and mutilated. Breasts and nipples have been cut off, some have been branded like cows and many have been sodomized. About one third of the victims have been *maquiladora* workers.

As Vázquez-Castillo also recounts, the murders have not been solved. There have been several high-profile arrests and convictions, but the murders continue and there is a lot of evidence to suggest that the convictions were based on false confessions gotten by police torturing arrestees. The police operate with impunity. They have harassed families looking for information, burned piles of evidence, not responded to calls for help and, in some cases, are suspected of themselves being the perpetrators. State and local government officials blame the victims, accusing them of leading double lives as workers, students or mothers and prostitutes, thereby provoking or somehow deserving their fate. Federal officials, under international pressure to solve and stop the femicide, have sent several special prosecutors to the region, but so far they have been unsuccessful and much of their time has been spent investigating the victims to see if they really were prostitutes or came from “bad” families.

The case of Lilia Alejandra Garcia Andrade is shocking, at best. She was being raped. Some people living in a house nearby heard screaming and could see a woman’s legs hanging from the window of a parked car. They called the police. An hour went by and the screams continued but no police came. The police were called again and still no one came. A few hours later a police car drove by, but by then the rapists and their victim ⇨

were gone. The next day the brutalized and strangled body of Lilia Alejandra Garcia Andrade was found in an empty lot near where she had been heard screaming, not far from her job at a *maquiladora* and a Wal-Mart. A pink cross now marks where her body was found.

Several groups of mostly women started to organize after their pleas for assistance, made individually, were not heard. Their unified cries for help have now been heard worldwide. There have been several protests internationally to denounce the femicide, but even this show of support has in some instances re-victimized the families of the victims. For example, at the annu-

Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Sweet



al V-Day march (organized by author Eve Ensler to protest domestic violence) on Feb 14, 2004, hundreds of women and men from different parts of the world marched from El Paso to Juárez with signs and epitaphs denouncing the femicide and chanting *Ni Una Mas*—Not One More. In Juárez, Sally Fields and Jane Fonda gave speeches. There was food and drink in a carnival-like atmosphere. During the organizing phase, prior to the march, several of the mothers of the victims requested that the march be silent, as a sign of respect for the victims, and that a Catholic mass be part of the planned activities. These requests were denied. Some of us at the march diverted to attend a mass for Lilia Alejandra Garcia Andrade and the other victims.

How Others Are Framing the Femicide

Much of the popular literature in newspapers and magazines makes some connection between the murders, the *maquiladoras* and the North American Free Trade Agreement (based on neo-conservative economic ideology), which was implemented at about the same time the bodies started to appear. But there has yet to be a thor-

ough analysis of the various aspects of economic planning policies and their complicity in the continuing femicide. There are some recent academic articles that suggest there might be a relationship between neoconservatism and the femicide, and that the low value placed on women workers by the global economy has made their murder acceptable. None of these articles, however, suggests any causal relationship.

Many relate *maquiladora* workers with prostitutes. As mentioned earlier, government and police officials often claim the victims were prostitutes, leading double lives. There are many quotes in newspapers and taped interviews used in the film *Señorita Extraviada* directly establishing this link and suggesting it justifies the violence. This regional misogynistic attitude is also evident in a Chihuahua state law proposed in 2001 that would have made the term of imprisonment for rape reduced from four years to one year if there was proof that the woman provoked her attack. After pressure from the federal government, the proposal was retracted.

But there are some who make a different prostitute analogy and suggest that it reflects the perspective of some local people. The women (not the men) *maquiladora* workers are seen as symbolically selling themselves or their labor power (like prostitutes) to the historic enemy—the United States. Mexican discourse and the use of the term *Aztlan* argue that the US stole half of Mexico's territory during the Mexican-American war in the 1840s. The imagery of women workers selling their bodies to the enemy also correlates to the legend of the Malinche, the diabolical other of the Virgin Guadalupe, patron saint of Mexico. Malinche was the Aztec woman marked as having sold the Aztecs to Cortez through her role as his translator and lover. Women *maquiladora* workers, like Malinche, are capitulating to the powers that be and the demands of the new economy, being good capitalists and responding to the market.

Their response to the market also has implication for their citizenship. Several articles have suggested that the loss of citizenship, as a result of the gray area created by the start of one sovereign state and the end of another in the context of globalization, has produced an environment in which the femicide is taking place.

Finally, several articles have focused on finding and highlighting active responses within the context of the Juárez femicide. But while some articles champion the cause of Esther Chavez and Casa Amiga, a woman's shelter and crisis center started by Chavez, as an "active" response to the

femicide, the work of many families of victims is not highlighted. This focus on an individual rather than the community misses important actors.

Detailing the Economic Policies in Concert with Femicide

It has been suggested that the use of the word femicide has allowed local activists and NGOs to reframe the murders and disappearances as a human right/women's right issue, not simple murders, which means that the Mexican government can be held responsible. But is it only the Mexican government that has responsibility for the safety of women, if the principle factor affecting safety is the very economic structure that multinational corporations are benefiting from? Are global economic policies perpetuating an environment that allows systematic and gender violence to occur? Has the combination of a capitalistic/patriarchal system lead to the unequal and unfair distribution of work, both productive and reproductive? Has a changing economic development strategy that abandoned the once cost-effective hiring of women at low wages in favor of high-tech, highly-skilled laborers affected women's safety? Has the even lower cost of workers in China lead companies to close shop in Juárez, leaving many women in Juárez without jobs or economic value?

Response by Planners

In response to the very negative image and publicity Juárez had received in the context of the femicide and the resulting (non)actions by public and private organizations, in 2004 a group of business leaders, local government officials and planners decided to develop several documents that constitute the strategic plan for Juárez and make a literal connection between the femicide and planning. The plan states that

"to confront these problems (violence and insecurity), many of which are not municipal but state and federal issues, Juárez should push an image campaign centered on the positive values and opportunities that the city has to offer. In this sense, the press should act with more responsibility in the transmission of the kind of information that would create more hope for the future of the people and demonstrate the possibilities for a better city and the advances that have already been made; the responsibility for the safety of women is federal and state, not local and not economic."

The negative image is placed squarely in the hands of the journalist, not the perpetrators of the femicide. Additionally, the economy is

cleared of any responsibility, however, it is later stated that a "...polarized economy and society negatively influences the development of human values and results in an augmented level of delinquency and violence in diverse forms." Here there is a partial recognition of the role played by economic development planning and violence, but it turns into an argument that women's neglect of the family has led to delinquents that carry out the femicide. "The necessities of the economy force women, the head of the family, to accept in many cases jobs that because of their characteristics (hours or distance to work, etc.) place family responsibility in second place." Basically, the plan calls for housing construction, infrastructure development, traffic calming, education, private-public cooperation, more security (human values development), a new production model, and the development of a sustainable transnational region. Nowhere is femicide, gender violence or violence against women actually mentioned or addressed directly in the plan, even though its existence was the impetus for the plan.

In order for planners to address issues of gender violence, we have to recognize the culpability of our economic planning models and their implementation processes as providing the context in which violence can take place. We need to start understanding gender violence better, developing research agendas about gender violence, adding it to PAB accreditation criteria, devoting journal issues to it and incorporating it in courses in sub-areas such as transportation, land use and economic and community development.

The implications for public policy are vast. We can develop responses that might include requiring security and gender violence impact statements, and legislation that addresses corporate responsibility for safe work/urban environments. Finally, we need to recognize and respect the local circumstances in which economic development takes place.

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Violence Against Transgendered People

By Petra L. Doan

The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) tracks violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered people (LGBT) in eleven large metropolitan regions that include approximately 27 percent of the US population. NCAVP has highlighted repeatedly what it calls an “epidemic of hatred” in the acts of violence against the LGBT community. This brief article examines the nature and prevalence of violence against the transgendered community so that progressive planners can gain some understanding of the risks that this urban population faces on a daily basis. Overall, planners need to make public spaces safer for all people, including the LGBT population.

The stigma of displaying a gender orientation at variance with one’s birth sex is still quite high

In this article, the term transgender is used as an umbrella term to include a range of ways of expressing gender at odds with societal expectations, including: transsexuals, transvestites, cross-dressers, drag queens, drag kings, androgynes and tranny bois. While other essays in this issue focus exclusively on violence and women, in this article the focus is more broadly on transgendered women *and* men, because no matter how a trans person identifies, he or she has had some experience of at least being perceived as a girl or woman. Trans men are born with female bodies and were socialized as girls, but now identify in whole or in part as men. Similarly, trans women are born with male bodies and were socialized as boys, but now identify as women.

In Western patriarchal culture, there is a deeply held expectation that gender is dichotomous and fixed at birth. It took the women’s movement years of organizing and protest marches to slowly erode the gendered restrictions on their behavior and to demand the right to vote, as well as the right to pursue work outside the home. But these freedoms were achieved at considerable cost to the individuals who dared to defy long-established gender roles. Feminist scholars have sug-

gested that violence against women was, and continues to be, used as a tool of the patriarchy to discipline unruly women. One consequence of this tactic is the gender paradox revealed by numerous studies of women and violence. Although statistically men are more likely to be victims of violent crime, women exhibit much higher levels of fear of crime. For many years, women who were out in public by themselves or with other women, especially during evening hours, were “asking” for trouble and frequently got it in the form of harassment, intimidation and sometimes outright violence.

While there is increasing acceptance of women whose actions stretch the boundaries of traditional sex roles (working outside the home, wearing man-tailored clothes, playing sports), there continues to be little acceptance of those whose behavior fundamentally challenges socially accepted gender categories. People who transgress this rigid dichotomy are uniquely vulnerable. Darryl Hill, in a 2003 essay in Barbara Wallace and Robert Carter’s *Understanding and Dealing with Violence: A Multicultural Approach*, identifies three sources of anti-trans violence.

First, violence against transgendered people may be a means to validate the attacker’s own values that transgressing gender is wrong (genderism). Second, violence may be a means for an attacker to gain the approval of his/her peers. And third, anti-trans violence may serve as a means of denying the attacker’s anxiety about his or her own latent sexual or gender identity (transphobia). This anti-trans violence acts to reinforce a dichotomous social order and to control the public display of alternate genders. These attacks have had a powerful silencing effect on transgendered individuals, rendering them invisible for the most part to wider society. Only in the last half of the twentieth century has this population begun to emerge from the shadows of Western culture, following the success of the women’s movement and gay and lesbian liberation efforts. The social stigma, however, of displaying a gender orientation at variance with one’s birth sex is still quite high, imposing enormous costs on visibly transgendered people.

According to 2004 statistics collected by NCAVP,

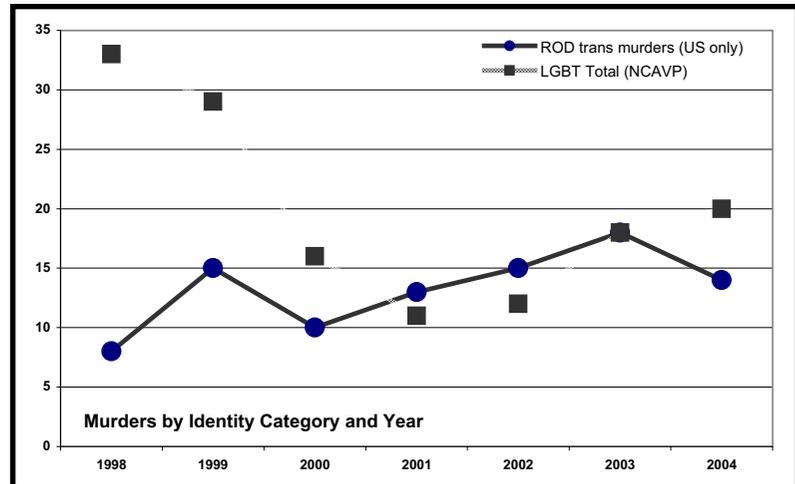
there were 2,131 victims of hate-related violence across the eleven metropolitan areas. These hate crimes included twenty murders, 112 rapes or sexual assaults, 172 acts of vandalism, 407 instances of discrimination, 618 assaults, 889 intimidations and 1,035 incidents of verbal harassment. Murder is the tip of the iceberg of anti-LGBT violence.

One aspect of these data of interest to planners is the reported location of hate crimes: 28 percent occurred in a private home, 18 percent in a street or other public area, 8 percent in the workplace, 5 percent in a school or university, 4 percent in and around LGBT bars, 4 percent in some form of public accommodation and 2 percent on public transportation. These data suggest that while private residences are the site of the single largest number of hate crimes, other public spaces collectively account for 41 percent of incidents.

Unfortunately, while the NCAVP counts the number of transgendered victims, it does not provide breakdowns of types of crimes by victim identities. Therefore, it is difficult to assess the relative severity of the violence against trans people. We do know, however, that 35 percent of all victims were women (of which 10 percent were male-to-female transgendered individuals) and approximately 1 percent were female-to-male transgendered individuals. Anecdotal reports from activists at GenderPAC (<http://www.gpac.org/>) who work on issues of gender and violence suggest that a key motivation for most gay bashing is not sexual orientation per se, but the assumption of a different sexual orientation based on the appearance of gender.

Individuals within the transgendered community, however, have been monitoring the most heinous crimes (murder) against members.

The Remembering our Dead website indicates that since 1970 there have been an estimated 251 known murders of transgendered individuals within the US. Some metropolitan areas have shown marked concentrations of these murders. Table 1 below shows the metro areas with five or more murders. When the number of incidents is compared to the populations, it is apparent that the cities in which a transgendered person is most likely to be murdered are in the south. Nashville, Atlanta and



Tampa-St. Petersburg are the top three cities based on the incidence of trans murders per 100,000 people.

Exact numbers of the transgendered population are difficult to estimate, but based on conservative incidence numbers from the American Psychological Association, we would expect 1 in 30,000 people to be a male-to-female transsexual and 1 in 100,000 people to be a female-to-male transsexual. These numbers have been criticized for only representing those individuals who are known to therapists, so we could double the percentages to 1 in 15,000 and 1 in 50,000 respectively, to capture

	Trans Murders Since 1970	2000 MSA Population	Estimated Trans Population	Incidence per 100,000 population	Rank of Incidence
Nashville	5	1,311,789	113	0.3812	1
Atlanta	11	4,247,981	365	0.2589	2
Tampa- St. Petersburg	6	2,395,997	206	0.2504	3
San Diego	7	2,813,833	242	0.2488	4
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose	14	5,859,559	504	0.2389	5
Washington DC	11	4,796,183	412	0.2293	6
Philadelphia	13	5,687,147	489	0.2286	7
Boston	9	4,391,344	378	0.2049	8
New York	35	18,323,002	1,756	0.191	9
Houston	8	4,715,407	406	0.1697	10
Miami-Ft. Lauderdale	6	5,007,564	431	0.1198	11
Chicago	7	9,098,316	782	0.0769	12
Los Angeles- Santa Ana	5	12,365,627	1063	0.0404	13

Source: Remembering our Dead website, <http://www.gender.org/remember/day/>



some of the non-operative and pre-operative transsexuals. Using these numbers we can then estimate that in a city like New York, we would expect there to be 1,756 trans individuals.

When these statistics from the Remembering our Dead website are compared to the total number of LGBT murders collected by the NCAVP, there are some interesting trends. First, while anti-LGBT murders appear to be declining in the period from 1998 to 2004 (though in the last three years since 2001 there has been a gradual increase), the number of transgender murders is increasing at a fairly steady rate. In some years the total number of trans murders (across the country) is greater than the number of LGBT

A fundamental reconception of gender may be the key to challenging the oppression of the existing power structure

murders as reported by the NCAVP in just the eleven metro areas. This is partly because the Remembering our Dead website reports murders from around the country, but the total number of trans people is so much smaller than the total number of gay and lesbian people that this murder rate should be a source of great concern to policymakers.

Where Do We Go from Here? Lessons from Other Cultures

Rigid adherence to a narrow view of gender has resulted in a silencing of transgendered voices within feminist and progressive communities. In spite of the violence perpetrated upon them, some trans activists have called for a repudiation of our societal fixation on dichotomous gender. A fundamental reconception of gender, limited only by the breadth of our imagination, may be the key to challenging the oppression of the existing power structures. The difficulty, however, is how to even conceptualize a world in which gender is not dichotomous. One possible solution is to examine the role of gender in other non-Western cultures.

In *Gender Diversity: Crosscultural Variations* (1999), Serena Nanda suggests that transgendered individuals have existed in nearly every culture and nearly every time period. In those cultures and/or time periods that have been more accepting, transgendered people have

been more visible and may even have been valued. For instance, in India, the *hijra* are genetic males who live as women and are esteemed for their ritual dances at births and weddings. In the Philippines, the *babylon* were recognized and played a role in sacred ritual during the pre-colonial era. In Oman, the *xanith* were recognized as a third gender, and *mahus* and *kathoey* were similarly accepted cross-gender categories in Tahiti and Thailand.

As Walter Williams explains in *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (1986), in Native American culture, transgendered people were often identified during the vision quest when young people of one gender received tools and symbols of the other. Their elders recognized that these young people had been blessed with a special gift from the Great Spirit and were honored for their ability to see both sides of the gender divide. Each tribe had a different name for such people; for example, the Navaho called them *nadle*, the Zuni used the word *ihamara*, Lakota Sioux used *winkte* and the Crow called them *bade*. Unfortunately, the name that is commonly used by non-Native Americans to refer to two-spirit people is *berdache*, a name given by French missionaries derived from an Arabic word for prostitute. It is informative that Western observers would use words from one exotic (oriental) culture to stigmatize behavior in another non-Western society, even though such behaviors were not only accepted, but often revered within that society. This labeling and false categorization speaks volumes about the prejudice inherent in Western culture for behavior that transcends gender norms.

Planning implications for LGBT populations have begun to surface, but LGBT populations are sometimes viewed as just one more minority population making claims for special treatment. Broader linkages to urban safety issues need to be established. If public spaces, parks, streets and shopping areas do not feel safe to one segment of society, can that space be truly safe for other minority groups? Cities and urban spaces that have experienced incidents of gender bashing are likely to be experiencing a broader range of intolerant behaviors that are likely to affect a much broader population. Progressive citizens and urban activists of all types need to make extra efforts to understand this poorly understood segment of the population because ensuring their safety will make the city a safer place for all.

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Los Angeles Gardeners Organize for Jobs and the Environment

By Alvaro Huerta

Too often, government makes choices between jobs and the environment, threatening the jobs of working people of color in order to improve the environment for whites. But when the Los Angeles City Council passed a ban on gasoline-powered leaf blowers that threatened the jobs of Latino gardeners, the gardeners organized and stopped the ban's most punitive measures. During their battle against the ban, the gardeners adopted an alternative fuel source, methanol, which reduced environmental impacts and allowed them to legally use the time-saving machine.

On December 3, 1996, the Los Angeles City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting the use of leaf blowers in residential neighborhoods. According to the proponents of the ban, the leaf blower posed a public nuisance due to noise and air pollution. After a decade-long effort to ban leaf blowers in the city, the City Council acquiesced to the wishes of a Council member who represents mostly affluent Westsiders. There was only minimal consultation with the low-income Latino gardeners whose livelihoods were directly affected.

The ordinance to ban leaf blowers became the spark that sent thousands of gardeners into the street to protest. The proposed penalties for using a leaf blower in the original ordinance included a misdemeanor charge, up to six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine. Appalled by the excessive nature of these penalties, Latino gardeners and sympathetic community organizers initiated a grassroots campaign to defeat this unjust ordinance. Opponents of the ban conducted door-to-door visits with Latino gardeners and held small group meetings to educate the gardeners about this draconian ordinance.

Better Machines, Job Protection

In their efforts to challenge the ban, opponents formed the Association of Latin American Gardeners of Los Angeles (ALAGLA). ALAGLA organizers conducted educational outreach efforts and lobbied Council members, questioning why members targeted the mostly Latino gardeners instead of the manufacturers of the leaf blowers. Opponents argued that with the right incentives, the city could encourage manufacturers to produce better machines: "If they [American innovators] can send the Pathfinder to Mars, they can produce a [quieter, environmentally-friendly] leaf blower that does the job."

Throughout the campaign, ALAGLA staged massive protests and candlelight vigils, wrote op-ed pieces and purchased ads in *La Opinion*, a local newspaper. They conducted grassroots lobbying at the local and statewide levels, held press conferences, filed lawsuits and organized a dramatic seven-day hunger strike in January of 1998. Between 1996 and 2000, these events generated major news coverage locally, nationally and internationally.

Key Dates in L.A. Gardener Organizing

- **December 3, 1996:** Los Angeles City Council members vote 9-3 to ban gas-powered leaf blowers within 500 feet of a residential area, effective July 1, 1997.
- **July 1, 1997:** ALAGLA stages a massive demonstration at City Hall with its members wearing green ALAGLA baseball caps and t-shirts. During this protest, over 500 gardeners assembled on the front steps of City Hall to pressure lawmakers for a one-year moratorium on enforcement.
- **July 2, 1997:** Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan meets with ALAGLA representatives to reach a compromise on the ban.
- **November 4, 1997:** ALAGLA members march barefoot from the Department of Public Social Services in downtown Los Angeles to City Hall.
- **January 3, 1998:** ALAGLA initiates its most dramatic organizing event on the steps of City Hall when eleven members go on a fluid-only hunger strike. During the seven-day strike, thousands of gardeners throughout the city descend on City Hall to join the struggle.
- **February 13, 1998:** ALAGLA's protest at City Hall brings out an estimated 700 gardeners. ALAGLA members carry brooms to show that the ban will force them to use a primitive household tool. Members also use methanol as an alternative fuel source since the law only bans "gas-powered" blowers. Two members cited for using methanol-powered leaf blowers prevail in court.
- **August 5, 1998:** ALAGLA organizes a caravan to Sacramento, *Voz y Justicia* (Voice and Justice), to urge state legislators to support then-State Senator Richard Polanco's leaf blower bill (SB14), which, if approved, would preempt municipalities from banning leaf blowers.
- **March 21, 1999:** ALAGLA members hold their first annual *Dia del Jardinero* (Day of the Gardener), celebrating their accomplishments and the contributions of gardeners to keeping Los Angeles green, clean and aesthetically pleasing.

Leaf blowers have been in use since the mid-1960s, but became popular in the 1970s, especially as a result of water shortages in California. Gardeners complied with local government requirements to conserve water by switching over to leaf blowers, ⇨

so the attempt to ban leaf blowers seemed to contradict an established local policy.

Japanese-American gardeners had been against efforts to ban leaf blowers since 1985, but those who sought the ban were surprised when Latino immigrant gardeners organized against it. This was the first time that they had organized to defend their economic interests, launching one of the most energetic social justice struggles in recent memory. This fight polarized rich and poor, white and Latino, powerful and disenfranchised, citizen and immigrant.

ALAGLA leaders did not limit themselves to the specific problems with the ban, but also focused on the lack of democratic process whereby Latino gardeners did not have a voice in City Hall. Although the gardeners did not overturn the ordinance complete-

ly, they did manage to become an organizing force to be reckoned with and to gain something they didn't have prior to the campaign: a voice. ALAGLA succeeded in generating a level of pride and dignity among this disenfranchised workforce that did not exist prior to 1996. Latino immigrant gardeners, for example, are now being taken into consideration during major local political events, such as the recent mayoral race. Taking time from his busy schedule, Antonio Villaraigosa sought the help and endorsement of ALAGLA during his successful mayoral campaign in 2005.

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Hartman [Cont. from page 5]

they were not mandated for the overwhelmingly Black and poor New Orleans displacees says volumes about our values and priorities.

As Adam Nossiter wrote in the April 19, 2006 *New York Times*, while the volatile issue of which New Orleans neighborhoods would be rebuilt and possible planned shrinkage (echoes of NYC a few decades ago) was and is on everyone's mind, during the mayoral campaign "that question has become conspicuous by its absence... No candidates with a shot at winning will touch the central question, so deeply is it tied up with sensitive matters of race, class and the continuing trauma of thousands of New Orleanians still in exile." And so the election campaign turned into a symbol of a racial regime – those who want Blacks to retain political ascendancy vs. those who want to see the city rebuilt in a completely different way: demographically, geographically and politically, an opportunity for whites to take back power. Whether the pre-runoff campaign will produce open discussion of the front-burner topic of rebuilding plans remains to be seen. Related issues that were pretty much passed by in the campaign to date include (this list from the April 20 *Washington Post*): broken-down communications, vulnerable levees, widespread poverty, a history of corruption in city government, insurance woes, vanishing wetlands, shuttered schools, abandoned hospitals, a floundering economy based on tourism

In any case, the immediate future, it should be noted, bodes limited power for the new mayor, whoever it may be. The real force in rebuilding the city will be federal dollars, which will be doled out by the State of Louisiana, with the city's mayor playing a secondary role.

Beyond May 20

There are serious political implications beyond May 20 as well. In the upcoming regular

November elections, will these many and serious impediments to participation still exist? New Orleans, if repopulation predictions hold, may no longer have in effect its own Congressional seat. Will the city's eight-term Congressman, William J. Jefferson, currently implicated in bribery charges, be threatened as well by significant erosion of his electoral base? As a senior member of the Ways & Means Committee, he wields considerable power, and replacing him would weaken the city's clout in Washington. Both Governor Blanco (in 2003) and Senator Landrieu (in 2002) won by relatively small margins – margins that were largely, if not totally, due to the African-American vote; a reduced Black electorate in the state could significantly endanger their re-election. And there are potential implications beyond the city and state: For example, if, as is likely, many thousands of evacuees decide to remain in Houston, what will that do to the delicate Black-Brown balance of political power in that city?

Katrina and Rita had and continue to have an enormous impact in many areas, not the least of which is on the political front.

Comes May 21 and I have egg on my face, feel free to email brickbats (block that metaphor!) to chartman2@aol.com

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Art Space and Image Value: *Redevelopment at the Distillery District, Toronto*

By Vanessa Matthews

City planners increasingly draw on “creativity” as a competitive strategy to attract residents and businesses. To market their cities they propose particular spatial arrangements, including the revitalization of old industrial spaces and their transformation into cultural centers.

In 2003, Toronto saw the reopening of the Gooderham and Worts Distillery, which was renamed the Distillery Historic District. The Distillery was packaged as a site of consumption, with retail and cultural goods and services, as well as the history of the site, up for sale. The image of the site as a cultural entertainment quarter acts as a unifying banner for the purpose of capital accumulation.

Cityscape Holdings, a private real estate development company, acquired the site in 2001 for \$15 million. Recognizing its potential for redevelopment, the company converted the buildings into a maze of art galleries, studios, theater spaces, retail stores, boutiques, condominiums, restaurants and cafes. What makes this site unique relative to other areas of Toronto that were transformed by the arts decades ago, such as the now commercialized Yorkville and Queen Street West Districts, is the centralization of long-term planning under the direction of a single landlord. Will this model of centralized power ensure the permanence of artistic production at the site? The Distillery District raises several important questions regarding the use of the arts in branding space:

- How is the relationship between art and place negotiated? Is there a way to ensure long-term benefits to the arts sector?

- What is used as the basis for the reimagining and repackaging of urban space in creative strategies? Who holds the power? Is there a place for difference?

Beginnings

The Gooderham and Worts Distillery was established in 1831 when an English settler, James Worts, built a windmill at the eastern end of Toronto’s lakefront. The following year, Worts was joined by his brother-in-law and business partner, William Gooderham, and the transformation of the

site into a whiskey distillery began. Over several decades, forty-four Victorian industrial buildings were constructed spanning thirteen acres. Despite a change in ownership in the 1920s, when the site was taken over by the Hiram Walker Company, it retained its spirit-distilling function until 1990. Then, expensive equipment upgrades and increased global competition led to financial hardship, and eventually the site’s closure.

A decline in manufacturing in Toronto’s central core spurred questions about how to adaptively reuse or replace redundant industrial buildings. In 1990, the City of Toronto commissioned an urban planning and heritage assessment of the site. The report detailed an idea to convert parts of the built space into “an artists’ campus.” Space would be offered to artists as “help” rather than “property.” Control over the site would be strictly managed by limiting the length of residency. In other words, the campus would create a “rotating fund for artists.” Just over a decade after the report was issued, the vision of a campus community for artists continues as a central tenet of Cityscape’s planning process. Over this period, the City of Toronto also began to view favorably the regenerative possibilities of the arts, incorporating sector-specific policies into its official plan.

Will these policies, emerging from both the private and public sectors, be enough to break the cycle of artist displacement and provide long-term solutions and support to the arts?

Planning the “Creative City”

Despite city development agendas aimed at the arts, funding levels for this sector have declined since 1994. When investments have occurred, they typically have fallen on the side of mass exhibitions and grandiose displays, which artificially raise per capita spending on this sector and redirects funding away from improvements to facilities used by individual artists, small collectives and/or small arts organizations. When improvements to these types of facilities do occur, they are typically funded by the private sector. The increasing reliance on the private sector to transform urban space is bound to lead to dire consequences for the arts if left to proceed unregulated. ⇨

In 2000, the Toronto City Council commissioned a ten-year “Culture Plan.” The plan emphasized the need for Toronto to draw on its arts, culture and heritage base to establish an identity as a “creative city.” There were a number of recommendations to increase art space, such as creating opportunities for non-profit live/work and work spaces, changing zoning in public-private developments and implementing other measures like tax remissions, grants and rent forgiveness. But the plan for Toronto to become a creative city and provide affordable and appropriate spaces for the arts has been left, for the most part, to the private sector to finance.

In 2002, the Distillery was listed as a “special identity area” in the official plan. Following this recommendation, redevelopment at the Distillery was guided by municipal, provincial and federal governments, resulting in a public-private partnership between all three levels of government and Cityscape Holdings. Government provided a watchful eye over the site’s conversion. The courtyards, streets and linkages were framed around the vision of a pedestrian-oriented system to promote accessibility and an historical aesthetic, measures that were meant to emphasize the “unique character” of the Distillery.

The strategy of promoting uniqueness was extended to the revitalization of the interior spaces; tenants were encouraged to apply their own visions. Artscape, a non-profit organization with a mandate of finding downtown live/work spaces for the arts, is housed in two buildings on the site. The organization entered into a twenty-year below-market lease with Cityscape and offers studio and office space for dozens of individuals and groups. The twenty-year lease is intended to encourage “long-term” residency and to protect the arts community from the process of upgrading. By setting rents below market, Cityscape was able to attract desirable tenants.

Will the idea of an artist community be renewed for another term after the lease runs out, or will the space remain desirable for the arts community over the twenty-year period? If the lease is renewed by Cityscape, it will send a strong message to the arts community that artists and artistic productions are an important aspect of long-term cultural and economic rebuilding. It will allow Cityscape to differentiate the Distillery from areas where artists were forced to move to other parts of the city after the space grew in popularity and resulted in a rise in rental values. A renewed lease, however, could also signal a stronger role for the arts in the process of capital accumulation.

Disrupting the Celebratory Mood: Art at the Distillery

At the Distillery, art takes many forms: galleries, studio and theatre spaces, outdoor sculptures and several summer festivals, including three outdoor art exhibitions, a dance festival and a celebration of roots music. While walking through the site, visitors can find a myriad of artworks on display inside and outside of the buildings. These displays are not restricted to one medium, thereby offering the potential for collaboration between artists and for production of diverse works. This diversity is most striking in the Case Gooderham Warehouse, where work studios and shop space for jewellers, potters, hat makers and painters are situated side-by-side. Many of these spaces are regularly open to the public, and most have an oblong window to allow for interior viewing even when the doors are closed.

Although the Distillery appears to offer a visual arcade of cultural production, the display of production is *consumed* through the purchase of creativity (either through the act of seeing or buying). Other spaces at the Distillery are more explicit in their focus on artistic consumption, where the viewing and purchase of the art object as commodity prevail. Despite the visual difference between a space of artistic production (a studio) and a space of artistic consumption (a gallery), both are marketed and sold as commodities, as experiences of art.

While the Distillery offers a range of artistic mediums and practices, art in this space is not meant to question or disrupt dominant or conventional understandings of space or ways of seeing. Against a backdrop of industrial history, art is positioned as an object of desire, and is depoliticized. Art does not complicate the experience or presentation of time or place at the Distillery, as this would forge a rupture with the site’s more commercial function, which depends on a coherent site interpretation.

The value of art is rooted in its ability to craft moments of play and fantasy, and its ability to package and repackage established viewpoints. Artists respond to the world that surrounds them, and it is these critical acts of expression that lead to art that is political, economic, historical, social and cultural. When art is stifled by an economic rationale, what happens to its disruptive potential? The economic rationale at the Distillery neutralises the potential for the arts to forge alternative viewpoints and question dominant ways of seeing or understanding space. The ability of the arts to challenge space is drowned out by the siren of economic profitability.

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Inclusive Housing and Neighborhood Design: A Look at Visitability

By Jordana L. Maisel

Visitability is a growing movement that uses affordable and sustainable design strategies to increase accessibility in single-family homes. Progressive planners concerned about creating an equitable and safe built environment should be more aware of visitability as an innovative way to address the housing needs of an aging society.

There are many challenges and controversies surrounding visitability that planners should be familiar with. I look at some of these issues, but first I briefly review the need for accessible housing, principles of visitability and the emergence of the visitability movement.

The Need for Accessible Housing

In the next twenty years, as millions of Americans reach their senior years, the nation will confront profound challenges in the domestic environment, including a lack of affordable and accessible housing. Although housing and neighborhood design affects everyone, the complex relationship between people and the built environment has a more significant impact on people with disabilities and the elderly. Housing can either inhibit or facilitate the ability of these individuals to live and age successfully with independence and with dignity. Existing paradigms of housing and neighborhood design must therefore be given greater scrutiny from a lifespan perspective.

The majority of today's housing stock fails to meet the most basic needs and preferences of people with disabilities and the elderly. Accessible residential arrangements that maximize individual autonomy and empower these groups are currently extremely rare, particularly in the single-family housing market. Many homes are built with steps at all entrances and hallways and doorways that are too narrow for wheelchairs. This lack of accessibility means that neighbors with disabilities are placed at a significant disadvantage in their social lives and in the housing market more generally.

These housing problems are not limited to only a few. They negatively impact a large number of persons in the US who have mobility impairments

and therefore experience barriers within their own homes. This population includes, but is not limited to, people who use assistive devices. Data from the Disability Statistics Center reveals that approximately 6.8 million US residents use assistive devices to help them with mobility. Research also suggests that the use of mobility devices is expected to continue to grow with the aging of the population.

The need for more accessible housing is further supported by a study published by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Research found that over a million elderly homeowners have unmet housing needs, many involving serious home rehabilitation and modification that, if unmet, could force the owners to move or seriously reduce their quality of life.

Another contributing factor to the housing problem is the lack of federal legislation encouraging accessibility in housing. The Rehabilitation Act amendments of 1977 and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) apply only to housing constructed with government funding and only require 5 percent of the units in covered projects to be accessible. Although the Fair Housing Act amendments of 1988 require accessibility in multi-family housing, these regulations do not apply to single-family homes and therefore exclude the largest portion of the housing supply.

The Advent of Visitability

Despite existing legislative limitations, new strategies to incorporate accessibility in single-family housing are emerging and gaining recognition. Visitability, a concept that describes affordable, sustainable and accessible design for single-family housing, continues to gain popularity throughout the country.

Originating in Europe, the visitability movement was started in the US in 1986 by Eleanor Smith, a disability rights advocate, and her group Concrete Change. A visitable home is intended to be a residence for *anyone* and to provide access to ⇨

everyone. Visitability strives to provide a baseline level of accessibility in all new home construction, thereby benefiting the entire population.

There are three fundamental principles of visitability. First, visitability is based on the idea that inclusion of basic architectural access features in all new homes is a civil right and improves every person's ability to live productively and comfortably. Second, visitability rests on the notion that, through well-planned good design, basic accessibility to single-family housing can be provided in most cases with minimal financial cost. Third, visitability suggests that simplicity promotes implementation. Prioritizing access features ensures that the supply of accessible homes will increase more rapidly.

A visitable home needs to meet only three conditions: one zero-step entrance, doorways that are 32-inches wide and basic access to at least a half bath on the main floor. These three features are considered most essential for a person with mobility impairments to visit or live in a home, at least temporarily.

The Visitability Movement

Recognizing the benefits of and the growing need for more accessible housing, many state and local jurisdictions have joined the visitability movement. In fact, several municipalities and states across the country have already formalized and enacted visitability programs. As of June 2004, approximately forty state and local municipalities had a visitability program in place. Visitability programs are neither limited to a specific region of the country nor to a particular type of community; they are dispersed across the country and can be found in both urban and rural areas.

Challenges and Controversies

Despite its rise in popularity and its widespread diffusion, visitability continues to face some challenges and controversies. Besides infringing on homeowners' "rights," many critics of visitability also argue that inclusive design costs too much and negatively affects the aesthetic quality of homes.

Visitability supporters are not immune to conflict. Advocates struggle over the best strategies for promoting the construction of accessible single-family housing. Whereas some supporters argue for mandatory visitability legislation, others believe voluntary efforts and incentive programs are more feasible and no less effective. In addition to enforcement strategies, advocates and visitability supporters also disagree over the limited amount of accessibility included in visitability. Some believe that the basic access features typically required in

visitability ordinances do not go far enough, while others believe that visitability currently is the best way to get some housing built now with at least a basic level of accessibility.

There is also confusion and conflict about the distinctions between visitability and other residential design philosophies. Many people often incorrectly use the terms visitability and "aging in place" interchangeably. While visitability and aging in place share some characteristics, their goals are fundamentally different. Whereas visitability strives to improve every person's ability to engage in social participation, aging in place targets older and middle-age adults, addressing their preference to stay in their own homes. Aging in place also requires more accessibility features than visitability, therefore any corresponding legislation should reflect these differences. This confusion and ambiguity ultimately creates problems for advocacy and policy development.

There are also potential conflicts between visitability and Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND). TND, sometimes referred to as New Urbanism, is a movement in architecture and planning that advocates the use of traditional neighborhood design to create traditional American and European-style pedestrian-oriented communities. While TNDs possess many features that are beneficial to older people and people with disabilities—narrow streets, a dense mixture of residential and commercial uses, an emphasis on pedestrian life and public transportation—traditional housing designs are often inaccessible. Lacking an entrance without a step, many homes in TNDs are inaccessible and consequently in conflict with visitability.

Besides these broad policy issues, visitability proponents from many cities and states with proposed initiatives cite specific reasons for delays in adoption, including lack of definitive data on the costs associated with visitability and opposition from homebuilders. Some other proposed initiatives have not been implemented simply because of a slow political process.

Perhaps the most severe obstacle for proposed mandatory initiatives exists in states that have legal restrictions that impede adoption of local visitability ordinances. For instance, Michigan has a law stating that no city, county or village can pass a building code or ordinance that is more restrictive than the state building code, and there is a position held by many Californians that their state law preempts any attempts to regulate privately-funded, single-family construction. Similarly, many visitability efforts in New York State have stalled due to laws

that limit local legislation from exceeding the requirements of the state's building construction code. Consequently, many cities within New York State and California have turned to voluntary efforts to promote visitability's implementation.

The aforementioned broad legal and policy issues, coupled with the more specific obstacles, appear to have had a dramatic effect on the recent adoption rate of visitability initiatives. Even though the past four years have yielded the greatest new visitability activity, these activities have not been overwhelmingly successful. While interest in visitability has grown significantly and the number of proposed initiatives has risen exponentially, the number of active initiatives appears to be leveling off. This marks an overall decline in the rate in which locations are formally adopting visitability programs.

The slowdown in the adoption of new visitability programs is compounded by a lack of visitable homes being built in communities that have adopted visitability. Primarily because many locations place numerous restrictions on the homes that must comply with ordinances and other mandatory programs, even municipalities with established visitability programs are failing to build large quantities of visitable homes.

A Look to the Future

Regardless of these challenges, the visitability movement continues to push ahead. Perhaps the greatest indication of its popularity and continued support is a relatively new federal bill, HR 1441: The Inclusive Home Design Act. The bill was first introduced in the House of Representatives in 2002 by Representative Jan Schakowsky (D-IL). A revised bill was reintroduced in June of 2003 and now has twenty-five co-sponsors and support from an equal number of organizations. As the bill passes through various congressional committees and undergoes numerous changes, advocates continue to garner additional sponsors and support. The legislation would mandate that all federally-financed housing include visitability features. Such revolutionary legislation would significantly contribute to closing the gap between the demand and supply of accessible housing available in today's housing stock.

Jordana L. Maisel (jlmaisel@ap.buffalo.edu) is director of outreach and policy studies at the Center for Inclusive Design and Environmental Access (IDEA), State University of New York at Buffalo.

Call for articles for *Progressive Planning*

The Fall 2006 issue of Progressive Planning is focused on the theme of the Politics of Water, internationally and in the United States. Marie Kennedy is editing this issue. If you would like to contribute an article to this issue, please let her know soon what the focus of your article would be. She can be reached by email at: marie.kennedy@umb.edu. Draft articles for review are due to her by July 1, 2006. Some issues that might be addressed are noted in the following:

Without water, civilization is impossible--and we're running out of it. As water becomes more scarce, competing needs for water—as a fundamental life support, an economic resource and a source of inspiration and spirituality—increasingly erupt into violence. The World Bank predicts that wars of the future will be about water. More than a billion people already lack access to fresh water and millions die every year from contaminated water or the lack of water—mostly in Africa and Asia. Meanwhile, water consumption is doubling every 20 years. Global corporations, the World Bank and some governments are pushing for the privatization of water systems, while grassroots organizations are fighting to prevent commodification of this vital natural resource. Where there is no convenient source, it is women who bear the burden of fetching heavy loads of water from great distances. Here at home, we take for granted the supply and purity of the water that flows from our taps--but for how long? Already, local communities face water bans in the summer, water rates are skyrocketing, and wells and aquifers throughout the country are being poisoned. Within the U.S., as elsewhere, struggles between agricultural, industrial and residential uses of water shape development for large regions of the country. In short, water is a “prism” through which we can understand a broad range of issues of inequality and power.

PN UPDATES

CHAPTER NEWS:

New PN Chapter in Manitoba: A new Planners Network Chapter has been formed in Winnipeg. PN Manitoba (PNmb) has a working list serve with more than 40 members and has been meeting regularly since February. It will co-sponsor its first event in April and is working towards a major "disorientation" event in September. For further information, contact Richard Milgrom milgrom@cc.umanitoba.ca.

Chapter Update: University of Southern California Since its establishment last semester, the USC chapter of the Planners Network has recruited 12 new Planners Network members (increasing the LA-area totals for PN by almost 60%) and has been organizing both on the USC campus as well as in the surrounding Los Angeles community with such groups as South Central Farmers, the Trust for Public Land, Latino Urban Forum, Bus Riders Union, and Strategic Actions for a Just Economy. Additionally, we hosted a successful five-part "Film+Speaker Series" which drew 15-30 people per screening, and engaged audiences from topics ranging from struggles at the South Central Farm and for transit justice in Los Angeles to presentations by Planners Network members on neo-liberal planning and its local/global impacts.

The USC PN is working to organize other chapters at area colleges and schools, as well as with LA PN to host a panel of professional planners discussing the theme "Integrating Progressive Politics into Planning Careers."

USC PN is eager to continue the successes of its inaugural year with increased programming and activism in the coming year.

For more information about USC PN: uscpcn@usc.edu

PN MEMBER UPDATES:

From **Josh Lerner** (PN Steering Committee member): The Transnational Institute recently published a paper I co-authored: "Participatory Budgeting in Canada: Democratic Innovations in Strategic Spaces." (<http://www.tni.org/newpol-docs/pbcanada.htm>).

The paper assesses the initial participatory budgeting experiences in Canada - the only ones in North America to the best of my knowledge. Participatory budgeting is a participatory process that enables city residents to democratically decide how public budget funds are spent. In Canada it has been used with budgets in public housing, neighborhood groups, a municipality, and a school. In January I also published an article online "Why the World Social Forum Needs to Be Less Like Neoliberalism" (<http://www.towardfreedom.com/home/content/view/729/>), based on an earlier article for *Progressive Planning*. Any feedback is very welcome! Email: josh_lerner@hotmail.com

From **Tom Angotti:**

Morris Zeitlin, a long-time progressive architect and Planners Network member, died January 27, 2006 at the age of 95.

Morris was a member of FAECT, the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, a left organization from the 1930s. When he lived in New York City, he was part of the Forum on Architecture and Society, a progressive group within the NYC Chapter of the AIA that had roots in the FAECT. The Forum and Planners Network jointly sponsored forums in New York starting in 1976. His writings on architecture and planning include the book *American Cities: A Working Class View* (International Publishers, 1990), "In Defense ⇨

of Utopia" (*Monthly Review*, December 1966), "Soviet Urbanization and Urban Planning," (*Political Affairs*, 1985), and an annotated bibliography on socialist city planning for the Council of Planning Librarians.

I learned a lot from Morris' advocacy of socialist alternatives, both generally and in terms of city planning. I'll never forget running into Morris at a march on Washington against the Vietnam War and while we marched engaging in the most lively discussion about dozens of topics. I think Morris will be marching with many from my generation who remember his commitment, kindness, and wisdom.

Update from Clara Irazábal:

The Section on Venezuelan Studies of the Latin American Studies Association announced its first bi-annual Award for Distinctive Scholarship on Venezuela in the Latin American Studies Association Conference 2006. The honorable mention went to PNER Clara Irazábal, School of Planning, Policy and Development, University of Southern California., for "A Planned City Comes of Age: Rethinking Ciudad Guayana Today," published in the *Journal of Latin American Geography*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2004: 22-51. Clara Irazábal also published "Localizing Global Urban Design Traditions: Gated and Edge Cities in Curitiba", *Journal of Urban Design* Vol. 11, No. 1, February 2006: 73-96

Update from Joe Feinberg:

Have just returned from a two month deployment in St. Bernard Parish, LA where I served on a Long Term Recovery Team. In all the time I've worked for FEMA, I have not seen such devastation. The entire parish was flooded: storm surge from the East; breached levee from the West; and an oil leak from one of the refineries adding to the mess. Devoted much of my time to writing up proposed organization and staffing for a newly established Parish Housing, Redevelopment and Quality of Life Commission (its local public agency for renewal); and met with parish council to brief them on the agency's importance in the planning and execution function in rebuilding neighborhoods.

With much of the parish to revert its more flood prone areas to park and open space, proportionally more of its reduced buildable areas would, of necessity, be of higher density (condos and

apartments with the first level for parking if revised base flood elevations so dictate). However, the question of how many residents would return has dictated a measured approach to rebuilding. One proposal I prepared aimed at 50 acre parcels for affordable housing and senior housing with a mixed use area central to the overall project plan. Andres Duany, who was doing a Charrette for St. Bernard took a look at the site. I'm hopeful that he could get involved in the design. It was my first meeting with him. He arrived with a large entourage, and I couldn't resist kidding that, "I have no problem with marketing planning as long as the product is a good one." and I think his is!

Update from Donovan Finn:

I have recently received a grant from the University of Illinois' Academy for Entrepreneurial Leadership to undertake a study of community design centers, seeking to generate a better understanding of the challenges centers face and how we can better equip student planners and designers to meet these needs. If you represent a community design center interested in participating in a short email survey, please contact me at dfinn@uiuc.edu.

ON-LINE SURVEY:

From PNER **Pattsi Petrie:**

Survey of Status of Women and Men in Planning

This is a survey about the work environment equity of women and men in planning. The purpose of this survey research is to gather information and data about the status of pay, position, race, and gender equity for women and men in the planning profession, both practitioners and academics, not only in the United States, but also internationally. The collected data will be used in an aggregated format, which will protect the anonymity of all respondents. There are five sections to the survey: demographics, employment, education, diversity, and professional activities. The survey may be accessed at www.urban.uiuc.edu/survey/usa.html

Thank you for taking the time to fill out the survey and sharing the survey URL with colleagues and through contacts you may have with other community planners.

RESOURCES

EVENTS:

May 31 - June 1, 2006. Natural City Conference. Toronto, ON. A conference to rethink how urban and natural environments must be integrated to promote sustainability. For more information, visit: <http://www.naturalcity.ca>

June 5-7, 2006. "Telling Stories: Reflections on Community Design," Association for Community Design (ACD) Annual Conference, Los Angeles, CA. For more information please visit : http://www.communitydesign.org/Annual_Conference.htm

June 19-23, 2006. World Urban Forum. Vancouver, BC. For more information, visit: <http://www.unhabitat.org/wuf/2006/>

PUBLICATIONS:

"What's Race Got To Do With It?" (2005) is a 55-minute documentary-in-progress that will go beyond identity politics, celebratory history and interpersonal relations to articulate the many myths and misconceptions that underlie and obstruct our thinking about race in today's post-Civil Rights world. Information available from Larry Adelman at California Newsreel: la@newsreel.org

"The Affordability Index: A New Tool for Measuring the True Affordability of a Housing Choice". By the Center for Transit Oriented Development and the Center for Neighborhood Technology. Published by the Metropolitan Policy Program of the Brookings Institution. This Market Innovation Brief describes a new measurement tool for determining housing affordability, one that takes into account not only the cost of housing but also the cost of transportation. The Brief describes the application of this tool in the Twin Cities region and illustrates how affordability changes when transportation costs, the

second highest household expenditure after housing, are taken into consideration. For more information about the Index, visit: www.brookings.edu/metro/umi/20060127_affindex.htm or email Carrie Makarewicz (carrie@cnt.org) or Maria Zimmerman (mzimmerman@reconnectingamerica.org).

"Welfare Reform in Los Angeles: Implementation, Effects & Experiences of Poor Families & Neighborhoods" (2005) is available at: <http://www.mdrc.org/>

"Closing the Gap: Moving from Rhetoric to Reality in Opening the Doors to Higher Education for African-American Students" (17 pp., June 2005) is available from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and is downloadable at: <http://www.naacpldf.org/>

"Educational Progress Across Generations in California," a 2005 report from the Public Policy Institute of California and focuses on Mexican-American immigrants. Available at: www.ppic.org/main/publication.asp?i=402

"Walk For Your Life! Restoring Neighborhood Walkways to Enhance Community Life, Improve Street Safety and Reduce Obesity" (January 2006, 256 p.) by Marie Demers is recently published by Vital Health Books. Available at: www.vitalhealthbooks.com

"Keeping the Promise: Ending Racial Discrimination and Segregation in Federally Financed Housing," by Florence Roisman, appeared in vol. 48 (2005) of the Howard Law Journal. Copies of the article are available from mdeer1@iupui.edu

"The Labor Day List: Partnerships That Work" is a 15-page, September, 2005 publication celebrating successful labor



relations strategies in the new economy. Available from American Rights at Work, 1100 17th St. NW, #950, Washington, DC 20036, 202/822-2127, srbprogram@americanrightsatwork.org, <http://www.americanrightsatwork.org/>

“Childcare Centers and Inter-Organizational Ties in High Poverty Neighborhoods” is a 3-page, Sept. 2005 Fragile Families Research Brief, available from the Center for Research on Child Wellbeing, Wallace Hall, 2nd floor, Princeton Univ., Princeton, NJ 08544, <http://www.fragilefamilies.princeton.edu/>

“Making the Connection: Transit-Oriented Development and Jobs” by Sarah Grady looks at the ways TOD can serve the needs of working families by providing affordable housing and/or better access to jobs. The study finds that projects with community benefits agreements, projects initiated by community development corporations (CDCs) and projects with exceptional private developers who intentionally sought to link people to job opportunities were more likely to address the needs of working families than most TOD projects. March, 2006. <http://www.goodjobsfirst.org/pdf/makingtheconnection.pdf>

ON-LINE RESOURCES:

www.cultureshapescommunity.org
Website of the initiative "Shifting Sands - Art, Culture, and Neighborhood Change", managed by Partners for Livable Communities. This initiative is part of a movement that recognizes neighborhood based arts & cultural organizations as unique stakeholders in poor neighborhoods experiencing economic and demographic shifts.

www.claimingpublicspace.net
A new site on the World Wide Web enables students, educators, researchers, and practitioners to search and find videos, images, and articles about participative architecture and community design from an international perspective. Claiming public Space (CpS) provides a digital archive and database of resources that can help individuals find the latest information about this growing and exciting field of design practice. CpS provides a comprehensive public database of news, announcements, events, essays, articles, project images, tools, templates, and videos.

www.greenbuildingtv.com/dev
Website on information green building techniques that will be covered by a new PBS television show: *Building Green*, which will air starting on Earth Day in April.

The Progressive Planning Reader

Reminder: Bulk discounts are available on *The 2004 Progressive Planning Reader*, with over 100 pages of the best from *Planners Network Newsletter* and *Progressive Planning Magazine*, covering topics including:

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

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

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

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

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- \$25** Subscription to Progressive Planning only
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- \$50** Income over \$50,000, organizations and libraries
- \$100** Sustaining Members -- if you earn over \$50,000, won't you consider helping at this level?

Canadian members:
See column at right.

Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

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

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

Make cheques in Canadian funds payable to: "Planners Network" and send w/ membership form to:
Amy Siciliano
Dept of Geography, Room 5047
100 St. George St, University of Toronto, M5S 3G

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

PURCHASING A SINGLE ISSUE

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

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

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

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

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

The PN LISTSERV:

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

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