Activist Planning Case Studies 1990-2020

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Ву

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Cambridge Scholars Publishing



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By Tore Sager

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PREFACE

This book is a systematic overview of scholarly reported activist planning cases, including descriptions of the various types of activist planning and the reported cases, and containing a comprehensive bibliography of academic publications related to the 164 cases. It is a reference work and a handbook not meant to be read from cover to cover.

The case collection started more than a decade ago to provide the basis for my first attempt to systematize activist modes of planning in the book "Reviving Critical Planning Theory" (Routledge 2013). Readers will recognize elements from Chapter 3 in that book, as well as ideas from three of my journal articles:

- "Activist planning: a response to the woes of neo-liberalism?" (European Planning Studies 2016: 24, 1262–1280)
- "Activism by lay and professional planners: types, research issues, and ongoing analysis" (plaNext 2019: 8, 32–39)
- "Advocacy planning: were expectations fulfilled?" (*Planning Perspectives* 2022: 37, 1205–1230

However, neither chapters nor sections of this book have been previously published.

The work on these earlier attempts at analyzing the concept of activist planning convinced me that more knowledge of empirical material was needed to come to grips with the many forms of activist planning. The book is needed because no comprehensive collection of activist planning cases exists. Neither does a classification table comprising all types of activist planning. There is to date no data base of cases and associated literature providing researchers with an authoritative source.

Planning school faculty often includes seminal articles on, for example, advocacy planning and equity planning on their reading lists for planning students. It will be a great advantage both for lecturing and supervising that university teachers know what activist planning has been like in practice in the period 1990–2020. Some forms of activist planning are also a source of inspiration to academics engaging students in service learning and other forms of campus outreach projects.

Being informed about activist planning through the syllabus, some master students and PhD students choose bottom-up oppositional planning as the subject of their theses. This reference book–classifying activist planning modes, pointing to interesting cases and listing references for each of them—is likely to be a valuable tool.

Even after my retirement in 2015, the Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology has provided workspace, library services and IT assistance—as well as the possibility of continued close contact with good colleagues. For this I am grateful.

PART I: PRELUDE

The register of activist planning cases in Chapter 1 reflects the delimitation criteria for activist planning listed in Chapter 2. Moreover, the problems of demarcation dealt with in Chapter 2 are affected by the way activist planning has traditionally been conceptualized, as touched upon in the background section of Chapter 1. The chapters giving an introduction to activist planning and discussing delimitation of the concept and the search for cases are therefore linked and placed in the same part of the book. Together, the two chapters of Part I give readers the necessary basis for appreciating the systematic case overviews of later chapters.

Naturally, the classification of activist planning types is also strongly affected by the conventional way of thinking about activist planning. Wellestablished names of familiar activist planning modes are kept in the classification table of Section 2.2. It was nevertheless necessary to introduce several new designations in order to name the entire range of activist planning types. For example, the planning profession has no generally agreed names for the types of activist planning primarily aiming to improve the relationship between conflicting social groups, that is, committed to a relational cause. The terms used in this book are intermediary activist planning and campus-based reconciliation planning.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and purpose

In the great majority of cases, activist planners develop critical alternatives to official plans or the plans of private developers. For activist planners working out of civil society, an activist style is required, and they very often use direct action. Ordinary invited citizen participation is not enough to qualify as activist planning. Activists create arenas where the interchange with governments and stakeholders can take place on terms influenced by the activists. Activist planners in government or educational institutions often work outside the normal channels for reporting and handling problems in the organization where the planners are employed.

Injustice and repression are sometimes upheld by prevailing social institutions and thus need to be combated by strategies going beyond—and possibly breaking with—the accepted practices of these institutions. However, activist planning does not necessarily entail a heroic fight for recognition, freedom and equal rights. The driving force may, for example, be the mobilization of community resources in order to improve living conditions through locally desired neighbourhood plans and urban renewal projects on terms set by the present inhabitants. In other cases, the motivation for activist planning comes from civic groups' disagreement with public planners and elected politicians about the organization of the official planning process and the goals for city development. The basis for activist planning can be interest conflict and political disagreement as well as a fight against repression. Activist planning can thus be legitimate even in well-governed liberal societies.

Viewed from the early 2020s, activist planning studies have been a significant branch of the scholarly planning literature for more than half a century. Wolf-Powers (2008, 180) writes that: "During the late 1960s and early 1970s, a paradigm of activist planning became a new 'tributary' feeding the stream of the planning profession". Several internationally renowned modes of activist planning emerged in the USA in the 1960s, for example, advocacy planning (Davidoff 1965), radical planning (Friedmann

1969), university outreach planning to assist poor neighbourhoods (Peattie 1969) and equity planning (Krumholz 1972, he joined the Cleveland City Planning Commission in 1969). In the couple of decades that followed, inside activist planning appeared (Needleman and Needleman 1974), as did critical-alternative planning initiatives that were not insurgent or revolutionary (Clavel 1980). Moreover, since the inception of activist planning, stories were told about communities creating alternative plans as part of their strategy to protect their neighbourhoods from decline, gentrification or government interventions (Brownill 1988, Riessman 1965, Wates 1976).

The importance of activist planning to teaching is indicated by the position of some celebrated articles about various activist planning types on the reading lists of US master courses devoted to planning theory (Pokharel 2022). Paul Davidoff's *Advocacy and pluralism in planning* has been the top required reading over the last four decades, while Sherry Arnstein's *A ladder of citizen participation* comes third. Her article is relevant in the present context, as the highest rungs on the ladder—and the most attractive ones in terms of citizen power—are reached only when the involved local people go beyond government-designed engagement events and turn to activism. As Arnstein writes about the power-sharing steps of the ladder:

In most cases where power has come to be shared it was *taken by the citizens*, not given by the city. There is nothing new about that process. Since those who have power normally want to hang onto it, historically it has had to be wrested by the powerless rather than proffered by the powerful. (Arnstein 1969, 222)

Norman Krumholz's *A retrospective view of equity planning* and Faranak Miraftab's *Insurgent planning: situating radical planning in the Global South* are also high on the list of required reading. In fact, Arnstein (1969), Davidoff (1965), Krumholz (1982) and Miraftab (2009) are all among the top ten articles most often selected for required reading lists in 2019 according to Pokharel (2022). All this confirms the continued salience of activist planning in courses teaching planning theory, and it strongly suggests that the practice of activist planning is well worth mapping and classifying, which is done in this book.

Activist planning is part of the strivings to make spatial planning democratic. Students cannot get an adequate overview of planning theory without being informed about activist planning. Important viewpoints have been introduced to the professional planning discourse by activist planners, such as:

- Public planning is not objective.
- There is often a need for alternative plans.
- Residents and other local interests should have the right to be heard and to influence their own living conditions.
- Professional planners often use jargon, techniques and reasoning that lay people do not understand.
- Public planning needs to have a system-critical and self-critical element.
- Urban policies should emphasize equity and environmental values just as much as economic development.
- The city develops by activating networks of power relations. These are biased, and some groups need to fight for the just city and their right to the city.
- Creativity and innovation can be stimulated by non-partisan activism.
- There is a need for critical voices even in government, and inside the liberal and fragmented state there may be room for inside activist planning.
- It is possible to take on an activist planner role in academia and to practice it, for example, in campus outreach projects aiming to assist vulnerable communities.

In the beginning of the 2020s, case studies illustrating the early development of the activist planning modes are growing old. They belong to a time when cell phones were not commercialized, when the world wide web was unavailable to ordinary people and social media on the internet were not invented, when neoliberalism had just started its transition from economic theory to political practice, the Cold War was still structuring international politics, and resistance to climate change was not on the agenda. Planners, planning theorists, urban geographers, development researchers and other scholars, as well as students and activists, need to know what activist planning looks like in more familiar contexts (Tayebi 2013). Even professional planners will benefit from some knowledge of activist planning, as they are likely to encounter this kind of opposition in the course of their career. By using the tables in this book, the 164 scholarly reported cases can readily be sorted by region of the world, country, city, period, issue, goals, type of activist organization and-importantly-type of activist planning.

What has happened to activist planning since 1990? The present text offers an answer built on practice by systematizing a generation of reported activist planning cases spanning all continents over the period 1990–2020.

Thus, the book is not primarily a contribution to theory. To the extent that theory can be developed from practice, the book may, however, be useful even for theory construction. Several authors suggest that planning theory needs to embrace micro-studies and research based on case studies to capture the contradictory and political processes at the heart of most examples of citizen participation, and that such micro-studies can advance the moves towards new theoretical understandings (Brownill and Parker 2010, 279, Forester 2022, Legacy and van den Nouwelant 2015, 211).

This text is not meant to be read from beginning to end; it is more of a reference book. However, it is not an annotated bibliography. It is rather a library of cases, containing all the academic articles and book chapters dealing with each case, that I have discovered. The tables for every type of activist planning give the same kind of key information for each case. In addition, extra case descriptions provide references and inform about direct actions, the activist planning process and—when available and appropriate—the outcome of the activists' efforts. To cover more of activist planning practice, Chapter 10 offers a separate table for 122 supplementary activist planning examples, that for various reasons do not belong in the case tables. A comprehensive and categorized overview of reported activist planning practice is not found in any other publication.

The main aim of the book is to clarify what activist planning is by presenting cases of activists using planning to advance their struggle. The presentation is a systematic survey of their practice. Further, the intention is to explore how professionals with an activist bent can do planning-related work inside institutions of higher education or government, and to study how civil society actors can utilize spatial planning in combination with direct action or other means of persuasion as a strategy for achieving their goals.

The case collection shows that activist planning in practice does not fully correspond to the textbook image created by planning theorists (Friedmann 1987, Gunder et al. 2018, Sandercock 1998a). The reported practice systematized in this book shows a wide variety and an abundance of nuances and hybrid forms that threaten to blur the logic of any theoretical scheme and undermine any attempt to draw clear boundaries between modes of activist planning. The following are a few striking examples of deviation from the textbook descriptions:

- (1) Artists' activist efforts in neighbourhood protection and humane and green urban regeneration have been under-communicated.
- (2) Theorists have put much emphasis on radical, insurgent activist planning at the expense of critical planning initiatives that press for policy change without aiming to overthrow the economic-political system. This bias may

lead to underestimation of the constructive role activist planning can play even in well-developed democracies. It is shown in this book that noninsurgent critical-alternative initiatives are a noteworthy type of activist planning.

- (3) In early expositions of government activist planning, the focus was on economic equity. Gradually, inside activists have become just as likely to plan for health equality, environmental justice and stronger community identity.
- (4) Early contributions to the activist planning literature rarely considered the possibility of intermediary activist planning. All activism was seen as partisan, and the possibility of using activist planning to stimulate creative dialogue and improve the relationship between contending parties in planning processes was not analyzed. Explorations of the potential of an activist mediator role pointed towards a change, however (Susskind and Madigan 1984, Forester and Stitzel 1989).
- (5) Planners' interest in intentional communities seems to increase, not least due to the growth of the ecovillage movement (Pickerill and Maxey 2009) and the co-housing trend (Jarvis 2015, Sargisson 2012). Spatial planning by the activists of intentional communities did not find a foothold in the activist planning literature until the late 2010s, however (Sager 2018).

It is pointless trying to figure out in detail the potential uses of the case collection in this volume. Research on activist planning will take directions that are surely beyond the capacity of a single researcher to anticipate. One can nevertheless pose a few questions of a general and recurring nature to which the present catalogue suggests some answers. Is planning unambiguously state-supporting? Does it have the foundational traits of authoritarianism and hierarchy, as suggested by Law-Yone (2007)? Is the nature of professional planning necessarily elitism and subservience to the state? If the answer is yes to these questions, activist planning is all the more important, as a counterforce to the official interventions would be sorely needed. The case collection is a reminder that spatial planning is done by civil-society actors as well as by government bodies, and that it is sometimes carried out in the form of criticism as activist planning.

Steil (2022) is asking for anti-subordination planning. Is the anti-subordination perspective on equal protection and anti-discrimination disappearing from international planning discourse (Williams 2020)? This is not so for the activist planning strain of planning literature. On the contrary, activist planning cases are recurrent reminders to professional planners that certain groups feel excluded, ignored and victimized. Diversity, decolonization and identity politics are springboards of protest and sometimes activist planning (Beauregard 2000, Beebeejaun 2022,

Williams 2020, Yashar 2007), just as are redistribution-based conflicts of interest.

What does resistance look like in the post-political city (Rosol 2014, Swyngedouw 2009)? Some urban geographers and planning theorists characterize urban governance after three neoliberal decades as post-political, de-politicized and consensual, that is, neutralizing dissent and denying the existence of real political alternatives. At work in the post-political situation are "a series of technologies of governing that fuse around consensus, agreement, accountancy metrics and technocratic...management" (Swyngedouw 2009, 604). On the one hand, the phenomenon of activist planning indicates that even a generation after the neoliberal political breakthrough, urban resistance has not come to an end. On the other hand, activist planning can be interpreted as a sign that antagonism and aggressive direct action are in some cases replaced by more peaceful combinations of protest and constructive alternative planning.

In 1992, Manuel Castells opined that "(w)e are living in the midst of a fundamental process of historical change that is affecting the intellectual and social foundations of planning and its practice", and he followed up on the same page by raising the challenging question: "The world has changed: can planning change?" (Castells 1992, 73). In the context of this book, one can ask the more specific question of whether–throughout the period from 1990 to 2020-official plans face stronger competition from insiders or external groups proposing critical planning alternatives. In other words, has there been an increase in scholarly reported activist planning? It is not farfetched to hypothesize such an increase due to the growth of academic output (articles and book chapters) and because of the extensive protests against neoliberal urban policies. However, a possible increase can neither be confirmed nor disproved by the study at hand. The number of scholarly publications dealing with cases initiated in the last decade is bound to be considerably lower than for the preceding decades, simply because it may take several years to end a case process, to study it according to research principles, and to have the study published.

Overview of the book

In addition to this introduction, Part I contains a chapter on method, which deals with problems of delimitation and classification of activist planning modes.

Part II makes use of a rough division of society which distinguishes between the public sector, the commercial sector, and civil society. The three sectors contain government at all levels, private businesses, and nongovernmental and non-commercial organizations and institutions that manifest the interest and will of citizens, respectively. Examples of civil society initiatives are neighbourhood associations, protest groups, social movements, and civic humanitarian organizations. Part II is an overview of types of civil-society planning operating from invented spaces. Such spaces are arenas established by civil-society actors, where people can come together and discuss and decide on matters of common interest (Ay and Miraftab 2016). Invented space contrasts with invited space—for example, ordinary citizen participation—developed by governments or commercial actors to invite people into processes staged by public or private authorities. The chapters of Part II deal with planning that resists or criticizes policies or other interventions initiated by governments or private companies.

Part III is about activist planners affiliated with the public sector—including universities—who build invented channels to support communities or political causes to an extent beyond the mandate given to them as public agents. Campus-outreach planning for vulnerable communities is dealt with in a separate chapter. The activist planning of employees in public agencies and departments was traditionally predominantly about equity planning (Krumholz 1982). Chapter 9 expands the issue considerably to also include inside activist planners' engagement for health, greening and natural environment. Activists' reconciliation planning is part of what is called government-based activist planning in Chapter 9, but all the detected cases feature university scholars as the activists.

Part IV complements the case overviews in the preceding chapters by listing a number of supplementary examples that are close to activist planning but not included in the case tables. Finally, the possibility of selecting exemplary activist planning cases for use in teaching and theory building is considered.

1.2 Register of reported activist planning cases by country

The case register in Table 1-1 lets the reader see which activist planning cases are located in a particular country and shows where to find these cases in the various tables. The names of the activist planning cases in Table 1-1 are identical to the case names used in Tables 3-1 to 9-1. GAP in some of the case identifications means "government-based activist planning" and is a common term for public partisan planning, inside activist planning and campus-based reconciliation planning.

Table 1-1 lists 164 activist planning cases from 45 countries with the following distribution between regions of the world:

-	Australasia	4
-	Europe	71
-	Global South	36
-	North America	53

The USA has the highest number of activist planning cases reported in scholarly publications with 44 entries, while the UK comes second with 20 entries. The high numbers compared to other countries do not necessarily reflect USA and UK's share of instances where activist planning takes place in the real world. The numbers are very likely to be influenced by the two countries' high research output in English-language research journals.

Table 1-1: Register of reported activist planning cases by country 1990–2020

Name of activist planning case	Case identification	
Albania		
Engineers Without Frontiers in Bari, Italy, assisting the Municipality of Kamza	Advocacy planning 1	
Argentina		
International Institute for Environment and Development–América Latina assisting Barrio San Jorge	Advocacy planning 8	
Australia		
Aboriginal Housing Company and REDWatch	Community-driven activist pl. 1	
Right to the City–Brisbane	Radical planning 1	
Sandon Point Aboriginal Tent Embassy	Community-driven activist pl. 2	
Austria		
WochenKlausur	Critical-alternative initiatives 1	
Belgium		
The Boerenhof	Community-driven activist pl. 4	
Zoning plan Ruggeveld-Boterlaar- Silsburg	Intermediary activist planning 1	

Brazil	
Homeless Movement of Bahia	Radical planning 12
Nomadic Kitchen	Intermediary activist
	planning 10
Vila Autódromo Residents' Association	Community-driven activist
	pl. 22
Canada	
Alternative Planning Group	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 17
Clayoquot Sound project	Campus-based
	reconciliation planning
	GAP 17
Collingwood Neighbourhood House	Community-driven activist
	pl 31
Dupont Improvement Group (Digin)	Community-driven activist
	pl 32
Centre for Indigenous Environmental	Advocacy planning 17
Resources assisting Simpow First Nation	
Planning Action	Radical planning 17
Sandercock and Attili's, conciliatory	Campus-based
film project at Burns Lake	reconciliation planning
	GAP 18
Streets Are for People!	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 18
Women Plan Toronto	Radical planning 18
Chile	
Association of Committees for a Home	Community-driven activist
in My Neighbourhood	pl. 23
University of the Americas assisting the	Campus-outreach activist
community of Los Arenales	planning 6
China	
Public planners assisting the Bell and	Inside activist planning
Drum Towers Neighbourhood Team	GAP 9
Costa Rica	
Monteverde Institute scenario planning	Intermediary activist
project	planning 11
Cyprus	
Hands-on Famagusta project	Intermediary activist
	planning 2

Czechia	
Railway Station in the Centre	Critical-alternative initiatives 2
Denmark	
Freetown Christiania	Radical planning 2
Public volunteer in the Agenda 21	Inside activist planning
agency assisting the Bunker Garden	GAP 5
project	
Supertanker, project Krøyers Plads	Intermediary activist planning 3
Dominican Republic	
University of Texas at Austin partnering	Campus-outreach activist
with the municipality of Santo Domingo	planning 7
Norte for planning in Los Platanitos	
Egypt	
Popular Committee for the Defence of	Community-driven activist
the People of Ard al-Liwa	pl. 24
Finland	T
Pro Makasiinit Movement	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 3
France	
Association for the Defence of Saint-	Community-driven activist
Escobille	pl. 5
Atelier d'Architecture Autogérée	Radical planning 3
University of Perpignan assisting the	Campus-outreach activist
Gypsy community in La Cité Nouveau	planning 1
Logis Les Pins	
Germany	Commented Linear Administra
Aktionsgemeinschaft Gleisdreieck Park	Community-driven activist pl. 6
Office for Urban Regeneration and	Inside activist planning
Residential Development partnering	GAP 6
with HausHalten	
Park Fiction	Community-driven activist
	pl. 7
PlanBude	Intermediary activist
	planning 4

India		
Global Studio Bhopal hosted by Maulana	Campus-outreach activist	
Azad National Institute of Technology	planning 8	
Koramangala Initiative	Community-driven activist pl. 25	
Kalpavriksh Environmental Action Group	Radical planning 13	
People's Responsible Organisation of United Dharavi	Community-driven activist pl. 26	
Shelter Associates assisting Kamgar Putala slum dwellers	Advocacy planning 9	
Society for Participatory Research in Asia assisting the towns Rajnandgaon and Janjgir	Critical-alternative initiatives 14	
Indonesia		
Ciliwung Merdeka	Community-driven activist pl. 27	
Kalijawi	Community-driven activist pl. 28	
Ireland		
Cloughjordan Ecovillage	Radical planning 4	
Rialto Rights InAction Group assisting	Advocacy planning 2	
Dolphin House		
Israel (including annexed territory)		
Arab Center for Alternative Planning assisting the unrecognized Palestinian village of Dahmesh	Advocacy planning 3	
Bimkom–Planners for Planning Rights assisting the Palestinian neighbourhood Isawiyah	Advocacy planning 4	
Bi-national Jerusalem plan	Campus-based reconciliation planning GAP 13	
Haifa Committee on Public Participation	Intermediary activist planning 5	
Just Jerusalem Competition, Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Campus-based reconciliation planning GAP 14	
Regional Council for the Unrecognized Villages of the Negev	Radical planning 5	

Italy	
Cantieri Isola and Isola Art Center	Community-driven activist pl. 8
Coalition of grass-roots groups for the	Community-driven activist
Simeto River and the Committee for the	pl. 9
Establishment of the Simeto River Park	•
Enziteto Women	Community-driven activist pl. 10
Mafia Landscapes Lab at the University of Catania	Campus-outreach activist planning 2
Organizing against mismanaged waste treatment and its health effects in	Critical-alternative initiatives 4
Campania	
University of Catania (LabPEAT)	Campus-outreach activist
partnering with community	planning 3
organizations to redevelop Librino	
University of Florence assisting in re-	Campus-outreach activist
vitalizing Sant'Angelo Vico l'Abate	planning 4
Lebanon	
Hezbollah assisting residents of Haret- Hreik	Advocacy planning 10
Nahnoo: Horsh Beirut project	Intermediary activist planning 12
Working Group for the Inclusive Urban	Intermediary activist
Strategy and Action Plan	planning 13
Mexico	
Colegio de Tlaxcala working with the	Campus-outreach activist
community of	planning 9
San Miguel Analco	
Nepal	
Lumanti assisting squatter communities affected by the Vishnumati Link Road	Advocacy planning 11
project	
Netherlands	
Municipal area manager supporting Association of Friends of the Cascade Park	Public partisan planning GAP 1
Municipal officials (aldermen)	Inside activist planning
supporting local citizens against state policy for siting of mobile phone masts	GAP 7
policy for string of moone phone masts	

Reconstruction Clinic	Campus-based
	reconciliation
	planning 15
Room for the River opposition	Community-driven activist
	pl. 11
New Zealand	
Stoddard Point Regeneration Ideas	Community-driven activist
Group	pl. 3
Norway	
City Development Year	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 5
Svartlamon	Radical planning 6
Pakistan	
Orangi Pilot Project – Research and	Advocacy planning 12
Training Institute	
Urban Resource Centre	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 15
Panama	
Consulting Assembly planning the	Critical-alternative
management of the Bastimentos Island	initiatives 16
National Marine Park	
Peru	
Huaycán new-founded settlement	Radical planning 14
Poland	
Gdansk Shipyard Artist Colony	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 6
Portugal	
Tamera Healing Biotope 1	Radical planning 7
Romania	
În comunitate managing the Fabricăm	Critical-alternative
project	initiatives 7
Russia	
Partizaning	Radical planning 8
South Africa	
Abahlali baseMjondolo	Radical planning 15
Joe Slovo Village	Community-driven activist
	pl. 29
Phola Park Residents' Committee	Community-driven activist
	pl. 30

Planact, Johannesburg, assisting	Advocacy planning 13
Vosloorus Steering Committee	
South African Communist Party	Advocacy planning 14
assisting residents of the S'swetla	
neighbourhood	
University of Cape Town partnering	Campus-outreach activist
with the Community Organization	planning 10
Resource Centre to plan in Gugulethu	
Spain	
Centre Social de Sants	Community-driven activist
	pl. 12
Collective Point 6	Radical planning 9
San Fernando Association	Community-driven activist
	pl. 13
Sweden	
Municipal biologist and official in the	Inside activist planning
municipal labour market office	GAP 8
networking with members of	
ornithological associations	
Park Play project with Kerstin Bergendal	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 8
Superflex: Karlskrona2 project	Intermediary activist
	planning 6
Tanzania	
Centre for Community Initiatives	Advocacy planning 15
assisting residents of Kurasini settlement	
Thailand	
Four Regions Slum Network	Advocacy planning 16
Turkey	•
Machakhel Valley Peace Park proposal	Campus-based
	reconciliation
	planning GAP 16
Sulukule Platform / Sinir Tanimayan	Advocacy planning 5
Otonom Plancilar	
Slow City (Cittàslow, Italy-based	Critical-alternative
network) and member town Halfeti	initiatives 9
United Kingdom, UK	
Action with Communities in Rural Kent	Intermediary activist
	planning 7

Birmingham and Black Country Wildlife	Critical-alternative
Trust leading the local biodiversity	initiatives 10
action plan partnership	
Black Wood of Rannoch	Intermediary activist
	planning 8
Ealing Cycling Campaign	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 11
Edible Public Space	Critical-alternative
1	initiatives 12
Elephant Amenity Network	Community-driven activist
	pl. 14
Forum for Alternative Belfast	Intermediary activist
	planning 9
Greater Carpenters Neighbourhood	Community-driven activist
Forum	pl. 15
Just Space	Critical-alternative
	initiatives 13
King's Cross Railway Lands Group	Community-driven activist
	pl. 16
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