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Expanding Planning's Public Sphere: STREET Magazine, Activist Planning and Community Development in Brooklyn, NY 1971-75

Laura Wolf-Powers, *University of Pennsylvania*



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Expanding Planning's Public Sphere

STREET Magazine, Activist Planning, and Community Development in Brooklyn, New York, 1971–1975

Laura Wolf-Powers

► Introduction

From the start, the city planning field in the United States has accommodated the diverse, sometime contradictory orientations and activities of the myriad urban reformers—architects, landscape designers, engineers, public health experts, and social crusaders—who brought it into being at the turn of the twentieth century. As such, it is both plagued and blessed by semi-permeable boundaries. The need to engage with multiple disciplinary traditions and competing paradigms for action has sometimes left city planners struggling to differentiate their profession from those with which is allied and to justify the legitimacy of the “fragmented art” that has evolved from the comprehensive ideals of early proponents (Peterson 2003). However, practitioners and scholars have also identified planning's pluralist tradition as a source of strength, enabling planners to reach for new opportunities at key junctures. Planning, according to Carl Abbott, developed the way a river moves through a landscape, often gathering momentum from the sources that fed it. Today, Abbott notes, it has “characteristics of a braided stream, with ideas and movements flowing in and out of the main channel, sometimes draining energy away and sometimes reinvigorating the professional core” (Abbott 2006, 302).

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, a new “tributary”—one that looked critically at current practice, urged the participation of residents in the revitalization of distressed central city neighborhoods, and placed local environmentalism more forcefully within the ambit of city planning—began to feed the stream. This article examines a publication that exemplified the activist tributary in a particular city. During its brief but influential lifetime, *STREET* magazine, published from 1971 to 1975 by the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development in Brooklyn, New York, both reflected and shaped changes in planning practice and neighborhood development in New York City. It did this in two ways. First, it reported from the front lines of the emerging national environmental movement and demonstrated the ways in which environmentalism—customarily associated with wilderness and natural resource conservation—had relevance in urban neighborhoods. Second, at a time of rampant disinvestment and distress in many of New York's working-class and low-income communities, *STREET* served as both cheerleader and news gatherer for an incipient neighborhood housing movement—individuals and organizations striving to shore up struggling neighborhoods and rehabilitate abandoned property

Abstract

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, a paradigm of activist planning became a new “tributary” feeding the stream of the planning profession. *STREET* magazine, published from 1971 to 1975 by the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development in Brooklyn, NY, offers a lens through which to examine the expansion of the profession to encompass a range of ideas associated with this paradigm. This article, drawing on an extensive review of *STREET* magazine's content within the historical context in which it was produced, as well as interviews with people involved with the publication, argues that *STREET* reflected the introduction of new modes of practice into the city planning profession, as well as influencing those modes in a particular place, New York City.

Keywords: *planning history; community development; advocacy planning; alternative media; Brooklyn, NY*

Laura Wolf-Powers is an assistant professor in the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of Pennsylvania, where she teaches courses in urban and regional economics, economic development, and community development. Her research focuses on the way planners' decisions and actions interact with the private economy to shape metropolitan regions and urban neighborhoods.

as an alternative to the slum clearance methods that at that time constituted standard practice. Addressing a public that was professionally and socioeconomically polyglot and taking up subjects that few had defined as relevant to planners before, it conceived of a public sphere for planning that extended beyond the one the planning profession had traditionally defined.

This article's method is historical, drawing on close analysis of *STREET* magazine's content, on interviews with five individuals who helped produce the publication, and on analysis of a portion of the proceedings of a symposium (held in 2005) assessing its impact and lessons. Analysis of the magazine itself is embedded within a historical examination of the birth of community development and activist planning in New York City (primarily Brooklyn), where the magazine was created and read, as well as a brief history of the organization that published *STREET*, the Pratt Center for Community and Environmental Development. In addition to building knowledge about an era that is still little documented by planning historians, the article contributes to an ongoing discussion about the legacies of early 1970s social activism for contemporary planning and urbanism.

► *STREET's* Context: The Community Development Movement and the Pratt Center for Community Improvement

The urban community development movement in the United States had its origins in private philanthropic and federal government efforts in the 1960s to create locally based entities that would address the causes of unemployment, poor housing conditions, and crime in isolated "ghetto" neighborhoods. Concerned that urban social and political institutions had failed to deliver for poor urban dwellers, the Ford Foundation's Grey Areas project and subsequently President John F. Kennedy's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime funded seventeen local "community action programs" that sponsored job training, assistance to struggling schools, and efforts to consolidate and rationalize local government services into one-stop community centers in target neighborhoods (Marris and Rein 1967; Clark 2000; Sviridoff 2004). President Lyndon Johnson expanded these into a national network of "community action agencies" through Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In 1966, Senators Robert Kennedy and Jacob Javits initiated the Special Impact Program (SIP), which invested in urban and rural Community Development Corporations whose staffs were charged with undertaking economic development projects complemented by services and training for local residents (O'Connor 1999; Ryan 2004).¹ Community development advocates in the federal government and philanthropic establishment—architects of



Figure 1. Senator Robert Kennedy addresses a meeting of the Central Brooklyn Coordinating Committee in Bedford-Stuyvesant in 1966.

Source: Ronald Shiffman.

the loose conglomeration of programs and policies that fell within the sphere of the War on Poverty—believed that improved governance mechanisms at the neighborhood level, involving the participation of residents themselves, could help the poor gain access to the "American dream" from which they had been excluded (Marris and Rein 1967; Lemann 1991; Halpern 1995).

Community development at its birth was not explicitly a city planning endeavor—the planning profession was much more directly associated with the slum clearance and center city redevelopment programs set in motion by the Housing Act of 1949—but the two were cognate in important ways. For many, there was a visible connection between mainstream postwar city planning and the plight of marginal urban neighborhoods. The Grey Areas Program in New Haven, Connecticut, for example, is said to have grown from development administrator Edward Logue's dismay about both the dislocation his initiatives caused and the poverty they exposed. According to Sviridoff, who worked with Logue in New Haven: "the deeper they moved into these areas, the more it became apparent that they couldn't ignore the human problems . . . What became apparent to the sensitive Urban Renewalist was that these were terrible problems, and that no sane society, no good, civil society could tolerate them for long . . ." (Sviridoff 2004, 161-62).

Observers of a more critical cast would have found Sviridoff's remark disingenuous. Urban renewal, as practiced locally, was arguably a deliberate strategy to transform city centers by declaring them blight-ridden and replacing the working-class housing and neighborhood retail they hosted with higher-yielding projects. Center city revitalization efforts were intentionally bifurcated from the construction and management of public housing projects, which became dwelling

places of last resort for households displaced from “obsolete” neighborhoods (Halpern 1995; Judd and Swanstrom 2005). In response to what they saw as the strategies of exclusion embodied in urban renewal, some planners countered mainstream practice, drawing on the alternative visions of society that were animating the civil rights and economic justice movements at the time. Inspired by critical scholarship documenting urban renewal’s impact on the poor (Gans 1959; Marris 1962) and by the revelatory literature on inner-city poverty that had influenced the Kennedy Administration (see Lemann 1991; Halpern 1995), they drew away from city design and development as a focus for their profession and espoused a social planning approach, intent on counteracting elite-driven visions of the city (Hartman 1980; Clavel 1986; Hoffman 1989, Hartman 2002).² Many within this new wing of the profession, like the so-called “social progressives” who had been prominent in the city planning movement in the early twentieth century (see Peterson 2003), saw planners as a movement group whose members might seek to uproot poverty and challenge inequitable social arrangements even as they worked within existing legal and institutional contexts (Davidoff 1965; Friedmann 1971; Clavel 1986; Krumholz and Clavel 1994). In a number of cities, members of this group found opportunities to apply their skills in the place-identified, neighborhood-based groups that emerged during this era (Weir 1999; Marwell 2007).

In the City and Regional Planning department at the Pratt Institute, a small art and design school located on a leafy campus in Brooklyn’s Fort Greene neighborhood, an activist planning model ascended quickly in the late 1960s. Pratt’s reputation as a place where students and faculty brought planning tools to bear on contemporary social and economic problems was rooted at the Pratt Center for Community Improvement (PCCI), founded by Planning Department Chairperson George Raymond in 1963 and funded by a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. PCCI’s original aim was to promote “objective evaluation of the merits of individual urban renewal proposals” in New York City, by creating a university-based urban extension program (similar to the agricultural extension programs at land grant colleges) that would familiarize people with planning concepts and keep them informed about specific projects proposed for their neighborhoods (Raymond and Shiffman 1967). Over the course of the 1960s, the focus of this endeavor evolved from a somewhat ministerial education function to one of training and engagement, influenced both by the national political climate and by the increasing role in PCCI of younger planners who had been directly involved in the civil rights and student movements. The impetus for the founding of PCCI had been a perception that much local opposition to urban renewal projects stemmed from a lack of knowledge, and its “participant education” had been aimed at facilitating the public participation that was by that point required under

urban renewal legislation. PCCI subsequently conducted more general leadership training workshops, and, from 1968–1971, spearheaded Pratt Institute’s involvement in the volunteer-run Central Brooklyn Neighborhood College, targeted primarily to African Americans and Latinos who had either dropped out of high school or lacked access to higher education. As Department Chair, George Raymond also secured Ford Foundation support for the King Fellowship, which helped students of color from New York City earn graduate degrees in city planning. (Raymond 2007; Curry 2007). Thus, a participation model under which the planner’s role was to overcome the community’s ignorance and naiveté with accurate information evolved gradually into a model aimed at leadership development and engagement of local expertise and ideas.

In 1964, a group of ministers from Bedford Stuyvesant, a historically black neighborhood on the border of Fort Greene, approached PCCI for technical assistance in evaluating a city-sponsored plan for the Fulton Park Urban Renewal Area. Raymond hired Pratt planning graduate student Ronald Shiffman, who worked with local organizers and neighborhood residents to study the proposed plan, evolving an alternative redevelopment scheme that the city ultimately adopted. This effort, undertaken cooperatively with a neighborhood antipoverty entity called the Central Brooklyn Coordinating Council, culminated in the first federally funded community development corporation (CDC), the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, in 1967.³ Perhaps more important, it evolved a planning model that privileged housing rehabilitation over slum clearance and that integrated housing, zoning, and parks policy with strategies to address unemployment, lack of educational opportunity, and political powerlessness.⁴

The Pratt Center for Community Improvement’s Bedford-Stuyvesant planning process and its involvement with the founding of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation located the organization at the intersection between planning and the emergent practice of comprehensive community development. It also situated the Center, and the academic department with which it was affiliated,⁵ in the midst of the contradictory forces facing activist planners during this time period. Activists at Pratt were closely affiliated with Planners for Equal Opportunity (PEO), which sought to critique the concepts of the unitary public interest and scientific neutrality that held sway in the field, and to fuse neighborhood planning with social protest (Hoffman 1989, 67). Advocate planners at Pratt and elsewhere viewed themselves as challengers of a technocratic paradigm historically indifferent to the interests and aspirations of the neighborhood residents being “planned for,” and in the course of working with community-based clients they expected and welcomed adversarial contact with urban redevelopment agencies, city planning departments, and established consulting firms (see Hartman 2002;

Marris 1987). But as sociologist Lily Hoffman observes in *The Politics of Knowledge* (1989), many city planners who attempted to reconcile a “social movement” stance and identity with their roles as credentialed professionals encountered difficulties. Involvement in community politics threatened to alienate activist planners from sources of professional legitimacy: the established planning profession, the state, philanthropic organizations such as the Ford Foundation, and, in the case of university-based activists, the academic institutions themselves (see Hartman 2002).⁶ Activist or “social” planners were criticized for recklessly opposing beneficial redevelopment projects and for acting with what many considered to be a dangerous shortage of pragmatism (Sviridoff 2004).⁷ At the same time, activist planning was considered by many social movement actors to be a timid, reformist endeavor that failed to address fundamental flaws in the social structure (Hoffman 1989). Oscillating between radicalism and reform, planners who believed political mobilization to be an important element of urban revitalization struggled for a footing that accommodated both their goals and their professional history (see Peterson 2003). In 1968, as George Raymond’s attention shifted to regional housing equity issues and to fulltime leadership of Pratt’s graduate planning program,⁸ the more activism-inclined Shiffman took the helm at the Pratt Center for Community Improvement, bringing these contradictions into starker relief.

The Milieu of *STREET* Magazine

The PCCI of the middle and late 1960s had taken urban renewal as a lodestar for its activities. By the early 1970s, as noted above, the point of reference had shifted to federally funded neighborhood development initiatives such as the Community Action Program, the Model Cities program, and the Special Impact program. The Pratt Center for Community Improvement was one of several university-based field programs initiated during this era; others included the Urban Field Service at Harvard’s Graduate School of Design and the Center for Urban Studies at Wayne State University. University-affiliated urban research centers applied the architectural and analytical skills of scholars and graduate students to the revitalization of declining neighborhoods and the formulation of urban anti-poverty strategies. To varying degrees, these centers also dedicated themselves to politicized engagement with (as opposed either study of or service to) poor urban communities.

Despite the enthusiasm within the academy for student engagement, and despite the rhetoric of community empowerment coming from the federal government in the wake of late-1960s urban violence and political ferment, this was not a hospitable period for the activists. Although federal community development initiatives aligned with the philosophy of

activist planning, they were plagued from the start with fragmentation and conflict and extremely vulnerable to cuts in funding. War on Poverty programs which had fueled community-based organizations in their infancy were gradually defunded in the late 1960s, as federal officials faced economic austerity and the opposition of local officials whose regimes were challenged and disrupted by federally funded community groups. (Lemann 1991; Halpern 1995). In 1972, President Richard Nixon jettisoned the Office of Economic Opportunity that had spawned the Community Action and Special Impact programs. Federal, state, and city funding streams continued to support some of the services these programs had initiated, but the “Marshall Plan for the cities” which Robert Kennedy had intended the Special Impact Program to be was never undertaken (O’Connor 1999).

At the same moment in New York City, national economic recession, deindustrialization, and suburbanization were draining jobs and sapping private investment from the city’s real estate. Practices in which mortgage lenders and real estate agents colluded, such as “block-busting” and “property flipping,” destabilized poor and working-class communities (see Wilder 2000; Pritchett 2002). Neighborhood infrastructure, particularly in low-income areas of the city, received increasingly poor maintenance at the hands of the fiscally strapped city government. The administrations of John V. Lindsay, whose second term as Mayor spanned the years 1970–1973, and then Abraham Beame, who presided over the famous New York City fiscal crisis, faced accelerating job loss and working-class flight. Thus, while they were arguably at the height of their legitimacy to date in the eyes of mainstream planning (in that their diagnoses of urban problems and their proposed methods for confronting them had the imprimatur of federal antipoverty policy), activist planners faced a grim landscape in urban neighborhoods. Many became disillusioned with the public sector and questioned the ability of planning’s reform-oriented and fundamentally statist methods to combat the problems they were witnessing (see Needleman and Needleman 1974; Marris 1987; Thabit 2003).

In the midst of this dispiriting climate, however, three new and more hopeful sociocultural phenomena converged in the world of activist planners, who embraced and shaped them in turn. The first of these paradigms was a national environmental movement that had been building since the early 1960s but that picked up speed with Congressional passage of the Clean Water Act and National Environmental Policy Act in 1969 and the 1970 creation by President Richard M. Nixon of the Environmental Protection Agency as an autonomous regulatory body for the environment. The first Earth Day, in April 1970, was commemorated by Mayor Lindsay in New York City as an “ecological mardi gras” (Lewis 1985). While much attention focused on wilderness conservation, natural resources, and agriculture, activist planners recognized that environmental quality was crucial in the urban context

as well. Community gardening and recycling, for example, while good for the environment, could also generate income for poor households, provide outlets for young people, and create badly needed recreational spaces (Pellow 2002; Lawson 2004). Activist planners also made connections between urban poverty, racism, and environmental quality, as they noted the prevalence of waste and power generation facilities—and the high incidence of pollution-linked diseases like asthma—in low-income minority neighborhoods. As Ronald Shiffman remembers, “It dawned on us that urban environmental issues—what we would call environmental justice issues today—were basically an enormous problem in communities, and we felt it was important to focus on [them]” (2007). Urban environmentalism received less publicity in either the mainstream or the alternative media than the “back to the land” movements of the 1970s, which emphasized self-reliance and anticonsumerism in rural settings. Nevertheless, city-centered environmental activism made its mark, foreshadowing and informing present-day efforts to “green” urban neighborhoods. In 1970, the Pratt Center for Community Improvement changed its name to the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED).

The second phenomenon that animated community development practice in the early 1970s was the growth of what came to be known as the self-help housing movement. Disinvestment from, abandonment of, and crime against property had led to the devastation of many poor and working-class neighborhoods in New York City, as amply documented in community histories and ethnographies (see Susser 1982; von Hassell 1996, Marwell 2007, Pritchett 2002).⁹ Federal housing policy had shifted its emphasis from direct production of housing to rental subsidies, and city dollars for basic services, let alone housing programs, became scarcer with the withdrawal of federal subsidy and an impending fiscal crisis. Moreover, demolition as opposed to renovation of abandoned property remained the strategy of choice for city officials. In this context, neighborhood-based activist planners began working to support resident involvement in the management and renovation of abandoned property. Sociologist Nicole Marwell describes the birth of self-help housing on the Southside of Williamsburg in Brooklyn in about 1970:

The [Southside] activists set themselves a modest goal: to work with the Puerto Rican and other Latino residents of the Southside to restore individual apartments to livable conditions . . . They began identifying landlord-abandoned buildings, where basic services—heat, hot water, garbage removal, maintenance—were no longer being provided. They then encouraged the tenants to pool the funds they would have spent on rent to purchase these services themselves. In buildings with vacant apartments in need of rehabilitation to make them habitable, organizers found new tenants, moved them into the apartments, and

allowed them several months before they were required to start paying into the building services fund. This practice allowed new tenants to spend “rent” money on initial renovations, and then integrated them into the larger structure of the building, making the entire building more viable. (Marwell 2007, 45-46)

Over the course of the 1970s, mainstream city planning and housing institutions gradually embraced the role of community-based organizations in developing and managing low- and moderate-income housing, making CDC and community-based organization (CBO) involvement virtually an article of faith in the system of low-income housing production nationally (Goetz 1996; Rosen and Dienstfrey 1999). Like environmentalism, neighborhood housing initiatives engaged planners with the built environment in new ways and brought them into contact with groups and ideas that led them to see their profession's potential differently.

Finally, the explosion of the “how-to” alternative media in the late 1960s and early 1970s influenced activist city planning, as an inspiration both for their efforts and for their communication strategies. Just as the community development movement was taking shape in New York and other cities during the War on Poverty era, the militant “underground” newspapers and magazines of the student and anti-war movements were joined and ultimately supplanted by publications that emphasized a transformative politics rooted in community- and household-level decision making (see Armstrong 1981). The best-known of the new alternative publications, *The Whole Earth Catalog* (1968–1971) and *Mother Earth News* (started in 1970 and still being published), were aimed at adherents of the “back to the land” movement, which encouraged people to reject consumer society and return to simpler lives by establishing farms or alternative communities in remote areas. But city-based activists, whose neighborhoods were in many ways similarly isolated from market institutions, adopted a bootstrapping ethos of self-reliance as well. *STREET* magazine, according to Shiffman, was explicitly inspired by the *Whole Earth Catalog*, but while that publication “was primarily dealing with people who lived off the grid and not really dealing with urban issues, we wanted to tailor something to New York City and its neighborhoods” (Shiffman 2008).

► A New Publication About the Environment and Neighborhoods

The Pratt Center for Community Improvement had begun publishing a newsletter called the *Community Information Bulletin* in 1966. This publication, whose purpose was to “filter and analyze information about federal and city policy . . . as it affected city and neighborhood development,” went by first-class mail to a list of about two thousand people

who had participated in the organization's seminars, trainings, and conferences (Curry 2007). In 1970, around the time the Center's name changed to PICCED to encompass its environmental interests, director Shiffman and his staff applied for and received a grant from the newly created Office of Environmental Education in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The purpose of this grant was to enable the organization to move beyond its training offerings in planning and housing, adding environmental issues as a focus of the urban extension program. One instrument for this was to be a new publication, distributed to those on the *Community Information Bulletin's* subscription list, planning professionals and neighborhood-based volunteers and activists alike.

The *Community Information Bulletin*, as its name suggested, was a straightforward vehicle designed to keep readers abreast of developments in New York City's urban renewal and antipoverty programs. In contrast, *STREET* aspired to inform PICCED's constituents about environmental issues on a scale larger than that at which they normally worked (the *Community Information Bulletin* continued as a distinct publication). The magazine reported from the national environmental policy scene, relating the work of the newly created Environmental Protection Agency to the local context; the first article in the first issue of the magazine, published in December 1971, discussed the results of a U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) study that had linked air quality with adverse health symptoms in Westchester, Queens, and Suffolk Counties. Another article in that issue reported on the passage of the Clean Water Act and detailed its landmark regulatory framework. At the same time, in its conscious homage to the *Whole Earth Catalog*, the same issue included a feature listing the locations of neighborhood recycling centers in Brooklyn; documented the efforts of Pratt environmental design students to create useful objects (lamps, tables, "a child's seat and ottoman") from household trash; and instructed readers in how to give their cars home tune-ups to make them less polluting.

STREET was written, illustrated, edited, and laid out (using a paste-up method that desktop publishing has since made obsolete) by the staff of the Pratt Center for Community and Environmental Development, which in 1971 consisted of Shiffman, Associate Directors Rudy Bryant and Rex Curry, and a cavalcade of interns and VISTA volunteers (by 1975 there were seven full-time employees). The magazine's publication, under the editorship of staff intern Bonita Anderson,¹⁰ was irregular. Its first two issues came out in December 1971 and January 1972, but monthly publication quickly became impracticable, and the remainder of the issues were produced roughly quarterly between mid-1972 and early 1975.¹¹ One PICCED staff person, whose job involved extensive community education and planning assistance work in addition to incidental work writing for *STREET*, remembers,

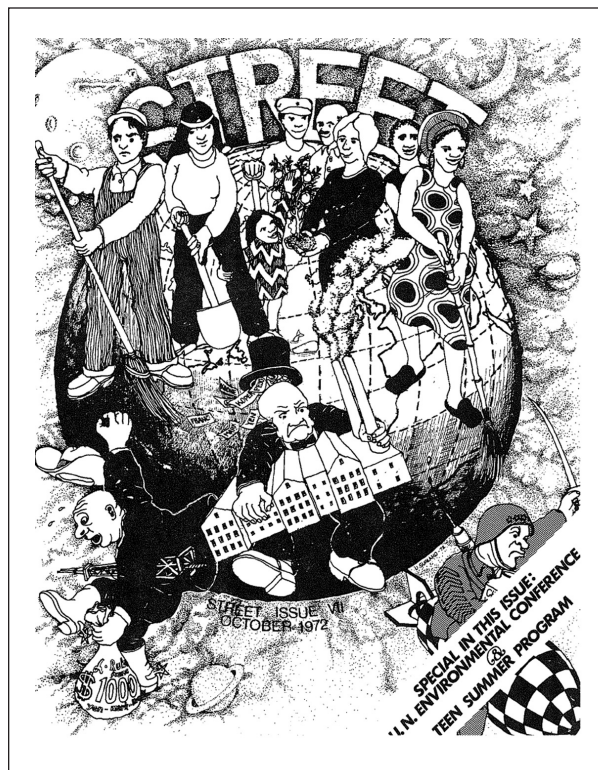


Figure 2. A typical *STREET* cover illustration, by artist Uffe Surland. Source: By permission of Pratt Center for Community Development.

We'd be working on other projects—we'd then all be pulled off as the end of the month came around because we didn't have enough articles, or someone realized we had to edit all this stuff. We'd have all this blank space and Uffe [a frequent illustrator for the magazine] would be drawing all night. We'd go down to the printer at the absolute last minute. It drove the printers crazy. (Sullivan 2007)

After having five thousand copies of each issue printed, staff sent about two thousand copies by mail to people on the Pratt Center's mailing list and dropped off the remaining three thousand copies at the offices of local antipoverty agencies, community organizations, and community facilities like public libraries. The ad hoc mode of the magazine's production and distribution and the absence of a conventional consumer market mechanism guiding its content (it was financed by grant funding and voluntary donations from readers) were mirrored in its freewheeling aesthetic and the social criticism inherent in many of its covers and illustrations

► Scales of Environmental Activity: From Congress to the Kitchen

STREET's early issues envisioned an expansive scope for environmentalism. The magazine reinforced the precept that

Table 1.
Recurring Features in *STREET* Magazine

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Representative Examples</i>
<i>Neighborhood Level</i>		
Environmental Legislation		<p>Issues 1-3 (December 1971) U.S. Senate passage of the Clean Water Act</p> <p>Issue 5 (March-April 1972) Nixon expected to propose tax on sulphur oxide emissions; House of Representatives passage of the Clean Water Act</p> <p>Issue 6 (June 1972) New York State Senate passes \$1.5 billion environmental bond bill</p> <p>Issue 7 (October 1972) Dog Scoop Law proposed to City Council</p> <p>Issue 9 (February 1973) Resident' Suit Charges FHA Policy harms environment and hastens urban decay</p> <p>Issues 10 and 11 (Summer/Fall 1973) Federal EPA budget increase for 1974; new city regulation mandating lower-decibel car horns</p> <p>Issue 12 (Winter 1973-74) Mayor's recent executive order mandating environmental review of major construction projects</p>
Elsewhere. . .	Reports of innovation in other cities	<p>Issues 1-3 (December 1971) Oberlin, Ohio ordinance on nonreturnable bottles; Japanese industrial company remunerates downstream victims of mercury poisoning</p> <p>Issue 4 (January 1972) Leaded fuel faces a ban in Orange County, California</p> <p>Issue 5 (March/April 1972) New Jersey begins requiring auto inspections</p> <p>Issue 6 (June 1972) Successful recycling program in Briarcliff Manor, NY</p> <p>Issue 9 (February 1973) Western European cities have barred autos from key areas to curb air pollution</p> <p>Issues 10-11 (Summer/Fall 1973) Use of domestic trash to produce electric power in St. Louis</p> <p>Issue 12 (Winter 1973-1974) House in Richmond, Virginia created almost completely from secondary materials</p> <p>Issue 14 (Summer 1975) Incinerator ash recycled into paving material in Chicago</p>
Innovative Education	Reportage about experimental public schools and community-based education programs	<p>Issue 5 (March/April 1972) Parents go to school with kids at Harlem Storefront</p> <p>Issue 6 (June 1972) environmental education program for primary schoolers in Boulder, CO</p> <p>Issue 9 (February 1973) Booklet available-practical experiments for junior high and high school science classes involving air pollution</p> <p>Issues 10 and 11 (Summer/Fall 1973) Children As Environmental Watchdogs (reprinted from Development Forum)</p>
Brooklyn Lives!	"Signs of life" in Brooklyn that defy popular perceptions of decay and blight	<p>Issue 6 (June 1972) "Every spring for the past three years, Eeyore's Birthday has been held in Prospect Park to the delight of 3,000 or more children of all ages"</p> <p>Issue 9 (January 1973) Drop in serious crime in New York City; new street-lighting improvements; wild red fox in residence in Brooklyn Botanical Garden; South Brooklyn waterfront festival</p> <p>Issues 10 and 11 (Summer/Fall 1973) Bed-Stuy Restoration Buys Weeksville Property; first art gallery in the Ft. Green community opened by neighborhood non-profit collective</p> <p>Issue 12 (1973-1974) Renovation of parks in Red Hook; 7.9 mile bikeway in eastern Queens, terminating at Shea Stadium; Brooklyn "culture loop" bus service</p> <p>Issue 13 (Fall 1974) Brooklyn Legal Services offering legal education for community development; Court Street beautification program sponsored by residents of Cobble Hill and Carroll Gardens; drop in crime in downtown Brooklyn in 1973; new artist studio homes on Henry and Middagh Streets in downtown Brooklyn</p> <p>Issue 14 (Summer 1975) Floyd Bennett Field in Brooklyn transferred from the Navy to the Interior Department for use as parkland; arts festival celebrates Brooklyn's bicentennial</p>
Liveable New York	Excerpts from a "catalogue of improvements, sponsored by the Parks Council . . . designed to	<p>Issue 4 (January 1972) Street furniture</p> <p>Issue 5 (March/April 1972) City sculpture; street lighting</p> <p>Issue 6 (June 1972) Bike racks; playground equipment</p> <p>Issue 7 (October 1972) Repaving; planters, and landscaping</p>

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Representative Examples</i>
	encourage and facilitate private financial participation . . . in the tangible improvement of the quality of life in New York City"	
<i>Household Level</i>		
Reprints from "Urban Rights," a Publication of the New York Urban Coalition	Information intended to link people with social and health services and entitlements	Issues 1-3 (December 1971) Information about applying for food stamps/locations of food stamp centers Issue 4 (January 1972) Sickle cell anemia-information and local resources Issue 7 (October 1972) Unemployment insurance benefits
Food	Column on maintaining a healthy diet on a low budget	Issue 5 (March/April 1972) "Survival in your supermarket"-dos and don'ts Issue 7 (October 1972) The key nutrients (chart summarizing key nutrients, their functions, and their sources, courtesy of the Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture) Issue 9 (Winter 1973) Homemade yogurt Issue 10 (Summer/Fall 1973) Notes on red dye and other additives Issue 12 (Winter 1973-1974) Making the most of your coconut Issue 13 (Fall 1974) Vegetable popularity survey
Urban Insides	Interior design innovations you can do yourself	Issue 4 (January 1972) "With a minimum of time and effort milk cartons can be turned into storage containers. . ." Issue 5 (March/April 1972) Report on interior design students' work to design the interior of a five and a half room "model apartment" in a public housing project on a budget of \$800 Issue 6 (June 1972) Replacing a frayed or damaged electrical cord or plug Issues 8-11 (December 1972, February 1973, Summer/Fall 1973) design hints for more livable apartments Issue 12 (Winter 1973-1974) Interior painting (paint selection, surface preparation, application)
Urban Consumer	Consumer advocacy and tips on getting quality products on a tight budget	Issue 4 (January 1972) Chemical additives in hot dogs Issue 6 (June 1972) Recent New York City Department of Consumer Affairs regulations on underweight food and overdue furniture Issue 7 (October 1972) Hazards of bug-killing shelf papers Issue 9 (Winter 1973) Co-ops: a growing answer to high food costs Issue 12 (Winter 1973-1974) New city regulation requiring stores to post policies on refunds and exchanges; state law requiring creditors to mail billing statements at least 15 days before payments are due Issue 13 (Fall 1974) Advisory about the Poison Prevention Packaging Act of 1970 Issue 14 (Summer 1975) Steps to follow in filing an insurance complaint Issue 5 (March/April 1972) How to start seedlings
Green Things	Indoor gardening column	Issue 6 (June 1972) Good plants for novice gardeners-avocados, pineapples, carrots, sweet potatoes Issue 8 (December 1972) indoor winter vegetables Issues 10 and 11 (Summer/Fall 1973) Terrariums: alternative lifestyle for plants Issue 12 (Winter 1973-1974) Winter survival for house plants Issue 13 (Fall 1974) Making the most of garbage Issues 1-3 (December 1971) How to give your car a tune-up to improve performance and reduce air pollution
<i>STREET</i> Tips	General advice	Issue 4 (January 1972) How to report a fishkill or oil slick Issue 6 (June 1972) How to clean and tune up your bicycle for the summer Issue 9 (Winter 1973) How to get rid of junk mail Issues 10 and 11 (Summer/Fall 1973) Do something with that vacant lot; form a block association; give a block party (reprinted from Restoration, a publication of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation) Issue 12 (Winter 1973-1974) Household fire safety Issue 13 (Fall 1974) Tips for finding a reliable moving company

Note: FHA = Federal Housing Administration; EPA = U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

Source: Compiled by author from *STREET* magazine (see <http://www.pratt.edu/newsite/xfer/citylegacies/downloads.php>).

in addition to their neighborhood work, advocacy planners should pay attention to events taking place on the citywide, statewide, national, and even global environmental stages. In addition to legislative reports, *STREET* published both original articles and authorized reprints about air and water pollution and about the new federal and state regulatory and mitigation standards that were emerging to limit their impact. It reported on municipal waste policy, emerging markets for recycled materials, parkland improvement, tree stewardship, and the potential of public transportation, and bicycling and walking to supplant automobile dependence. Issues 7, 8, and 9, published in the fall of 1972 and the winter of 1973, reproduced sections of a report from what is arguably the first meeting ever held on global environmental issues, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment conference in Stockholm, Sweden, which had taken place the previous June.

But *STREET*, as its creators' acknowledged debt to *The Whole Earth Catalog* suggests, also embodied the downscaling of planning in this time period, with attention directed toward the intensely local environments of the block and the household. Several regular features in the magazine (see table 1) illustrate this. The "Green Things" feature offered tips on urban gardening. "Food" advocated simple, healthy diets free of chemical additives and processed foods. "Urban Insides" harnessed the know-how of architecture and interior design students and professors to demonstrate how readers could conduct basic home improvement projects themselves using scrap materials. Issue 4 (January 1972) featured coverage of the debate over the effects of phosphates in laundry detergent, and in the same issue, a set of "New Years Resolutions" for 1972 included such tips as "keep a bottle of water in the refrigerator for drinking," "use baking soda for a cleanser," "combine errands," and "bake your own bread." In combining such features with environmental policy news, *STREET* differed from contemporary alternative publications, which tended to devote themselves entirely either to public politics or to lifestyle coverage.

► Shoring up Struggling Neighborhoods

While *STREET* expressed the attempt by activist planners to include national and household-level environmental issues within planning's sphere of concern, it also maintained a focus on neighborhoods, depicting the practice of planning in a way that emphasized the legitimacy of public participation and the importance of homegrown alternatives to official city planning. The magazine chronicled neighborhood-based planning and activism across Brooklyn (see Figure 3). Special attention was paid to efforts to which the Pratt Center for Community and Environmental Development provided technical help, including the Ad-Hoc Committee to Save the

Waterfront in the Brooklyn's Columbia Street neighborhood (issues 1–3, issues 10 and 11) and an effort by residents of the Northside neighborhood in Williamsburg, Brooklyn to respond to a city-financed factory expansion plan that would result in their eviction (issues 10 and 11, issue 12). In each of these cases, the Pratt Center helped residents propose alternatives to city-sponsored plans that would have demolished homes to serve economic development objectives, and in each case a solution was found that enabled economic development projects to go forward in a way more palatable to residents groups—namely, through the inclusion of relocation options and affordable housing development (see also Neubauer 1993).

In addition, *STREET* was path-breaking in its rich portrayal of neighborhood life. Articles documenting the efforts of a tree-planting and horticultural education initiative for young people in Bedford Stuyvesant helped legitimate the program in the eyes of government and private funders, pleasing the program's founder, the neighborhood activist Hattie Carthan (Curry 2007). The "Brooklyn Lives!" feature, which debuted in issue 6 (June, 1972), offered upbeat and defiant counterpoint to news of job and population loss, fiscal stress, crime, and property abandonment in the Pratt Center's borough. Notices of newly installed streetlights, local festivals, block beautification campaigns, and new housing construction testified to the loosely organized yet passionate community-building activity that continued to be present at a time of decline.¹² Throughout the early 1970s, *STREET* publicized and celebrated citizen-initiated improvements to quality of life both in the middle-class neighborhoods that housed professional planners and in neighborhoods generally thought of as slums. Photographs showing the residents of Crown Heights, Bedford Stuyvesant, Red Hook, and North Williamsburg going to church, attending block parties, maintaining small businesses, and caring for their families and front yards portrayed everyday activity and communal life in places that the media of the time tended to caricature as decaying and pathology-ridden if they rendered them visible at all.

But as *STREET*'s content increasingly indicated, neighborhood regeneration would not be a simple, volunteer-led matter. As abandonment, arson, and property crime increased, destroying or threatening thousands of homes in recently stable working-class areas (an estimated thirty-six thousand units were destroyed in 1974 alone), the publication's regular features on environmental legislation, pollution prevention, gardening, and low-cost home improvement were increasingly joined by reports that highlighted neighborhood abandonment in New York and advocated what the activists saw as the imperative for public sector action to prevent and mitigate it. In its last few issues, much of the magazine's content was dedicated to analysis of changes in federal housing policy and of these changes' effect on city agencies and community-based organizations. Since 1972, an experimental Community

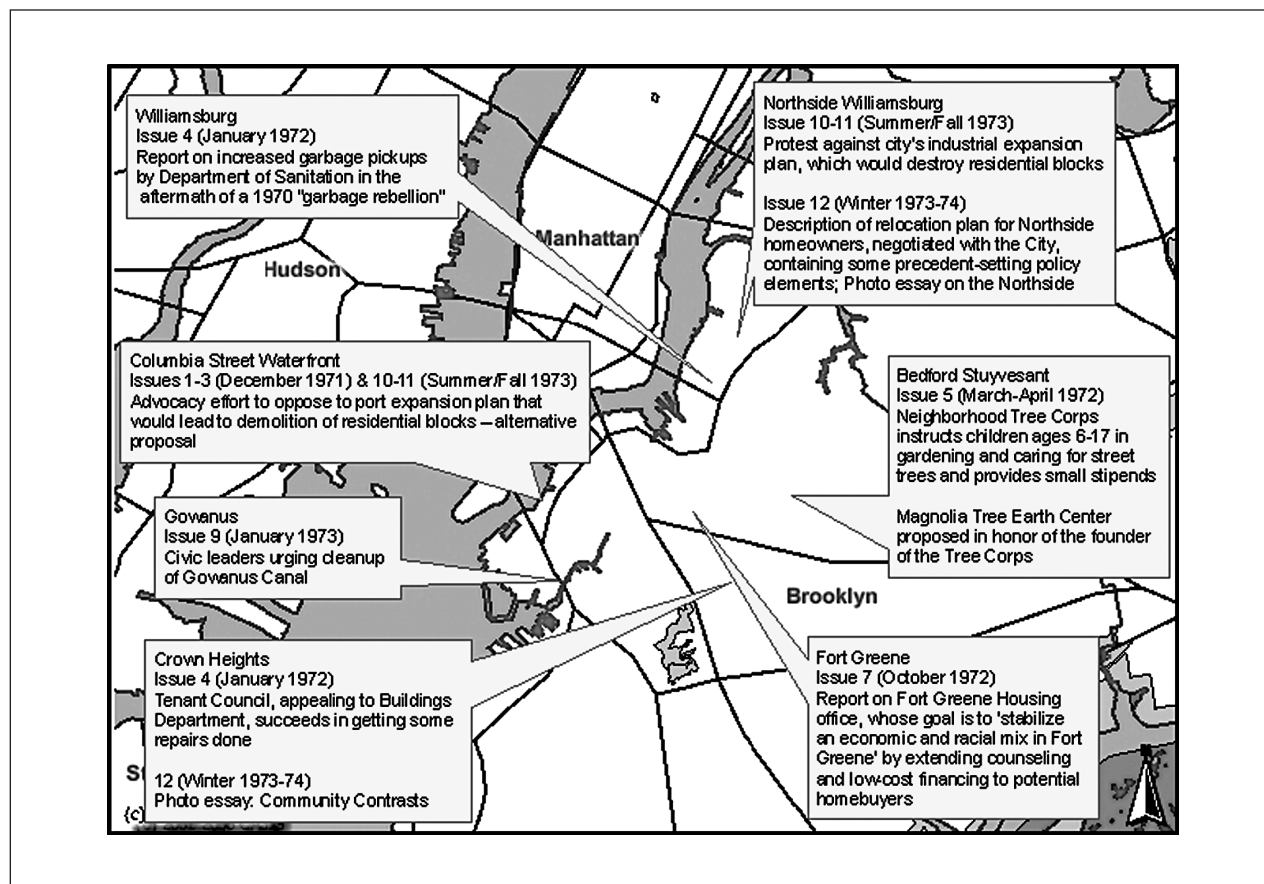


Figure 3. Brooklyn neighborhoods featured in *STREET*.

Source: Graphic by Christine Caggiano.

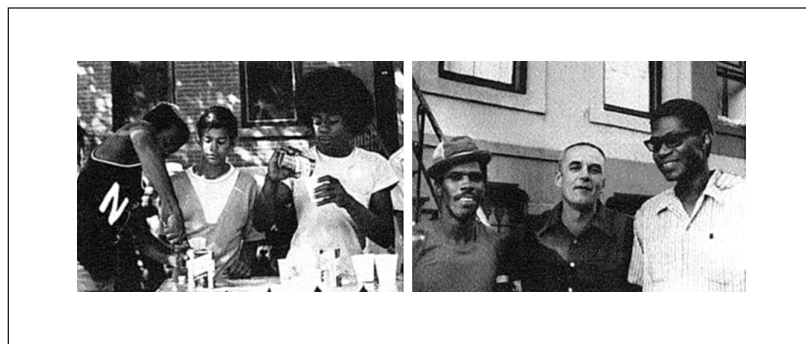


Figure 4. An article in issue 7 of *STREET* featured these and other images from a block party held on Park Place between 5th and 6th Avenues.

Source: By permission of Pratt Center for Community Development.

Management program run by the New York City Housing Development Administration had enabled fledgling community-based housing organizations to assume ownership of City in-rem properties and rehabilitate them as either tenant-managed cooperatives or as nonprofit-managed buildings, forging

unprecedented relationships between activists and the local public sector (Lawson 1986; Marwell 2007).

When the Community Development Act of 1974 devolved grant making responsibility in housing and community development to local governments, funding for neighborhood housing became dependent on local power configurations.¹³ Issue 14 of *STREET* (Summer 1975) featured articles apprising community development organizations of the operational and political changes that block grants would bring. It contained a report about the City's fledgling co-op conversion and sweat equity housing programs and an article about a vacant building in East Harlem that was

being rehabilitated by former gang members affiliated with a new entity, the 251 E. 119th Street Housing Development Corporation. The issue also included an article by activist Gail Cincotta about tactics she and her Chicago allies were using

to confront institutional discrimination in mortgage lending in that city, paired with a report about New York State legislators' attempts to expose redlining practices and strategize about how mortgage lending regulation could promote inner-city revitalization.

The shift to housing as a focus did not, for the Pratt planners, require a muting of enthusiasm for environmental issues. Indeed, the magazine in its later years demonstrated the ways in which activists saw environmentalism and community development as intertwined. Articles in issues 9 and 14 reported on a lawsuit that a group of block associations had filed seeking a judgment against the Department of Housing and Urban Development "to conduct a full study of the potential detrimental effects on the environment of its handling of residential buildings" (Pratt Center for Community and Environmental Development 1973, 12). The action concerned a Federal Housing Administration policy requiring that federally insured buildings whose owners had defaulted on mortgages be vacated of tenants and stripped of value in order for lenders to collect government-issued insurance. The policy, the litigants argued, not only prompted the eviction of indigent tenants; the improper sealing of the vacant buildings encouraged vandalism and destabilized conditions for families who remained in the neighborhoods. They were demanding that the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and its parent agency, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), account for the impact of the "delivered vacant" policy under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970. The article (and the lawsuit, which ultimately succeeded)¹⁴ is notable for two reasons. First, it signals the Pratt planners' increasing affiliation with the neighborhood housing movement. Second, it shows that a core dedication to urban environmentalism, embodied in and promoted by *STREET*, enabled PICCED to seize opportunities in the housing arena that other organizations might have overlooked.

► A Return to Political Fundamentals

While the activist planners who produced *STREET* did not give up their concern with environmental policy or urban living "how-to's" in the later years of the magazine, they did assume a role in official city planning dialogues that they had been unaccustomed to playing during *STREET*'s early years. This is attributable to a combination of the increasing severity of neighborhood abandonment (by the mid-1970s, it was affecting solid working- and middle-class as well as poorer communities), the localization of the funding landscape for community development, and the city's fiscal crisis. Beginning in 1974, which also saw the transition of the city's Mayoralty from John Lindsay to Abraham Beame and the exposure of the city's precarious fiscal position, New York

City's neighborhood development groups had to reorient themselves from federal grantsmanship to local political brinksmanship. Namely, they found themselves fighting for federal community development funding that the City was inclined to use to plug holes in its hemorrhaging operating budget or to rescue faltering for-profit real estate developers.

As a provider of architectural and planning assistance to neighborhood development groups, the Pratt Center for Community and Environmental Development became involved in these struggles. With the Technical Assistance Unit at the Community Service Society and a newly formed a trade group for community housing organizations called the Association of Neighborhood Housing Developers (ANHD),¹⁵ PICCED sponsored the creation of a group whose purpose was to bird-dog the process by which New York City allocated its federal community development block grant funds. The group, known informally as the Pratt Conference Coalition, conducted seminars, disseminated information, and advocated for the targeting of funds to low-income neighborhoods. In this era, *STREET*, in addition to reporting on the Coalition's activities, furiously editorialized in favor of repair and rehabilitation policies that enabled tenants and owners to stay in troubled buildings. It argued against City policies that led to the eviction of tenants from city-owned buildings, the razing of in-rem structures, and the undertaking of large-scale urban renewal style redevelopment plans that would not be built out if the funding climate shifted. Articles in issue 15 protested the allocation of community development funding to projects "that clearly are against the interest of the low- and moderate income people the CD program is supposed to help" (Sullivan 1975, 33) and blasted the withdrawal of city capital budget commitments to a series of housing rehabilitation projects that had been underway before the fiscal crisis. Even with the immediacy of the housing and fiscal crises dominating, however, what would be *STREET*'s final issue as a standalone publication included coverage of research investigating the use of lighter materials in automobile manufacture, of state legislation requiring energy-conserving insulation in new buildings, and of a well-attended Brooklyn conference on urban gardening and food production.

In 1975, the Pratt Center for Community and Environmental Development took a step that located it more firmly at the nucleus of the still-infant neighborhood housing movement by joining with the Association of Neighborhood Housing Developers and two other sweat equity housing groups, the Urban Homesteading Assistance Board (UHAB) and the People's Housing Network, to launch a combined publication. Each organization agreed to contribute \$10,000 annually, and *STREET* and the regular news publications of the partner organizations were rolled into the magazine *City Limits*, whose first issue was released in 1976.¹⁶ Reflecting on the two publications, a former editor of *City Limits* contrasts her magazine's "many times more pragmatic" approach with

STREET's utopian aspect, asserting that *STREET*, particularly its early issues, addressed a public that was "very separate in a day to day practice from what most planners were doing." Nevertheless, she adds, *STREET* was innovative in "juxtaposing eclectic elements that in their aggregate created a coherent world" (Katz 2005). The world imagined by *STREET* magazine—a world in which activist planners coalesced with radical artists, socially conscious architects and designers, consumer advocates, environmentalists, and sweat equity housing developers to revive and transform urban neighborhoods, and with them perhaps the entire society—was the world of a particular moment, a world that gave way with the gradual institutionalization and professionalization of community development in the late 1970s and 80s. The cessation of *STREET*'s publication and its folding into *City Limits* reflected this.

► *STREET* and the Legacies of Activist Planning

The fifteen issues of *STREET* magazine that the Pratt Center published and distributed between 1971 and 1975 document the evolution within the city planning profession during that period of a range of new ideas about urban environmentalism, public participation, and the role of community-based organizations in the production of the urban built and social environments. The entry of a new tributary of thought and practice into the profession can be attributed to backlash against the nonconsultative approach of urban renewal, to the influence of social movements—including the environmental movement—on young professionals in training, and to the comparatively sudden infusion of federal interest in and funding for comprehensive community development. During this period, a set of federal policies and legislation that briefly strove to address the root causes of urban blight in addition to its symptoms inspired a generation of city planners to activism—or, perhaps more accurately, inspired a generation of social activists in search of professional homes to choose city planning as a vocation. Federally funded community action and its successor institutions in the neighborhood housing and development movement also employed those planners at the neighborhood level, or within organizations—many associated with colleges and universities—whose mission was to assist neighborhood groups. A hybrid between policy organ and guide to an alternative lifestyle, *STREET* emblemized larger tendencies within activist planning to encompass social as well as physical form, to embrace localism, and to turn away from the state and toward community-based nonprofit and informal organizations. The individuals who created and consumed *STREET* helped redefine city planning as a grassroots and in some respects antiestablishment endeavor, a mechanism through which professionals and citizens could work side by side to

envision—and if the state obliged, enact—development alternatives for their neighborhoods. The legacies of this redefinition can be found in the continuing engagement of city planners with environmental justice and place-based community development.

Some ideas and strategies originated or promoted by the activists are now widely accepted in city planning. One of these is an embrace of the notion that planners should enable the informed and active participation of neighborhood residents in development decisions. According to Brian Sullivan (2008): "There was real opposition when we started to the whole idea of citizen participation. The mainstream planners thought that was just sociology. Over the years, that became much more widely accepted and more integral to planning." A second element of the activist agenda that is now part of the general planner's toolkit concerns the value of the historic character and "embodied energy" inherent in existing neighborhoods. Rehabilitation of buildings, and small-scale intervention through infill development, have a currency in the field now that they did not possess during the high modernist era of planning, in part because of the tireless work of community groups to assert the value of urban fabric that to outsiders looked merely "blighted." Finally, the activist planners who translated the lessons of the *Whole Earth Catalog* into the urban context may be seen as forerunners of the professionals who today concern themselves with energy-conscious design, regional foodsheds, and mobility strategies that support public transportation, bicycles, and pedestrians in addition to cars.

The critical content of the *STREET* cover illustrations shown in Figure 2 and Figure 5 reflects activist planners' expectation—or at least their hope—that the social movements with which they identified would be capable of righting profound flaws in the organization of society. They understood planning as part of this transformation. But as noted above, this détente between the politics of protest and the realities of planning practice was rife with contradictions. In the early 1970s, when both the government and the private sector seemed to have given central cities up for lost, autonomy from state bureaucracies functioned well for activist planners, who formed renegade organizations that succeeded in building and managing housing, preserving neighborhood fabric facing demolition, and organizing low-income residents to re-establish security and community in disinvested neighborhoods. Ultimately, however, *STREET* and the Pratt Center helped to bequeath a complicated legacy to the current generation, whose members practice in a world where community development has been assimilated more fully into the state's purview. Much present-day community development discourse centers on the question of whether close ties between community organizations and the state serve neighborhood interests, especially as formerly

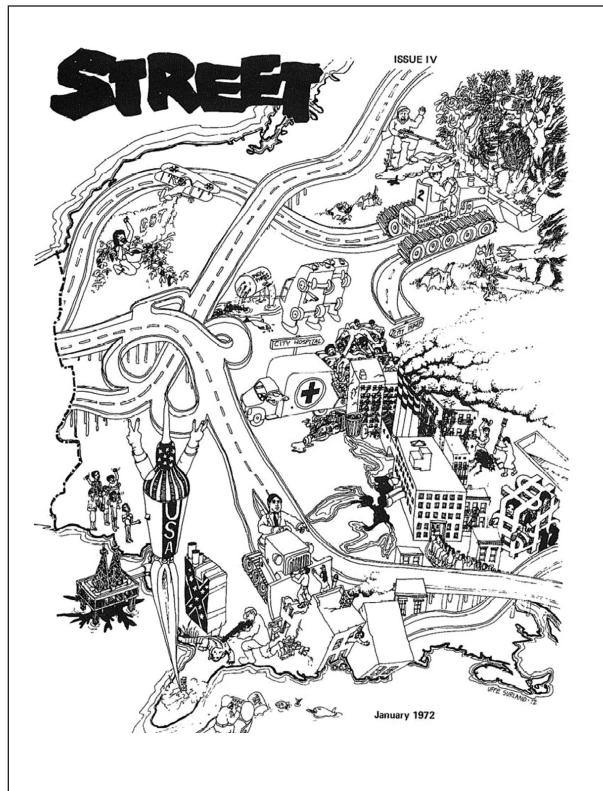


Figure 5. A *STREET* cover illustration from January 1972.

Source: By permission of Pratt Center for Community Development.

disinvested neighborhoods attract interest from market-rate developers (see Stoecker 2003, 2004; Lander 2005; Marwell 2007). Some maintain that a privatist community development paradigm, in adopting the language of participation, ecologically sensitive development and neighborhood revitalization, has diluted the once-oppositional content of these ideas (see deFilippis 2007).

Another contemporary tension in the community development field, also with roots in this time period, pertains to the scale at which planners' and activists' attention should be focused. The affinity of *STREET*'s producers and readers was clearly with neighborhoods, and as noted above, while the publication problematized environmental issues nationally and globally, the interventions the magazine contemplated were calibrated to communities, blocks, and households. Yet a distinct flank among activist planners in the 1960s and 70s, including both the Pratt Center's original director George Raymond and the originators of the theory of "advocacy planning," Paul and Linda Davidoff, made their priority the integration of suburbia and the opening of metropolitan housing markets (see Davidoff, Davidoff, and Gold 1970). Issue 6 of *STREET* (June 1972) features an article by Raymond advocating

comprehensive metropolitan growth policies on both equity and ecological grounds.¹⁷ Aside from this article, however, *STREET* makes little reference to regional approaches, remaining very much in the realm of the central city. As respected scholars now urge regional approaches as the sole rational entry point into the mitigation of central city poverty, housing crises, and environmental problems (Rusk 1999; Downs 1994, 1999; Katz 1999; Pastor et al. 2000), purely neighborhood-based development strategies such as those celebrated and championed in the pages of *STREET* have again come into question.

► Conclusion

The "braided stream" that is city planning has drawn strength and momentum from the plural traditions and paradigms that feed it. This article documents, through analysis of an emblematic publication, the emergence of one practical paradigm which has shown durability into the present. In the wake of urban renewal, acknowledged across the ideological spectrum as a planning disaster, federal policy makers sought interventions and solutions for struggling neighborhoods that extended beyond physical redevelopment. Activist planners gave themselves over to experimentation in this arena and helped build a community development infrastructure that exists (though possessing varying degrees of capacity) in most cities today. In the process, they helped to bring urban ecology, the practices of rehabilitation and infill development, and the principles of community engagement and participation into the mainstream of the planning profession.

Working as they did within the delicate confines of local political arrangements and in an environment of increasingly unstable federal support, activist planners were not well-positioned to change the underlying social conditions producing poverty, unemployment, and neighborhood decay, and judged by this standard they failed. Contemporary planners working outside of government continue to struggle in finding a balance between confrontation and accommodation, and in this they are the heirs of an unresolved dilemma born in the late 1960s and 1970s (see Weir 1999; Immergluck 2005). Nevertheless, the activist planners of that era built organizations that remain important marshals of resources, aggregators of citizen voice and protest, and vehicles for the introduction of alternative visions of the contemporary city. *STREET* magazine provides insight into this era because, in addition to embodying the ultimate limitations of the activists' approach, it gave full-throated voice to ideas and strategies, marginal at the time, that are now integral to professional practice in the field.

► Notes

1. Kennedy and Javits were attempting to remedy perceived flaws in the Community Action Program with a focus on economic development and jobs.

2. Hoffman cites articles published in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* by Bernard Frieden, Martin Rein, Paul Davidoff, and others on the subject of social responsibility in planning.

3. The founding and history of the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation have been documented by the Pratt Center's CDC Oral History Project (<http://www.prattcenter.net/cdc-bsrc.php>) by political scientist Kimberley Johnson (2004) and by Sviridoff (2004), which features interviews and oral histories with Ford Foundation and Bed-Stuy Restoration Corporation figures as well as staff who served in Senator Robert Kennedy's office.

4. Comprehensive planning efforts in Bedford Stuyvesant included advocacy for a re-drawing of Congressional district boundaries that resulted in the election of Shirley Chisholm, the nation's first black Congresswoman, from that district in 1968.

5. Pratt's graduate city planning program, founded in 1969, is a master's degree program housed within Pratt's School of Architecture.

6. The Pratt activists' affiliation with a small college of art and design in a "forgotten" borough of New York City, combined with relative administrative autonomy within Pratt Institute, gave their organization a stable financial base while leaving it essentially free to pursue its social and political objectives. Other organizations that took an expressly activist approach from within the academy had difficulty, as the experience of advocate planner Chester Harman within Harvard's Urban Field Service attests (Hoffman 1989; Hartman 2002). The activists at Pratt, perhaps more easily than those at other university-based research centers, were able to assume a "bridge role" that linked neighborhood renegades with stable sources of funds and institutional support in government and the philanthropic establishment. But this was in many ways an exceptional situation for a university-based planning technical assistance program.

7. Perhaps ironically, mainstream reaction to activism can be clearly seen in the pages of *Pratt Planning Papers*, published from 1962–1968 by Pratt Institute's Department of City and Regional Planning under George Raymond. Of particular note are an editorial by Raymond himself entitled "The New Utopians" (Raymond 1963a) and a heated exchange between Astrid Monson and Chester Hartman on the policy governing the relocation of households displaced by urban renewal. Monson criticizes activists for doctrinaire condemnation of well-intentioned efforts to eliminate substandard housing and confront urban decay (Monson 1965; Hartman 1966). The *Pratt Planning Papers* and *STREET* are digitally archived at www.pratt.edu/citylegacies.

8. Raymond, who lived outside New York City in Westchester County and had a consulting practice there, became a tireless advocate for the economic and racial integration of the suburbs, working for the next several decades with municipal officials and through the judicial system.

9. There are several perspectives on the causes of private disinvestment in the city's real estate during this period. Conservative critics have argued that rent regulation (which made owning rental buildings unprofitable) and the criminal behavior of tenants were mostly to blame. Liberal/left writers have pointed to cynical and unscrupulous practices among mortgage brokers, real estate agents, and Federal Housing Administration representatives, and to rapacious landlords who "milked" buildings for rents

without providing services and simply abandoned them when they became uninhabitable. In any event, bank lending policies at this time made it nearly impossible to raise private capital for renovation or repair in poor or working-class areas of the city.

10. Ms. Anderson, deceased in 2005, unfortunately could not be interviewed for this article.

11. Because the first issue was numbered "1–3," a total of thirteen issues was published but the final issue was numbered issue 15.

12. The first installment of Brooklyn Lives! featured a public event in Brooklyn's Prospect Park called Eeyore's Birthday Party, which had been initiated in 1970. Asked why this counted as a significant event, Shiffman gave an answer that from the perspective of contemporary Brooklyn residents—whose borough is now home to major private development projects and centrally situated in an optimistic city-led plan for enhanced environmental quality and sustainability—is likely to be baffling. "People were afraid to go into the parks! Eeyore's birthday party was to get people into Prospect Park" (Shiffman 2007).

13. The Community Services Act of 1972 and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 authorized the block granting to states and cities of the funds that had previously been awarded directly by federal agencies to local nonprofits. These acts, part of Nixon's New Federalism agenda, also cut funding (Clark 2000).

14. The suit prompted HUD to reexamine its "vacant delivery" requirement. In a related action several months later, the federal court enjoined HUD to halt the bulk sale of FHA-owned properties at distress prices, helping to initiate a series of events that led to the rehabilitation of FHA and city-owned buildings that would otherwise have been demolished. HUD ultimately turned over many FHA-foreclosed 1–4 unit buildings to New York City, which was persuaded to support their rehabilitation by not-for-profit groups. In an article published in *Urban Affairs Quarterly* in 1974, Attorney Douglas Kramer asserted that "NEPA [National Environmental Policy Act], originally demeaned by urban activists as a tool of the middle class to protect its pleasures, could now be used by the urban population to protect their lives" (Kramer 1974, 363). In New York City, planning officials developed a program to purchase FHA-foreclosed homes from lenders and contract with local housing groups to rehabilitate them for reoccupation by owners and tenants. For further information on the FHA scandals, see Boyer (1973), Kramer (1974), and Bonastia (2000).

15. ANHD had been founded in 1974 by Robert Schur, a former commissioner in the New York City Housing Development Administration, who had been responsible for pioneering community management within that agency but who left after the change in mayoral administration from Lindsay to Beame.

16. Published monthly for nearly thirty years, *City Limits* chronicled and informed New York City's neighborhood housing and community development movement. It became a quarterly investigative journal in 2007.

17. See also Raymond's editorial "The Last Chance?" in vol. 2, issue 3 of the *Pratt Planning Papers* (Raymond 1963b).

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