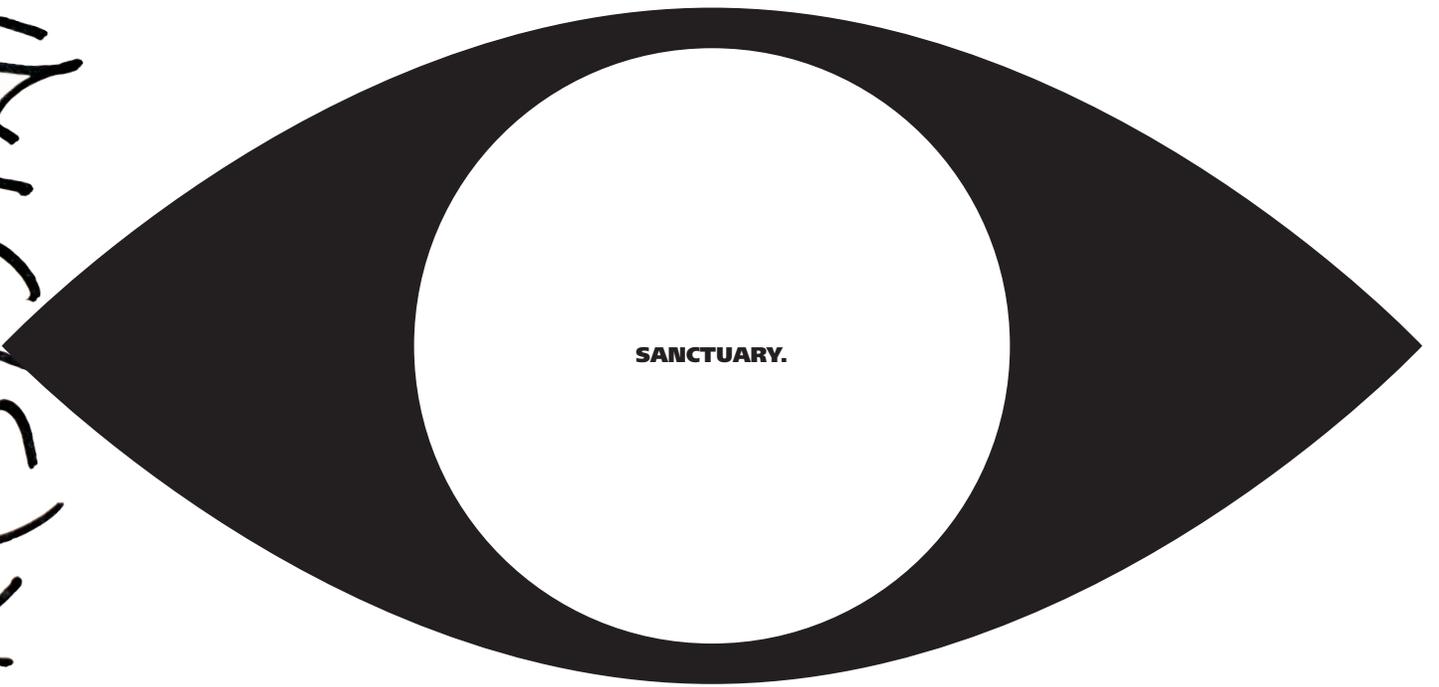


ABOLITIONIST

FOR RESISTANCE



PLANNING



WHAT YOU HOLD IN YOUR HANDS IS A TOOL FOR RESISTANCE.

This resource guide outlines the first steps we have taken to understand Trumpism as a moment in United States politics.

Building on long-standing exclusions, Trumpism consolidates power through white supremacy, misogyny, nationalism, xenophobia, corporatism, and militarism.

Committed to a philosophy of abolitionism, we seek to understand how urban planning, as discipline and professional practice, can analyze and address the systematic oppressions expanded and institutionalized by the new administration.

In 8 parts, this pamphlet
urges planners to:

**...REFUSE
TO DESIGN, PLAN, OR BUILD
SYSTEMS THAT DIVIDE AND OPPRESS
COMMUNITIES, INCLUDING THE
PROPOSED WALL BETWEEN THE US AND
MEXICO**

**...DECLARE
THEIR SPACES "SANCTUARIES" TO
UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS, WHILE
PLANNING SANCTUARIES FOR ALL
VICTIMS OF INJUSTICE**

**...COMMIT
TO ABOLISHING MASS INCARCERATION
AND THE PRISON-INDUSTRIAL
COMPLEX, WHILE EXPANDING
"ABOLITION" TO ALL SYSTEMS THAT
PROMOTE RACIAL AND SOCIAL
EXCLUSION**

**...REFLECT
CRITICALLY AND HISTORICALLY ON THE
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PLANNING
TO UNDERSTAND AND RESIST OUR
COMPLICITY IN SYSTEMS OF RACIAL
CAPITALISM AND PATRIARCHY**

ABOLITION & BLACK LIBERATION

Organizing Frames

- ▶ **Understand Black liberation in the United States and identify structural systems that inhibit Black liberation.**
- ▶ **Recognize how the transition between the Obama administration to the Trump administration affects Black liberation in the United States.**
- ▶ **Understand the militarization of police and the prison industrial complex and their roles in Black oppression.**

Critical Themes

The call for Black liberation did not begin with the 2016 election of Donald Trump, or with Black Lives Matter. The establishment of the 13th Amendment in 1864 abolished slavery and involuntary servitude for all Americans except for incarcerated prisoners in the United States. This clause sanctions the use of incarcerated Americans as slaves. It institutionalizes imprisonment and has created a foundation from which the prison industrial complex has thrived. The Bureau of Justice Statistics project that one in three Black men will be incarcerated in their lifetime. As a country, we must question who is being labeled as delinquent by the criminal justice system and ask where this perception of guilt comes from. Abolitionism first emerged as a call to eliminate the African and Indian slave trades and to liberate slaves. Today it is a call to root out and end once and for all the anti-Blackness that is systematic throughout the United States.

#BLM

Shift the narrative around race in the United States

Whiteness in the United States is correlated with longer life, better health, greater wealth and more social mobility. This is not due to the inherent superiority, or inferiority, of any race, but due to the inherent racism of our laws and policies. Rather than focus solely on the outcomes for different groups, we must be unflinching in our examination of how ideas of Whiteness and Blackness inform our cultural narrative—and its legal underpinnings—of who gets access to opportunity, safety, redemption, and protection.

Fight for the demilitarization of police

When we arm police forces with military weapons, we guarantee that police will seek out opportunities to use these weapons and we concede that our cities are battlefields and our residents are enemy combatants. Black people bear the brunt of this toxic, backwards relationship. By removing these inappropriate, unnecessary weapons from the police we make our streets immediately safer, and take a step towards restoring the proper dynamic, where police work for residents.

Recognize the potential for urban planners to promote equality

Ninety percent of the American Planning Association is white, yet urban planners work for diverse and unequal communities. Planners must address the different needs of the populations that they work for. It is a planner's job to challenge the violent inequality entrenched throughout the United States and to strive for securing equitable cities.

CIVIL LIBERTIES, POLICING & REPRESSION

Organizing Frames

- ▶ **Understand the continuities and discontinuities in civil liberties after the election of Trump in 2016.**
- ▶ **Interrogate how immigration restrictions, policing, and surveillance are poised to expand under a Trump presidency.**
- ▶ **Reflect on how we as individuals interact with mechanisms of repression and surveillance.**

Critical Themes

“Law and order” rhetoric, a fixture of the political landscape since the 1960s, has bolstered Trump’s campaign despite historically low crime rates across the US. This rhetoric encourages public support for repressive policing, including stop-and-frisk tactics, expanded transfer of military equipment to police forces, harsher sentencing, and the rejection of community-oriented approaches. Those who stand up for their rights are met with violent repression, as evidenced by the recent police crackdowns on protestors from Ferguson to Standing Rock.

Edward Snowden’s whistle-blowing leaks in 2012-13 revealed that, the US Government, in conjunction with agencies in Canada, the UK, Australia, and New Zealand, has collected massive amounts of phone and internet data on civilians around the world in the name of national security. In President Obama’s last days in office, his administration updated Executive Order 12333, which allows the National Security Agency to share this raw data with 16 government agencies, including the FBI and Homeland Security. In addition, US Citizenship and Immigration Services could easily transfer its detailed personal information about recipients of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). It is unclear if this information will be used as a tool for expanded deportations of immigrants.

START SMALL

Learn about how to protect your personal data and encourage peers and colleagues to connect with organizations concerned with digital security, including the Electronic Frontier Foundation and the Center for Media Justice.

SUPPORT ALTERNATIVES

Where appropriate, participate in the construction of alternatives to traditional police forces such as the Audre Lorde Project's "Safe OUTside the System" initiative.



STRENGTHEN RESISTANCE GROUPS

Learn more about and learn how to support grass-roots movements such as Black Lives Matter and the Water Protectors of Standing Rock, which represent historically marginalized identities.

Organizing Frames

- ▶ **Understand the history that allows immigration to be a tool for constructing a harmful and nationalistic rhetoric.**
- ▶ **Push back on the myths and misconceptions that poison the national discourse on immigration.**
- ▶ **Conceptualize how planning can contribute to the protection of immigrants.**

Critical Themes

Harmful and divisive rhetoric used by the Trump administration is fueling an open war of bigotry and hate towards nonwhite populations, mainly targeting people from Latin American and Muslim-majority countries. The Muslim ban, the border wall, and mass deportations are campaign promises that resonate with some Americans, exposing a widespread disregard for basic human rights. Anti-immigration rhetoric often portrays immigrants as violent criminals, religious fanatics, terrorists, and free-riders, and fails to recognize the critical social contributions they make in society and the economic dependence of the American economy on their labor.

Changes in immigration policy and recent Executive Orders not only impact international relationships, but also unveil deep, systematic bias in institutions of law enforcement as reports of abuse by individuals representing ICE and Border Control continue to emerge.

Stay informed on new legislation and institutional

As the new administration has specified massive amounts of funding for the purposes of deportation and securing borders, it will be necessary to analyze how new

configurations
policies endanger vulnerable populations and negatively impact the rights of immigrants and call your representatives.

Support, donate and participate with
Immigrants across the country are being persecuted and targeted.

organized groups protecting immigrant rights.

often through actions that violated their rights. Get involved with organized groups and NGO's fighting to protect them either by stripping down harmful judiciary, denouncing abuse like Border Angels or protecting their rights.



Demand spaces of sanctuary.
Planning is inherently embedded in the ways in which vulnerable populations interact with the city. As such, planners must find ways to bolster social protections traduced in spaces of Sanctuary such as universities, neighborhoods, and communities for those most at risk in relation to the new administration's agenda.

FEMINISM & PATRIARCHY

Organizing Frames

- ▶ **Identify the biggest threats to women's rights under the Trump Administration and understand the growing movement resisting harmful policies.**
- ▶ **Analyze the dominant ideologies that assert gendered roles and justify inequality and oppression.**
- ▶ **Conceptualize the relationship between urban planning and gender.**

Critical Themes

Women's healthcare has been a key point of contention as the Trump administration sets to work on an agenda to limit women's autonomy and reproductive rights. Bills under consideration include H.R. 7, which, with limited exceptions, would ban any nonprofit that performs abortion services from receiving any federal funding permanently; the Life at Conception Act of 2017 (S 231); and a fetal heartbeat law that could ban abortion as early as four weeks after conception (H.R. 490).

Feminist movements have taken different forms in the past but the election has been a catalyst for a renewed form of resistance and created new alliances between organizations and enables an expanded agenda. As the women's movement and resistance to Trump grow, it is essential to reflect on the gender essentialism that focuses on select body parts instead of the existences of oppressed populations. Associating femininity with biological characteristics of gender leads to the erasure of people and their identities, thereby weakening the movement.

The rise of corporate feminism such as the one embodied by *Lean In* reinforces neoliberal hegemony and works against the interests of women of color and low-income families. Neoliberal feminism creates a new ideal successful feminist that supports individualistic efforts rather than collective social action. In so doing it shifts the blame for any social ill onto the individual and requires an invisible and disposable female "other."

volunteer!

women's health:

Planned Parenthood provides high quality, affordable health care for women, men and transgender patients, and plays a vital role in underserved communities. Affordable health care and reproductive rights supports the fundamental right for a person to make their own choices.

donate!

advocate!



BE INTERSECTIONAL:

Intersectionality is a framework that recognizes the multiple aspects of identity that reinforce oppressions and challenges the social structures that oppress women. It is a perspective that can bring focus to the failures of neoliberal feminism and transmisogyny.

listen! to others
think! critically
face! your privileges

understand the ways:

promote inequality spatial arrangements

Planners can begin to dismantle gendered spaces by ensuring community feedback encapsulates the experiences of many gender identities. By allowing flexible zoning that allow home based businesses, promote different family types and ways of living, and allow easy access to resources we can begin addressing these issues.

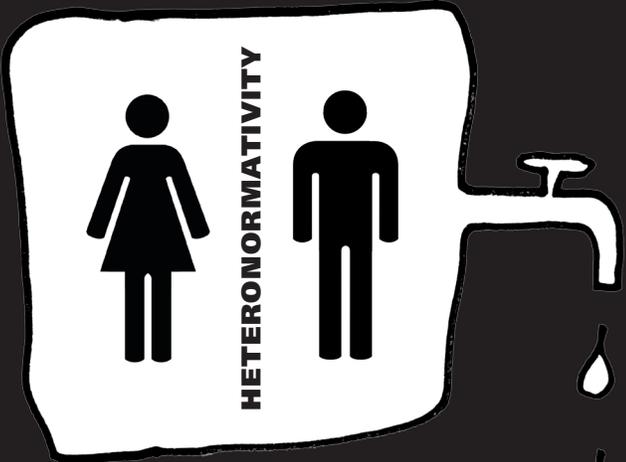
Organizing Frames

- ▶ **Understand the history of the gay liberation movement, and the history of police violence against the LGBTQ community.**
- ▶ **Explore the position of LGBTQ rights and identities under the Trump administration.**
- ▶ **Conceptualize how planning interacts with the needs of the LGBTQ community**

Critical Themes

While the LGBTQ community made gains in marriage equality in the Supreme Court after the *Obergefell v. Hodges* decision in 2015, LGBTQ rights remain precarious in face of the new administration. In fact, the Trump administration has signaled that it will rescind federal guidance to protect transgender students from discrimination when choosing a bathroom that matches their gender identity at school—arguing that it is up to each state to decide how to proceed. Legal protections for the LGBTQ community are already fractured from state to state as only some states have legal language that prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Furthermore, Donald Trump as well as Mike Pence have shown support for legislative action that would allow discrimination if it has some basis in a person's religious belief such as the First Amendment Restoration Act and the First Amendment Defense Act.

These political moves are inherently cisnormative and heteronormative. Surveys of transgender people show above average rates of extreme poverty, harassment, discrimination, and suicide attempts. Though Trump may espouse support for marriage equality, the administration remains noncommittal to support for all members of the LGBTQ community.



**ACTIVELY RESIST
"BATHROOM BILLS"**

These bills seek to limit the public mobility of transgender individuals and institutionalize efforts to exclude trans, gender non-conforming, or genderqueer individuals from public view.

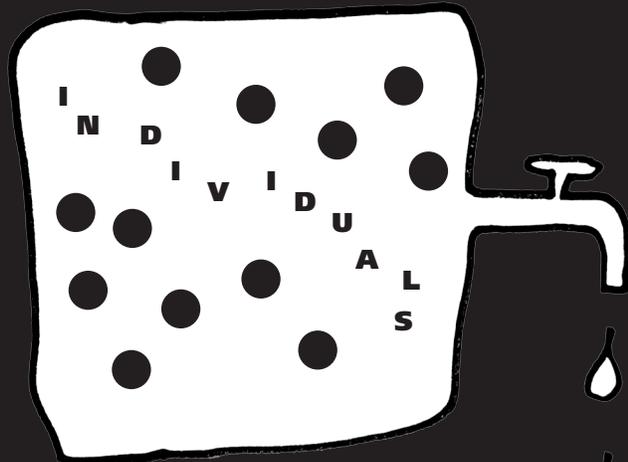
**PROMOTE
VISIBILITY OF
INTERSECTIONAL
IDENTITIES.**

Planners must find ways to build inclusive and safe cities with LGBTQ community in mind. This needs to include intersectional identities of the LGBTQ community. Public visibility of these identities helps safeguard them from erasure and dismissal.



**ADVANCE EQUAL
LEGAL PROTECTION
OF LGBTQ PEOPLE.**

Discrimination laws vary state to state. LGBTQ people require equal protection under the law to ensure equal access to jobs, healthcare, education and other necessities.



UNIONS & THE FUTURE OF LABOR

Organizing Frames

- ▶ **Reflect on the lasting victories of the labor movement and explore how technological change may limit the ability of workers to organize.**
- ▶ **Understand the benefits of unions, especially for lowest wage earners and minorities.**
- ▶ **Consider that businesses have a strong incentive to suppress the labor movement.**

Critical Themes

Union achievements in the 20th century had lasting effects on the daily lives of all Americans, yet often go unrecognized. Union organizing helped establish regulations considered to be foundations of modern day working culture such as collective bargaining for higher wages and the 40-hour workweek. However, the ability of workers to unionize has since been threatened by right to work laws that allow states to make union's costs prohibitive.

The power held by many employers, especially over undocumented workers, allows them to commit wage theft by withholding pay and benefits. These employers benefit from new technology which has enabled a shift toward the gig economy. Gig workers lack a workplace and often work separately from co-workers, limiting organizing ability and preventing workplace relationships from forming. These workers are often misclassified as independent contractors, restricting their benefits and protections under the law.

To ensure the livelihoods of all workers, we must work towards existing alternatives for the future and support the creation of new models. Forming worker-owned cooperatives, where decision-making is collective, is one way private organizations can increase the power of workers. Other potential solutions include a Universal Basic Income, a flat sum of money delivered to all citizens unconditionally, or a Federal Job Guarantee that would ensure full employment for those who want to be in the workforce.

empower! and improve the livelihoods of low-wage workers

Low-wage workers do not have to remain so. Support campaigns such as the Fight for 15 that are actively campaigning for higher wages and unionization. Support the creation of worker-owned cooperatives.

labor organizing! fair labor!

Actively engage with labor unions to work towards building these physical and conceptual spaces. For an example, the City of Los Angeles required Home Depot to provide a "day laborer center" at their Cypress Park location. Learn from the work of the National Day Labor Organizing Network to enact similar protections elsewhere.

decolonize the university!

Consider if university workers are held to unfair standards, or if management is engaging in unethical labor practices. Organize within your workplace to take action towards exposing and erasing these practices. Engage with the local chapter of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, which represents workers at public universities throughout the country.



Organizing Frames

- ▶ **Acknowledge the history that urban planning has played in creating racialized housing patterns in the U.S.**
- ▶ **Recognize how current local and national housing policies negatively impact the housing conditions of people of color.**

Critical Themes

In the United States, housing and homelessness have a racialized history, deeply rooted in marginalization and oppression, in which policies and planning practices have disproportionately affected people of color. Mechanisms such as redlining, restrictive covenants and inadequate public housing worsened segregation and concentrated poverty. A massive homeless population of mostly men and women of color remain unable to obtain jobs or government assistance, and the criminalization of homelessness traps many of these people in a larger system of mass incarceration. Vulnerable homeowners and tenants lack protection from unjust evictions and foreclosures while subprime lending continues to target communities of color. Housing markets that have “recovered” from the foreclosure crisis have rapidly gentrified and displaced longtime residents.



UNDO the mechanisms
that concentrate poverty
and social immobility in
neighborhoods of color

This includes implementing inclusive housing policies in areas accessible to jobs and transit, and holding institutions accountable for ongoing predatory lending and racialized practices.



RESIST policies that
restrict access to data on
racialized housing practices

In addition to proposals to cut HUD spending by billions of dollars, members of Congress have introduced H.R. 482, the “Local Zoning Decisions Protection Act”. H.R. 482 would, among other things, prohibit federal funding of HUD data on disparities relating to accessing affordable housing. This data informs vitally important policies and programs that address racial disparities and promote fair housing, and prohibiting its use disregards the need to promote social mobility among all races and classes.



MOVE TOWARD
housing as a human right

Many countries have recognized housing as a human right as part of their constitution. The United States has not.

Organizing Frames

- ▶ **Understand how the impacts of climate change and urbanization are disproportionately distributed among populations.**
- ▶ **Understand the potential impacts of the Trump presidency on efforts to protect the environment, mitigate climate change, and adapt to climate change.**
- ▶ **Identify what planners must do to minimize unjust impacts on human communities.**

Critical Themes

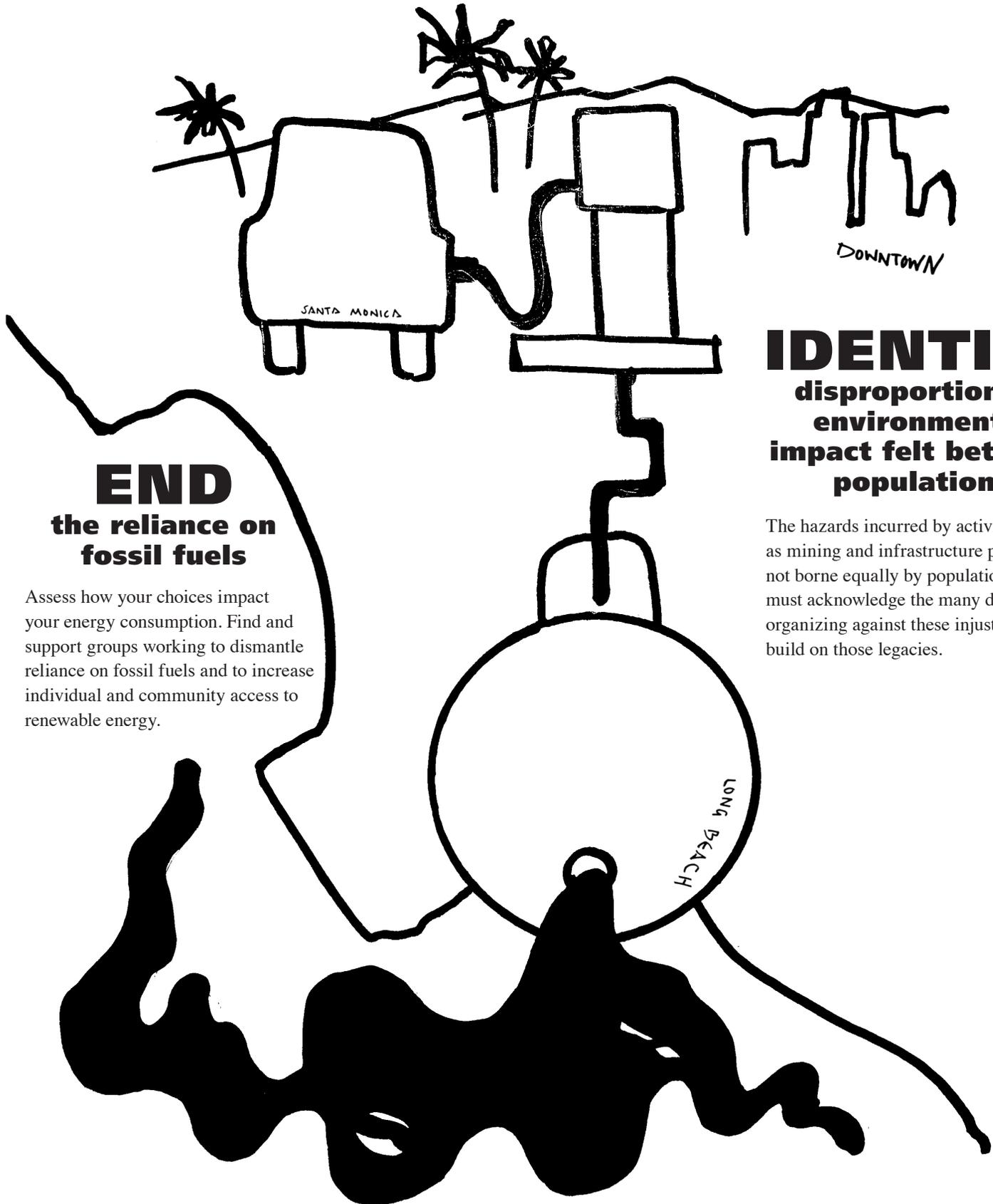
Environmental protection and climate change mitigation are not central concerns of the Trump administration and are instead seen as roadblocks to its goal of economic growth. Oil infrastructure projects like the Keystone XL Pipeline and the Dakota Access Pipeline have been approved despite fierce public opposition and concerns around environmental and human safety. Funding for climate science, clean energy research, and environmental justice programs will likely be cut, delaying solutions needed to mitigate climate change and adapt for life under a destabilized climate.

Within the new administration, we have seen a shift in discourse from climate change mitigation and adaptation, to a lone focus on adaptation. Given the administration's interest in funding infrastructure projects, there is speculation about increased investments for projects that protect urban regions from events like hurricanes and droughts. When working on these projects, planners must ask the critical questions of which urban assets and communities are being prioritized for protection and who is deciding how these projects are designed and implemented. We must be vigilant in identifying and protecting populations--particularly those with limited social and economic power--from being harmed by projects that will emerge as a response to climate change.

BLOCK

projects that endanger human and environmental health

We live in an era that scholars have coined the “Anthropocene,” a time when humans have the power to fundamentally transform geologic and climatic processes. We must ask how we can work to create a society that is more just and equitable and how this mandate impacts the work of planners in the processes of urbanization.



END the reliance on fossil fuels

Assess how your choices impact your energy consumption. Find and support groups working to dismantle reliance on fossil fuels and to increase individual and community access to renewable energy.

IDENTIFY disproportionate environmental impact felt between populations

The hazards incurred by activities such as mining and infrastructure projects are not borne equally by populations. We must acknowledge the many decades of organizing against these injustices and build on those legacies.



THE SANCTUARY CITY: A BROADER CONCEPTION

Confronted with the challenge of Trumpism, we must not only resist, but also articulate our vision of the society we want to build and live in. What makes a city compassionate, or just, or safe for all who dwell there? Cities around the United States have attempted to respond to these questions by classifying themselves as “sanctuary” jurisdictions. Thus, to conclude this guide we elaborate on our vision for the Sanctuary City, and extend this powerful idea to one that more broadly addresses the injustices of the current moment and the possibility of abolition and liberation from the bounds of white supremacy. We seek to move beyond notions of noncompliance with federal immigration enforcement, the prevalent notion of sanctuary jurisdiction, and envision the potential of localities to affirmatively protect their residents against both imminent and future harm.

The city as sanctuary seems intuitive when thinking about modern history. The city is seen as a center of progress and tolerance, a place where marginal groups can achieve both the close connections and the relative anonymity that urban density creates. However, the American city has also been home to intense repression at the hands of the state. It has played host to racial segregation in the form of redlining and restrictive covenants. Rapid and devastating gentrification and displacement have plagued its neighborhoods. The city has given birth to labor movements, women’s movements, and queer movements among others, but has also been home to violent backlashes. This history, we believe, has contributed to the current state of confusion about what a Sanctuary City really is. If by sanctuary we are to mean a place of refuge, we cannot say that American cities have ever been sanctuaries for all.

In the United States, the concept of the Sanctuary City can be traced back to the haven that northern cities represented for fugitive slaves. Southern slaveholders pushed for federal enforcement of the extant Fugitive Slave Act, but were unable to compel northern states and cities to enforce the law. This allowed abolitionists to protect those escaping from chattel slavery. The term “Sanctuary City” was coined in the 1980s by churches and social movements seeking to protect refugees fleeing violence in Guatemala and El Salvador. Such efforts explicitly recognized the role



of U.S. imperialism in producing the violence that thousands fled. In this climate, San Francisco enacted policies forbidding local law enforcement from cooperating with federal immigration authorities. Today's Sanctuary City efforts build on this history.

The power of city governments is limited. Raids by Immigration and Customs Enforcement will continue with or without city cooperation. Further, Sanctuary City policies rely on local law enforcement to resist compliance with federal immigration enforcement. Yet, these same local police forces regularly deploy violence against poor people and people of color, as made starkly visible by Black Lives Matter and other protest movements. Rejecting stop-and-frisk police tactics, no-knock raids, and broken windows policing must be as central to Sanctuary City policy as resisting the deportation of immigrants. Such policies must push for the repeal of laws that criminalize poverty, including those that target fare evasion, street vending, and sleeping in vehicles. To conceptualize our cities as true places of sanctuary, we must radically expand our notions of safety and vulnerability. A Sanctuary City cannot rest on the coercive force of the state.

A Sanctuary City must provide safety from the forced removal of residents from their homes. While this is commonly understood to mean protection from deportation, we argue it must also mean protection from economic banishment from the city. It must address the obscene socio-economic inequalities that have been exacerbated by global neoliberalization. Cities are centers of the “new economy” that intensifies economic inequality by providing rapidly growing compensation for some workers while leaving wages stagnant for the vast majority. “Sharing economies” have led to precarity for many, while concentrating wealth in the hands of a few. A Sanctuary City should take concrete steps to bridge these divides and provide economic stability, ensuring that cities do not become fortresses for the rich. Concrete policies that would begin to provide this security include a living wage, the unionization of domestic workers and day laborers, and a federal jobs guarantee.

The Sanctuary City must also enact policy to protect everyone, but especially the most vulnerable, against the effects of climate change. It should work to reduce their emissions, and account for their historical contributions to climate



change. It should also work with residents to protect against rising seas, fire, and air pollution. It must work to rectify the fact that communities of color are disproportionately exposed to environmental toxins. This city must confront the enormous wealth, power, and political influence of the nonrenewable energy industry and at the very least implement stronger regulations to protect the health of workers and communities. It must be a place where a community's control of its environmental and economic well-being supersedes corporate power.

More broadly, the Sanctuary City should stand as a bulwark against social oppression. It should affirmatively provide security for all against white supremacy, patriarchy, Islamophobia, transphobia, and xenophobia. These mandates are beyond the scope of the state and demand that we address social relations.

Steeped in this history, and galvanized by the scale of social mobilization and resistance against Trumpism that we have seen in American cities, we call on our fellow students, planners, and city dwellers to build this new Sanctuary City with us. We can begin by calling hateful ideologies by their proper names and working to delegitimize and eliminate them. And then we must also confront the systematic processes that make our cities unsafe for far too many neighbors. All the while, we must recognize that safety for all cannot mean unfreedom for some. Abolition must extend to all systems that restrain or imprison marginalized people. If we agree that cities should be—and can be—sanctuaries, they must be sanctuaries for all.

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