

Edging Toward Equity? Justice, Scale, and Movement-building in the New Regionalism




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Ithaca, NY December 1, 2006

There's Something Happening Here . . .



From Living Wage to Labor Voice

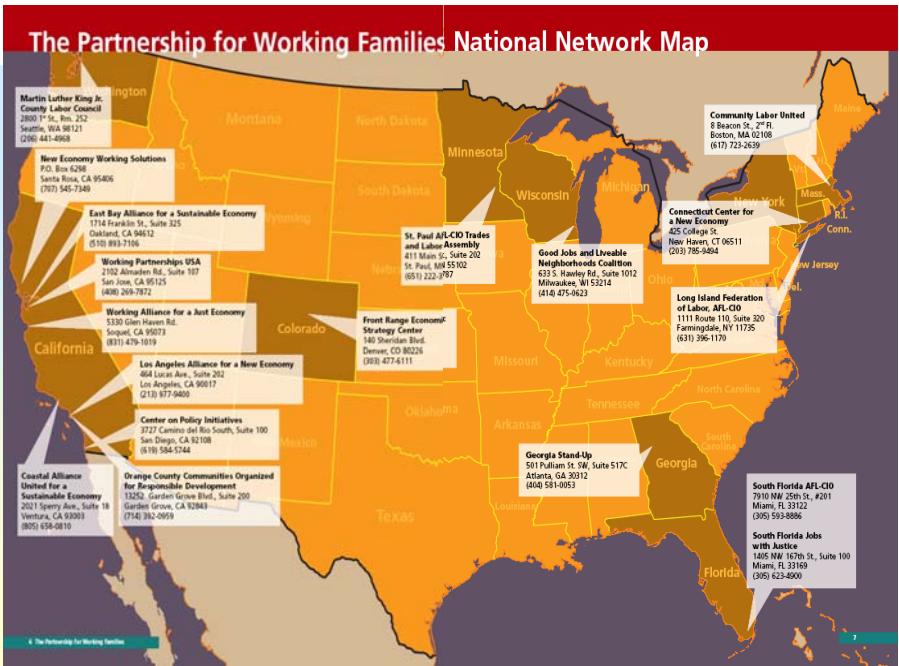


The Problem

Local decision-makers often approve projects submitted by developers without assessing the costs and benefits to communities and without requiring developers to address these impacts.

- ❑ Low wage jobs with no health benefits.
- ❑ Workers have no rights or voice on the job.
- ❑ Lack of affordable housing.
- ❑ Lack of park/open space in urban neighborhoods.
- ❑ Toxic pollution from bad development is damaging our health.
- ❑ Creation of sprawl and unlivable neighborhoods due to lack of proper land use planning.
- ❑ Developer-friendly land use planning process that prioritizes sales tax revenue generation over community benefits.
- ❑ Large public subsidies provided to developer with no return to the community.
- ❑ Large national chain stores destroy local small businesses, lower job quality standards, increase traffic congestion, and provide no incentives to strengthening the community's long-range well-being.
- ❑ Development that is not situated near transit facilities perpetuates vehicle dependency and increases personal transportation expenses.

The Partnership for Working Families National Network Map



Martin Luther King Jr. County Labor Council
2809 1st St., Box 212
Seattle, WA 98121
(206) 441-4968

New Economy Working Solutions
P.O. Box 6298
Santa Rosa, CA 95406
(707) 545-7349

East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy
1714 Franklin St., Suite 325
Oakland, CA 94612
(510) 883-7336

Working Partnerships USA
2152 Almaden Rd., Suite 107
San Jose, CA 95125
(408) 260-7872

Working Alliance for a Just Economy
5330 Glen Haven Rd.
Sausalito, CA 94967
(415) 479-1019

Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy
684 Lucie Ave., Suite 202
Los Angeles, CA 90017
(213) 977-9409

Center on Policy Initiatives
3727 Camino del Rio South, Suite 100
San Diego, CA 92108
(619) 584-5244

Coastal Alliance United for a Sustainable Economy
2021 Sperry Ave., Suite 18
Ventura, CA 93003
(805) 658-0810

Orange County Communities Organized for Responsible Development
13252 Garden Grove Blvd., Suite 200
Garden Grove, CA 92643
(714) 362-0969

Front Range Economic Strategy Center
140 Sheridan Blvd.
Denver, CO 80226
(303) 473-4111

St. Paul AFL-CIO Trades and Labor Assembly
411 Main St., Suite 202
St. Paul, MN 55102
(651) 222-3977

Good Jobs and Livable Neighborhoods Coalition
633 S. Hawley Rd., Suite 1012
Milwaukee, WI 53214
(414) 473-9423

Connecticut Center for a New Economy
425 College St.
New Haven, CT 06511
(203) 785-9484

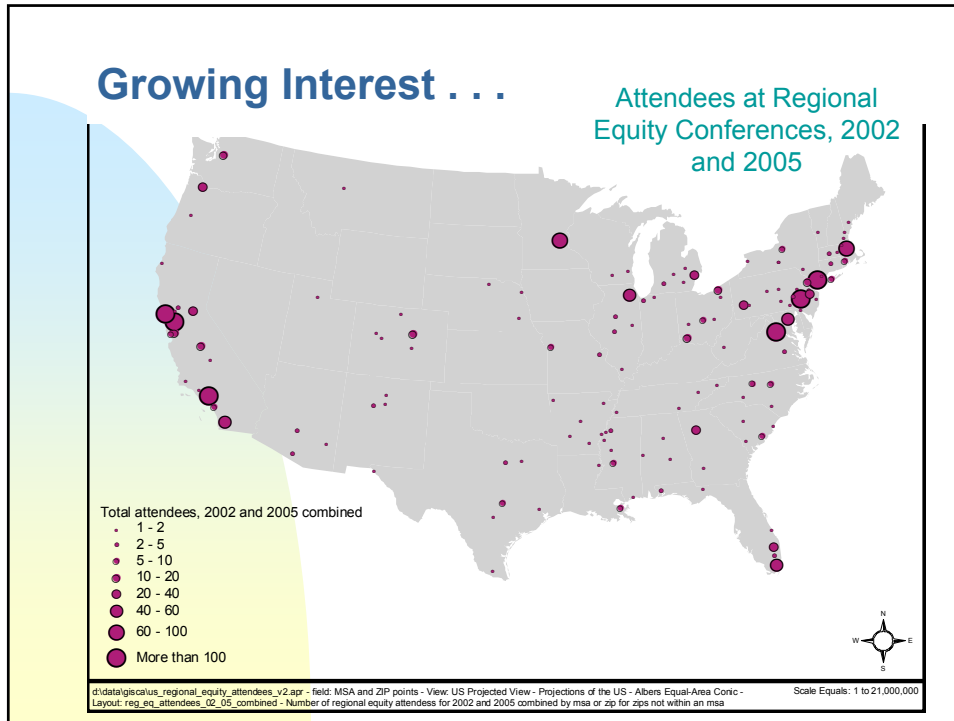
Long Island Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
1111 Route 110, Suite 200
Farmingdale, NY 11735
(631) 286-1120

Georgia Stand Up
581 Pulliam St. SW, Suite 517C
Atlanta, GA 30312
(404) 531-0653

Community Labor United
8 Beacon St., 2nd Fl.
Boston, MA 02108
(617) 723-2639

South Florida AFL-CIO
7910 NW 25th St., #201
Miami, FL 33122
(305) 593-8686

South Florida Jobs with Justice
1405 NW 167th St., Suite 100
Miami, FL 33169
(305) 623-4900



Key Questions For Today

- What is the emerging regional equity perspective and how do we unpack it to understand it?
- Will it amount to a social movement – and what are its broader possibilities?
- What are the contradictions, challenges, and tensions that lie ahead as this arena develops?

April 29 – May 1, 1992


Coming to Regionalism



- An unusual starting point: the wake of the Los Angeles civil unrest
- A sense that this was the epitome of economic and social dissolution / fragmentation
- A recognition that the problems of poor communities could not be addressed in isolation from regional opportunities – and that maybe regional recovery also relied on such incorporation



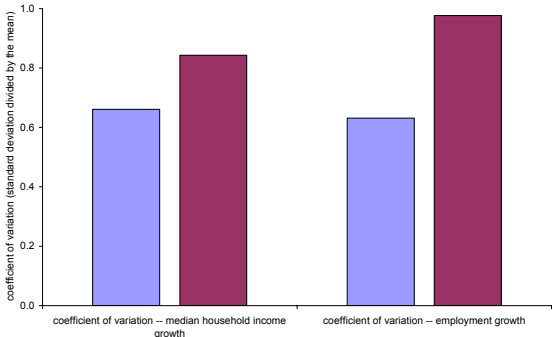
What is the New Regionalism?




Convergence of multiple trends leading to a surge of regions as basis for civic action and policy

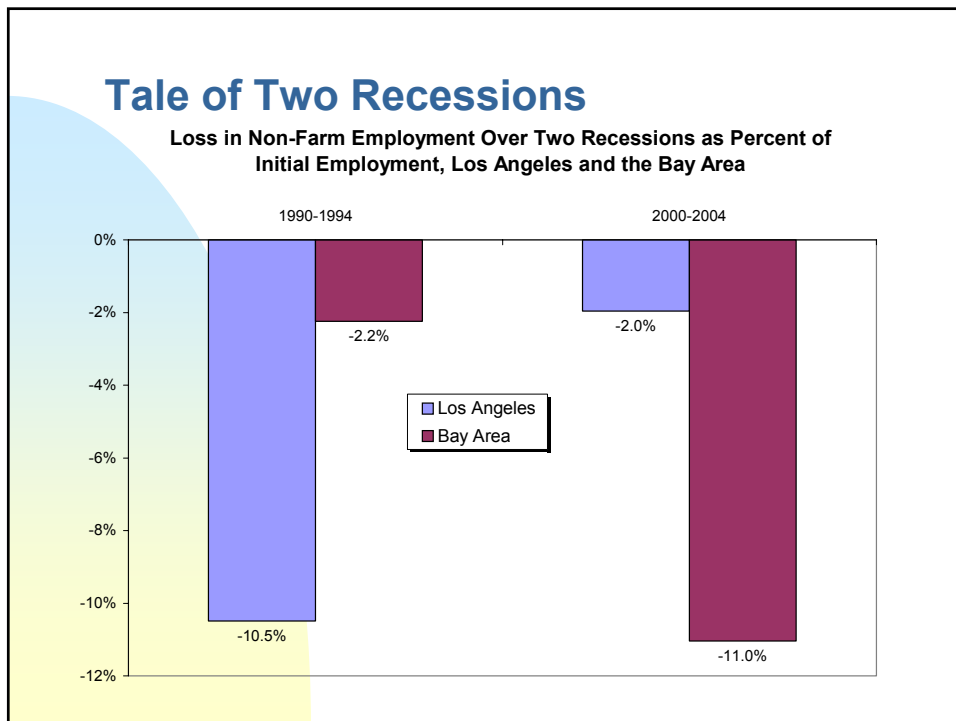
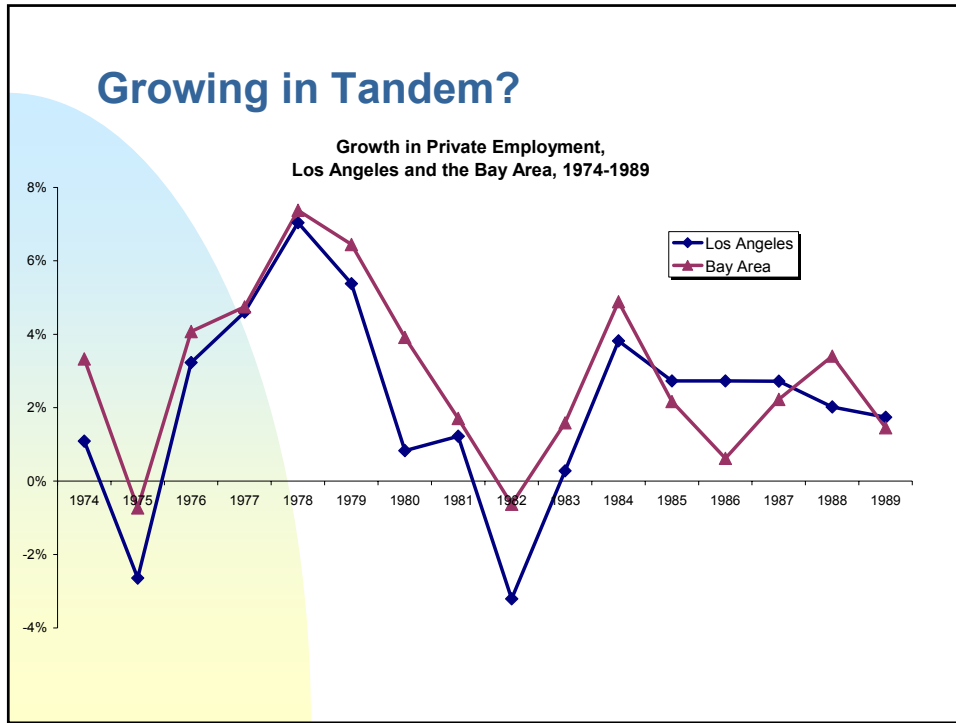
- *Economic Forces* — Regions important for economic success

Increasing Variation in Regional Economic Performance, Top 25 MSAs



Category	Blue Bar (Approx. CV)	Maroon Bar (Approx. CV)
coefficient of variation – median household income growth	0.65	0.85
coefficient of variation – employment growth	0.65	0.95





What is the New Regionalism?



Convergence of multiple trends leading to a surge of regions as basis for civic action and policy

- *Economic Forces* — Regions important for economic success
- *Environmental Concerns* — “Smart Growth” requires confronting fragmentation and promoting regional cooperation
- *Design Concerns* – Regional approaches could be consistent with New Urbanism / compact development
- *Equity Strategies* — Improved opportunities within regional context



Traditional Economic Tradeoffs – and the New Regional Challenge

- Too much equity, not enough incentives; too much inclusion, too much decision-making chaos



- Regional tradeoff? Inequality and spatial / racial segregation can trigger under-investment, damage social capital, & erode consensus



Previous Studies in U.S.

- Savitch et al. (1993) and Barnes and Ledebur (1998): wider city-suburb income gaps associated with regional stagnation in income and jobs
- Voith (1998): city-suburb links persist even when controlling for other factors and simultaneity
- Pastor et al. (2000): per capita income growth faster where poverty gaps and segregation lower, even controlling for other factors and utilizing simultaneous model



Newest Work:

- Utilizing weighted regression approach to 341 metro areas in the U.S. 1990-2000

Per capita income growth related to:

- (+) regional education
- (-) manufacturing concentration
- (+) central city presence
- (-) previous income
- (?) region of U.S.
- (-) measure of inequity, including ratio of city to suburb poverty, concentration of poverty, income distribution, black-white segregation



Regression Results

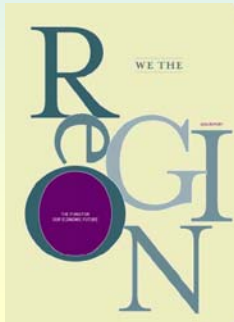
A Simple Model of the Determinants of Per Capita Income Growth in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1990-2000

	Sign	Sig.	Sign	Sig.	Sign	Sig.	Sign	Sig.
% working-age residents who are college-educated, 1990	(+)	***	(+)	***	(+)	***	(+)	***
Manufacturing concentration in central city, 1990	(-)	*	(-)	***	(-)	***	(-)	***
% of metro population in central city, 1990	(+)	**	(+)	**	(+)	**	(+)	**
MSA unemployment rate, 1990	(-)	***	(-)		(-)	**	(-)	***
Ratio of city to suburban poverty, 1990	(-)	***						
Percent of poor residents in high poverty neighborhoods, 1990			(-)	***				
Ratio of income at sixtieth to the twentieth percentile, 1990					(-)	**		
Index of dissimilarity (black-white) at metro level, 1990							(-)	***
Number of observations		326		327		327		327
Adjusted R-squared		0.420		0.419		0.407		0.418

*** significant at the .01 level, ** significant at the .05 level, * significant at the .10 level

Are Business Leaders “Getting It”?

- Chicago Metropolis 2020 – launched by Commercial Club under slogan “One Region, One Future” with availability of affordable housing as one location factor
- Joint Venture Silicon Valley – including equity in its indicators report as one measure of success and commitment
- Fund for Our Economic Future, Northeast Ohio – with widespread participation and minority entrepreneurship as measures

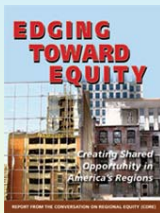


Ties With Environmental Concerns

- Confronting urban sprawl and preserving open space requires regional cooperation
- The best way to constrain outward growth is strengthening existing communities
- Improving planning requires challenging the fragmented decision-making processes driven by inequality



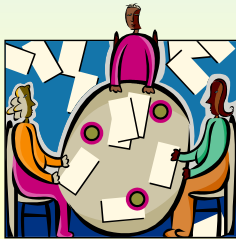
What is Regional Equity?



“Achieving regional equity means considering both people and place. A competitive and inclusive region is one in which members of all racial, ethnic, and income groups have opportunities to live and work in all parts of the region, have access to living wage jobs and are included in the mainstream of regional life. It is also one in which all neighborhoods are supported to be vibrant places with choices for affordable housing, good schools, access to open space, decent transit that connects people to jobs, and healthy and sustainable environments.”

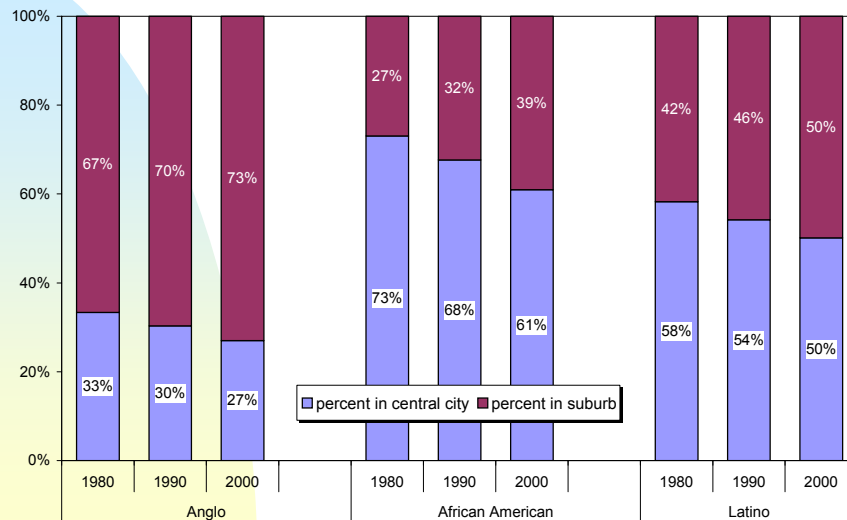
Motivation for Regional Equity

- Changing demographics
- Changing opportunity structure
- Less crowded arena and potential for new alliances

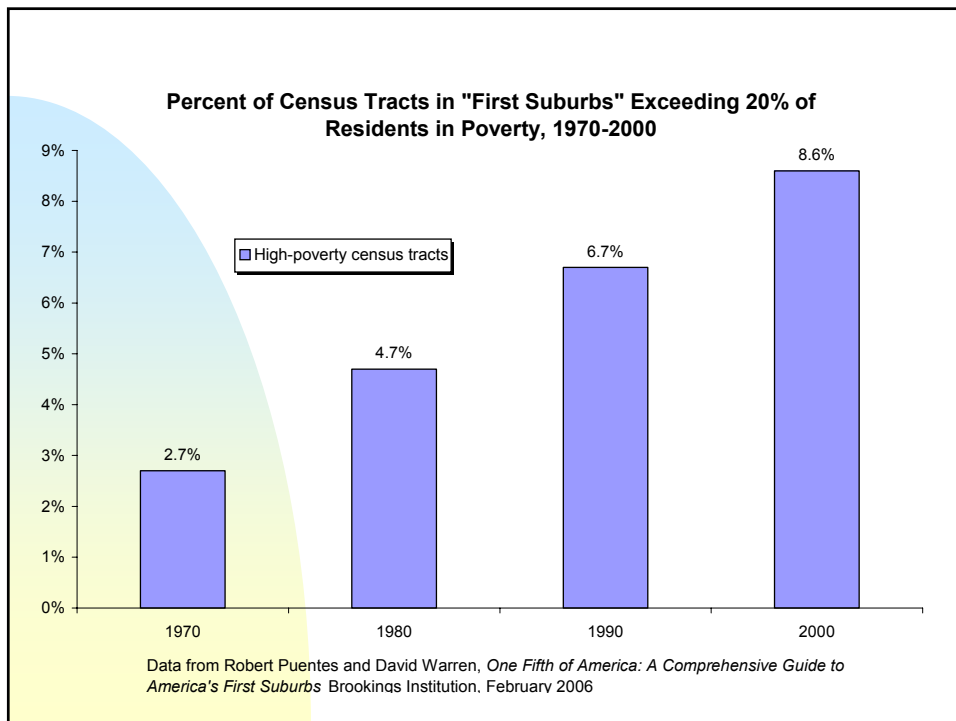
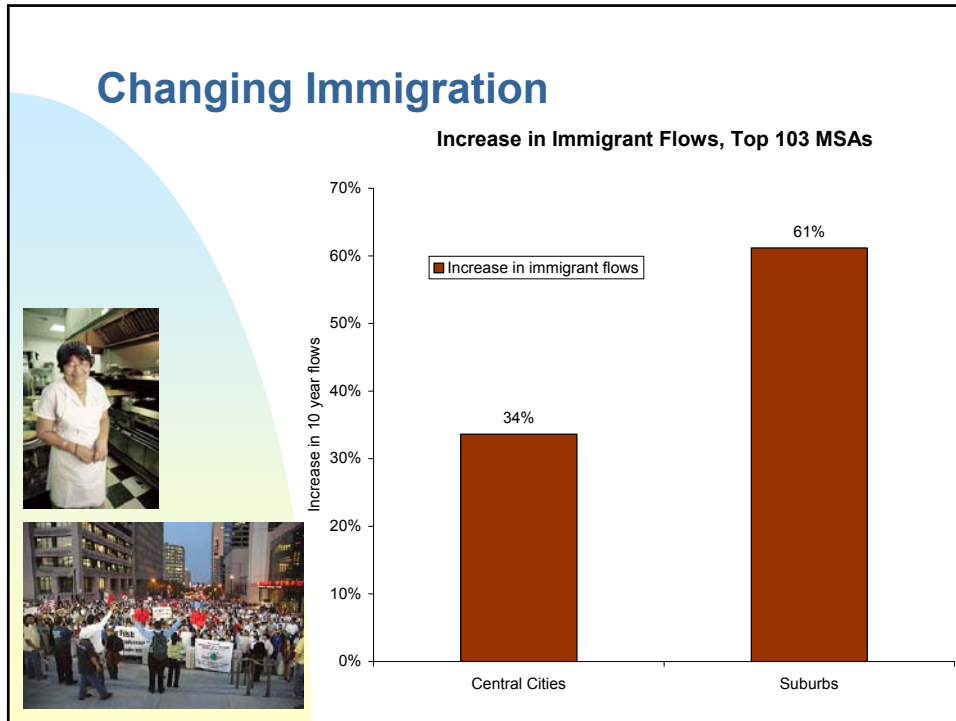


Changing Suburban Demographics

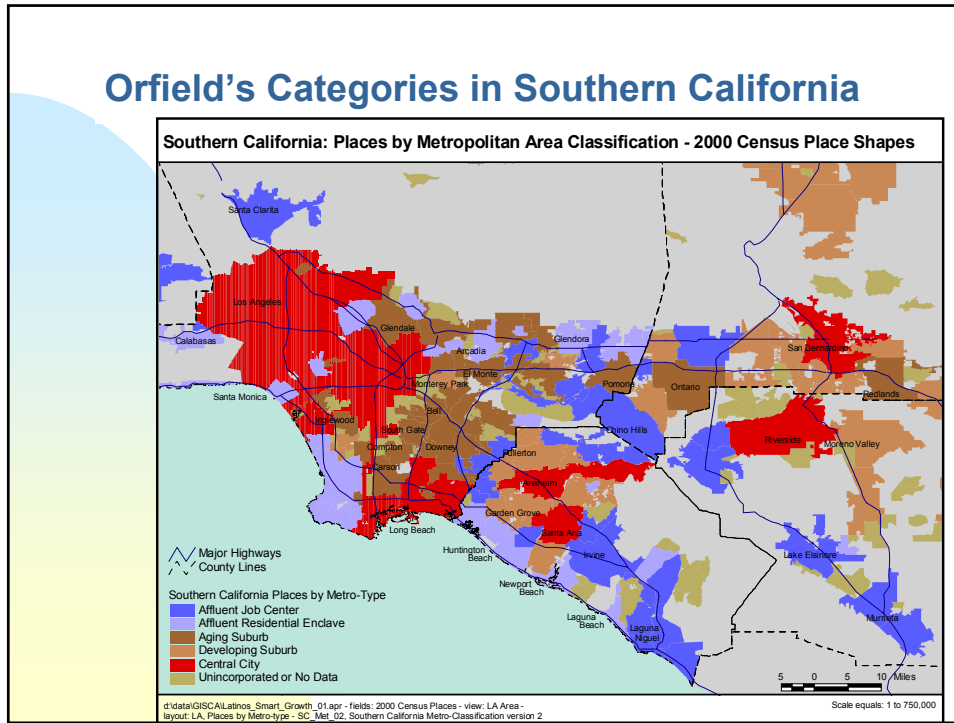
Figure 1. City and Suburb Rates by Ethnic Group for Top U.S. Metro Areas, 1980-2000



Data from U.S. Census for all metropolitan areas with populations greater than 500,000 in 2000.

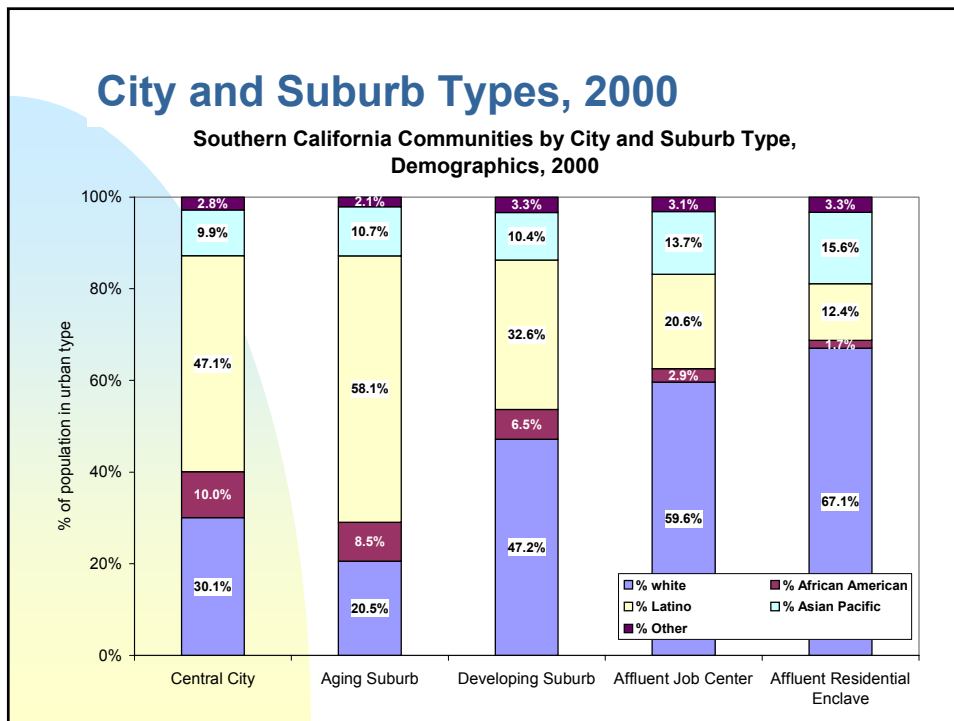


Orfield's Categories in Southern California



City and Suburb Types, 2000

Southern California Communities by City and Suburb Type, Demographics, 2000



Creating a Literature



- David Rusk, *Cities Without Suburbs*, 1993
- Myron Orfield, *Metropolitics*, 1997
- John Powell, “Addressing regional dilemmas for minority communities,” 2000
- Pastor, et al. *Regions That Work*, 2000
- Dreier, et al. *Place Matters*, 2001

What’s Different If We Go This Route?

Three Quick Examples:

- DreamWorks Initiative in Los Angeles – regional jobs, community access
- Bethel New Life and community development in West Chicago – building alliances and doing transit-oriented development
- Northwest Indiana Interfaith Federation – from closing crack houses to promoting MTOs



What's Different If We Go This Route?

And there are more . . .

- LISC and MOSES in Detroit – combining community development, community organizing and statewide reform



- Community Benefits Agreements at LAX -- \$500 million with signatories ranging from schools to labor to the Nation of Islam

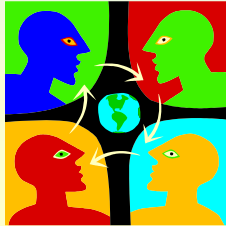
Unpacking Regional Equity - Scale

- Where do you identify the problem?
- Where do you identify the solution?
- Where do you seek to organize?



Unpacking Regional Equity – Types

- Community development regionalism
 - Policy entrepreneur regionalism
 - Social movement regionalism



Traditional Community Development Model

- Drought
 - Lack of investment
 - Departure of jobs
- Leakage
 - Lack of retail
 - Departure of middle class
- Sharp Distinction
 - Place-based strategies
 - People-based strategies



New Way to Develop

Fruitvale Transit Village

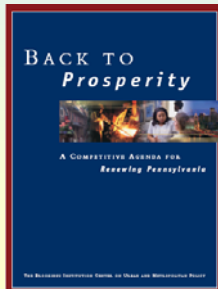


Bethel New Life



Policy Entrepreneur Regionalism

- Main focus is changing the rules of the game.
 - Main actors to influence are key policy makers, often governors or key mayors
 - Main tools are accessible research, new framing, and information on policy alternatives
 - Tendency to drift to “center” – other regionalisms with equity and race as stealth concerns



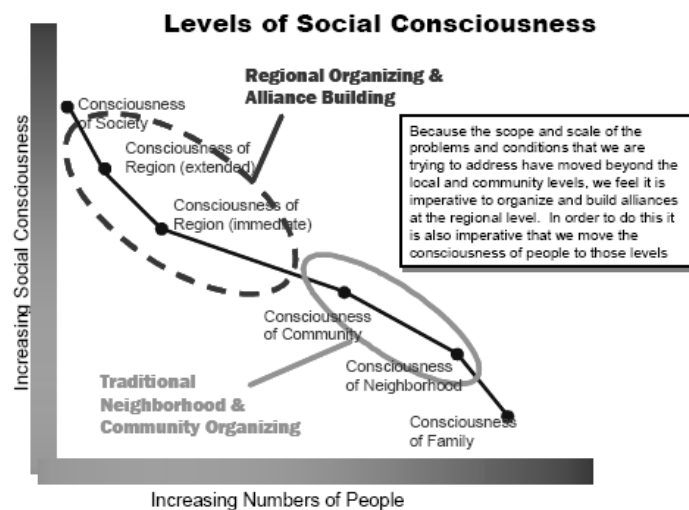
Social Movement Regionalism

- Main focus is building power to change structures as well as rules
- Main actors to influence are communities and constituencies who in turn can move policy
- Main tools include research, framing, and policy alternatives but focus is on organizing
- Tendency to see regional equity or regional organizing as key to restoring progressive coalition



Scale, Consciousness and Organizing

Levels of Social Consciousness by Spatial Scale



Power Tools by SCOPE

Scale – Is It Just Organizing?

- Region as the right scale for organizing – Justice for Janitors as example
- Region as the right scale for addressing policy – IAF and Project Quest for workforce development
- Region as the cause of the problem and traditional planning concerns central – Gamaliel
- Region as the building block for a national movement – Building Partnerships, Gamaliel, SCOPE



Is This a Social Movement?

- Classical and Marxist theories of relative deprivation
 - Resource mobilization and political opportunity
- “New Social Movements” – non-class, identity politics, challenge with finding the whole
 - Framing / social constructionist theories: story, ideology and understanding of everyday experience, optimistic vision



Is This a Social Movement?



“Metropolitan organizing is about changing the rules of the game so that those who have not, will have...Metropolitan organizing is the new civil rights movement, and we must be persistent.”

Reverend Cheryl Rivera, former executive director of the Northwest Indiana Interfaith Federation:

Unpacking Regional Equity



	<i>Community Development Regionalism</i>	<i>Policy Reform Regionalism</i>	<i>Social Movement Regionalism</i>
<i>Concept of region</i>	INSTRUMENTAL. Arena to secure resources and supporters Arena to expand scope of services and development	FUNDAMENTAL Strategic scale to focus federal, state, and local policy intervention Interested elites at regional level who might accept changes resisted at state and national levels	FUNDAMENTAL Strategic arena for organizing to build power to influence economic and development decisions making and develop alternative institutions Attempt to use this to build up to national scale
<i>Primary Goal</i>	Physical, economic and social revitalization of neighborhoods	Policy reform to change the "rules of the game"	Increased power and influence
<i>Mix of strategies</i>	Project and program development Facilitation of private and public investment	Advocacy of particular regional policies Use of research and influential reports	Direct organizing Policy research (in-house and targeted at certain efforts) Advocacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Leadership Development

Unpacking Region Equity



	<i>Community Development Regionalism</i>	<i>Policy Reform Regionalism</i>	<i>Social Movement Regionalism</i>
<i>Motive forces (who is being organized) and key constituency</i>	Recipients of housing and services. Those benefiting from reinvestment in marginalized neighborhoods	Opinion makers, including press Decision makers, especially elites	Working people and their families Low-income, communities of color Stressed middle class, particularly those in older suburbs
<i>Form of organization</i>	Professional nonprofit Coalitions and partnerships	Professional nonprofit;	Membership organizations (residents, community leaders, and workers); Coalitions and alliances

Signs of Separation & Cohesion

	<i>Social Separation</i>	<i>Social Cohesion</i>
Markers and Markets: Factors That Lead to Separation or Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Residential segregation by race and class Pockets of poverty and unskilled workforce Lack of retail in inner city communities Private transportation with poor city-suburb connections School systems with large disparities in test scores and amenities Environmental disamenities distributed by race and class Significant gentrification and displacement due to "successful" redevelopment Public infrastructure with few localized benefits "Zero-sum" politics and focus on "business climate" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expanded mix-income housing opportunities throughout region Minimal city-suburb gaps and high levels of basic skills Investor interest in meeting retail demand Regional transportation systems with mix of public and private School systems committed to improvement in resources and outcomes in all communities Adequate open space opportunities for all communities New opportunities for local home ownership for long-time residents of distressed communities Public infrastructure that includes local ties and benefits Business leadership for broader social good and environmental sustainability

Policies for Separation & Cohesion

<i>Policies and Strategies: Methods to Generate Separation or Cohesion</i>	<i>Social Separation</i>	<i>Social Cohesion</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fiscal segregation and reliance on local retail sales taxes • Privatized job training programs that are only employer-based • Lack of inner-city investment programs and no requirement on hiring or contracting • Fragmented transportation authorities and reliance on highways • Multiple school districts and uneven financing • Environmental planning focused on aggregate measures • Urban renewal programs aimed mostly at attracting new middle class residents • Subsidies for public investment with no accountability goals • Specific sectoral leadership groups with limited indicators for success 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional tax-sharing with programs to benefit low-capacity areas • Employer consortiums with community partners to improve workforce skills • Partnerships to generate retail investment in central cities, including minority business development • Unified transportation planning across jurisdictions, and support for public transit • Fewer or coordinated districts and adequate targeted funding • Environmental targets for "hot spots" and brownfields redevelopment • Equitable development strategies that promote both mixed-income and residential stability • Community benefits agreements between business and communities • "Boundary-crossing" leadership groups with broad measures to judge region

Tensions and Tightropes



- The role of race – understanding the dilution of power and voice



- The role of conflict – it's not all collaboration and consensus, and "uncommon common ground" requires hard conversations



- Projects, policies, and protest – what the balance of transactions and transformations?

Tensions and Tightropes

- Weak market and strong market cities – how much can you push where?
- City-suburb alliances are more heralded than real – and the policy favorite of regional tax sharing is not gaining traction
- Optimal level of fuzziness versus a complete lack of clarity – is it the time to better identify the agenda?



Tensions and Tightropes

- Regional equity and equitable development essentially embrace the market – old ideologies die hard
- Issues of measurement and gauging success will bedevil the field – place or people debate will continue
- Capacity and selectivity – community groups need to be laser-sharp in focus and may need to add analytical and policy capacity



Returning to Los Angeles

- The election of a new mayor who is well-versed in social justice, well-supported by business, and making regionalist gestures . . .



- Where it all came apart, can it all come together once again? And what will it mean to govern and win?

Possibilities & Promise

- New ways of doing well and doing good, fusing competitiveness and inclusion



- New ways of tackling some of the more intractable social and economic problems confronting metropolitan America
- New ways of building relationships and overcoming difference face-to-face, race-to-race, space-to-space