URBAN ACTION 2002

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Tiffany Chimaroke' is an Urban Studies major who recently returned from studying urban and regional planning at the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands in Fall 2001. After graduating in May 2002, she will be working as an associate urban planner before applying to graduate school. Her interests include sustainable development, environmental health, and urban design. This is her second year contributing to *Urban Action.*

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Matt Reamer was born in Baltimore, MD and is a senior in the Sociology Department at SFSU. He currently works at the Making Waves Education Program in Richmond, CA, and does social justice organizing around the prison industrial complex with an organization called *Let's Get Free.* Upon completion of his B.A., he plans to become a middle school teacher.

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Natalie Wasil is a junior at San Francisco State University studying psychology and dance. She plans to leave for a year of study abroad in Paris beginning in the fall, and hopes to one day apply her knowledge in both psychology and movement to help people lead richer and healthier lives.

Mike Zinser is a returning student at SFSU interested in contributing to housing solutions. His career history includes a background in structural design, drawing and document compliance, construction practices and residential building repair. His New England roots keep him looking for the practical solution for today's residential problems. He champions the cause of the little guy and is a hopeless Red Sox and A's fan.

Contents

The Boulevards of San Francisco

An Interview with Allan B. Jacobs

Urban Action first interviewed Allan B. Jacobs in 1980. In that interview, Jacobs expounded on the role of the city planner, a subject on which he had much to say since he had been San Francisco's Director of City Planning from 1967 through 1975 and wrote the book Making City Planning Work. Since 1976, Jacobs has been a professor (now emeritus) of City and Regional Planning at U.C. Berkeley.

In addition to being a planner, Jacobs has become widely respected as an urban designer, particularly a designer of streets. His 1995 book Great Streets provided a discussion and compendium of what he considered to be the great streets of the world. Jacobs' latest book takes a closer look at a particular type of street: the multiway boulevard. Co-written with Elizabeth Macdonald and Yodan Rofe, The Boulevard Book: History, Evolution, Design of Multiway Boulevards (MIT Press, 2002) is an explanation, defense, and celebration of multiway boulevards. After San Francisco voters passed 1998's Proposition E, which called for a boulevard to replace the Central Freeway between Market and Hayes Streets, Jacobs and Macdonald led the design team on the multiway Octavia Boulevard project. This boulevard is intended to provide a through-traffic connection between the remaining freeway and Oak and Fell Streets, as well as to provide side streets for local traffic, bicyclists, and pedestrians.

Allan B. Jacobs was interviewed at his home in San Francisco in February 2002 by *Urban Action* editor Pete Jordan.

Urban Action: *First of all, what exactly is a multiway boulevard?*

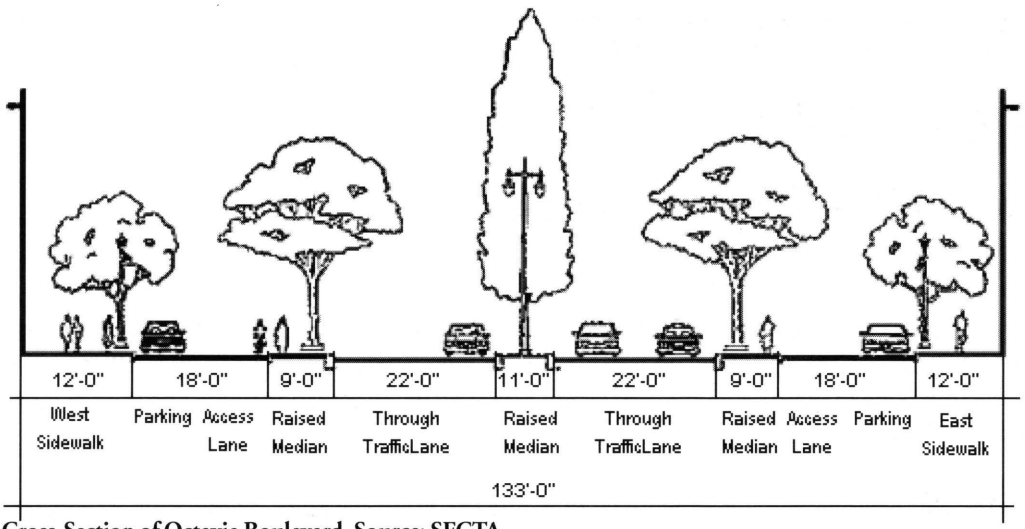
Allan B. Jacobs: A multiway boulevard is exactly what the words imply: it has many ways to be traveled. It has a central vehicular realm with anywhere from one lane in each direction to usually three lanes in each direction; bordered by a median, a raised island that always has closely-spaced dense trees on them; followed by a side access road that has one lane of parking and one lane of traffic on them. And then comes the sidewalk. That's basically what a multiway boulevard is.

UA: *Before we talk about Octavia Boulevard, I wanted to talk about its predecessor, the Central Freeway. As the city's planning director during the era of San Francisco's "Freeway Revolt," what was your view of the plans to run the Central west to Golden Gate Park and north to the Golden Gate Bridge?*

AJ: Actually, the decision about the freeways had been made before I got here. The so-called "Freeway Revolt" came a year before I got here. All the freeways were stopped. If one took a look at the city's master plan at the time, there were loads and loads of freeways. They were all over the place. And that would have been crazy, truly crazy.

The thing about the urban design issue for the Central Freeway that really upset me very early on was that it went right across the back of City Hall. It blocked the view of City Hall. Everybody raised hell about the freeway in front of the Ferry Building but no one raised hell about the freeway running across the back of City Hall. It seemed to me that the reason was because, by and large, the people in that area whose views were screwed were poorer people and people of color. It was an interesting and sad thing to see.

UA: *How would San Francisco have changed had those freeways been built?*



Cross-Section of Octavia Boulevard. Source: SFCTA.

AJ: Wow, good question. I think, had they been built, the likelihood is that we would have more congestion. It would have hurt a lot of neighborhoods, just because of the nature of those roads. It's almost impossible to conceive of them now. It's even impossible to conceive of them ever being built. People would have kept raising hell and they wouldn't have been built. But I think San Francisco would have been a less good place if those freeways had been built.

It's interesting how quickly we forget what things were like when something bad comes down. We very quickly forget what it was like under the Embarcadero Freeway and how bad that was. People don't remember it. It was not very long ago.

UA: *Did your work on Octavia Boulevard inspire you to write the book?*

AJ: Oh no, no, no. It's vice versa. I never start out to do a book. We had already done some studies. The research on multiway boulevards started because, in a couple situations, without even knowing what they were, a design solution very similar to a multiway boulevard came to me, once in the Los Angeles area and once in this area.

I got ridiculed by all the traffic engineers, including those that were on my own team. Basically the essence was that these are unsafe streets. They didn't meet this standard or that standard. Then when I was doing research for the previous book, Great Streets, I found myself on some of those boulevards, particularly in Paris. I said to myself, "Oh these are the streets that are so dangerous." And I stood at the intersections and they didn't seem dangerous to me. I stood there for hours. That got me bugged. So I got some money to find out if they were dangerous or not. We did two pretty big studies in the early '90s at Berkeley. The three of us—Elizabeth Macdonald, Yodan Rofe, and myself—we collected data that showed a lot of the field research and accident data. We determined the records did not show that they were more dangerous than other normally configured streets that carried a similar amount of traffic. Traffic was safe. When it was dangerous, it was in the details of design. Not the turning ratio, but the details of the design.

It's interesting how quickly we forget what things were like when something bad comes down. We very quickly forget what it was like under the Embarcadero Freeway and how bad that was.

Those two reports became public and lo and behold some people from San Francisco, from the [Hayes Valley] neighborhood, read them, and heard us give some talks about them. When the whole issue arose about whether or not to take down the freeway, they said, "No, let's build a boulevard." Then [in 1998] Proposition E passed. That's when we got hired. The Metropolitan Transportation Commission and the [San Francisco County] Transportation Authority came to us and asked us to work on the design.

UA: *Do you anticipate the traffic engineers who ridiculed multiway boulevards as unsafe will use any accident on Octavia Boulevard as proof that it is unsafe even*

though the number of accidents will probably be fewer than on streets with similar traffic levels?

AJ: Yeah, that's right. And that'll cause problems and they'll try to fine-tune it. But what they should do is just let the people figure it out and learn how to use that street. Yeah, I think there's a good chance of what you said is true.

I think an awful lot has to do with how the freeway comes down across Market Street and how the state does or doesn't design that so it becomes a gradual entry into the city. Right now, from everything I've seen, they're not doing that.

UA: *Was it difficult to work on the design for Octavia with the city's traffic engineers?*

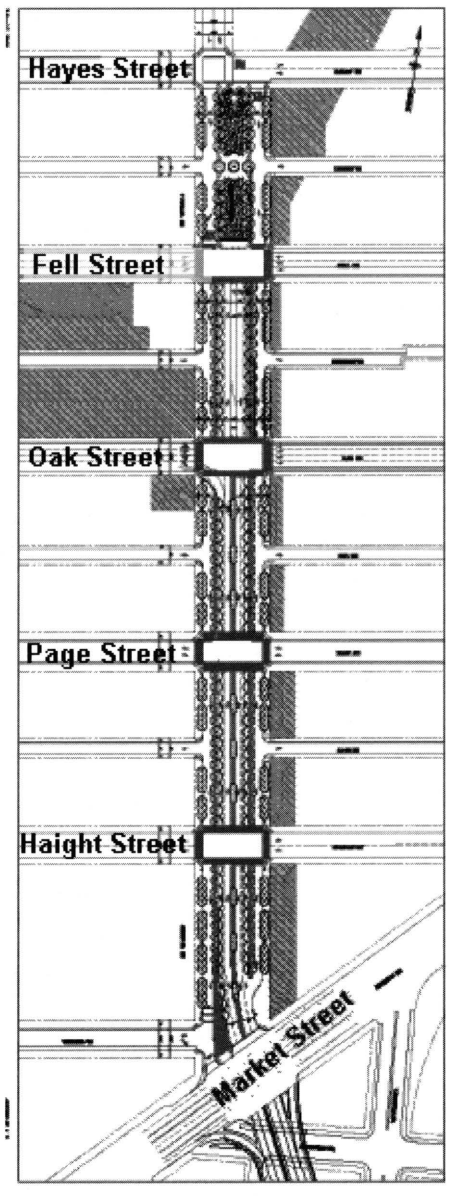
AJ: Interestingly enough, once people at DPW [Department of Public Works] accepted our knowledge, accepted that we knew something, that we had some expertise, some qualifications, they were fine to work with. They checked our early studies. We gave them some of our time-lapse films. Once they found out that we knew what we were talking about—and since the [Proposition E] vote was there—it wasn't easy, but, by God we were able to make our points and they were open to acting them out. I give them a lot of credit for that.

UA: *How much of your original design is represented in the final draft?*

AJ: Is it really the street we designed? It's pretty close, pretty close. We got an awful lot of what we wanted. One or two things: no. One or two turning radii: no. But as far as the design they accepted, it's pretty close to our design.

UA: *Since Octavia Boulevard won't be as wide as the path of the Central Freeway, there is a great opportunity to develop a number of lots adjacent to the boulevard. What do you envision to be developed on those lots?*

AJ: I'm not involved in that part of the design. I'd like to be, but we're not. What's envisioned is a combination of dense uses that face the boulevard, that face directly on it wherever possible, otherwise it makes no sense to have the access road. Most of that will be housing, there may or not be commercial uses on the ground floors.



Overview of Octavia Boulevard. Source: SFCTA.

The northernmost end [between Fell and Hayes Streets], the part that we call Hayes Green, I think that is a genius stroke of design, I really do. How do you bring this boulevard back into the grid system? It's fair to say that Elizabeth and I came to that conclusion separately and simultaneously and I think the notion of Hayes Green was one of the better things we've done.

UA: *Do you hope Octavia will show Americans that a newly built multiway boulevard can effectively and safely*

serve many different users?

AJ: I hope so, yeah. I think there are already good recent examples but Americans don't like to use foreign examples for themselves, especially if the foreign examples come from countries that were once considered Third World. Like the boulevard that we designed in Ahmedabad, India. I get the biggest kick in the world out of that street, I really do. We did it so quickly and they built it quickly. It seems to work. In Ahmedabad, they use that street on their post cards. That's great. So that street is considered as a way to do it.

I think people should look once again at this country, at the Brooklyn boulevards [Ocean Parkway and Eastern Parkway]. They're so wonderful. New Yorkers really should look at those because they have two other [multiway] boulevards that are terrible [The Grand Concourse and Queens Boulevard], yet they don't need to look any further than their own backyard to see good examples. And there's the Chico one that is very wide, The Esplanade, and also the domestically scaled one in Sacramento, San Francisco Boulevard. It's just four or five blocks long. It's in a lower income area, a moderate-income area, but the values of the houses on that street are higher than in the surrounding area.

UA: *In Great Streets, you wrote that Van Ness Avenue had potential for greatness as a tree-lined, café-lined, pedestrian-friendly boulevard. Could the San Francisco Planning Department's current vision for two transit-only lanes on Van Ness attain the greatness you envisioned?*

AJ: Yeah, I think that's possible. That's not a multiway boulevard, but yeah, I think it will help. I think CalTrans will have conniptions about it, but, in the end, it will be fine.

UA: *Are you involved with those plans for Van Ness?*

AJ: Not really. I've discussed it a lot of times with the [Planning Department] staff. I'm not on a contractual basis on anything there, but the staff in the city Planning Department has worked on it and we have talked. They throw things in front of me every now and then.

UA: *Will a successful Octavia Boulevard help the prospects for other large-scale projects in San Francisco like the Van Ness plan?*

AJ: I haven't thought about it, but I think, at some point, yeah. And Market Street, too. There's got to be a better design for Market Street, even though they just spent a fortune on it. Market Street has boulevard possibilities.

I think a lot of people are dissatisfied with Market. From 1967 to 1970 they spent $24 million on two miles to make it right, and it didn't make it right. And then they spent a lot of more millions putting the streetcar tracks on it in the 1990s. And they still weren't happy.

UA: *In Great Streets, you used Market as an example of a "once great street."*

AJ: That's right.

UA: *Do you think Market can ever be a great street again?*

AJ: I don't know, I don't know... I think it could be. In some ways, it's now a lot better than it was. The historic streetcars are great. They help it a lot. I think that people living as close as possible to it would help it like crazy. I think you have to end it better than the way it ends now. The business of there not being a direct connection to the Ferry Building and the Embarcadero is stupid. It's an ideological thing about having a plaza without cars, rather than how to end a good street. It putters off. It's crazy, just crazy and it shouldn't be that way. There are basically illogical reasons for that rather than sensible reasons.

I think Market could be great. Put it this way: I think a lot of people are dissatisfied with Market. From 1967 to 1970 they spent $24 million on two miles to make it right, and it didn't make it right. And then they spent a lot of more millions putting the streetcar tracks on it in the 1990s. And they still weren't happy. These things have a way of stay-

ing with people. And they keep coming back and coming back until at some point they will get it right.

UA: *What do you think about the recent improvements to upper Market, like the palm trees planted in the median?*

AJ: I don't care one way or another about the palm trees. It's not my favorite tree. They seem to work, but if you're going to do that, I say, "Plant them right!" You get three here, then two there, then these big gaps between them. If you want to put in trees, then line them up, really line them up. Somebody didn't argue for doing them well. And that's too bad. There are a lot of bad things in the details of the design.

UA: *Do you think Geary could work as a multiway boulevard?*

AJ: It has potential. It's just very tight as far as width, very tight. But it can be done, and I have designed it. I have some designs for it. It's interesting; Elizabeth and I are working on a street in Vancouver: Pacific Boulevard. It's in that photo on the wall there. Well, their traffic engineer is a very, very, very bright guy. He's willing to accept ten-foot wide lanes. With ten-foot wide lanes we can redesign that street and make it just so much better. And that's a big key to Geary.

UA: *Is the Planning Department considering a multiway boulevard for Geary?*

AJ: I don't know. I think they have, off and on.

UA: *There is a multiway boulevard a few blocks from S.F.S.U. that you didn't mention in your book: Junipero Serra Boulevard.*

AJ: Yeah, I'm very familiar with Junipero Serra. When we were designing Octavia, on the issue of turning regulations and rules and distances for tree planting, stuff like that, we would have these differences of opinion with the Department of Public Works about how to make things work or not. One of the things that they wondered was if we could find examples in San Francisco of the things we were talking about that would work the way we said they would. So we would go out there to Junipero Serra and take pictures. I've got a lot of pictures of intersections out there with the various possibilities of traffic turning from the access roads and such.

UA: *What are your favorite streets in San Francisco?*

AJ: God, I don't know. Maybe Stockton Street. Maybe Grant Street, just north of Chinatown. Mission Street, between 16th and 24th. I go a little bit out of my way to travel on the Embarcadero south to go past the ballpark. I think it's interesting that in my book Great Streets, the only San Francisco street that I wrote about was Market Street and that was as a "once great" street. San Francisco streets are not great streets.

UA: *And what are your least favorite San Francisco streets?*

AJ: My least favorite? Army Street. 19th Avenue. Lombard, on its way out of town. Streets like that, streets that aren't very pleasant to walk on.

UA: *With your books and your work on Octavia, you have garnered a high profile as a street designer. Would you want to design streets full-time?*

AJ: Well, it's certainly interesting. It could be a full-time job, yeah, but I kind of hope it doesn't become a full-time job. We don't seek the jobs out. I can guarantee that when I wrote Great Streets, I didn't think for a minute of what it would do in terms of bringing in business. The same thing with The Boulevard Book. It wasn't on my mind at all. But the opportunity seems to be there.

I have a lot of things I still want to do in my life. Shit, I'm seventy-two years old. Actually, what I should be doing is painting! See all those paintings on the wall? That's what I should be doing! But for now, what I need to do is kick you out so I can get back to work in my office upstairs. Ha Ha!

Photo: Miriam Neiderhardt

The Greening of the Netherlands

Can the U.S. Learn a Lesson?

Tiffany Chimaroke'

Sustainable development is often defined as meeting the economic, social, and environmental needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. *Green Urbanism* emphasizes the important role of cities in shaping more sustainable places, communities, and lifestyles, and implicitly points out that our old approaches to urbanism must be substantially revised to incorporate more ecologically responsible forms of living (Beatley 2000).

These issues are particularly important to communities across the United States as our built environment continues to expand at a rapid rate, destroying precious open space and species habitat, and degrading the quality of life for millions of people.

Tiffany Chimaroké, a senior in the Urban Studies program at San Francisco State University, spent a semester in the fall of 2001 at the University of Amsterdam, studying the Netherlands' approach to sustainable development. What she found has important implications for anyone concerned about promoting more eco-friendly living patterns in the U.S.

For centuries, the Dutch have had to reclaim land from the sea in order to live, and have thus developed a strong impulse towards maintaining cherished open space. Today, because the Netherlands has such a small landmass, there isn't enough space to accommodate every proposed development, and the land that is available is very expensive. Compounding the problem is the fact that the country's population has doubled over the last twenty years, and a robust economy is increasing competition for available land. Consequently, the Netherlands is faced with the issue of how to use its available land more intensively and productively, while at the same time preserving the environment and protecting valuable public green spaces.

In response to the problem, the Netherlands is working hard to craft and maintain sustainable development strategies, first by defining environmental problems and drawing up solutions at the city level, and then by applying those same strategies at the national and regional levels. The country is currently experimenting with different approaches to promote a more sustainable future. Some of the most important are detailed below.

The National Environmental Policy Plan

In 1989, the Netherlands adopted the National Environmental Policy Plan (NEPP) to "focus on removing the causes of environmental problems at their source rather than ameliorating their effects..." (Resource Renewal Institute 2001). The Plan is "based on the assumption of collaboration, cooperation, and partnership between government, industry and other elements of society" (Beatley 2000). It is directed at specific groups, such as industrial corporations, which significantly pollute the environment. The national government negotiates with targeted groups in an attempt to get them to agree to implement policies that will help achieve the national goal of

preserving the natural environment.

The NEPP was "designed to be a comprehensive, eco-system based policy that integrates all areas of environmental concern. It entailed 223 policy changes and transformed the way Dutch government, businesses, and society approached the problems of environmental degradation" (Resource Renewal Institute 2001).

The Dutch government has had four series of NEPP action plans put into place. The first and second NEPPs were primarily focused on industry's role in environmental degradation. The third NEPP, published in 1997, specifically addresses the problem of over-consumption. The fourth NEPP weaves land use and transportation planning into the nation's overall environmental plan, integrating initiatives from the Dutch Land Use Plan, along with an increased emphasis on the issues of quality of life and consumer responsibility (Resource Renewal Institute 2001). Overall, the NEPP and its four series of policy regulations have brought about significant improvements in quality of life and environmental preservation throughout the Netherlands.

The Randstad's "Green Hart"

If there is one thing that the Dutch take particular pride in, it is their "Groene Hart" (Green Heart)—a large area of open-space in the center of the country—which has been steadfastly maintained despite enormous pressures from population growth, industrial expansion, and urban development. The Randstad is the Netherlands' greater metropolitan area, consisting of a Northern Wing (the North Sea area, Haarlem, Ijmuiden, and Utrecht and its surrounding suburbs), and a Southern Wing (Rotterdam, The Hague, and Leiden), which has been developed so as to preserve as much as the "Green Heart" as possible. The ongoing effort to maintain the "Green Heart" has required considerable cooperation between all levels of Dutch government over several decades, and reflects a constant willingness to implement new policies and strategies to maintain its viability.

The development and preservation of the "Green Heart" also reflects the widespread belief in the importance of community development in the Netherlands. While each of the twelve provinces that make up the Netherlands has its own local government, they each work hard to maintain a sense of greater community by promoting the idea that all Dutch citizens share a common environment. Their motto is "Governance can only succeed if there is community."

Sustainable Delta Water System

The Netherlands has two ongoing problems related to water. The first arises from the fact that, as previously noted, the Dutch have had to reclaim land from the sea, and from rivers, for centuries. The Netherlands was built on water for habitat, agriculture, recreation, transport, and industry. Over time, the country's population grew and density levels increased, and it has become a highly industrialized country. Consequently, much of the land is paved over, increasing the ever-present threat of flooding.

But the Netherlands faces another problem as well: growing contamination of the soil and water due to increased car ownership, expanded road networks, growing cities, and the suburbanization of rural areas (Oudshoorn 1999).

To deal with these problems, the Netherlands developed a water agenda to maintain a healthy water system, to prevent flooding, and to promote safety. In 1997, the fourth National Policy Document on Water had as a stated goal "to have and maintain a safe and habitable country and to develop and maintain healthy and resilient water systems which will continue to guarantee sustained use" (Beatley 2000).

As part of that policy, the country's Public Works and Water Management agency pursues integrated water management. This has included using dikes to address coastal and river flooding, rehabilitating the absorption capacity of the soil, and incorporating strict vehicle licensing policies to reduce air and runoff pollution.

Alternative Modes of Transportation

The idea of a car-free, pedestrian friendly city is one that many Europeans have begun to embrace. To work towards this goal, the Netherlands has made improvements in public transportation, added more bus and metro lines, made it harder for cars to find parking in central urban areas, and increased the cost of parking. For example, in Amsterdam there is Kalverstraat, a main shopping street in the heart of the city where cars are not allowed. On any given day, there are hundreds of people walking from shop to shop.

Car-sharing is another strategy that has be-

come popular throughout the country. *Greenwheels* is a car-sharing company that has depots all over the city of Amsterdam and has arrangements in other cities to provide car-sharing services to several large organizations. Users can easily pick up a car at a depot, and at the end of the month they receive a monthly bill for kilometers driven and time used. This makes it easy to keep track of the car and the subscriber to the service.

KLM, a Dutch airline, has a car-sharing program for their employees called "Wings and Wheels." "Cars are made available for employees to rent for a few days at a reduced rate. This allows them to take the cars home and bring them back to the airport when they return (e.g. for their next flight)...KLM reports that as a result of the program, they now require some three hundred fewer employee (parking) spaces at the airport" (Beatley 2000).

Another important transportation innovation, and one for which the Netherlands has become famous, is the prolific use of bicycles throughout the nation. There are bike lanes, paths, and bridges strictly dedicated to bicycles. Bikes are commonly available for rent, and are also available for sale at inexpensive prices, so everyone is able to afford one. Currently, there is also a public bike system that uses bike stations, where you pay a small fee for the time you plan to use the bike.

Finally, the Dutch government has a national location plan and policy to strongly support public transit and to reduce auto use. This is known as the ABC Policy, through which infrastructure investment is guided:

A-Locations: These are public transit locations that are in city centers and that are close to the main rail station. They are also usually close to stores, hospitals and governmental offices.

B-Locations: These are public transit locations that are easy to get to by public transit, car and other modes of transit, but aren't close to suburban rail stations. These are usually located right outside the city center, close to offices, businesses and more housing.

C-Locations: These are located on the outskirts of the city with a direct connection to roads, but are not necessarily located near public transit. These locations are near housing, and are completely in the outer ring of the city.

Land-use decisions are guided by the ABC system: shops are generally located in A-areas; offices are located in A- or B-areas, and C-areas are reserved for more land intensive activities.

The ABC Policy is key to coordinating transit with land use. And by regularly re-routing transit as needed to serve growing housing developments and communities, and through constantly advertising public transportation as a positive alternative to auto use, the Dutch government supports its citizens' desire for more livable communities and a healthier environment.

Ecological Housing Developments

Ecological housing developments are springing up all over the Netherlands, starting a new revolution in sustainable living.

Ecolonia was one of the first ecological housing projects built in the Netherlands, and introduced the concept of green roofs. A green roof development is one where green grass or plants are grown on the rooftops of each housing unit. This is done to keep homes cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter, and also to reduce maintenance levels and the need for drainage systems. The project also includes energy conserving features such as added insulation, solar hot water tanks, and rainwater collection, and was built with recycled building materials (Beatley 2000). *Ecolonia* is a prime example of a successful housing development that introduced and maintained practical sustainable solutions to living.

Romen Polder, an eco-housing development in Haarlem, is also known for its green roofs. Other features include a children's farm, an education center for its residents, an integrated waste collection system, and ecological landscaping to keep it a green community.

Het Groene Dak development, or "The Green Roof," in Utrecht, is a car-limited, high-density development. Its features include a communal garden, car-free areas used for socializing, limited parking spaces for more green space, and an impressive gray water treatment system. This gray water treatment system reuses "gray water from ten of the homes once it goes through a settling and aeration process [after which it] is pumped to a surface reed bed for

final filtration and then sent to a pond in an interior courtyard for percolation back into the ground" (Beatley 2000).

Oikos is a newly built housing development in Enschede. It includes "extensive green areas intermixed with housing...natural drainage ditches, and community gardens" (Beatley 2000). *Oikos* is a mixed-use development with retail and office space, a community center, and housing, all connected in the center of the development. There are bike paths, small parks, and a high-speed bus service that also connects to the center. Each of these features contributes to making the environment more sustainable, while creating a livable community.

GWL-Terrain is an ecological housing development that was built on brownfields with natural building materials. Built in Westerpark, Amsterdam, it is a high-density housing development that includes community gardens, green roofs, a car-free center, and an extensive environmental packet with information on car-sharing services and environmental housekeeping that is given to residents upon move-in. GWL-Terrain also promotes educating residents on environmental living and awareness. There are four main themes that are promoted in the development: water conservation; green living; garbage and recycling; and energy conservation.

Finally, *Morra Park*, in Drachton, has 125 housing units with southern orientation and solar glass rooms attached to each unit for warming. It also has a closed-loop canal system for collecting and naturally treating storm water runoff. "The water in the canals is dramatically cleaner than in the neighborhood farming regions and is clean enough to swim in" (Beatley 2000). *Morra Park* is also known for its many gardens, open space, bike paths, and trails. It is a very desirable place to live and has achieved significant reductions in energy use.

Ecological housing developments are springing up all over the Netherlands, starting a new revolution in sustainable living.

Lessons for the U.S.

The Netherlands has responded to the desires of its citizens, and to the requirements of its natural environment, by implementing plans that promote a sustainable future. The Netherlands constantly battles to maintain its "Green Heart." It has addressed issues of reclaiming the land, and is successfully dealing with water pollution, soil depletion, and population growth. The country has experimented with alternative modes of transportation and ecological housing, and they are proving to be successful. The Netherlands is definitely an impressive model of how to make a country more "green." It involves changing policies, having flexibility within the government, and listening and responding to citizens.

While this may be easier for a smaller country like the Netherlands, the U.S. can certainly move further towards sustainability, both environmentally and economically. Timothy Beatley, author of Green Urbanism: Learning from European Cities, suggests that there are certain "ingredients" that the U.S. needs to become more sustainable: "These ingredients include a commitment to coordinating land use and development decisions with transit investments (which Europeans have been especially good at doing); new corresponding controls on auto traffic and programs to reclaim streets and pedestrian areas; restrictions on the amount of parking in urban areas (and a move away from free or low-cost parking); efforts to encourage employers to adopt incentive structures and to encourage public transit usage (as well as walking and bicycling) rather than auto use; and a host of other demand management strategies" (Beatley 2000). Perhaps it is time for the U.S. to begin listening to those like Beatley, because it is the wealthiest nations of the world that are contributing the largest amounts of pollution around the globe, and yet it is often those nations that are moving slowest along the path of sustainability. Time may be running out, and all nations must work together to preserve and repair the earth.

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Photo: Miriam Neiderhardt

Title 1 Reform

Improving Educational Equity and Student Outcomes

Lolita Smith

Education reform has become a topic of nationwide concern in recent years, particularly as funding and performance disparities between schools, districts, and states have increased, and low-income and minority groups have become increasingly underserved by the education system.

This essay examines Title 1, the law that controls federal funding for state education programs, and suggests improvements in how money is allocated and how student progress is measured, with an eye toward improving the prospects of those students currently left behind. Given that future life performance is strongly dependent on early childhood education, no issue is more vital to how California, and the nation, will grow and evolve in the coming years.

America's economy is imbedded in a competitive global market that demands increasingly specialized skills and high levels of education from workers. However, for job seekers with little education or work experience, few opportunities exist beyond low paid service sector jobs with limited upward mobility. While a college degree allows for better employment prospects and strengthened earnings, for minority students, who are far less likely than non-minority students to complete high school, let alone college, the absence of equity in education creates a lack of equity in the workplace, and keeps minority populations economically and socially marginalized.

Math skills, in particular, are vital for improving outcomes for minority and lower-income groups. Recent research by the Public Policy Institute of California has uncovered strong correlations between the earning strength of particular ethnic and socioeconomic groups and the amount of, and quality of, math curriculum completed in high school. The study found that, in general, controlling for ethnicity and socioeconomic status, greater experience in advanced math lessened the earnings disparities between groups. However, in 1998, only nine percent of Hispanic and ten percent of African American students had completed advanced algebra or calculus, in contrast to twenty-two percent of Whites and forty-three percent of Asians (Rose 2001). In order to lessen future income disparities between socioeconomic classes, it is important to find solutions that give lower income students access to high levels of math and other curricula.

The divide between poor minorities and other groups in the context of education is not a new phenomenon, nor is it one that has been ignored by the federal government. In fact, concern about the academic difficulties experienced by poor minority students due to historic racism first became a priority during the Civil Rights movement. President Lyndon Johnson initiated the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965 as part of the "Great Society" program. The key element of ESEA was the creation of Title 1, a federal mandate that provides extensive funding to states for use in improving the basic and advanced skill levels of students failing or at risk of failure in poorer school districts (Snell 2000).

However, since its inception, there has been much concern about Title 1's effectiveness. Two longitudinal studies done over a three-year period by the U.S. Department of Education evaluated the program in terms of its success in reducing learning gaps; one concluded that student learning improved in the short term but did not sustain itself at higher grade levels, while the other found that, on the whole, the learning gap between Title 1 students and better performing students did not lessen over time (Snell 2000).

Title 1 is the largest single federal invest-

ment in schooling. As such, despite its inadequacies, it continues to offer the best opportunity to improve educational opportunities for lower income students. This report explores and evaluates how and why Title 1 is both effective and ineffective, and recommends a number of policy changes to the program that could improve its effectiveness in addressing educational disparities between different groups.

Title 1 and How It Works

Title 1 allocates two types of block grants, Basic and Concentration, to school districts with specified poverty levels, for purposes of improving facilities, developing curriculum or staff, assessing student performance, and addressing other needs. The grants are disbursed by the federal government to the states, then to counties on the basis of need, and then distributed to eligible districts. Each state is accountable to the U.S. Department of Education for the strategies it employs to address learning difficulties. Grants can be applied for independent of other funding requests, or can be included in a state's consolidated plan, and grants remain in place unless a state or district's eligibility changes (CFDA, Sec. 84.010 2001).

In year 2000, the majority of Title 1 funds ($7.4 billion) went to Basic grant distributions, which require eligible districts to have a minimum of ten "formula children" designated as neglected, in foster care, or census poor (indicated by the number of children receiving free or reduced lunches). $1.4 billion went to Concentration grants, which require a district to have a minimum of 6,500 "formula children" or a poverty rate of at least fifteen percent (Education Week 2001). Under the current statute, federal Title 1 funding is set to equal forty percent of each state's aggregate per-pupil expenditure, with certain maximum limits. This means that the more states spend on education, the more Title 1 funding they are eligible to receive.

Although most Title 1 funds go directly from school districts to the schools themselves, to be used for school-wide improvements, "central district offices" have the discretion to take some funds for district-wide services, or allocate extra funding for an entire school or school district (Education Week 2001). In the case of schoolwide changes, funds are used to improve or develop facilities, instruction materials and/or curriculum, as they see fit. Another option for Title 1 funds is to implement more targeted assistance programs, in which only those students identified with learning difficulties receive compensatory services. By U.S. Department of Education definition, this may include not just those students who qualify for Title 1 by virtue of socioeconomic status, but also those who have limited English proficiency (U.S. Dept. of Ed. Section 15 2001).

National and State Assessments as Eligibility Criteria

The key indicator that students are failing or at risk of failure is poor academic performance, as measured by assessment tests. The Academic Progress Index (API) and the Stanford-9 test, on which the API depends heavily (LAO 2001a), is used to rate one state's academic performance relative to others across the nation, as well as to compare districts within the state. On a scale of one to ten, with one being the highest and ten the lowest, these scores rank a state's performance against those of similar composition. This form of assessment then measures the current year's scores with that of the previous year, assessing performance improvement and informing the legislature of the effectiveness of Title 1 programs, and the amount of continuing need. One benefit of this assessment is that schools with consistently low scores, in the bottom two on the scale for more than two years, are identified as requiring additional funding, and are given allotments from the Intervention/Under Performing Schools Program, also under Title 1 legislation (Hart 2001). However, these tests may not accurately reflect the needs and abilities of students, and may not point to the underlying causes of learning disparities.

Problems with Funding Formulas

Title 1 provides funding to match forty percent of a state's per pupil educational expenditure. While this formula incentivizes increased state spending on education by increasing federal funding as state funding increases, it can negatively impact states that are forced to reduce funding due to economic problems and overall budget considerations. This funding formula can lead to radical variations in overall funding between states (as shown in Table 1), and can end up negatively impacting poorer states that may have greater poverty populations

and greater levels of need to begin with.

It would seem reasonable that funding should reflect need, but absolute state expenditures on education may not be an accurate reflection of overall need. Efforts to produce a "one size fits all" allocation process may contribute to further inequities by penalizing states that may already be unable to adequately fund education.

Table 1: Per Pupil Funding Distribution in 4 States

State	Title 1 Received	State	Title 1 Received
VT	$1,326	MA	$1,046
OK	$576	AZ	$570

Jan. 2000. Reason Public Policy Institute. Policy Study 206

In-State Distribution

The possibility of increasing inequity through poorly designed funding formulas is evident within states as well. The amount each state receives hinge upon the number of poor students reported within the state, but once a state receives funds, responsibility for allocation to needy counties is the responsibility of the state. States have leeway in allocating funds, and may have an agenda that varies from the intent of Title 1.

California provides an example of the possible variations in in-state distribution formulas: the state defines a school as "needy" if at least fifty percent of its student population qualifies for free or reduced lunch, but in some cases makes exceptions for schools in which only 35-40 percent of students are poor, greatly increasing the number of students counted as "in need of assistance." This adjustment may be necessary in order to accommodate the needs of each district, but also demonstrates a lack of agreement on a base range that allows for adequate accounting of the number of students in need. Also, students can be losers in the adjustment game when the range of eligible students is either set too high, and does not respond to the needs of the district, or set too low, and certain districts receive more than their fair share. Approaches to funding distribution vary from state to state, and as California demonstrates, may vary from district to district as well. While this may be necessary to meet the varying needs of districts and schools, some baseline criteria or justifications for funding variances are necessary to protect against abuse and inefficient use of funds.

Inflexibility of Funding Formulas

The inflexibility of Concentration grant eligibility formulas, in particular, can harm school districts. If a district with less than 6,500 eligible children drops below the fifteen percent poverty rate (which could be a change of only one child), the district can become ineligible for funding. Although the "Hold Harmless" clause of Title 1 guarantees that a district will receive at least eighty-five percent of the previous years funding during the following year regardless of current eligibility, in the second year after losing eligibility the district may lose all of its concentration grant funding, severely reducing available funds for what may be less than a one percent decrease in poor student population.

The eligibility formulas for school districts can also lead to extreme disparities in per-pupil funding between districts. When districts lose their eligibility, counties are forced to redistribute their portion of funding to other districts. As shown in Table 2, Monterey County is one example where funding formulas for the 1999-2000 school year went wrong and left certain districts at a disadvantage in making necessary changes for their students.

In Table 2, note the disparity between the per pupil allotment for students in Monterey and that of smaller districts. Monterey, with most of the area's poverty population, was eligible for only a Basic grant, while the smaller districts received a much larger share of concentration grant money. For the other districts, with much smaller student populations, the funds are much greater than necessary. Monterey can now spend only $570 per Title 1 child, and must reapply for a concentration grant, while San Ardo has $10,776 to spend per pupil. In this case, the funding formulas clearly overlook the needs of the population.

Assessment Issues: The Need to Standardize

In order to achieve higher scores on the Academic Performance Index (API), many states are attempting to improve performance by increasing the frequency of testing and by standardizing curriculum. California, for instance, has reformed content and evaluative standards under the Standard Testing and Reporting Program (STAR) for grades 2-11. STAR is a reformed method by which both student's and educator's performance is based on updated cur-

Table 2: Title 1 Funding Inequities Between Districts

Districts (1999-2000)	Age 5-17 Population	Students Eligible for funding	% of Students Eligible	Basic Grant 1999-2000	Concentration Grant 1999-2000	Total of all Title 1 Funding	$$ Per Pupil
Monterey	16,176	2,442	14.6	$1,392,055	0	$1,392,055	$570
San Ardo	141	52	36.9	$27,673	$532,148	$559,821	$10,776
San Lucas	163	36	22.1	$31,791	$422,046	$453,839	$12,607

Source: Jan. 2000. Reason Public Policy Institute. Policy Study No. 266

riculum standards. A major component of the new program is the regular and consistent testing of students in grades 2-11, with restructured test content set by the State Board of Education, based on a state defined scale dividing test levels into categories of advanced, proficient, basic and below. To address the need for comparative assessments nationwide, STAR integrates new national Stanford-9 curriculum criteria. History, social science, and writing are included as part of the Standards-Aligned STAR portion of the Stanford-9 (LAO 2001a). The new program also includes a high school Exit Exam, which students must successfully complete in order to graduate from high school (LAO 2001b).

Clearly, standardized curriculum may help to address the need for valid methods of state-to-state and district-to-district comparison, and may also help to ensure that minority students are taught the same curriculum and receive the same level of instruction as other groups. However, absolute standardization of curriculum and instruction has several drawbacks. Disadvantaged student populations may need different types and levels of instruction, and students in all groups may learn at different speeds and through different methods. Rigid standardization raises concerns around potentially higher dropout rates, inadequate instruction, and continuingly failing students. In cases such as California's, where teachers are also graded on student performance, and given incentives for higher performance and penalties for lower performance, standardized testing may also encourage teachers to "teach the test," rather than ensuring that students are gaining deep understanding of subject material that will be applicable beyond the test. There must be stopgaps in place to relieve all of these pressures. Students should be provided extra tutoring and instruction on curricular materials as needed. While curriculum goals should be standardized, teachers should be allowed flexibility within the broader framework to provide more instruction to students in areas where it is needed. There should also be safeguards in place to keep teachers from teaching the test rather than the material: for instance, test materials should change within specified parameters, and teachers should be unaware of test content before the state assessment tests are administered. Other methods should also be supplied to closely monitor student needs.

The academic side of the educational equation is complex, and learning is not always measurable through tests that quantify academic progress. Too much regulation and reorganization of structure may preclude academic progress for most Title 1 students, because the race to make academic performance look good on paper may ignore the needs of students. The reality is that most students who qualify for free or reduced lunches have many additional difficulties outside of the classroom. Many students have issues with absent parents, drugs, violence, health problems and other difficulties, and educational difficulties may reflect very different problems than they might for students from privileged backgrounds. If severe consequences are connected to failure on state assessment tests, exit tests, and other performance examinations, classroom experience must account for the additional needs of disadvantaged students, must provide additional instruction, additional classroom or tutoring time, and must be flexible enough to meet the needs of various populations. In essence, a broad framework of standardization, setting content standards and learning targets, with flexibility for concentration on different parts of the curriculum within the broader framework, is ideal.

Of course, there are limits to the capacity of schools and educators to offset problems relating to poverty. However, there may be opportunities for

stakeholders other than schools themselves to help fill the gap. Parental participation should be nurtured and utilized for the benefit of the student. Other social service institutions that have contact with the communities students live in could help bring parents into the learning cycle, and could work with schools to help meet other identified needs as well. The institutions of learning do not have to be islands unto themselves, especially since learning does not depend solely in classroom instruction.

Policy Recommendations: The Three R's

Reconfigure Funding Formulas

There are numerous per-pupil funding disparities between states, schools, and districts. Inequities exist because federal guidelines base their criteria on variables that can change quickly, and may not address the real needs of student populations. If based solely on the number of poor students, as in the Monterey example, funding cannot address the experience of poverty in a given area. Instead of setting rigid percentage quotas, local educational agencies should audit students' economic status with greater accuracy and, in instances where distributions are unbalanced, should adjust funding accordingly and reserve the overage for the entire district or county to use. Both the state and federal government can make a much more "educated" decision on funding need with such a system of checks and balances in place. When federal allocations are so strictly regulated on the basis of absolute funding formulas, it is questionable whether they effect equalization or merely reinforce the economic divide.

Restructure Assessment Tests

Assessment test results must both inform teachers of students' abilities and needs, and provide a baseline for performance comparisons with other areas. However, these goals are often difficult or impossible to achieve in overcrowded classrooms with overburdened instructors, teacher shortages, and declining facilities. Content should be standardized within basic guidelines across states, but should allow for the flexibility needed to accurately assess the needs of very different populations. Most importantly, testing must accurately identify the areas of knowledge student's need most improvement in, and instruction must change to meet these needs. Thus, assessment tests should not be simply a method of assessing the states performance against other states, or a districts against other districts, but must lead to modified instruction, rather than simply resulting in lost or gained bonuses for teachers or increased or decreased funding for districts and schools.

Rewards for Performance Incentives

While the idea of incentives to instructors and students as rewards for accomplishments in learning is a subject of contention, it can be an effective method of encouraging improved performance, but only if carefully and correctly structured. Under the current system, assessment tells us very little about some of the obstacles students have with the curricular content; therefore, performance rewards are not necessarily based on real measurements of improvement. Once assessment scores genuinely pinpoint problems and educators work towards correcting those problems, however, incentives will not only improve morale but will also reward according to merit. Without this connection, monetary rewards in and of themselves are unlikely to result in better teaching or improved learning, especially when there are other factors inhibiting education.

The problems facing poor urban schools are complex and call for flexible solutions. Academic achievement has high stakes for everyone involved, and effective solutions ultimately benefit all of society. However, objectives must be approached through actions that are cognizant of the mutually dependent variables: funding, assessment, and accountability. Reconfiguring funding based upon an accurate accounting of the number of children in need will inevitably produce a clearer perspective on the scope of need. Likewise, accurate assessment of student difficulties creates avenues for intervention that ultimately pay off with increasingly effective educational efforts at each level of government.

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Without a Country, Without A Home

An Overview of the Refugee Housing Crisis in the European Union

Tina Palivos

When considering the human rights of refugees, housing is a fundamental concern. However, host countries often find that providing for refugees' basic needs is no easy task. In Europe, different countries have taken different approaches to the growing problem, and have had varying degrees of success. Under the auspices of the European Union, the United Nations, and international refugee organizations, the countries of Europe are beginning to develop a cooperative strategy that could serve as a model for other regions. They have started to agree on a set of fundamental principles that identifies the basic rights of refugees, and lays out standards for the accommodation and integration of refugees, while taking into account the security concerns and resource limitations of the host countries. These efforts has already begun to improve the overall condition of refugees in the European Union.

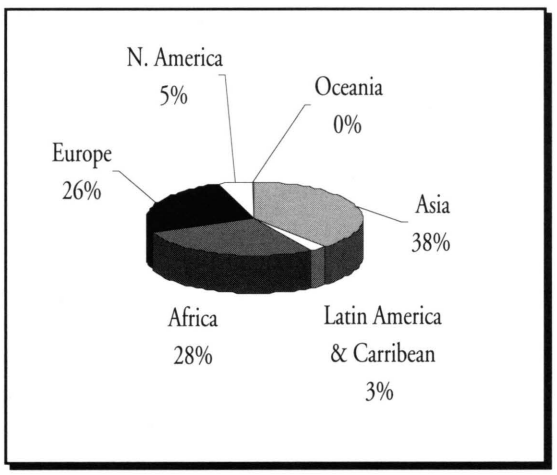
"It has been estimated that at the end of the twentieth century some 150 million people were living outside the country of their birth, amounting to about 2.5 percent of the world's population, or one out of every forty people. Of these, about fifteen million, or ten percent, are refugees" (UNHCR 2001c). [1]

In January 2001, approximately 21.8 million people, or one out of every 275 people on earth, were refugees (UNHCR 2001a). The United Nations created the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951 at a major international conference in Geneva, Switzerland. The formal definition of a refugee that emerged from this Convention is as follows (UNHCR 2000):

> *Article 1 of the Convention defines a refugee as a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution.*

The world's refugees are mainly residing in three areas of the world: Asia, Europe and Africa.

Figure 1: World Distribution of Persons of concern under the UNHCR mandate



January 2001 (Source: www.unhcr.org)

There are three basic options given to displaced people under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

(UNHCR): voluntary repatriation, local integration into the country of asylum, and resettlement from the country of asylum to a third country. Once the displaced person has decided their course, they face several major challenges to reestablish a home for themselves. The key issues facing asylum seekers include employment, education, vocational training, health, housing, community and culture—issues that affect many of the world's low income and impoverished people. It is important to recognize that these interrelated issues are essential for securing a decent quality of life (ECRE 2001b).

"The difference between a house and a home is the difference between a place to stay and a place to live. A home is a place of safety, security, stability, the lack of which was the main reason refugees left their country of origin" (ECRE 2001b).

Nearly one billion of the world's residents live in inadequate housing. The right to adequate shelter is recognized as a basic human right in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights), in *The Istanbul Declaration and Habitat Agenda* (United Nations Center for Human Settlements), and in the *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). In paragraph ninety-five of the *Habitat Agenda*, it explains the universal importance for human beings to have adequate shelter.

Inadequate shelter or lack of shelter contributes to a loss of dignity, security and health in the lives of other displaced persons in need of international protection and internally displaced persons. There is a need to strengthen the support for the international protection of and assistance to, especially refugee women and children, who are particularly vulnerable (UNCHS 1996).

The global refugee crisis and the global housing crisis have generated an incredible demand for creative and efficient policies to manage these problems. Given the magnitude and breadth of the crisis, this paper focuses only on the issue of refugee housing in the European Union (France, Germany, Greece, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Finland, United Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, Luxembourg, Ireland, Denmark and Austria). During the period from January to September 2001, 248,456 asylum applications were filed in the European Union (EU). This figure represents 58.1 percent of all applications logged in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand for this period (UNHCR 2001a). Housing policies and practices vary widely from country to country. However, there is currently an attempt being made by the European Council to develop a common system of asylum for EU members with the help of several regional refugee agencies. This paper provides a brief historical background on the creation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and European Council for Refugees and Exiles, reviews attempts made by the European Union to create a unified asylum policy, and addresses key issues regarding refugees and housing in the EU.

Key Refugee Organizations

One of the largest and oldest organizations focusing on refugee issues is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The UN General Assembly created the UNHCR in 1950 to provide protection and assistance to refugees. It was originally granted a three-year mandate to manage the resettlement of approximately 400,000 European refugees after World War II (UNCHR 2001c). The Commission currently assists over twenty-six million people. The budget has grown from US$300,000 in 1951 to over US$1 billion in 1999. Its geographic scope has also transcended its originally Eurocentric range to encompass countries around the world (UNHCR 2001c). The general strategy of the UNHCR has evolved into one that is "proactive, homeland-oriented and holistic" (UNHCR 2001c). The range of activities the UNHCR has become involved in has changed from mainly focusing on only the resettlement of refugees to including special programs for specific populations (women, elderly, children, and others). The number of actors involved in the process has increased to include Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), UN agencies, UN peacekeepers, other multinational military forces, regional organizations, human rights organizations and a range of other international and local actors (UNHCR 2001c).

The UNHCR's programs and policies are reviewed and approved by an Executive Committee of fifty-seven member states. Funding is generated through voluntary governmental, inter-governmental, corporate and individual contributions. The United Nations also provides a yearly subsidy of no

more than two percent of the UN administrative budget (UNHCR 2001b). The United States and Japan are two of the largest contributors in absolute dollar amounts. In 2000, the United States contributed $245.23 million and Japan contributed $99.76 million. However, these contributions rank very low with comparison to the countries' total GNP. According to Rekacewicz, "the HCR estimates that in 2000 the wealthy countries gave only 0.01 percent of their GNP to the cause of refugees." Compared to Norway, Denmark and Sweden—which contribute twenty-eight percent, twenty-two percent and nineteen percent respectively—the US, France, and Japan are not contributing their share (Rekacewicz 2001).

EU Efforts and Organizations

Referring to the guidelines defined by the UNHCR and other international laws pertaining to human rights and refugees, the European Council has moved progressively towards implementing a common asylum system over the past decade. In 1992, asylum procedures were declared a matter of mutual interest among Member States in the European Union under the Treaty of Maastricht. As a step towards further integration, this provided the framework within which individual Member States could refer to the guidelines established in this treaty, while maintaining their national sovereignty around immigration and asylum issues. In 1997, with the adoption of the Treaty of Amsterdam, the EU guidelines regarding asylum were made legally obligatory (Gil-Bazo 1999).

In November 1997, the European Commission established budget line B3-4113 to fund the European Council for Refugees and Exiles, and to further develop procedures for the integration of refugees. During the same year, the ECRE created the ECRE Task Force on Integration (later renamed the EU Networks on Integration) to manage the transition towards a more unified EU asylum system. [2] The task force is a consortium of the following seven refugee assisting organizations who act as lead agencies for specific issues: the ECRE Secretariat (Policy Development), the Greek Council for Refugees (Community and Culture), the Dutch Refugee Council (Housing), the Italian Refugee Council (Health), the World University Service/RETAS (Education), France's Terre D'Asile (Vocational Training), and the British Refugee Council (Employment). This project has resulted in the publication of three major reports that have addressed furthering refugee integration efforts in the EU. These include: *Good Practice Guides on the Integration of Refugees in the European Unio; Bridges and Fences: Refugee Perceptions of Integration in the European Union;* and *Position on the Integration of Refugees in Europe.* In April 1999, budget line B5-803, also known as the European Refugee Fund, allocated thirty million euro to fund projects dedicated to reception, voluntary repatriation, or emergency measures in Kosovo (European Commission Justice and Home Affairs Directorate General 2000). "In May 1999, the Amsterdam treaty came into force. This treaty requires that after a five-year transition period, national governments would pass responsibility to the European Community for legislation relating to visas, asylum, immigration and the free movement of people" (IOM 2001).

Compared to Norway, Denmark and Sweden—which contribute twenty-eight percent, twenty-two percent and nineteen percent respectively—the US, France, and Japan are not contributing their share.

In October of 1999, the European Council held a summit in Tampere, Finland to propose standards and guidelines—based in international refugee and human rights law, as well as the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU—to ensure the protection and human rights of refugees. "The European Council in Tampere stated that Community rules should lead to a common asylum procedure and a uniform status for those who are granted asylum valid throughout the Union (conclusion 15)" (Amnesty International 2000).

The ECRE has created several reception standards or guidelines that should be implemented throughout the EU. The first guideline places the responsibility to provide basic accommodation with the state until the end of the asylum seeking procedure. Other standards address the need to provide adequate facilities, services, legal assistance, health care and education to refugees. Finally, the ECRE

has reiterated the critical need to combat racism and xenophobia in the Member States in order to create safe and harmonious conditions for refugees and for the local communities in which they will be received (UNHCR 2001c).

In December 2000, Amnesty International reported concern that the focus of the common asylum system being proposed for the EU will challenge the commitment to the standards for the protection of refugees established by International Law. The main point of concern involves the focus on immigration policies geared toward keeping immigrants out of EU countries in the name of national security rather than ensuring their protection and integration in the country of asylum. These concerns have become more pronounced after the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. However, the European Council on Refugees and Exiles has expressed their commitment to adhering to the Convention Protocol, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (Amnesty International 2000; ECRE 2001c).

Key Policy Issues

The EU Council has met every year to further the effort towards human rights oriented refugee integration. Several key policy concerns have surfaced in the EU research efforts on refugee integration. The most pressing policy issues for refugee housing in the Europe Union include reception policies, housing allocation, and rent allowances. Approaches to these issues vary from country to country depending on the social welfare programs available for nationals.

Accommodations at Reception[3]

It has become a generally accepted principle among EU refugee policy-makers that the integration process begins the moment the refugee enters the country. When asylum seekers arrive in the host country, they are typically destitute and in great need of direction, protection and care. The services and accommodations offered by the Member States vary widely. The quality of life at this stage of the asylum procedures may dramatically impact the integration process of refugees. These displaced people are generally already suffering from a loss of self-esteem and empowerment. If they are forced to remain in one of the reception centers throughout the EU for prolonged periods of time, their ability to create a new life is inhibited. The process will likely have a negative effect on their physical, emotional, and psychological health (Dutch Refugee Council 1999).

Reception accommodations may include "state-run reception centers, hotels or shelters run by non-governmental organizations, or individual solutions" (UNHCR 2001c). As indicated in Table 1 below, the range and quality of reception services is directly related to the percentage spent on housing in the host country. "The division between comprehensive and limited reception system is based on whether or not every asylum seeker entering the country can be accommodated with some form of governmental assistance" (Dutch Refugee Council 1999).

Table 1: EU Countries categorized by comprehensiveness of reception system and % of GDP spent on housing

	Comprehensive Reception System	Limited Reception System
Housing Policy expenditure well over 1% of GDP	Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden (I)	Austria, France, United Kingdom (III)
Housing Policy expenditure around or below 1% of GDP	Belgium, Finland, Luxembourg (II)	Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain (IV)

Source: Dutch Refugee Council. Housing for Refugees in the European Union, 2001.

Greece, Ireland, Italy, Spain and Portugal have very limited reception accommodations for asylum seekers. Portugal's first reception facility was recently opened, with the capacity for only twenty-three people. Spain and Italy have a few reception centers that vary in quality by region (RefugeeNet 2001). Spain has recently built a new reception facility in Ceuta with funding provided by the European Refugee Fund (ERF 2001a). Ireland provides only emergency accommodations (RefugeeNet 2001). Greece has one state-funded reception center in Athens that can house up to 350 people, and five other ad hoc reception facilities with the capacity to house a total of approximately 650 people (PLS Ramboll 2001). In September 2001, a new night shelter that holds up to one hundred people was opened in Athens (ERF 2001b).

The northern member states have more reception centers overall: the Netherlands (16), Finland (20) and Luxembourg (12). Although some countries provide far more comprehensive reception facilities than others, there continues to be a shortage of space for incoming asylum seekers throughout the EU. For example, France has sixty-three CADAs (Centre d'Accueil pour Demandeurs d'Asile) that can accommodate approximately 3,800 people, but these regularly have a five to six month waiting list of two thousand people. In Austria, only "Thirty percent of all asylum applicants awaiting the final decision on their asylum applications are provided with accommodation" (RefugeeNet 2001).

Allocation and Access to Housing

The ECRE has identified the following key obstacles faced by refugees looking for housing in the EU: housing shortages, allocation schemes, discrimination, and lack of consideration for specific refugee needs (Dutch Refugee Council 1999; ECRE 2001b).

There are extreme housing shortages in the European housing market. This market condition makes it particularly difficult for refugees to find housing in EU countries. The housing, welfare, and social policies throughout the EU vary from country to country. Some countries provide government subsidies and social welfare assistance to refugees. Other countries that do not have large social welfare budgets are also limited in the funds they can provide for refugees. For example, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and the Netherlands have well-developed social welfare programs in place and spend high percentages of their GDP on Social Security expenditures. In 1998, Finland, which has an extensive social protection system, spent 38.97 percent of their GDP on Social Security expenditures. In contrast, Greece, Ireland, Spain and Portugal spent, on average, less than twenty-two percent. Consequently, they have less developed welfare systems in place, and still rely on family and social networks as the primary means of support (ECRE 1998; European Commission 2000).

The percentage of housing available for social and private rental varies throughout countries in Europe. Given a finite amount of housing, the greater the amount of owner occupied housing stock, the less there is available for social and private rentals. For example, in Greece, the total housing stock in 1999 was 4.69 million units. Of that amount, twenty-six percent was in the private rental sector, seventy percent was owner occupied, and none was allocated to social rentals. In contrast, the total housing stock in the Netherlands during the same period equaled 5.96 million units, allocated as follows: seventeen percent private rental, forty-seven percent owner occupied, and thirty-six percent social rental. These two examples illustrate the extreme disparities in housing availability between countries in the EU (Dutch Refugee Council 1999).

The issue of whether to disperse or concentrate refugee populations may be affected by cultural attitudes towards integration, and the availability of housing. There are negative aspects to concentrating refugee populations in particular areas. These include a level of isolation, ghettoization and segregation from the nationals of the host country. Positive aspects include the high potential for community building and peer support when living among people with shared backgrounds and or experiences (ECRE 2001b).

The culture of each member state may influence how refugee integration is perceived. Finland, for example, has adopted the term "domiciling" rather than integration, defined as "the treatment of migrants as equal members of the society and (the promotion) of their active responsibility for their new phase of life in the spirit of the reform of civil rights." In France, "government policy is based on the premise that the French people are a single, indivisible entity without differentiation according to origin, race or religion." Refugee integration policies in Sweden are based on the assumption "that refugees integrate best through forming their own associations and joining a collective framework. Groups are formed along ethnic lines rather than being refugee-specific" (IOM 2001). These varying attitudes influence the amount of attention paid to how and where refugees will be accommodated and integrated into the host country. Most EU countries do not have a dispersal policy; meaning refugees are free to seek accommodation throughout the country. Currently, countries without dispersal policies include Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden. Denmark and Germany have laws designating the way in which asylum seekers will be distributed throughout the country. Austria, Sweden and the Netherlands have a combi-

nation of dispersal and non-dispersal approaches to accommodation and reception (RefugeeNet 2001).

Dispersal policies can incorporate holistic measures, as in Denmark's policies for managing refugee integration and accommodation. Denmark's Immigration Service of the Ministry of Interior issues settlement quotas for counties and municipalities. Refugees are assigned to specific municipalities that are charged with providing the refugees with accommodation and classes in language, culture and vocational skills. This strategy shifts individual refugee care to the local government level and away from the Danish Refugee Council (IOM 2001). In Portugal, where there are no specific housing programs for refugees, "they can only access social housing if they live in areas that have been designated slums and are due to be demolished" (IOM 2001). Most countries provide refugees with some form of rental allowance and allow them to move where they can find housing, sometimes within a designated municipality (RefugeeNet 2001).

It can be difficult to find landlords that will rent to persons on social welfare. Refugees face additional challenges when confronted with the problem of widespread xenophobia and discrimination. They are at a further disadvantage because they do not know how to navigate the complex bureaucratic processes often required to gain social funding. These barriers can be addressed through education, counseling, information, and the provision of legal resources for refugees, landlords and the community at large (ECRE 2001b). There are concerted efforts being made at the ECRE level to urge EU politicians and decision-makers to speak out against these forms of discrimination. They assert that "the development of a tolerant inclusive society is a key prerequisite to the successful integration of refugees" (ECRE 2001a).

Rent Allowances

Most refugees have come from situations where they have lost everything and have little hope for immediate employment opportunities in the host country. This situation often leaves them unable to afford rental deposits, which some landlords may set at higher levels when renting to refugees (ECRE 2001b). The Habitat Agenda explicitly defines the responsibility of governments to provide adequate housing for persons residing in its country. In Paragraph 61, it states:

> Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the right to adequate housing has been recognized as an important component of the right to an adequate standard of living. All Governments without exception have a responsibility in the shelter sector, as exemplified by their creation of ministries of housing or agencies, by their allocation of funds for the housing sector and by their policies, programmes and projects. The provision of adequate housing for everyone requires action not only by Governments, but by all sectors of society, including the private sector, non-governmental organizations, communities and local authorities, as well as by partner organizations and entities of the international community. Within the overall context of an enabling approach, Governments should take appropriate action in order to promote, protect and ensure the full and progressive realization of the right to adequate housing (UNCHS 1996).

Several rent allocation programs have been developed in an effort to provide relief to low-income persons (including refugees). These include rent subsidies and rent in advance guarantees/rent deposit schemes.

Although all EU countries have some form of financial assistance available, there are many requirements that must be met to get them. In addition, complex bureaucratic processes and language barriers make it very difficult for refugees to successfully gain access to these benefits (ECRE 2001b). Denmark, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands provide general subsidies to assist refugees by lowering the cost of rent. Luxembourg does not have a national housing subsidy program in place, but the government will make exceptions and provide support for particularly needy people, including refugees (Dutch Refugee Council 1999). Belgium also does not have a subsidy program for low-income people; however, financial assistance may be granted to renters based on household income. Finland provides housing subsidies in all tenure categories to cover reasonable housing costs (Dutch Refugee Council 1999). Austria, France and the United Kingdom also provide housing allowances, and France offers subsidies based on the type of tenure. The UK housing allowances are granted based on whether a tenant is with or without income support. Housing allowances in Austria are dependent on personal circumstances and the type of real es-

tate being rented (Dutch Refugee Council 1999). In Ireland, refugees have access to the same comprehensive housing benefit system available to citizens. Greece, Spain, Italy and Portugal, which have severe housing shortages, provide only minimal housing subsidies.

Rent guarantee/rental deposit programs have been set up in Belgium and in the United Kingdom. Under these programs, the government provides a lump sum to qualified refugees to pay the rental deposit and advance rent payments, instead of a monthly subsidy to reduce the rental rate. For example, in Belgium, the OCIV (Flemish Centre for Integration of Refugees) developed a rent-guarantee scheme that "provides interest-free loans to OCMWs [local municipalities] and NGOs, who draw up agreements with individual refugees for the repayment of the rent-guarantee" (Dutch Refugee Council 1999). In the UK, the Refugee Council set up an eighteen-month pilot project to assist refugees in overcoming landlord reluctance to provide them with housing. The project included the provision of funds for "advance rent payments, damage guarantees and support." The project successfully placed fourteen households (twenty-one persons), which surpassed the initial target of seven to ten rentals (Dutch Refugee Council 1999).

The increase in the number of refugees over the past fifty years is phenomenal. Therefore, it is critical to devise a refugee integration strategy that addresses the needs and concerns of great numbers of displaced people.

Policy Options

The increase in the number of refugees over the past fifty years is phenomenal. Therefore, it is critical to devise a refugee integration strategy that addresses the needs and concerns of great numbers of displaced people. Widespread participation and flexibility among citizens, organizations and governments are necessary to manage the global refugee and housing crisis. It is also important to consider the needs of the host countries that must welcome and care for hundreds of thousands of people arriving at their borders in desperate condition. Traditionally, multiple refugee issues were not treated as interrelated concerns in need of well-integrated strategies. However, there has been a gradual paradigm shift in the European Union from fragmented solutions to the development of a holistic and integrated approach to refugee care. The following are several key recommendations made by the ECRE to be used as guidelines for creating refugee integration policies in the EU (Dutch Refugee Council 1999):

1. Refugees should be involved in decisions regarding their place of settlement, especially in countries with dispersal policies.
2. Presence of relatives and integration possibilities should be taken into account to a larger extent than presently. Refugees should be given the opportunity to make a well-considered choice as to where they want to settle.
3. In federal states, differences in benefits, subsidies and allowances as well as differences in access to the housing market between provinces should be abandoned.
4. The anti-discrimination directive in the treaty of Amsterdam should also apply to third-country nationals.
5. Information campaigns targeted at both the general public and providers of accommodation can help to reduce prejudices.
6. More research is needed into the housing preferences of refugees. A lot of research addresses the negative aspects of ethnic segregation, but tends to overlook wishes of refugees themselves. Issues to be researched further include the value placed by refugees upon several housing aspects: quality, rent level, location, proximity of countrymen, access to different services, etc.
7. Housing information services should be easily accessible for refugees.

Drawing on these essential standards, one can identify three basic program strategies. Although there is variance in the paths each country takes to adopt and implement these standards, the basic templates can be evaluated in terms of *limited*, *comprehensive* and *integrated* approaches to refugee integration and accommodation.

A *limited* refugee program provides the most basic services required by international law. The limited nature of the program is commonly due to serious housing shortages, the amount of social housing available within an already limited housing market, and

insufficient federal funding for refugee and low-income programs. "Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece and Ireland have owner-occupied rates of at least sixty-five percent of the total housing stock, minimal social housing provision (with the exception of Italy) and a private rental sector declining in size and of low quality, when compared with other states in the European Union" (Dutch Refugee Council 1999). The situation is made worse by the fact that these countries receive many more applications for asylum than they have available accommodations. This leaves a large percentage of the refugee population to fend for itself. Various local agencies attempt to assist the refugees with a range of social services, such as the Greek Council for Refugees in Athens, but improvements are needed. The amount and type of rent allocation varies among these countries, but it is generally less than their northern counterparts. This process provides very little support for effective integration into the host country. The outcome is often homelessness, unemployment, cultural misunderstanding and discrimination, and ineffective integration.

A *comprehensive* approach to refugee integration involves more government resources and services made available for refugee housing. Belgium, Finland, Luxembourg, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden provide comprehensive reception centers and government involvement in the integration process. Generous government subsidies and support services are provided to facilitate the integration process. However, many of the services provided focus on housing without taking into consideration the holistic needs of refugee settlement and integration. This approach or policy option is more integrated than the "limited" policy option. However, more progress is needed for efficient and effective integration.

A third, integrated option provides not only housing accommodation and rent allocation, but also incorporates education, advocacy, counseling and other services to the newly arrived refugees. The overall emphasis is on refugee empowerment and participation in their settlement process. The argument is that the more involved and active refugees can be in their lives, the more they will be able to integrate and contribute to their host country. This approach acknowledges the importance of assisting the whole person with all their concerns and not separating the areas of their life into disparate needs.

The European Council has recognized the need for a common asylum system for the European Union. Great strides have been made towards securing better services, accommodation and protection for asylum seekers. By combining the efforts of all the EU nations, the European Council for Refugees and Exiles are continuously improving the situation for refugees in their host countries. It has bécome widely recognized that program development should emerge from a paradigm of inclusion and protection for human rights, rather than exclusionary practices based solely on national security. Key political and governmental figures and institutions must work towards creating a balance between two critical and conflicting needs: national security and human rights. The right to a country and a home are very basic human rights that need to be secured and protected. By continuing on this path, the European Union may prove to be the model for the international community.

Notes

[1] These figures do not include Palestinian refugees who are under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

[2] "The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) is the umbrella organization for co-operation between European non-governmental organizations concerned with refugees. Currently ECRE has over 72 member agencies in 28 countries. Principal activities include: policy development and research, advocacy, legal analysis, information services to members, networking and capacity-building in South-Eastern, Central and Eastern Europe. ECRE's work is coordinated by the Secretariat in London and an office in Brussels" (www.ecre.org: about us).

[3] Reception standards include a series of measures that address "adequate reception conditions upon arrival at the border, access to legal counseling, freedom of movement, accommodation, and adequate means of subsistence to access to education, medical care and employment" (UNHCR 2000).

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SFSU Student Union. Photo: Alicia Thorndike

The "Citadel of Reason"

The 1968 Student Strike and the Design of the Student Union

Alicia Thorndike

In the late 1960s, San Francisco State University (then known as San Francisco State College) was the site of the longest student strike in the country. During the same period, the university was in the process of choosing a design for its student union. The confluence of these two events created an intense struggle between the students and the administration. Who would choose the design of the student union? What was the process by which the design would be chosen? Whose values would the design reflect? The struggle was one that has many implications for the study of power relations. In the sphere of politics, it forces us to consider what a democratic process should look like. In the sphere of design, it forces us to consider what is an appropriate balance between security and egalitarianism. Finally, the struggle suggests that politics and design cannot be separated, that the built environment around us can only be as democratic as the processes by which it is created.

Nineteen sixty-eight was a year of political turmoil: international protests against the Vietnam War, a general strike in France, urban riots in the U.S., and the Poor People's campaign in Washington. Large numbers of people were questioning the social order, and even putting their bodies on the line to affect positive change.

San Francisco State University (SFSU) was also marked by turmoil: beginning in November of 1968, SFSU students, concerned that the school's curriculum was not relevant to their daily lives (especially in that there were no Ethnic or Black Studies programs), went on strike after the administration refused to adequately address their concerns.

At the same time, the nearly seventy-year old college was in the process of choosing an architect to design a much-needed student union building. However, due to the ongoing struggle for control between the students and the administration, the process of choosing the architect turned out to be contentious and undemocratic. The design of the student union became one of the pieces of the power struggle between students on one side and administrators and trustees on the other. As a consequence of that process, SFSU did not end up with the design originally chosen by students, one composed by the world-renowned architect Moshe Safdie—rather, the school administration moved forward with a different plan, and the student body today is left with a union building that represents authority and control, rather than openness and connectivity.

The Student Strike

The student strike officially began when the Black Student Union (BSU) and the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) presented the administration with a list of non-negotiable demands, including the creation of Black and Ethnic Studies Departments, unconditional acceptance of applicants of color the following semester, and the reinstatement of Black Panther Party member and English teacher George Murray, who had been fired for giving revolutionary speeches around California (Whitson 1979). As many as ten thousand students participated in the strike, shutting down classes to rally and listen to speeches in the center of campus, which was then known as "The Commons" (little more than a collection of single classrooms, open space covered with grass, and a speaker's platform).

During the strike, it was not uncommon to see hundreds of members of the San Francisco Tactical Squad (a unit of the San Francisco Police Department) occupying the campus, complete with

billy clubs and tear gas launchers. The daily presence of the police and the Tac Squad was part of the administration's response to the student strike. The Squad used brutal force to break up the daily pickets on campus. Cops were known to charge peaceful crowds, knock down students of both sexes, and beat them without provocation (*Daily Gater* 1969). One strike leader in the BSU, Nesbid Crutchfield, recalls being singled out by the Tac Squad because of his prominent position, receiving a bloody beating, and subsequently being arrested for battery on a police officer (Crutchfield 2001). The police practice of beating strikers and then charging them with assault was routine, even though numerous film accounts from KPIX and KRON news showed that police were most often the aggressors.

The Student Union

At the same time that the strike was occurring, Moshe Safdie, an award winning Canadian architect, was working with the College Union Council in the hope of having his design of the SFSU student union materialize. Earlier, students had set up a course focused on the future student union in the Experimental College (a 1960s program of student-run classes that covered curriculum not ordinarily taught), studying a number of architects that they hoped might want to design a union (CUC 1968). They then sent out interview requests to architects, including Safdie, who they thought would be qualified to design the kind of union they felt the university needed (CUC 1968).

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Safdie was well known for his design of Habitat of Montreal, the theme exhibit of the 1967 Montreal World Exhibition. The Habitat was an urban building that consisted of separate dwellings artfully arranged on top of one another, providing the benefits of single-family homes for people with moderate incomes. He was awarded the Massey Medal from the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada for this innovative design (Kohn 1996). Honored by the request to design the student union, Safdie immediately signed a programming contract and spent many weeks talking with the students about what they wanted in the union. When he presented the design to the university months later, it was met with great satisfaction from both students and faculty. One student who was also a member of the College Union Council, Alberto Duro, was quoted in SFSU's campus newspaper, *The Daily Gater*, as saying, "Both in terms of architecture and in terms of function, it will probably be the best student union ever built" (*Daily Gater* 1968). And when university trustees expressed concern that Safdie's design did not blend in with the existing buildings, the College Union Council embarked on a petition drive on campus, ultimately collecting six thousand signatures in support of the design (Smith 1970).

Safdie's design is said to have embodied progressive ideals, and was largely viewed as giving physical form to the building program proposed by students. The students had asked for a union equipped with meeting areas that could hold anywhere from a few people to a thousand, as well as places for eating and places for student demonstrations (Safdie 1974). Safdie's design was meant to accommodate all of these needs.

Safdie's work was inspired by the idea of people coming together for a common purpose. During Safdie's visits to the campus, he witnessed students' daily gatherings in the grassy Commons, the area where the union would be built (Safdie 1970). To accommodate such gatherings, he designed the union to incorporate the flow of pedestrians at the heart of the campus. He wanted the union to incorporate "pedestrian circulation," rather than to obstruct flows of movement, as in a typical institutional building that diverts people around it (Safdie 1974). The design was meant to flow together with the student body at the crossing of major campus walkways, and to provide as much freedom of movement as possible, while simultaneously providing all of the basic amenities of a student union. In Safdie's conception, if masses of students were going to congregate in this central area, they also should not be limited to traveling on the inside of the union; they should be able to move from place to place through as many avenues as possible. To this end, he designed the surface of the

SF Police on SFSU Campus During November 1968 Student Strike. Photo Kai-Yu Hsu.

union to include a network of stairs and railings to allow students to safely travel on the exterior of the building. This series of steps and terraces were meant as further testimony to the concept of freedom the building would represent.

What made both the openness of the building and the accommodation of groups of people of widely differing sizes possible was a "single repetitive module," an ingenious design element that could be mass-produced and arranged to form rooms of various sizes (Safdie 1970). This three-dimensional module could act alone as a small room, or be combined with other units to make larger rooms, depending on the students' needs. Safdie's union was more than a building, it was "an important symbol," as the San Diego based magazine *Revolution* stated (Revolution 1969). It was a physical representation of the students' ideals.

Opposition to the Design

However, the popularity of Safdie's design did not carry over to some members of the Board of Trustees, who had the last say on the union, and scrutinized it to an unusual degree. Among the concerns expressed by Trustee Charles Luckman, which he presented to Safdie at a Trustee's meeting, were how the windows would be cleaned and how pipes would be placed in the floor slabs (Safdie 1970). In Moshe Safdie's book, Beyond Habitat, he explains that the Trustee's questions about the mechanics of the union were ones that would normally come up much later, during the drawing phase, not in the initial presentation of the design. Nonetheless, Safdie collected formal letters from many sub-trades, such as window manufacturers and suppliers, and mechanical parts suppliers, all of who testified that the drawings were technically feasible (Safdie 1970).

Regarding the issue of the union's compatibility with the campus, Safdie and members of the architectural firm he was working with, Burger and Coplans, argued that the nondescript institutional buildings already in place created an "architecturally neutral environment," and that the union's incline and the plant growth on its exterior would allow it to harmonize with the campus green (*Daily Gater* 1968). When Safdie was able to successfully argue against some of the criticisms of the design at an October 1968 Trustee's meeting in Fresno, Cali-

fornia, Charles Luckman expressed what most other Trustees would not with regard to the union: "We are against extremes. Any extremes. Good or bad, we are against extremes" (Safdie 1970).

Luckman would later say that he did not think that students had the right to do what they wanted with student funds. The Safdie union represented the students' ideals, and to the administration, those ideals were unacceptable. The fact that the overwhelming majority of students and faculty wanted Safdie's union was not a factor that motivated the majority of Trustees to support it. The university was in a power struggle with the students, with regular rallies taking place against the war and against institutionalized racism, and the administrators were willing to do whatever it took to maintain a favorable balance of power.

However, an ideological divide among the administrators caused them to disagree over just how this control would be maintained. As a consequence, there was a split among them over the Safdie design. On the one hand, there were archconservative Trustees such as Luckman and Dudley Swim, who wanted to maintain a hard-line stance on issues during campus unrest. On the other side were people like Trustee Heilbron and University President Robert Smith, who saw a need to make concessions to students in order to prevent escalation of the conflict. Both Heilbron and Smith were proponents of Safdie's design. Heilbron gave a heartfelt plea for the union at a meeting of the board: "It's as urban as an apartment house, it's as western as an Indian Pueblo, it's as unconventional and uncharacteristic of the Establishment as it can be, but it represents the spirit of the youth, [and] the faculty . . . " (*Daily Gater* 1968). Despite Heilbron's poetic pleas, half of the Trustees, who wanted to send a message to the students, voted no on the design.

Attacked on Two Fronts

The Daily Gater, reporting on the rejection of the union, and the deliberations among the Trustees at the same meeting to take further punitive action against outspoken Black Panther Party member and English teacher George Murray, flashed the headline: "SF State Attacked on Two Fronts" (*Daily Gater* 1968). These were the civil rights front, represented in part by the highly controversial Murray, who spoke freely about the racism embedded in the university, and about the militancy needed to fight it; and the student union front. In a climate of growing consciousness of how racism is rooted in the system, the attack on Murray's civil rights outraged students, and the rejection of the celebrated union added insult to injury.

Unable to put a lid on the crisis, President Smith resigned, and S.I. Hayakawa was brought in to put down the strike. Acting President Hayakawa expressed the way many on his side viewed the strike situation when he said "The battle is between the forces of anarchy and the citadel of reason" (Smith 1970). Given both the Tac Squad-oriented tactics of the administration, and the fortress-like appearance of the union that was finally built, "citadel" was a well-chosen word—Webster's Dictionary defines citadel as "a fortress that commands a city and is used in the control of the inhabitants and in defense during attack or siege."

The "citadel of reason" would not consider the question of the existence of structural racism, or of the need for expansion of curriculum to be inclusive of people of color, until students shut down the campus. Crippled by the five-month strike, the university finally agreed to most of the BSU and Third World's demands in April of 1969, including creating Ethnic and Black Studies Departments, and students went back to class.

The Final Design

But the battle for power between the administration and the students over the design of the union continued. At the end of the 1968-69 academic year, the College Union Council was in limbo. Knowing this, Associated Students, the student governing body, passed a resolution in June of 1969 calling for Moshe Safdie to remain the architect and the new student government to "make an effort" to bring the building into being (Safdie 1970).

There was still hope at this point that Safdie's design would be resurrected. However, certain administrators still did not want to cede the power to make this decision to the students. In a memo to Executive Dean Frank Sheehan dated September 25, 1969, College Union Council member Bernard Brenner expressed his opinion of how the process of realizing a college union at SFSU should have proceeded, when he wrote, "I think it is vital that the organizational plan be proposed by President Hayakawa and that the initiative should come from the college to the students." In other words, it should

be top down. This, of course, is the reverse of how the project was initiated a year earlier, with the students creatively seeking out architects to interview from several different countries.

The College Union Council of 1970 ended up holding a limited competition—restricted to California-licensed architects, in line with an administration mandate—that was won by Paffard Keatinge Clay (Woodbridge 1978). It is widely speculated that the administration's move to narrow the field of future architects of the union to those architects with California licenses was calculated to prevent another Moshe Safdie from entering the picture. Clay's design of the union was offered only after the interviewing process was completed, and after he had officially contracted with the university.

The College Union Council that those Clay had a very different character than the one that interviewed Safdie in 1968. Only five of the fourteen members of the council were students; the rest were administrators and faculty (CUC 1970). Of the students, two represented the San Francisco State College Foundation, so that only three out of fourteen members were representing the SFSU student body.

The students did not have much say in the second round of choosing of an architect. To make up for this, in light of the negative publicity surrounding the Safdie debacle, the administration ensured that a questionnaire about elements to be included in the union was circulated. On top of this, Clay participated in forums on the union as well as a summer seminar with a handful of students (Evans 1995). Although this gave the appearance of student involvement, the students who were a part of the seminar did not have a say over any major design issue—they were primarily designing the interior furnishings of the union, such as the style of hammocks and carpeting (Woodbridge 1978). The students were in for a shock when the building, a massive, thick-walled, almost entirely concrete structure, materialized.

Bunker Mentality

Paffard Keatinge Clay held an obscure position in the architectural world compared to Moshe Safdie. There has been very little written about Clay or his work as an architect, but in 1969 he did write a piece for *Landscape* magazine about escaping urban life to live on a homestead in New Mexico. In the work, "Lesson for an Architect," he expresses his anti-urban, individualist outlook on the world. Clay was getting away from the city, what he called, "the human desert," where he witnessed, "the empty hearts when people massed together" (Clay 1969). In the article he talks about how refreshing it was for him to be outdoors, away from the world's problems and the people one finds in "densely populated areas," who he imagined in front of their TV sets (Clay 1969). During the late sixties, a time when thousands of people were realizing their collective power through protests against the Vietnam War, student movements, and urban uprisings, Clay was off in the desert contemplating the constellations—intentionally solitary.

During the late sixties, a time when thousands of people were realizing their collective power through protests against the Vietnam War, student movements, and urban uprisings, Clay was off in the desert contemplating the constellations—intentionally solitary.

When it came time to evaluate Clay's design, a number of structural flaws were overlooked. When the design was critiqued in *Progressive Architecture* three years after it was implemented, architecture correspondent Sally Woodbridge noted that many gutters and drainpipes (since removed) directed rainwater to places where people might stand (Woodbridge 1978). Additionally, she pointed out the problem of high volumes of noise inevitably produced in an all-concrete structure (Woodbridge 1978). Another problem of using concrete as the basis for this type of design was the impossibility of cheaply modifying the building, which was necessary to accommodate an expected increase in the size of the student population (Holloway Historians 1986). The fact that these flaws weren't pointed out by the experts on the Board of Trustees that had scrutinized Safdie's union suggests that structural

details were in fact never really at issue—the issue was solely what the two unions represented.

Clay's design reflected his individualist, bunker mentality. The virtually windowless mass of concrete that is the existing San Francisco State Student Union bears no resemblance to the Safdie design. The two hulking pyramids at its base, which shoot up in the air at sixty-degree angles to each other, are the most distinguishing features of the union. The late *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen once said that the union reminded him of two ships sinking (McGoldrick 1985). Former student strike leader Hari Dillon described the union this way: "It looks like a fortress" (Whitson 1979). Like Dillon and Caen, many ordinary users of the building say that it evokes something dark. The *Progressive Architecture* correspondent who reviewed the Union in 1978 noted similar evocative aspects of the design. On the basement level, where eating areas are located, Woodbridge noted that the general "unpleasantness" and noise level gave it a "bomb shelter ambience" (Woodbridge 1978).

The administration clearly favored the Clay union's resemblance to some type of fortress. It was unnecessary for the Trustees to ask him, as they had asked Safdie, "How are you going to get the snipers out of that building?" (Safdie 1970). The twenty-foot porcelain doors that open up on each side of the building, which are ostensibly for easing congestion, could easily allow police to conduct a sweep of the building and pick off any "snipers," or strikers, or whomever might be the target.

President Hayakawa, who saw a design that would facilitate his interest in security, was a major fan of the Clay design. He once said that he hoped that Clay's union would become "a graphic symbol of the school" (McGoldrick 1985). Perhaps this is precisely the "citadel of reason" that he spoke of when justifying his often-brutal repression of student strikers. He was echoed by his successor during the mid-eighties, President Chia-Wei Woo, who remarked about the union, "Whether you like it or not, it symbolizes SF State" (McGoldrick 1985).

The administration made sure that the union would be *their* symbol, not that of the students. The turmoil on campus between 1968 and 1969 helped to assure that the decision would not be a democratic one. The Trustees silenced the students and turned down an award winning, idealistic design, from a world famous architect, and brought in a less distinguished architect to build a secure citadel.

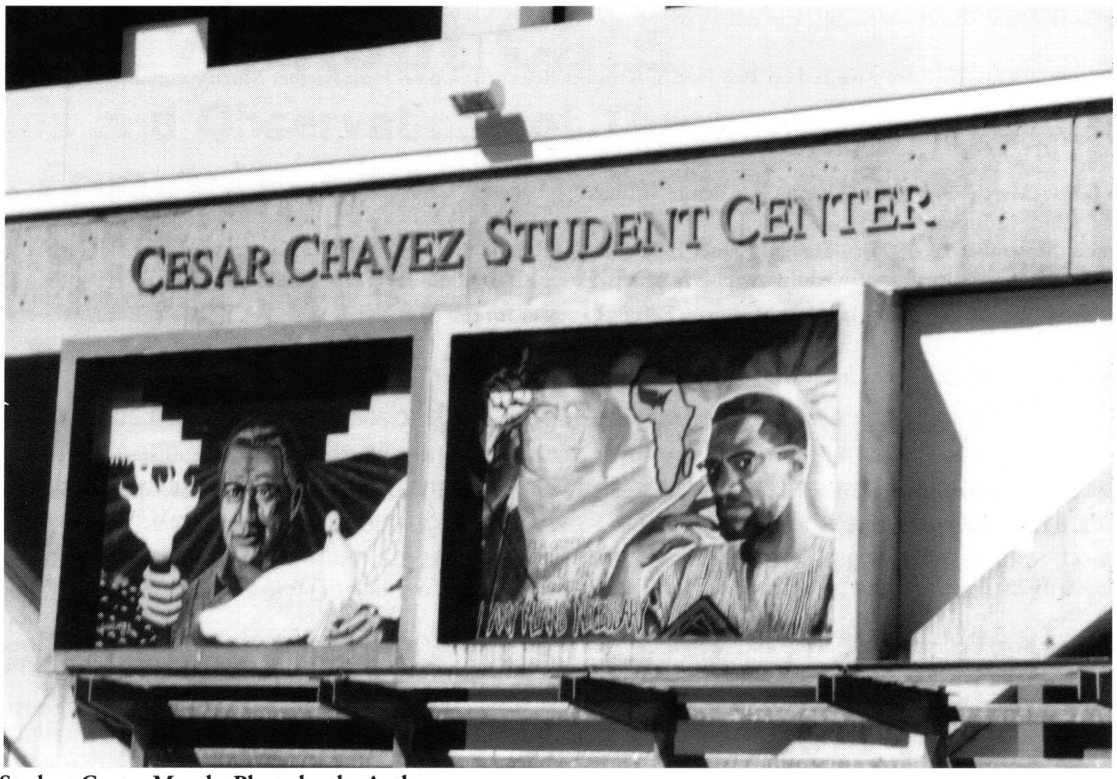
The Illusion of Democracy

In the years since the union has been built, there have been a number of power struggles around the union, and the administration has consistently tried to create the illusion of democracy with purely symbolic gestures. During the initial design of the student union, for instance, picking out carpets and hammocks passed for "student participation."

The administration made sure that the union would be their symbol, not that of the students. The turmoil on campus between 1968 and 1969 helped to assure that the decision would not be a democratic one.

A more recent example is a case from 1998, when workers in the student center tried to organize a labor union. During the 1980s, the student union was named after Cesar Chavez, who led the United Farm Workers throughout the famous grape boycott of the 1960s, bringing hard won improvements in the working conditions of farmworkers. About thirty years after the grape strike, San Francisco State officials seem to have forgotten what the memorialized labor leader stood for, as the Governing Board dodged the workers' call for a living wage and job security, and instead hired a union busting lawyer to block SEIU 790 from organizing the workers (Chretien 2002).

From these examples, it would appear that the university administration is not overly concerned with on-campus working conditions, or student participation, so long as they can maintain an illusion of justice on campus. Supporting civil rights means putting up a mural of Malcolm X on the outside of the Student Union, emblazoned with the phrase, "By any means necessary." But it does not mean allowing Black Panther George Murray to teach while actively fighting racism and its structural roots. As soon as students or faculty stand up, the administration tries to put them down "by any means



Student Center Murals. Photo by the Author.

necessary," be it through anti-union lawyers, top-down decision making, or the SF Tactical Squad.

This is not to say that the situation is hopeless, however. Through the student strike, SFSU was able to gain much needed Ethnic and Black Studies Departments. If not for the efforts of the strikers, students might still be listening to lectures on the history of Africa from a strictly Eurocentric perspective, and the extensive financial aid department might still be unresponsive and hostile to the needs of minority students.

Throughout history, people have obtained rights almost exclusively through struggles like the ones that went on at SFSU during the 1960s. And while the disadvantaged do not always win, failing to organize is not an option, because those in power rarely willingly grant people the freedoms they deserve. As the great abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, once said, "Without struggle, there is no progress." Although the student union building remains a symbol of authoritarian control, the other successes of the strike demonstrate that it is vital that students continue to struggle for their ideals, whether in the form of a student union, a labor union, civil liberties, or a world free from war and racism.

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Cities Without Cars

Photos and Observations of Three Auto-Free Asian Cities

Pete Jordan

It is difficult for modern Americans to envision a city without automobiles, yet cities worldwide were free of cars for thousands of years and operated quite efficiently. However, over the last 100 years, cars have quickly and thoroughly dominated the urban landscape and changed the ways that cities are organized. Almost every component of the city—streets, homes, schools, shopping districts, work places, and other areas—is now built to accommodate cars. And in many American urban areas, it is almost impossible to fulfill one's daily needs without having access to a car.

The automobile's presence in the city, though, comes at an incredible cost, both to society in general and to individuals. An enormous amount of urban land is devoted to the auto. To accommodate cars, 25 percent of the land in many urban areas is used for streets, parking lots, driveways, etc. In some regions, this figure is as high as 33 percent (Kay 1997). Automobiles are also very intrusive: they are noisy, they emit smelly exhaust, and they are dangerous—over 40,000 Americans a year are killed in auto-related deaths (Newman and Kenworthy 1999). Cars are also expensive to purchase, maintain, insure, and fuel. Vast amounts of natural resources are spent to build autos, to fuel them, and to create the massive infrastructure necessary to support them. Finally, automobiles emit massive amounts of pollutants, harming both people and the environment. These emissions are also regarded as a major cause of global warming (Alvord 2000).

In America, the auto's stranglehold over the city grows ever stronger as vehicle ownership per capita, the number of trips made by autos, and the distance of trips made by autos all continue to increase. Meanwhile, in other parts of the world (particularly in Europe and South America), there are growing movements to reduce the number of cars and limit the areas where they are permitted in cities. Some recent actions include the banning of cars in older central cities and the development of new car-free residential areas.

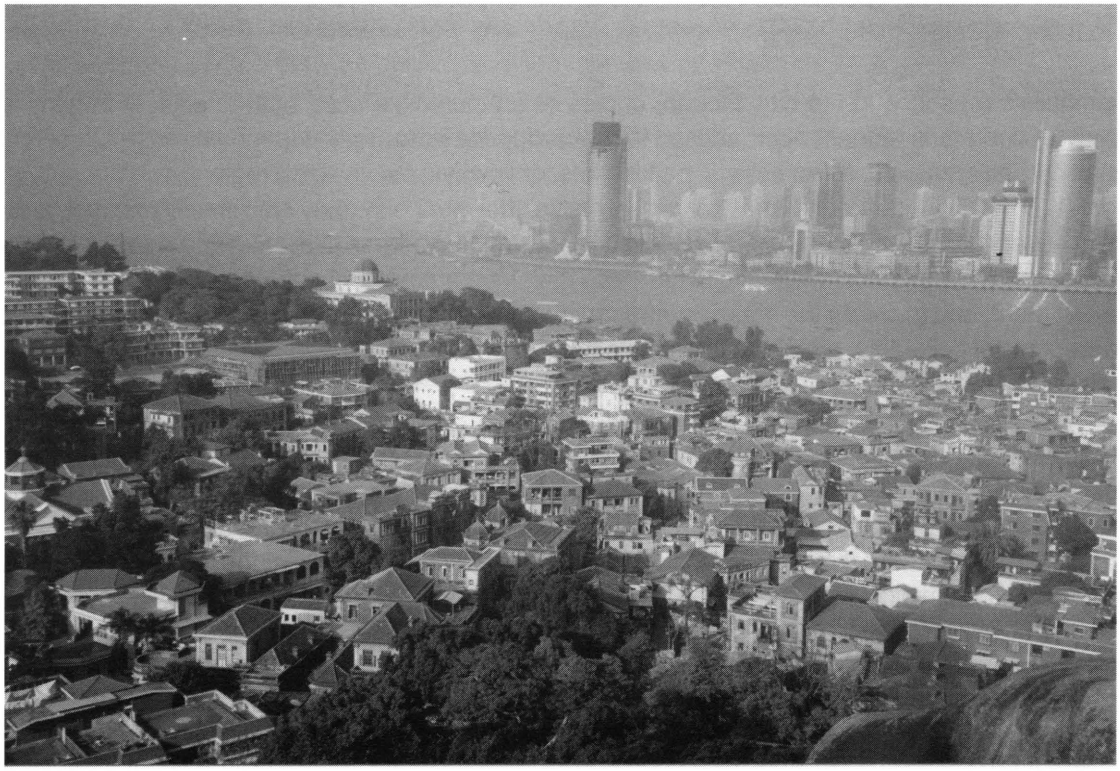
What would a city look like if it were built for people instead of cars? What if city streets were built at a scale to comfortably accommodate humans traveling at walking or biking speed instead of being built to accommodate several lanes of vehicular traffic traveling 25-65 MPH? What if urban lands currently devoted to the automobile were redeveloped for other uses? With the twenty-first century American city as a point of reference, it is difficult to imagine a car-less city, but examples exist elsewhere.

Many people are familiar with the most famous car-free city, Venice, Italy, where 70,000 people live in car-free areas, but there are also less well-known examples of car-free cities in Asia such as Gulangyu Island (off the coast of Xiamen, China), and Cheung Chau and Lamma Islands (two of Hong Kong's outlying islands). All three islands are similar in some ways, yet all three are also distinct, showing that there is more than one way to organize a car-free area.

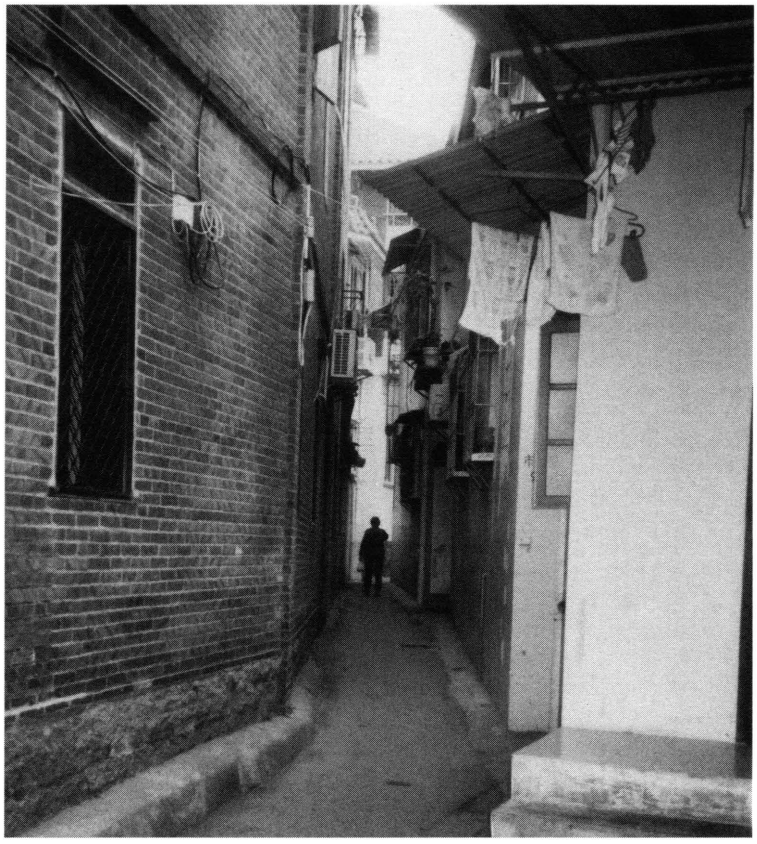
Gulangyu Island

Across the straits from the large industrial city of Xiamen, China (pop. 1,200,000) sits Gulangyu Island. Officially a district of Xiamen, Gulangyu (pop. 25,000) is in many ways its own city. Just a short 15-minute ferry ride separates the bustle of Xiamen's skyscrapers and autos from one-square mile of car-free tranquility. Gulangyu's main ferry terminal is the island's major node. The nearby market area and other destinations (homes, workplaces, schools, parks, etc.) are within easy walking distance of every other location on the island.

Gulangyu is a destination for tourists from across China. Attracted by its car-free layout, tourists also come to see the island's many ornate mansions; to visit the aquarium, aviary, and gardens; and to dine on fresh seafood. Though the island hosts many day-trip tourists, there are large areas of the island, particularly the various residential neighborhoods, where tourists are not seen. Gulangyu is also home to an art college and a music school. The latter attracts many musicians from across the nation. As a result, in lieu of the constant drone of traffic noise heard in most cities, on Gulangyu, the soothing sounds of piano music emanate from many homes and can be heard throughout the city.



A compact Gulangyu neighborhood – If autos were introduced to Gulangyu and required access to every building on the island (as they do in American cities), then a majority of the buildings would need to be razed to make room for the necessary wider roadways and parking areas. Gulangyu achieves a population density of 25,000 per square mile that is equal to that of America's densest city, New York, without any of the high-rise buildings that are synonymous with Manhattan. Almost every building in Gulangyu stands at a height that is comfortable with human scale: four stories or less.



Gulangyu Residential Maze – Few streets on the island run straight for more than a few hundred feet. The resulting maze makes for a wanderer's paradise. Some streets taper to a width as little as two feet. Twenty-foot wide major streets feel grand and roomy. In comparison, twenty-foot wide streets in America are considered mere narrow alleyways.

Children in the streets – Without fear of being struck by passing cars, the children of Gulangyu play soccer and badminton in the streets, both day and night. Meanwhile, many of their counterparts in American cities cannot play in front of their homes because of the dangers of the automobile. Ironically, it is the car that shuttles them to safe play areas such as parks.

Mailman on a bike – Cycling is apparently banned on Gulangyu since, in three days of observation, the mailman in this photo was the only adult seen riding a bicycle. Compared with the rest of bicycle-crazy China, this is quite an anomaly. Possibly such a ban on bicycle riding is an attempt to avoid conflicts between speedy cyclists and pedestrians.

Open-air live seafood market – In addition to tourism, the seafood industry is a major component in Gulangyu's economy. Many commercial fishermen live on the island and dozens of vendors sell a variety of live fish, crabs, eels, turtles, and frogs. Many shoppers ride the ferry from Xiamen to purchase seafood here.

Handcarts and tunnels – Almost all goods are moved around the island by two-wheeled handcarts. This team of men is moving granite blocks from a quarry to a construction site on the far side of this tunnel. The hilly island's three tunnels provide easier pedestrian access to various parts of the island. In the middle of one tunnel, pedestrians can visit a snack shop, CD store, and a bar.

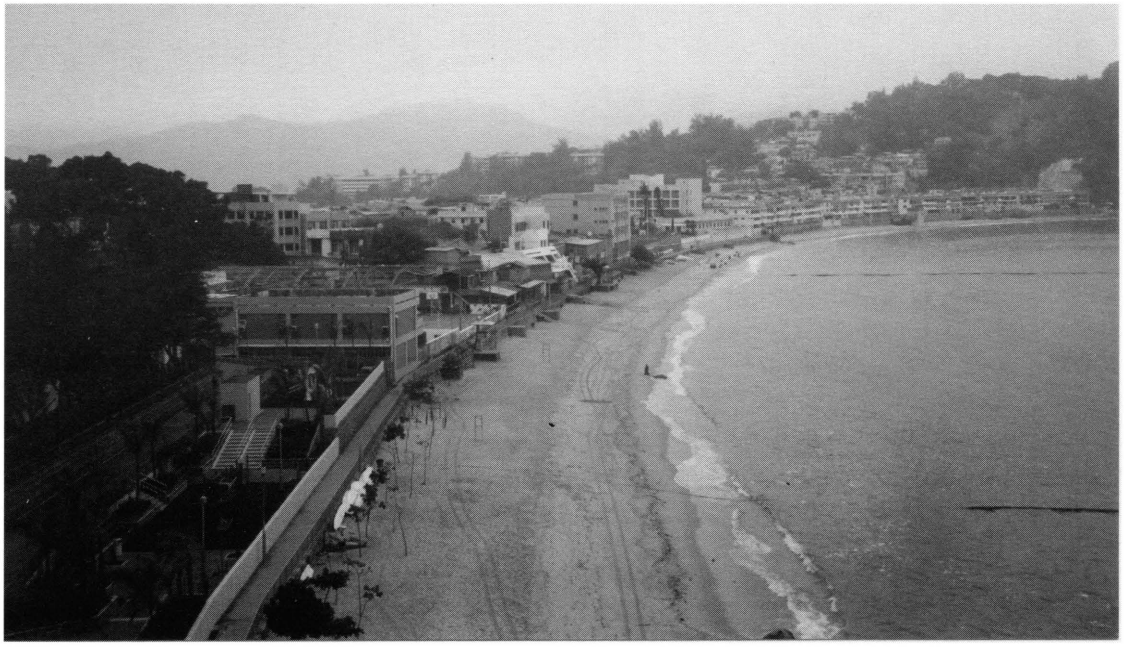
Offloading goods – All goods reach the island by small boats. Here, men offload sacks of rice onto handcarts.

Cheung Chau Island

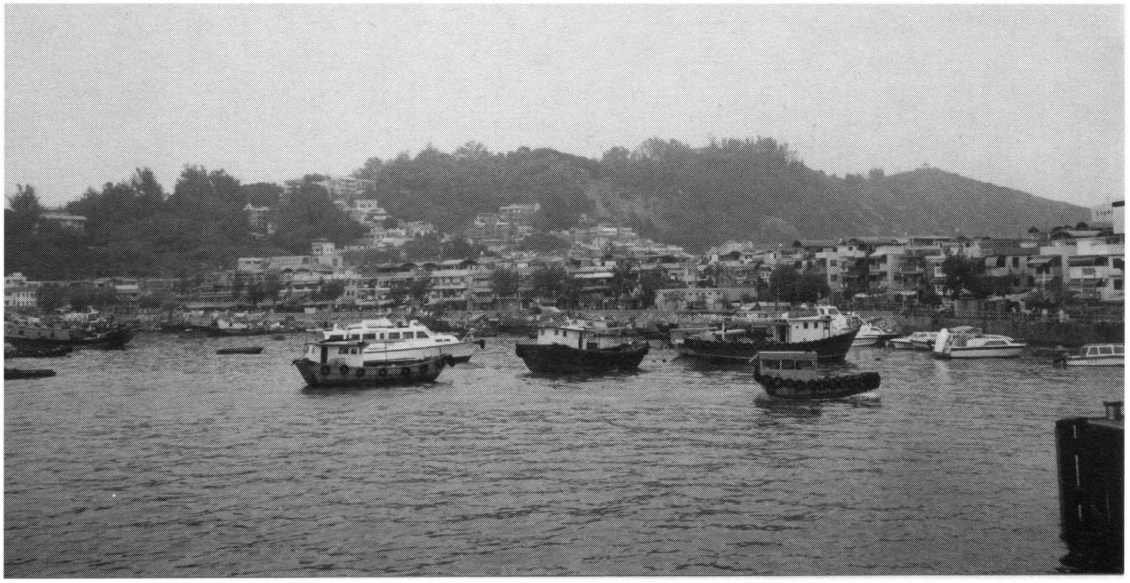
With a population of 25,000, Cheung Chau is the most populous of Hong Kong's outlying car-free islands. Cheung Chau is a one-hour ferryboat ride away from central Hong Kong. Many of its resident are employed in the fishing trade, as is evident from the large fishing fleet moored in the harbor. After years of British rule, many areas of Hong Kong are home to British ex-patriots, but the racial makeup of Cheung Chau is almost exclusively Chinese.

Cheung Chau is barbell shaped: two large hills are linked by a narrow, low-lying span of land. The skinny middle of the island is home to most of Cheung Chau's built environment, while the two hilly areas are largely undeveloped and serve as open spaces.

Cheung Chau beach– Like Gulangyu Island, Cheung Chau Island has a high population density without the use of tall buildings. This is remarkable since Hong Kong is famous for its thousands of high-rise apartment buildings. In the summer, the beaches, parks, and hiking trails of Cheung Chau are favorite day-trip destinations for many of Hong Kong's high-rise residents.



Cheung Chau harbor – The harbor is filled with hundreds of boats. Most are fishing boats; some are pleasure boats. Large ferries transport people to and from other outlying islands and to Hong Kong's central district where an extremely efficient public transit system of subways, commuter trains, streetcars, buses, and other ferryboats provides easy car-free transportation throughout the city. Small intra-island ferryboats transport people between Cheung Chau's central business district and some of the island's most distant residential districts.



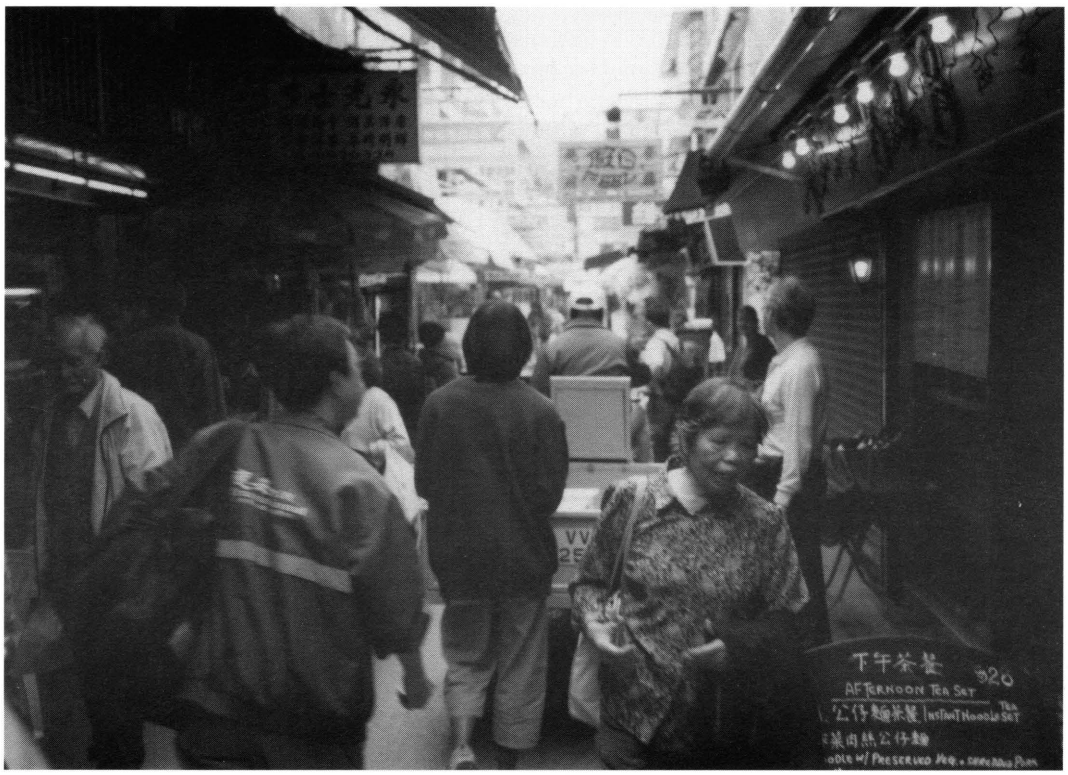
The Harbor Promenade – In the evening, the Promenade fills with people as they dine, stroll, people-watch, and leisurely cycle. Bicycles are widely used to get around on the island Both locals and tourists utilize the pedicabls that roam the streets.

Cheung Chau handcarts – *As on Gulangyu Island, almost all goods are transported by handcarts. The carts on Cheung Chau have* four wheels so the delivery person exerts less energy to push or pull them as one does with the two-wheeled carts on Gulangyu.

Cheung Chau retail shopping street – Narrow streets are made even narrower by shopkeepers who display their wares in front of their stores. The streets do not make one feel constricted. Rather, there is a sense of coziness as a shopper window-shops both sides of the street in a single glance. Bicyclists using these streets proceed slowly and ring their bells to alert pedestrians of their presence.

Lamma Island

Lamma Island is closer to central Hong Kong (a 20-minute ferryboat ride away) than Cheung Chau. Accordingly, it is much more of a bedroom community than Cheung Chau, as many Lamma residents commute to work in central Hong Kong. Whereas Gulangyu and Cheung Chau Islands are, for the most part, island cities, Lamma is an island that has two distinct cities on opposite sides of the island. The two cities, Yung Shue Wan and Sok Kwu Wan, are separated by a half-mile of farms and green spaces. Lamma's 10,000 residents are a cosmopolitan mix of Chinese, British, Filipinos, and other Southeast Asians.



Lamma Island delivery trucks – Though the streets of Lamma's retail districts are narrow like those on Cheung Chau, the streets are used in very different ways on the two islands. On Lamma, small diesel trucks transport goods around the island. The drivers of these trucks drive as if they expect the crowds of pedestrians to automatically part so they can race through. Faced with the prospect of being run over, pedestrians have no choice but to yield to the trucks. Pedestrians must always

be alert for the noisy trucks. This destroys what would otherwise be a pleasant walking experience.

In the previous photo, the backside of one such driver is seen plowing his truck through a crowd. Shown here is one of Lamma's delivery trucks.

"Sprawling" Lamma – The three-story cubes shown below are typical of Lamma's newer housing developments. Unfortunately, these cubes are scattered about rather randomly, like rolled dice on a table. Many of them are separated by brush and not linked together in a tight network of streets as are buildings on Gulangyu and Cheung Chau Islands. The result is a less efficient use of the land and a sense of "sprawl." Just as in sprawling American regions, this lack of compact development requires residents to travel farther to the retail districts, schools, and the ferry terminal. This negates one of the greatest benefits of car-free areas: compact development that enables short walking or biking distances to many vital destinations.

Final Thoughts

My trip to Gulangyu, Cheung Chau, and Lamma Islands was highly enlightening. I saw different ways that people have adapted to living in cities free of automobiles. Without the space and infrastructure needed for cars, cities can achieve high population densities and be much more compact, thus negating the need for private car ownership.

Each island taught me something unique. Gulangyu showed me that it is possible for a large car-free area to comfortably host electric carts used for specialized public services. Cheung Chau taught me that it is possible for pedestrians and bicycles to co-exist in a large car-free area and that transporting everyday goods can be done handily by cart or boat. And Lamma showed me how easily car-free areas can be disrupted by private vehicles and how vital compact development is for car-free areas.

My traveling companion and I had been back on the busy streets of Hong Kong for less than a minute before she stepped off the curb and was almost struck by a car. After a week on the car-free islands, she had simply forgotten about cars.

The author wishes to thank Amy Joy for taking him to Gulangyu, Cheung Chau, and Lamma Islands.

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Welfare Reform Implementation in California

An Examination of Process, Performance, and Implications for Policy

Glenn C. Bouchard

Data provided by the American Institute for Full Employment (2000) indicates that through the first several years of welfare reform, California ranks forty-seventh among the fifty states in welfare caseload reduction. During the evaluation period of January 1993 (pre-welfare reform) through September 1999, California's welfare caseload dropped only 29.5 percent—significantly less than the 50.2 percent U.S. average caseload reduction during this same time period. By fiscal year 2002, half of all welfare recipients in California must be engaged in work activities or have left the welfare rolls. With this deadline looming, California's below average performance has potentially wide-ranging fiscal, social, and economic implications for the state. The purpose of the following analysis is to assess and evaluate the implementation of California's welfare reform efforts to date, and identify policy options designed to improve California's implementation strategy and subsequently its welfare caseload reduction efforts.

Federal Welfare Reform

The passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 radically transformed the nation's welfare system. The PRWORA legislation replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) welfare system with Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). The TANF system ushered in the era of work requirements, lifetime limits on welfare assistance, self-sufficiency, and parental responsibility. In essence, the TANF program requires work in exchange for time-limited benefit assistance. PRWORA work requirement mandates that welfare recipients work after two years on assistance; failure to participate in work requirements can result in the reduction or elimination of benefits to a family. The legislation also sets time limits on assistance: families that have received assistance for five cumulative years will be ineligible for further cash aid. Individual states have the option of decreasing the five-year limit, and can also exempt up to twenty percent of their caseload from the time limit.

Another major change brought about by TANF is that the authority to shape welfare programs shifted from the federal to state level. As a result of TANF, the states were provided flexibility to create a welfare program tailored to their individual needs and circumstances. Each state receives a TANF block grant allocation, which is essentially a fixed level of funding. The legislation indicates that states may use TANF funding in any manner "reasonably calculated to accomplish the purposes of TANF" (PRWORA 1996). The purposes/goals of TANF are: to provide assistance to needy families so that children can be cared for in their own homes; to reduce dependency on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work and marriage; to prevent out-of-wedlock pregnancies; and to encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families (PRWORA 1996).

California has implemented TANF reforms primarily through the CalWORKS program. While CalWORKS has had some impact in reducing welfare rolls, its success in moving welfare recipients into the workforce is debatable. The primary reason for its mixed success is noncompliance of welfare recipients with the guidelines of the program, a problem that has been quite serious for California and other states. This analysis examines the effect of non-

compliance on CalWORKS implementation, and evaluates three policies that could significantly reduce noncompliance.

Welfare Reform in California

In California, the Welfare to Work Act of 1997 established welfare reform for the state. Specifically, the state named its welfare-to-work plan the "California Work Opportunity and Responsibility to Kids" (CalWORKS) program. The overarching goals of CalWORKS are consistent with the TANF goals listed above. Naturally, moving recipients off the welfare rolls and into employment is one of the primary objectives of CalWORKS. This movement of individual and families off of welfare rolls is primarily measured by the percentage reduction of the state's welfare caseload.

Also consistent with the federal legislation, the underlying philosophy of the CalWORKS program is that welfare should be a temporary support in times of crisis rather than a way of life. The program encourages and rewards personal responsibility and accountability by recipients, and fosters a "work first" attitude by employing strict work requirements. In addition to the five-year cumulative lifetime limit on benefits, new applicants receive aid for eighteen months (with a county option to extend an additional six months), and current recipients can receive aid for a maximum of twenty-four months. Following job club and assessment activities, adults are required to work or be involved in work activities for a minimum of thirty-two hours. Another key feature of the CalWORKS program is that it provides counties the flexibility to meet their unique needs. Working within TANF and CalWORKS guidelines, each county is responsible for producing its own Welfare-to-Work (WtW) plan. Each county plan requires approval by the California Department of Social Services prior to implementation.

California's CalWORKS Implementation

Once an individual/family has been approved for welfare benefits in a specific locale, the first step is an orientation to the CalWORKS program, as well as to the county's corresponding WtW activities. After the orientation, recipients are required to attend a four-week "Job Club," where their objective is to learn job search techniques and ultimately to find work. For those who do not find employment as a result of Job Club, assessment activities occur and a formal WtW plan is created and signed. The plan outlines the specific services the recipient will receive (such as subsidized work, education or training, mental health services, substance abuse or domestic violence services) to overcome barriers to employment, find work, and ultimately to leave aid. Until the recipient finds work, he or she may be reassessed and receive a revised WtW work plan with new activities. If recipients have not found employment by the end of the 18-24 month time period, they are given a mandatory assignment to community service. Until employment is found, recipients continue in community service until the end of their sixty-month lifetime limit. At that time, the adult portion of the recipient's grant is eliminated. [A graphic model of California's CalWORKS process model can be found in Diagram 1.]

In addition to the linear path of services indicated above, recipients can also exit the initial phase of the program by one of three methods. Recipients may either: be granted an exemption from Job Club activities for "good cause" (such as mental health problems or substance abuse treatment) or in cases of Self-Initiated Programs (for example, involvement in a pre-existing education or training program); gain employment as a result of Job Club activities; or be determined noncompliant for failure to follow through with required CalWORKS activities. These potential exit paths are illustrated in Diagram 1.

The Public Policy Problem—The Issue of Noncompliance

Significance in California

Noncompliance is simply defined as a recipient's "failure to show" for CalWORKS mandated activities. Because CalWORKS is a fairly recent program, relatively little research has been completed specifically on the topic of noncompliance. However, data that does exist suggests that the issue of noncompliance is a serious problem adversely affecting CalWORKS implementation in California. Through the first several years of CalWORKS, each of California's fifty-eight counties has reported high no-show rates. Most counties report that for any given activity (for example, Job Club or WtW plan activities) between one-third and one-half, and at times

as many as two-thirds, of recipients fail to attend when instructed to do so (Rand 2000).

A data "snapshot" compiled in a Rand Institute research brief helps to illustrate the magnitude of California's problem. In September of 1999, Rand researchers examined data from twenty-five county welfare departments. The purpose of their analysis was to determine what "path" of the CalWORKS process model (Diagram 1) the recipients from the twenty-five counties were currently taking. What the researchers found is somewhat alarming. Only twenty-two percent of these counties' recipients were on the "linear" CalWORKS program path. Twenty-nine percent of recipients in the data set were employed, but a full twenty percent of recipients were formally noncompliant, including those whose benefits were being reduced through punitive sanctioning. Although the twenty percent noncompliance figure is alarming in itself, the researchers suggest that the figure understated the magnitude of noncompliance. Obviously, the above percentages total only seventy-one percent of welfare recipients. The researchers project that many of the remaining twenty-nine percent of recipients are "...unaccounted for, including the no shows for whom the county has *not yet begun* the formal noncompliance process" (Rand 2000).

Obviously, noncompliance is a significant issue affecting the implementation of CalWORKS. Alameda County reports that *approximately sixty percent* of recipients scheduled for Orientation and Appraisal fail to attend. In a survey of Los Angeles CalWORKS front-line staff, *only three percent* of workers responding to the survey said that most recipients show up for their first appointment. Furthermore, *just one-third* of staff said that most recipients appear for their second appointment.

To quote Jacob Klerman, the senior Rand economist who heads the CalWORKS research team, "understanding and dealing with noncompliance is shaping up as the most important issue of the implementation process." Unfortunately, the reasons for noncompliance are less clear than the recognition of it as an impediment to the CalWORKS implementation process.

Reasons for Noncompliance

Naturally, one of the first questions regarding noncompliance is why it occurs so frequently. No definitive answer exists, and quite probably the reasons are varied. Nonetheless, several leading theories have been proposed in the CalWORKS literature.

One of the main reasons presented is related to the administrative processes employed by county welfare departments. More specifically, it is projected that recipients may not be receiving or understanding (for example, due to learning disabilities) mandatory participation notices. Even when the notices are received and understood, some have suggested (Rand, LA County) that unaddressed yet remediable barriers such as childcare or transportation impact participation. Even though program services are available to remediate these types of barriers, relevant information is not provided in an up-front manner. Employing focus group research with welfare recipients, the Equal Rights Advocates found that the written participation notices caused "widespread lack of understanding about CalWORKS time limits and the availability of education, training, and supportive services." The research also found that low literacy levels and lack of "user-friendliness" of written materials was a barrier (Equal Rights Advocates 2000).

Secondly, considering that recipients may have limited work history, job skills, and educational background, they may simply be fearful of participating in a work program. With recipients potentially having been out of the labor force for a significant period of time, the prospects of a "work-first" program may seem especially frightening. To quote one member of the Equal Rights Advocates focus group, "obviously we are under educated and under skilled. And you are putting us in this room (referencing the Job Club activity) and saying, 'do this by yourselves.' Who the heck do we contact? We don't know who to contact to find a good job." Another focus group member added, "(Job Club) is just trying to prepare you for an interview. It doesn't prepare you for *a job*." From these quotes, one can get a sense of the reservations towards the program that are held by recipients. Finally, there is willful noncompliance, where recipients simply choose not to participate. For example, a recipient may be working "under the table" and face losing this employment if mandated to participate in full day job search activities.

Regardless of the reasons for noncompliance, to achieve CalWORKS performance targets such as caseload reduction and increased numbers of recipients engaged in work activities, it is urgent that the

state considers alternatives to lessen the problem. Considering that some of the more pressing preliminary CalWORKS implementation issues (such as local WtW program design and approval and installation of computerized case management infrastructure) have been addressed, the time to address noncompliance is now. There are several policy options that could potentially reduce the problem.

Policy Options

The present analysis offers three unique approaches to dealing with the problem of noncompliance within the CalWORKS program. The three approaches are:

a. **Sanctioning:** more stringent sanctioning policies (such as the option for full-family sanctions), and heightened overall enforcement;

b. **Home Visits:** direct interaction with recipients by CalWORKS staff to address recipient's barriers and motivate compliance among the reluctant and fearful;

c. **Incentives:** a positive reinforcement program where recipients receive an account that is credited for each activity they complete. Upon completion of the program, recipients can cash out the account for certain work-related purchases.

Each policy option will be described in detail, followed by a summary table outlining the options and ranking them according to evaluation criteria.

Sanctioning

A sanction is a financial penalty that is imposed on a welfare recipient for failure or refusal to comply with CalWORKS program requirements without "good cause." Before a sanction can be imposed, the county must: (1) issue a notice of action; (2) conduct a cause determination to find out if there was good cause for the noncompliance; and (3) offer a compliance plan to those whom it finds do not have good cause. Only after the participant fails to agree to or fulfill a compliance plan can a sanction occur. There are three levels of sanctions, each more severe than the last. For the first instance of noncompliance, there is no minimum amount of time the person must be sanctioned. The sanction lasts until the recipient performs the activity he or she avoided. For the second instance, the sanction lasts for a minimum of three months, and continues until the participant complies. For the third, and for any subsequent instances of noncompliance without good cause, the sanction lasts a minimum of six months, and continues until the participant complies (WCLP-CalWORKS manual 1999).

Although all states currently have sanctioning policies on the books, the scope of the sanction and the level of enforcement differ between states. In California, sanctioning of noncompliant recipients initially took a "backseat" to more pressing early implementation issues. And although they are currently being implemented, California's sanctioning policies are far less stringent than other comparable states (those with similar overall population and poverty statistics) such as Florida (see Table 2). California has chosen to enforce an "adult-only" sanction policy. This means that if the grant recipient (normally the adult) fails to comply with mandatory CalWORKS requirement, only the adult's portion of the welfare grant will be reduced. The portion of the grant that comes in for the recipient's children remains unchanged. To illustrate, for a family of three the loss would be $121 of the $626 grant (Rand 2000).

As of April 2000, thirty-six out of fifty states, viewing this grant reduction as too small to discourage willful noncompliance, have opted for "full-family" sanctions (SPDP 2000). This means that cash assistance is terminated to the entire family. In eighteen of the thirty-six states, full-family sanctions are imposed immediately for any instance of noncompliance for some or all groups of families. The remaining states have initial partial sanctions that can escalate to full-family sanctions either as a result of continued noncompliance, or for further instances of noncompliance.

Opting for statutory full-family sanctions is a course of action that California could take to reduce noncompliance. On the positive side, the cost of implementing such a policy would be quite low, considering that the administrative mechanism for adult-only sanctions is currently in place. The policy could be implemented with a low degree of technical difficulty with no additional staffing requirements. Furthermore, twenty-two of the twenty-five states with the highest caseload reduc-

tion rates currently have full family sanctions on the books (Table 2).

However, although the overall goal is to reduce welfare caseloads, the desired mechanism to do so is participation in WtW program activities, *not* simply mandatory exit as a result of noncompliance. Furthermore, no evaluation data currently exists to suggest that increasing the penalty for failure to comply with work activities will increase compliance with work requirements. In fact, a Delaware study indicated that substantial noncompliance persisted in spite of the state's policy of escalating sanctions leading to full-family sanctions (Fein 1997). Therefore, it is projected that implementation of full-family sanction would result in low to moderate (at best) reductions in CalWORKS noncompliance rates. Additionally, this approach may not be appropriate if the trend towards "child-only" cases continues in California. Furthermore, in a Democratic voter majority state such as California, the political feasibility of gaining support for such a policy could best be characterized as low.

However, the most harmful aspect of full family sanction is the equity tradeoff. The imposition of full-family sanctions could quite obviously adversely effect the well-being of families, especially that of children whom the CalWORKS program is designed to protect. Slashing income supports through sanctions could likely lead to many families being forced deeper into poverty. Additionally, recipients with learning disabilities and more severe barriers to employment (such as mental illness or substance abuse) would likely be most adversely impacted.

Home Visits

Another policy option to reduce noncompliance involves the implementation of home visits by CalWORKS staff in lieu of the traditional "notice of action" letter. This approach would help alleviate the problems of recipients not receiving or not being able to understand the notice of action letters.

Additionally, home visits by social service staff might result in identification and remediation of program participation barriers such as childcare and transportation issues, which can often be addressed through existing CalWORKS services. And perhaps most importantly, they may provide a means to help recipients overcome their fears of program participation through effective counseling by staff. Finally, they provide a vehicle to monitor potential fraud and abuse. For example, during the visits program staff can monitor if recipients are not available because they are working, if the children are not present, or if other adults appear to be living in the household.

By engaging in direct contact rather than issuing administrative letters, and providing counseling and referral to augment services, implementation of home visits could result in the most significant increase in CalWORKS work requirement participation rates. The adoption of home visits methodologies would facilitate additional *positive* exits from the program (participation in WtW activities leading to employment) and simultaneously reduce the number of program exits via noncompliance. This would facilitate the most significant reduction in CalWORKS noncompliance rates. The home visit policy option ranks high in equity, as it provides a considerably more humanistic outreach approach and methodology to provide valuable CalWORKS program information, address recipient barriers proactively, and ultimately to engage recipients in CalWORKS and WtW activities. It also serves to better protect the children of recipients to a significantly greater degree than the full-family sanction option.

While home visits offer a promising strategy for dealing with noncompliance, they are time consuming, and to be completed properly, would require specially trained staff. Considering that case managers are already overburdened in many instances, it is projected that local county welfare agencies may have to recruit and hire additional staff (or restructure the job duties of existing staff) to take on home visit duties. As a result of these considerations, the home visit option is the most costly policy alternative. However, considering that many counties are significantly behind in welfare to work expenditures, coupled with the widespread performance incentives "paid" to counties by the state, cost may not be a primary factor. Although home visits are not an entirely new approach, for counties that have not employed them in the past, it would take a substantial initial effort to facilitate policy, program design, and training, resulting in a moderate degree of technical difficulty concerning implementation. The additional costs of the policy might also create some controversy, resulting in some possible political challenges.

Incentives

While sanctioning represents a behavior modification program employing negative reinforcement, the final policy alternative, incentives, addresses the issue of noncompliance by employing positive reinforcements. Specifically, recipients engaged in WtW plan activities would receive an account that is credited with a cash payment for each hour of work activities they complete. Work activities are broadly defined, and include basic literacy training, vocational training, work experience employment, unsubsidized employment, community service, and "on the job" training. Recipients could also receive a one-time account credit for completing the Job Club activity. Upon completion of the WtW program, recipients can cash out the account for certain work-related purchases, such vehicle purchase or repair, car insurance, housing, continuing education, tools or work clothes.

Figure 1: Alternative Policy Options for Noncompliance

Selected Criteria	Current Program	Tougher Sanctioning	Home Visits	Positive Incentives
CalWORKS Noncompliance rate	High	Low to Moderate reduction	High Reduction	Moderate Reduction
Cost	Low	Low	Moderate to High	Moderate
Equity	Low	Very Low	High	Moderate
Additional Staffing Requirements	N/A	None	Moderate Increase	None
Technical Difficulty	Low	Low	Moderate	High
Political Feasibility	N/A	Low	Moderate to High	Moderate

Considering that this policy alternative is a new approach that has not been utilized to any significant extent in California, it is somewhat difficult to gauge its potential impact on noncompliance. The initial projection is a moderate reduction in noncompliance levels, as a result of the additional positive incentives engaging recipients in more diligent program participation.

However, this approach may not be as effective in addressing recipient barriers and overcoming the initial fear of beginning the CalWORKS program as the home visit option. The incentive policy can only be most effective once recipients are committed to participate, and once major participation barriers are addressed.

The initial cost of the program is projected to be moderate, with somewhat higher spending levels as recipient participation increases and accounts grow larger. The incentive option provides more equity than sanctions, but ranks lower on equity than home visits, because it is assumed that recipients with significant employment barriers might not benefit as much from incentives as would those with fewer barriers. Although no additional administrative staff should be needed to implement the option, technical difficulty will be high because of the need to develop new policies, procedures, and the administrative tracking mechanisms for recipient accounts and purchases. Political feasibility is gauged as moderate, because it can be expected that such a major departure from traditional program methodology will encounter some resistance.

Recommendations

After comparing the three policy options and closely examining the selected evaluation criteria, the home visit option is recommended as the preferred policy alternative to reduce noncompliance in California. Most importantly, the home visit option is projected to reduce CalWORKS noncompliance most significantly, which is the main intent of the policy. Additionally, the home visit program should result in higher participation rates in Job Club, leading to more completed WtW plans and higher mandatory work participation rates. This in turn will result in more recipients exiting the program successfully, with a job, as opposed to exiting unsuccessfully via noncompliance.

The home visit option also is the preferred alternative when measuring equity levels. Home visits

constitute a considerably more humanistic outreach approach and methodology to provide valuable CalWORKS program information, address recipient barriers proactively, and ultimately to engage recipients in the program. Also, it provides a more desirable methodology to engage recipients with significant barriers (such as learning disabilities) that may have difficulty comprehending the often-complex program dynamics and time requirements.

Although the home visit program is more costly than the other alternatives and will require specially trained staff, as mentioned previously, when considering the extremely low county expenditure levels to date, cost is a less significant factor. Under the home visit option, more staff time would be spent "out in the field" in attempts to proactively engage recipients. This approach seems to be a more valuable utilization of staff time than the lengthy and laborious sanctioning process with its numerous administrative and appeals procedures. To address training needs and to get the program off the ground, it is recommended that the State Department of Social Services (DSS) develop the overarching policy and procedural framework for the home visit program. Once this first phase is complete, the state could sponsor several training programs in various parts of the state to facilitate timely implementation. State DSS should also set specific monitoring requirements to gauge the success of the program.

Although the incentive program is not the preferred policy option, such a program could be a valuable addition to reduce CalWORKS noncompliance. For this reason, it is recommended that State DSS also fund several incentive pilot programs throughout the state on a request for proposal (RFP) basis. An in-depth trial evaluation of the incentive option would be appropriate prior to commitment of more significant resources.

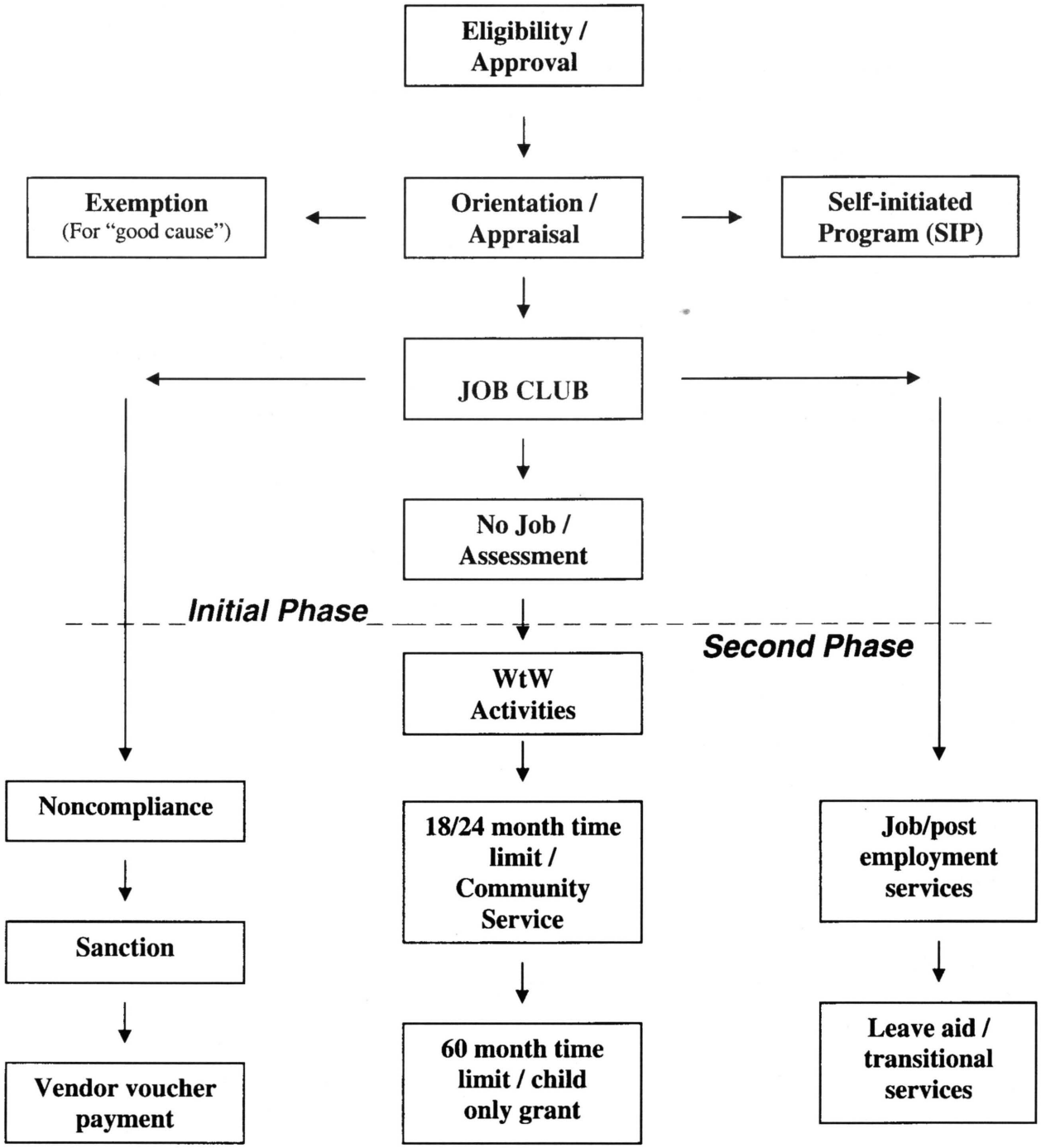
Table 1: Welfare Caseload Comparison *

	California	**Florida**	**Texas**
Welfare Caseload (January, 1993)	840,025	257,301	278,146
Welfare Caseload (September, 1999)	591,977	74,428	106,805
% Decrease (1993-1999)	29.5	71.1	61.6
National Rank (Out of 50 states)	47th	5th	15th
Full Family Sanction?	No	Yes	No
Census 2000 Overall Population	33,051,895	15,593,435	20,290,713
% People Below Poverty Level (2000) **	13.9	13.4	15.3

*Taken from "American Institute for Full Employment" data, 2000.

**Taken from US Census 2000 Data (national average of 12.5%).

Diagram 1: The CalWORKS Process Model



Source: Rand, 2000.

Table 2: Top 25 Welfare Caseload Reduction States—1993 to 1999

Rank and State	Full Family Sanction? *	Census 2000 Pop.	Caseload Jan. 1993	Caseload Sept. 1999	% Decrease
1. Wyoming	Yes	493,782	6,483	676	89.6
2. Idaho	Yes	1,293,953	7,737	1,219	84.2
3. Wisconsin	Yes	5,363,675	78,744	18,763	76.2
4. Mississippi	Yes	2,844,658	59,794	14,982	74.9
5. Florida	Yes	15,593,435	257,301	74,428	71.1
6. W. Virginia	Yes	1,808,344	41,321	11,969	71.0
7. Colorado	Yes	4,301,261	42,875	12,427	71.0
8. Oklahoma	Yes	3,450,654	49,494	15,395	68.9
9. S. Carolina	Yes	4,012,012	52,917	17,052	67.8
10. Louisiana	Yes	4,468,976	91,601	32,077	65
11. N. Carolina	Yes	8,049,313	130,382	48,975	62.4
12. Michigan	Yes	9,938,444	227,948	85,667	62.4
13. Maryland	Yes	5,296,486	80,655	30,471	62.2
14. Alabama	Yes	4,447,100	51,617	19,719	61.8
15. Texas	**No**	20,290,713	278,146	106,805	61.6
16. Ohio	Yes	11,353,140	257,801	99,333	61.5
17. S. Dakota	Yes	754,844	7,184	2,828	60.6
18. Montana	**No**	902,195	11,590	4,582	60.5
19. Oregon	Yes	3,421,399	41,799	16,681	60.1
20. Georgia	Yes	8,186,453	141,148	56,939	59.7
21. Kansas	Yes	2,688,418	29,399	12,733	56.7
22. Massachusetts	Yes	6,349,097	114,716	50,010	56.4
23. New Jersey	Yes	8,414,350	125,089	57,043	54.4
24. Arkansas	**No**	2,673,400	26,653	12,178	54.3
25. Illinois	Yes	12,419,293	228,507	105,916	53.6

***Data from State Policy Documentation Project**
All welfare caseload data taken from "American Institute for Full Employment" data, 2000.
National average for caseload reduction from 1993-1998 was 50.2%.

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The Fruitvale Transit Village

Community Revitalization Through Transit-Oriented Development

Mike Zinser

Transit villages have a long history in America, from the streetcar suburbs of the early 1900s to the recent trends in Transit-Oriented Development in most urban areas. While the focus of these transit developments has often been shortened commute times and reduction of automobile-related pollution, the Fruitvale Transit Village demonstrates that transit villages can also play a key role in a comprehensive redevelopment strategy, helping create jobs, leverage investments, and increase self-sufficiency for low income communities.

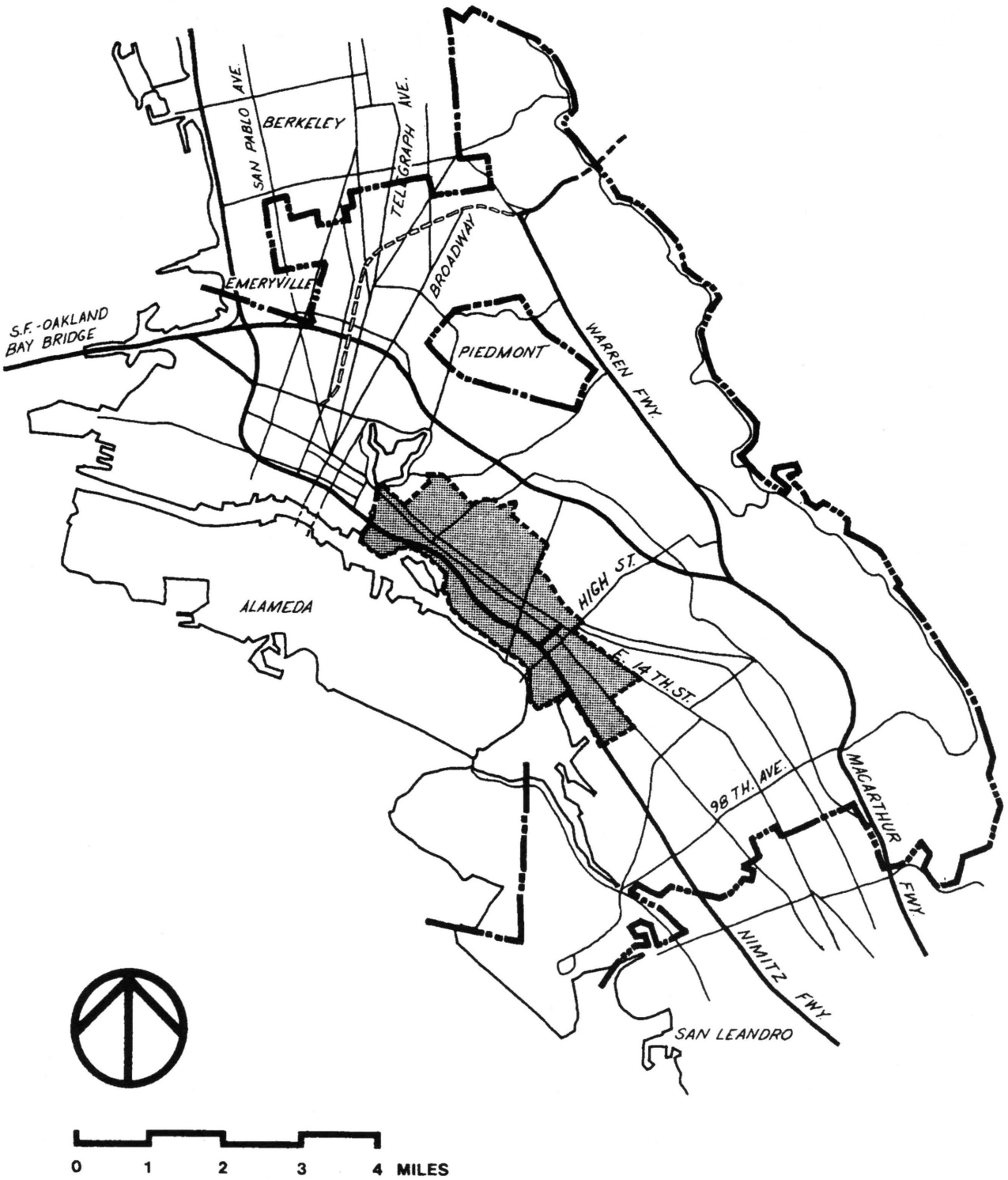
While San Francisco typically gets credit for progressive solutions to urban problems, one area of Oakland has taken the lead in revitalizing a disinvested community. In the Fruitvale district, the harvest of years of hard work in leadership building, planning and community revitalization is near. The center of this community redevelopment project is the Fruitvale BART station: the project integrates a transit village into a comprehensive redevelopment plan aimed at combating decades of decline resulting from urban sprawl and suburbanization. It will be the first American transit village created explicitly to reverse the effect of disinvestments and urban decline. It is a great project for Fruitvale, one that is long overdue, and it will be a model for other communities to follow.

The Toll of Suburbanization

The problems of metropolitan areas are well documented. Residents both in the cities and the suburbs have their own struggles with which to contend. Upper-income urban and suburban residents may face high rents, traffic and parking problems; the urban poor bear the brunt of the nation's unemployment, homelessness, crime, poverty and drug problems.

Fruitvale's history is typical of many urban areas since suburbanization became widespread in the 1940s and 1950s. Once considered Oakland's second downtown, the area's decline has been steady and linear since the end of the Second World War, when defense jobs disappeared from the area, and suburban development began attracting families to new housing south of Oakland and east of the Caldecott Tunnel. Fruitvale businesses soon followed in pursuit of suburbanite dollars. Shrinking tax bases due to the loss of businesses and declining property values, combined with reduced available monies as a result of Washington's "New Federalism" policies, left local governments without adequate funding to deal with local problems (Ross 2001). The economic stress of reduced employment opportunity became apparent by the 1960s: homes began to show signs of deferred maintenance and absentee ownership, and cosmetic neglect, accumulation of clutter, abandoned cars and pockets of concentrated poverty began to appear. Reductions in funds shrank services that inner city dwellers needed, and problems escalated. Reduced funding for education, housing, law enforcement, and other programs and services resulted in less educated, less skilled residents, and a community that had less ability to be employed. The spiral of disinvestment set the table for an additional iteration on the helix of decline.

Fruitvale's changing demographics during the 1960s exemplify what was typical for many urban areas. Between 1960 and 1966 Fruitvale lost twenty-six percent of its white (non-Spanish surname) population, while Spanish surname white increased by fifty-seven percent and non-white saw forty percent growth, indicative of the "White Flight" experienced in many other cities (Oakland 1966). The area experienced a total population increase of four percent during the 1960s; a large part of this



LOCATION OF THE FRUITVALE SUBAREA

Source: 701 Report

increase was made up of young singles and children. Single male population increased by 16.6 percent, single female by 13.6 percent, and non-white female population increased 134.7 percent. School enrollment increased by 43.7 percent, eleven times the increase in Fruitvale's population, indicating the growing percentage of children in Fruitvale's population.

In June 1966 the national unemployment rate was 3.8 percent; in Fruitvale, it was 12.6 percent, an increase of 4.3 percent from six years earlier. The Oakland Economic Development Council estimates that 25.5 percent of Fruitvale's residents lived below the poverty line in 1966 (Oakland 1966). The result of disinvestment and job loss was clear.

An additional problem for Fruitvale was that housing stock was deteriorating at a rapid rate. Of the fifteen thousand-plus housing units in Fruitvale in 1966, between one-quarter and one-half were classified as "blighted," and 12.9 percent were overcrowded by census standards (Oakland 1966).

Faced with these multiple problems, local community organizations began a long struggle to bring business and development back to the community. In 1993, a new piece of the revitalization puzzle offered an opportunity to focus redevelopment efforts, leverage new funding, and provide a centerpiece for the community. This new piece was a proposed transit village.

History of the Transit Village

The transit village is not a new idea, but one resurrected from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Around the turn of the century, those who had the desire and sufficient wealth to pay daily transit expenses could live in small countryside communities built around train stations, away from the noise and smells of early industrial cities. These early transit villages were actually the unrecognized first wave of suburbanization. Three major examples of this type of transit village development existed in Boston, New York, and Los Angeles.

The first transit villages developed around Boston around 1838, when the Boston & Worchester rail line issued commuter tickets for the daily train service it ran in and out of Boston (Bartlett 1998).

By 1898 New York had 118,000 daily commuters passing through Grand Central Station between the city and their homes in the suburbs along the Hudson River, Harlem River Valley and Long Island Sound commuter rail lines (Bernick 1996).

The most prominent example of transit village development was in the Los Angeles Basin. At the turn of the century, electric light rail had begun to be utilized extensively, due to technological advances and reduced electricity prices. Henry Huntington, an heir to the Great Pacific Railroad fortune, bought and expanded the light rail service of the Pacific Electric Railway. His plan extended service to Long Beach, Santa Monica, Newport Beach, and out to the wide-open spaces of the San Fernando Valley and San Bernardino. By the 1920s the expansion included fifty communities and over 1,164 directional miles of track. It had an annual ridership of over one hundred million passengers (Bernick 1996). Each of the communities served by the rail system developed around an initial transit station.

Key elements for consideration in the design of modern transit villages include utilization of mass transit, efficiency in land-use, and reduced dependency on automobiles.

Transit Development Revisited

In the last twenty years, the transit village concept has reemerged. Community developers and planners have become aware of the transportation, economic, environmental and social benefits that the principles of transit-oriented development can provide. Key elements for consideration in the design of modern transit villages include utilization of mass transit, efficiency in land-use, and reduced dependency on automobiles. A community design with a pedestrian-friendly landscape can be integrated in a mixed-use environment that provides jobs, residences, goods and services. Beyond the central "transit village," a larger development effort can also be incorporated to support the businesses and services in the region. Finally, the transit station can serve a civic function for the community, creating a farmers market, central plaza, or other space where the community can congregate.

Recent Examples

Planners have learned lessons from the implementation of transit village elements in communities in recent history. Through transit-oriented development, Arlington County, Virginia has experienced an economy of land use unknown in neighboring

counties. The ten percent of the county's land area in proximity to transit communities served by Washington's Metrorail System in Ballston, Rosslyn, Bethesda, Pentagon City, and Grosvernor generates fifty percent of the county's tax revenue. These transit-based communities, consisting of high-rise office, retail and residential towers, are of a greater size and scope than West Coast transit villages, but the concepts and benefits are the same (Seigel 1997).

Another city that is enjoying many of the benefits of transit-oriented development, combined with enforcement of urban growth boundaries, is Portland, Oregon (Siegel 1997). Since the 1970s, Portland's growth has been concentrated around light-rail lines in pedestrian-oriented neighborhoods and the downtown core. The success of Portland in freeing residents and visitors from auto dependence has earned it the title of "the most livable city in America" (Seigel 1997). The *Wall Street Journal* calls Portland "an urban mecca," so livable that planners from around the country come to study it (Seigel 1997).

San Francisco planners are also paying attention to the social, financial, and community benefits of transit villages and walkable communities, incorporating many transit-oriented development features into the new Mission Bay/ Third Street Corridor redevelopment in the Southern Embarcadero/China Basin/Mission Bay area. Some of these features include mixed-use commercial and residential development, the inclusion of affordable housing units, a mix of residential and light industrial zoning, and light rail extensions to serve the redeveloped areas. MUNI light rail currently connects the Embarcadero to the Mission Bay and China Basin, allowing access to rapid transit and ferry service to the East and North Bay. Ultimately, rail lines are planned to extend along the entire Third Street Corridor and connect to the Bayview/Hunter's Point and Visitacion Valley neighborhoods.

Fruitvale's incorporation of a transit village into its redevelopment plans takes the concept one step further. Although it is still in the early phases of construction, the project is one of the first in the country to bring the benefits of a transit village and walkable community to a low-income inner city area. As part of a larger community redevelopment, the Fruitvale Transit Village will serve as the center for the community, and is intended as a place that residents will recognize as their home and take pride in.

Fruitvale Gets Organized

By the 1960s, residents in Fruitvale concerned with crime, poor housing conditions, and lack of employment in the community began to organize. A result of this organizing was the formation in 1964 of a local community development corporation, the Unity Council. The mission of the Council is to "fight for the chance to enhance the quality of life for children and families of Fruitvale." The Council has led the struggle for social and economic justice for Latino and other minority groups in the community, and has become the major player in Fruitvale's revitalization.

In 1991, BART proposed the construction of a multi-tier parking structure at its Fruitvale station. The Unity Council protested the project because of concern that the vast, deserted structure would create and unsafe climate at night, and because the structure itself would create a physical barrier along Fruitvale's border that would further isolate a community already economically and socially marginalized. The Unity Council's protest efforts were successful in persuading BART that building the parking structure was a disservice to the community. However, the Council recognized the potential value of a large-scale redevelopment on the site, if planned appropriately with community benefit in mind. In 1993, they counter-proposed the idea of a transit village. BART was receptive to the proposal, and a community planning process was initiated to develop the components of the new plan (Community Profile Website).

The Fruitvale Transit Village

The transit village is the centerpiece of Unity Council's plan for neighborhood revitalization. It is to be located between 33rd and 35th Avenues, with East 12th Street on the east and the BART Station on the west. The transit village consists of two three-story buildings straddling a pedestrian plaza (currently 34th Ave). The buildings are mixed-use, with forty-seven residential units on the upper floors. The village will house a state-of-the-art health care facility (La Clinica de La Raza), a Head Start childcare center, and the new location for headquarters of the Unity Council. It will also house a new public li-

Construction on the Transit Village Site. Photo by the Author.

brary, senior center, a computer technology center and several community organizations. The pedestrian plaza will be designated for retail/commercial shops. Sidewalk cafés are planned as well. The plaza is designed to link daily transit users with Fruitvale's merchants and with businesses along International Boulevard. The village will become the cornerstone for the community's economic redevelopment.

Other Revitalization Plans: The Big Picture

Realizing that their neighborhood needed more than just the transit village to turn it around, the Unity Council formed partnerships to make other necessary improvements. They established partnerships with the City of Oakland, HUD, and U.C. Berkeley to help assist in establishing business, housing, and other needed services.

The plan for business was to improve the climate for both merchants and shoppers on the main commercial street, International Boulevard, which is located two blocks east of the BART station. The program utilized a four-point approach:

1. Enhance public safety and cleanliness of the Fruitvale business district for residents
2. Market the commercial district for Fruitvale residents
3. Encourage the improvement of the physical appearance of Fruitvale's business district
4. Strengthen and broaden the economic base of neighborhood commercial districts

The implementation of this program alone has lifted the spirits of the community, stimulating improved economics and instilling a sense of pride. A program to enhance building facades has also improved the aesthetics of 110 businesses along International Boulevard. Many of the facades accentuate a bright, festive, and ornate Latino style, which is appropriate for an area with a fifty-three percent Latino majority population. A Hope VI training program and the East Bay Conservation Corp performed the façade work. Additional improvements include "new" antique lamppost with community "hero" banners, ornate recycling receptacles and fresh coats of paint on the benches and bus shelters. Since the implementation of the Main Street Program, the business climate is noticeably better, according to Tom Limon, the Assistant Project Manager for Development (Limon 2002). International Boulevard's business vacancy rate has declined from fifty percent ten years ago to less than one percent today.

Another part of the Unity Council's plan to

Fruitvale Street Design. Photo by the Author.

address housing issues was the construction of a sixty-seven room affordable senior housing complex, located within a block of the proposed Transit Village site. Las Bougainvilleas, on 37th Avenue between International Boulevard and East 12th Street, not only provides housing but also serves as a senior center, a library, and a clinic for the neighborhood's current senior population. This project was completed in Spring 1998 and earned the Western Building Show's Gold Nugget Award as the Best Affordable Project. Additional Fruitvale senior projects include the one hundred-unit Posanda de Colores and Casa de Las Flores, a twenty-unit complex.

An additional piece the Unity Council is adding to the Fruitvale Redevelopment puzzle is meeting the community's need for recreational and open space. About a mile from the Transit village site, the Port of Oakland has dedicated approximately nine acres, located between the Oakland Estuary and the Embarcadero, for this purpose. The proposed park will help provide a much needed recreation area for this section of Oakland. Fruitvale has one of the highest concentrations of children, yet the least amount of parks and open space. The proposed Union Point Park will provide age-appropriate play areas, picnic and BBQ areas, and public restrooms. It will also have connector trails to the San Francisco Bay Trail. Currently, about seventy percent of funding for the park's construction has been secured (Community Profile Website).

The Council has also focused on rehabilitation of existing housing stock in the lower Fruitvale District (west of the BART station), a region that has a high percentage of distressed properties. The Council plans to purchase these properties for rehab and provide them as housing for lower income families. To aid families in the purchase of the homes, the Council conducts free monthly education workshops to improve the financial fitness of potential first-time homeowners in the region. In order to maintain the neighborhood's character, the council is focusing on rehabilitation of existing structures rather than new development. Fruitvale also has established a program to preserve and restore historically significant structures.

The community organizers are not only interested in Fruitvale's structural rebuilding, but also committed to improving residents' way of life and their opportunities for employment. The Unity Council provides leadership and community advocacy, social services and economic development. It has launched programs to improve employment skills, provide childcare, and senior and family services. To build community, the council sponsors a major event each year in November, the Dia de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) celebration. In 2001 over seventy thousand people attended the event, which was held as a street fair along International Boulevard.

The neighborhood is already enjoying the efforts to date: the community is active, business is doing well, and the area feels safe and exciting at the same time. Within a year or two, it could be the new "Mission District" of the Bay Area.

Fruitvale's transit village is in the early phases of construction and not expected to be completed until the end of 2004. After completion, it will be the focus of community activities. But what has resuscitated the community is the activism of the Unity Council and its efforts to generate significant community involvement. The council has confronted neighborhood problems head-on in a holistic way and addressed economic development, employment, housing, community building, discrimination issues, transportation and open space. Their efforts, culminating in the development of the transit village, are beginning to pay off— so much so that the Fannie Mae Foundation has earmarked Fruitvale as one of only ten in more than four-hundred urban markets they consider "Just Right" (Wyly 2000).

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Photo: Tom Miller

Breaking the Cycle of Poverty

Youth Empowerment and Community Revitalization Through the Arts

Cynthia Tawasha and Natalie Wasil

Extra-curricular art programs have been successful in changing the direction of poor children's lives: there is a positive relationship between impoverished children's participation in art programs and their likelihood of escaping the confines of poverty. The arts can be a vehicle for empowerment through personal development and community involvement. For instance, children can take part in arts education programs in community centers, where all community members can take part in classes and performances. Learning specific skills in this type of non-threatening environment and feeling free to express one's self builds confidence and deepens levels of self worth. Positive relationships forged in this environment make a tremendous difference in a child's life.

This article examines specific policies supporting arts programs, as well as case studies of programs that have been effective in breaking the poverty cycle through implementation of arts and youth empowerment programs. Although there are a plethora of existing programs, there is still great room for improvement, mainly in the area of policy related issues.

Problems with Current Arts Education Policy

Traditionally, policies directed towards impoverished areas are generated from an upper class that is out of touch with the realities and hardships of the under class. Poverty policy in the U.S. has lacked efficacy due to the disconnection between policy makers and those who the policies are intended for. While arts education has been demonstrated to build confidence and skills, resources given to arts education on a governmental and philanthropic level began to decline in the 1970s and 1980s. Funds were redirected mainly to programs dealing with "drugs, crime, unemployment and funding for entitlement programs" (Spearman 2000). At best, arts education funding and policy can be described as inconsistent.

Another problem with standard arts curriculum is that high school students are required to take art classes to graduate, yet sixty-five percent of colleges do not give weight to those classes when determining grade point averages (Hatfield 1999). Students who excel in the arts are then put at a disadvantage when applying for college entrance. Another problem is that most doctoral programs in art education do not require actual teaching experience with K-12 students. If teachers are limited in their practical experience, the likelihood of them effectively teaching at these levels is reduced.

Positive Policy

One positive investment in the provision of arts to youth is the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), which was created by congress in 1965 as an independent federal agency. It is the single largest funder of the non-profit sector in the US. The NEA provides $37 million a year to over seven thousand elementary through high school arts education projects in more than 2,600 communities. The NEA has an annual budget of $105 million, nearly half of which goes to state and regional arts agencies who in turn make grants and offer services to community-based arts organizations around the nation (NEA Website).

One NEA investment is a new program called Challenge America, which distributes $7 million annually for arts education and public outreach

activities. The NEA administers the funds with the aim of giving access to the arts to underserved communities. The funds focus on after-school programs and community arts development initiatives (NEA Website).

Successful Art Programs

What does art have to do with poverty? How can creating a painting, a sculpture, a theater or dance performance, or any other work of art possibly have any effect on one's chances of escaping poverty and improving one's overall quality of life? On the surface, the answer to these questions may not be self-evident. However, there are a number of programs across the U.S. that have chosen to explore this connection and the possibilities that exist in encouraging creativity and expression for poor and at-risk youth as a means of redirecting them toward a more positive and promising future, as well as improving their current quality of life.

A number of programs have chosen to explore the possibilities that exist in encouraging creativity and expression for poor and at-risk youth as a means of redirecting them toward a more positive and promising future.

There are a large number of programs currently in place across the United States. Although each of these programs has as its ultimate goal improving the lives and futures of youth in poor communities, the more precise focus which each chooses as means of achieving this vary.

One major focus of several of the programs is the reduction of juvenile delinquency. Because juvenile delinquency is common and incarceration rates are high among youth in poor and minority communities, it is vital to acknowledge the link between poverty and crime among youth, and the possibilities for involvement in the arts to mitigate these problems (Community Arts Net Website). According to research by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency, "students who participate in band, orchestra, chorus, or drama are significantly less likely than nonparticipants to drop out of school, be arrested, use drugs, or engage in binge drinking" (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Website).

One national evaluation conducted by YouthARTS Development Project focused on three programs attempting to decrease the rate of juvenile delinquency in their communities through the implementation of after school and summer arts programs. The three programs studied were: Art-at-Work, in Atlanta, Georgia; Youth Arts Public Art, in Portland, Oregon; and Urban SMARTS, in San Antonio, Texas. All three of the programs were aimed at youth between the ages of ten and sixteen, who had either been adjudicated in the juvenile justice system or were considered at-risk youth. All participants had been referred by probation officers or counselors, teachers, principals, or by the youths themselves. The programs ranged from twelve weeks to two years in length, and were designed to provide arts production, public exhibition, and vocational and entrepreneurial skills to youth. The programs sought to achieve several other goals as well, including the development of positive relationships with role models, increased self-esteem, self-discipline, cooperation skills, and increased prosocial behaviors. The main goal of the programs was to provide youth with a positive alternative to engaging in delinquent behaviors while teaching them not only to practical vocational skills, but also the skills necessary to advance and grow as individuals in society. According to the Community Arts Network, "the national evaluation of the YouthARTS Development Project has shown that providing youth with new skills, giving them opportunities to use these new skills, and offering them positive feedback and recognition for their hard work can potentially lead to healthier attitudes and positive behaviors" (Community Arts Net Website). This is the first step in improving the chances of youth for success and achievement in the future.

Another program focused on the reduction of juvenile crime and youth empowerment through the arts is the TeenStreet Theater, in Chicago, Illinois (Community Arts Net Website). TeenStreet is a gang prevention and jobs training program that provides an opportunity to youth to express themselves while educating the public about their situation and their community through performance art. TeenStreet is a theater production company that pays underprivileged youth to be involved in the

production and performance of pieces aimed at educating the public about issues of poor youth while teaching those involved the power of discipline, commitment, and cooperation, as well as job skills and potential future job opportunities. One unique feature of the TeenStreet program is that because it employs youth as actors, it is partially funded by the Mayor's Employment Training Program, which is federally funded through the Jobs Training Act of 1990 (Krasnow 1993). It also receives funding from private Chicago organizations and corporations.

Another focus of several programs is community revitalization through the arts. One extremely vibrant and inspiring example of this type of program is the Project Row Houses in Houston, Texas (Dewan 1995). Project Row Houses was developed by Rick Lowe as a means of bringing a positive alternative into the community of Third Ward, whose population was 90.8 percent African American residents, with fifty-one percent of children below the poverty line. Lowe decided that a fusion of political and social activism with the arts was key to improvement of the quality of life in Third Ward, particularly for young residents. Project Row Houses is a row of twenty-two previously abandoned and decrepit houses purchased by Lowe with funding from local philanthropists, and revitalized with the help of volunteers including friends, community members, and anyone interested in being involved in the project. Among the programs offered at Project Row Houses are a gallery and classroom, a Spoken Word house, childcare and guidance for teen mothers, summer camps and workshops, an after-school arts program, and a youth-conflict resolution program. Currently, PRH is in the process of developing a program to join teenage mothers with "mentor" families in homes purchased by Chevron USA. PRH is a program designed to create an "organic integration of arts and culture with critical social services" as a means of "historic preservation and urban revitalization" (Dewan 1995).

Another program is Destiny Arts Center, an Oakland based multi-cultural community center whose goal is to promote social activism and nonviolence in kids ranging from three to eighteen years of age. These goals are accomplished through the provision of affordable programs teaching dance, martial arts, and youth leadership. Destiny Arts serves over two hundred young people on-site with programs in youth leadership, dance, performance theater, and martial arts, and over one hundred in outreach programs at schools and housing projects.

Some specific impressive programs of Destiny Arts include the Youth Performance Company and the Youth Leadership Program. The Youth Performance Company is a multicultural group of teenagers who combine dance, martial arts, spoken word, song and rap in performances that address relevant issues in teenagers lives today. The Youth Leadership Program trains teens to be teachers, organizers and mentors bringing about positive changes in their communities. The youth who participate in the Youth Leadership Program are subsequently hired to teach workshops in local schools and community centers (Destiny Arts Website).

Although the focus of these programs varies, they all hold one core idea in common: empowerment of youth will inevitably lead to positive direction in their evolution and growth in life and community. This in turn will help them to break free of the cycles of poverty that, without offered alternatives, will continue to keep them bound. Art is a way to free the heart and mind, and from there the rest will follow.

Conclusions

Inconsistent arts education policies, coupled with an underlying disregard for the arts in the national consciousness, are major stumbling blocks in the path of grassroots efforts to implement arts-based youth empowerment and community enrichment efforts. There must be a shift in the way policymakers regard the arts and its effective role in aiding the plight of impoverished youth. Policymakers should take into account the proven effectiveness of these programs in underserved communities. The purpose of poverty policy should be to aid impoverished individuals in improving their quality of life, by any possible means. The above-described programs have proven to be invaluable stepping-stones in a young person's personal and social development. Although arts programs are not the only solution, they have proven to merit strong public policy support. For some, these programs may be the first opportunity to explore and positively express their creative and productive abilities. Once a person realizes the powers within through the creation of art, it is only a matter of time before that power can be actualized in the scope of daily life.

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Closing the Gap

The Making Waves Education Program and the Importance of Parental Involvement in Education

Matt Reamer

Most public policy attempts to remedy the effects of poverty, instead of solving the problem of poverty itself. Although there are public policy efforts that are important and can be effective, programs such as welfare and affirmative action address poverty at too late a point in people's lives, and the social, economic, and political forces that serve to perpetuate poverty have already taken their toll. In order to properly address poverty, it is important to invest in programs directed at the causes of poverty, rather than the fully realized effects of poverty. It is crucial that measures taken to improve the situation of the poor and decrease poverty as a whole take place further "upstream," meaning they must reach individuals at earlier stages in their lives. The most effective, and perhaps only, avenue for this is through education.

There is little debate as to whether or not there is a direct relationship between education and income. It is widely verified by research that higher educational attainment leads to higher income: with male high school dropouts earning a yearly average of $19,223, high school graduates earning $29,018, and college graduates earning an average of $63,529 (Schiller 2001). Given the fact that nearly one out of four adults without a high school diploma is in poverty, it is clear that the role of education is crucial in determining who will and will not be poor.

Unfortunately, the educational process in the United States is not occurring on a level playing field. Disparities in the quality of schooling for children of varying levels of family income are undeniable. Numerous studies show that low-income, and particularly minority children, are subject to a vastly lower standard of education due to less qualified teachers, poor facilities and equipment, and higher student-to-teacher ratios (Schiller 2001).

In addition to substandard schooling, children in low-income families are often forced to contend with many other issues that hinder their academic success. These other problems include: having to work in order to help support their families, having parents who are the product of a failing education system and thus place little faith and value in it, unstable home life, and poor nutrition.

In an effort to combat the disparities of the current educational system, numerous programs have been developed to supplement the education offered to children in public schools, and to give them the encouragement and tools they need to succeed. Many of these programs are focused on helping low-income students get into, and be successful in, college. The hope of such programs is that, with the benefit of a quality education, students will be empowered and better equipped to make a positive contribution to the communities that they live in.

Making Waves

One such program is the Making Waves Education Program (MWEP). Created in 1989 by John H. Scully (an investment banker), the Reverend H. Eugene Farlough Jr. (a Richmond, CA minister), and Shirley Millender-Williams (a social change advocate/volunteer), MWEP is based in Richmond, California and has recently expanded to San Francisco (Shakir 2001).

MWEP participants, known as Wave-Makers, are recruited when they are in fifth grade and are required to continue with the program until they graduate from high school. The Making Waves recruiting process is as follows. MWEP sends fifteen

applications to the twenty Title I elementary schools in the Richmond Unified School District. Schools that qualify for Title I funding are those in which there is a large population of either students of color, students for whom English is a second language, and/or students who receive free or reduced price lunches. The applications are distributed to fourth grade teachers, who then determine which students will be able to apply. Teachers are encouraged to choose students who have above average attendance, show an interest in learning, and who they think have the potential to succeed in a rigorous and demanding program. Finally, the students and their families are interviewed by MWEP staff, who choose which students will participate in the program.

Participation in the program requires an enormous amount of commitment from the students. During their elementary and middle school years, Wave-Makers are required to attend Making Waves tutoring sessions three days a week (Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday), with an extra day (Friday) for students who are in need of additional help. A student required to attend all four days, plus an additional day (Thursday) to make up missing work, may spend upwards of ten hours at Making Waves in a single week.

During tutoring sessions, elementary and middle school Wave-Makers are divided into groups of about five and receive help on their homework from tutors, most of whom are college students. One-on-one tutoring is available on Fridays and is required of students who have D's or F's on their report cards. In addition to assistance on work they receive from their schools, Wave-Makers are also taught a supplemental curriculum designed by MWEP, which includes reading, math, and SAT vocabulary. When they reach high school, one-on-one tutoring and coaching is made available to Wave-Makers six days a week, throughout the year.

In addition to basic tutoring services, MWEP also offers mandatory summer academies, intense SAT preparation, educational and cultural field trips, and supplies meals/snacks during tutoring sessions, as well as roundtrip transportation to and from the program site. Wave-Makers who are interested in attending private and parochial high schools receive test and application support, as well as financial assistance in the event that they are accepted and enroll in such schools. MWEP also offers several non-academic services for Wave-Makers and their families, including legal counseling and representation for assistance with court system matters and in-house psychological counseling services (Shakir 2001).

One would imagine that it would be quite a formidable task to find a group of grade school students that are so dedicated to their education that they would take on a commitment that essentially amounts to a part time job (in terms of hours) in addition to their daily schooling. At MWEP, there is an extraordinary incentive offered to those students who fulfill this enormous commitment—payment of tuition expenses for the college or university selected by the student. This also includes expenses incurred for books, materials, housing, and transportation to out of state schools (Shakir 2001).

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The First Wave

Thus far, MWEP has had one graduating class (The First Wave), who received their diplomas in 1996. Early in the program's history, MWEP staggered its classes due to its limited capacity. The First Wave was recruited in 1989 and functioned as an experimental group, helping to shape the structure of the program and determine its effectiveness. It was not until 1995 that the Second Wave was recruited. The Third through Sixth Waves were recruited every year from 1997 to 2000, and the Seventh Wave is currently being recruited. MWEP skipped Seventh Wave recruitment in 2001, so that more resources could be focused on establishing MWEP's San Francisco office, which opened this year.

MWEP initially got off to a rocky start, and the First Wave had to endure many radical changes in the program's structure, which, combined with little or no parent "buy-in," led to a relatively high turnover rate of students during the program's early years. Eighty-five students were recruited into the First Wave at four different points in time, due to the rate at which students were leaving the program (Shakir 2001). Dr. Francine Olivia Shakir, Director of Program Operations at MWEP, describes parent "buy-in" as "[partly] understanding the philosophy of the program and why we do the work that we do, and also being a part of the day-to-day work that we do here at Making Waves."

Despite these difficulties, the First Wave graduated with thirty-one students in 1996 (only eight of whom were from the fifty original students recruited in 1989). Twenty-nine First Wavers went on to colleges and universities across the country. As of January 2001, twenty-seven of the twenty-nine enrollees were actively pursuing their undergraduate degrees. Four of them graduated that spring, one each from Morehouse College, UCLA, U.C. Berkeley, and University of Miami. Two of these four graduated with honors and entered graduate programs in the fall of 2001 (Shakir 2001).

The Importance of Parental Involvement

Dr. Shakir is not alone in recognizing the crucial role that parental involvement plays in the education of a child. The experience of many Making Waves tutors, as well as that of other educators who work in low-income communities, indicate that parent participation is a key element of education that is severely lacking in such communities. Numerous studies, as well as direct observations of the Making Waves program in action, indicate a direct correlation between the level of parent participation and a student's commitment and achievement.

Researchers and educators are in agreement about a number of barriers to parent involvement. Some of these barriers are: parents feeling they have nothing to contribute, parents not understanding the system and how to be involved in it, lack of child care, language and cultural differences, and most importantly, lack of time.

In 1992, the National Parent Teacher Association (PTA) sent a survey to its twenty-seven thousand local and unit presidents and three thousand council leaders, asking them what barriers they faced when they tried to get parents involved. Eighty-nine percent of the respondents reported parents citing time as a reason for their lack of involvement

MWEP students on a visit to San Jose State University. Photo by the Author.

(National PTA 1992). This is particularly relevant in low-income communities, where many households are headed either by a single parent, or by parents with very limited job flexibility with which to accommodate greater participation in their children's education.

Another study, conducted by S. Jody Heymann and Alison Earle of the Harvard School of Public Health, examined the working conditions of mothers both above and below the poverty line, as well as tests that were designed to gauge the behavior problems, reading, and math skills of their children. In analyzing the working situations of mothers of children that placed the lowest quartile for reading, the researchers found that forty percent of the mothers above the poverty line had no sick leave, while sixty-seven percent of the mothers below the poverty line had no sick leave. Even more striking were the results for the families below the poverty line who had a child in the highest quartile of the Behavior Problems Index. Seventy-one percent of these mothers had no paid sick leave, as opposed to thirty-six percent of mothers who were above the poverty line. Forty-six percent had no paid vacation, and sixty-seven percent could not leave their job sites (Bracey 2001).

Increasing Participation

Recognizing the importance of parental involvement, MWEP implemented a mandatory volunteer requirement in the fall of 2001 for parents that requires them to volunteer at least twenty hours of their time to the program each school year in order for their children to remain in the program. This is in addition to a requirement that parents attend at least two conferences per school year. There are a variety of ways in which parents can fulfill their volunteer requirements. Some of these opportunities are helping with events and activities, attending performances of Wave-Makers, and attending workshops and seminars that are offered by MWEP. Many of the workshops are directly beneficial to parents, as well as their children, and include computer literacy, money management, youth and gang violence, how to deal with teenagers, and understanding standardized tests.

In addition to the volunteer requirement, a formal parent group, known as Tsunami, was formed in the 1999-2000 school year to increase parents' involvement in their children's learning process. Tsunami consists of a core group of approximately nine parents of students of all grade levels, who meet with the program director twice monthly to discuss and implement programs and services aimed at addressing parent needs and concerns (Shakir 2001).

Although these changes were made relatively recently, their results are already beginning to be seen. Dr. Shakir has noticed that, "the number of behavioral meetings that have been set have declined significantly... We want to attribute some of that to the work that the parents have been doing." She has also noticed an effect on the enthusiasm and interest of the parents themselves and said, "I certainly think it's making a difference for the parents, because the feedback I'm getting from the parents is that the program is doing great work for their children. They're supporting the program. They're interested in meeting other parents and talking about problems that they're having raising their children. They're using us as a resource for getting information for furthering their (own) education, getting good health care, things like that. We've become a resource to the parents beyond educating their children."

The findings of this research suggest two very important needs. The first is the need for increased parent involvement in schools within low-income communities. It is the responsibility of the schools and the educational programs to reach out to the parents, create opportunities for them to participate, make them feel comfortable, show them how much their support is needed, and to accommodate their lifestyles.

The Southwest Educational Development Laboratory examined parent involvement programs from 1986 to 1989 and developed a list of seven elements common to successful parent involvement programs. The following is what they came up with (Williams 1989):

- Written Policies - The programs had written policies that showed parent involvement was viewed as an important component.
- Administrative Support - Administrative support was provided in at least three ways: funds were made available in the district office budget; materials, space and equipment were available; people were designated to carry out the

programs.

- Training - Promising programs made ongoing training available for staff as well as parents.
- Partnership Approach - There was joint planning, goal setting, and so on. Both parents and staff developed a sense of ownership.
- Two-Way Communication - Communication between home and school occurred on a regular basis. Parents felt comfortable coming to school, sharing ideas, and voicing concerns.
- Networking - Promising programs networked with other programs to share information and resources.
- Evaluation - Regular evaluation activities were included at key stages as well as at the conclusion of a phase or cycle.

Just as the barriers keeping parents from participating are many, so are the ways that they can be overcome. Most suggestions lean toward accommodating parents' schedules and talking personally with them about their reservations or whatever it may be that keeps them from participating. John Medlock, a MWEP parent and member of the Tsunami parent group, suggests finding out what skills parents have and "playing to those skills," so that parents of all levels of academic attainment can make a worthwhile contribution. He also stresses that it is the responsibility of parents to make children aware that "education is a lifelong process," and that it is important for children to see their parents pick up a book, rather than "just coming home and turning on the TV."

The second need suggested by this research is for more programs like Making Waves. Such programs exist all over the country; however, their capacity is limited to a small number of students. As effective as pre-college programs are, or have the potential to be, they really have to reach more people. Currently, these programs are working alongside a public school system that, according to Medlock, "has been failing people of color for a long time." If the school system is not going to change, compensatory programs need to become the system. No disadvantaged student should be without access to such opportunities. A shift like this would require unprecedented spending in order to start up and train people to operate in this new area of education. Were this to occur, the unprecedented spending would be met with unprecedented levels of achievement by low-income and minority students. Making Waves is just one example of this. Given the opportunity to achieve, disadvantaged students will acquire knowledge and skills that will enable them to give back to their communities and truly begin to close the gap between the haves and the have-nots.

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Race, Space, and Equity

An Interview with Angela Glover Blackwell

Angela Glover Blackwell is a nationally recognized voice on issues of racial and social equity. She is the founder and President of PolicyLink, a national nonprofit advocacy, research, communications and capacity-building organization devoted to advancing policies that achieve social and economic equity and build strong, organized communities. Prior to heading PolicyLink, Ms. Blackwell served as senior vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation, where she oversaw the Foundation's Domestic and Cultural divisions. She first gained national recognition as the founder of Oakland, California's Urban Strategies Council, where she pioneered new approaches to neighborhood revitalization. Ms Blackwell has also been a partner with Public Advocates, a nationally known public interest law firm, and has served on the boards of the Urban Institute, the James Irvine Foundation, the Foundation for Child Development, the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, Public/Private Ventures, and Common Cause. Currently, she sits on the boards of the Children's Defense Fund, Levi Strauss and Co., the Corporation for Enterprise Development, and on the Advisory Board of the Brookings Institute's Center for Urban and Metropolitan Policy. In addition, she was one of the founders of the National Community Building Network.

Ms. Blackwell is also the author of a new book, Searching for the Uncommon Common Ground: New Dimensions on Race in America, (Norton, 2002) written with Manuel Pastor and Stewart Kwoh, that broadens the parameters of the racial discussion beyond black and white.

Urban Action editors William Gibson and Noel Bouche spoke with Ms. Blackwell about smart growth, regional equity, and the role of race and class in development patterns.

Urban Action: *There is widespread recognition of the negative effects of sprawl, and many organizations are working on "smart growth," particularly in terms of environmental protection and regional growth controls. You've argued that equity is not being integrated enough into smart growth efforts—what is your conception of what smart growth should be, and why is equity such a key component?*

Angela Glover Blackwell: I actually have been very excited for many years about the fact that there seems to be a budding movement afoot in this country to rethink our development patterns and to reverse this tendency to sprawl. The reason that I was excited about it is that it's always been obvious to me, since I grew up in St. Louis, Missouri, which I think is just a classic example of the urban area emptying out, that the problems of inequity for people of color, particularly African-Americans—but certainly not exclusively—have been very much impacted, if not driven, by our development patterns since the 1950s.

Prior to the 1950s, inequity was driven by laws that actually prevented African-Americans from being able to take advantage of opportunities, so the inequity had been part of the legal system, as well as a result of a lot of hostility, prejudice, and racism that was aimed at black people: people didn't have access to education, because public education wasn't funded, people didn't invest in the schools, and there were certainly no opportunities to go to integrated schools, where you might have had access to more resources; people didn't have access to the communities where they might have chosen to live, because of work opportunities or parks or any of the things that people want, because black people were confined by law to certain areas of the city, or the region; access to higher education and jobs were equally limited through the law and through prejudice. But then in the '50s and '60s when we began to get rid of the legal barriers through civil rights legislation and the civil rights movement, and when people began to change some of their overtly racist attitudes and actions, we then substituted develop-

ment for achieving the same result.

Growing up in St Louis, I lived in a neighborhood that was all black, although we were the second family in the neighborhood that was black. It was one of those neighborhoods that had been a very nice working class neighborhood, beautiful brick houses with stained glass windows and nice backyards, but not huge houses. They were three to four bedroom houses, but they had plenty of room—they were lovely areas, and they had been white working class neighborhoods. As black people started to move into those neighborhoods, all the white people moved out. Over a short period of time—I'd say it took about a couple of years, no more than three—the area we lived was quite a lovely area, but as this movement to the suburbs continued, the area went down. The grocery stores, and the drugstores and the other amenities began to move out, the schools lost some of the really wonderful teachers that they had had as they began to move to other parts of the city, they were assigned to other parts of the city, and in general, the neighborhood just went down.

So it was so obvious to me that the suburbanization of America turned out to be a way to avoid integration, to avoid a fair sharing of resources and opportunities. Entry level jobs developed in the suburbs, transportation investment, open space investment, affordable housing that allowed people to be able to build equity in their home, housing that was affordable in the beginning but increased in value rapidly, therefore allowing people to build up equity; all of those issues exacerbated and continued inequity in America, [at a point] when there [might have been] an opportunity to do something about it.

So I was thrilled when the conversation opened up that maybe sprawl isn't a good idea, that perhaps the bloom is starting to be off that rose, because I thought: here's the first chance I've seen to have all of the elements on the table for discussion, and that seemed really valuable. The sad thing has been that as the smart growth movement has emerged, it's been much more about the environment, much more about preserving open space, much more about how to think about economic efficiency, without fully understanding that to have real economic efficiency, everybody has to be tapped. The conversation around the environment and the economy and quality of life has really dominated the smart growth discussion, and this issue of equity that I thought would be front and center has not been. The rhetoric is there, but it's not the opener of the conversation, and when you bring it in, after a polite nod, people move on. So we have been challenged—although we have not been daunted—about how to be able to put equity front and center, because we don't think that the goals of smart growth can be achieved without achieving the goals of equity, and I also have not seen another opportunity to have more of a mainstream discussion about equity and inclusion than the opportunity offered by smart growth.

UA: *Why is it so important to work at the regional level; why is this the appropriate scale for action?*

AGB: I think the region has become the appropriate scale because of the impact of sprawl and suburbanization that we're *not* going to reverse. I think it is possible to be able to stop this endless sprawl, but people are not going to leave the suburban communities that they now live in. We'll continue to see a little building out, even if smart growth were absolutely successful. The reality is that in this country we now live in regions that have become the focal point for economic and political activity and power. As you know, Clinton was the first president elected by the suburban vote, and that's going to be the reality of the future: the suburbs are going to dominate the national elections, they're going to have a lot to do with how development decisions get made, and therefore people who are concerned about equity need to think of the region as their oyster, not just the low-income community where they happen to live and operate, or just the city which happens to be their geographic boundary, perhaps, in multiple ways.

The reason is that a lot of the transportation investments that are being made are going to be made with regional consideration. We need to make sure that urban areas and low-income communities within urban areas get into that discussion and talk about how they want to relate to the region: do we want to have transit stops, do we want to think about moving people to job opportunities in suburban areas? So that we don't allow this conversation about transportation investment to happen with just subur-

ban people and a few city interests involved. People in low-income communities that have been disinvested communities need to think: "this is our discussion, this is our opportunity—how do we get in it?" So that when we think about all of this "beggar thy neighbor, beggar thyself" that's been going on with metropolitan areas all trying to get the next big box retail, we need to say, if we're going to start giving away public resources to attract investment, how do we ask who benefits from this public investment, and how do we ask that question and *only* allow ourselves to be satisfied with an answer that says: everyone, including low income communities and the residents who live there. So that as the regional discussion is going on about how we are going to use our public dollars to be able to fight with another area, we need to get, as equity advocates, right in the middle of the discussion. And I don't care where it's at: so Emeryville is getting all the big box retail, and Oakland's not getting any—but Emeryville is right there next to Oakland; how do we begin to have a conversation that asks, how do Oakland residents benefit from that?

People who are concerned about equity need to think of the region as their oyster, not just the low-income community where they happen to live and operate, or just the city which happens to be their geographic boundary.

I think AB 680, the recent legislation that's moved through in Sacramento, as it's created a model of tax-sharing in the Sacramento region, is an example of that. How do we say that there is no fairness in allowing one area to get all the tax-benefits from having a retail establishment there, when the truth of the matter is that people from the entire region are shopping there—why shouldn't the entire region benefit? And we're going to have an experiment in the Sacramento area that gets at that. It's for these reasons that I think only the region makes sense in terms of trying to achieve the equity goals. Why limit ourselves to what's available in a low-income community? You can't achieve equity just working there: everything ought to come into play, and equity advocates need to figure out how to get at all those tables and raise all these issues so that this becomes commonplace.

UA: *To what extent have you seen local community stakeholders successfully participate in regional campaigns—have there been successes in this?*

AGB: One of the things that we have been promoting is the idea of community-based regionalism, led by community-based regionalists. And when we use those terms, we're talking about people trying to achieve equity within a regional context. There are not a lot of groups that actually fit that label, and I think the reasons are apparent: the people who have been working for equity have not seen the region as a welcoming place, and the opportunities to be able to have an impact there aren't readily apparent. I mean, you really have to dig a little bit to say, I don't care whether they want me or not at the transportation commission meeting, I'm going to be there—and to be able to come in with the kind of cogent argument and data and strategies that are going to catch people's attention.

I think it's up to foundations to invest in building that capacity: to understand that those groups that have been for equity, whether it's in education, or community economic development, or childcare, or just community opportunities really ought to be going to convenings, ought to be getting access to the kind of data and analysis that allows us to be able to understand these issues. Foundations ought to be helping to develop regional anchors; organizations that I think of as community-building intermediaries, that can gather the data, that can interpret the data, that can do reconnaissance around what's happening in other parts of the country and bring that into their local communities, can host convenings, can do policy analysis and advocacy about getting things in place and building broad collaborations for change. I think that unless communities have that kind of capacity, it's very hard to get into any new area, let alone this area of regionalism.

Usually it's the groups that have the freedom to move to opportunity that help to open up new conversa-

tions. I think with so much of foundation money going into services, into silos, we have fewer groups that have that freedom to move to opportunity, and it's really up to foundations that are beginning to fund smart growth and regionalism to pay special attention to investing in the capacity of low income communities of color to be in that conversation with the skill and the expertise that's required for staying power, and to become a change agent.

UA: *Do you see regions or states that are promoting innovative policy around equitable development from the top down, from the governmental level?*

AGB: There are lots of small examples around; there are not a lot of big ones. People point to Portland, always; the things that are happening in Portland have been very exciting because they have taken smart growth seriously, and they have also taken seriously the notion of full inclusion—so I think that Portland has some good examples of how to utilize resources and how to make decisions that pay attention to linkages, and making sure that transportation works in terms of getting people to jobs, and trying to preserve low-income housing so you're promoting mixed-income neighborhoods. So I think Portland is probably the best big example.

But there are lots of examples; the small one that I just gave in Sacramento is another. But I have to admit, because I was just at a meeting earlier this week of the Funder's Network for Smart Growth & Livable Communities, and I was saying to them in response to a question about why there aren't more people of color in the smart growth movement, that the smart growth movement is not yet a hot movement. Although it might seem hot, to people who are engaged in it, I know, because when I talk to colleagues and friends, all of who are pretty savvy, the term "smart growth" doesn't immediately click with them. I am prepared to almost always have to explain what it means. Which says to me this is not on everybody's tongue, and even though there's lots of stuff in the newspaper about it, it's not so visible that people are paying attention to it. It's not a hot movement. Therefore, why would people of color, who have multiple issues that need to be addressed, be attracted to try to address their issues through a movement that is marginal? They're marginalized, their issues are marginalized, and here's a movement that's still marginalized.

Until we get to a point where the smart growth movement is really hot, I don't think that we're going to see a lot of examples of the type you're asking about. It's a chicken and egg: how do you build a movement when people aren't yet talking about it, and how do you get people talking about it when it's not yet a movement? I think we're doing it right: we're building it day by day, piece by piece, talking about it more and more, doing focus groups to try to find out how to talk about it. But we don't really have a lot of huge examples, although I think years from now—maybe five—we will, because I do think that the smart growth movement may not be hot as a movement, but the pieces of it are. The transportation pieces are really growing, and we're going to hear a lot about transportation over the course of the coming months as T3 [*the 2003 reauthorization of TEA-21, the federal Transportation Equity Act*] gets debated. The whole notion of land use is getting more attention. So the elements that make up smart growth are moving; I think it's up to the people who are proponents of it to always reinforce that this adds up to something.

One last piece I want to say about that is that while we are building this movement we have to constantly ask, "What makes for a movement?" I'm hard put to identify movements within my lifetime that haven't had a moral core. I don't think planning language attracts people as a movement—and therefore I think, all the more, the equity agenda is so crucial. I think if the equity agenda gets front and center in smart growth it gives it the moral core that it has lacked, and that's another reason to put the two together.

UA: *In terms of the components of smart growth and the ones that are being highlighted, how much traction do gentrification and displacement have as issues?*

AGB: When you talk about the components of smart growth I do think that there are basically three: the environmental concerns, economic efficiency, and equity. In the environment there's a lot of concern about open space: damaging open space through toxins, pollutants, but also eating up open space just through sprawl—the notion of preserving open space, but also of building more open space through parks and all of that. The economic issues often have

to do with understanding the various sectors, and being able to think about how to attract development in ways that really take advantage of whatever that region is known for, making sure that you have a prepared workforce—so the focus on education is part of the economic focus. But both of those are also part of the equity focus. But when people talk about equity, they worry that some of the return to the built community threatens the capacity of low-income people of color to be able to stay in those communities as they improve. So it's the equity advocates who put gentrification on the table. I don't think that smart growth, absent equity advocates—that term doesn't enter into it. Because what people are actually talking about is, how do we encourage greater density? How do we encourage people to focus on the built community, and how do we make that attractive? And I've been in lots of conversations where people involved in smart growth are thinking about that and not thinking about, how do we make sure that the low-income people who've been there all along are able to benefit from these improvements? We found, as we tried to get new voices into this discussion, that they kept bringing up displacement associated with gentrification. So PolicyLink has taken that on as a way to frame regionalism in a way that responds to the concerns of low-income communities.

While we are building this movement we have to constantly ask, "What makes for a movement?" I'm hard put to identify movements within my lifetime that haven't had a moral core. I don't think planning language attracts people as a movement—and therefore I think, all the more, the equity agenda is so crucial.

Equitable development—avoiding displacement in the development process, and figuring out ways both to invite and attract investment in traditionally disinvested communities, and doing it in a way that will not lead to displacement—I think opens up a door—not just a window, but a door—for a lot of people to come into this discussion, and once they come into this discussion I think issues of open space, issues of transportation and all these other things will naturally flow. I actually think that one of the things that we're doing now, which is developing the Equitable Development Action Forum, which is an actual network of groups that are concerned about equitable development, will offer an opportunity to create a parallel track to smart growth, peopled mostly with those who are concerned about equity and inclusion. And as it begins to then identify the other issues, it will be a way to bring more strength from the equity community into the smart growth community. Because when we enter it, even as people are happy to see new faces, the issues are on the side; it's not front and center. But as we put it front and center with the Equitable Development Action Forum, I think that we can join the smart growth advocates as peers, so that we begin to have constituency associated with the equity component which is independent of the others but will connect to all of them.

UA: *A lot of this discussion is predicated to some extent on problems that are occurring in a booming economy. How does that change when we go into a recession and people may feel that these issues may not have the same import any longer? Across the board, how does this affect these types of initiatives?*

AGB: We've been talking about that a lot at PolicyLink, just because we were struggling with how to talk about equitable development in a changing economic climate, and we quickly realized that with a lot of the strategies that we have been talking about that were in response to the threat of displacement in a booming economy that was starting to focus on the built community—that while we were being very good at framing these issues, it was very hard to get traction, because if the community is starting to go well down the road of gentrification, it is hard to get that horse back in the barn. The slowdown offered an opportunity to be able to actually get some strategies that had to do with housing trust funds, and community land trusts, and inclusionary zoning, those things that are hard to do when property is the hottest item around. When people are less interested, you can begin to implement these strategies, and get secure for when the boom comes back, so that there's a little more stability there. So we

actually thought that it offered great opportunities in those areas that had started to gentrify and [where] it was [now] lessening.

In those areas where you've always been struggling for investment, of course it's even harder in bad times to be able to focus there, but we actually think that before things turn around—and we thought that they would turn around fairly quickly, although I'm not buying that it's turned around already—I think it's very good to start getting those strategies started in low-income communities and start thinking about how to market those communities and market them in ways consistent with the results that we seek. For the overall smart growth movement I think that the turn in the economy offered an opportunity for people to be more thoughtful, because people were just running wild chasing opportunity, and now I think that as things have slowed down, and regions have had to ask, "How do we remain competitive as a region?" it offers opportunities to open up the discussion to some of the things that I was talking about.

So I haven't felt that the economic slowdown has been bad for the issues that we've been talking about, but I think that the economic slowdown has been particularly bad for low-income people who were made vulnerable by the welfare reform. I mean, we took away the safety net, and then sure enough, we needed it. Big surprise, right? We need it, and I am very worried about people who are now dangling out there. Very worried.

UA: *PolicyLink has written about the need for institutions to connect community-building actors across lines of "race, geography, class, and issues." What are examples of this kind of institutional framework, and where are they in place?*

AGB: I have for a long time been an advocate for the need for community-building intermediaries. When I worked at the Urban Strategies Council, I thought that was and remains a classic example of a community-building intermediary. What you have is an organization working in partnership with all segments of the community, that does not have responsibility for delivering services, and is not viewed as a community organizing entity, nor as a classic civil rights advocacy group. What you have is an institution that is committed to bringing the information, the ideas, the policy work, and the advocacy that relates to getting those things in place. If you think about it, that's an unusual entity. Most groups in communities are either community organizing groups, classic civil rights advocacy groups like the NAACP, or service providers, whether it's prenatal care, early childhood, after school programs, or youth development programs. I think it is really essential, when you want to develop authentic responses to the complexity of the lives of low-income people, to have organizations that don't have a vested interest in any particular strategy. One of the problems with service providers is that when they're thrust into an advocacy position, they're always advocates for the particular service they provide—and why wouldn't they be? But we need to have more independence of advocacy.

I think it is really essential, when you want to develop authentic responses to the complexity of the lives of low-income people, to have organizations that don't have a vested interest in any particular strategy.

Having a local community-building intermediary allows you to have a group that gathers data about poverty, so that they can paint a picture of what are the challenges, that does reconnaissance around what works or ought to work, and brings that back, and doesn't say, "This is only about teenage pregnancy," it's about how all these things intertwine, one with the other; a group that is comfortable analyzing data, putting out data, and can build broad collaborations because nobody feels particularly threatened by the group, so you can bring in the business community, the civic community, all of the service providing community, the organizers, and pull them all together so they can learn from the data, from the reconnaissance, and from the analysis, and then to be able to stay with the community as an advocate to make sure that practice actually is implemented consistent with policy and data and what everybody says. I don't think that you can effectively have community-building strategies without somebody playing the role of the community-building intermediary.

When I was at the Urban Strategies Council we were constantly having change in terms of superintendents, heads of social service, people who were running some of the big community-based organizations, and one of the things we did, whenever there was a turnover, we took them to lunch, or we went over and sat at their office and said, "Let me tell you about the wonderful community you have entered, and what we've got going on, and what you might be able to do with it." And that sort of pulling people in was able to maintain some consistency. I think the same holds true for equity at the regional level: we need to have similar organizations—maybe we can think of them as regional equity anchors, R.E.A.—to be able to make sure that that kind of work that holds the collaboration together, analyzes and brings information, is always operating.

UA: *You've made the case very clearly that an appropriate frame of analysis for issues of sprawl and regional equity is a race-based analysis. Another component of the analysis is a class-based analysis—is it key to bring working class and labor movements into regional equity movements?*

AGB: I definitely think that the issues are race, class, and ethnicity together. I don't think that class, absent race and ethnicity, works. Because I have always been stuck by the fact that, in urban America at least, if you are white and poor, you have many more opportunities for the next generation than if you are Latino or black and poor. Just in the Bay Area, in Oakland for example, the numbers of white people living in communities of concentrated poverty are really small. What is interesting, though—we did a project when I was at the Urban Strategies Council, when we looked at how the school districts, and multiple social service and health care and criminal justice agencies were all serving the same children and families, one of the things we noticed was that if you looked at the Latino, black, and white population, and their use of emergency services or preventable services, that white people living in concentrated poverty were more likely to be known by emergency services than Latino, Asian, or black. That might be a surprising statistic; I actually was not surprised by it because I thought that if you were white and living in an area of concentrated poverty, you had a lot of negative things going on in that family, because that was unusual. Because if you were white in the Bay Area, there's no reason for you to be living in an area of concentrated poverty, because you can go live in an in-law apartment in Walnut Creek, you could be out in all kinds of places. So it didn't surprise me that those few white families that do live in areas of concentrated poverty have multiple issues going on in their lives. If you are white, you can get in a neighborhood that has a really good school; if you're black and very poor, if you're a Latino, recent immigrant and very poor, you're not likely to have that same access. Therefore, I'm not sure that the class analysis alone works, but when you put class and race and ethnicity together, I think you've got the analysis.

When you think about that, that doesn't exclude labor, because labor, particularly when you think about service industry, hotel, hospital workers, these are people of color. And a lot of women too. So we have been having a lot of conversations with labor about why this ought to be their issue. As labor begins to understand that they're not going to have the power that they need just based on their membership, if they begin to align with community issues, so the community becomes their constituency, not just their direct membership, they need to think about ways to be able to engage. And I do believe that this is a good issue, and I was very pleased to see that just in the past month the AFL-CIO has come out with a statement saying that the whole issue of smart growth and regionalism is one that they're going to make a priority. So it's moving in the right direction.

I want to say one more thing about working class. We've got a changing nature of working class because of immigration. And what is so interesting about immigration is that recent immigrants come into the communities that have been traditionally African American communities, so that the legacy of racism is the first thing that recent immigrants meet when they come into this country. So we have to begin to think about how to deal with that if we want the immigration experience not to continue the negative experience that black people have been having in this country all along. Because the schools Latino children are going to are the schools that are not good, because of the legacy of racism; the dilapidated housing is not good, because of the legacy of racism. So the way that this country is introducing new immigrants represents the inability of this country to come to grips with equity in the context of race.

The new working class that is emerging from the immigrant communities very much is suffering from what happens at the intersection of race and class.

UA: *The federal role in urban policy over the last few decades could be described as a sustained retreat. Do we need a renewed federal urban policy—what is the appropriate role of the federal government, and does it have a role in regionalism?*

AGB: I think there's a huge role for the federal government, although I'm not optimistic that they're going to step up to it anytime soon. You know, we really don't have housing policy in this country, other than the mortgage deduction—which is a huge policy, but that's really it in terms of what our housing policy is, and that doesn't really help people who are having a difficult time getting in. So I think we ought to always be pushing for housing policy that actually assumes that everybody has a right to decent, safe housing, and that we have multiple, universal strategies to provide that.

The way that this country is introducing new immigrants represents the inability of this country to come to grips with equity in the context of race. The new working class that is emerging from the immigrant communities very much is suffering from what happens at the intersection of race and class.

Also, we're not doing much in terms of revitalizing low-income communities. The empowerment zone, enterprise communities, I think they're still going on, but they've not been very big, and haven't been all that thoughtful. It's a lot of tax credits that people get and some direct investments that turn out to be a lot of subsidies to businesses to come into low-income communities; our policies in this country around revitalizing low-income communities have not been driven by a philosophy of equitable development, and have not been driven by the question of "who benefits?" Our policies around place in this country have been silent on the issue of people. So this absence of a full integration of the people strategies with the place strategies has left us with a very lopsided policy coming out of the federal government. They do their people strategies, through Medicaid, and support for public education, and some childcare issues, and then they do their place strategies through tax credits and subsidies to businesses and incentives for people to hire, but no real focus on who, or what kind of jobs. I think what we need at the federal level is a real integration of people and place strategies, so that when we're using federal dollars to revitalize communities we are thinking hard about who the people are who should benefit from this and what incentives and safeguards we should put in to make sure that they do.

I also think that we should pay more attention to place from the federal level around some of the programs that are focused on people. For example, we put a lot of money into health programs, but the federal Healthy Start program, that actually forced communities to look geographically at where they had concentrations of infant mortality, and developed programs to deal with infant mortality that really focused on the community institutions that were there—it stands out as a unique example of taking what's usually a people based problem, healthcare and infant mortality, and blending it with place. And the reality that people are living in concentrated poverty—how do we not just view that as a lament, but use it as an asset, to try to think about: since everybody's there together, how do we make sure that we take advantage of that and the institutions to be able to help people together to create a community that is healthy?

Another good example is T3. We have had really good examples on the federal level, starting with ISTEA, of using federal money to encourage local communities to broaden the conversation and broaden the strategies that inform the use of the dollars. So to be able to continue that and make it even better through T3 is a wonderful example of allowing the federal government in an area to really begin to integrate people and place and think equitably and strategically about how to use federal dollars.

UA: *How do you educate the public on regional equity/equitable development issues, and how important a strategy is this?*

AGB: I think that this is hard, and that Smart Growth America is starting to do a good job of it. SGA is something that we're very involved with here at PolicyLink, and they have been doing some polling to find out how the American people felt about some of the traditional smart growth issues. And they actually felt pretty good about them! Again, this is getting back to what I said earlier: people may not know smart growth, but the components of it really are very much on the minds of people. And one of the things that people responded very positively toward is that they really thought that federal dollars ought to be targeted toward revitalizing traditionally disinvested communities. But I think we need to do more focus groups and more polling so that we can find better language to use to talk about these issues. I think very often we just talk past people, whereas what we're talking about they really do care about: people really do want their kids to be able to go to parks close by, they really would like to take a walk, many people really would like to be able to get out of their cars, people would like to live in more diverse communities, if they felt safe, if they felt their kids had access to good schools. There's not so much a disdain or dislike for people of color, but people don't want to send their kids to schools they think don't work, they don't want their kids on streets that they think aren't safe, and sometimes they can't afford to live in housing in urban areas, because the housing that they would want is very expensive—so, finding ways to talk about smart growth that are accessible to everyday people.

I think another thing that we need to do is involve more people in the conversation, so that when people observe someone talking about this, it's someone they can identify with. If the only people who talk about smart growth are white, why would a person of color look up from whatever they're doing to say, "Maybe this has something to do with me?" We need to bring more diversity into the conversation, to get more business people, more people of color, more civic leaders, more leaders around issues of equity. So expanding the spokespersons, being able to connect more with what people are thinking about everyday, when we talk about these issues, I think would be some ways of doing it.

UA: *How do you sustain movements that coalesce around single issues, like a living wage movement or the community reinvestment act, for instance, and create viable, long-term movements that can act on different issues?*

AGB: I think we have to figure out ways to glue them together, and I think the way to do that is for people other than the usual suspects to support each other. I mean, if the environmentalists really come out for the living wage, I think it would be easier to get people who are concerned about living wage to come out on environmental issues. If the traditional environmentalists come out on an issue that has to do with environmental justice, I think it would be easier to get people out. I think that we need to do more work around the single issues, spending the time and going out to people who ought to care about it, and getting them engaged. It may take more talk, more meetings, but in the long run, I think that's how we sustain engagement, and we can move people from one issue to another. One of the sad things about this country is that we are so competitive within the progressive movement rather than just figuring out: "If I support you in the morning, maybe you'll support me in the afternoon, and by evening, we may have something worth having a drink over—a celebration!" But that's just not the way it is. But I think that's the only way these single issues are going to add up to a sustained movement.

UA: *Where are we in terms of achieving development patterns that are equitable in terms of space, race, and class? What needs to happen now?*

AGB: We're a long way from being there; we're definitely at the early stage. I think foundations have a huge role to play in this, because they really are going to be able to determine whether or not the people who are trying to create a movement have the resources that are going to allow them to have an impact. We need to do a lot of communication work; that's not traditionally something that foundations put a lot of money into, but they're going to have to do that.

We've got to organize, and that's another area that foundations don't like to support, because sometimes the organizers can embarrass them, but they've just got to get over that, because this is what it takes to be able to get people engaged. We have to build up capacity where it's always been lacking: low-income communities of color lack capacity in many areas. Why would foundations pick this out to be able to do that capacity building? If they can become convinced

that the results that they seek in other areas can be achieved if you let people build up this intermediary capacity around being able to deal with regional questions. So we've got to do a lot of capacity building, foundations have to begin to be risk-takers, and have a more holistic analysis of what they're trying to achieve.

We've got to really take advantage of things like T3, because that's real money, it's big money—the more people are engaged in this conversation about getting it, the more they'll be engaged back home as it comes in, and that's work that people can see real benefits from. I think we've got to take advantage of opportunities associated with real resources and try to make as much out of it as we possibly can.

We have to try to get to our elected officials and get to people during elections, so that we can start asking: where do you stand on this, what are you going to do about this? So we can hold them accountable once they get in, and we can make these issue part of the election cycle; that's another way that we get things out. And to come back to communications, we really have to educate the journalists, so they start writing about this in ways that are fresh, and challenging, and attractive. And try to figure out a way to attract wealthy donors, because very often, money that comes from private donors has fewer strings attached to it than money that comes from a foundation. And when you think about it, environmentalism, and Robert Redford, and things like that, you begin to attract people who say: "I just want to see something happen here." Well, that's easy around issues of Native Americans and the environment, and race discrimination; it's harder around these complex issues that sound too much like planning—I just want to say that again. That's why I think: tying it to equity, and being able to attract private donors to start putting big bucks into this so that people have the freedom to do the things that need to happen, some of which ought to be more radical and in your face.

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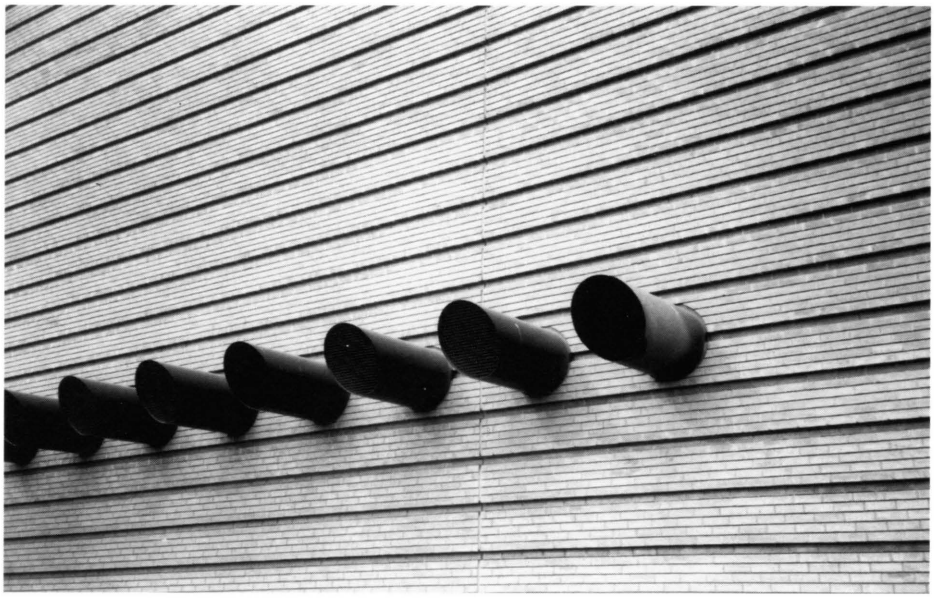

When we deal with cities, we are dealing with life at its most complex and intense.
-Jane Jacobs.