URBAN ACTION

A Journal of Urban Affairs

Urban Action

Action

2000

A Journal of Urban Affairs

Produced by the Urban Studies Program

San Francisco State University

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UA 2000

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TO EACH THE CITY OF HIS DREAM

GEORGE STERLING 1901

From the Staff

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that the Urban Action Editors present to you this year's copy of *Urban Action*, San Francisco State University's journal of Urban Affairs. This journal contains a collection of interesting articles dealing with some of our most pressing urban issues- all researched and written by our fellow students in the Urban Studies, Geography and Public Administration programs at SFSU.

These articles are the result of hours of sweat equity on behalf of our fellow students. We are pleased to have such a wide array of themes to offer you in this year's edition. From homelessness to sustainable development, regional planning to nonprofit housing, we are certain that there will be something to catch your eye.

Not only is the journal a collection of some of this year's most interesting papers, it is also a visual treat as well. We have tried hard to capture images of the Bay Area that are not only visually alluring but powerful as well.

We would like to extend our thanks to all of the students who have worked so diligently to expand upon their ideas. Urban Action is a 100 percent student produced journal and it is your great work that makes the journal what it is. In addition, Urban Action would not be possible without the support of our dedicated faculty who are always willing to lend a hand.

We are proud to present to you this year's Urban Action. We hope that you will enjoy the journal and are inspired to contribute your work to future editions.

Sincerely,
Urban Action Editors

Dear Readers,

Urban Action is one of the greatest accomplishments of the Urban Studies Program. It is entirely student-produced, and thus provides tangible demonstration of the quality of work produced by Urban Studies students. Furthermore its articles clearly reveal the commitment of our students to addressing critical urban issues: urban sprawl, homelessness, gentrification and displacement, the search for more equitable and sustainable urban policies.

It has been an honor to be the faculty advisor this year: not only does the journal include a superb collection of articles, but I have never worked with a more responsible and self-sufficient group of student editors. They have taken complete responsibility both for the content of the journal and for its production. They worked with the contributors to edit and refine their work; they shot the photographs, they located the most cost-effective printer, and they performed all of the final copy-editing and desk-top publishing. The independence with which these editors made the decisions, did the work, and met the deadlines is, in my experience as faculty advisor, unprecedented. Congratulations to the all of you!

And to the readers: welcome! I know you will enjoy and learn from what you read in this issue of Urban Action.

Debbie LeVeen
Faculty Advisor

Creating National Organic Standards: Are We There Yet?

Kristin Burgess

The market for organic products has been increasing steadily over the past dec-ade, yet there are no national standards for organically produced agricultural products. Although Congress passed the Organic Foods Production Act in 1990, an ongoing debate about the definition of "organic" and organic labeling prac-tices has delayed the establishment of national standards. In 1997, the USDA fi-nally released the proposed rules for its National Organic Program. However, an overwhelming negative response from the organic community forced the USDA to revisit the proposed rules, specifically those that would allow genetically engi-neered or irradiated foods, or foods fertilized with sewage sludge, to be labeled organic. This delay has left both producers and consumers of organic products without a uniform definition of "organic" and vulnerable to fraudulent labeling. Consumers living in urban areas are especially affected because they often don't have the capacity to produce their own food and must rely on food labeling. This article gives a brief overview of the history and the policy implications of the or-ganic debate.

Introduction

In urban areas, land available for food production is extremely limited. Most urban dwellers do not have direct control over the production of the food they consume. Rather than growing their own vegetables and raising their own live-stock, they purchase food from vendors. Consumers who don't have the capacity to produce their own food must rely on food labeling to determine whether products fit within their tastes and values. Food label-ing gives consumers control over what they are purchasing. The creation of na-tional uniform standards for the produc-tion of organic foods will be a step toward giving consumers this control. National organic standards will ensure that products labeled "organic" meet specific production guidelines and adhere to a common defini-tion. For urban dwellers who wish to con-sume foods produced in an ecologically sustainable, pesticide-and-

chemical-free manner, the debate about organic standards is an important one.

The market for organic products has been increasing steadily over the past decade. According to the Natural Food Merchandiser, sales of organic products increased at least 20 percent each year from 1989 to 1994 (Dunn, 1995, p. 7). As public awareness and concern about the environmental and health impacts of food production is increasing, the demand for organic foods is expanding. The organic farming movement has not only grown as a result, but has also become more power-ful in the politics of food production and safety. An ongoing debate about the defi-nition of "organic" and organic labeling practices has established the need for na-tional standards for organically produced agricultural products.

In response to the demand for or-ganic standards, the Federal government

passed the Organic Foods Production Act (OFPA) in 1990. Although the intent of the OFPA was to create national organic standards, there has been a huge delay in this process. Currently, there are no national organic standards in the United States. In the meantime, the debate about organic standards has only become more controversial, especially with the potential inclusion of genetically engineered and irradiated foods in the national standards. This article will give a brief overview of the history of the organic debate and will outline the OFPA, including the establishment of the USDA's National Organic Program (NOP). Finally, the support for,

> **The debate about organic standards has only become more controversial, especially with the potential inclusion of genetically engineered and irradiated foods in the national standards.**

and opposition to, creating strict organic standards will be presented, followed by a brief discussion about the policymaking implications.

What is meant by "organic"?

The debate surrounding organic foods stems in part from the term's lack of clarity. Both the National Organic Standards Board (NOSB) and the California Certified Organic Farmers (CCOF) define organic agriculture as "the end product of an ecological production management system that promotes and enhances biodiversity, biological cycles and soil biological activity" (Krissoff, 1998, p. 1130; CCOF Frequently Asked Questions web site). The Organic Alliance defines organic as an "earth friendly method of farming and processing foods. Weeds and pests are controlled using environmentally sound practices, which sustain the health of our planet, and ultimately, our own health" (About Organic Alliance web site). Probably the most common concept of or-

ganic products is "pesticide and chemical free." There are numerous definitions of "organic," and most of them leave much room for interpretation.

The production practices used by organic farmers include crop rotation and diversification, the use of animal and green manures, biological pest control, and water management, among others (Klonsky & Tourte, 1998; CCOF Frequently Asked Questions web site). There are disagreements as to whether regulation of organic production should emphasize inputs, such as non-synthetic herbicides and fertilizers, or the processes of farming in an ecological and sustainable manner (Klonsky & Tourte, 1998). "Certified organic" is a term used to describe foods that have been inspected and verified by a third-party agency as being authentic (CCOF Frequently Asked Questions web site; About Organic Alliance web site). These third-party agencies enforce the standards set by either state or private agencies. For example, certified organic foods in California must meet the standards set by the California Organic Foods Act of 1990. There is no uniformity in either the term "organic" or in the rules used for certifying food as such.

History of the organic boom

In 1942, J.I. Rodale launched his magazine, *Organic Farming and Gardening*. He advocated farming techniques that emphasized the understanding of natural systems and promoted working with these systems rather than controlling them (Klonsky & Tourte, 1998; Organic Gardening, 1998). During the 1940s and 50s, low-cost agricultural production was made possible through the use of chemicals

(Klonsky & Tourte, 1998). The intense use of these chemicals, including pesticides, prompted Rachel Carson to write *Silent Spring*, in the early 1960s. Influential writings about environmental issues in the 1960s and the spread of the environmental movement in the 1970s helped to pave the way for the organic boom. The organic movement grew out of concern about water and air pollution and toxic chemicals.

Organic foods have been seen as a way to reduce the impact of agricultural production on the environment and human health. During the 1980s, the negative impacts of conventional farming led to the idea of ecologically sustainable agriculture (Klonsky & Tourte, 1998). Barry Krissoff (1998) suggests that as the incomes of middle-class consumers have grown, there has been a demand for foods reflecting perceived health, nutrition, and safety (p. 1130). As a result of the perceived benefits to the environment and human health, retail organic food sales rose from $178 million in 1980 to $3.5 billion in 1996 (Vandeman & Hayden, 1997, p. 28). In 1997, the United States had the largest single-country market for organic foods, with sales of nearly $4.2 billion (Lohr, 1998, p. 1125). This has led to the increase in the numbers and size of organic farms and has contributed to the growth of the organic community (Dunn, 1995).

The Farmers Market at Green St. and The Embarcadero attracts health conscious consumers.

Need for National Organic Standards

The enormous increase in sales has resulted in a need for laws regulating organic food production and labeling. Karen Klonsky and Laura Tourte (1998) state, "the burgeoning organic industry created a need to standardize the labeling of organic commodities" (p.1119). Oregon was the first state to regulate organic food (Organic Gardening Editors, 1998). In 1980, the state of Washington created the first state-run organic *certification* program (Klonsky & Tourte, 1998). In 1986, the Organic Foods Production Association, now the Organic Trade Association, established the first national guidelines for organic production (Klonsky & Tourte, 1998). Many other states followed the lead by setting various rules for organic farming. As of 1995, there were t32 private and 11 state certifiers in the United States, and 28 states had organic food labeling laws (Dunn, 1995, p. 8). However, only 10 states required certification in order to use organic labels (Dunn, 1995, p. 8).

The variation in certification standards between states and private agencies has played an important role in the push for national organic standards. Because each certification agency has their own definition of organic foods and their own rules for certification, interstate trade has been restricted, and the growth of organic

production has been impeded (Vandeman & Hayden, 1997). Also, international trade of organic products, especially with the European Union, is limited without uniform organic standards (Vandeman & Hayden, 1997).

There are several other reasons why defining the term "organically produced" and creating certification standards is important. First of all, organically produced products are indistinguishable from conventionally produced products, which forces consumers to rely on labels (Lynch, 1991). Without standards, consumers could potentially pay high prices for foods that are labeled organic even though the foods might contain pesticide residues. Secondly, a wall can be created between consumers and producers when there is discrepancy about the meaning of the organic label. Without a uniform definition of "organic," consumers can't be assured that their beliefs about organic are the same as producers (Lynch, 1991). Finally, the high cost of obtaining and verifying information, coupled with the high demand for organic products, increases the potential for fraud (Lynch, 1991).

National standards regulating organic products can benefit consumers and producers. Consumers can gain increased confidence that foods labeled organic are, in fact, organically produced (Vandeman & Hayden, 1997). A potentially wider selection of organic foods will be available, and prices will fall as the market expands and becomes more efficient (Vandeman & Hayden, 1997). Producers will have more protection against fraud and have increased access to national and international markets (Vandeman & Hayden, 1997). Also, the

disputes between certifiers will likely be reduced (Vandeman & Hayden, 1997). Finally, creating national organic standards will potentially encourage all farmers to reduce the use of chemicals, which would benefit society as a whole.

Organic Foods Production Act of 1990

The Federal Government acknowledged the need for uniform standards by creating the Organic Foods Production Act of 1990 (OFPA). The Act was created so that the USDA could regulate the certification of farmers, handlers, and processors who represented their products as organic (USDA NOP Proposed Rule web site). It was adopted as part of the 1990 Farm Bill and was introduced by Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vermont), chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry. Sheila Kaplan and William Gifford (1990) quote Leahy as saying that the bill's goal is to "eliminate consumer confusion, provide safer alternatives, and give farmers incentives to use less chemicals" (p. 5). The OFPA was intended to create a system of mandatory certification and federal oversight to ensure truth in labeling (Vandeman & Hayden, 1997).

The Act required the creation of national standards for organically produced agricultural products through the National Organic Program (NOP). The program established a 14-member National Organic Standards Board (NOSB), appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, which was responsible for making recommendations for organic certification standards (USDA NOP Proposed Rule web site). The NOSB was to seek input from organic farmers, food processors, retailers, environmentalists, scien-

Without standards, consumers could potentially pay high prices for foods that are labeled organic even though the foods might contain pesticide residues.

tists, and consumers (Organic Gardening Editors, 1998). Under the OFPA, state and private organizations that have been accredited by the USDA would administer the program (USDA NOP Proposed Rule web site). These agencies would certify farms and handling operations according to the minimum standards set by the NOP (Miller, 1996). The OFPA gave the Secretary of Agriculture the final say in determining organic regulations (Miller, 1996).

The OFPA has several goals. Some of the goals include creating a national list of approved synthetic substances for use in the production of organic products, establishing an accreditation program for state officials and private agencies, establishing labeling requirements for organic products, and establishing approval mechanisms for importing organic agricultural products (USDA NOP Proposed Rule web site).

National Organic Program Proposed Rules and Key Players

The Organic Foods Production Act of 1990 created the National Organic Standards Board, which was responsible for making recommendations for "national standards and regulations of organically produced agricultural products" (USDA NOP Proposed Rule web site). The NOSB was appointed in 1992 and was charged with collecting and incorporating public input on all aspects of organic standards (USDA NOP Proposed Rule web site). Between 1994 and 1996, the NOSB delivered its recommendations to the USDA and reviewed the proposed National List (USDA NOP Proposed Rule web site). During this time, the FDA, EPA, and USDA provided input concerning the proposed rules, since organic standards affect the health of humans and the environment, as well as the agricultural industry. The proposed rules included a glossary of terms, organic production and handling requirements, labeling requirements for organic products, certification requirements, an accreditation system, and other administrative functions of the NOP.

The USDA released the proposed rules for the National Organic Program on December 15, 1997. The announcement was made by Secretary Dan Glickman. The long-awaited proposed rules left the door open for the inclusion of irradiated foods, genetically engineered foods, and the use of sewage sludge. According to a press release by the Union of Concerned Scientists (1997), the USDA overruled the NOSB's recommendations by approving the addition of a genetically engineered microbe to the National List. There was widespread concern that the USDA's proposal was not aligned with the NOSB's original recommendations. The best evidence that this was true was the outpouring of negative feedback about the proposed rule. Over 275,000 comments, the most ever received on any single rule by the USDA, were submitted in response to the proposed rules (Weiss, 1998; USDA View Comments Page web site). As a result, Secretary Glickman indicated that the proposal would be "fundamentally rewritten" (OFRF Policy Program web site). The USDA is currently working on a new proposal for organic standards.

Controversial Issues

Michael Sligh, former chair of the NOSB, stated in a press conference, "we see at least sixty-six major deal breakers in this proposed rule" (Weiss, 1998). The most controversial issues, however, are the inclusion of genetically engineered and irradiated food and the use of sewage sludge. The NOSB defines something as genetically engineered if it is "made with techniques that alter the molecular or cell biology of an organism by means that are not possible under natural conditions or processes" (Merrigan, 1999). Genetically modified organisms (GMO) result from transferring genes between plants, ani-

mals, and bacteria. The debate about GMOs and whether they should be regulated has become more intense in recent months. According to Kathy Koch (1998), "the EPA, FDA, and USDA – all of which play a role in approving genetically engineered foods – maintain that GMOs are as safe as the original plants and organisms from which the genes are taken" (p. 766). The Biotechnology Industry Organization maintains that genetic engineering is controlled and predictable, and that it offers the potential of sustainable agriculture and reduced environmental damage (Koch, 1998). However, most people in the organic community feel that GMOs might have numerous negative effects, such as disturbing delicate ecosystems and transferring new toxins and allergens to food plants. GMOs might also undermine organic farming methods by having side effects such as pollen that is toxic to beneficial insects (Organic Gardening Editors, 1998; CCOF Genetic Engineering in Foods web site).

Irradiation, which exposes food to gamma rays from radioactive sources, has been allowed by the FDA to kill bacteria on meat (Organic Gardening Editors, 1998). It is also used to extend the shelf life of many fruits and vegetables. Both the FDA and USDA declare that irradiation is safe for preserving certain foods (CQ Researcher, 1992). Opponents of food irradiation indicate that the process can result in the formation of harmful products and create chemical changes in the food (CQ Researcher, 1992; Organic Gardening Editors, 1998). Opponents also assert that flavors and textures of irradiated foods are altered and that there is a high nutrient loss when food is irradiated (CQ Researcher, 1992; Organic Gardening Editors, 1998). Finally, the use of sewage sludge as a fertilizer has the organic community up in arms. Although the EPA sets standards for wastes from sewage treatment plants, there is no assurance that heavy metals and other pollutants won't seep into the soil and harm crops (Organic Gardening Editor, 1998). While the organic community opposes the "big three": genetic engineering, irradiation, and sewage

Organic foods reduce the impact of agricultural production on the environment.

sludge, agribusiness seems supportive of their use. The inclusion of the "big three" in the proposed rules would significantly weaken organic standards.

Support For Strict Standards

The organic farming community has grown significantly over the past several decades. There are numerous organizations that advocate the use of organic agricultural production and support strict national organic standards. Some of these organizations include the Organic Trade Association, the Organic Alliance, the Or-

ganic Farming Research Foundation, the California Certified Organic Farmers, The Sustainable Framing Connection, and *Organic Gardening Magazine*. It is believed by many supporters that national standards for organic labeling will allow more successful competition with conventional farmers and will increase consumer confidence (Campbell, 1990). In addition to the organic community, environmental lobbyists have expressed strong support for the creation of organic farming provisions, especially due to the concerns about the health and pollution implications of chemical pesticides and fertilizers (Campbell, 1990).

Although there seems to be some conflict over regulating organic production and labeling within the organic community, there is overwhelming opposition to the inclusion of genetically engineered foods, irradiated foods, and foods fertilized with sewage sludge. The organic community views this as a huge weak point in the proposed rules. Many fear that weak organic standards would allow ease of entry into the market by conventional farmers and might "undermine the integrity of organic production" (Klonsky & Tourte, 1998, p. 1124). Brian Haweil, a visiting researcher at *World Watch*, a magazine focused on issues of sustainability, cultural and biological diversity, and consumer economy, states that

> "the USDA's proposed standards have usurped the authority of the board – and the involvement of the organic community – by writing it out of the decision-making process. The board's recommendations were largely ignored – demeaning years of work to reach a consensus" (Halweil, 1998, p. 2).

Representatives Peter DeFazio (D-Oregon) and Jack Metcalf (R-Washington) circulated a letter to Secretary Dan Glickman suggesting that the rules protect neither the "historical practices of the industry" nor consumers (Anderson, 1998). Forty-eight members of Congress signed the letter (Anderson, 1998). There has also been opposition in the entertainment community. Farm Aid concert founders Willie Nelson, Neil Young and John Mellencamp have opposed the proposed rules (Anderson, 1998). The proof of public and interest group support, however, lies in the record breaking 275,000 responses to the USDA's proposed rules.

Support For Weak Standards or No Standards

There are numerous reasons for the opposition to strong organic standards. First of all, not everyone agrees that organic products are safe. Dennis Avery, Director of the Global Food Issues for Hudson Institute, states, "Organic food is more dangerous than conventionally grown produce because organic farmers use animal manure as the major source of fertilization for their food crops" (Avery, 1998, p. 19). He cites several studies indicating that there is a higher risk for ingesting harmful bacteria by eating organic or natural foods (Avery, 1998). Avery also suggests that organic production results in lower yields, which can't keep up with the increase in population. Secondly, some feel that government should not be involved in defining and regulating organic food (Kazman, 1998). Thirdly, many believe that the creation of national organic standards will scare people away from conventionally grown foods, even though there is no scientific evidence that organic foods are safer (Meskin, 1998; Office of Scientific public Affairs, 1990).

Although it was difficult to locate any direct evidence that agribusiness supports weak organic standards, it can be inferred from information that is available. The sales of organically grown products, for which consumers pay high premiums, have been rising quickly; this might encourage conventional farmers to enter the

business. Strict organic standards would reduce the ease with which conventional farmers could enter the market. Michael Colby (1998) states, "As multinational agribusiness corporations increasingly seek an entry into the booming organics market, they need plenty of regulatory cover (p. 2)." He also suggests that the USDA is committed to lower standards in order to achieve co modification and centralization of organics (Colby, 1998, p. 2). Genetically engineered foods are one of many issues in this debate and large agribusinesses, such as Monsanto and DuPont, have a large stake in GMOs. Therefore, it is reasonable that they would support weaker organic standards, specifically those which would allow genetically engineered foods (Koch, 1998).

> **Strict organic standards would reduce the ease with which conventional farmers could enter the market.**

Current Situation

The NOP's proposed rules are in the process of being rewritten, at the request of Secretary Dan Glickman. This follows an overwhelming objection by concerned citizens, environmental groups, and the organic community. The inclusion of genetically engineered foods, which is one of the most controversial issues in the proposed rules, is the subject of a separate debate within the agricultural community. The debate surrounding genetically engineered foods involves requirements for labeling food products that contain GMOs. The USDA is being forced to seriously consider the implications of GMOs and to rethink organic standards. Even the food giant, Monsanto, has backed down from its campaign to promote its new gene technologies (Shapiro, 1999). As the debate surrounding genetically engineered foods and organic standards intensifies, the Secretary of Agriculture and the USDA will be on center stage. The rewritten rules are expected to be released sometime this year.

Policymaking Implications

In 1990, Congress passed the OFPA in response to the increasing need for national uniform standards. There was concern that consumers were going to lose confidence in organic labeling and that the variation in certification rules between states and private agencies inhibited interstate and international competition. The Act established a Program and Board, which would do the necessary research and make recommendations about organic standards to the USDA. Although it was difficult to locate information about the ease with which the OFPA passed, it appears that the most controversial issues arose when the proposed standards were released seven years later. Immediately after the USDA's announcement of the proposed standards, there was an enormous backlash from the organic community.

Interest group pressures have played an enormous role in the creation of organic standards. Although there has been strong support from the organic and environmental communities for strict organic standards, the USDA chose to propose rules that were even weaker than those recommended by the NOSB. This decision was likely a result of pressure from agribusiness companies, such as Monsanto, DuPont, and other food companies, looking to get their foot in the organic market. By largely ignoring the recommendations of the NOSB and the organic community, Secretary Glickman and the USDA were essentially opening the door for big agribusiness to enter the organic market. However, the enormous response from the public and the organic community forced the USDA to rethink

organic standards and pressured the agency to make a second attempt at creating them.

The attempts to create national organic standards have implications for policymaking, the most important being the delays that can result from interest group pressure. The organic debate is enormously complicated and there is no overall consensus on how to define organically produced agricultural products. Although further research is needed, it seems likely that the interests of agribusiness, organic farmers, environmentalists, and overall public concern have made it difficult to compromise on organic standards. This has surely contributed to the seven-year delay in the announcement of the NOP's proposed rules.

Conclusion

The creation of national organic standards continues to be a complicated issue. This paper only scratches the surface of some of the issues surrounding the debate. Although it seems the Organic Foods Production Act was a step towards defining "organic" and ensuring honest labeling, the enormous delay in creating national organic standards is disappointing.

Currently, there is no uniform definition of "organic," and there are no standards for the certification of organically produced agricultural products in the United States. This impacts consumers and producers, especially with regard to fraudulent labeling and trade.

The shaping of policy regarding organic standards has not only been heavily influenced by interest groups, but also by the increasing intensity of the debate about genetically engineered foods. Currently, the use of new food technologies to deal with a growing population and the need for ecologically sustainable agriculture will impact the issue of food production in this country. This topic is extremely important, as agriculture will be in the policy limelight indefinitely. Furthermore, the debate about genetically engineered foods is escalating and must be resolved before decisions can be made about their inclusion in organic standards. Further research is needed on the politics of the organic debate, especially on the role of agribusiness. Finally, the effects of organic standards on the organic community and consumers should be explored more thoroughly.

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A (Not so) Radical Plan for Meeting San Francisco's Paper Needs

Michael Jacinto

The term "sustainable development" is one that originated with the 1987 report, Our Common Future, by the World Commission on Environment and Development (known as the Brundland Commission). By that formulation, sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Since that time, planners, politicians and nonprofit organizations have been challenged to think about alternatives to our traditional patterns of development, which cause so much environmental distress. Michael Jacinto's article examines paper consumption in the City of San Francisco and proposes changes such as using hemp fiber to mineralize environmental degradation caused by the paper production process. The author would like to thank Aaron Aknin, Rita Huppe and David Teakle for their contributions.

You probably aren't thinking about where the paper this journal was printed on came from. This journal contains *30 percent post-consumer content recycled paper*, with the remaining 70 percent derived from virgin wood fibers, probably harvested in a forest somewhere in the Pacific Northwest. In recent years, great strides have been made in substituting recycled content for virgin wood fibers in paper. However, the process has been slow, and the results are meager in light of some of our most pressing environmental problems, such as deforestation, soil erosion, stream sedimentation and habitat loss- just to name a few. This plan takes a somewhat radical approach in its attempt to mitigate the strain San Francisco's paper demand creates on the environment, by moving toward more sustainable production practices.

Sustainability refers to the ability to meet our current needs as well as those of future generations. Currently, traditional methods of paper production can hardly be classified as sustainable. In order to ensure that we can meet our paper needs in the future while preserving the natural environment, it is necessary that the paper industry seek out new raw materials to meet this challenge. There are alternatives to the traditional raw materials used in paper production, hemp being one of them. In order to further sustainable practices, I suggest municipal support for the production of industrial hemp to be used in the paper manufacturing process.

Hemp, an herb also known as *Cannabis sativa*, has a history that dates back about 6,000 years. Native to Asia, hemp is also cultivated in Europe and has a long history in the United States as well. The Chinese began using hemp in textile production as long ago as 4,500 years ago. Europe began cultivating the herb in the ninth century and Columbus' ships carried 80 tons of it, in both the riggings and sails that carried ships to the New World. The United States even used hemp paper for the original draft of the Declaration of In-

dependence. Although hemp has a tried and true history, its use in America came to an abrupt stop in the twentieth century.

Once proclaimed by *Popular Mechanics* magazine to have the potential to be manufactured into more than 25,000 different environmentally friendly products, legality issues have restricted the widespread use of hemp in the United States. Marijuana, a relative of hemp, contains the psychotropic substance THC, which causes its users to experience euphoric sensations. Hemp differs from marijuana in that its THC content is so miniscule that ingesting it would not have any of the same effects as the drug, marijuana. The use of industrial hemp has waned over the years, initially resulting from government propagated anti-drug hysteria that began in 1937 with the U.S. government declaring the *War on Drugs* with the Marijuana Tax Act, outlawing Marijuana. Certain industries, such as plastic and chemical manufacturers have also done their part to make Cannabis Sativa an underutilized, although not forgotten, natural resource. Industrial hemp cultivation is still illegal in many states, so this plan would need to jump many political hurdles before such sustainable practices could be commonplace.

Plan Overview

This plan, in harmony with state and federal policies, could be the beginning of a green revolution in the field of paper production. The plan calls for cities such as San Francisco to identify municipally-owned, underutilized land parcels, such as lots found under freeways, on which solar-powered greenhouses would be built in order to produce enough indus-

trial hemp to offset the City's paper consumption. The City could own and operate the facilities itself, or simply zone for the land use and regulate the private sector, which would produce the hemp.

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Legislative and Judicial Framework

The plan is responding to the Integrated Waste Management Act (Assembly Bill 939), passed by the California legislature in 1989, which requires "California cities and counties to divert 50 percent of what they send to landfill by the year 2000." The law requires local governments to "achieve disposal reduction goals of 25 percent by 1995 and 50 percent in 2000." San Francisco's compliance record has been good with respect to these goals. As of the 1997-1998 fiscal year, San Francisco agencies have complied with AB939 by achieving disposal reductions of 40 percent, and they are still ahead of schedule to achieve 50 percent compliance by the year 2000.

On July 12, 1996, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors approved the Resource Conservation Ordinance (Ord. 287-96), which requires all city agencies to purchase paper that is processed without dioxins. (Resource Conservation Ordinance 287-96, 1996). This ordinance repealed Chapter 21A if the Administrative Code and requires city departments to improve resource conservation and recycling practices and to purchase chlorine-(dioxin) free paper. Office Depot, currently the City's central office products contractor, does not offer 50 percent post-consumer content paper. Therefore, the San Francisco Purchasing Department is currently bidding out the contract. Suppliers must offer dioxin-free paper that con-

tains, at least, 50 percent post-consumer content. My plan would assist the City of San Francisco meet and surpass the stated goals defined in the legal framework of AB939 and the Resource Conservation Ordinance.

Trees and Paper Production

Trees for paper production are harvested from different regions of the United States. The paper used in this journal most likely originated in the Pacific Northwest region and is probably a mix of Douglas Fir and Western Hemlock Sitka Spruce. Depending on their climate, topography, elevation, water, as well as their soil type, chemistry, and moisture density, different regions grow and harvest different species of trees. The Pacific Northwest's ideal conditions have made the region a worldwide exporter of timber and related products.

There are four types of harvesting techniques that are in common use today: selective cutting, shelter wood cutting, the sanitation cut, and clear cutting. "In selective cutting, the trees to be harvested are chosen individually or in small groups; a major portion of the forest is left undisturbed, providing a major cover for the land and a source of seeds for the next generation of trees" (U.S. Department of Forestry, 1999). The shelter wood method is a sort of a compromise between clear cutting and selective logging. Most of the trees are harvested at one time, but enough healthy, mature trees are left standing to provide a natural seed source and a modest amount of shade for the next generation. Once the new seedlings are firmly established and no longer require a protective cover, the sheltering trees can be removed. Sanitation cutting removes trees liable to insect attack and fungal outbreaks, i.e. the less vigorous, mature or dying trees. In clear cutting, all trees are harvested at once, creating a large patch of ground in which seedlings can be planted. Of the four types, clear cutting is the most devastating to forest ecosystems and the environment. These four methods combine to impose a heavy strain on the earth's natural resources: the U.S. uses 45 million tons of tree fiber for paper alone, which requires the annual growth of 90 million acres of mature forest. (NAIHC, 1999).

San Francisco's Municipal Paper Use and Recycling: FY 1997-1998

Given the above statistic of the vast amount of land dedicated to industrial production instead of natural preservation, what can San Francisco do to reduce its dependency and lighten its footprint on the environment? Estimates point out that San Francisco buys 875 million tons of new paper per annum (Employee Interviews, 1999). However, the City also recycles a great deal. Last year, the City recycled 942 tons of white and 314 tons of color paper. According to city agency statistics, for every ton of paper recycled, 17 trees are saved—in this case, San Francisco's recycling program saved a total of 21,356 trees and 411 acres of forested land. In addition, every ton of recycled paper preserves three cubic feet of landfill space and prevents 60 pounds of air pollution (U.S. Department of Forestry, 1999). Therefore, city agencies preserved 3,768 cubic feet of landfill space and prevented 75,360 pounds of pollutants from finding their way into the air we breathe. Keeping the environmental movement's mantra, "Reduce, Reuse, and Recycle," in mind, simply switching to an alternative, more sustainable natural resource than trees, such as hemp, could drastically decrease natural resource use and increase recycling and natural preservation efforts well above the statistics just mentioned.

Hemp vs. Wood fiber

The following analysis is intended to give the reader a comparative vantage point in discussing the use of hemp versus

timber for paper production. In the United States, we use 45 million tons of tree fiber a year for paper alone, requiring that 90 million acres of land be harvested annually for this purpose. Per acre, trees produce 700 pounds of fiber per year. Hemp, on the other hand, could produce up to 10 tons of superior fiber per acre annually. At 10 tons an acre, it would only take 4.5 million acres to satisfy our pulp needs of 45 million tons of fiber annually. Even in a worst-case scenario — a single crop annually — it would take only nine million acres of hemp to supply the nation's yearly fiber demand. Just 1 percent of the nation's farmland would be required to achieve paper self-sufficiency in the U.S. (Global Hemp, 1999).

Trees are a long-term renewable resource, yielding a harvest once every two to six decades. Trees are harvested when mature, ensuring maximum pulp output. During their lifespan, trees are sprayed with pesticides and fungicides to reduce insect and fungal outbreaks. Hemp, on the other hand, is a short-term renewable resource that can be grown and harvested in three to four month cycles. Hemp can be grown in most climates and lends itself ideally to greenhouse cultivation. Large taproots bore deeply into the ground to provide excellent soil aeration. Roots penetrate and break the soil to leave it in perfect condition for next year's crop. Hemp thrives on organic fertilizer, such as mulch, manure, detritus and compost. Because it is a rotation crop, it can be grown without chemical fertilizers. Due to its rapid growth, its ability to grow in tightly spaced rows, and its germination in early spring, it competes successfully with most weed species, eliminating the need for herbicides.

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Environmental Impacts

Customary paper production requires the use of many toxic chemicals, such as chlorine liquid or gas, dioxins, acids, and sulfites. Wood fibers are mixed with post-consumer waste to produce recycled paper such as the type found in this journal. Wood fibers contain lignin, an amorphous substance, related to cellulose, that must be removed in the production process. Lignin is extracted with chlorine, a major river pollutant that converts into dioxin during the extraction process. Chlorine is also used to bleach paper white. Moreover, the pulping process also emits large amounts of CO_2, a greenhouse gas, into the atmosphere. Finally, paper made from virgin wood and paper with a small post-consumer waste content can only be recycled about three times, because the fibers are short and weak.

In itself, the paper production process is extremely harmful to the environment and is only one part of a larger problem. The practice of logging creates serious environmental problems. Excessive logging causes erosion, a marked decrease in the nutrient content in the soil, habitat and shelter loss, as well as decreases in soil CO_2 absorption. Clear cutting causes entire hillsides to erode, and the topsoil ends up as sediment in rivers and streams. Sedimentation disrupts natural riparian habitats, sometimes effecting spawning grounds for salmon and other fish species. Extensive cutting also leads to biodiversity

loss due to the shrinking size of local organism's habitat. Finally, researchers have warned that cutting also causes increases in thermal heat and solar penetration, which can be harmful to plants and animals.

Given the myriad of environmental problems associated with logging and using trees as our primary resource in paper production, it is worth asking ourselves if an alternate resource, which would be less harmful to the environment and allow us to meet our needs, doesn't already exist. Hemp is a good alternative to paper in this instance: In the production phase, hemp paper is whitened using hydrogen peroxide, oxygen, or ozone, all of which are much less damaging to the environment than the bleaching techniques of traditional paper manufacturing. Due to the strength of its long fibers, hemp paper can also be recycled seven to eight times; for every one acre of hemp grown, four acres of forest are spared. Hemp cultivation reduces harmful pulp emissions by 60-80 percent. Hemp paper is acid-free; therefore, it doesn't yellow and can last up to 1,500 years.

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From Conception to Reality: Making the Plan Work

Should the City of San Francisco decide to embrace the proposed use of under-utilized right-of-way lands and other vacant lots for the production of hemp paper, an initial assessment of available land parcels would be required. Planners could use software such as ArcView GIS to determine which sites would be best suited for the project. These points would be mapped and overlaid on digital photographs, known as digital orthophoto quadrants; the product would be used to configure the greenhouse in a manner that would maximize use of the available space and capitalize on natural solar energy.

Project sites need to have enough vertical clearance to accommodate roof lines of at least twelve foot roofs and should have controlled access entrance and exit points. The location of these sites must also be consistent with the City's *General Plan* and local zoning ordinances. In order to minimize human contact and possible vandalism, greenhouses should not be located in areas directly adjacent to residential areas. In order to generate the electricity needed to power the operation, greenhouses would be connected to solar cells mounted on the sides of freeways. Solar panels should face southward to maximize on light collection. Hemp would be grown on site and, provided industrial land uses are permitted in the City, manufactured locally at start-up paper plants; hemp could also be exported to regional processing plants to be manufactured into paper.

The project seeks to achieve the following two goals: to display a sustainable project in action and to better use underutilized urban land, such as brownfields, surface parking lots, parcels found under freeways, etc. This project can be defined as sustainable, as the raw material and energy inputs involved minimize environmental impacts, as do the production processes. Further, the final product is superior to paper made from trees as it may be recycled much more readily than traditional wood pulp paper.

The goal of this development pro-

ject is to target underutilized land and put it to work for the City. Currently, much of this land is not meeting its economic potential and sits vacant — a missed opportunity for the City and businesses alike. In such a project, the City would have the option of running the project itself or could outsource it to a nonprofit, to which the City could grant a lease for the use of the project site. A second important goal is to take steps to mitigate the City of San Francisco's impact on the environment by creatively supporting efficient and sustainable modes of production. One could imagine a situation where excess paper produced in San Francisco's hemp farms could be sold to other municipal governments in the region. A regional approach could have a significant impact on paper consumption in the Bay Area and could create positive spin-offs with regard to the production and distribution of hemp paper.

In order to make this plan a reality, legal issues surrounding the industrial use of hemp would have to be ironed out. On March 31, 2000, the Maryland House of Delegates passed, on a 128-8 vote, legislation to allow a four-year industrial hemp pilot program; the measure unanimously passed the Maryland Senate on April 10, 2000. If signed into law by Governor Parris N. Glendening (D), the pilot program would begin on July 1, 2000. The legislation requires that the state's secretary of agriculture administer the pilot program in consultation with state and federal agencies, including the Drug Enforcement Administration, which would have to approve any cultivation plots. According to the legislation, only state-owned land may be used to cultivate industrial hemp during the study. A similar approach would be one way to establish a legal framework for industrial hemp production in California (NORML, 2000).

If changes are needed to keep this plan alive, it will be important to carefully weigh any trade-offs and compromises with respect to the original plan. Rather than restricting the program to nonprofits, the City could open it to private, for-profit companies, which would privatize the process and free the City from making the costly initial capital investments. Small business owners and entrepreneurs could greatly benefit from this activity, especially if the City leased the lots at affordable rents. In order to minimize protests from the established, traditional paper industry, the City could also slowly phase in their hemp purchasing requirements. However, the City should not compromise on using hemp as the main input in paper production, as this activity is the crux of sustainability of this project.

The project could be administered through a newly created municipal department, such as the Mayor's Office of Sustainable Development, or through existing administrative channels, like the San Francisco Office of the Environment or the Redevelopment Agency. To oversee the project's operation and measure its performance, a task force would be established at one of these lead agencies. Public input would be encouraged, but only members of the hemp task force should be able to change the stated goals and objectives of the project. Goals could then be changed by means of a vote. Depending on how final policy on hemp paper production is written, goals and programmatic alterations could be handled either by the appointed task force or by the Board of Supervisors. The latter option would give the public a more direct outlet to air their concerns and grievances about the project.

Humble Beginnings Yield Amazing Changes

The growing and harvesting of industrial hemp for paper production could drastically increase in the future. The pilot project would serve as a test of public sup-

port for the protection and conservation of the environment. Once people have become aware of the environmental benefits associated with hemp, especially in its potential in open-space and forest ecosystem conservation, public support should increase, and the ability to direct purchasing behavior toward hemp paper products should also become more feasible. Hemp paper can already be found as a novelty item in stationary and bookstores throughout San Francisco. Public education and superior administrative execution of the project are also keys to its success.

The potential for positive environmental change is vast. In conclusion, the benefits of this plan can be summarized as follows: Economic advantages from using underutilized land; Production of a renewable and sustainable resource; Locally grown and manufactured. This project is economically sustainable and promotes local business growth, which, in turn, will serve a local customer base. In addition, the City will be implementing an urban policy that could have the effect of incubating new green industries; Excellent benefits associated with open space and natural asset conservation; Cleaner production yielding paper that can be efficiently recycled.

There are also potential disadvantages associated with project. These could be: Issues of legality surrounding the use of industrial hemp. Litigation could seriously delay or thwart efforts; Challenges involved with educating the public and building momentum for the project; Adverse publicity and lobbying from logging and paper manufactures that feel their interests are threatened; Municipal budget constraints that could stop funding for the product before it generates income.

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A Student's Personal Memoir of Cuba

Alana R. Kane

In January of 2000, Professor Raquel Rivera-Pinderhughes' Sustainable Development in Cities class visited Havana, Cuba, to study sustainable urban agriculture with Food First, a nonprofit organization dedicated to finding community-based solutions for hunger and poverty. In the following article, Alana Kane describes her experiences in Cuba and reflects on the differences between Cuban and American society.

From January 6th to the 18th I spent the beginning of the new year in Havana, Cuba. There were 17 SFSU students who traveled to Cuba with Urban Studies professor Raquel Rivera-Pinderhughes. We went to Havana with the Institute for Food Development and Policy/Food First to study sustainable agriculture practices, and throughout our trip we met with the Advisory Group for the Integral Development of Havana. The Advisory Group sponsored our stay in Cuba and introduced us to the progress of redevelopment in Cuba from the revolution, through the "Special Period," to the present time. The "special period" was the period of time after the fall of the Soviet Block when trade with Russia and Soviet subsidies ended. It is called the special period because of the serious changes Cubans were forced to make — forced rationing of food, petroleum, etc. It is actually out of the special period that the restructuring of the agricultural system occurred. Cuba did not have the petroleum to fuel heavy farm machinery and tractors, nor the pesticides, herbicides, and chemical fertilizers to combat pests and weather so they implemented community, urban,

> ## "You think as you live"
> ## —Fifi, La Giuinera

and municipal gardens to supplement their diets. During the special period the caloric intake of Cubans went down by 30 percent. The agricultural system that is now a model for most developing nations was actually developed out of necessity and considered a band-aid of sorts for this specific time in Cuban history.

While in Cuba, we visited different communities, farms, and urban gardens discovering the vast network of people and planning that goes into their agricultural system.

It is very difficult for me to write about the twelve days I spent in Cuba even months after returning. As a graduating San Francisco State University student I found it somewhat embarrassing not to be able to expound more on the subject. It is not that I don't have anything to say, it is the exact opposite—I have everything to say. Not only did I learn about the country and the people of Cuba on this trip, I also learned about myself. I learned about myself as a human being without all the distractions of materialism and media that are constantly present in my daily life in San Francisco. I often feel lost in the hustle and bustle of the City; walking down the streets of San

Francisco can be an isolating experience. It is possible to encounter a multitude of social groups and subcultures in a three-block trip. You may feel welcomed by some and unseen by others. More than that there are social divisions, causing us to turn a blind eye toward undesirable people, and to disregard the conditions that created their lives.

The essence of what I experienced in Cuba relates not only to sustainable agriculture but also to the improvement of the quality of life through a revolution. As a group, I know we didn't all agree on the political environment of Cuba (past and present). Personally, I am not sure if I can totally agree with every aspect of the government there either. What I did agree with are the healthy, happy, educated people that take pride in their communities and their country. Coming from the United States I envied that and also felt saddened that I don't take the same pride in my own country. I have pride in the people of my country and the things they have accomplished, but I can take no have pride in the fact that people are denied healthcare and housing. The economic situation in the U.S. is one that fosters a disparity between rich and poor, creating a class system of have's and have-not's.

What I saw in Cuba was the existence of a "bottom-up infrastructure". For instance, in the municipality of Aroyo Naranjo, a river town called La Guinera, outside of Havana, the people have redeveloped their poor town from a shanty community into a community complete with all the necessities for healthy living. Without government intervention, the mixed Afro-Cuban population consisting of mainly women rebuilt La Guinera through self-formed construction brigades.

Through trial and error, these brigades established a neighborhood development model. Presently, there are over 370 apartments built and administered by La Guinera's local housing co-op, which house the people in the community. The United Nations has recognized la Guinera as a "model community". The residents of La Guinera have been able to achieve a high level of participation and self-control of their community without the intervention of traditional foreign aid agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF or even the Peace Corps.

La Guinera is only one example of the bottom-up community organizing and social programs I saw in Cuba. Others include the community gardens that grow not only food but also medicinal plants, bicycle co-ops that rebuild and maintain bicycles, and community built primary and secondary schools. In evaluating this transformation of life in Cuba from pre-revolution to post-revolution, I have to believe it was the revolution that liberated the people to change their social and physical living conditions. I believe it is very important to realize the benefits of citizen participation in the planning and development process because it includes ideas from the people who are going to inhabit these structures and settlements.

Cuba is not a wealthy utopia springing forth from socialism. Wealth is a value judgment, and wealth as we know it in America is not what you will find in Cuba. Their wealth is the pride and power they have in knowing that nobody is hungry, nobody is without healthcare, and everyone has access to some sort of job. In my opinion, that type of wealth is worth more than anything the dollar can buy.

What's Dangerous Here? Perceptions on Danger and Safety in a Homeless Environment

Sara Marcellino and Christopher Campbell

All persons share problems and promises regarding danger and safety, but homelessness offers its own unique set of dangers. Our research explores homeless people's perceptions of danger and safety through humanistic interviews. We focus on different geographic locations in San Francisco, including the park and street environments of Golden Gate Park, the Haight-Ashbury District, and the Mission District. We talk with men and women who explain how different parts of San Francisco pose unique dangers, often reflecting the physical and socioeconomic characteristics of the location. Homeless people gravitate to a location knowing what dangers are present and acknowledge these dangers — all the while creating home in the chosen space. We find both cohesiveness and disjunction among the various homeless communities visited. Also, through these conversations, we learn that human actions pose greater dangers to the homeless than nature itself.

Introduction

According to the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, on any given night in the United States some 700,000 people are homeless; about 16,000 of them are in San Francisco (Van Slambrouck, 1998, p.1). Most residents of San Francisco know generally where to find homeless enclaves and presumably, some recognize that 16,000 living on sidewalks, in parks, under freeway overpasses, in abandoned doorways, in cars, and in temporary shelters is an incredibly high number of people.

This article presents the results of a study conducted in San Francisco in the spring of 1999; the study investigated how homeless people perceive danger and safety in their environments - environments which function dually as homes. We will discuss the background of

> **"Life is simplified and begins, as it always has, when we join each others in work and conversation."**
> *J.B. Jackson, Geographer*

the project, show the areas of study, outline and discuss methodology, compare and contrast results, conclude with recommendations for further research, and, most importantly, highlight verbatim some of the thoughts of the homeless people with whom we conversed.

Background on the Project

This work commenced during the winter and spring of 1999 — an above average rainy season thanks to La Niña - when our negative sentiments toward the homeless were on the rise. The media's negative portrayal of the homeless, plus the fact that there seemed to be more homeless people on the streets of San Francisco, seemed poignant. Also, Christopher's work as a restorationist for the San Francisco Recreation and Park Department

meant he frequently had to clean up discarded bedding, garbage, and feces left behind by the homeless. Luckily, our paths crossed and, together, we began to ponder the following question: How should we view the homeless as both park employees and users? Also, what are the appropriate uses of public space?

More importantly, the inclement weather—high winds ravaging most of the aging trees in the parks, and non-stop rainy nights—made us fear for the homeless. Our sympathies increased as we saw several destroyed sites where homeless people had slept. We hypothesized their discontent with the weather and wondered what else might be considered dangerous to a person living outside. As part of an environmental perception project, we decided to ask the homeless themselves what they considered dangerous or safe in their environment.

Areas of Study

We chose three geographic areas of San Francisco in which to interview the homeless (Figure 1) — Golden Gate Park, the Haight-Ashbury District, and the Mission District — places both busy and guaranteed to have homeless people whom to interview. Since Golden Gate Park encompasses many acres, we interviewed only within the eastern one-fifth of the park, which consists of grassy meadows, playing courts, children's play areas, native oak and non-native woodlands.

Excerpts from "Haight Street 1999"

**"There's drunks on every corner and their ages seem to range
And they might even let you walk by if you give them some change
Actually, most of these drunks are my family
And I truly love them a lot and if you fuck with me they'll back me up...
There's yuppies and tourists you know they're always there
They're the ones that walk by with their noses in the air...
But overall the Haight has changed and the truth is that it's now kinda lame
And there's one more thing I'd like you to know
I'm a light and I live here and my name is Artermo."**

Written by Artermo, resident of Haight Street

The Haight-Ashbury District borders the eastern end of Golden Gate Park. It has a sixties anti-war feel mixed with West Coast grunge; the people interviewed held a connection to the Sixties Hippie Movement. The Mission District, a predominantly Latino neighborhood, is a kaleidoscope of peoples, cultures, smells, shops, noises, foods, ages, and feelings; our visits exposed us to a mélange of characters - junkies, yuppies, pushers, hip youth, tourists, and residents - traveling in a shared space, yet in individual directions.

Methodologies

Our main methodologies included humanistic interviews, preliminary research, and participant observation. Humanistic interviewing attempts to answer questions in the context of a broader discussion. We also used a study by a geography graduate student, Cindy Mendoza, as a paradigm. Similar to her methods, ours were exploratory, seeking to provide an overview and an insight into homeless people's perceptions of danger and safety (Mendoza, 1997, p.32).

We had tested different forms of interviewing in an earlier pilot study. We had, therefore, formulated certain tactics based upon initial successes and failures. For example, we found that completely unstructured interviewing led to long-winded conversations that didn't yield answers to our danger and safety questions. Thus, structure became our main priority, and a sheet of standardized and laminated

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questions was the tool used to introduce us as researchers.

We talked with a total of 27 people, ranging in age from 15 to 60. None of our interviewees was transient. Rather, the shortest amount of time any one person had spent as part of the San Francisco homeless community was eight years. Participants were allowed unlimited time to answer our questions; thus, interviews lasted an average of one and a half hours. To ensure our own safety, we talked only to relatively sober people and conducted our interviews during daylight hours.

Results

Below is a list of dangers identified by our interviewees. Some answers were ubiquitous in all of our study areas, while others were unique to certain ones. Since interviewees explained that most dangers occurred at night, we named night a danger unto itself.

Named in All Areas:
- Intruders
- Drugs/Alcohol
- Misperception
- Robbery
- Violence

The Haight-Ashbury District:
- Police Harassment
- Wealthy Communities
- Racial Tensions

The Mission District:
- Illness/Disease

Golden Gate Park:
- Police Harassment

Figure 1

Discussions with the Homeless ~ Our Results Explained

It was through conversation with members of the homeless community that we accumulated an understanding for what is considered dangerous to those living on streets and in parks. Let us offer some of their voices for further explanation.

The first danger, *intruders*, referred to the following: psychotic people, prior inmates, gang members, heroine addicts, crack heads, and drug-pushers from other communities. We interviewed Artermo, a dynamic, outspoken, hyper, interesting New Jersey poet, in the Haight District. He defined that which he found most dangerous —

Actual participation and conversation with members of San Francisco's homeless community altered our sensitivities, informed our consciousness, and shifted our perspectives.

"psychotic people". "They're under thirty, young kids who belong to satanic groups. They're dumb and have mental problems. I feel safe except for the fact that they exist. They're driving us crazy. They should be locked up." Liza and James, also in the Haight, affirmed Arto's explanation. "Most psychotic idiots live in the Mission or Tenderloin," Arto continued. "They have weapons. Cops are scared of them, too. When they push in the Haight, I get nervous. Most psychotic idiots come from other neighborhoods."

Drugs were also mentioned as a danger, mainly in the form of alcohol. Constance and Beatrice explained that drugs in the Mission, namely crack-cocaine and heroin, are dangers unto themselves, as many people use once and continue through time. The danger identified as *misperception,* referred to the homed population's attitude toward the homeless, often described as "othering". In this case, the others are the homeless community. Most of the homeless with whom we spoke felt a common sense of alienation. Mendoza (1997) *found similar* perceptions among homeless campers in Eugene. She writes, "Communal identity was strengthened in Centennial Car Camp by external opposition; their common sense of alienation became a bond" (p. 39). Constance described misperception as a danger. She told a long story of an acquaintance who came to the Mission to die. "He had been living in Oakland. He knew I'd take care of him, feed him lots of sweet water, sing him songs like 'Southern Girl' by Frankie Beverly and the Maze. That guy wanted to go out New Orleans Style. And he did. But it's sad that none of you folks gave a damn. That's the problem. You don't realize that we have feelings and make connections. We hurt too."

Robbery occurred at least once a month, important because it usually meant loss of all possessions. Constance and Beatrice, both from the Mission, mentioned robbery. "Living here proves that the people who see you in the day steal your things at night," Constance exclaimed. In the Haight, robbery was affirmed by all. "Happens mainly at night," James said, "Usually, once a month, someone from another neighborhood passing through takes all your stuff. We know most people who live here long term, and we know it's not them."

Violence had specific ramifications for women. Most women felt they were strong due to the experience of living on the street, yet acknowledged issues of vio-

lence and rape as extremes in danger particular to their gender. Liza, a pseudo-tomboy with sunglasses and a babushka, pinpointed her gender. She found sleeping alone "terrorizing". "We've got to be on guard because someone will take advantage of us." Constance also felt that a woman "had to have a different handle on it," and explained that, "Ya don't got any time to play out here. Being nice is not nice. You've got to be on guard, whether you're male or female."

Differences in responses are worth noting. Unlike the Mission interviewees, those in the park and those in the Haight named *police* as the greatest danger. According to the homeless, the police often abused their power and authority by removing the homeless from their semi-permanent locations in the park. They also issued tickets for illegal use of public space, sleeping in the park, and drinking from open containers- leading to a great sense of intrusion.

Liza talked about this police intrusion. "Nasty cop Gabriel, he's scum. Some cops are out to be mean because they don't like the homeless. I recently got a car from a friend. In it, I had all my life possessions, clothes, and medicines. The cops woke me up and towed my car away. All they left me was the clothes on my back. And the worst are lady cops. I mean, think what happens when you get a woman mad....now add the fact that she's a cop. DANGER!"

Wealthy Communities were a danger in the Haight, one related to the gentrification of the neighborhood. The homeless in the Haight felt that this new presence of wealthier people increased their overall number of negative daily confrontations.

The one danger identified specifically in the Mission was *illness or disease*. It centered upon the effects of drug use and the inability of most of our interviewees to seek medical attention. Our respondents weren't motivated to use potential free or subsidized services. Constance added, "It's how you treat your people and people treat you. I don't trust anyone touching me, especially a doctor. You gotta leave Constance where she is."

Conclusions

Actual participation and conversation with members of San Francisco's homeless community altered our sensitivities, informed our consciousness, and shifted our perspectives. Through these interviews and conversations, we gained insights into how the homeless population's perspectives of safety and danger are both similar to and different from ours.

Photo by Sara Marcellino and Christopher Campbell

It was through conversation with members of the homeless community that we accumulated an understanding for what is considered dangerous to those living on streets and in parks.

Also, we explored how people adapt and respond to risks daily.

The homeless saw their chosen environments as home and community; they felt a sense of place and identity within these homes and amongst friends with whom this space was shared. In all areas, old friendships allowed us to experience positive group interviews, an unexpected bonus in our research. Humanistic interviewing was an ideal method for this work; it led us to the information we sought and offered the homeless a gateway for correspondence with the outside world and a comfortable environment in which to embellish their stories and bring up new topics. In the future, cognitive mapping — an exercise that attempts to map mental images of one's sense of place in a particular area — could help us see if the homeless actually see beyond their immediate homes. Also, supplying disposable cameras with instructions to record elements of danger might both increase our awareness and offer the homeless an opportunity to document that which is important — or scary — to them.

Considering the number of interviews conducted, we believe our list of dangers is comprehensive, but feel additional dangers would surface if more interviews transpired. Weather and climate were never mentioned as dangers. Rather, nature offered the homeless comfort and security, and humans were perceived as the greater and more threatening danger.

Interestingly, several answers reflected the settings of the specific neighborhoods or parks. For example, those who lived in the park sought solitude; thus, the intrusion of others into this space seemed dangerous. People in the Mission, known for its heroin and cocaine issues, had no problem with police, most likely because police have bigger problems to deal with than the homeless. In the Haight, where gentrification is more and more the norm, police harassment was the main danger. And interestingly, each interviewee expressed an aversion to moving to another part of the city — it would be "too dangerous."

Other thoughts exist for future research. Different areas of the city could be explored. One could also look at prior incarnations of the various neighborhoods. Might the scale of danger, in the Mission for example, once have been lower, maybe different? Looking at the spatial changes in perceptions of danger and safety over time might add more insight to our results.

Timothy O'Riordan writes, "People regard risk as part of a complex of values relating to the very ethos of a society and its institutions (1986, p.302). Indeed, San Francisco's homeless population faces unique dangers and problems. But the spirit of those with whom we spoke also offered unique promise, almost erasing the ink spelling "homeless" in our notes. Problem or promise, the perception of danger can be as real to one as it is opaque to another. Just ask some questions — the answers are right there on the street.

> **The homeless saw their chosen environments as home and community; they felt a sense of place and identity within these homes and amongst friends with whom this space was shared.**

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Floating All the Boats in the City by the Bay

Jill Stapleton

This article outlines some of the ways in which our society and our city, have been structured to create poverty and homelessness. It examines a myriad of influences, both past and present, including law, legislation, accepted business practices, popular conceptions and beliefs, the structure of government, politics, and the media, and many others. The article also examines some of the strategies that San Francisco is currently using to deal with concentrated poverty and homelessness and proposes an expansion and coordination of these strategies.

The author's vision for the future of San Francisco is explained. It includes coordinating and expanding all of the private and public/private partnership programs that are in place. She argues that in order to protect those who have been, and those who will be, dropped through the ever widening net of welfare reform, San Francisco will need programs that go further with more purpose. The author proposes a citywide ten-step network of programs that would be available to people in crisis and a series of legislative changes that should be addressed as soon as possible. The combination of these actions, she argues, could make San Francisco a model, in the humane treatment of its citizens and in the success of its urban safety net, for other cities to follow.

The economic story that Americans hear at the turn of the millennium is one of unparalleled prosperity. We have the lowest unemployment rate in 24 years (Gore, 1997). Over 12 million new jobs have been created. We have the highest home ownership rate in 15 years (Cuomo, 1997). Inflation is at a historic low. Incomes are rising across the board. The gap between the rich and the poor is closing. The standard of living is rising. There are more millionaires in the United States today than ever before (Cuomo, 1998). In the 1990s, the United States became the world's sole superpower. Americans live in the most powerful nation on Earth. In 1994, an estimated 12 million American adults had been homeless at some point in their lives. In 1998, an estimated 838,000 people were homeless on any given night

(NCH, 1998), an estimated 14,000 in San Francisco alone (The Coalition on Homelessness, San Francisco, 1996). Homeless children appear to be the fastest growing segment of the American homeless population (NCH, 1998). The economic story that Americans need to be awakened to is one of the highest income inequality in U.S. history. The richest 10 percent of Americans own more than the bottom 90 percent put together (Cuomo, 1998).

In the midst of the current economic boom, most of American society does not see, or does not acknowledge, the reality of economic stratification. Because of decreasing unemployment, conventional wisdom finds it ever easier to blame the victim. Many Americans still subscribe to our historic bootstrap mentality. That is, if you want it bad enough, and work hard

enough, you can make it. Or, to reverse the phrase, if you're not making it, you don't want it bad enough, or you're not working hard enough. In this article, I outline some of the ways in which our society in general, and San Francisco in particular, has been structured to create poverty and homelessness. In the structure of society, I include a myriad of influences, both past and present, including law, legislation, accepted business practices, popular conceptions and beliefs, the structure of government, politics, and the media, and many others. I also examine some of the strategies that San Francisco is currently using to deal with concentrated poverty and homelessness and propose an expansion and coordination of these strategies.

The cost of housing in American has been affected by a century of federal government actions. After World War II, there was a massive nationwide migration of whites to the suburbs. Between 1933 and 1978, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) structured the federally guaranteed primary and secondary mortgage markets around the construction and purchase of single family detached suburban homes, which were in many cases exclusively available to whites, thus creating equity in the estates of more than 35 million white families (Goldfield & Brownell, 1989). People of color were legally excluded from suburbs for 20 years after WWII. It wasn't until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that the common "whites only"

clauses in suburban home-buying agreements were illegal. Double blind studies currently indicate that, even 36 years later, instances of discrimination in housing are still more common than not for homebuyers of color. The FHA, certainly a major structural force, enriched the estates of those 35 million white families, but in financing the flight of whites to the suburbs, it also had a major impact on the decline of cities. The removal of the more affluent whites left the cities with large areas of economically poor and less affluent people who were disproportionately people of color.

The Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954 and the National Interstate and Defense Highway Act of 1957 were also detrimental to low-income city residents; they subsidized the destruction of low-income neighborhoods and enabled the construction of new, higher-cost housing, highways, and commercial projects like San Francisco's Embarcadero center. It wasn't until 1974, when Congress passed the Housing and Community Development Act, that developers were required to relocate displaced families when their homes were demolished. This legislation still did not stop more low-income homes from being destroyed than were built. Nationwide, between 1973 and 1993, 2.2 million low-rent units were demolished or condemned but not replaced (NCH, 1998). In the next two years, from 1993 to 1995, 16 percent of the remaining low-rent units were demolished or condemned without being re-

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placed.

In San Francisco, low-income housing continues to be destroyed faster than it is created, causing a severe and growing deficit in the supply of housing, especially low-cost housing. Our vacancy rate is less than one percent, which makes San Francisco's housing market one of the tightest in the nation. In San Francisco, low-income housing continues to be destroyed faster than it is created. Between 1980 and 1990, 9,000 of our cheapest housing units were destroyed or converted into higher-cost housing. In the period between 1980 and 1990, single room occupancy (SRO) rents increased 166 percent, and studios rents increased 183 percent (The Coalition on Homelessness, San Francisco, 1996).

HUD uses the terms "very-low-income" and "worst-case" to categorize and measure housing situations. Very-low income refers to individuals and families who earn less than 50 percent of an area's median income (in San Francisco this is $34,450). People with worst case housing needs earn very-low incomes and pay over half of those incomes for rent or are living in severely substandard housing, or both. Forty-six percent of the very-low-income households in the San Francisco Metropolitan Urban Area (which includes San Francisco and Oakland) live in worst-case housing situations. Put another way, of the households in San Francisco and Oakland that earn less than half of the median income, 46 percent pay more than half of their income in rent, or live in severely substandard housing, or both. Put in real numbers, 61,000 households in San Francisco and Oakland have worst case housing needs. This is the third highest percentage in the nation, behind only first-place San Diego and Miami and Seattle, which are tied for second (HUD, 1998a).

Nationwide and in San Francisco, subsidized highways and the structure of federal housing policy have lead to the systematic creation of commercial space, subsidized transportation corridors, and mid- and high-cost housing units, and the destruction of low-cost housing units. As low-cost housing units were destroyed, the people who lived in them were displaced to other low-rent districts in the city. More and more low-rent neighborhoods were redeveloped in a process that created neighborhoods of concentrated poverty.

San Francisco's vacancy rate is less than one percent, which makes its housing market one of the tightest in the nation.

In addition to redevelopment, low-cost housing in San Francisco is also falling prey to gentrification. Fiscally, the process of gentrification is a healthy one: families buy distressed property in distressed neighborhoods and fix it up, increasing property values and taxes. In San Francisco, gentrification has been a factor in creating one of the tightest housing markets, with the highest rents, in the nation. Even the most affordable neighborhoods in San Francisco are subject to precipitously rising rents. In San Francisco, the combination of gentrification and the continued destruction of low-cost housing has resulted in increased rents, which, even at the low end of the market, make a mockery of the term low-cost.

With precipitously increasing housing costs, the number of people in need of below market-rate rental housing is growing. Issues of unemployment and underemployment aside, growing numbers of the employed are either homeless or in

worst-case housing situations. "Growing numbers of men and women who serve the fast food we eat, who clean the offices where we work, who watch our children in daycare centers, and who perform many other low-wage jobs aren't paid enough to house their families in safe and decent conditions," said HUD secretary Andrew Cuomo (HUD, 1998b).

The federal government is responsible for setting a national minimum wage. In 1967, a year-round, minimum wage worker could support a family of three above the poverty line. In 1995, a year-round minimum wage earner kept a family of three at 15 percent below the poverty line (NCH, 1998). In 1995, 1.4 million families with worst-case housing needs had *at least* one full time worker, according to a Department of Housing and Urban Development report (HUD, 1998b). In San Francisco, a full time minimum wage earner has less than seven dollars a day for expenses after renting the average SRO room. Over 90,000 San Francisco households earn less than one-fifth of the median income for the area (COH, 1996). One lost paycheck, an unexpected illness, or any unexpected expense that would be minor to families with insurance, or to those living above the poverty line, can easily push these households into homelessness. We have created a structure in which full time workers cannot afford to support their families, and in San Francisco, full time workers cannot support even themselves. Between 1981 and 1990, the minimum wage remained static, while the cost of living increased 48 percent. In 1996, the minimum wage was raised, but the increase "made up only slightly more than half the ground lost to inflation in the 1980s" (NCH, 1998). So, by choosing not to allow minimum wage to keep pace with inflation, we have created a wage structure in which a full time worker cannot fully support even a single-person household, much less a family.

If a full time, minimum wage worker experiences one of the many minor misfortunes that upsets the precarious balance of their finances enough to push them onto the street, many quickly lose their jobs. Living on the streets makes it almost impossible to accomplish the basics of daily living that are necessary to remain employed. The difficulties of personal hygiene are the most obvious and most discussed. Other issues, however, are arguably more important for those who are trying to keep their jobs. As life on the streets leads to lack of sleep, getting to work on time without clocks and alarms becomes increasingly difficult. Getting in touch with employers without a phone or voice mail becomes nearly impossible. The issues that these workers face if they have children exacerbate the difficulties.

The previous depressing statistics are for the full time, permanently employed. There are many that are not so lucky. In 1994, the unemployment rate in San Francisco was 6.4 percent (USDOC, 1996) and even more San Franciscans were underemployed. Underemployment statistics include unemployed, involuntarily part time workers and those who have given up active job search. In 1993, the national underemployment rate was 12.6 percent, and an estimated 29.4 percent of the workforce was employed in nonstandard work arrangements, including temporary agencies, day-laboring, and part time employment (NCH, 1998). The lack of an adequate number of full time jobs should be attributed to a number of factors. These factors include the rise of the suburbs, which has created a spatial mismatch between the location of low-skilled jobs and the place of residence, predominantly in center cities, of workers who need them. An increasing need for computer skills has pushed more jobs out of the reach of low-skilled workers. The globalization of the economy, especially in the low-skilled manufacturing sector, has moved many

low-skilled jobs overseas.

"In short, over a sustained period, the labor market has twisted against disadvantaged workers, those with limited skills or education and from poor families and neighborhoods, therefore greatly diminishing their actual or potential earnings. Indeed, with the transition from manufacturing to services, cognitive and interpersonal skills have become prerequisites even for many low paying jobs" (Wilson, 1997).

In a society that has been committed for almost a century to public education, the production of workers that do not have the skills they need to get entry-level jobs is a structural failure. As HUD Secretary Andrew Cuomo stated, "One of the areas that gives me the most pause is the polarization within the education system. Where depending on where you live will dictate what type of education you receive. And what type of education will dictate what type of future" (Cuomo, 1997).

In San Francisco, the workfare program has further reduced standard employment opportunities. The workfare program is one that requires able adults receiving welfare to spend some of their time in work-like situations. This requirement can be met by volunteering or by working for the city (for substantially reduced pay and no benefits or job security). This is not a program in which the city employs welfare recipients, but a program that forces people to work for low pay, without benefits or job-security. By employing welfare workers at substandard wages without offering benefits, the city has created a dangerous cycle. Workfare reduces the number of good jobs, i.e. above minimum wage, full time, permanent jobs with benefits. This raises the potential for unemployment or underemployment among those who no longer have those good jobs. This, in turn, raises the potential number of welfare recipients, which raises the number of workfare participants. In the arena of street cleaning for example, "since the inception of workfare, the number of union employees sweeping the City's streets has gone down from 300 to less than 90" (COH, 1996). Overall, there are now more than 900 workfare employees in the city, which means 900 fewer union jobs. (COH, 1996).

It is extraordinarily depressing to learn that the level of unemployment at a given time is partly determined by national monetary policy, and that, according to that monetary policy, the optimum level of unemployment is not zero. "Monetary policies that lower inflation but result in higher levels of unemployment ultimately undermine local initiatives to enhance employment opportunities" (Wilson, 1997). So, not only does the structure of the minimum

Between 1980 and 1990, nine thousand of our cheapest housing units were destroyed or converted into higher-cost housing.

wage deny full time, permanent workers the ability to support themselves, federal policy dictates that not everyone should have full time, permanent employment.

The cost of housing has been affected by a century of federal government actions. Both nationwide and in San Francisco, federally subsidized highways and the structure of federal housing policy has lead to the systematic creation of mid- and high-cost housing units and the destruction of low-cost housing units. In San Francisco, the resulting lack of low-cost housing has increased rents, even at the lowest levels, to rates that a minimum wage earner cannot be reasonably expected to pay. With the failure of minimum wage to keep up with inflation and housing costs, a structure, in which full time minimum wage workers cannot afford to support their families, has been created. In San Francisco, full time workers cannot support even themselves. Further, many entry-level jobs require skills that are not available to the urban poor. The production of workers that do not have the skills they need to get entry-level jobs is a structural failure. Not only do the structure of the minimum wage and the inadequacy of our public school system deny the urban poor the ability support themselves, federal monetary policy dictates that, in order to control inflation, not everyone should have full time permanent employment, even at an inadequate minimum wage.

Given the above, it is clearly the responsibility of American society to compensate for the structural inequities that lead to poverty and homelessness. This can be done in one of three ways: compensate the affected individuals with various forms of welfare, aid the affected individuals with various private and/or public programs, or change the structures that create poverty and homelessness. All are being attempted in San Francisco. I will first examine the success of welfare, or more accurately, its lack of success. There

are several forms of direct assistance. Most have recently changed drastically with Congress' welfare reform measures. To San Franciscans, the 1996 welfare reform measures mean that an estimated 15,000 San Franciscan families, disabled adults, seniors, and immigrants will lose their benefits (COH, 1996). Without drastic countermeasures, the number of homeless San Franciscans could double after these changes go into effect. The programs I will explore are:

- Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and its replacement program, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF)
- Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI)
- General Assistance (GA)
- Section 8 housing certificates and Public Housing

AFDC was abolished in 1996. Until then, it was the largest cash assistance program for poor families with children. Between 1970 and 1994, the typical state's AFDC benefits for a family of three fell 47 percent, after adjusting for inflation. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 replaced the AFDC with TANF, a program that limits recipients to two consecutive years of benefits and five years of total benefits. Currently, TANF benefits are below the poverty line in every state, and, in most states they are below 75 percent of the poverty line (NCH, 1998). In San Francisco in 1997, a family of three received an estimated $565 per month. This will pay just over half of the fair market rent of $1,000 for a two bedroom apartment, $40 less than the fair market rent for a one-bedroom apartment, and just $15 per month more than the fair market rent for a studio (COH, 1996).

How then, does society expect these poor families to stay housed, much

less work themselves out of the system? First, a family must find a place to live that is at or below the fair market rent for last year. Then, the family must find a place to live that either allows or does not know that there are three people, including at least one child in the household. The initial payment of first/last/deposit will take any savings the family has. Finally, in a housing market that is still more often than not racist and classist, the family — a member of the underclass by definition and, statistically, probably one of color — needs to break through the barrier of housing discrimination. Next, the family must feed itself. Usually, this is made easier by food stamps. However, since most of the food that is covered must be cooked, if the family had the misfortune of finding a studio without a full kitchen, the family would be required to supplement their food stamp budget with their TANF. That would be with the $15 a month that they are not spending on rent. It is not realistic for society to expect these families to survive.

Increased homelessness caused by the new TANF restrictions has not been present long enough to measure statistically. Changes in SSI and SSDI, unfortunately, have. In March 1996, SSI and SSDI began to be denied to "people whose addictions are considered to be a 'contributing factor material to' the determination of their disability status" (NCH, 1998). In light of the progress that has been made in proving that addiction disorders, especially alcoholism, are diseases, this denial of benefits is especially disturbing. SSI is also now unavailable to both legal and undocumented immigrants (NCH, 1998). Since March 1996, an estimated 140,000 individuals have lost their SSI or SSDI and by extension, their access to Medicaid (NCH, 1998).

"SSI and SSDI benefits are often the only income that stands between an individual and home-lessness. They provide access to healthcare through Medicaid. Preliminary results from a national study to document the effects of SSI eligibility changes for persons served by Healthcare for the homeless projects confirms the suspicion that loss of SSI and SSDI is resulting in increased homelessness: of 681 homeless interviewed, 3.2% had recently lost their SSI or SSDI because of an alcohol or drug-related disability, and of those persons who had been paying for their own house prior to losing SSI/SSDI benefits, two thirds lost their housing because they could no longer pay for it" (NCH, 1998).

Even those who still receive SSI are at risk for homelessness. In San Francisco, the entire maximum SSI grant does not cover the Fair Market Rent for a one-bedroom apartment (NCH 1998). In fact, the $625 a month payment "barely covers the $550 monthly rent of a typical studio" (COH 1996). Not only are the benefit amounts inadequate, "It generally takes up to two years to complete the application process" (COH 1996). For able, single adults, not yet senior citizens, the General Assistance (GA) grant is $345 per month. This not only falls far short of the typical studio rental, but barely even covers the average SRO rent of $330. GA recipients are losing these meager benefits at an alarming rate. More than 10,000 poor were discontinued from GA in San Francisco in 1996, an increase of more than 50 percent from the number discontinued two years earlier (COH, 1998).

The final forms of public assistance that I will examine are categorized as direct housing assistance. HUD supplies housing assistance in one of two ways: Section 8 housing supplements, in which HUD pays a portion of a poor household's

monthly rent; or placement in a rapidly decreasing supply of public housing. According to a 1998 HUD study, "a record 5.3 million households with very-low incomes ... have a desperate need for housing assistance because they face a crisis of unaffordable rents and substandard living conditions" (HUD, 1998b). These 5.3 million represent one-seventh of all of the renters in the nation, encompassing 12.5 million people, 4.5 million children, 1.5 million seniors and 1.1 to 1.4 million adults with disabilities (HUD, 1998b). "These families qualify for HUD housing aid, but they cannot get it because the Department doesn't have the funding to help them" (HUD, 1998b). HUD is currently able to aid less than half of the households nationwide that meet its eligibility requirements. An estimated 4,000 public housing units were destroyed between 1996 and 1998, and only a fraction were replaced. In San Francisco, 15,000 people were waiting for public housing in 1996, and 3,000 more were waiting for section 8 vouchers (COH, 1996).

It would take 20 more pages to describe the realities of financial survival for families or individuals who receive public assistance, so I'll save that for another discussion. My point, however, is central to this article. I have discussed some of the structural causes of poverty and homelessness. I have argued that because the structure of our society has created these problems, society is responsible for fixing them. Finally, I have just shown that public assistance, the primary structural agent for fixing these problems, does not succeed. The preceding statistics on the state of public assistance, in both the nation and in San Francisco, clearly show that poor individuals and families are not able to reasonably survive off of federal welfare benefits. The presence of 14,000 homeless in San Franciso is an undeniable result of our failure to provide for our residents' most basic human right, the right to a home.

For- tunately, for some of those 14,000, and for the many others who are on the brink of joining them, there are a myriad of private programs in San Fran- cisco that attempt to help the economically poor. Many of these programs are able to operate because of a blend of private and public support, though some operate solely with private donations. Many could not survive without armies of volunteers who donate their time and talents on a regular basis. There are soup kitchens, emergency shelters, substance abuse programs, mental healthcare, physical healthcare, programs that assist individuals obtaining public as-

Construction of new, expensive, live-work lofts in San Francisco continues to race forward while construction of affordable housing is stalled.

sistance, child care, low-skill jobs being created, free job training, skill-based classes, and nonprofit housing assistance. These are good programs that help many people, but anyone walking through the Tenderloin on any afternoon can tell you that they are not enough. Anyone who boards MUNI or BART from the Drumm Street entrance and stops to talk to one of the friendliest men in San Francisco can tell you that, as long as that man makes his home on stacked milk crates in the lee of the windbreak created by the subway entrance, the existing programs are not enough. San Francisco's social service network needs to be expanded, because, tonight, 14,000 San Franciscans will sleep on the street.

My vision for the future of San Francisco includes coordinating and expanding all of the private and public/private partnership programs that are in place. In order to protect those who have been, and those who will be, dropped through the ever-widening net of welfare reform, San Francisco will need programs that go further, with more purpose. The nonprofit community of San Francisco needs to create a city wide 10-step network of programs available for people in crisis, and a series of legislative changes need to be addressed as soon as possible. The combina-

tion of these actions could make San Francisco a model, in the humane treatment of its citizens and in the success of its urban safety net, for others to follow.

One of the legislative changes that currently looks hopeful is the passage of a living wage ordinance. By raising the minimum wage to livable standards, a living wage directly affects city employees and the employees of companies doing business with the city. It indirectly affects the rest of the labor market by putting upward pressure on the minimum wage, even for those companies that do not do business with the city. This legislation would have immediate and dramatic effects for individuals and families that currently cannot effectively support themselves in spite of working full time. It would soon have measurable effects on the population of homeless in the city as those with jobs became further removed from the brink of homelessness. When an individual has more than seven dollars a day after rent, when all employed San Franciscans earn enough to pay basic living expenses, there is less of a chance that more will end up on the streets.

Another legislative area in which the city is moving in a positive direction is in the attraction of jobs. In an effort to encourage one of San Francisco's fastest

The 10 Step Network:

1. **Food and shelter**
2. **Substance abuse and mental health treatment**
3. **Universal public health care**
4. **Assistance in obtaining welfare**
5. **Childcare on demand**
6. **Supplemental education for children**
7. **Job training**
8. **Urban survival training**
9. **Housing assistance**
10. **Continued involvement**

growing industries, the Department of Building Inspections is attempting to legislate a faster permit process for multimedia businesses. The city is attempting to sponsor a renaissance of small businesses by offering small business loans and management training. In the Bayview-Hunters Point area, more than $2.5 million in small business loans passed through the Mayor's Office of Community Development last year. Development on Treasure Island promises to include restaurants, a marina, police academy, fire fighters' college, and about 900 units of housing. The retail trade continues to expand in San Francisco. Expansions and new stores in the downtown shopping district include Macy's, Levi Strauss, Nikeworld, Virgin Records and Saks Men's. A new and larger headquarters has opened for the Pacific Stock Exchange. In short, for the poverty stricken financial analysts, computer wizards, business owners, yachtsmen, and retail employees fit for Saks Men's, the city is doing everything it can to improve employment options (Brown, 1997).

On a more interesting job creation note, there are areas that are more promising to low-skilled workers. More than 300 new jobs are expected in the Western Addition neighborhood if the Mayor's "Lower Fillmore Jazz District" goes as planned. Fifty percent of the construction workers employed in building the new Giant's Stadium were San Francisco residents; priority in hiring was given to Bayview-Hunters Point, Chinatown, Mission, Visitacion Valley and Potrero Hill residents. The ballpark will participate in a summer jobs program for at-risk youth. The Port of San Francisco's tonnage is expected to double, with revenue increases up to 40 percent (Brown, 1997). Most promising is a nonprofit organization that is spearheading the purchase and management of a planned Bayview-Hunters Point industrial park. I would argue that the list of new job initiatives that would create low skill jobs

needs to be longer than the list of high skill jobs.

There are eight organizations in San Francisco that provide free meals regularly (three days a week or more) and 12 that provide meals twice or less per week. It is possible to get at least two free hot meals every day in San Francisco at Glide Memorial Church or St. Anthony's dining hall. An Estimated 5,000 people are fed by these organizations each day. There are between 250 and 350 shelter beds available for emergency stays for single adults. The total of 1,400 shelter beds includes long- term facilities, emergency beds, as well as those available to youth, families, or battered women. In 1990, 50 percent of homeless women and children were fleeing from abuse (NCH, 1998). Many of the shelter providers have additional services, including food, substance abuse assistance, case management, counseling, medical services, clothing, job training, English classes, GED classes, and an alternative high school. All of these programs are essential to the survival of many homeless San Franciscans. There will be 14,000 homeless San Franciscans tonight. Less than half of them will be fed by soup kitchens. Emergency shelters will provide a cot or a mat for less than 4 percent of them. There is a catastrophic need for more emergency food and shelter in the city. Because these are the most basic of the necessities of the 10-step network, they must come first.

Substance abuse and mental health treatment on demand is the step after housing and food. I link the two because they are very often linked in reality. "Between 60 - 88 % of residential mental health treatment clients are past or current substance abusers" (COH, 1996). This high rate of substance abuse in people with mental illnesses is often a result of self-medicating. Research on how to respond to the needs of homeless persons suffering from addiction confirm that

housing stability is an essential prerequisite for successful treatment. "Substance abuse does increase the risk of displacement for the precariously housed; in the absence of appropriate treatment, it may doom one's chances of getting housing once on the streets" (NCH 1998). Currently, shelter housing is often denied to people with substance abuse or mental health disorders. Conversely, treatment for these disorders often requires that the individuals be housed (NCH, 1998). An estimated 30 to 40 percent of San Francisco's homeless are mentally ill; these individuals comprise only 5 to 15 percent of the shelter population.

Both substance abuse and mental health treatment on demand are priorities for the Brown Administration. Any advancement for homeless individuals with these problems can only happen once they are being treated. Making the rest of the 10 steps available to people with mental health or substance abuse problems cannot help without treatment for the underlying illnesses. There are currently programs to address these issues in San Francisco, but they are overburdened. On one day alone, November 31, 1995, 1,097 people were waiting for substance abuse treatment at publicly funded programs in San Francisco. A more current study estimates that 1,400 people are on waiting lists for substance abuse programs every day in San Francisco (COH, 1996). In 1994-1995, almost 11,000 San Franciscans requested mental health services from public programs; only one-fifth were served (COH, 1996).

Funding for substance abuse and mental healthcare on demand is one of the easiest funding arguments to win. Substantial monetary savings, from programs that would need less funding if these problems were not a constant public problem, could be redirected towards treatment programs. First, and most obvious, would be the savings from decreased police intervention. Additionally, decreased hospital expenses would be significant. "San Francisco has the highest speed related emergency room visit rate in the U.S." (COH, 1996). More generally, the city has the highest drug-related emergency room rate in the nation (COH, 1996).

Many homeless people have multiple health problems and are desperately in need of care. Some of the most common problems are frostbite, leg ulcers, upper respiratory infections, and trauma from muggings, beatings and rape. Nutritional deficiencies and hygiene problems exacerbate health problems for the homeless. According to Religious Witness for the homeless, 169 people died on the streets of San Francisco in 1999, more than any other year since 1985 when homeless deaths began to be counted (COH 1996). Between 1985 and 1996, 1,343 homeless deaths were documented (COH, 1996). Universal healthcare would not only aid the population that is currently homeless, but would prevent additional homelessness, of which a major cause is the lack of healthcare. Thirteen percent of homeless individuals seeking healthcare "stated that poor physical health was a factor in their becoming homeless. Of those patients, half said health was a 'major factor' and 15% stated that it was the 'single most important factor'" (NCH, 1989). In 1996, over 40 million Americans had no

Currently, shelter housing is often denied to people with substance abuse or mental health disorders. Conversely, treatment for these disorders often requires that the individuals be housed.

health insurance. More than 33 percent of Americans living in poverty had no health insurance. Others had inadequate insurance. These numbers are rising (NCH, 1998).

Assistance in obtaining welfare is an idea that would cost almost nothing and make use of funds that are already available. In 1986, the Homeless Eligibility Clarification Act was passed. This removed permanent address requirements and other eligibility obstacles to public assistance programs such as SSI and AFDC. There are still many logistical obstacles that applicants must overcome. A simple program that provided assistance filling out forms, transportation to appointments, and instructions on applying for public assistance would greatly increase the chances an individual has to receive federal funds.

High quality childcare on demand is a necessity for any single parent who is either working or looking for work. According to San Francisco's Department of Human Services, 2,400 children under five need daycare immediately, in order to allow their parents to look for work and get off of TANF in the mandatory two year period Johnson, 1998). The Tenderloin Childcare Center is a nonprofit center for children in families that earn less than $18,000 a year. In San Francisco, $18,000 per year is barely over a quarter of the median income, and well below the poverty line. The facility currently holds 104 children, with 200 on the waiting list. The Tenderloin facility may soon expand, but it certainly won't hold the 2,400 more needy children created by welfare reform.

Supplemental education for school age children is also needed. In California's notoriously poor public school system, poor city schools tend to be the worst performers. School age children face two distinct needs. First, the public school system needs to be drastically improved. There are almost as many ways to do this as there are politicians and educators working on school reform. Governor Gray Davis has put public education at the top of his priority list. In San Francisco, we can address the problems facing public schools directly. The city, with its unprecedented fiscal health, must spend some much-needed public money on education. In June of 1997, $140 million in bonds were approved to renovate public elementary and high schools and San Francisco City College. While these bonds will directly affect the quality of education in middle and high school science labs, they will also affect the look and safety of the schools with construction, electrical repairs, and seismic upgrades (Brown, 1997). Second, part of San Francisco's nonprofit alliance should focus on providing after-school activities and education.

The next four steps of my proposed 10-step network are those that target long-term needs. Steps one through six begin the process by addressing the immediate survival needs of individuals and families on the streets or in unstable housing situations. If the next four are done well, the city could create an upward current in the economic structure of the city that would bring everyone to the surface to stay. Andrew Cuomo said in a HUD speech that, while it was clear that the economic tide in the nation was rising, the presence of poverty and homelessness indicated that the rising tide wasn't floating all the boats. The last steps my 10-step network are aimed at floating all the boats.

The city needs job training and placement for adults. The job training network would start at the bottom and work up. Training and placement for the homeless would include access to showers and clean clothes, voice mail, and training in basic communication skills. To elevate unskilled laborers to skilled ones, training in areas such as electrical work, plumbing, metalworking, auto mechanics, computers, and office management should be avail-

able to anyone who needs it. Job placement, especially in the form of apprenticeships should be attached to this job training wherever possible. The nonprofit network should explore what works well in other cities and expand those programs in San Francisco. Strong community workforce development programs do exist, but publicity for them is scarce. "Effective strategies and practices remain largely unknown outside a small circle, because staff in these organizations are focused on their own programs, they do not have the capacity to pass their experiences on to others in anything but episodic fashion" (Wilson, 1997). One of very few positive developments in welfare reform was the creation of "significant new funds" (Foscarinis, 1998) for job training. In San Francisco, PG&E has a promising program in which 56 welfare recipients received job training in 1997. Sixty people trained with the Department of Parks and Recreation, and 90 with the Waterfront Restaurant. In 1997, $450,000 was allocated for nonprofit community based job training programs (Brown, 1997). Coordination and expansion are the keys to job training in San Francisco.

Urban survival training may be a new name, but it's not a new concept. Many of our existing shelters already offer some of these services. They would be geared toward low-income and unemployed adults. Literacy projects, basic math instruction, English as a second language, citizenship, and GED classes would form the core curriculum. Budgeting, cost-effective buying and financial planning should be taught. Instruction in nutrition, cooking, stretching the food

> **San Francisco is home to literally hundreds of non-profit, community-service organizations. I believe that by working together, these organizations could change the world of San Francisco's economically poor.**

budget, and meal planning should be offered, especially to parents. Goal-setting classes would provide the opportunity to hear from formerly homeless people who survived and were able to climb back on their feet.

Long-term, permanently low-cost housing assistance would be the only permanent fixture in this network. Because of San Francisco's astronomical rents, permanent low-cost, nonprofit housing needs to be much more available than it is. Rent control measures certainly help keep some of San Francisco's rents lower, but not low enough. San Francisco's *General Plan* identifies the necessity of "deal[ing] with the root causes of homelessness, recognizing the solution is more than the provision of emergency shelter." The plan goes on to state ways in which the city will deal with those causes of homelessness in a series of policies. It calls for "shift[ing] focus from provision of temporary shelter to provision of permanent affordable housing." If the focus of the city has been on the provision of temporary shelter and there are currently 1,400 beds (including long-term, emergency, and beds for women and youth in crisis) for 14,000 homeless, the city may need some help focusing on permanent affordable housing. I recommend that the new network of nonprofits provide that help.

Continued involvement is the key to the long-term survival of this nonprofit network and it's extensive programs. Continued involvement means that the individuals and families who have been helped by the network should give back to it once they are able to maintain stability. Previous graduates should dedicate both time

and money towards helping those currently in the programs. Graduates should also be encouraged to develop job skills that would enable them to participate in the nonprofit organizations that form the network, and the organizations should have target hiring quotas for the currently homeless and program graduates.

In total, San Francisco is home to literally hundreds of nonprofit, community service organizations. By working together, these organizations could change the world of San Francisco's economically poor. I believe that the federal government, with our permission as a society, has created a structure that creates poverty and homelessness, and that the federal safety net has become too loose to protect most of the needy. The conception of concentrated poverty and homelessness as a structural problem, rather than an individual one, in American society is a paradigm shift. It is one that many academics and those engaged in aiding the poor have already made. It is necessary that society in general understand these problems in relation to the structural reality of public policy so that the paradigm shift becomes universal. Within the new paradigm of understanding the structural causes of poverty, the responsibility to address the problem shifts from the individual to the structure, that is, to society as a whole.

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Regional Governance in the San Francisco Bay Area

Laurie Shiels

The San Francisco Bay Area is experiencing tremendous economic growth and prosperity. The region is flourishing with jobs but is subject to traffic congestion, a housing shortage, and a lessened sense of community. There is a desire to maintain the quality of life that has brought so many people to the Bay Area, but a lack of consensus as to how to achieve this goal. Is regional governance the solution?

Traffic congestion, overcrowded schools, a shortage of housing, the depletion of environmental resources, and a loss of community are issues that have become all too familiar to San Francisco Bay Area residents. Urban sprawl is a major cause of these problems and has become the Bay Area's worst enemy. The Bay Area is predicted to expand by 78 percent in the next 30 years (Urban Ecology, 1996). Rapid, unchecked growth creates problems that cities attempt to solve independently and inefficiently. Cities are struggling with growth in their own ways, often by implementing growth control measures. Such local measures are pushing development farther out and exacerbating growth-related problems. Local governments must realize that most of the problems their communities are experiencing are regional in nature and beyond their scope of control. It would be in the region's best interest for cities to work together to successfully plan the Bay Area's future. This article looks at various examples of regional organizations and their efforts at promoting regionalism. Regional governance has the greatest potential for coordinating growth in the region and creating a livable future.

In response to issues such as traffic congestion, pollution, loss of open space, and the poor quality of schools, cities have adopted slow growth policies. Citizens concerned about preserving their communities and maintaining a good quality of life are right in saying that growth should be kept under control. However, the tools that local governments use to manage growth are not far-reaching enough to diffuse the entire problem. Citizens advocating slow growth are rarely speaking for the region. They are speaking from daily experiences in their own communities regarding the immediate problems they face. Locals tend to be reluctant to accept newcomers and to provide housing for them. This self-interested perspective is referred to as "NIMBY," or "not in my backyard" (Fulton, 1999).

The actions of local governments not only fail to rein in growth, but they also become part of the problem. Downs (1994) explains, "Well meaning local efforts to manage growth could make society as a whole worse off without doing much to solve growth-related problems" (p. 4). In the Bay Area, restrictions are placed mainly on residential growth, without regard to commercial and industrial development. In the Silicon Valley, the job market is greatly surpassing the availability of housing. When a city follows a slow or no growth agenda, the de-

mand for housing is placed on neighboring communities. If these communities, in turn, adopt growth control measures to deal with a surge in housing demand, the demand is pushed even farther out (Lorentz & Shaw, 2000). Bay Area housing prices have skyrocketed and the competition for land has become fierce. Local policies have failed to ease traffic congestion and have increased commute times. Communities have become polarized and citizens are reluctant to cross community lines to discuss growth management issues. This has resulted in a fragmented and dysfunctional system of growth management among local governments.

There are some organizations in the Bay Area that address urban issues regionally and encourage cooperation among local governments. Although they lack regulatory power, these agencies conduct research and provide useful information to describe Bay Area trends and prospects for the future. The Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG) serves as the council of governments (COG) for the region. In 1990, the Executive Board of ABAG adopted a Land Use Policy Framework for the San Francisco Bay Area (Association of Bay Area Governments, 1990). This document identifies significant quality of life issues and lists objectives, policies, and actions that the Bay Area should use to coordinate growth. ABAG (1990) has created guiding principles to support its land use policy framework:

> The Association of Bay Area Governments believes that local governments must find a way to balance local self-determination with effective subregional and regional policies and decision-making. In view of the Legisla-

ture's current interest in local growth management and regional institutions, it is far better to develop our own common vision and interjurisdictional approach to decision-making within the Bay Area than to have unilateral actions dictated by the State of California. (p. 1)

ABAG engages the public in several ways. The agency hosts a web site, produces films, publishes reports, and informs local governments on how to meet their fair share of housing. Two films that have been created are *Hometown Blues* and *One Way Out of the Jam*. The former addresses trends in Bay Area growth and the latter focuses on transportation issues. Films are broadcast on local access channels in the region. It is important for the public not only to be aware of regional issues, but also to have the most up to date and accurate information. Every five years ABAG investigates the housing situation in the Bay Area and submits results to local governments. It is then up to each city to provide its fair share of housing according to these findings. Changes must be reflected in cities' general plans. Although cities should meet the housing needs of their people, local governments easily dismiss ABAG's requests. This is due to the agency's lack of regulatory power.

The Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC) is a state mandated regional planning agency and federally mandated metropolitan organization (MPO) that advises the region on transportation issues and assists in planning (Metropolitan Transportation Commission, 2000). Like ABAG, the MTC encourages public involvement through its web site, which features a guide for citi-

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zens. The guide includes information about transportation issues and invites input from Bay Area residents. Like housing, transportation is a region-wide issue that should be treated as such.

A citizen advisory group known as the Bay Vision 2020 Commission has also expressed an interest in regional governance. It receives much of its support from environmental and conservation groups who tend to be the most successful at promoting regional governance (DeLeon, 1992). Another group, the Bay Area Council, describes itself as "a business-sponsored, CEO-led public policy organization founded more than 50 years ago to promote regional economic prosperity and quality of life" (Bay Area Council, 2000). Its focus resembles Gedde's (1997) concept of the "city-region," in which cities and suburbs are considered as a singular economic and ecological unit. DeLeon (1992) sheds light on the reasoning that has led groups such as the Bay Area Council to support regional governance:

> Frustrated by the rising flood of local growth-control initiatives, many California business leaders have sought to curb local government discretion in growth management by assigning new power and authority to a different (and potentially more responsive) set of public officials at a higher political level. (p. 141)

With the support of over 225 major employers in the Bay Area, the Bay Area

Council anticipates that regional planning could be coordinated sufficiently to become more than advisory (Bay Area Council, 2000).

The prime example of an active and successful regional government is in the Portland region of Oregon. This region consists of 29 cities, 42 school districts, 3 major metropolitan counties and is surrounded by a 223,000-acre urban growth boundary (UGB) (Duncan & Nelson, 1995). The overall quality of life is good, partly due to the region's light rail system, great housing variety, and strong land use laws (Duncan & Nelson, 1995). Porter (1997) declares the citizen-elected Metropolitan Council (Metro) to be the most successful regional organization in the country. This success began in 1973 when a law passed to manage growth on a statewide level (Porter, 1997). The Metro derives much of its power from this law that shapes the development of the region.

The Metro oversees land use, housing, transportation and has formed many agencies to assist in the administration of regional goals, such as the Future Vision Commission. This commission assists in growth management, sustainable development, and the carrying capacity of transportation systems (Porter, 1997). Another group called the Tri-County Local Government Commission, is a three-county metropolitan service district that is directly involved in planning within the region (Porter, 1997). An advisory organization within the Portland region, the Coalition

The Bay Bridge is a major transportation connection in the Bay Area that links San Francisco with the East Bay.

for a Livable Future, brings together local groups whose shared goals aim to "protect, restore, and maintain healthy, equitable and sustainable communities, both human and natural, for the benefit of present and future residents of the greater metropolitan region" (Lorentz & Shaw, 2000, p. 9). Such regional organizations have helped to make regional planning in the Portland area successful. Porter (1997) writes, "[T]oday Portland is viewed as one of the most desirable places to live in the nation, a metropolitan area that works in ways that other urban regions only hope to attain" (p. 226).

A second example of successful regional governance is that of the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. Originally there was a Council of Governments (COG) style agency, similar to ABAG, which served as the regional authority until 1967, when it was replaced by the Council of the Twin Cities. The Council is a governor-appointed body of sixteen members that works with transit, waste control, and airport agencies to achieve regional goals (Duncan & Nelson, 1995). Other organizations, such as the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability that was created in 1994, were formed under the Council. The Alliance consists of "regional churches, environmental groups, communities of color, community development agencies, and other good-government groups" (Orfield, 1997, p. 14). Faith-based organizations are often strong community leaders, and the Alliance drew much of its support from the Twin Cities' regional churches. According to Orfield (1997), coalition building has been the driving force of regional governance in the Twin Cities.

Revenue sharing in the Twin Cities has also assisted regional planning efforts and improved the condition of inner city neighborhoods and industrial suburbs. According to Duncan and Nelson (1995),

"Regional tax-base sharing involves redistributing the tax base without necessarily changing jurisdictional boundaries or government organization" (p. 33). Since 1971, forty percent of the increase in commercial and industrial property taxes has been placed in a common regional pool; local governments keep the remaining sixty percent. Revenue from the pool is redistributed to cities according to their population and financial need (Duncan & Nelson, 1995). Duncan and Nelson (1995) report, "The tax-base sharing program has reduced the per capita disparity between the area's richest and poorest communities" (p. 35). By disbursing the commercial and industrial tax base throughout the region, incentives for growth have been changed. Smaller, older, and poorer communities have more leverage to compete in the housing and job market. The Twin Cities region has developed a more balanced and competitive economic system.

Just north of the U.S., Toronto has its own form of regional governance known as Greater-Toronto. This agency oversees planning in urban and suburban areas, managing "transportation, social services, and economic development" (Geddes, 1997, p. 43). Greater-Toronto has not always been the region's authority, however. An agency known as Metro-Toronto, which now governs only the core metropolitan area, once controlled the entire region (Geddes, 1997). Metro-Toronto experienced a lapse in power when the Ontario provincial government grouped surrounding communities into their own regional jurisdictions. These regions were unsuccessful at managing growth (Geddes, 1997). Greater-Toronto was instituted to oversee the core metropolitan area as well as surrounding regions and to get a handle on the rapid growth that previous agencies had failed to contain. The wide scope of this organization enables it to effectively manage growth in

the Toronto region.

As some regions have already discovered and more are beginning to realize, regional governance is an effective method for dealing with growth-related issues. Citizens and local officials must reach an understanding of the interconnected, regional nature of issues such as transportation, housing, job markets, and the environment. Once this understanding is established, the Bay Area must collectively agree to consider regional governance as an addition to current planning practices. Citizens and organizations must take action to persuade those with power to support the regional government movement. Organizations, such as ABAG, should give citizens opportunities to learn about issues that their region is facing and suggest alternatives to the current management of growth. Local newspapers, television stations, and public meetings should be utilized to help spread awareness. Although they have limited resources at the local level, minorities would be empowered by regional collaboration. Coalitions that support various interests and encourage minority participation would significantly enhance the movement. As Bay Area residents realize that local problems are part of a larger picture, regional governance will become a more feasible alternative.

Current patterns of growth are likely to continue, and problems are sure to worsen before the Bay Area considers regional governance. The greatest concern about regional governance is that it threatens local control over land use and policy decisions. The Bay Area is accustomed to local and, in some areas, subregional planning, with local interests preceding those

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of the region. Well-to-do areas do not wish to be involved with less affluent communities and do not want a regional agency meddling in their affairs. Planning without a regional focus exacerbates growth-related problems in the Bay Area. Citizens must overcome their NIMBYism and work with local officials to promote balance within the region.

For a regional government to be successful in the Bay Area, both local and state support will be needed. The state has the power to grant subordinate governments jurisdiction over metropolitan areas. A regional government can take on various forms, and the Bay Area should adopt a model that best serves the region. When describing regional agencies that exist today, Porter (1997) states, "In general, the most effective regional organizations have consolidated several functions that permit strategic regional planning and some control over implementation activities" (p. 225). ABAG could very well continue its regional planning efforts with added authority. This would be a practical alternative that would not require major restructuring. As in Portland's Metro, Bay Area citizens should have the power to elect regional officials. Although the Bay Area should follow growth management principles that suit its needs, Porter (1997) lists guidelines that are applicable to all regional organizations:

- A broad *constituency of interests* for regional action must be identified and built, admittedly a tough job but one absolutely necessary for overcoming current obstacles to regional cooperation.

- A *clear objective* must be de-

fined for which a persuasive case for regional action can be made; successful regional agencies have been created to preserve highly valued environmental features or solve specific, grave region wide problems such as water pollution; regional agencies are accepted more readily if they control key components of the development process; multipurpose "regional governments" are beyond the pale and do not exist.

- Effective regional strategic planning and implementation depend on the capability of saying "no" to individual local proposals if necessary; the power to override local governments realistically comes only from *state and/or federal authority* for regional action rather than from voluntary local assent to regional decisions.

- Procedures must be established to make *local governments accountable to regional interests*, such as requiring conformity of local plans to regional objectives; accountability requires *auditing or monitoring* local plans and regulations and providing an *enforcement process*.

- Decision-making responsibilities must be shared in such a way that *local governments retain major responsibilities* for development poli-

cies and regulations and day-to-day development decisions; the alternative is the almost certain rejection of regional governance. (p. 242)

The Bay Area would also benefit from a revenue sharing program similar to that of the Twin Cities. A regional government would be in charge of redistributing commercial and industrial property tax revenue throughout the region. This would enable all sections of the Bay Area to benefit from a growing economy. When referring to the Twin Cities, Orfield (1997) states, "An adjudication process needs to be set up to settle disputes between the local governments and the regional agency and between developers and local governments" (p. 97). Such a procedure could be instituted in the Bay Area as a function of its regional government.

Regional governance has the greatest potential to transform current, destructive patterns of growth into coordinated, balanced planning. Problems such as traffic congestion, overcrowded schools, shortage of housing, environmental degradation, and diminished sense of community will not fade with time. Local governments lack the coordination and scope to effectively manage growth in the region. Local slow growth policies, despite good intentions, exacerbate regional growth problems. Present examples of regional governance can be regarded as models for the Bay Area. Citizens, business leaders, and local officials must unite to advance regional planning to an authoritative level. ABAG would be an effective regional agency if it were more than advisory. It could oversee policies like revenue sharing, which would give the region greater economic stability.

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There is no question that the Bay Area must conceive of new ways to manage its growth; uncertainty lies in how this should be done. Regional governance should be strongly considered as a course of action that will bring coordinated planning and balanced growth to the Bay Area.

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Towards Progressive Revitalization and Redevelopment

Alexandria Gross

American cities, and the urban poor who live in them, are struggling because efforts to revitalize the cities have not included efforts to lower the overall levels of poverty. Instead of raising the standards of living for the urban poor, and revitalizing neighborhoods that way, programs such as Urban Renewal, and the workings of the housing market, including suburbanization and gentrification have pushed the urban poor from one distressed neighborhood to the next. In order to change these patterns, city planners and policy makers must work with community, nonprofit and for profit groups.

As we enter the new millennium, our nation's economy is thriving, allowing our nation's cities to look for new strategies and ideas to revitalize themselves. Planners and policy developers must look beyond the failed policies of Urban Renewal and move towards cooperation with community, nonprofit and for-profit groups. The ability to lower overall levels of poverty in a city lies within its public agencies' capacities to work with for-profit or nonprofit entities on projects, the end results of which benefit everyone, including those who have been traditionally left out. American cities are struggling, because efforts to revitalize them have excluded, and continue to exclude, the urban poor, who are pushed around by Urban Renewal and gentrification, instead of lowering overall levels of poverty.

The Beginning of large scale suburbanization

In the early 20th century, cultural and ethnic diversity in cities exploded as immigrant populations from Europe and the rural South poured in. Immigrants came in search of jobs and cities served as nexuses for the influx of immigrants and labor-intensive industries. Heavy industrialization followed by continuing heavy migration flows resulted in cities overextending their capacity to care for their inhabitants. Urban problems, exacerbated by the increase in population, ignited a social movement, addressing such concerns as public health, safety and crime.

Housing and land developers seized this opportunity by capitalizing on the growing fears of, and resentment toward, city living. Public transportation in the form of trolleys and railroads was instrumental in extending the boundaries of cities. The establishment of low-density environments outside the inner city made suburban life available to those who could afford it. Affluent white suburbanites were comprised of upper and middle-income families who bought into the appeal of suburban living — de-concentrated neighborhoods, spacious homes, clean air and open space. The migration of white, affluent families from the city to less populated outlying areas, was the start of the continuing suburbanization trend. During the 1950s and 60s, the federal government began to massively subsidize this movement with programs such as the 1957

Interstate Highway Act and subsidized mortgage loans granted by the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration. These federally funded programs provided real incentives for white, middle class families to relocate to growing suburban communities, which predominantly excluded non-whites.

One of the detrimental effects of white flight was the depletion of cities' funds, due to both a lowered tax base and the diversion of state and local funds to the suburbs. This resulted in the loss of public funding for social and public services. Education, housing and city maintenance programs were left in financial turmoil, abandoning the urban poor to fend for themselves. Prosperous families who remained in the city for social or economic reasons, were able to maintain the integrity of their prominent neighborhoods by creating statutes that denied people of color and low-income persons the opportunity to move into their neighborhoods. The outcome was highly concentrated poverty neighborhoods in less desirable areas of the city. Systematically, realtors and mortgage lenders aided in creating these neighborhoods through their discriminatory housing practices such as redlining and denying people of color, regardless of income, the opportunity to buy property because of its location.

Urban Renewal

As more white families continued to relocate to the suburbs, businesses began to follow. The sharp decline of a healthy urban industry further diminished tax revenue, causing cities to plunge further into the abyss of urban degradation. Downtowns became isolated ghost towns as retail, offices, and other service-oriented functions left in hopes of capturing the prosperity of the suburban market. Following the loss of jobs and white, middle-class population, buildings began to decay. An outcry for financial salvation from city governments, property owners, and realtors' associations forced Congress to respond by instituting a plan that would resurrect the forgotten cities and those left behind by suburbanization. The result was Urban Renewal, a federal policy initially created in the 1930s to address the problems of urban decay. The goals of Urban Renewal were to remove blight, restore property values, bring economic development to inner city neighborhoods, and improve the living conditions of the urban poor.

Redevelopment projects initiated and / or supervised by a redevelopment agency are geared towards the physical reconstruction or redevelopment of commercial space and city attractions to encourage the return of businesses and suburbanites to the city, while creating low-paying, service-sector jobs for low-skilled urban residents. Urban Renewal has been, and continues to be, advantageous in revitalizing the business districts of the city. However, its past and present failure lies in its inability to find

The 12th St. City Center Bart station facing 1212 Broadway St. with the Tribune building in the background

solutions to the problems facing the urban poor; redevelopment efforts have simply resulted in displacement and relocation, which creates communities of concentrated poverty.

Strange relations between Public Housing and Urban Renewal

As Urban Renewal continued its blazing down of the ghettoes, forcing relocation of those in the way, an attempt was made to meet the housing needs of the urban poor with the implementation of the first of many failed housing policies. The 1937 Wagner-Steagall Housing Act permitted federally built and owned apartment complexes for families with limited incomes. Cheaply built, poorly designed high-rise structures were erected in areas that were deemed economically undesirable. Ultimately, this approach pushed the poor, and their struggles for adequate, desegregated housing, decent education, and access to viable employment, out of the view and concern of the financially and socially better off. Many political leaders and their constituents held an elitist, often racist, view towards people of color who received any type of public assistance. With the exception of public housing occupied entirely by whites, non-white public housing was seen as a welfare program for those who had failed at becoming self-sufficient (Judd & Swanstrom, 1994).

As the numbers of public housing units increased, so did the opposition from those with a financial interest in the private market: Realtors, builders, and lending institutions were threatened by the loss of revenue associated with decreased demands for private housing. The private housing industry favored federal subsidies, which made purchasing and owning a home more accessible to the middle class, and opposed subsidies for the urban poor. Initially, the government held its ground on retaining public housing for the urban poor. However, a condition was set which prevented the number of public housing units rebuilt from exceeding the number of units destroyed through clearance. Also, under the 1937 Act, redevelopers were not forced to relocate all of the residents made homeless by clearance, nor were they held responsible for those displaced by their inability to afford the rent for the new, higher-priced units. Many people found themselves moving into areas that were already occupied by economically distressed communities. An increase in crime and blight in these neighborhoods took its toll on the surrounding commercial and residential areas occupied by those of a higher income. Again, the realtors' associations and property owners asked the government to step in and do something about these poverty-stricken areas that were negatively affecting property values.

In 1949, a new housing act was passed, which required redevelopers to successfully relocate those whom they displaced. Urban renewal benefits, in the form of tax cuts and grants, were intended to serve as incentives for better public housing, the funding of which relied heavily on how well Urban Renewal proponents dealt with the urban poor. In immense numbers, public housing structures came down and the urban poor were quickly removed. Again, the number of units destroyed exceeded the number that were rebuilt. For example, in 1961, the federal government reported that it had cleared about 126,000 units, displacing 113,000 families. Only 28,000 new units were built; 36,000 people were permanently displaced (Judd & Swanstrom, 1994). Through the interpretations made by legislators who opposed public housing subsides, redevelopers were again able to get around some of the requirements of the 1949 Act. For instance, city authorities were often able to funnel over two-thirds of a project's funding towards commercial projects, ignoring the requirement that 50 percent of redevelopment funds be di-

rected to housing construction (Judd & Swanstrom, 1994).

The limited number of housing units rebuilt was disastrous for the urban poor. Ongoing social problems continued to fester, as poverty stricken populations increased. Most of the units destroyed between the 1940s and the late 1960s freed up land for revenue-intensive activities such as retail and office space. Resources, which should have gone to improving the lives of the urban poor, went to commercial redevelopment.

In the late 1960s, propelled by the energy of the Civil Rights movement, urban communities demanded that the redevelopment efforts, traditionally geared toward the improvement of physical structures, be refocused on investments in human resources. In response, federal programs such as the Model Cities program were implemented to improve the quality of life for those residing in areas of concentrated poverty. These programs provided grants for housing, crime prevention, and education. However, the Model City program, known for its record of "limited accomplishment" and "overblown promises" fell into shambles due to its irresponsible spending habits (Judd & Swanstrom, 1994). After years of funding abuse, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 established a new federal agency, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), to govern the issuance and monitoring of federal funds directed towards communities in financial need. The Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG) of 1974 created a single grant program that addressed multiple urban issues. Again, it sounded good on paper but failed in practice. Even though some neighborhoods eventually benefited from these programs, the complexities of urban politics and the real estate market, coupled with preconceived racist attitudes towards any form of public assistance, precluded any long-term positive results for the majority of the more poverty-stricken cities of our nation. Challenges remained.

A view of Oakland City Center looking toward the Federal Building.

Recently, community-based organizations (CBOs) have been instrumental in demanding better affordable housing options. The combination of CBO awareness efforts and major budget cuts have forced HUD to realize that some public housing has failed tremendously. Current efforts focus on changing not only the despondent lives of those subjected to perils of public housing, but also the stigma traditionally attached to it. Hope VI is the government's latest ploy to improve the worst public housing. It also seeks to change negative stereotypes surrounding such housing. HUD plans to rid itself of about 95,000 units by 2003 and replace them with a mixture of apartments and homes that vary in price. The most important objective of Hope VI is to enhance the social and economic environment of the areas surrounding the newly built units. Therefore, Hope VI's strategy is to address problems plaguing the urban poor, such as segregation, by building public housing in non-poverty areas. Most importantly, Hope VI provides for the im-

plementation of social programs that deal with self-sufficiency issues: child-care, drug rehabilitation, and job placement and retention. Government poverty programs have historically ignored these issues. Unlike conventional public housing tactics that rely solely on diminished federal funding, HUD's Hope VI program seeks to remain financially viable by forming partnerships with private investors, utilizing tax-exempt bonds, and leasing existing buildings. The problem that arises from Hope VI is the selection process that determines who will occupy the newly built units. Will the original occupants — low-income families of color, who were removed from the original units — be given priority or will they be denied? Hope VI is still in its infancy and until it matures, we can only hope that the thousands of families who were, or will be, displaced by yet another renewal agenda, will benefit and not become homeless statistics.

Gentrification

Gentrification, on the other hand, is a market driven process where middle and high-income households buy lower-cost homes in distressed communities. As these inexpensive homes are purchased, and often renovated, property values in these neighborhoods rise. This leads to the displacement of low-income residents. Three phases are associated with the process of gentrification: disinvestment, reinvestment and displacement (Yee & Quiroz-Martinez, 1999). The result is similar to that of federal Urban Renewal programs: The urban poor are forced to migrate to areas of concentrated poverty or into rural areas that are disconnected from their way of life. The disinvestment phase of gentrification is the result of federal programs and policies that have traditionally discriminated against people of color while supporting suburbanization. The reinvestment phase functions in much the same manner as Urban Renewal. It operates

largely under the influence and constraints of the private market rather than those of the government. Property owners and investors are involved in refurbishing desired sectors of the city through private investment. Federal programs, such as those that fund the acquisition of land and buildings, often subsidize their projects.

In today's economy, some people are making more money than ever, allowing them to enter the housing market. In some areas, land values have risen significantly as a result of this sudden market demand. For example, the median cost for a house in San Francisco is around $328,000; for cities in and around Silicon Valley, the price of a house is $400,000. These astronomical costs are forcing even those with well paying jobs out of some housing markets (e.g. new, suburban homes). One problem is the significant increase of jobs in many areas without a concurrent increase in housing stock (Urban Habitat, 1999). Middle- and upper-income populations find themselves unable to find decent housing in the areas in which they are employed, forcing them either to migrate to areas where new housing is reasonably priced or to find distressed housing suitable for refurbishing. While suburban developments outside of the Bay Area can be inexpensive, some people are unwilling to endure long commutes from outlying areas such as Modesto, Tracy and Sacramento.

Housing and commercial space in urbanized neighborhoods such as in San Francisco's Bayview-Hunters Point or in Oakland's West Side, which are home to deep-rooted, culturally and ethnically diverse communities, are now sought after by redevelopment agencies, land developers, and home buyers who see potential in these areas that were once undesired by the middle-class. The reinvestment phase of gentrification, supported by redevelopment agencies and fueled by housing demand, advances to the final stage of gen-

trification. In the third stage, displacement forces the urban poor out of their communities as their previously low rents rise in response to increasing property values.

What needs to be done?

Even though we are reminded daily how well our economy is doing, we must keep in mind that this great prosperity is not shared by all. Currently, there is still a large population that is strongly disconnected from the booming economy. This population can be defined as the lower rung of the economic ladder and is disproportionately comprised of people of color and single parent families. The past and current actions associated with Urban Renewal and gentrification should not be repeated. The uprooting and removal of people can no longer be the solution to urban problems, since Urban Renewal has served so few at the expense of so many.

When cities redevelop, let it be done in a socially progressive manner using the "bottom-up" method of planning, which incorporates the input and participation of the community that the redevelopment affects. The traditional "top-down" approach, which Urban Renewal and gentrification illustrate so clearly, both excludes and displaces the urban poor.

In order for the lives of the urban poor to change for the better, generalizations and stereotypes held by policymakers and their constituents, who have been socially conditioned to believe that the urban poor are solely responsible for their own plight, must reform their ideologies and beliefs. Individuals and families who participate in federal entitlement programs should not be seen as failures for their inability to maintain a level of self-sufficiency without first acknowledging such conditions as racism, classism, and sexism, which have traditionally been the cause of poverty. Programs such as Hope VI, are a start in the right direction, creating healthier environments for the urban poor, while creating a better image for socioeconomic programs that promote self-sufficiency, not dependency. Those afflicted by poverty should be given the opportunity to make it in this thriving economy. They should not be displaced or segregated as a result of processes such as Urban Renewal and gentrification.

If the overall goal is to lower a city's poverty level, then hopefully this paper has served to give some insight into the need for more cooperative planning, which enriches the lives of everyone. Redevelopment agencies, realtors, and private investors should work in conjunction with community-based organizations with the primary objective to better, rather than destroy, the communities they serve. The documented history of failed Urban Renewal practices should serve to discourage modern planners and policymakers from making the same mistakes and ignoring the needs and concerns of the urban poor. Gentrification will be harder to combat, but a well-informed community is a stronger one that may succeed in the fight against becoming displaced, its character shattered.

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Earned Income Strategies for Non-profits:
An Alternative Fundraising Scheme

Shireen Lee

Nonprofits have revolutionized the provision of social services at the local, national, and international levels, utilizing innovative solutions to solve problems in all sectors of human activity. Yet the majority of nonprofits still raise funds the old-fashioned way-relying overwhelmingly on short-term foundation grants for their survival. After briefly presenting an argument in favor of incorporating earned income strategies into nonprofit fundraising plans, this paper provides an overview of the structural forms these strategies may take.

The paper also examines the legal and financial aspects of undertaking a nonprofit business venture. In closing, nonprofits are encouraged to consider taking the first steps towards integrating market-based approaches into their fundraising plans.

In this time of plenty and record-breaking economic growth, most nonprofits still live precariously from grant to grant. Many are caught in the vicious grant cycle of application, approval, exhilaration (check arrival), and dread (final installment). If grants were a secure, long-term source of funding, circumstances would not seem so dire. In reality, grant funding has many limitations.

Most nonprofits realize that after the initial two to three year start-up phase, grant funding becomes increasingly difficult to secure. This becomes painfully obvious as nonprofits move from start-up to the next step, growing the organization for the long term. Foundations rarely fund organizational capacity-building like administrative overhead and staffing—the very elements that keep a nonprofit operational on a daily basis (Letts, Ryan, & Grossman, 1997).

Not only is grant funding short-term, grants often come with strings attached reflecting the specific agendas of individual funding entities (Dees, 1998a).

These restrictions do not bode well for the prospect of systemic change. Foundations typically focus on funding particular problems, like gang violence or teen pregnancy, instead of tackling the root of the problem: poverty, crumbling schools, lack of jobs, and so on (Shore, 1999). This creates binge funding where foundations rush to fund the hot-button issue of the moment. When the issue is no longer popular, funding dries up fairly quickly. Furthermore, most grants come with restrictions on political activism. Advocacy is essential because it works at changing the systems and institutions that perpetuate the status quo. If nonprofits are funded only for programs that tackle isolated issues and are prevented from working for social change, they will be running those same programs 15 years from now for the children of the very people they currently serve (Shore, 1995).

Although the state of the union is good, the same cannot be said for the state of the philanthropic pot. According to the President's 1998 budget plan, total private

giving in constant dollars is projected to grow at a snail's pace (3 to 4 percent) through 2002. Over the same period, nonprofits can expect to also lose $40 billion in federal government revenues (Share Our Strength, 1999). This is the situation with which nonprofits must contend, assuming that there is no increase in their ranks, which is unlikely. One thing we know for sure: Although Democrats and Republicans disagree about the role of the federal government in solving the country's social problems, they agree that nonprofits must take on more of the burden (Shore, 1996). This translates into more nonprofits competing for the dredges of a shrinking philanthropic pot.

So what can nonprofits do in this atmosphere of doom and despair? Some organizations have capitalized on the atmosphere of entrepreneurship and innovation ushered in by the high tech industry and created rumblings in the nonprofit community by turning to for-profit business ventures. Money raised through these ventures represents *new* funds that add to, rather than take from, the philanthropic pot (Shore, 1995). Herein lies the seed for an alternative fundraising strategy.

Changing the Framework

The phrase "for-profit business" can sound rather threatening—conjuring up images of The Gap, Starbucks, and the like. Not surprisingly, the word "for-profit" leaves a sour taste in the mouths of many who work in the social sector. After two decades of market-oriented policy-making, the United States can now claim the dubious distinction of having the widest gap in incomes in the industrialized

> **Therefore, a critical first step is shifting the framework and terminology of the discussion from that of "for-profit business" to one of "earned income strategy."**

world (Molnar, 1996). It was their desire to do something about these very inequities that got many nonprofit practitioners into public service in the first place.

Therefore, a critical first step is shifting the framework and terminology of the discussion from that of "for-profit business" to one of "earned income strategy." Earned income strategies exist along a spectrum of activities that ranges from selling Girl Scout cookies to operating large corporations. Most nonprofits already engage in some form of earned income or income-generating activity. Many of us are familiar with annual agency fundraising dinners, where tickets are sold to raise money, or with government *contracts*, in which a nonprofit is paid to provide services in its field of expertise. However, most nonprofits engage in these income-generating activities in isolation. While recognizing that most nonprofits cannot exist independently of grant funding, this paper advocates for the consideration of earned income strategies as an additional funding stream that should be included and expanded as part of a responsible and forward-looking fundraising plan.

Earned income strategies have received a lot of attention recently under the banner of social enterprise, social entrepreneurship, and community wealth enterprises. These terms mean different things to different people. Social enterprise or entrepreneurship typically refers to either nonprofit earned income ventures or to business owners who integrate social responsibility into their operations (Dees, 1998b). Community wealth describes resources generated through profitable enterprise to promote social change (Share Our Strength, 1999). Nonetheless, most of the

available literature, both academic and popular, has been written for the business practitioner in publications such as the *Harvard Business Review*, *Worth*, *Inc.*, and so forth. In fact, most of the scholarship in this area has come out of the Harvard and Stanford Business Schools. Both schools sponsor web pages dedicated to this purpose and have faculty who are widely published. At Harvard, a course on social enterprise is part of the mandatory first year core curriculum for MBA students ("Course Gives," 1998). At Stanford, a recently held student-initiated conference on social enterprise drew a standing room only crowd ("Social Entrepreneurship," 1997). In contrast, few courses on social enterprise have made it into the mainstream of public administration or nonprofit management graduate education programs.

A first step toward mainstreaming this concept into the nonprofit sector is to familiarize practitioners with the language and structure of earned income strategies and look at their application through both examples and case studies.

Earned Income Strategies: A Structural Overview

The volume of published literature, both academic and popular, concerning earned income strategies, has grown in recent years, yet a common language has not emerged to bind the collection into a cohesive whole. This paper will attempt to develop an overview of the structural forms that earned income strategies can take and to serve as a resource guide for nonprofit practitioners. Earned income strategies fall into two general categories: public-private partnerships and nonprofit business ventures.

Public-Private Partnerships

Public-private partnerships involve a nonprofit and a for-profit business in a contractual agreement that benefits both parties. Here, the word "public" is used to refer to nonprofit agencies, both government entities and 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organizations. For a nonprofit, the arrangement usually brings increased funding or in-kind donations. Aside from the possibility of increased sales, businesses enter into these relationships to "demonstrate good citizenship, add polish to their corporate image, enhance their community's quality of life, and promote goodwill among customers, clients, and employees" (Scheff & Kotler, 1996, p. 58). From the point of view of a business, the partnership is not based on philanthropy; money for these ventures is typically drawn from a company's marketing budget instead of its community relations or corporate giving budgets (Andreasen, 1996). Since marketing dollars are not a source of funds that nonprofits traditionally tap, public-private partnerships create a new flow of money into the philanthropic pot.

Unlike traditional scenarios where giving is one-sided, the key difference in a partnership is that *both* parties must approach the table with something the other wants (Shore, 1999). Public-private partnerships may take several structural forms: cause-related marketing, member-related marketing, and corporate research and development.

Cause-Related Marketing

According to the National Society of Fund Raising Executives, cause-related marketing is one of the fastest growing areas of nonprofit resource development ("NSFRE President," 1999). Cause-related marketing is the selling of a product or service based on its link to a laudable social service project (McLeod, 1997). It typically involves a joint venture between a nonprofit and a for-profit business arranged for mutual benefit (Massarsky, 1994). Structurally, cause-related marketing alliances can be classified into the fol-

lowing areas: issue promotions, product development, licensing, and sponsorship.

Issue Promotions

In this situation, a for-profit business launches a marketing campaign designating a portion of the proceeds from sales of its product or service to a social cause. Through its link to the social cause, the business hopes to gain new customers and the non-profit, in turn, secures more funding for its programs. This revenue source is transaction-based, meaning that a business agrees to donate an amount of cash, proportional to sales of its product or service up to some predetermined limit, to a nonprofit.

Case Study: American Express and Share Our Strength

The most successful example of an issue promotion to date is the Charge Against Hunger campaign launched by American Express to benefit the anti-hunger, anti-poverty organization, Share Our Strength. Structurally, the premise was simple. Every time an American Express card member used his card during the busy holiday shopping season, American Express would donate three cents, up to an annual limit of $5 million, to Share Our Strength (MacFarquhar, 1996). All card members had to do was pay for their holiday purchases with their American Express cards and, as effortlessly as that, helped in the fight against hunger. The Charge Against Hunger campaign raised $20 million dollars over four years for Share Our Strength (Share Our Strength, 1997, p. 4). The nonprofit benefited—that much is obvious. The business also benefited from increased use of its card and an improved corporate image. This cause-related marketing structure has been repli-

> **The most successful example of an issue promotion to date is the Charge Against Hunger campaign launched by American Express.**

cated to raise money for many different social causes. More recently, breast cancer research organizations nationwide benefited from a promotion by Saks Fifth Avenue stores, which allocated 2 percent of sales proceeds to the fight against breast cancer.

Product Development

Here, the for-profit partner develops a new product, sold under its brand name, with the express intent of benefiting a social cause. The business hopes to entice customers attracted to the social cause and the promotional product to purchase other items in its product line. The nonprofit is buoyed by increased public awareness of its cause and by extra cash from the transaction-based arrangement, from which it receives all or a portion of the product's proceeds.

Case Study: Hallmark Cards and People to People International

Hallmark produces a distinctive line of greeting cards, Common Threads, that benefits People to People International, a nonprofit cultural and educational exchange organization dedicated to increasing international understanding between peoples of the world. The cards, with a unique multi-ethnic flavor, contain traditional poetry, proverbs, blessings, or folk songs from different cultures all over the world. Hallmark hopes that its link to a social cause will make its product more attractive to consumers. For each Common Threads card bought, the nonprofit receives a donation from Hallmark.

Licensing

Licensing is a legal agreement where a nonprofit allows a business to use its name and logo in return for a fee or royalty on sales (Andreasen, 1996). This

type of cause-related marketing alliance should be considered by a nonprofit with wide name recognition and a good reputation, since the business is counting on the public's perception of the nonprofit to boost sales of its product or service (Andreasen, 1996). This transaction-based revenue source benefits the nonprofit because it receives a percentage of the sales proceeds. Compared to issue promotions and product development, licensing is usually a more passive partnership from the nonprofit's point of view. In this case, the nonprofit does little to promote the product besides lending its name and logo, which function as a seal of approval, for use on packaging.

Case Study: Children's Television Workshop

Children's Television Workshop (CTW), a nonprofit organization that uses the media to educate children, was one of the first nonprofits to successfully take advantage of licensing. Through agreements that license its *Sesame Street* characters to manufacturers of children's toys, such as Hasbro and Playskool, the CTW draws in millions of dollars in revenue annually. The companies manufacture and market the *Sesame Street* products and capitalize on their popularity among children to make a profit. The nonprofit, in turn, receives a percentage of sales. In 1982, the CTW drew in $9 million in royalties from its *Sesame Street* licensing agreements; by 1991, its take had more than doubled to $22 million (Skloot, 1988; Massarsky, 1994).

Sponsorship

In a sponsorship arrangement, a business underwrites all or a portion of a nonprofit's program expenses in exchange for recognition of their generosity on all promotional materials. Most sponsorship dollars are typically channeled into events. In this partnership structure, the nonprofit receives cash, and the business gains another avenue for advertising and positioning its product or service to consumers. The business is betting on the fact that its link to a social cause will generate increased sales. Unlike the previous three forms, this arrangement is not transaction-based but instead involves a lump-sum payment to the nonprofit (MacFarquhar, 1996).

Case Study: NIKE and YWCA of the USA

NIKE sponsors a variety of events and programs connected to girls' athletics at the YWCA of the USA. In the YWCA's national basketball and volleyball leagues for girls, NIKE provides all the t-shirts, equipment, and signage for the program. The YWCA receives both cash and in-kind donations for program expenses (YWCA of the USA, 1996). NIKE, which is explicitly targeting women consumers (Knight, 1995), generates goodwill among girls who play in the sports leagues and their mothers, as well as among other women who see the promotional materials and are impressed by NIKE's support of girls' athletics. NIKE is banking on the fact that these women will eventually buy their products because of the company's support of women's sports.

Member-Related Marketing

Member-related marketing is an effective scheme for nonprofits with large membership bases (Andreasen, 1996). The nonprofit promotes a certain business, with which a partnership has been established, as the preferred provider for services it offers its members. Members benefit from discounts, the nonprofit receives a percentage of sales, and the business gains new customers—a triple win situation.

Membership Services

Membership services commonly

offered by large nonprofits, for example professional associations, include insurance plans, travel packages, magazine subscriptions, and so on. In each case, the nonprofit negotiates an agreement with a particular vendor so that the nonprofit can offer its members competitive rates. In exchange for bringing in new customers, the nonprofit receives either a finder's fee or a percentage of sales. Members are enticed to sign up by the discounted rates but also by the knowledge that their patronage of that particular vendor will benefit their nonprofit (Massarsky, 1994).
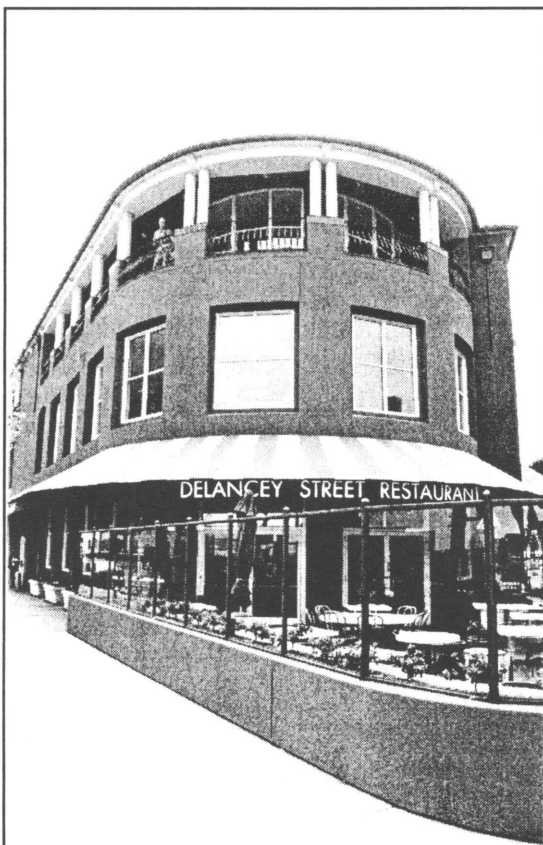
Case Study: The Nature Conservancy

The Nature Conservancy is the world's leading nonprofit conservation group with over one million members. One of the services that The Nature Conservancy offers its members and supporters is the opportunity to shop with certain vendors through its website. These 76 vendors range from Amazon Books and Music to J. Crew to Office Max. The vendors participate in the web shopping arrangement to attract new customers who appreciate their support of the Nature Conservancy. In return for featuring these vendors, at least five percent of every purchase made through its website will benefit the Nature Conservancy. In this case, members do not receive discounted rates but derive sat-

San Francisco's Delancey Street Foundation offers training and employment to ex-offenders and former substance abusers. The foundation operates the Delancey Street Restaurant, located along the Embarcadero in South Beach,

isfaction from knowing that their purchases benefit their favorite nonprofit (The Nature Conservancy, 1999).

Affinity cards

Affinity cards are an increasingly popular form of membership service. In this case, a nonprofit enters into an agreement with a credit card company that issues a card in the nonprofit's name. Every time a card member uses his card, the nonprofit receives a percentage of the charges. Similar to the American Express Charge Against Hunger campaign, the card member derives satisfaction from supporting his favorite nonprofit by simply using his credit card to pay for purchases. The credit card company gains new card members through the arrangement, and the nonprofit receives cash based on transactions.

Case Study: Cornell University and First USA Bank

First USA Bank issues a Platinum Visa card to Cornell University, which Cornell, in turn, markets to its alumni. A percentage of each retail purchase made with these Visa cards goes to support student scholarships at Cornell. In 1998-99, alumni Visa cards funded 23 Cornell Alumni Federation Scholars at the university. Through their agreement with Cornell, First USA Bank gains new card members. Every

time a card member uses his card, three parties benefit. The card member gains the satisfaction of contributing to a scholarship fund, Cornell benefits from increased scholarship revenues, and First USA Bank increases its take on transaction fees paid by vendors who accept their card for purchases (Cornell University, 1999).

Corporate Research and Development

Instead of the traditional view of the social sector as a dumping ground for obsolete technology, this arrangement considers it a potential test site for business innovation. In this case, the corporation provides an in-kind donation of new technology to an agency in order to test it in a real user market. The business benefits from a research and development standpoint and the nonprofit from new equipment (Kanter, 1999, p. 124-125).

Despite the rosy glow of this partnership structure, the implications for public education are troubling. One can extrapolate that because schools are always in need of equipment, and because schoolchildren are captive audiences, some businesses might capitalize on this situation and exploit children as guinea pigs.

Case Study: Bell Atlantic and Union City School District

In 1991, Bell Atlantic created Project Explore, a partnership with the Union City School District in New Jersey. The company was looking for a demonstration site for their new communications technology in order to impress legislators responsible for statewide implementation of a new communications network. In return, Union City public schools were equipped with computers and high-capacity transmission lines that Bell Atlantic was testing. Through their partnership with the school district, Bell Atlantic could test their new technology in the field—in an actual user market. The schools, at the same time, received a much-needed infu-

sion of technology that transformed classroom learning (Kanter, 1999).

Nonprofit Business Ventures

Nonprofit business ventures are for-profit, revenue-generating enterprises by nonprofit organizations ("Social Entrepreneurship," 1997). Unlike the previous category, where nonprofits form partnerships with businesses to create for-profit ventures that benefit both parties, this category involves the nonprofit operating a for-profit venture itself. According to Dees (1998a), an authority in the field, such business ventures are "creative extensions of the old-fashioned bake sale or car wash" (p. 56).

Bill Shore, author of two books on earned income strategies and a *tour de force* in the field, makes an important distinction between ventures that *create* wealth and those that merely *redistribute* it. The latter refers to arrangements where money is transferred from the wealthy to the poor; the primary motivating factor is altruism. An example of an earned income strategy that fits this description, and is familiar to most readers, is the ubiquitous annual fundraising gala. In this case, beyond a sense of philanthropic satisfaction, there is no benefit to the ticket purchaser. In contrast, a wealth-creating venture involves situations where the consumer directly benefits from the purchase. A school parking lot opened to the public for weekend special-event parking is an example of this. As in the case of the fundraising gala, a ticket is purchased, but the driver's primary motivation, finding a scarce parking space, is self-interested rather than charitable. The fact that the money benefits public education is a bonus. Shore's thesis is that, though wealth transfer is admirable and should be encouraged, it is wealth creation that should be the focus of nonprofit business ventures (Shore, 1995; 1999). According to Shore, this idea is as simple as a winning strategy

for the game, Monopoly: "It's better to own Park Place than to wait to pass 'Go'" (Share Our Strength, 1997, p. 2).

Like any other business endeavor in the private sector, nonprofits that operate business ventures should strive to make their product or service competitive in the marketplace without reference to a social cause (McLeod, 1997). If consumers purchase the product or service because it is considered to be the most competitive on the market, then new wealth is being created for the nonprofit's social cause. Although consumers who are attracted to the social cause are sought, appealing to the consumer's personal interest over his philanthropic intentions is more sustainable in the long run. Consider the example of Rubicon Bakery, which provides employment training and placement, as well as other social services, to underprivileged individuals. In addition to its social service mission, Rubicon supplies premium fresh-baked goods to restaurants and supermarkets in San Francisco. For most people buying a cake for a special event, it is probably more important that the cake looks and tastes good than to know that a formerly homeless person made it. Rubicon started out by promoting its social service mission but soon realized that, in order to attract new customers and suppliers, it had to promote the high quality of its products instead (Share Our Strength, 1997).

Nonprofit business ventures fall into two groups: mission-related and non-mission-related.

Mission-Related

Nonprofit business ventures in this group are connected to the respective missions of the parent nonprofits. A distinction can be made between business ventures that are connected to the nonprofit's mission through (a) program-related products and services, and (b) organizational

resources (Massarsky, 1994; Dees, 1998a).

Program-Related Products and Services

Familiar examples that fall under this category include Girl Scout cookies and museum admission fees. The Girl Scout cookie sale is a part of the institution's heritage and tradition. Through cookie sales, young Girl Scouts learn about teamwork, setting goals, and planning, as well as business skills like taking orders, handling money, and delivering goods (Girl Scouts, 1999). A more subtle application of this strategy, not typically viewed in the context of earned income strategies, is college tuition, a fee paid for a school's services with provisions made for merit and need through scholarships and financial aid respectively (Dees, 1998a). Some nonprofits that work with underserved populations have used business ventures as employment and training institutes for their clients. The nonprofits then use the generated revenue to sustain their social justice work.

Case Study: Juma Ventures

Juma Ventures is a nonprofit organization that operates businesses that function as employment and training institutes. Juma Ventures operates several Ben & Jerry's franchises in San Francisco: two ice cream scoop stores, an ice cream catering van for special events, and stadium concession stands at San Francisco Giants and 49ers games. Through its businesses, Juma Ventures provides training and employment to youth from marginalized backgrounds while raising revenues for its operations (Share Our Strength, 1997).

Organizational Resources

Another example of mission-related enterprise involves the use of organizational resources by nonprofits. Capitalizing on the expertise of its faculty, universities have positioned themselves as leaders in the market for research contracts

and commissioned studies. Some non-profits, drawing on their staff expertise in particular areas, have set up consulting arms for the same purpose. The provision of this consulting service eliminates duplication of effort. Instead of maintaining in-house staff or departments, government and corporate entities can contract with nonprofits that specialize in their specific area of interest. The corporation pays for the knowledge or expertise that it needs, and the nonprofit receives funds for its other programs.

Case Study: City Year's Care Force

City Year is an AmeriCorps program, the mission of which is to engage young people, ages 17-23, in yearlong community service projects. To take advantage of its core competency and staff expertise in structuring community service projects, City Year operates Care Force, a fee-based program which contracts with corporations to plan community service events for corporate employees. Through Care Force, City Year receives additional revenues for its programs while fulfilling its mission of involving more people in community service. Corporations view these community service events as a way to foster teamwork among their staff and instill a sense of pride in their company (McLeod, 1997; Shore, 1999).

Non-Mission-Related

The range of non-mission-related business ventures is staggering: churches operating Bingo parlors, universities running real estate agencies, nonprofits operating restaurants. The list is endless; the possibilities are lucrative. One caveat to nonprofits: Before considering a non-mission-related business venture, a non-profit should be confident that it has the resources and expertise to succeed. Concerns about such business ventures draining focus away from the nonprofit's core mission are relevant. Further, there are considerable legal and tax repercussions for non-mission-related business ventures. According to the majority of nonprofit practitioners, the top two areas of concern about non-mission-related business ventures pertain to the legal and tax implications, and financing.

Legal Considerations

Most nonprofits shy away from income-generating activities for fear of jeopardizing their 501(c)(3), or tax-exempt, status. As a result, unfounded fear of, and perceived reprisals by, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) has stifled innovation in the nonprofit sector. Therefore, it is necessary to address and dispel the myths.

First and foremost, nonprofits *can* engage in income-generating activities, or, put simply, nonprofits can operate business ventures without jeopardizing their 501(c)(3) status. What nonprofits cannot do is raise funds through the sale of equity (Massarsky, 1994). Nonprofits are not allowed to go public, that is, issue shares to raise capital. Nonprofits can apply for and receive loans just like any other business entity.

Tax-exempt status and not paying taxes might seem like one and the same, but they are not always. For tax purposes, a distinction is made between incomes derived from mission-related and non-mission-related activities. If the nonprofit is operating a mission-related business venture, as in the case of Juma Ventures (where their businesses provide funds for the nonprofit but also function as employ-

> **First and foremost, nonprofits *can* engage in income-generating activities**

ment and training institutes), it is exempt from taxes. Conversely, if a nonprofit is operating a non-mission-related business venture, for example, a church running a Bingo parlor, the nonprofit will incur unrelated business income tax. This does *not* mean that the organization will lose its nonprofit status. As long as the majority of its activities are directed towards accomplishing its mission, the nonprofit must pay taxes only on the portion of money it receives from its non-mission-related business venture (McGovern, 1989.

Avoidance of taxes is not enough of a justification to refrain from operating a business venture. If the idea is a good one, with a sound business plan, it should be able to withstand a tax and still be profitable (Massarsky, 1994). Most businesses pay taxes. If the determining factor in starting a business venture is not paying taxes, then there would be no new businesses and the economy would never grow. One of the key questions, regardless of whether taxes may or may not be incurred, is this: In the long run, will the business venture return sufficient profit to ensure a steady stream of revenue?

An important structural consideration is whether to keep the business venture a part of the nonprofit or to spin it off as a for-profit subsidiary. The first scenario would be advantageous if the business venture is related to the mission of the nonprofit, since, as mentioned previously, all profits would be tax-exempt (Millner, 1998). However, if the business venture is non-mission-related, the second scenario should be considered, because as a for-profit subsidiary, the business venture could then raise funds through the

Avoidance of taxes is not enough of a justification to refrain from operating a business venture.

sale of equity (Massarsky, 1994).

It should be noted that if a nonprofit raises more than 20 percent of its revenue from *income-generating activities*, it might invite increased scrutiny from the IRS, which requires that most of a nonprofit's activities be geared towards its mission (Massarsky, 1994). The guidelines provided here are for general reference only. Any nonprofit seeking to undertake an earned income endeavor should consult a tax attorney specializing in structuring nonprofit business ventures for advice about their specific situation.

Some Words of Caution

Earned income strategies are not a quick fix to the financial woes of nonprofits. At this point, it is prudent to familiarize nonprofit practitioners with some of the potential pitfalls of these strategies.

For starters, a new nonprofit business venture requires due patience. Statistics show that new businesses in the for-profit world typically do not show profits until 18 months to two years after start-up (Massarsky, 1994). In fact, 70 percent of businesses fail within the first eight years after inception (Dees, 1998a). Failure of a nonprofit business venture subsequently results in wasted resources that could have been directed towards the organization's social service mission (Andreasen, 1996).

Nonprofits operating business ventures have to reconcile two bottom lines, including budget results from both the business venture and from mission-related social service activities (McLeod, 1997). The lure of profit can undermine values, and in fact, has distracted some nonprofits from their core mission. For example, most people are familiar with the YMCA

as a health and fitness facility that charges membership fees, but how many are familiar with the actual mission of the nonprofit to promote the "spiritual, mental, and social condition of young men" (Dees, 1998a, p. 57)?

Running a business venture will also call for additional expertise in areas in which nonprofits are traditionally unfamiliar. In particular, staff with experience in the for-profit sector may have to be hired. This could potentially lead to cultural conflict with the nonprofit's existing staff, since not everyone is comfortable working in a business environment (Dees, 1998a). Indeed, a significant number of people join the nonprofit sector in order to escape from the relentlessly competitive nature of the corporate world. Nonprofits should also be prepared for reduced donations or lack of interest from volunteers as a result of their for-profit endeavors (Andreasen, 1996; Dees, 1998a).

Public-private partnerships also present some unique ethical challenges to nonprofits. The appeal of money can be blinding. Nonprofits have to be especially alert and not be drawn into an agreement with the first corporation that comes calling. It is extremely important for nonprofits to thoroughly research the background, practices, and ethics of their potential corporate partners. The possibility of long-term damage to nonprofits, for example, a children's organization that unsuspectingly forms a partnership with a corporation that employs child laborers, cannot be emphasized enough. Keep in mind that the biggest enticement for businesses in a public-private partnership is the image and credibility of the nonprofit in the eyes of the public (Andreasen, 1996). Nonprofits who license their names and logos to corporations have to be careful not to be privy to a scheme that misleads the public about the merits of one product over another. A case in point: The American Cancer Soci-

ety licensed its logo, for use in promoting Florida orange juice, to the Florida Department of Citrus. In exchange, the American Cancer Society receives a fee of $1 million each year. Although the U.S. Food and Drug Administration does not recognize orange juice from any particular region as the superior anti-cancer agent, the endorsement of the American Cancer Society is meant to imply that Florida's orange juice is better than California's. The American Cancer Society has come under attack by the attorneys general from 16 states for false advertising (Weisbrod, 1999).

Nonprofits that engage in earned income strategies, regardless of whether they operate nonprofit business ventures or enter into public-private partnerships, must always be cognizant of becoming over dependent on one particular source of funds (Andreasen, 1996). This is analogous to grant funding, where over reliance on one large grant is dangerous. In both cases, it is important to maintain a diversity of funding sources so that core services are only minimally impacted should a particular source of funding dry up.

Financial Resources

The other concern nonprofits have with business ventures is in garnering financial resources. Parallel to the development of nonprofit business ventures, a metamorphosis has taken place in certain foundation circles—a shift from traditional grants to those geared towards venture philanthropy (W. K. Kellogg Foundation, 1999). Whereas traditional grant making is short-term and issue-focused, venture philanthropy is long-term and committed to developing organizational capacity ("Social Entrepreneurship," 1997). The key distinction between venture philanthropy and traditional grants is a belief in investment versus a belief in charity. Accompanying this paradigm shift is a trans-

formation of language from that of charitable funding source to investor, from grant proposal to business plan, from evaluation to measurement, and so on (W. K. Kellogg Foundation, 1999). Ideas, such as risk management, performance measures, substantial investment in both program *and* operations, long-term and close-knit relationships, and exit strategies borrowed from the venture capital model in the private sector, are all central to the venture philanthropy model (Letts, Ryan, & Grossman, 1997).

While not an exhaustive list, foundations that take a venture philanthropy approach and therefore, supporting nonprofit business ventures include: Ashoka: Innovators for the Public, Echoing Green Foundation, Robert Enterprise Development Fund, Surdna Foundation, and Three Guineas Fund (W. K. Kellogg Foundation Report, 1999).

Conclusion

Earned income strategies represent a proactive approach to fundraising in which the nonprofit takes steps to create new wealth instead of relying on leftover or redistributed wealth. Despite the potential challenges, earned income strategies have the potential to bring nonprofits a measure of independence from grant funding.

Like the start-up of any nonprofit program, new ideas must be thoroughly researched and analyzed before implementation. It would not be prudent for small nonprofits, which have never engaged in any income-generating activity, to decide to operate a massive operation to build airplane parts. Inexperienced nonprofits should start by first considering low resource mobilization strategies like identifying potential corporate partners or contracting out in-house expertise, while being wary of strategies that call for large, up-front outlays of cash.

Earned income strategies have the potential to transform the way social services are funded. With the economy at an all time high, market-based approaches to fundraising have become more accepted. The time is ripe for innovation in the social sector.

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Oakland

Michael Cerelli

the sign tells
of street sweeping
from 12am to 3am,
four times a week apparently,
five cars tagged
with flu snot green envelopes
asking for indulgences
while church's chicken bags
and walgreen tags still
outnumber people,
six alto buildings poke
their heads out
of a city with humble beginnings
that has only reached adolescence
thus far,
the buildings dream of scars
like a sixteen year old only child
might use for attention,
the seven heavens laugh
at these so called skyscrapers,
the hills seem disappointed at the turn out
and the blunted highway whispers
through as fast as possible
with its glazed headlight eyes
looking towards saint francis
or joseph,
the exits enter
to friutvales and grand lakes
invoking images of
majesty and magic,
park lined aves
and high streets
with cherubims disguised as ghetto birds
speaking languages the number of stars
but no one reads the signs,
they look like green reflecting distractions
in the way of the view

across the bay,

and she politely sits at the end
of the desolate town bar,
she drinks cosmopolitans,
dreams of manhattan,
wears black shell tops,
the native garb,
speaks of fires,
her sari is retrofit
exposing both east and west,
her necklace is made of brick and rice,
she hides her history under garter belts
like the stories only found
on the side streets unswept,

i kept my pen in my pocket
because i think i knew her type,
i was born in providence or providence,
my major is urban studies,
concrete and smart growth,
she is full grown like swap meets
or living legends,
her makeup is a new census category,
she's thick like bbq sauce or guacamole,
the earth moves under her feet,
the sky is high and ominous,
louds leap overhead like a raider
blocking a field goal,
commuters peddle past
in diamond lanes like jokers,
her lungs are smokers,
 breathe in her complexity like
costly freeways and
four corner stores on four corners
run by folks from four corners of the
planet,

her complexion is international blvd,
her hair is black panther,
her eyes are black dot
with mlk coronas,
lakeshore retinas,
paramount iris,
her hips are urban sprawl,
her legs are broadway,
her breath is as fresh
as a new work day
when everyone forgets their dreams
and follow leaders spilling coffee
like smudged words on my page
while happy school children
truck through dream time
in trailer schools playing
city center games like follow the leader
and simon says and they make
it look beautiful somehow,
her lips are ocean liners
kissing saint pablo,
silver legacy and golden nugget teeth,
platinum cards and ambrosia,
her lips are rich like wells fargo
or a square jack london,
her voice is sun rising
over the 18th while the whining waning
moon
is still visible
and bus stop highschoolers
administer the appropriate sound
for the scene through
heart beat boxes and polyrhythmic boom
boxes
and too short,
her mannerisms are curt like bus drivers,
her hands shake like public library
branches,
her arms are athletic,
her fingers smell like bean pies
and i realize that it's not the city
that makes the people
but the people who make the city,
her sleep is the sun setting
over the tribune building
while lake merit reflects

each freeze frame
of a weathered pelican
making her final rounds
before the night turns new again
and her dreams can conjure
places more natural,

her guarders are majesty,
eight year olds reflecting
like polished chrome bmx bikes
roaming motley old demolition sites
and donut shop parking lots
making metaphors about where they
come from and what they represent,
mountain lions watch the children
like a spectacle,
the children magnify the attributes
of their mother,
she politely sits
at the edge of the town
like a proud lioness watching her cubs
play follow the leader around
grumpy signature oak trees,
oak trees that tell stories
about the renaissance, the resistance,
coup d'etat,
they said people were like baroque archi-
tecture,
children were like language,
they wrote their words in bond,
they carved their names into these trees
with the way that they thought,
they reveled as they rebelled,
their memory is art
like grumpy signature oak trees
written on canvas,
proud soldiers with branches that wave
at the pale grey skyline,
trees as beautiful as she,
ones that you could fall in love with,
ones that you could name a city after,

in college in love
i major in urban studies,
oakland is hardly mentioned.