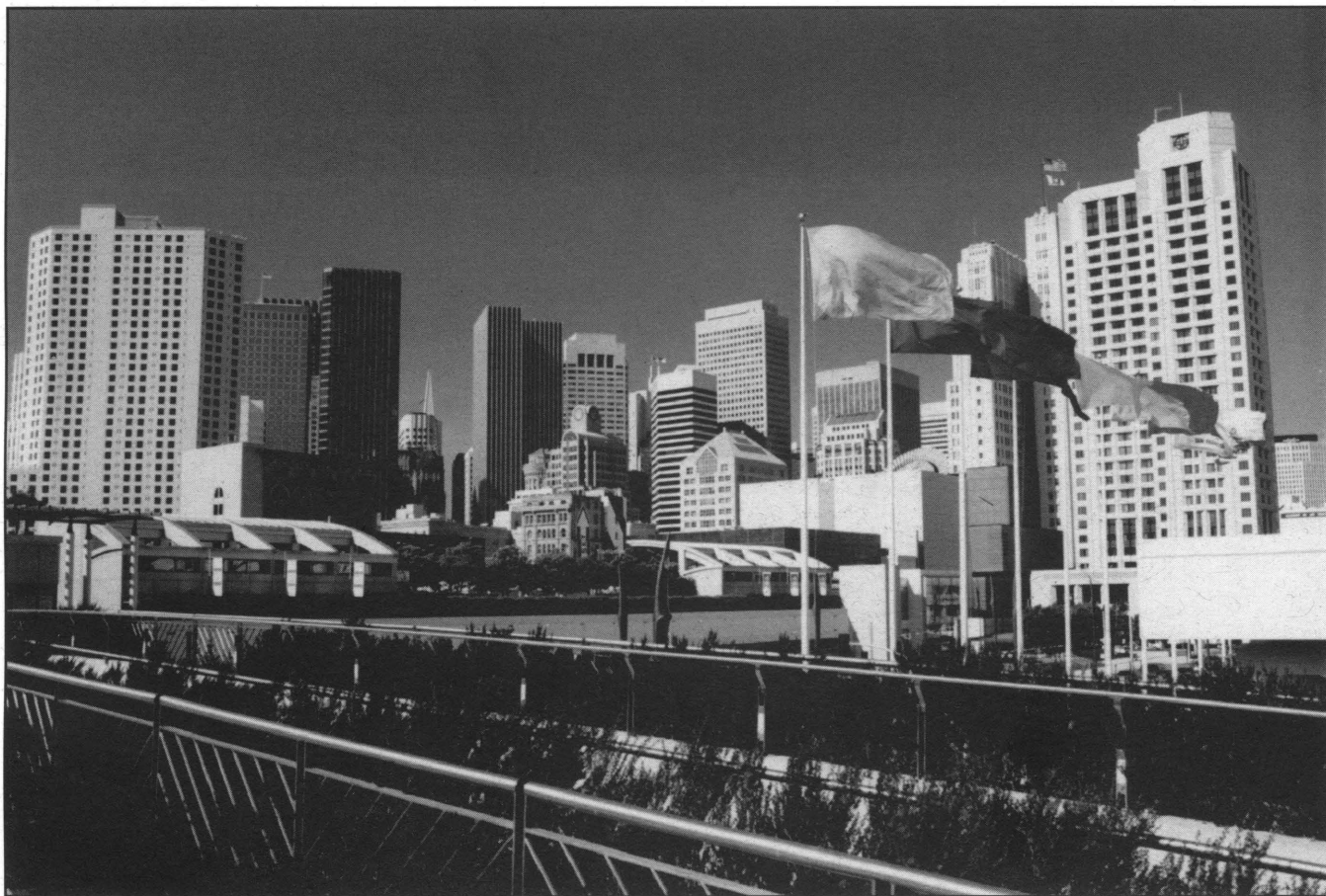


URBAN ACTION

A Journal of Urban Affairs



20th Anniversary Edition

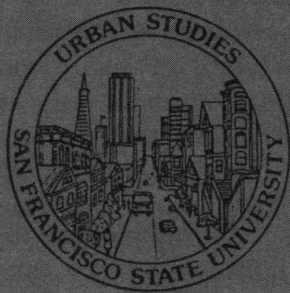
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San Francisco State University
1999**

URBAN ACTION

1999

The Annual Journal
of Urban Affairs
Produced by the
Urban Studies
Program

San Francisco
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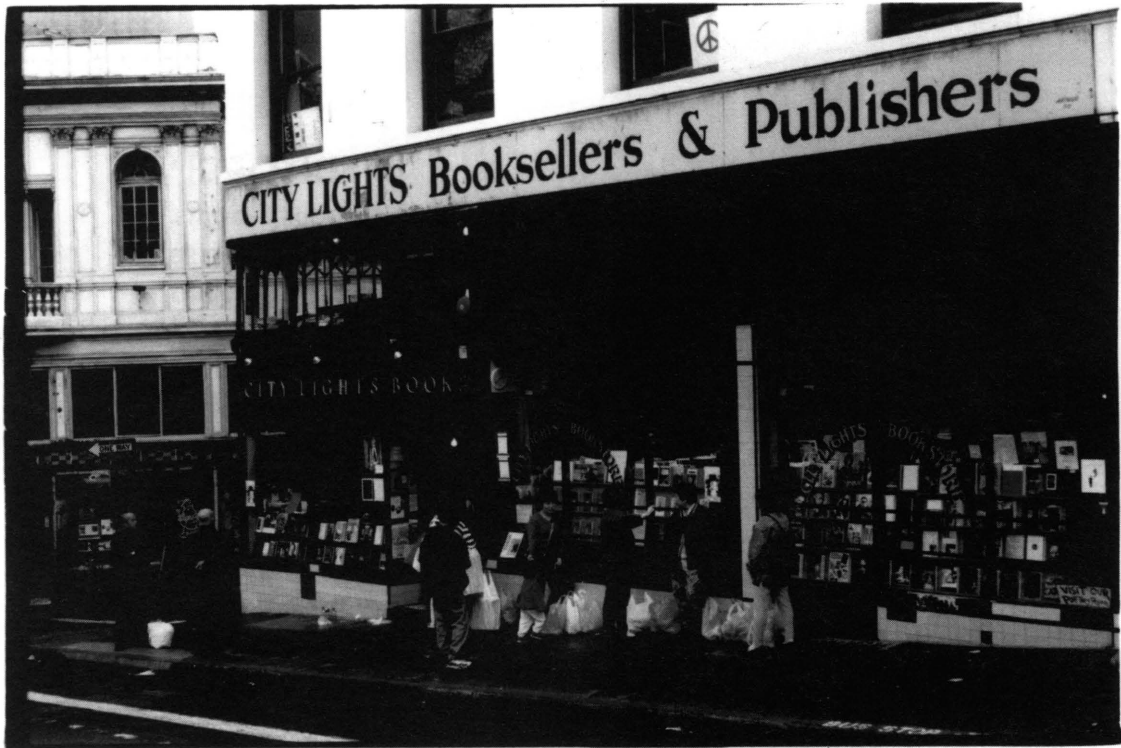
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FROM THE PHOTOGRAPHER

As a hobby photographer, I was more than happy to submit my pictures to the current edition of *Urban Action*. Often I see the city in a new light when I look through the view finder of my camera. Through this medium I have discovered subtleties of the built environment that I have often passed by. My camera has given me a new perspective on the environment in which I live. I would like to express my thanks to my dear friend and photographer Moritz Friedrich in Berlin for his generosity in opening up his *antilier* and darkroom for my use. In addition, many thanks to the folks at Photoworks for their quality photo processing.

MICHAEL JACINTO
APRIL 1999

Cover Photo: The San Francisco skyline, as seen from the roof of Yerba Buena Gardens.

FROM THE DEAN:

It is a pleasure and privilege to welcome readers to the 20th annual edition of *Urban Action*. As the Dean of the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences, I am delighted to have the opportunity to introduce the 1999 edition of this totally student-produced publication. *Urban Action* has been a tradition of excellence within the Program in Urban Studies for the past twenty years, permitting the entire campus to appreciate superb Urban Studies students' papers.

This high quality compilation of Urban Studies students' written work, selected by the student-editors, provides an illustration of the superlative learning that takes place in Urban Studies courses under the able guidance and instruction of Urban Studies faculty. Both the student-editors and student-authors should take pride in the excellence of the work displayed in this year's edition. The problems addressed in urban studies are urgent, and demand all the creativity and incisive thought we can muster. May the entire San Francisco State University campus community consider carefully the insights contained in the following articles as a start to greater understanding of the issues addressed.

Congratulations to the editors and contributors for another outstanding publication!

JOEL J. KASSIOLA

**DEAN, COLLEGE OF THE BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY**

FROM THE EDITORS:

It is with honor and pride that we were part of the production of this 20th anniversary edition of *Urban Action*. Looking back over the last nineteen years of production, a common goal of previous journals has been to present the reader with urban issues that affect all of us in one way or another. We have sought to continue this tradition in this year's journal with articles produced by students from various academic departments at San Francisco State University. Topics addressed include homelessness, housing programs and policies, education, alternative transportation, international essays and various urban perspectives. In recognition of our 20th anniversary, we have an interview from Urban Study alum, former San Francisco Supervisor, and current head of Cal Trans, Jose Medina.

The editors would like to thank Richard Legates, our faculty advisor, for his insight, guidance, and inspiration. A special expression of gratitude goes out to Atina Salih for her forbearance and support, along with Virginia Casey. For the third consecutive year, we would like to thank Michael Martin of the San Francisco Observer whose terrific desktop publishing helps make the journal what it is. Thank you also to Alex Keller and the BSS lab staff who provided technical assistance and usage of lab equipment. We would also like to thank and acknowledge Joshua Paddison, our copy editor. It is with the aid of Urban Study faculty members, through their encouragement of students to submit articles to the journal, that we are able to receive the writings for publication and we express our gratitude for their efforts. Finally, we would like to thank all the contributors to *Urban Action* for their submissions, which make the journal possible.

We hope you enjoy this year's 20th anniversary edition of *Urban Action* as much as we enjoyed reading, selecting, and editing the articles that follow.

THE EDITORS OF URBAN ACTION 1999

FROM THE ADVISOR:

Congratulations to the editors and contributors of the 1999 *Urban Action*. As faculty advisor I am particularly pleased that this 20th anniversary edition has such a professionally written, interesting, and varied selection of articles and other material. The Urban Studies Program prides itself on being an applied program where our students learn from doing. Majors, minors, and students from other disciplines in our courses gain first hand experience in our urban internship and work with faculty on research projects. Students in the Urban Studies Senior Seminar complete valuable projects for real clients. But nowhere is learning by doing more evident than in the production of *Urban Action*. As faculty advisor this year I was reminded again how much work goes into a publication of this quality. Soliciting articles, selecting from among submissions editing (and re-editing) articles which are selected for inclusion, arranging interviews, photographing, finding poems, and all the technical details that go into production is hard work. It takes planning, patience, and flexibility. All of the contributors are now "published authors". They know what it takes to produce professional, publishable work not because they have heard about it second hand, but because they have done it. Through countless hours of group discussion and individual work culminating in late nights in the computer lab the editors have moved from enthusiasts hoping to produce a journal to seasoned editors. Congratulations to them. Enjoy this outstanding 20th anniversary issue!

RICHARD LEGATES
FACULTY ADVISOR



View of the Hobart building from Market and Montgomery Streets.

The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of SFSU, the editors, or the Urban Studies Program. Correspondence and requests for additional copies should be directed to the Urban Studies Program, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94132. Phone: 415-338-1178 or e-mail: <urbact@sfsu.edu>

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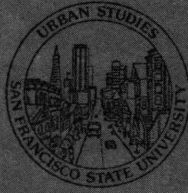
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Charter Schools: Who Chooses? Who Loses?

Shireen Lee

Charter schools are the hottest topic on the education reform agenda today. President Clinton has made charter schools part of his education strategy, calling for the establishment of 3,000 charter schools by the year 2000.¹ In one of his first duties as the newly elected governor of California, Gray Davis sealed the fate of charter schools in the state by appointing former State Senator Gary K. Hart, sponsor of California's charter schools legislation, as Secretary of Education. But are charter schools really the panacea to the ills of public education as touted by the president, the governor, and other prominent policymakers?

The A, B, Cs of Charter Schools

The charter school idea was initially developed ten years ago by Ray Budde, a retired teacher and expert on school district reorganization. In his 1988 book *Education by Charter: Restructuring School Districts*, Budde proposed that schools "charter" teams of teachers to create innovative programs for a three to five year period. In a speech to the National Press Club in 1988, the late Albert Shanker, former president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), extended this idea from charter "programs" to "schools."^{2,3}

Charter schools are public schools that operate under a contract from a public agency. In exchange for autonomy over curriculum, management, and finances, charter schools are held accountable for improving academic results. Charter schools are allowed to operate free from most state and local legal and regulatory restrictions including teacher credentialing requirements and collective bargaining agreements. Since they are public institutions, charter schools cannot charge tuition, must be non-sectarian, and cannot exclude students.^{4,5}

Entities that can grant charters vary from state to state, and include local school boards, colleges and universities, and state

boards of education. Charter school contracts are typically approved for an initial period of three to five years. Renewal of the charter is contingent on the school meeting the terms set forth in the original contract. Groups eligible to apply for a charter differ from state to state and include teachers, parents, school administrators, nonprofit agencies—even entrepreneurs out to make a profit.^{6,7}

Charter schools fall into three broad categories: newly created schools, schools converted from previously existing public or private schools, and schools run by for-profit corporations.⁸ Charter schools are typically small: 60 percent of charter schools enroll less than two hundred students. In comparison, regular public schools serve an average of five hundred students.⁹

Funding for charter schools comes mostly from state and local revenues. However, charter schools are also eligible for federal government funding provided annually through Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) for educationally disadvantaged students, and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) for children with disabilities.¹⁰

The Public Policy Map

In 1991, Minnesota became the first state to enact charter school legislation. This was followed by a stronger law in California in 1992.¹¹ As of September 1997, twenty nine states and the District of Columbia have

Charter schools are typically small: 60 percent of charter schools enroll less than two hundred students. In comparison, regular public schools serve an average of five hundred students.

charter school laws. The number of charter schools nationwide has grown exponentially in the last seven years, with the total number of schools in operation at 781.¹²

Charter School Supporters

Advocates say that charter schools increase choice and innovation, free schools from regulations, ensure more accountability, focus on results, and introduce competition that will initiate improvements in the system.¹³

There are three types of charter school proponents. The *zealots* believe that the market system is better than the public system.¹⁴ Many conservative think tanks and foundations fall in this category. The Hudson Institute, a strong proponent of charter schools, is a conservative think tank whose education programs are led by Chester Finn, Jr., the Reagan administration's assistant secretary of education.¹⁵ A Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, Louann A. Bierlein helped draft the Arizona charter schools legislation, widely regarded as the most liberal in the country.^{16,17}

The second type of charter school supporters are *entrepreneurs and for-profit businesses*, who are eager to reap financial gains from running schools.¹⁸ These companies have taken advantage of the deregulation associated with charter schools to gain access to the \$600 billion education market.^{19,20} Examples of corporations that fall under this

category include Educational Alternatives, Inc. (EAI) and the Edison Project. The corporate-conservative tide is clearly with charter schools. In fact, John Chubb (co-author of the book *Politics, Markets and America's Schools*) is an Edison Project vice president and director of curriculum, instruction, and assessment.²¹ Chubb's book uses the market model to fashion an argument for privatization of the education system.²²

Finally, there are the *child-, parent-, and teacher-centered reformers*, who are interested in expanding innovation and choice in public education. It is this latter group that lends an air of legitimacy to the charter school movement.²³

Money Buys the Movement

Despite the mainstream glow of charter schools, there is no question that money and political influence has come from zealots and profiteers.²⁴ Most national research about charter schools to date has been conducted by conservative organizations with funding from conservative foundations.

In addition, corporate capital has been pouring in to help with charter school start-up costs. In Boston, the Renaissance Charter School occupies an office tower in the city's downtown area.²⁵ Charter schools in California received an unanticipated boost last spring when Don Fisher, owner of the GAP and a huge financial supporter of Newt Gingrich, pledged to contribute \$25 million to the for-profit Edison Project to help start up schools in the state.

The Guiding Light: Values Behind the Movement

The premise behind charter schools is that *choice* will create equal opportunity, and *accountability* will improve academic achievement. Choice and accountability will lead to competition and hence encourage innovation. Schools that do not improve will be forced to shut down.²⁶

This is essentially a market-based model of education. The free market will determine the structure, curriculum, and

success of schools, and weaker schools will close. The argument, as presented by Milton Friedman, is that the free market is a better regulator of the educational system than the government.²⁷

Caveat Emptor: Consequences of Charter Schools Legislation

Opponents say that charter schools rob other public schools of already dwindling resources, may become elite and segregated, fail in their admission and delivery of services to children with disabilities, and do not respect the collective bargaining rights of teachers.^{28,29,30}

Charter schools will eventually create a dual system in public education, creaming off the best students.³⁴ Despite the fact that charter schools are open to all students, typically only parents who already place a high value on education will go through the trouble of enrolling their child, concentrating the privileged in charter schools and leaving all other students trapped in the resource backwaters of the public school system.³⁵ Choice causes a fragmentation between those with the financial and personal capacity to choose, and those who are unable or unaware of their ability to choose. Ability and desire to choose are governed by many societal factors, not merely on the availability of choices.³⁷ Charter schools encourage social polarization and perpetuate a "haves" and "have-nots" system.³⁶

The redistributive role of government is handicapped in a market system because government leadership must often make concessions to business leadership.^{31,32} After two decades of market-oriented policymaking, the United States is now in the unenviable position of having the wid-

The premise behind charter schools is that choice will create equal opportunity, and accountability will improve academic achievement.

est gap in incomes in the industrialized world.³³

The children who suffer are the children who are already suffering. Children living in poverty can hardly use the market to their advantage. Governments must make political and financial commitments to their care and well-being, both in school and out. No amount of entrepreneurial zeal will make up for a lack of resources to provide for them.³⁸

In an education system that is far from achieving parity between the privileged and the disadvantaged, it is irresponsible to advocate for and allocate funds towards innovation when basic needs are not being met. In the absence of a level playing field, evaluation of the effectiveness of charter schools begs the question, "Who chooses? Who loses?" In this polarized society, with the divide between rich and poor widening, the answer unfortunately is obvious.



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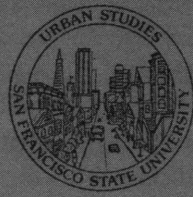
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* Printed from the Internet, no page numbers.

Shireen Lee is working towards her Masters of Public Administration at San Francisco State University. An active advocate for the empowerment of girls and young women, particularly in the areas of education and health, she sits on the advisory boards of several San Francisco organizations, has helped start up a non-profit organization, and has developed after school, education, employment, and leadership programs, conferences and events for young women. She is currently working with Coleman Advocates to fight for school-based health services for youth in San Francisco public high schools.



Empowerment Zones/ Enterprise Communities

Elizabeth Earle

In the case of social change programs, the American people tend to prematurely evaluate the success or failure of federal programs. Due to this way of thinking, many potentially strong programs are often abandoned before they are given a chance to be successful. San Francisco State student Elizabeth Earle gives us a look at a Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community Program that has been carefully scrutinized since its inception.

Introduction

The Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (EZ/EC) program of 1993 was the first major urban policy legislation to emerge from the federal government in more than two decades. Not only was the mere existence of such an extensive commitment significant, but the fact that it mandated the inclusion of local community participation as a cornerstone of the program was groundbreaking. This legislation recognized the evolution and importance of community organizing and development work in our country over the last thirty years, and by incorporating it into a national program, acknowledged its relevance to the issues at hand. The significance of the history (in progress) of this program will be in its success and effectiveness in:

- Engaging communities in government initiatives and creating social change.
- Creating stronger local programs that are better equipped to address the needs of urban communities.

This is an experiment of sorts and the lessons learned here are important ones, regardless of the actual progress this specific legislation achieves.

When evaluating any legislation, one must first look at the demand factors at hand, i.e., do the facts of the given situation

and the voices of relevant participants call for action? In the case of urban policy, and the growing urban crisis in our country over the last several decades, it is widely recognized that something must be done. Rising levels of poverty, homelessness, physical deterioration, and crime are just a few of the "ills" associated with central cities that have placed a new urgency that has pushed urban policy issues to the top of the political agenda (Riposa 1996). Urban disinvestment, defined as a "series of progressive steps" through which lending institutions pull out of areas that are expected to deteriorate, creates a "self fulfilling prophesy of decline for specific neighborhoods." Developers defend their practices on the grounds that it would be a mismanagement of depositors' funds and would be counterproductive for all parties involved. In reality, urban disinvestment undermines healthy neighborhoods and reinforces negative assertions around the revitalization of old, inner-city neighborhoods (Naparstek and Dooley 1997).

Brief Overview of U.S. Urban Policy Since the 1930s

Urban policy can be defined as a "series of policies associated with the development of urban areas." Invented by the New Deal as a response to the despair of the depression, urban policy met early resistance

by mayors throughout the country. While they felt that such programs were an "invasion of community rights," the poverty of the depression hit hard and the need for funding became overwhelming; it was soon recognized that the destiny of the central cities was closely linked to national politics. As the urban vote consistently followed racial lines, the issues extended beyond civil rights and stirred up "issues of filtering, racial change and diversity" (Naparstek and Dooley 1997). As a result, electoral support and legislation in favor of urban policy was always unstable (Judd 1995).

From its inception in the 1930s, urban policy concentrated on physical deterioration in central cities for the first several decades. Recently, trends in funding streams have changed as aid has been channeled to depressed communities in the form of tax breaks and grants (Naparstek and Dooley 1997). Imposing national standards through legislation around zoning and land use has been significant, underwriting racial and class segregation. The dwindling population in the major cities, combined with the swelling growth of the suburbs, stripped the cities of their tax base and political clout (Riposa, 1996). While the "one man one vote" ruling in the early 1960s provided the cities with equal representation, the changing demographics translated the legislation into huge advantages for the suburbs. The Kennedy administration redirected urban policy concerns from the more physical, slum clearance public housing focus to a "social welfare orientation." Much of this legislation attempted to reform local policies by providing increased federal outlays that often by-passed the local governments. This created conflict between inter-government and community interaction that often compounded the urban problems even further. There was rapid growth in the number, complexity, and variety of programs, which led to oversight and program coordination challenges. Mayors and other local officials wanted to regain their control; they lobbied for continued funds that would be chan-

neled through city hall (Robertson and Judd 1989).

Intended as a comprehensive, "bottom-up" program, the Model Cities program of 1966 came as a reaction to past urban renewal efforts. Current research demonstrated that the principles of concentration, coordination, and mobilization were essential to a successful program, and were thus included in the Model Cities legislation. However, problems related to selection criteria, funding, and community participation haunted the program throughout its existence (Rubin, 1994). Local officials continued to be agitated by the lack of coordination and information, the complexity of the programs, and the direct relationship that the federal government was building with local communities. They again pressured for control and reform (Robertson and Judd 1989). It seems the Clinton team took notes on the Model Cities experience. The EZ/EC legislation took into account the need for coordination between the federal and local governments as well as among federal agencies, and recognized the shortcomings of a plan that contained vague designation criteria, evaluation measures, and plans for engaging community involvement (Rubin 1994).

A change in urban policy emerged in the 1970s as Nixon worked to reform the grants in aid system. Federal assistance was now dispensed primarily in the form of block grants; the decreased restrictions allowed for increased control on the part of local government to make choices about funding priorities and allocations. While there was an increase in actual dollars spent, the fact that the grants were "less targeted" habitually translated into less money addressing the needs of the poor. The coalition of support for urban policy, built in the 1960s, was fragile and short lived, i.e., capable of survival and enacting legislation on the merit of existing, "well-institutionalized" relationships. During the 1970s this "eroding electoral base" had lost much of its punch. In a final "swan song" of sorts the urban lobby flexed its muscles one last time, playing a crucial

role in the securing of amendments to the block grant program. By the time Reagan entered office in 1980 they sustained a very narrow base of support; in the very different policy-making environment that quickly evolved, the future for urban policy did not look bright (Judd 1995).

The 1980s proved to be a fascinating period in the story of urban renewal initiatives.

The 1980s proved to be a fascinating period in the story of urban renewal initiatives. After decades in which urban policy was tied to development and changes on the international front and was equated with housing, transportation, segregation, and empowerment, the efforts of the 1980s primarily promoted economic development in the distressed cities (Judd 1995). There was a growing trend towards providing aid to "people not places"; this became a major political issue and translated into trouble for the cities. Reagan, claiming that the "private market is more efficient in allocating money," reduced federal aid to the cities. In addition, Reagan's cuts in spending on social programs hit the urban centers disproportionately hard. The 1986 Tax Reform Act meant a loss of capacity for state and local governments, and, along with the decentralization of social programs, resulted in funding slashes for education and other programs, again neglecting the needs of cities.

Because suburbia held the lion's share of the population, politicians had little motivation for supporting programs geared toward the central cities (Liebschutz 1995; and Judd 1995). Throughout the 1980s, the cities were almost as politically isolated they had been a hundred years prior; cities were seen important only with regard to how much they contributed to a healthy national economy (Robertson and Judd 1989).

Jack Kemp first introduced enterprise zone legislation in the 1980s. The proposal, taken from an experiment in Britain, was

designed to eliminate government burdens and encourage business to invest in distressed areas via the installation of free market economic tools. Built on a foundation of tax and investment incentives and regulatory relief, Reagan loved the enterprise zone concept. It was a perfect fit for his "less government is better" agenda. However, the shift from "aid to places" to "aid to people" set a challenging course for this urban policy through Congress. The legislation, housed in a variety of proposals, spent over a decade on the table and, in the end, never passed. Regardless of the fact that many were frustrated with traditional ways of providing assistance, there was a lack of bipartisan support, minority community support, and the support of key congressional committees for this legislation (Rubin 1994). Congressional redistricting weakened the voice of the cities while building the influence of the suburbs; it made good political sense to the republicans to abandon urban policy (Judd 1995). However, the Clinton administration learned from the political experiences of the early enterprise legislation. They proposed "substantial federal spending" on economic incentives in order to gain support from the Democrat and Republican legislators, and addressed the ideological issues to secure the support of minority representatives (Rubin 1994).

The states grew tired of waiting for national legislation addressing the growing needs of the cities to become a reality; thirty-seven states and Washington DC enacted their own enterprise zone initiatives during the 1980s and three additional programs surfaced in the 1990s (Liebschutz 1995). No two initiatives were identical as each had its own challenges and dynamics with which to contend; many valuable lessons can be learned from this period of program development and experimentation. Common themes emerged around the programmatic decisions as each initiative sought to create change in their urban centers. Identifying which types of incentives (labor, investment, or other) were most effective at encourag-

ing economic growth was essential. They determined that investment incentives were most appealing, particularly those that business could collect from immediately. When defining the designation criteria, it was crucial that they evaluate the economic potential of an area as well as its economic disparity. Finally, addressing evaluation issues was a major challenge; they learned that requirements must be built into the program and objectives must be clearly established from the outset. Clinton's EZ/EC program integrated some of these lessons, primarily those dealing with selection criteria, deeming economic potential and clear benchmarks of success as important program components (Rubin 1994).

With the announcement and enactment of the Empowerment zone/Enterprise Communities proposal came a new age in urban policy efforts. For the first time since the 1930s, a "judgment" was made that cities were valuable in and of themselves, not just to the degree that they contributed to the national economy. Past economic development policies that had dominated cities' agendas for the last several years were "capital intensive" without making any real improvements in the quality of life in communities (Rubin 1994). The Clinton administration took from the lessons, both the successes and failures, from previous policy efforts and strove to integrate them into a progressive, unique federal urban policy agenda.

Community Organizing & Development in the U.S. Since the 1960s

Community organizing and development has evolved as a direct response to the needs of the distressed communities; these areas are disproportionately located in the central cities of our country. Urban policy, through spending amounts and the types of legislation, has directly impacted the path of this work, and vice versa. Societal and economic factors—education levels, fiscal resources, racial segregation, job

availability and readiness, population trends, as well as numerous others—all intermingle to shape demand and response. It is ironic how these urban centers, which have been such an integral part of our country's social and economic growth and systems, present such enormous social policy challenges (Riposa 1996).

It has been noted that "the extent to which a community succeeds in this effort [community development] depends on the context in which it exists and its ability to develop the capacity to participate in determining its needs and programs."

During the 1960s the community movement gave priority to the empowerment and capacity-building of low-income community members via participation in local organizations. Organizational mission statements consistently reflected the key premise that substantial involvement of residents in distressed communities resulted in better citizens and better policy solutions to identified problems. There was an explosion in the number of community based organizations, particularly community development corporations (CDCs), which grew out of the war on poverty initiatives, the civil rights movement, and grants in aid funding strategies. Communities used CDCs as their primary tool to "insert" themselves into the mainstream of economic and social services decision making. There was a strong backlash to the demands of these community organizations for increased community control (Gittell et al. 1998).

During the 1970s and 1980s foundation and government funding substantially decreased for community-based organizations focused on advocacy and comprehensive community development. In order to obtain the funding necessary for survival,

CDCs allowed their concern for fair representation and participation to fall by the wayside and changed the scope of their activities, focusing on the creation of new business enterprise (Gittell et al. 1998). Economic development which was "place based" and geared towards physical revitalization became the dominant program agenda of the day. The goal of these economic initiatives was to "increase the economic activity and to improve a locality's fiscal base"; essentially, to recognize the "link between a healthy economic climate and retention, expansion, attraction of commerce, and industry." "Bricks and mortar" strategies were often dominated by the interests of politicians and economic players employing a corporate centered approach; these tactics have been challenged on the grounds that they do not benefit everyone (Riposa 1996).

Slowly, over the course of the last decade and a half, tides have begun to change as there has been a shift towards comprehensiveness and traditional community organizing (Clavel et al. 1997). It has been noted that "the extent to which a community succeeds in this effort [community development] depends on the context in which it exists and its ability to develop the capacity to participate in determining its needs and programs" (Riposa 1996). Similarly, a recent study identified four guiding principles that are connected with effective community-building initiatives: comprehensive and integrated, tailored to individual neighborhoods of manageably sized target areas, begun with an inventory of assets, and involved residents and other stakeholders in the goal/priority setting and planning to address identified issues. Additional research supports these findings. Trends in community-building work have heeded this message redirecting efforts "back" to more traditional community organizing with an emphasis on participatory planning processes. And the funders have followed, recognizing the shortsightedness of narrow bricks and

mortar strategies. By the mid-1990s almost every major foundation engaged in community development launched a comprehensive initiative (Clavel et al. 1997). The EZ/EC legislation appears to have incorporated these lessons into its program goals and mandates as well.

Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities (EZ/EC)

With the passage of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act in August 1993, the Clinton administration announced legislation that they envisioned as representing a "new way of doing business for the Federal government." One major piece of this act was the EZ/EC program. The key component in the administration's community revitalization strategy, the EZ/EC attempts to create sustainable economic development through partnerships across public, private, and nonprofit sectors. The legislation recognized the importance of the inclusion of community as an integral part of the planning and governance process by integrating it as a key program component. Between January and June of 1994, members from various stakeholder groups in more than five hundred communities throughout the country engaged in the development of comprehensive, strategic plans that served essentially as applications for the program. On December 21, 1994, seventy urban and thirty three rural communities were designated EZ/EC sites.

The framework of the EZ/EC program is grounded in four essential principles: economic opportunity, sustainable community development, community-based partnerships, and a strategic vision for change. Economic opportunity is interpreted broadly as including job training, wage and work condition improvements, and access to capital. Sustainable community development captures the program's comprehensive approach, aiming to promote education, support families, and provide personal growth opportunities. Com-

munity participation and collaboration, through community-based partnerships, articulates the third principle. Requiring residents to create a "road map" for their future, the strategic vision for change, is the fourth and final major program component. Creators of the program hoped that these key goals would "promote fundamental change through a holistic approach to improving physical, social, and economic conditions" (Gaventa et al. 1995).

The structure of the program at the national level reflected this holistic, multifaceted approach. The Community Empowerment Board, which is chaired by Vice President Gore and includes the heads of every major domestic federal cabinet agency, was created to facilitate inter-agency cooperation and to engage its members and agencies to be true to their program commitment. The Urban EZ/EC Task Force was assigned the responsibility for the day to day operations of the program (www.ezec.gov homepage).

The economic incentive piece of the program reflected a huge financial commitment on the part of the federal government. There were four designation categories, each receiving different financial packages. Each EZ received \$100 million in Social Services Block Grant and each EC received \$3 million. The two intermediate categories were awarded grants of various amounts and levels of access to the other economic incentives. Tax incentives, to be available for the following ten years, included wage tax credits, increased deductions for depreciable property, and tax-exempt bond financing. These economic tools were built into the program in order to ease the financial burden for businesses in order to induce them to either expand or relocate in the designated zones and employ area residents (www.ezec.gov homepage).

There were essentially three components of the application process that required a demonstration of community participation: the strategic planning phase, the boundary designation process, and in the

creation of the governance structure to be employed. Strategic plans outlined community needs, potential projects, plans for community participation, and proposed governance structures.

Boundary designation (determining exactly what geographic area will be covered) was an important piece of the application and a source of much discussion. Finally, a proposal for the governance structure was crucial to the application. In each of these pieces the applications had to reflect how they intended to accomplish the four primary goals of the program as well as to demonstrate the extent of community participation thus far.

The EZ/EC legislation was significant for a number of reasons. It not only brought to a close a twenty-year hiatus in urban policy, but it also marked a dramatic departure from earlier legislation and programs. EZ/EC combined lessons learned through the experience of the anti-poverty initiatives of the 1960s with the community development strategies of the 1980s. The program recognized the fact that economic and community development requires the involvement of a wider range of stakeholders and that neighborhood-based change and community participation are key components that cannot be omitted. It was a deliberate attempt to promote collaborative efforts and build social capital as well as invest in the community; EZ/EC was significantly different in that it invited members of the distressed communities to be a part of the process, assessing their own strengths as well as needs (Gittell et al. 1998).

EZ/EC Implementation & Politics at the Local Level

From the outset of the EZ/EC initiative, even prior to the designation of the sites, the challenge of implementation reared its ugly head. In the early days of the program, community organizations were euphoric over the potential for change in their communities and for new

partnerships and increased capacity. Over time these same individuals and groups acquired a more sober perspective, as the gap between a program on paper and in implementation became a reality (Gittell 1995). As the plan moved from legislation to program these shortcomings, with regard to the community involvement piece, can be identified clearly by analyzing the same three stages within which community participation was a requirement: strategic planning, boundary selection, and governance structures. For simplicity's sake, the literature focuses primarily on the developments and trends at the six designated Empowerment Zone sites.

The creation of a strategic plan, i.e., the application, was the first step in the process of becoming an EZ/EC. As expected, and even encouraged by the legislation, numerous different approaches to the process of plan development were employed by the cities. Large community meetings were held in each city; in a few cases they were substituted for direct community involvement. In several locations community members were encouraged to give input, but consultants, identified as "experts," wrote the actual plans (Gittell et al. 1998). Many questioned the validity of this approach in capturing the community voice, postulating that it had been token participation or an afterthought in the planning process (Gittell 1995).

While each of the cities took various approaches to strategic planning, there were common themes that emerged. The process was long and time-consuming and, since no funding or technical assistance was made available to participating groups, it was often difficult to maintain consistent community involvement. Many community groups felt their input was limited by their lack of financial resources. The groups with resources of their own, typically the older, more established organizations, were able to play a more significant role in the process. In several of the cities, the CDCs that had stronger connec-

tions to existing networks were called on to be the voice of the community. It soon became clear that "political connections played a significant role...." There seemed to be little interest on the part of city officials and business elite's to create genuine partnerships or to reach out to new players.

Finally, the community organizations often lacked access to informal power structures; they did not have the infrastructure nor the resources necessary to organize mass demand for their participation (Gittell et al. 1998).

Boundary determination was a significant piece in the planning process; all stakeholders were keenly aware and eager to exert their influence over the critical decisions that had to be made. Community participation was intended to be a major influence; however, in actuality it was significantly less during this phase. The practice of leaving community groups out of the process was defended on the grounds that it would be a conflict of interest. In the instances where community participation was present it was noted that "the strength of the [community] groups matched the EZ map." When certain business interests and districts and certain well-recognized CDCs, i.e., politically important interests and areas, were left out, key decision-makers intervened and boundary lines were often redrawn. In some situations, negotiations were held behind closed doors, allowing a few key players the ability to exercise their politics of control. Consistently, the EZ boundaries in each of the cities "reflected the status of community organizations and their existing political relationships in the city" (Gittell et al. 1998).

Decisions around and participation in governance structure was the third arena in which community involvement was required. Cities were supposed to include their proposal for governance structure in the application/strategic plan. However, it continued to be a point of debate and conflict long after site designation and into the

implementation. Community participation in all cities dropped significantly in this phase. The statement "the city was not ready to trust the same participatory process..." reflects the sentiment of many disappointed community activists (Gittell 1995).

The common thread among the experiences of the EZ cities and program participants was that of mayoral power and control, which culminated during the establishment of governance structures. During the application process there seemed to be a building of trust and cooperation among the various shareholders. However, after they were designated EZ sites, mayors in each of the cities asserted their control, overriding community decisions or bypassing community groups completely. Their decreased inclination to listen to the voices from the community is reflected in the limited representation of community organizations in the governance structures (Gittell et al. 1998). Mayors recognized the fact that how the EZ/EC initiatives in their cities fared would be seen as a reflection of their effectiveness as a leader and were prepared to bend the programs to fit their agenda. They sought to please business and the interests of other elite constituencies for their own political gain, frequently ignoring issues regarding what would be in the best interest of the community. Community organizations expressed concern over the processes utilized to create governance structures as well as the "end products" (Gittell 1995).

Finally, in each of the three critical stages, competition and disputes among the community groups limited their effectiveness even more. Divided neighborhoods, fueled by new conflicts associated with EZ/EC decisions, often "derailed" the community's level of participation. Combined with their longstanding rifts with business and city hall, the fragmentation of community

groups unraveled even further. Their failure to arrive at a consensus allowed for business and political interests to step in and determine the agenda, implementing a corporate-centered agenda with spending designated towards business and city projects (Gittell et al. 1998).

Conclusions

Two primary objectives of the Clinton administration have been reinventing government and empowerment; the EZ/EC initiative is consistent with the themes of this broader agenda. While there has been a certain degree of challenge to whether or not the EZ/EC legislation actually "reinvents" government, it is obvious that the program they created builds on lessons from the past and reshapes the key pieces in very unique ways (Liebschutz 1995). The philosophy behind the EZ/EC program reflects the ideology that "the road to economic opportunity and community development starts with broad participation by all segments of the community" and that "communities cannot succeed with public resources alone." (HUD guidelines for EZ/ EC). Economic tools, tax breaks and investment incentives, combined with social service block grants, were built into the program in order to encourage private, along with public, investment in distressed areas. Empowerment can be defined as the creation of opportunities, i.e., jobs, as well as the building of capacity in individuals, and the community, to be a part of the solutions for change. The EZ/EC blends tax initiatives with social services to create jobs and to combat poverty; it establishes a clear role for community as a partner in the planning and governance process (Riposa 1996).

All too often in the case of social change programs, we are guilty of premature evaluation, trying to assign success or failure within an unrealistic time period. This is a dangerous step to take, as programs are frequently abandoned after a couple of years if it fails to produce "successful results." The strength of the EZ/EC program lies in the recognition of the intrinsic value of commu-

nity-building through community organizing and capacity building. While it is too early to judge the program as a whole, assessment of the early stages signal that greater effort needs to be made around

implementing its lofty goals and programmatic plans. "Translating the ideology into new institutional frameworks is essential to the success of the EZ/EC program" (Gittell 1995; Gittell et al. 1998).



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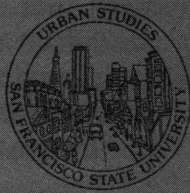
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Marzahn, Berlin



High-Rise Housing in Germany 1945-1998

Michael Jacinto

World War II radically changed the urban fabric of Europe. In the following essay, San Francisco State Urban Studies and German major Michael Jacinto takes the reader on an informative and probing look into post-World War II German housing, and the effect that political ideology, social considerations, and functionality have played in the rebuilding of East and West Germany.

Der Wiederaufbau: The task of rebuilding

World War II left many European cities in ruin. Germany, among other countries, was faced with the enormous task of rebuilding its cities. This essay examines how the German Democratic Republic (DDR) rebuilt its cities and attempted to provide housing for its citizens. Moreover, it is important to illustrate how the Federal Republic of Germany is dealing with an inherited stock of antiquated housing, which was planned and constructed for a socialist society. It is also important to examine the interplay between political ideology, architecture, social considerations, and socialist planning doctrines with regard to housing.

The destruction caused by World War II in German cities ranged from moderate to extreme. The industrialized Ruhr, the Haseanic city of Hamburg, and the Reich's capital Berlin were all heavily bombed and required an immense amount of reconstruction.¹ Rebuilding these cities was a task in and of itself, and to make matters even more difficult, the Cold War loomed over the horizon. The fallen Reich became the dividing line between two political ideologies, capitalism in the West and communism in the East.

Beginning in 1948, U.S. Foreign Secretary George Marshall announced a U.S.-

sponsored European Recovery Program, known as the Marshall Plan, to aid in the reconstruction of Western Europe. The Marshall Plan provided the Allied Sector of Germany with \$1,390,600 million in aid.² The program coincided with one of the Cold War's first direct confrontations, the Soviet blockade of Berlin. By 1952, the Allied Sector had gained political autonomy (becoming the Federal Republic of Germany, "West Germany," the "BRD"), and the *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic wonder) was in full swing. Marshall Plan funds were invested into bonds and were used to overhaul infrastructure and to rebuild housing destroyed in the War.

The Soviet Occupied Zone in Germany, known later as the German Democratic Republic ("East Germany," "the DDR"), followed a different path to recovery. Whereas the U.S. provided monetary aid to assist in the rebuilding of the BRD, it was ultimately the free market that steered development in Western Germany. The same cannot be said for the DDR. The Soviet Union had a heavy hand in influencing recovery in the DDR. Originally, the Communist Party of E. Germany (KPD)³ wanted by no means a transfer of Stalinist political and cultural institutions into a communist Germany. The rebuilding of the cities and the reevaluation of cultural identity were to be free from So-

viet-style political compulsions. To solve the housing crisis, East German planners looked back to the 1920s to the Weimar Republic for architectural direction, mainly to the Bauhaus. New cities in a communist Germany were conceptualized to be heavily functional; that is, usage of city space was to be designated strictly for specific uses, i.e., residential, industrial, or recreational districts. Henry Ford's principles of rationalization and mass production also influenced urban recovery. The KPD's Housing Program of 1946 illustrates this:

"...The transition to a more contemporary building style occurs through extensive rationalization, normalization, the use of prototypes in housing production...."

Stalinization of E. German Housing Policies

Only a handful of architects and planners saw any of their projects completed in the time shortly after the war's end. By the early 1950s, the Cold War was in full swing and brought with it Stalin's influence on socialist party housing policies. Not only did Stalin exert his political imperatives, but also directly influenced architectural style as well. This Stalinist neoclassical architecture was supposed to shelter the DDR from "Western influences." According to the 3rd Socialist Conference in 1950, this building style protected against "cultural barbarism of American imperialism." Socialists were thus able to discount modern art and Western architectural styles, and orient themselves toward socialist realism.

The prime example of this can be seen in the DDR's first residential project. Completed in 1953, the Stalinallee (now called the Karl-Marx-Allee) is a ten story, 1.5-mile-long collection of monumental buildings with facades adorned with reliefs of the proletariat. Building this project was problematic. It soon became evident to the SED that Moscow was not happy with subsidizing the construction. Voter returns also showed little public support or enthusiasm.⁴ The general public viewed the Stalinallee as a Soviet

prestige project, and felt that a housing project of this magnitude did not adequately address the basic need of providing shelter. In addition, the workers constructing these buildings received very little pay. This and

The death of Stalin in 1953 was a radical turning point in Soviet housing policy, which caused a revolutionary change in housing policy in the DDR. The coming decade saw the birth of mass housing.

other factors led to a strike on June 17, 1953. The Stalin Allee project proved to be too costly an undertaking and too labor intensive to adequately provide housing for the masses. The death of Stalin in 1953 was a radical turning point in Soviet housing policy, which caused a revolutionary change in housing policy in the DDR. The coming decade saw the birth of mass housing.

The International Architecture Exposition, Berlin 1957

The 1950s ushered in the awareness and common employment of a new architectural style known as the International Style. The International Style of architecture is typified by the notion of form following function, and Berlin became a showcase for architects such as Walter Gropius, Otto Salvisburg, and Bruno Traut to erect their works. By the end of the decade, West Germans were already well on the way to rebuilding their cities, whereas the East Germans were still picking up rubble. In 1957 the City of West Berlin invited German as well as foreign architects to participate in the City's International Architecture Exposition. The competition concentrated on the Hansa Quarter, a neighborhood adjacent to (W.) Berlin's urban park, the Tiergarten, and called for the creation of high density housing intermixed with light commercial development on the edge of the Tiergarten.

In many ways this competition defined the path that housing, both in its construc-

tion methods and design, took in the next forty years. The International Style radically influenced planning and design in housing. The city was loosened up—that is, where once dense blocks of flats occupied whole city blocks, now a single high-rise, providing an equivalent amount of living space, took its place. These structures were spaced in such a way that if a building were to topple, the amount of open space between buildings was sufficient enough to prevent a collision with the building next to it. After all, airstrikes were only a distant memory. In addition, housing units built at the zenith of Berlin's industrial revolution, known as "renter barracks," failed to provide ample light, fresh air, and adequate living space for their inhabitants. The high-rise was seen as an improvement over historical construction forms. However, for all the hoopla and hype that the exposition created, there was still ample criticism. Many felt that the high-rise structures killed street life and were not designed to a human scale.

The Hansa Quarter is important in the examination of the history of high-rise housing, in that it proved that normalization, rationalization, and mass production techniques (techniques that were also employed by architects of the Bauhaus) can be utilized to achieve housing of good quality in a relatively quick manner. In many Western countries today, high-rise housing forms a rather small, but in some ways problematic, sector of a differentiated housing scene. Ironically, it was at this expo on the Western side of the Iron Curtain that Germany's first high-rise apartments were built. The East embraced these units, and the high-rise became the prototype for housing from the banks of the Elbe to Vladivostok.⁵

Better, Cheaper, and Quicker: Industrialization and Functionalism, 1955-1969

The DDR's domestic housing policy shifted radically from concentrating on the monumental to the more functional and expedient with the death of Stalin in 1953.

Chruschtev outlined new policy directives in a speech held at the All-Union Conference in Moscow in 1953. He propagated the formulation of apartment prototypes and the industrialization of construction through the use of prefabricated components. Chruschev criticized prior housing policies as being too expensive, being of the opinion that decorative elements on buildings spoiled architec-

In 1950 the housing deficit reached 1.3 million units due to the destruction caused by the war and also to increased immigration from the territories in the East lost to the Soviet Union.

tural purity and were a waste of material and funds.

A year and a half after the policy decisions were adopted in the U.S.S.R., the DDR held its own conference that paved the way for the development of large housing estates. Gerhard Kosel, Secretary of the DDR's Department of Housing, was of the position that architecture is not an art, but more a synthesis of art and technical engineering. From that point, the aesthetic considerations regarding the outward appearance of all future projects took a secondary role to that of the technical. Architects were held accountable for the functional, constructive, and economic solutions with respect to their work, more so than the creative. Emphasis was on functionality for another reason: in 1950 the housing deficit reached 1.3 million units due to the destruction caused by the war and also to increased immigration from the territories in the East lost to the Soviet Union.

The first large housing project built in the DDR was in Hoyerswerda, located in the Lausitz region near the Polish border just northeast of Dresden. The Lausitz region is rich in natural resources, mainly coal and natural gas, which made it a strategic location to concentrate industrial activities. Hoyerswerda was originally planned for

48,000 inhabitants and later became the model for future residential developments in the DDR. This was due to the fact that Hoyerswerda became the first city in which prefabricated components were utilized to construct housing on a large scale. Regional quarries produced concrete slabs that were delivered to construction sites in the DDR and all points to the East. Since the project was begun in 1957, architects and planners foresaw the completion of 7,000 units annually. By 1967, the city boasted a population of 47,000 inhabitants, and plans were in place to extend the project to include fifteen additional development segments by the year 2000.

It became evident, however, that certain aspects of socialist planning dogma had their disadvantages. First and foremost, the synthetic creation of an urban environment from the ground up left a lot to be desired. Inhabitants moving out to the new estates lost old social networks, and often found it difficult to establish new social networks from scratch. There was also no large city in the region that defined the region's identity. Moreover, cultural and recreational facilities were lacking in Hoyerswerda. The inhabitants began to refer to their homes as "worker-lockers," due to the emphasis placed on the sheer quantity of production, rather than on quality and aesthetic considerations. From a planning point of view, the infrastructure failed to grow with the city, which led to transportation problems. At this time, the average trip to work was about thirteen km (eight miles), creating a high demand for rail service. In addition, the first houses built in Hoyerswerda were eleven stories and situated in rows (known as the P1 and P2 series). These spartan units were only minimally cost effective, and it was determined that density needed to be increased in order for the DDR to have enough units to house its citizens, and also to be economically feasible. Hoyerswerda became the testing ground for the DDR's new found building techniques and is the pre-

cursor to a project in Berlin that became the DDR's largest urban undertaking.

Berlin, Marzahn and the "Series 70" Apartments

The economic situation in East Germany in the early 1970s was comparable to those in the United States and other nations. Money was tight, and the "Anti-Imperialistic Protection Wall" in Berlin inhibited any investment funds permeating into the DDR. Instead, East Germany looked east for economic support in subsidizing its housing industry. Hoyerswerda taught the planners that an increase in housing density and simultaneously a higher emphasis on quality was needed in order to achieve an adequate amount of units. Erich Honecker, leader of the E. German political apparatus, propagated the "continued development of a socialist society" in which the "solution to the housing problematic as a social problem" became the central theme of the socio-political agenda through 1990. The Series '70 program was seen as a unification of Marxist socio-economic policy decisions and attempted to promote social egalitarianism while also offering its residents better quality housing. Quality considerations included: larger and more varied floor plans (families having priority), larger living rooms, variable kitchen plans, and even a few different bathroom options. This program was the legitimization of "progress" being made in the DDR, especially when contrasted against the capitalist housing system with its inherent social inequalities in the BRD.

Funding for the modernization and the construction of new housing units was considerably increased. The DDR budgeted 200 million Marks (\$125 million in 1999 USD) to spend on new construction and the modernization of three million pre-existing units between the years of 1976 through 1990. At this time, the SED also restructured the Department of Housing, consolidating all of the minor ministries

into a centralized organization in Berlin. The "Series '70 apartment" was the planner's answer to the housing challenge, but it had its drawbacks. Similar to the effect that suburbanization had on the central cities in North America, the Series '70 failed to address architectural preservation and reconstruction of core urban areas. Central city districts in Dresden, Leipzig, Rostock, and Halle were left to crumble. Older buildings were built with individual components, and the industrialized construction process could not produce custom parts and materials for repairs, and did not address reconstruction of individual buildings. It wasn't until the late 1980s that the SED addressed this issue and attempted, albeit rather late and sporadically, to save neglected urban cores from any further demise.

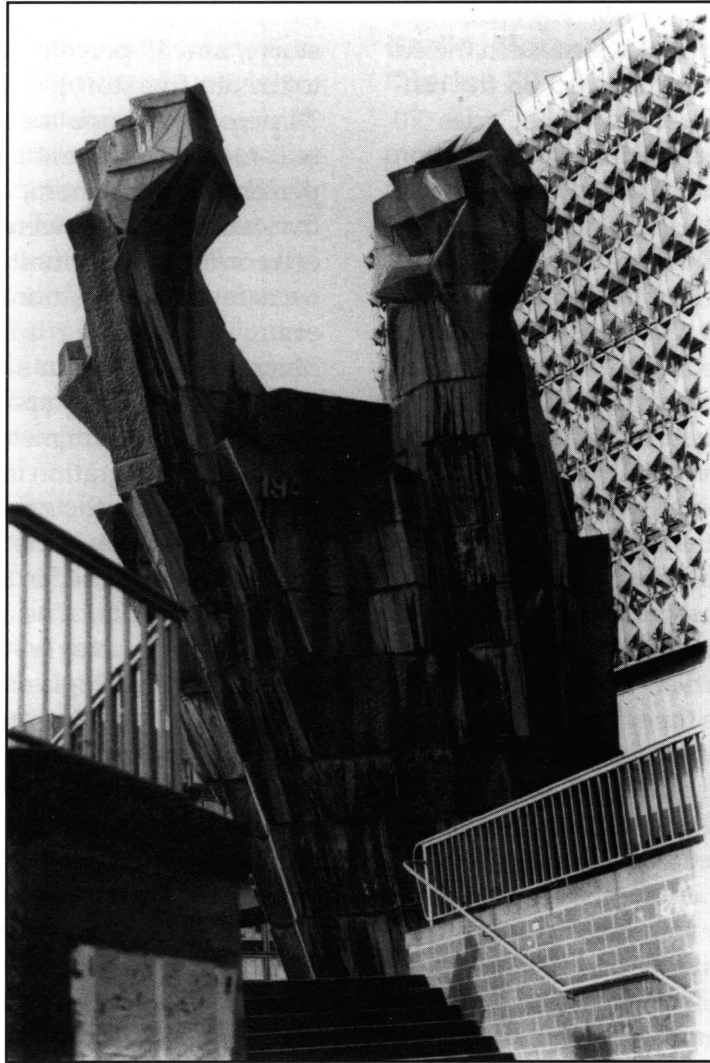
It was economically much more cost effective for the SED to concentrate its building efforts on the edges of cities where large contiguous plots of land were easier to prepare for construction than in the central cities. This is true of all cities in Eastern Europe—new housing developments sprung up along on the urban periphery, in close proximity to industrial zones. The SED proceeded with the Series '70 Program in full force and in 1976 began work on what was to be the DDR's largest housing project, Berlin, Marzahn. Marzahn was incorporated into Greater Berlin in 1920 and until the 1970s remained a small village consisting of a few low density homes and farms.

The district is approximately sixteen square miles and is located about seven miles from Alexanderplatz, the center of East Berlin. Marzahn was monofunctionally conceptualized as a "bedroom community"; with the exception of small areas planned for light commercial activity, the district was foreseen primarily as a residential zone. Today, Marzahn is home to 165,000 inhabitants, 91 percent of whom live in Marzahn's 58,000 "prefab slabs" (*in der Platte*). The

housing stock consists of 70 percent Series '70 apartments (eleven story), 20 percent row housing (five, seven, and some eleven story), and 10 percent high rise (eighteen to twenty-five story). Of these apartments, 20 percent are one-room, 21 percent are two-room, 37 percent are three-room, 21 percent are four-room, and 4 percent are five-room. Families were most likely to receive a three-room unit, due to having a more favorable position in a socialist society. The average apartment size in Marzahn is sixty-four square meters, and the average living space per person is twenty-nine square meters.⁶

Social integration in Marzahn remains high even after the reunification of Germany in 1989. A wide spectrum of age groups is represented in the district, including many families. The average age of the Marzahner is thirty-three years old. Marzahn has the highest per capita income of all the eastern boroughs of Berlin. In 1995, the gross monthly income for East Berliners was DM 2,756 (roughly \$1,725), and 74 percent of the districts residents earn at least DM 2,000 per month or more. In 1995 the average price for real estate intended for sale was approximately DM 2,500 per square meter, meaning that an average 62 square meter flat would cost about DM 155,000, or \$87,500. Although the free market has extended the residents of Marzahn the option of purchasing their flats, many continue to rent, and many do so for a long period of time. Statistics point out that 40 percent of Marzahn's residents have lived in the district for at least six years and 28 percent ten years or longer.

In 1995, the Marzahn Apartment Union, the local administrative wing of the Ministry of Housing, conducted a survey⁷ in order to collect data from residents concerning a number of issues. 84 percent of the residents have a positive view of the district. 49 percent believe that Marzahn is a child-friendly environment, and 37 percent feel that Marzahn is a dangerous neighborhood, in which one thinks twice



Socialist sculpture in Magdeburg, Germany

about leaving the house alone at night. The results of the survey overwhelmingly suggest that despite the monotony of "the Platte," many residents are satisfied with their environment and consider Marzahn more than just a collection of high-rise units, but a neighborhood they consider home.

Social implications of High-Rise Housing

In Western Europe and Canada, large housing estates, amounting to only a small percentage of the overall housing stock, were intentionally isolated from other urban activities. Shortly after construction, planners and sociologists began to see some problems with this type of housing. Many people lament the monotonous appearance of the housing blocks. In addition to aesthetic considerations, planners often had to sacrifice many traditional urban amenities, such as the provision for commercial and office space within the developments. In addition, although these units do provide high density housing, they too were built largely on the outskirts of cities, creating a higher dependency on the automobile and an incursion into greenbelt areas.

After World War II, high-rises promised to be socially integrated residential areas in which a newly emerging middle-class society would do away with old patterns of social segregation and conflict. This never became the case. Economic and financial problems led to many high rise districts falling into disrepair. Despite the heavy subsidies that governments budgeted for this type of housing, high construction costs led to high rents comparable to other sectors of the market. Moreover, these buildings also tended to decay prematurely, leading to a very negative image amongst the general population. By the mid 1970s, only the poor and/or ethnic minority tenants were willing and/or had to live in such dwellings, while the middle classes left this type of accommodation. Examples of this can be seen in Bijlmeer

(Amsterdam), Chorweil (Cologne), and Castle Vale (Birmingham). Contrary to the original social objective of having a healthy, integrated residential population, high-rise housing has become shelter to an economically inactive subclass.

High-rise housing in Eastern Europe makes up the largest percentage of the housing stock and has its own set of problems. Unlike the capitalist countries in the West, high-rise districts have always been much more egalitarian, and a wider cross section of the population to this day is represented living in such apartments than in the West. Here, the university professor lives next door to the mechanic.⁸ The reason for this is due socialist ideology, and is a reminder that the State controlled all aspects of production and the distribution of materials. Major policy decisions favored large developments for the masses. There was little or no option to acquire materials to build or rebuild on an individual scale. Hence the absence of suburbs. Be that as it may, heavy governmental subsidies kept rents low and these apartments for the "common man on the street" were highly regarded.

The fall of the Berlin Wall juxtaposed high-rise neighborhoods in the East, planned and constructed for a socialist society, against the capitalistic economies of the West, causing high-rise districts to be deficient in the following areas: infrastructure and economic activity. For example, Berlin, Marzahn, with its 165,000 residents, only has one main commercial area, and very little space devoted to offices or small business. The DDR provided child care facilities (a noteworthy achievement of the socialist society—all parents had a right to childcare free of cost), youth centers, food, clothing and basic-goods shops, and perhaps a restaurant. But the provision for differentiated economic activity was not included in Eastern European high-rise districts.

Efforts are now being made in Marzahn to diversify the land use in

Marzahn. Architect Jens Freiburg's winning submission to the Berliner Senate's competition to redevelop the Wuhlestrasse and the Mueller-Reiman-Scholz plan to revamp the Marzahner Promenade both attempt to renovate the current housing stock and to intermix shops, cafes, and office space in these to target areas in Marzahn. The goal is to increase economic activity and to diversify the spatial usage in Marzahn, while also taking into consideration that as of 1995, 21 percent of the residents already worked in the district. This has the potential of increasing if the renewal efforts prove successful.

The Future of High Rise Housing in Germany

Many Eastern European countries are carefully observing Germany's methods of renovating, redeveloping, and renewing high-rise districts, mainly with regard to: reconstruction and repair methods, environmental concerns, social integration, and economic policies. From a technical standpoint, renovating high rise units is extremely costly. Problems caused by the use of toxic building materials (e.g., asbestos), a complete absence of energy efficient technologies, and wasteful water management systems must all be solved in order to maintain high occupancy rates and to insure a comfortable living environment. Renovation efforts now concentrate on replacing the facades of the buildings, removing the original components, and re-

placing them with a smooth surface to increase energy efficiency. These efforts also break the areas' monotony by allowing architects to repaint the structures.

After the Federal Government in Bonn decided to relocate to Berlin, there has been a focus on providing more housing to accommodate demand caused by the growing population. It is unlikely that another project the size of Marzahn will ever again be built. Instead, there has been a concentration on filling in unused spaces to increase density and usage types. Planners and sociologists hope that these new developments will diversify an established urban environment without over-burdening the infrastructure. In addition, suburban development has also increased along Berlin's eastern periphery, but more along the lines of multiple family units, akin to 'urban villages' in some of California's suburbs. These new developments do not even come close to achieving density levels that were common in the DDR.

Lastly, the BRD continues to move away from subsidizing large housing projects, and instead is levitating toward policies that support ownership and smaller developments. Not only must the German government subsidize the renovation of communist-built high-rise units, but also revamp an ailing infrastructure in East Germany in order to bring the East up to the level of the West, so as to insure its ability to compete in a capitalist marketplace.



Notes

¹ Cologne was the most severely hit city. 51.35 percent of its structures lay in ruins. Hamburg lost 44.3 percent of its structures, followed by Berlin with comparatively low destruction, affecting 13.17 percent of the city's buildings. Source: *The Strategic Air Offense against Germany 1939-1945*. Sir C. Webster / N. Franklin, London, HMSO 1961 pg. 487.

² Germany received almost 11 percent of the funds allocated for this program. This sum amounts to \$9.2 million in 1997 dollars. Source: *Marshall Plan, Birth of a Legend*. S. Bierling, *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* 5. June 1997. Pg. 1

³ The KPD, the traditional communist party in Germany, was followed by the SED, the Socialist Unity Party, in 1946.

⁴ Elections held in Berlin in 1948, the same year this project was begun, indicate that only 20 percent of registered voters supported the SED.

⁵ As of 1990, there were 53 million flats in this region, located on large housing estates of more than 2,500 dwellings, in which about 170 million people live. Source: Knorr, *European Academy of the Urban Environment*.

⁶ *Wohnen in Marzahn*, by the Marzahn Apartment Union, Winter 1995.

⁷ *Renter Barometer*, by the Marzahn Apartment Union, 12/95.

⁸ Today, only 12 percent of the population of Marzahn receive any type of government assistance.

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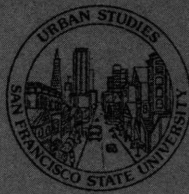
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ALLIED HOUSING, INC.

Maria Raff

Two of the major issues facing bay area cities are "homelessness and affordable housing." Urban studies senior, Maria Raff, gives us an insightful look at a "small but effective" nonprofit that is taking on both issues with a holistic approach.

Allied Housing, Inc. is a small (four staff) nonprofit that takes a holistic approach to serving the needs of the homeless population in Alameda County by linking the homeless to affordable housing, job training, and support for self-sufficiency. Though Allied Housing, Inc.'s office is located in Hayward, this nonprofit services more than thirteen cities in Alameda County, including Alameda, Albany, Dublin, Emeryville, Fremont, Hayward, Livermore, Newark, Piedmont, San Leandro, Union City, and various unincorporated areas within Alameda County such as Ashland, Castro Valley, Fairview, and San Lorenzo.

Incorporated in 1994, Allied Housing, Inc. was conceived from an Alameda County Community Advisory Board (CAB). This regional CAB recognized that in order to succeed, providing direct services to Alameda County's homeless population was the task for a specialized nonprofit, not a regional county board. Furthermore, the CAB acknowledged that, as a board, they could not apply for funding to support the homeless and support services programs, though a nonprofit can. Allied Housing, Inc. program funding comes from different sources, including (but not limited to) the Alameda County CAB, Federal Community Services Block Grant dollars, and McKinney Grant (a federal homeless initiative). Now, with the support from local community-based organizations and public agencies,

Allied Housing, Inc. as an organization is completely independent of the CAB.

Allied Housing, Inc. currently administers three programs aimed at addressing housing and support services needed in Alameda County. The first is the *Linkages* program. Developed in 1996, the *Linkages* program is a collaboration between Allied Housing, Inc., seven Bay Area homeless shelters, an employment counseling center, and Alameda County's Housing and Community Development Department (HCD).

After undergoing an extensive eligibility screening process, homeless clients are guided by shelter case managers and Allied Housing, Inc.'s Leasing/Services Coordinator through the application process. This process includes assessing one or all of the following issues for each client:

- quality, accessible child care
- money management capabilities
- credit counseling
- domestic violence intervention
- parenting skills
- personal and family counseling
- legal assistance
- transportation
- vocational training
- GED
- school books
- resume writing
- interview clothing
- employment

and any other tools that may keep a client from sustaining self-sufficiency. Case man-

agers are currently available at the following agencies:

- Tri-City Homeless Coalition
- Shelter Against Violent Environments
- Emergency Shelter Program
- Family Emergency Shelter Coalition
- Valley Community Health Center's Family Shelter
- Tri Valley Haven
- San Leandro Shelter Women/Children

The housing service element of Allied Housing, Inc.'s *Linkages* provides rent subsidies to low-income, homeless families to stabilize their housing needs. By providing homeless families with decent, safe, and affordable housing, parents can worry less about their lack of housing and direct their energy and attention to job acquisition and self-sufficiency skills. Low-income homeless families and homeless survivors of domestic violence can receive up to eighteen months of rent subsidies in exchange for a commitment to secure and maintain a job.

Building Opportunities for Self-sufficiency (BOSS), another nonprofit in Hayward, helps with the job search portion of *Linkages* by providing program participants with technical assistance in finding an appropriate job. Technical assistance includes an informal self-assessment of the individual's career path, resume writing skills, one-on-one job interview practice, and other career workshops. Obtaining sufficiency takes more than just finding a job as quickly as possible. To insure self-sufficiency, participants in Allied Housing, Inc.'s programs must first learn skills that will secure a job that pays a livable wage.

The *Linkages* program demands a high level of commitment from each participant. The "head-of-household" of each participating family is obligated to attend school, a training program, or work full-time. Each program participant is required to sign a "contract of responsibility" that acknowledges a promise to plan a family budget that complies with the full-time work/education requirement. Furthermore, each family must commit to actively seek positive reso-

lutions to issues that are destructive to the family's health and well-being by attending counseling. If a participant does not meet their contract obligations, they run the risk of no longer being able to participate in the program.

The second program Allied Housing, Inc. administers is the *Homeownership* program. This program, combined with the Federal 203K Loan Program and the services of Sky Valley Financial in Castro Valley, secures and rehabilitates residential units throughout Alameda County. Once residences are rehabilitated, Allied Housing, Inc. either sells them to program participants or secures them with a lease option. During the program's housing counseling process, the means of securing a residence is based on what is most appropriate for a family. The housing counseling process also provides financial goals for homeownership when appropriate. When a *Linkages* family reaches an income level of between \$28,000 to \$40,000 annually (depending on household size), they are then referred to the *Homeownership* program for housing counseling, potential lease, or homeownership options.

Allied Housing, Inc. is listed as a "collaborative" with the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Because of the program exposure associated with HUD, marketing the *Homeownership* program has not been necessary. Nonetheless, with a waiting list of more than a hundred families, Allied Housing, Inc. is working hard to fulfill the dream of home ownership for Alameda County's families.

Another program Allied Housing, Inc. is proud of is their *Independent Living Skills* program. This program is directed at young adults who, before turning eighteen, relied on foster care families and group homes for shelter and support. Most young adults in this program are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. When adolescents in foster care turn eighteen, their housing and supportive services from the local Social Service agency cease. As a result, some young

adults without family, or another means of support, find themselves alone and often end up on the street. With the *Independent Living Skills* program, Allied Housing, Inc. provides the *Linkages* program tools and resources for gaining self-sufficiency to young adults who were recently dropped from a foster care program.

Traditional nonprofit housing developers focus on the affordable housing needs of a particular community. Allied Housing, Inc. takes their affordable housing goals a step further by providing tools for self-sufficiency to the homeless in Alameda County.

In addition to the *Linkages*, *Homeownership*, and *Independent Living Skills* programs, Allied Housing, Inc. is currently embarking on a new program. The *Housing Scholarship* program is modeled after a well-established, successful program in Fremont. The City of Fremont Housing Department works with property managers to secure below market rate rents for tenants referred from local occupational training programs and community colleges. Since Fremont's program has been so successful, Allied Housing, Inc. plans to take their efforts to the tri-valley area of Pleasanton, Livermore, and Dublin. Allied will work with property managers to secure below market rate rents for tenants referred by Mission Valley's Regional Occupational Program and Los Positas College. Referrals must be at or below poverty level income and eligible for CalWorks. As the program participant finishes his or her job training education at Mission Valley or Los Positas and finds employment, their income will then be evaluated for graduated rent increases eventually to an amount that is market rate and affordable to the tenant.

Traditional nonprofit housing developers focus on the affordable housing needs

of a particular community. Allied Housing, Inc. takes their affordable housing goals a step further by providing tools for self-sufficiency to the homeless in Alameda County. Though a small, emerging nonprofit, Allied Housing, Inc., exhibits forethought into the impact that California's welfare reform legislation (CalWorks) is having on homeless families about to lose their public assistance. Because Allied Housing, Inc.'s approach is a holistic one, their impact on "at-risk" communities has been tremendous thus far. With their housing/self-sufficiency approach, Allied Housing, Inc. is a model organization for nonprofits providing support services in the wake of CalWorks.

Among the *Linkages*, *Homeownership*, and *Independent Living Skills* programs, success stories abound. There have been 125 participating families in *Linkages*, seventy of which have secured permanent housing. Through their *Homeownership* program, Allied Housing, Inc. has acquired twenty-five properties (some rehabilitation completed, some in progress). Two leases have been secured under this program, and three homes are currently undergoing rehabilitation. Because the *Independent Living Skills* program is still very new, the program outcome thus far has resulted in one self-sufficient, housed young adult.

Because they are a small, recently incorporated nonprofit, Allied Housing, Inc. does face some barriers in their service delivery. One is their size. With more staff, this nonprofit could reach a greater number of homeless families and provide more affordable housing units. While securing funding to support their programs is always a challenge, securing funding specifically for program operations and administration, as well as program development, is most difficult. Despite these barriers, Allied Housing, Inc. continues its efforts in addressing the housing and self-sufficiency needs of Alameda County's homeless.

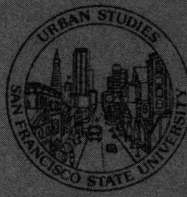
Allied Housing, Inc. is becoming an established nonprofit, affordable housing developer. Considering its infrastructure

of effective programs, combined with the impact of welfare reform and the demand for affordable housing in the Bay Area, Allied Housing, Inc. has positioned itself as a model holistic self-sufficiency program. While traditional nonprofit affordable housing developers strive to address the

demand of affordable housing, Allied Housing, Inc. takes their affordable housing efforts a step further with their self-sufficiency programs. Thus, this extra step ensures not only housing, but support services that prevent homelessness from occurring again.



Maria Raff is a senior in the Urban Studies department. She came to San Francisco State University with several years of experience in the field of housing, supportive services, and community development. After graduation, she plans to continue her work and advocacy for family self-sufficiency as well as building the capacity and infrastructure of community support in low-income neighborhoods.



Smart Planning and Development building sustainable communities: An Interview with Peter Calthorpe

Elizabeth Dierssen and Jay Stagi

*Peter Calthorpe is an architect/planner, and a leader of the "New Urbanists." As such he has been in the forefront of designing our communities as livable spaces. These communities are walkable, mixed-use, "transit-oriented developments." Great effort is made to shift the focus from the auto-centric nature of our urban/suburban landscapes by creating community centers adjacent to fast frequent transit. These centers also have convenient retail shops, public buildings, and services. There are also environmental and regional aspects intrinsic to his concepts. Senior Beth Dierssen and Junior Jay Stagi had the opportunity to interview Peter Calthorpe in the Spring of 1999. He spoke of the concepts of "livable communities," and "sustainable design" which he first addressed in his book, *The Next American Metropolis*, published in 1993. These concepts are now being viewed favorably by quite a few cities, as they turn to "smart growth" planning.*

Jay: Thank you for agreeing to speak with us and answer our questions. The reason we are asking some of these questions is because we believe in the concepts you've spoken to in your book *The Next American Metropolis*, but sometimes it's really hard to mesh concepts with practical applications. Given your belief in the interconnectedness of the rural/urban/suburban elements, it is clear that one needs to work on a regional level, as well as individual levels.

How do you feel that this is best achieved, given the current state of events?

That is, following the Sonoma/Marin defeat and the defeat of the North/South Corridor in Portland?

Peter: I think that Portland is still a great success, and these things have to go more than once around the block a few times in order to get through. The main thing that they didn't like was that the north/south was too expensive, I think Tri-Met went overboard and they are much more efficient transit systems to be utilized. Actually, what

we were proposing in Marin and Sonoma was only \$4 million a mile, whereas what they were proposing in Portland was about \$40 million a mile. I don't think it is a healthy model to put in front of the country, transit systems that are that expensive. So I actually wasn't 100 percent enthusiastic about that, and think it's good that it has been sent back to the drawing board, to try and come up with something that is a little more cost-effective. If we are really going to have transit as the armature for the suburbs, you need cost-effective transit. You can't just throw money at it. Los Angeles, the light rail system there is a prime example of this; it's a jobs program, not a serious transit system. It doesn't have a land use component, and it's ungodly expensive, and it's really going to give transit a bad name.

Jay: Overcapitalization?

Peter: Yeah, so that is not the right path, you need to be very cost-effective with the capitalization as you say, and you also have to be very aggressive about the land use.

Portland has been very aggressive about the land use component and they're succeeding. There are a lot of transit oriented communities that are coming out of the ground there. You've got to remember that the land use component of the 2040 plan was only adopted in 1994. Even though the Urban Growth Boundary was in there since 1973, it was never intended to effect land use patterns, it was merely there to protect farmland. It was not until the 2040 study that the land use patterns were even investigated, and alternatives proposed, and in five short years there has been — actually three years since implementation—a tremendous amount of activity. I think this demonstrates the huge potential in that arena.

That's my overview: not all transit systems are inherently good, they have to be intelligent, and they have to be cost-effective. Marin/Sonoma was a good example, you do need regional governance, and at the same time, I don't think a vote about tax dollars is a vote for or against regionalism. I think in many ways Marin and Sonoma are forging an ad-hoc regionalism without formalizing it yet.

We just finished a regional study for Salt Lake City, and quite frankly it is the last place that I would have expected movement for regional policies. Yet when we painted a clear picture of what would happen to them if they didn't put in place policies for compact growth and transit oriented development, they got very interested. The governor, after just a twelve-month program, passed what's called the "Quality Growth Initiative," which will be modeled after Maryland's "Smart Growth Program." But basically regional controls and policies tend to incentivize compact development.

Jay: That's fascinating. So you definitely feel that the regional aspects are workable, moving forward, and that people are listening.

Peter: Oh yes, it's happening all over the country. Denver has a regional plan that was put together by the Metropolitan Planning Organizations (MPO), you see we al-

ready have these entities that are regional, they are single minded right now, in terms of developing strategies for transportation systems. Unfortunately, in most cases they don't affect land use, but they exist. At the moment, you actually have the right with TEA-21 federal legislation (Transit Efficiency Act), to really begin working with the land use issues in conjunction with the transportation investment. So all the pieces are there and it's starting to happen. Denver put together their regional plan to cut out three hundred square miles of development over the next twenty years, through compact strategies. Washington State of course put its growth management legislation in place three years ago. It's happening everywhere, Salt Lake City, Maryland, and pieces of it in New Jersey. Chicago now has a regional plan moving ahead. I think it's on the verge of happening.

Jay: So how much of this is a reflection of your original vision, and how much of it have you revised to fit current realities, since your book came out in 1993.

Peter: I'm not going to take credit for the emergence of smart growth and regionalism. I personally think they are inevitable. The reality is we can't continue to sprawl—we can't afford it economically, it doesn't work socially, and it doesn't work in the marketplace anymore. There is a whole range of reasons that have little to do with ideology. It's just not going to continue to happen. We are in a shakeout period right now, trying to figure out just what kind of mechanisms and strategies are going to work best. It's not going to be one answer for all the different regions, but it is changing. As for my own ideas — I'm saying the core concept of Transit Oriented Development is basically layering your region with a network of transit opportunities, and shaping the land use around that — it's still pretty much intact. Effectively, the Portland "2040 Study" was a direct expression of that whole idea, as it applied there. I think we're going to see the same thing in Salt Lake.

The one thing I have learned — and I do modify now — is that I'm spending a lot more time looking at infill and redevelopment sites, when in the earlier work, the opportunity always seemed to be at the suburban edge, kind of new-town-like environment. The danger there is that, the market at the metropolitan fringe is very thin for diverse housing types. The market barely fits for multi-family types way out at the edge, and it's also hard to do the retail. If you take an infill/redevelopment site you get economic pressures for multi-families as well as single families, and more often than not you have a good opportunity to put retail in place, because there is an existing market around it. I now see a much bigger opportunity for infill and redevelopment.

Jay: Well, you've really anticipated the thrust my next set of questions. Laguna West is one of the few places I've had an opportunity to view some of your work. Your comments addressed some of the questions I was going to ask. I was thinking about the suburban edge, which I think describes Laguna West. Some of the population there has been described as somewhat yuppie, and perhaps lacking in diversity.

Peter: Actually, Laguna West is 30 percent [Latino].

Jay: The other thing is, I thought it felt a little stark. Is that because it is not quite finished being built, and you don't quite have all the landscaping in there?

Peter: No, I think Laguna West suffered deeply from the recession in 1990 and 1991, and because of that they compromised a lot of the designed principles. If you drive around there you would realize that about a half a mile away they built a huge retail center, basically to the direct east. That killed the town center at Laguna West. You know, that's something you need, over-arching planning, if you want to make a town center. If you want to cluster density and services there you can't allow the retail of another type to happen just a half a mile away, because that will basically absorb all the demand. So, Laguna West is failing on a lot

of levels, mainly because it hit the market at the wrong time, back in the early 90s, and was really compromised by that. And partly because the county planners were not rigorous enough to stop retail where they didn't want it, and make sure that it happened where they did, in the town center. And the third thing — which is what I mentioned — is that there is not a strong market at the suburban edge for multi-family housing. So, if you take out the town center, the retail, and the multi-family housing, you don't have much left to work with. There are some fundamental flaws in the situation there.

Jay: The last question I have is on the issue of transit. Transit in Laguna West seems like it hasn't been implemented yet; is this because they are running a little slow on the Sacramento Rapid Transit light rail expansion?

Peter: Originally they were going to have light rail on the railroad tracks, but it never happened. We decided it was good to go ahead with the plans even though it would probably never have more than light rail. It was certainly better than what would have happened there if we had not made the changes we had. But it's always better — as in the Portland case — to really have a definitive map of where the transit is going to be, and then really focus the development around it, when you know where the transit is going to be. Laguna West was a guess, basically we were hoping and guessing that we were going to get transit, and in the end we didn't.

Jay: I wish we had visited another one of your projects that would more clearly exemplify the better aspects of your work.

Peter: Here's a better model for a small non-urban infill site. We just finished a small project in Davis, called Aggie Village, it's right as you enter town, it's a very nice example of mixed-use development. You can't miss it. It's got a retail center that focuses on a big green area rather than a parking lot. Then it has a series of duplexes, houses, and granny flats. And that's one end of the spectrum, the other end of the spectrum would

be The Crossings down in Mountain View where we have higher density housing that is going to be directly related to a Caltrain stop.

Jay: Yeah, the new San Antonio stop! That's great! Thank you so much, now I'll turn it over to Beth.

Beth: My interests are in water resources, and water conservation. Your designs of using recycling water for irrigation to accomplish some of our water stressed issues is really interesting to me. I was wondering where those designs were being implemented, and if cities are more receptive to those designs?

Peter: Yes, although Laguna West failed on some levels, one of the levels it succeeded on was the lake there. It is a biological system that has really succeeded, it is a storm water management/purification system that works biologically rather than from an engineering stand point.

Beth: You mean no chemicals?

Peter: Yes, the water is treated by means of a natural process before it is released into the wetlands to the west, then into the river.

Beth: That's wonderful!

Peter: And you know, actually part of the lake produces bio-mass, as all-living things do, they harvest the bio-mass and use it for fertilizer.

Beth: That's great to hear; what we once saw as waste is now a resource. Is there any other place that these innovative water management techniques are happening?

Peter: Well, the other great example, which is a huge success in water management ecology, is Village Homes in Davis. If you haven't visited there, you should. All the surface drainage there is put into surface drainage systems, and none of it goes into culverts, drainage ways, or storm drains. It all moves through the community as a landscape irrigation system simultaneously with the drainage system. If you go to Davis you can look at both of these

examples, Aggie Village and Village Homes.

Beth: In regards to pedestrian pockets, and bike paths, do all your designs include Bike Paths, and are cities these days receptive to being more pedestrian friendly?

Peter: That comes down more to street design, more than anything else, and we seem to be succeeding. My fundamental philosophy is that in most neighborhoods bikes should be in the street, there shouldn't be a segregated bikeway, but the street itself should have room. It should be narrow enough, and have street calming strategies that make it comfortable for bicyclist to share the street with a car.

In higher volume areas you need separated bikeways. In neighborhoods, the streets themselves should be narrow enough that cars should move slowly and it's comfortable for bikers to be riding in the lane of traffic.

You as a biker yourself probably know, you always feel a little more comfortable riding on a small street where cars don't move as quickly, but you are a part of the flow of traffic. As opposed to being on the edge of a high volume street where cars are moving quickly past you at a huge speed differential.

Beth: Exactly, those painted lines labeled "bike path" do not provide for much protection. I know when I was in Ireland, there were three lane streets, which made it perfect for cycling. Is that what you mean?

Peter: Well, actually narrowing the streets to the point where the driver has to stay behind you, until you're comfortable to let them pass.

Jay: Equal rights for both bikes and cars on the street?

Peter: Yes, a bike should have equal rights to the travel way, as does an automobile.

Jay: I have one last question. I'm very interested in many of your concepts. But in order to implement them regional plan-

ning must be done, necessitating much coalition building and behind-the-scenes work. What can you say to someone such as Beth or myself, who are about to go into the field of planning, so that we don't bang our heads against the wall? You seem rather sanguine about the losses, is it your recognition that the cities are slowly coming around? Or are there any other hints you might want to give us?

Peter: I think you can't expect the world to change overnight. Where we are today took about fifty years to evolve and it's not going to change overnight. But it is absolutely going to change. It will change because it's unsustainable. There's no question about it, it's just a matter of how rapidly, and how easily. Just keep your eyes on the long-term goals.

Quite frankly, I think things have changed quite dramatically. For example, the first time we got to the chance to even be listened to was just over nine years ago, and now all the sudden we've got the vice president of the United States talking about sustainable planning. I actually think the change has come rather rapidly. And the consensus is rather extraordinary now, that more of the same will not work. So, I don't think there is any question about fundamental change.

Jay: Any further advice about what we should be doing, as far as on an individual basis?

Peter: Well, I'll tell you, the people that are most effective in this arena are multi-disciplinary, they understand a whole range of issues, they are not specialists. The specialists are the ones who got us into this mess, because they tend to look at everything as a separate issue. So if you can train yourself to be designers, land planners, traffic engineers, and biologists all simultaneously, that's the most effective route.

Beth: Thank you Mr. Calthorpe, it's been an honor to meet you, and thank you for your time and updates about your work.

Many of Peter Calthorpe's designs are created to be a part of an ever-increasing transit network. The plan for Portland emphasized the transit element in the context of a regional plan with Urban Growth Boundaries (UGB) in place. Regional plans are very ambitious, but often times are very difficult to maneuver from planning to fruition. Calthorpe refers to the necessity of building coalitions of environmentalists, enlightened developers, and inner-city advocates that are needed to gain widespread acceptance and implementation. Portland is perhaps the most successful example of regional planning which incorporates transit-oriented-development. Portland's plan is called the "2040 Study." It took many years and a broad coalition of environmentalists, developers, civic leaders, and individuals allied to make it happen. They have just turned the corner with the addition of the Westside Max light rail line, an extension of the light rail system that was added in the western corridor last year. Many more transit corridors are still on the drawing board, waiting to be developed. However, the "2040 Study" suffered a setback with the defeat of a funding initiative for the North/South corridor. His company, Calthorpe and Associates, also consulted for the Sonoma/Marin counties plan which also failed at the ballot this last November. The plan would have upgraded the existing transportation network and created a new transit line that would have been the focus of new transit-oriented developments within those counties. Some faulted the plan, questioning the viability of the rail line; others feared new growth, but perhaps the most significant factor in the plan's defeat was the seeming lack of fiscal accountability required of the fiscal agents — in this case the Board of Supervisors. This was due in part to the Byzantine fashion in which post-Proposition 13 tax measures must be presented. To circumvent the two thirds voter approval requirements for specific new taxes, two companion measures are

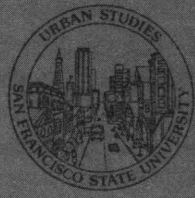
presented on the ballot simultaneously, one for general expenditure and one in the form of an advisory measure. Many of those polled questioned whether the Board could be trusted to spend the money as advised.

The net result was 70 and 60 percent approval for the transit measure, yet less than 50 percent for its companion, the fiscal authorization measure.



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United States Department of Housing and Urban Development HOME Investment Partnerships Program

Amy Beinart

Since 1990, the federally funded HOME Investment Partnership Program has been the foundation for supplying Americans with decent, safe, and affordable housing. Amy Beinart looks at San Francisco's utilization of the HOME program and the programs that benefit from HOME funding.

Program Overview

The HOME Investment Partnerships Program was established by Congress in 1990 under Title II of the Cranston-Gonzales National Affordable Housing Act. Federal funding for the current 1998 fund year totals \$1.5 billion.¹ The program, administered by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), allocates funding to states and local governments to support locally administered programs in order to provide decent, safe, sanitary, and affordable housing for low-income and very-low-income households. Grant amounts to states are determined by using a formula that takes into account the local housing prices, income and poverty levels, and number of old and substandard housing units. The minimum per-state funding is \$3 million. In addition to states' allocations, local jurisdictions that meet a qualifying threshold of \$500,000 using the state formula can apply for individual funding as participating jurisdictions. HUD allows for smaller jurisdictions that would not individually meet this minimum threshold to submit consortium applications with nearby jurisdictions for joint funding.

All participating jurisdictions must contribute matching funds or in-kind support equal to 25 percent of the grant allocation. Applications for funding must include a three-to-five-year Consolidated Plan. This plan outlines the jurisdiction's housing needs, status, goals, and long-term strategies

to meet these goals. Applicants must also provide an annually updated Action Plan identifying specific short-term strategies to be undertaken with funds provided.

As a block grant with a broad range of activities fundable under HOME guidelines, the intent of this program is to be flexible in allowing participating jurisdictions to assess and prioritize local affordable housing needs. In addition, this program encourages participating jurisdictions to act in partnership with community-based organizations to create and execute the most efficient and appropriate ways to address these needs. Fifteen percent of a participating jurisdiction's allocation must be reserved for housing developed, sponsored, or owned by community housing development organizations (CHDOs, as defined by HUD), and most large cities exceed that threshold.¹

In order to qualify as a CHDO under the HOME Program, a nonprofit must meet specific requirements. Among these are a stated purpose to provide decent housing that is affordable to low- and moderate-income persons, nonprofit tax-exempt status, a history of serving the community, and a formal process for community input. A CHDO must also show a demonstrated capacity for carrying out activities that could be assisted with HOME funds. HUD requires that at least one-third of a CHDO's governing board seats be filled by low-in-

come community residents and no more than one-third by government representatives.

...San Francisco provided no funding assistance for homebuyers, instead concentrating on the dire need to address the diminishing supply of affordable rental housing in the city.

Funds received by participating jurisdictions, both state and local, can be used for acquisition, renovation, or construction of affordable housing or for homebuyer financing or tenant-based rental assistance. Funds can also be used to pay for "other reasonable and necessary expenses related to the development of non-luxury housing,"² including new land purchase, demolition to clear land for HOME-funded construction, and the costs of relocating affected residents. Assistance can take several forms, including loans, advances, equity investments, and interest subsidies. Participating jurisdictions may use up to 10 percent of their funding to cover administrative and planning costs. Funds must be spent within five years of allocation.

The income levels of households receiving assistance through HOME-funded programs vary somewhat according to the specific type of program. For tenant-based rental assistance programs, a minimum of 90 percent of affected households must have income levels at or below 60 percent of the median area income; home ownership programs must target households with income at or below 80 percent of the median area income. Overall, the maximum household income for any household receiving HUD support is 80 percent of the median income for the area. HOME funding agreements include requirements that affordability levels are maintained throughout the term of the loan. The participating jurisdiction is responsible for regular on-site inspections of

HOME-financed projects to ensure that both the income and property standards are being met.

California HOME funding

California's 1997-1998 state HOME allocation was more than \$40 million. This money was used to finance first-time homebuyer programs, rental property rehabilitation and new construction, and tenant-based assistance programs. The state awarded more than \$5.6 million directly to CHDOs and \$30 million to city and county governments. The distribution of funds amongst eligible programs is shown in the chart below. A large majority of the programs funded by the state assisted first-time homebuyers, certainly a reasonable focus given the high cost of homes in California relative to household income. In contrast, as will be seen in the section below, San Francisco provided no funding assistance for homebuyers, instead concentrating on the dire need to address the diminishing supply of affordable rental housing in the city.

San Francisco HOME funding

The 1998 allocation for San Francisco as an independent participating jurisdiction was \$6,585,000. Of this, 10 percent was used for administrative overhead. Funds were used in conjunction with those awarded through the federally funded Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), Emergency Shelter Grant, and Housing Opportunities for People with AIDS (HOPWA), as well as locally generated funds. Project priorities are established by the Mayor's Office of Housing and the Mayor's Office of Community Development, as outlined in the city's Consolidated Plan. The funds are administered jointly through the Mayor's Office of Housing and the Housing Production Division of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency. Priorities for local affordable housing needs are articulated in the San Francisco Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS). The CHAS outlines the city's needs for housing devel-

opment and identifies target populations most in need of services.

Community Participation

In collaboration with the Mayor's Office of Community Development and the Citizen's Committee on Community Development, public hearings are held annually to gather community input on needs and priorities in housing and community-development planning. Demographic data are collected and analyzed regarding the participants' gender, race, ethnicity, and organizational or neighborhood affiliation. This year's hearing revealed several themes common among those members of the community who spoke on housing needs. The shortage of affordable housing available in the city was addressed, as well as the more specific need for housing that is not only affordable but accessible to elderly or disabled residents. Some focus was placed on replacing public low-income housing with affordable moderate-income developments. Also discussed was the need to control the rapid rise in evictions, particularly those using the owner-move-in exemption in the city's rent stabilization law.

Affordability

San Francisco's affordability requirement for HOME funding is somewhat more stringent than the HUD requirements. The city requires that incomes of households occupying HOME-assisted units be no higher than 60 percent of the median income for the area. Furthermore, city policy states that one-fifth of the units in a project receiving HOME assistance shall have incomes at or below 50 percent of median income. HOME currently uses the following annual income standards for the San Francisco Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA): median for family of four, \$68,600; low income, \$46,000; and very low income, \$34,300. HOME fair market monthly rent for a two bedroom unit in the San Francisco PMSA is \$987.

Current Year Projects

Of San Francisco's 1998 HOME funds, \$3.9 million was allocated to the Family Rental Housing Construction Program, \$1.2 million to existing Supportive Housing Program projects, \$500,000 to the Senior Rental Housing Construction Program, \$500,000 to the Single Person Housing Program, and \$250,000 was reserved for the Contingencies/Housing Opportunities Pool. Ten percent (\$658,500) of the total allocation was used to cover administrative costs, in accordance with HUD regulations. Most of San Francisco's HOME-funded programs are operated in collaboration with local non-profit community-based organizations; 23 percent of the total funding was allocated for development by organizations that meet HUD CHDO requirements.

The Family Rental Housing Construction Program brings together funding from HOME, CDBG, HOPWA, and local tax and bond funds. With this, it provides for site acquisition and new construction of units for households with incomes at or below 60 percent of the median area income. These units are intended to go first to families who are homeless or at risk of homelessness. A major portion of the current year funding will support construction in Visitation Valley (an Enterprise Community neighborhood in the southeast quarter of the city) to replace units lost due to the demolition of that area's Geneva Towers public housing project.

The Supportive Housing Program uses funds from HOME, CDBG, and local tax and bond revenue to provide housing that also provides support services for people who are mentally or physically disabled, particularly those who are currently homeless or at risk for homelessness. Specific funding awards planned for 1998 include subsidies for existing supportive housing developments, new supportive housing projects on former military bases in the Presidio and on Treasure Island, and new construction of housing to serve people with Alzheimer's

disease. Nearly half the current year allocation for this program is as yet uncommitted.

HOME funds contribute a small portion of the total current year funding for the Senior Rental Housing Construction Program. This program provides site acquisition and new construction funding for small units in development that also provide supportive services for very low-income elderly and frail elderly people. Most of the funding for this program comes from local hotel tax and bond funds. Plans are in the pipeline for new developments to provide more than two hundred new units in Chinatown (a HUD-approved Neighborhood Revitalization Area) and Visitation Valley.

HOME funds provide a small portion of the current year allocation for the Single Person Housing Program, the remainder of which come from HOPWA and local tax and bond funds. These funds are used for acquisition, conversion, rehabilitation, or construction of studio and single-room-occupancy units for very low-income people, with a goal of assigning nearly two-thirds of the unit to extremely low-income people.

HOME funds comprise about half of the 1998 allocation for the Housing Opportunities and Contingencies Program. This reserve fund is used to provide financial support for unplanned opportunities.

Previously allocated HOME funds in the amount of \$50,000 have been reserved to support the Homestretch Homelessness Prevention Program. This program is administered by Catholic Charities of San Francisco to provide renters with security deposit and first-year rental assistance for low- and very low-income households.

Conclusions

An early evaluation after the first year of the HOME program reported its success

in targeting funds to the nation's most needy households. More than half of the funds were channeled to the one-fifth of U.S. cities that were most distressed and more than half of the rental households helped by HOME funds had incomes lower than 30 percent of the median.³ First-year reports also indicated that a large majority of participating jurisdictions reported no reduction in other federal housing funds corresponding to the initiation of HOME funding.⁴ Competition for funding between different federal housing programs does, however, constitute a real threat. In 1993, President Clinton proposed a large increase in HOME funding as part of his economic stimulus package. Along with that increase came the recommendation that Public Housing Development and Section 202 Elderly and Handicapped Housing new construction be subsumed into the HOME program. That change has not come to pass; the Public Housing Capital Fund and Housing for Special Populations under Section 202 continue to be funded independently in the 1999 federal budget. HOME has grown to be a substantial portion of HUD's overall program budget, although Section 8 and the CDBG still far surpass it in annual funding.

The HOME program allows tremendous flexibility for local governments to identify the most pressing needs in their own housing stock and to build the capacity of community organizations to support short- and long-term solutions. HOME funding currently accounts for nearly one-third of San Francisco's and more than 40 percent of California's funding from the HUD Office of Community Planning and Development. As such, it represents a meaningful effort by the federal government to enhance the nation's supply of decent, safe, sanitary, and affordable housing.



Notes

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² *ibid.*

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⁴ Walker C. Silver J. Bogdon A. Hartnett K. Implementing Block Grants for Housing: an evaluation of the first year of HOME. The Urban Institute for Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995.

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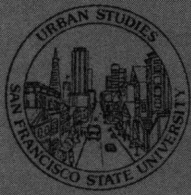
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¡PODER!: A case study of People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights

Geri Almanza

People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights (PODER) is a grassroots organization that is fighting for environmental justice in the Mission District. PODER is active in the political arena and is committed to building community power in low-income and moderate-income neighborhoods in San Francisco.

During the past decade there have been profound political shifts in the mainstream. While the mainstream has shifted to the right, some progressives, liberals, traditional civil rights organizations, and unions are searching for ways to re-energize their constituencies. Meanwhile, the environmental justice movement has steadily continued to develop. It has emerged as a promising movement to combat neo-liberalism, racism, and environmental degradation, while simultaneously empowering working class communities of color.

Environmental justice organizations are developing a global perspective. Groups throughout the world are identifying the emerging international corporate structures, which threaten their environments and economic well being. "Broadly defined, this movement links grassroots activism around environmental protection to issues of economic development, social equality, and community empowerment."¹

In the late 1970s and early 1980s a new grassroots environmental movement began to emerge, involving people previously distant from environmentalism. The emerging movement included the low- middle class, working-class people of color, and rural poor people. The environmental justice movement emerged because of the "unequal protection" the Environmental Protection

Agency (EPA) provides. According to the "Toxic Wastes and Race Report," people of color have far more reason than other people to become active against hazardous waste since their communities are disproportionately targeted as sites for these hazards."² The Toxic Wastes and Race Report was initiated in 1989 by the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice. The report was crucial in defining environmental racism. It presented a national analysis of the relationship between hazardous wastes and racism. One of the results of the study concluded that "three out of every five African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans lived in communities with uncontrolled toxic waste sites."³ The report concluded that African Americans and Latinos are disproportionately exposed to environmental health hazards.

The environmental justice movement is made up of a broad array of organizations ranging from community-based membership organizations, civil rights activists, labor unions, and indigenous communities. "At this given moment, there may be anywhere between 3,000 to 5,000 local citizens groups across the country. These organizations are active in battling for the clean-up of toxic waste dumps, the regulation of industrial emissions, prohibitions on power plant and incinerator sitings, the protection



PODER's first project: an empty lot located on 23rd and Treat Streets. This lot is contaminated and through PODER and other grassroots organization's efforts, the lot will be cleaned and transformed into a park for the community.

of water supplies, the enforcement and improvement of EPA standards, and many other issues."⁴

The past eight years have allowed all the above segments to interact through national, regional, and local initiatives. One of the major components helping this process has been the People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. The summit was initiated by the United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice. Four new constituency networks have been established among organizations of people of color: The Environmental and Economic Justice Project (EEJP), the Indigenous Environmental Network, the Farmworker Network for Economic and Environmental Justice, and the Asian Pacific Environmental Network.

In addition to constituency networks, there are several regional networks that have emerged in the past couple of years as multi-racial collaborations that link local organizing campaigns with national policy focus. They link grassroots groups and resource organizations to increase the exchange of information and mutual assistance. These networks are: the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, The Southern Organizing Committee, and the Southern Regional Economic Justice Network. There are also groups in the Northeast, Northwest, and Midwest. The new networks have developed a solid infrastructure in which organizations and activities are coordinated. The new networks also indicate that the movement is growing beyond the local level.

The environmental justice movement is quickly emerging, but there are many obstacles in trying to create an effective and participatory movement. Developing democratic decision-making structures that rely on strong, participatory, and representative boards is a challenge that is being addressed at the local and regional level. The concern is not only that organizations should be inclusive and appropriately multicultural, but that they should be capable of educating constituents and activists around broad is-

suces of injustice, particularly racism and sexism.

I have focused my research on a case study of an environmental justice organization in San Francisco in order to get a better understanding of how this movement is mobilizing its constituency. I however do have biases since I am a community organizer for People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights (¡PODER!). This research has not only allowed me to further expand my understanding of the work of PODER but it has also allowed me to look at environmental justice as an important political movement that is emerging from the bottom up.

PODER's Mission Statement

PODER is a multi-issue, multi-cultural community organization based in the Mission District in San Francisco. PODER was founded in 1991 to meet the need for social change. The organization has committed to address the complex issues that specifically affect the Mission District and generally affect low-income residents and people of color. PODER's mission is to build community power and bring about social change within the inner and outer Mission District and other San Francisco low-income neighborhoods. PODER would like these neighborhoods to serve as models for future community organizing efforts in low-income communities of color throughout California and the United States.

History

People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights (PODER) was founded in 1991 by a group of San Francisco's Mission District residents concerned about the environmental and economic problems that threatened the health and livelihoods of the district's residents. The majority of the members are low-income people of color.

In 1992, PODER initiated a door knocking campaign in an effort to talk with community residents and listen to their concerns

about environmental dangers present in the Mission. PODER was the only organization actively addressing environmental issues in the Mission District. It was a problem that many district residents were facing. During this initial campaign, residents pinpointed the problem of lead poisoning, which is a toxin that causes a variety of mental and physical problems in children. Residents indicated that this issue was one of the most pressing problems they were facing. The results of the door knocking campaign prompted PODER to launch its first major organizing project, "The Child Lead Hazard Prevention Campaign" (the Lead Campaign).

¡PODER! works to develop leadership from within the community to demand a safe, healthy environment for thousands of families who reside within the Mission District and other San Francisco areas.

In addition to PODER's lead prevention work, it has developed campaigns designed to address the "lack of affordable housing" in the Mission. PODER has also worked closely with youth in building a proactive agenda to address their needs and to defeat the former mayor's proposed curfew ballot initiative. As a community-based environmental justice organization, PODER works on linking the various environmental, social, and economic issues affecting our communities.

In Spanish, the word "PODER" means both "power" and "can do." The name reflects PODER's mission to build community power, which will help build social change within the inner and outer Mission District and other San Francisco low-income neighborhoods. Through a series of community-based campaigns, PODER's goal has been to create an organizational framework for the recruitment and training of community members to become socially and politically active. As an environmental justice organi-

zation, PODER works to develop leadership from within the community to demand a safe, healthy environment for the thousands of families who reside within the Mission District and other San Francisco areas.

Current Programs, Activities, & Accomplishments

PODER has created several organizational and campaign committees; they are made up of new and experienced members. The organizational and administrative committees include Finance and Personnel. The campaign committees include Community Safety, Community Development, and Environmental Justice. The campaign committees are comprised of both board members and volunteers. The hands-on experience developed through our organizational structure has increased the pool of community leaders willing and able to take on the responsibilities of being board members and committee leaders.

The Environmental Justice Committee is responsible for working to ensure that environmental justice issues are addressed in the Mission District. In the summer of 1996, the Environmental Justice committee initiated the Mission Area Pollutant Assessment Project (Proyecto MAPA).

The Mission District

The Mission District, one of thirteen districts in San Francisco, is the city's Latino enclave. Although it is one of San Francisco's major commercial districts, it is also has some of the lowest incomes. Mission District residents experience higher rates of unemployment, under-employment, higher rates of poverty, and lower levels of educational attainment.⁵ The large number of Latinos and recent immigrants in the Mission District are also more linguistically isolated than the overall San Francisco population.

The Mission District has one of, if not the highest, population density per square mile in the entire city. There are 29,362 people

per square mile. The Mission has the highest percentage of youth under seventeen

¡PODER! believes that the solutions must come from within the community and that residents who are most affected by these problems, must unite and fight for justice.

years of age and it has the lowest average household income (\$28,680) in San Francisco.⁶

Although the Mission District has a long history of progressive activism, it is composed largely of low to moderate-income residents. They are predominately from Latino and immigrant populations. The problem residents are facing is they are underrepresented in city decision making and policy making processes. While there are several nonprofit social service providers in the area, there is little grassroots organizing. PODER believes that the solutions must come from within the community and that residents who are most affected by these problems must unite and fight for justice.

Given PODER's successful community-wide advocacy and organizing efforts, PODER has initiated a broader environmental justice educational and organizing initiative. The initiative is called the "Mission Area Pollutant Assessment Project (Proyecto MAPA)." A key factor of this initiative is a community mapping program that has engaged organization members and community residents to identify environmental concerns in their neighborhood, and work collaboratively with other residents to address the concerns identified.

Initial research conducted by the Environmental Justice committee indicates that residents in the Mission District are exposed to a range of environmental contaminants, heavy metals, industrial chemicals, and dry cleaning and other solvents

and pollutants, which potentially pose risks to human health. Children and adults who use local parks and school playgrounds are exposed to pesticides and herbicides.

The Mission is bordered on the east and the north side by Highway 101 and is a major thoroughfare for cars and numerous bus lines. The city's central auto refinishing area is located in a dense residential area of the Mission. Residents who live in this area are regularly exposed to solvent and paint emissions from dozens of small and large auto body and auto paint shops.⁷

There are several Environmental Protection Agencies declaring toxic contaminated sites in the Mission District. In addition, there are approximately thirty three open cases of contaminated sites due to the leakage of petroleum products from underground storage tanks. Other neighborhood environmental concerns identified by the environmental justice committee include: approximately 150 facilities registered to handle and store hazardous materials, one hundred businesses that generate hazardous waste on site, and four on-site hazardous waste treatment facilities.

Lead poisoning rates of children in the Mission District is one of the highest in the city. Children under six years of age are poisoned at a rate 10-12 percent. Since 77 percent of Mission District buildings were built before 1950 (when the highest levels of lead were used in paint)⁸ the lead problem is intensifying. This has led to the contamination of at least three Mission District parks.

This project targets the low- to moderate-income population in San Francisco's Mission District communities.

Update on Proyecto MAPA

PODER has initiated the first phase of the project and will continue with information gathering, outreach, and training efforts. A component of the information gathering and outreach effort has been the development of a large-scale map of the

Mission District that displays the sites of concern that have been identified. Based on the sites and issues that have been prioritized, the Environmental Justice Committee members have developed a campaign focusing on the demands developed to meet the needs and solutions sought by community members.

PODER's first project has been focused on an empty property located on 23rd Street and Treat. The lot has been vacant for several years and it is a known contaminated site. The half-acre lot is triangular in shape because railroad tracks used to run on one side. One of the past commercial uses of the property has resulted in two leaking underground petroleum storage tanks still present. The lot also has high levels of lead and heavy metals.

Six years ago a neighborhood association, Calle 22, organized residents to ask the city to turn the vacant lot into open space, the City agreed. Former Supervisor Susan Leal invited the media for the lot's ribbon-cutting ceremony. The city's Recreation and Parks held community meetings and came up with a design for the park. Unfortunately, today the lot still remains vacant.

The city tested the soil in the lot and discovered that it was contaminated so the project was held up. PODER began to do research on the lot and the Environmental Justice committee decided that this would be a great opportunity to start off our campaign for Proyecto MAPA. PODER doorknocked over two hundred doors to access the community's interest in the lot. Many residents were aware of the city's promise to construct open space but they were unaware of the contamination. Through community meetings, toxic tours, accountability meetings, and actions, PODER has been able to work with residents to demand that the lot be cleaned up and redeveloped.

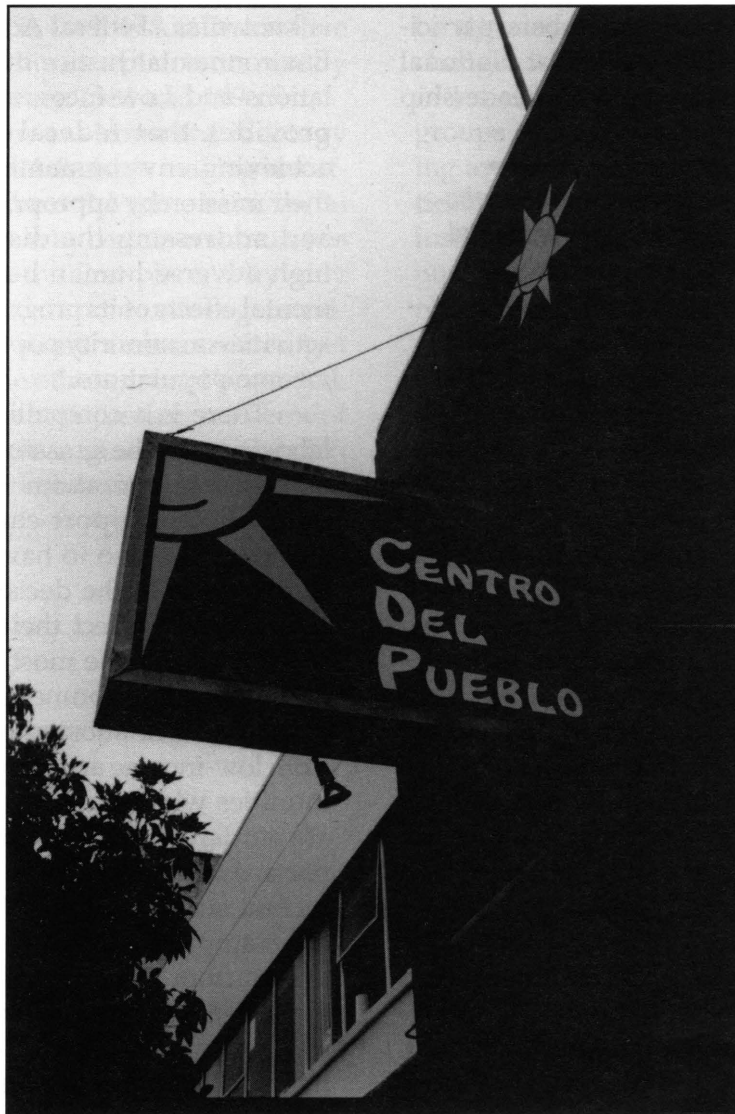
PODER has met with former Supervisors Susan Leal and Jose Medina, the mayor's office, the city's Real Estate De-

partment, and various Department of Public Health civil servants to demand that they be accountable to our community. In October of last year PODER worked with nearby schools in the area, Cesar Chavez Elementary School and Horace Mann Middle School, and together we placed warning signs on the lot's fence.

In December 1998, the city finally signed a contract for the sale of the property with the nine different owners. The lot has been re-zoned from commercial to open space and we are currently in the process of designing the park. PODER conducted a door to door survey of fifty one residents to gather input about what kind of uses people would like to see in the park. We are concerned that neighborhood needs be addressed appropriately by the Recreation and Park Department, so that the "cookie cutter" approach to parks will not be implemented for this park. Community members have also identified ways to include local hiring in the cleanup and redevelopment of the lot. Currently PODER is working with schools and residents to name the park.

One of the fundamental philosophies of the environmental justice movement is its "bottom up" approach whereby local communities of color and low-income communities are empowered to identify, prioritize, and address issues themselves. The Environmental Justice movement is as much a movement to prevent pollution and to address the disproportionate amounts of environmental hazards in low-income communities of color, as it is a movement of empowerment and leadership development.

At the same time, grassroots environmental justice groups have long recognized the critical importance of collaboration, coalition-building, and linking up their work to a broader movement. The historic People of Color Environmental Justice Summit is perhaps the most significant example of this. In recognition of the need to develop and support a larger environ-



People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights (PODER!) located on Valencia Street in the Mission District at the Centro del Pueblo.

mental and social justice movement in the United States, PODER members participated as delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership

There is a compelling need for collaboration in the grassroots environmental justice organizations ...to have a stronger collective voice in the decision-making processes...

Summit in 1991. PODER is an affiliate of the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice.

Through structured formations like the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice (Southwest Network), grassroots groups are able to provide/receive regular support on local issues while also working to collectively impact larger issues that would have been beyond the scope of an individual group's work (e.g., Southwest Network's EPA Accountability, Border Justice, Native Sovereignty, and High Tech campaigns).

PODER is an affiliate member of the Southwest Network. The Southwest Network is composed of seventy two organizations of color throughout the Southwest, California, Texas, and Mexico. They work on environmental justice issues. Last year at the annual Southwest Network Gathering, PODER joined the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Accountability Campaign. The EPA Accountability Campaign seeks to develop a regional framework to address the inefficiency and lack of response from the EPA to communities of color and poor communities. The EPA campaign demands the enforcement of environmental regulations in communities of color. The Southwest Network has organized demonstrations and pressured EPA administrators to make visits to our communities. The signing of the Executive Order 12898 was a direct result of the work the Southwest Network and other environ-

mental justice groups had undertaken. This is known as "Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations." It provides that federal agencies make achieving environmental justice part of their mission by appropriately identifying and addressing the disproportionately high adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies and activities on minority populations and low-income populations.⁹

There is a compelling need for collaboration in the grassroots environmental justice organizations in San Francisco, not only to support each other's local struggles but also to have a stronger collective voice in the decision making processes, which affect their respective constituencies. For the most part, public dialogue over environmental issues in San Francisco lack substantive participation from low-income and people of color communities which suffer the disproportionate burden of negative environmental impacts. A few years ago citywide "environmental sustainability" planning process, for example, involved very few representatives from these communities. Without greater involvement from San Francisco's low-income communities of color, environmental planning processes such as this, run the risk of perpetuating inequitable power relations and environmental risk. One key to increasing participation of disenfranchised communities in the local environmental decision-making processes is to support efforts by grassroots organizations in the affected communities to engage their constituencies in defining and prioritizing their environmental concerns and to collaborate, so that they can more effectively bring these issues into the broader public dialogue.

While being very ethnically diverse, the Mission District is predominantly Latino, low-income, and home to large immigrant populations of Chicano, Mexican, and many Central and South Ameri-

can nationalities, primarily. Over 80 percent of residents in the Mission District live in rental units whose median rents rose by 250 percent between 1981 and 1996.¹⁰

Mainstream environment ideology and governmental decision making has often failed to address the some basic social justice questions: why certain communities get poisoned in the first place; why only some contaminated communities get studied; and why some communities get cleaned up while others are not protected. The environmental justice movement raises issues such as racism and class exploitation in environmental decision mak-

ing. The solution to this problem can only be developed by fundamental changes, changes which are driven by the communities which are most impacted. Many groups throughout the country are fighting to end the poisoning of our communities. We need to bring our struggles to the institutions that continue to contaminate our communities. The development of a national and global environmental justice movement which challenges multi-national corporations and governmental agencies is an example of the growing strength of the environmental justice movement.



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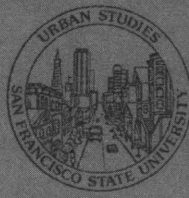
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Geri Almanza is a senior in the Raza Studies Department. She is also completing a minor in Urban Studies. These two areas of study have helped her become an active member of the environmental justice movement. She is community organizer with People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights. She is also a board member of the Chinese Progressive Association.



The Dangers of Contaminated Dredge Spoils on Wetlands

Elizabeth Dierssen

Coastal wetlands are among the richest and most diverse habitats in the world. Urban studies senior Elizabeth Dierssen highlights a very controversial aspect of a dredging project that will begin next year, in the year 2000. The proposed project will use functional, natural, healthy, seasonal wetlands as a place to dump dredge spoils. At a time when advocates are calling for a rush to preserve and protect these rare and valuable ecosystems, the question must be raised, "are we instead planning to use wetlands as a permanent dumping site for contaminated dredge waste?"

The use of seasonal wetlands as a dumpsite for contaminated dredge spoils in an uncontaminated area is a questionable practice.

The Port of Oakland and the Army Corp of Engineers 50-Foot "dredge" Project, is looking for a place to dispose of the 14.7 million cubic yards of dredge spoils that this project will generate.

Due to contaminants, diking, filling, dredging, conversion to farmland, evaporation salt ponds, and increased sediment loads, the coastal shoreline of the San Francisco Bay has been seriously reduced.

The bay estuary sediments have been contaminated from years of industrial and municipal waste being dumped into the bay.

Historical Background

The estuary had been virtually unchanged since the first inhabitants some 10,000 years ago. It was not until the mid-1800s when mining and other human activities began to change the estuary's waterways forever. Hydraulic mining alone carried one billion cubic yards of mine tailings into the delta waterways, cutting off navigable water from the Sierra foothills to the Sacramento river. Dredging began as early as 1868. Waterway modification and human

activities have transformed and reduced the natural shoreline in the estuary for the last 150 years.

The Many Miles of San Francisco Bay's Natural, Coastal Shoreline Are Gone Forever

The San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta rivers together make an estuary, where fresh water mixes with saltwater. In fact, the Inner and Outer Harbors were once an aquatic habitat fed by sloughs, and were once a part of the San Francisco Bay estuary. Although these natural habitats are now dammed and levied to form harbors, and ports, we still refer to it as an estuary.

Values of the Estuary

The San Francisco Bay/Sacramento San Joaquin Delta estuary is the largest estuary on the west coast of North and South America, and it is the largest resting place for migratory birds on the West Coast Pacific Flyway. Because of its highly dynamic and complex environmental conditions, the estuary supports an extraordinarily diverse and productive ecosystem. An estuary is so rich in nutrients and biological resources that

their value in productivity has been equated with that of a rainforest.

Another great value of the estuary and its coastal wetlands is that during flood events the coastal wetlands act like big sponges. Now that the coastal wetlands have been seriously reduced, runoff is more intense and flooding possibly more destructive.

One of the most critically sensitive and rare habitats in the California estuary is our coastal wetlands. These coastal wetlands have been in serious decline structurally, as well as biologically.

Wetlands as a Dumpsite!

Due to the loss of this critical habitat, there is a real need to protect and preserve the small remaining fraction of the original shoreline. The Montezuma wetland is part of these last remaining coastal wetlands, and it is also a site that has been chosen by The Port of Oakland for dumping dredge spoils.

The Montezuma wetlands have been chosen to receive dredge spoils for the next four years, possibly more as dredging maintenance continues. This is unprecedented. A private firm, a proponent of this project, is calling it a "wetland restoration." The contaminants in the dredge spoils have caused concern in Solano County as well as Contra Costa County. One time resident Tule West says, "It is a beautiful thriving wetland area that does not need restoration." West says, "It's full of snowy egrets, blue herons, otters, ducks, and geese." The Montezuma Slough, which runs through the Montezuma wetlands, is home to a number of endangered species, and it is feared that the contaminants from the dredge spoils will leach into the water. Contra Costa has its intake for drinking water at the confluence of the Sacramento/San Joaquin rivers—right where the Montezuma project will take place.

Will there be leaching of contaminants from the dumpsite? Will it be safe for generations to come?

Experts in Environmental Impact Report Speak about Contaminant Study

Dr. Charles Lee is a soil scientist for the Environmental Impact Report. In a letter, he states that the environmental impact report has "over-simplified the evaluation of potential use of dredged material," as "the leach test may give some indication of leachable contaminants in tidal waters initially, but does not address the longer term leaching from material placed in an intertidal wetland environment."

No one knows for sure what the long-term environmental impacts will be from putting contaminated dredge spoils on wetlands as planned.

Threats to an Estuary

Pollutants, fresh water diversion, diking, filling, dredging, and increased sediment loads have seriously degraded the biologically rich nutrient resources, marine habitat, and marine mammals that live in the estuary. Dredging removes an important habitat, the benthic layer (the base of the food chain). These bottom-feeding organisms are buried alive when the dredge spoils are disposed of.

Dredging also exposes aquatic life to high concentrations of pollutants. Clamshell dredging increases the exposure time to pollutants, as the dredge spoils are pulled through the water column and turbidity remains high. Without dredging these contaminants would have probably remained dormant in the sediment.

Another indirect impact that dredging has caused is through international, containerized shipping and the associated invasion of exotic species. The release of their ballast waters into the bay, by way of foreign ships, has caused a proliferation of exotic species. These species sometimes find the San Francisco Bay to be quite inviting, and they outnumber the native species, sometimes wiping them out completely, and take over the native species habitat. The estuary and all the wildlife that depend on its unique eco-

system get double abuse with removal of the benthic layer, contamination of the benthic layer, and the competition of exotic, newly introduced organisms. When dredging occurs and the clamshell bucket bites into the sediment and it is pulled through the water column, the bottom dwellers are preventing them from re-colonizing as the turbidity continues. The turbidity from continual dredging activities will prevent fish from forging or spawning. It's been estimated that the loss for declined steelhead, salmon, and striped bass populations have been between \$500 and \$600 million per year. There are further stresses to the estuary as so much of the Sacramento delta water has been diverted (80 percent of its natural flow). This diverted water irrigates mostly subsidized crops. These crops are water intensive crops like cotton, rice, alfalfa, wheat, and irrigated pastures for beef (Monroe s-9).

Contaminants found in the Sediment/Dredge Spoils

While it is fairly easy to measure concentrations of pollutants, it is extremely difficult to determine the effects of pollutants on an organism. Pollutants have a wide range of effects on organisms, from subtle physiological changes to death. It is even more difficult to measure the effects one species, or an entire aquatic community, and their cumulative effects.

Contaminants Dumped into the Estuary

In the 1940s most contaminants were put into the bay by the direct effluent of untreated industrial waste and untreated sewage. In the 1950s population increased, industry and agriculture increased, and so did contaminants. Most of these contaminants were in the form of synthetic organic compounds (plastics, pesticides, fertilizers, solvents, PCB, DDT). Today contaminants enter into the estuary from many sources (non-point source pollution); urban runoff, agricultural runoff, dredge spoils being pulled through the water column. Dredging mo-

bilizes and mixes the contaminants in the water, which allow longer exposure time and possible ingestion of contaminants by the aquatic organisms. The concentration of contaminants in organisms as larger animals consume smaller organisms is called bioaccumulation or biomagnification. We already live with the warning that over a pound of fish a week from the San Francisco Bay is dangerous to your health, and pregnant women should not eat fish from the San Francisco Bay at all. Just recently, the EPA has declared the mitten crab as a classified contaminant because of the high concentrations of pollutants it ingests. Crabs, clams, worms, and other filter feeders, or bottom feeders, get the highest concentrations of contaminants, as most of the contaminants settle into the sediment. Oil refineries discharged about two tons of chromium and zinc per day into the bay in the 1960s. Still, today, the oil refineries discharge a daily load of about 25 lbs. per day.

Concentration of Contaminants in Harbor Sediments

The concentrations in sediments are slightly elevated and are the highest in harbors, harbor entrances, industrial waterways, and marinas. Concentrations of pollutants in aquatic animals are greatest in organisms inhabiting harbors, harbor entrances, and industrial waterways (Monroe s-11).

Selenium has been found in the livers of fish from Suisun Bay (which is where the Montezuma Project is located) to be as high as 77.6 parts per million. Of course, the Carquinez Straight and the Suisun Bay have been dumpsites for dredge spoils for many years now. What will the increase in dredge spoils in the Montizuma wetlands do?

In light of the fact that many of the short-term and long-term environmental impacts are unavoidable and some will be irreversible, what is the real payoff for the sake of these "New Deep Draft" containerized shipping vessels? Does it benefit the local economy? Or does it benefit a few large

companies, the scrap metal exports, and some stores that buy cheap Asian electronic finished goods? This extremely large project will leave a wake of environmental destruction for generations, and the need to continue dredging even after the 50 Foot "dredging" Project depth in both channels have been achieved, will cause further destruction of the bay estuary.

Federal Subsidies

Because these two channels are considered national navigation waters, this project is a federal project and is funded by the federal government. The fact that this is a federal government project makes a huge difference in funding. Funding has to be approved in Congress through the Water Resource Development. Federal subsidizes will cost the taxpayers about 5.4 billion per year for four years, approximately \$21.2 billion. The cost to The Port of Oakland or their stakeholders like Maersk vessels and Schnitzer Steel would be daunting without the federal subsidizes.

Cost of this Project to the Estuary

What would be the cost to lose the last remaining coastal wetlands forever?

The Montezuma Wetlands provide seasonal wetland and marshes that are home to eighty-nine species of birds, ten which breed on-site, forty-five which are migratory including: waterfowl, shorebirds, raptors, and passerines. There are sixty-nine special status species which will potentially be effected by the project: the California red-legged frog, California horned lizard, the California suaeda, the Marin dwarf-flax, the Petaluma popcorn flower, the Mason quillwort, the Point Reyes bird's beak, the Sonoma alopecurus, the Suisun thistle, and the swamp harebell, just to name a few. Species in the project area that are on the endangered list are: the California clapper rail, the salt marsh harvest mouse, the California brown pelican, the California black rail, the saltmarsh common yellowthroat, the burrowing owl, and

the California horned lark (EIR/EIS Vol. III). What is the cost of permanently altering this beautiful habitat, and disturbing these rare and special species?

Some things in life are priceless and irreplaceable.

No amount of money can bring back natural habitat once damaged and tampered with. The habitats that once sup-

This extremely large project will leave a wake of environmental destruction for generations.

ported the brown bear, the blue whale, and the bay dolphin that were once part of the estuary are gone forever. If the contaminants start to leach into the environment, it will be difficult to remove the dredge spoils once placed into the Montezuma wetland.

New Approach

What would be the benefits to using this natural wetland as an educational tool?

What would be the benefits of keeping contaminants far away from Contra Costa's drinking water intake?

These alternatives to the Montezuma wetland are not clearly addressed in the EIR/EIS. I think the long-term significant environmental impacts and the cumulative environmental impacts were not properly explained in the EIR/EIS; they were mitigated so quickly after the impact is explained that no time was taken to look at the alternatives.

What is the real cost of this project? It will weight heavily on the environment and I don't think the EIR/EIS even comes close to offering mitigation that would make up for all the potential loss.

Purpose

The Port of Oakland's number one export is scrap metal. Most imports are finished electronic goods from Asia. Depart-

ment stores that buy low price electronics from the Pacific Rim have a stake in this project. These stakeholders would have a hard time making their profits if the real cost of this project had to be paid for by someone other than us, the taxpayers.

California Environmental Quality Act

By law CEQA has four functions:

- To inform decision-makers about significant environmental effects
- To identify ways environmental damage can be avoided
- To prevent avoidable environmental damage
- To disclose to the public why a project is approved even if it leads to environmental damage (Fulton 150)

Alternatives

The Environmental Impact Statement is required by law to give alternatives to the project. The twenty alternatives that were considered for this project were quickly narrowed down to six, then to two, leaving little opportunity for the public and decision-makers to really have choices. I think there were some better options, rather than the one "preferred plan" that was chosen. Many of the alternatives

looked almost identical. The "preferred plan" that was chosen was the worst choice in my opinion, and will cause the most environmental destruction.

My assessment of the Environmental Impact Report is that there were three other alternative projects that would have been a better choice, and it would have achieved the projects objective.

What is the sacrifice to the environment that will be necessary to accommodate these special mega vessels?

The best choice of all in my opinion is of course Alternative A, which is the "No-Project," where the bay estuary would start a restoration of the shorelines and focus on water quality, and habitat preservation, but I know this is just my dream. Economically we could start redevelopment in West Oakland to build housing and meet the much-needed housing problem in the Bay Area. Economically the Bay Area could benefit from its shipping ports by bringing in cruise ships, which need little or no dredging, and increase our tourism revenues. Using the unique estuary as an educational tool, and stopping the destruction of the natural coastline would be more valuable to future generations than we could ever imagine!



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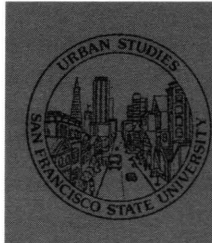
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An Interview with Jose Medina

Daniel Frattin

Jose Medina is an alumnus of SFSU's Urban Studies Department. A former San Francisco Supervisor and longtime advocate for the economic advancement of disadvantaged communities, Mr. Medina was appointed by Governor Gray Davis to head Caltrans, the state's transportation agency. In the following interview, Mr. Medina discusses the mission and goals of Caltrans, as well as various strategies the agency will employ to address rising congestion and the aging of the state's transportation infrastructure. Roelina Martinez, Mr. Medina's aide, also contributed to the discussion.

Daniel Frattin: Taking over an agency with a \$16 billion budget and 16,000 employees is obviously a challenging task. How did you feel on your first day in office, and how did you acquaint yourself with your new responsibilities?

Jose Medina: First of all, I was very honored that the governor would have the confidence in asking me [to] direct an agency with the size and scope of Caltrans, particularly given Caltrans's mission of moving people, goods, and services within the state of California efficiently and safely. So to me, it was a great honor to be appointed to the position.

Roelina Martinez: One of the things we did to prepare for Director Medina's arrival was to prepare a binder of executive staff, what some of the top issues were, and structure and organization. Just a brief intro, so he could walk in and know a few faces, mission, vision, and values, that sort of thing.

DF: Surely you had some expectations about what being the director would be like before you came into the office. Could you discuss [them]?

JM: No, I did not come in with any expectations. My mission, as I saw it, was to carry out the governor's policy directives. Whatever the governor wanted to [do] with Caltrans in regard to the use of its person-

nel and resources, it was my job to carry that out.

DF: Your most recent experience was as a San Francisco supervisor. Has serving as an appointed director of a statewide agency, rather than as a local, elected official, changed your perspective on government at all?

JM: No, it hasn't changed my perspective. You just have to be clear in what your role is. As a supervisor and elected official, you're charged with policy. When you're in this position as director, your charge is to carry out the governor's policy. So I don't formulate policy here, I implement the governor's policy.

DF: Well, we've just gone over this. You're implementing the governor's policy, so it's his vision for Caltrans that really counts.

JM: Yes, exactly.

DF: What would you say is Governor Davis' vision for Caltrans, and should Californians expect any significant changes in policy from the Wilson administration?

JM: The governor has made his priorities very clear. He said that given the money that Caltrans has, we want to put it to use as quickly as we can. We have a number of projects that are slated to be carried out that will help to improve transportation in California. For example, additional lane miles, certain interchanges, certain grade separa-

tions to facilitate traffic in a more safe manner.

Also Senate Bill 45 changed the relationship between Caltrans and local and regional authorities. For example, the money is now split with 25 percent of the funds available for Caltrans, and 75 percent of the money now goes to regional transportation authorities and municipal planning organizations. So, the regional transportation agencies have more of a say in [which] transportation projects will be executed. So, we work in partnership with them.

We are concerned with inter-regional travel, connecting regions. The locals are concerned with transportation within their local jurisdiction. So, there are times when we work in partnership with two regional entities, because it is in their best interest to work together to improve transportation in a given area. At other times, they're totally focused on the needs of their own area. Say, for example, Contra Costa County focuses just on the needs of the residents of Contra Costa. The Metropolitan Transportation Commission, which oversees all of the Bay Area counties, has to decide how the monies will be apportioned. They have to decide on the priority for which projects will be funded. So, we work in collaboration.

DF: You said that 75 percent of funds will go to local or regional agencies.

JM: Exactly.

DF: When the funds are given, are they allocated to specific projects or are they given as a block grant for the agencies to do....

JM: A list is made up of projects in the area and then there is a priority list that is made up. It goes before the California Transportation Commission for approval. The MTC, for example, would say these are all the projects that we wish to get funded. Maybe they'll submit one hundred projects that they want to get funded. There's not enough money for all hundred. There might be enough money for fifty, but it would go before the California Transportation Commission. They would review it, and they

would decide which projects are going to be funded.

DF: Recently there have been a number of newspaper articles about congestion rising dramatically in some areas, throughout the state, and that is expected to continue indefinitely. What policies are in place to address this issue?

JM: Well, that's one aspect of Caltrans's mission to address congestion management needs. There's a number of things that we have already in place that we want to add to and we want to improve. For example, HOV lanes (high-occupancy vehicle lanes). Those are intended to encourage people to carpool and to relieve traffic congestion and improve air quality. Now, it is very good in concept. We do not have sufficient HOV lane miles in place yet, and we need to have more uniformity and consistency in regard to the hours of operation. We also have metering lights that we use to regulate the flow of traffic onto the freeways so that traffic moves smoother. We have traffic management centers. If you ever get a chance to visit one, they have big screens where they show all the traffic patterns in a given area. So, it indicates the heaviest congested areas. Traffic is very heavy in a given corridor, and in other corridors, there's less traffic. So, when they do the traffic reports on the television station or on the radio, they can say "Highway 101 is heavily congested, so you might want to take this alternate route." It helps to do those kind of things. We also monitor certain areas that have a high number of accidents. We monitor that with the highway patrol so that we can take certain measures that have been made necessary by the number of accidents to improve those locations and make them safer.

We are faced with a situation in California where our highway system has been aging over the years, and we have neither been maintaining or rehabilitating the highways at the rate they need to be. At the same time, our population is growing, there are more vehicles on the road, and there are more vehicle trips that are made. Whereas,

in years past, a family might have one car with a primary breadwinner that went back and forth to work everyday, now you have both partners going to work. So, that's two cars on the highway. If they have school-aged or college-aged children, that's three or four possible cars in a household on the highway. In some cases, those same breadwinners may have more than one job. They may have a regular job in the day and work at Kmart at night, so its rare that you see a slackening of highway traffic anywhere you go in the state of California. It doesn't matter what time of day or night. It can be two in the morning....

RM: There are areas with no windows.

JM: Yes, and then, of course, we had the impact of the Loma Prieta earthquake. So, a good portion of the transportation budget went to retrofit our bridges, overpasses, and highways. That took a significant chunk out of our transportation money. We had the impacts of El Niño: floods, landslides, bridges washed away, roadways washed away. So, that's why its necessary to prioritize the projects that we fund with the monies that we have available.

DF: The 1993 California Transportation Plan mentions that Caltrans will pursue non-structural solutions to transportation problems. Could you clarify?

RM: That would be things like the ramp meters, changeable message signs advising people to go elsewhere. Its more of the new technology solutions rather than building new lanes. Turning lanes into HOV lanes would be non-structural.

JM: That was then, and this is now. This administration's priorities might be different. To elaborate further on Caltrans's mission and activities, Caltrans is also responsible for rail, light rail, mass transit, alternative forms of transportation. Recognizing the fact that we cannot build additional lanes as quickly as possible or even use center-line lanes, which are new roads, for the highly urbanized areas, we want to make certain that we have sufficient light rail

and buses to carry the traffic within their area.

As far as travel across the state of California, we want to make sure that heavy passenger rail is able to keep pace with demand. Actually, we inaugurated an additional direct service between Bakersfield and Sacramento, and it was very enthusiastically accepted. For the persons along the Central Valley Corridor, whose towns are not serviced by airlines and who do not rely on cars for their transportation, the railroad is very key. So we're very supportive of that.

We're also supportive of waterways, because Caltrans oversees waterways. The governor's budget mentioned increased use of ferries, and that's an area that, in the United States, is really underutilized. The whole Bay Area, for example, is very appropriate for transportation on ferries. Yet, it was only during the earthquake that we made some use of it. But that potential is there, and that's an area that we need to explore.

Caltrans also oversees airports, and we issue the permits for airports to operate. We monitor noise levels and certain conditions and standards that the airports have to comply with. Believe it or not, Caltrans also has a space program. We maintain a spaceport to encourage partnership with the private sector and public sector in terms of space utilization.

DF: You mentioned inter-city rail as one of the areas that Caltrans supervises. Do you have any remarks about the proposed California High Speed Rail proposal?

JM: The High Speed Rail Authority has been set up as a separate state entity from Caltrans. They have their own board of governors, and, clearly, their charge is to make it possible for passengers to move within the state of California in as expeditious manner as possible. So they are exploring funding mechanisms for that, because whether high speed rail will become a reality or not depends on whether they are able to secure the needed funding.

One of the problems that high speed rail faces is the same problem that faces building new highways. Property in California is very expensive and to buy the right of way is very expensive. Some of the land [high speed rail] would go through is some of the choicest land in California. They would have to acquire the right of way from San Diego to San Francisco, and, on top of that, you have the cost of construction, the cost of equipment, and the cost of operations. So, they have a very formidable challenge ahead of them.

Our perspective, and the governor has encouraged this, is to make our current passenger rail service more effective. If we could, first of all, improve the rail roadbeds and secure the rail crossings such that passenger trains could move faster and increase their speeds from 75 mph to 110 or 120 mph, that would be a significant increase in passenger service.

DF: Another issue I wanted to address is Central Valley growth. As opposed to the Bay Area, Los Angeles, and San Diego, the cities in the Central Valley are small in comparison, but they are projected to grow very rapidly over the next twenty years. Does Caltrans have an overall plan for dealing with growth in the Central Valley in terms of transportation needs, beyond the inter-city rail you already mentioned?

JM: We're very aware of the growth in California. There are two aspects of the growth. First, they project an increase to fifty million residents, [an increase] the size of the population of Texas, in years to come. So, that's going to place a greater stress on our transportation system, as well as generate increased demand. So, we just had a meeting with a commissioner from the Department of Energy, which is the depository of all the information that the Department of Motor Vehicles collects in regards to the purchase and operation of vehicles, or if people have a change of address, they know where they're moving to. They have all that information, so we want to hook

up with them so that we can track the trends in demographics of the state of California.

Now, one of the reasons that the funding change was made so that the locals get 75 percent of the transportation dollars is that they're in a good position to judge as to how the population is growing in their area and which routes they take. So when they put in their requests for projects, they say traffic is heavy along this corridor and we need money to widen the corridor. So, those are some of the areas that we'll get those kind of indications as to where the traffic is impacting.

Along the Central Valley, one of the things that I noticed on the train trip I took between Bakersfield and Sacramento is that a lot of areas, like Modesto, Manteca, and Merced, are becoming bedroom communities for Silicon Valley. So, people are now commuting up to two hours a day to get to their jobs. So, a lot of the population growth in the Central Valley is now happening because people are willing to commute long distances. So, we have to be able to respond to that.

Just yesterday, for example, I left San Francisco at 5:30 in the evening to come to Sacramento, and I came along Highway 4 and over the Antioch Bridge. I was amazed at the traffic from San Francisco all the way up to Antioch was bumper-to-bumper, stop-and-go. It literally took me almost two hours to go from San Francisco to Antioch in that bumper-to-bumper traffic.

RM: That's pretty frustrating.

JM: Yes.

DF: That's why I took Amtrak up here today.

JM: Good for you. How did you like the cars?

DF: They're great, very spacious.

JM: Caltrans owns the cars. We own the coaches. If you look on the side of the coaches you'll see our name.

RM: I love the tables. They're very comfortable. The staff is really nice. I like them.

JM: I was impressed by the diversity of people I saw riding the train.

DF: I actually noticed the same thing coming here today.

RM: I see tourists speaking German and other European languages. There are a lot of tourists that take our trains, too.

JM: Again, that's another factor to be taken into account in increased train ridership. In Europe, Latin America, and Asia, train stations are central to most of their cities and towns. So, they're accustomed to taking the train. As our immigrant population rises, so should our train ridership. Actually, one of the things that we need to do in terms of increasing ridership on our trains is that the people that do our marketing need to do a good job, if not a better job, reaching out to the people who are most likely to utilize it.

DF: Developing multimodal connections also makes....

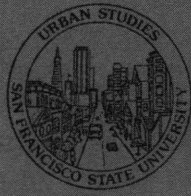
JM: Multimodal is very important because people want a seamless mode of transportation. They want to be able to get off the plane and get on a bus and get to their destination. They want the connectivity from one mode of transportation to another.

DF: It looks like we should be bringing this to a close. Thank you very much.

JM: You're welcome.



Daniel Frattin is a recent transfer from Oakland's Laney College. He is a junior in the Urban Studies Department and is especially interested in policies promoting sustainable transportation and land use.



Bicycle Policies and Politics in San Francisco: 1970-1998

Karna Allen

When you take a city that is forty-nine square miles, add automobiles, streetcars, trolleys, and buses, then throw in a contingent of bicyclists (radical ones at that), you're bound to get a "Critical Mass." Karna Allen's overview of bicycle history in San Francisco, along with emphasis of the effects the advocacy group Critical Mass has had on transportation politics in the city, gives hope for a tolerable coexistence amongst the traditional and alternative transportation commuters.

A Brief History

The San Francisco Bay Area has, for many years, been called home by one of the largest populations of avid bicyclists in the nation. People use bicycles in a variety of ways. They use them for recreation, for sport, for leisure, and for their daily transportation. Through the 1970s, the needs of the bicycling community took the lowest of priorities in regards to funding and attention by the city government. Many of the state and federal funds that were sent to the city to be used for bicycle roadway and pathway improvements were instead diverted to the failing Municipal transportation system. The media paid little attention to the few bicycle advocacy groups who were trying to get true changes made, and the bicycling community began to get discouraged and resentful. In the middle of the 1980s things began to change. The city began to see the influence of bicyclists in the community and began to recognize them as a voting force. Although their influence was noticed, little change in public policy happened. As the 1990s came around, the tension between the bicycling community and city officials grew. Several strong advocacy groups formed and a monthly awareness demonstration called Critical Mass demanded public attention. This has all led to some real changes made

in San Francisco policy in regards to bicycles, and created a viable political force in the bicycling community.

In the early 1980s the city began to recognize the bicycling community as an integral part of the people of San Francisco. Up until this time there was little attention given to the needs of bicyclists. The city only added six miles of bike lanes to local roadways in the previous twenty years, and few improvements to paths had been accomplished. When bicyclists began to form advocacy groups and use their voting power, the city's attitude began to change toward bicycle policy. The first major change began when Marilyn Smulyan, then an aide to city supervisor Nancy Walker, discovered that money that the city had been receiving for bicycle improvements was disappearing into MUNI's budget. She was appalled by this blatant misuse of funds, and drafted resolutions that swung the money back to bikes and initiated a bicycle advisory committee to regulate appropriate spending. This was celebrated as the beginning of a new era in bicycle policy by many San Franciscans, and truly was the beginning of a long political battle for improvements in the city.

The issue of addressing the needs of the bicycling community became paramount, and the advisory committee took on new



Critical Mass?

shape. The city established in 1987 a permanent paid position, a bicycle liaison, through the department of parking and traffic. This role was given to Peter Tannen. Tannen, with the help of grants he obtained for the program, transformed the position into a work-

Bicycles should not be returned to the riders "to show them [Critical Mass] a lesson," Mayor Willie Brown.

ing office of six people over the next few years. This became the central point in which all bicycle policy and planning issues are addressed and dealt with.

Many bicycle advocacy groups in the area hailed this as a landmark accomplishment. One group, the S.F. Bicycle Coalition, became a key faction in the media. They took it upon themselves to "watchdog" this agency, and by the early 1990s began to get disillusioned with the lack of real changes made by the committee. Tension could be felt on all sides of the issue. The bicycling community was growing, and many more people were using bicycles as their form of daily transportation.

The lack of changes in bicycle policies, the unawareness motorists had toward bicyclists, and the disregard for improvements and additions to bicycle routes was creating a large number of discontented bicycling citizens. Tannen, though actively addressing the city council about ideas and changes, had only managed to have two more additional miles of bike lanes established in the time he had served. The city felt that he was making great accomplishments; he had collected many grants to compile lists and plans, and employed five people in doing so. He had also been engaging in the formation of an extensive bicycle plan for the city to use as a plan of action. Although these were significant accomplishments, the lack of real, noticeable improvements was very discouraging to a large majority of city residents.

The bicycling community began to take action. The S.F. Bicycle Coalition, now with

a membership list in the thousands, began to attend city council and transportation commission meetings regularly; a new awareness movement called Critical Mass began to develop. Critical Mass began as a reaction to the safety hazards that bicycle commuters were facing while riding downtown daily. Rudeness and a lack of awareness to the needs of bicyclists in traffic were common encounters to many bicycle commuters. A person opening the doors of their parked vehicles into passing bicyclists was such a common occurrence that there is a term for it, "getting doored." The idea was to bring awareness of bicycles to drivers by being a large group, easily seen. This was a rather peaceful event at first, with a group of fifty or so people riding down Market Street and ending at a specified location. Almost instantly the monthly ride grew in numbers. Critical Mass began to take on the shape of a monthly rally attempting to gain media attention and protest all forms of issues around cycling, public policy, and awareness.

The city did not know how to respond to the growing numbers in the monthly rides. The group had gotten so large that they took up road space for many blocks at a time. The number of riders grew into the thousands. Traffic began to be stalled, and tempers flared from all angles. A comment in the *S.F. Examiner*, from a police officer observing the rides, stated that during the bigger rides motorists and pedestrians could be delayed as much as ten to fifteen minutes and the entourage could extend for up to one and a half miles. When several instances of motorists becoming violent with bicyclists happened, the city decided that enough was enough.

The first solution was to simply lead the ride with a police escort, block off streets for a short time, and organize it officially. This was difficult for two reasons: the movement prided itself with having no real leaders, and they were attracting new people all the time. Nevertheless, a group of originators came forth and decided on an agreed course and

the police escort as a compromise. The media, especially the *S.F. Examiner*, published the proposed solution and kept updates on events. With the media attention, the numbers grew even more. The riders began to break off into smaller groups, and the routes were abandoned. This was due to a number of reasons, but mostly people were not always familiar with the route, and would follow others in the wrong direction, creating "mini masses." The frustrated police began to take a different tactic. They called a halt to the police escorts, and decided that Critical Mass would need a parade permit to legally block up roadways. Since this was a largely unorganized movement, this was nearly impossible and unaffordable. The police began to show up in riot gear and started arresting people for traffic violations and various other infractions.

The California vehicle code classifies bicycles as a moving vehicle and, as such, must obey all traffic laws vehicles. In sections 21200-21212, it defines the ways in which a bicycle can be operated on roadways legally in California. This includes right of way, turning standards, safety standards, and provisions for city responsibility in the implementation of bikeways. Officers began to hand out fliers with the list of infractions, fines, and reasons for arrest that the participants could face if they participated in the ride. This only added to the tension. The major infractions committed by the cyclists were running red lights, obstructing traffic, and resisting arrest. Along with being arrested, people had their bicycles confiscated.

Mayor Willie Brown was quoted in the *S.F. Examiner* on July 29, 1997, saying that the bicycles should not be returned to the riders "to show them a lesson." The D.A. reassured people that this was completely illegal, but they would be held until people's court dates; some were weeks after their confiscation. Most of these people used their bikes to commute to work, which is a large part of the statement that Critical Mass is trying to make. Other bikes that were used

as weapons while resisting arrest (placing the bicycle between the person and the officer qualified) were seized as evidence. This added fuel to the fire, so to speak, and bicycling issues were making front-page news.

Not all bicyclists were in support of Critical Mass. Many of the advocacy groups spoke out against the blatant breaking of traffic laws, and felt that the movement was bringing negative media attention to bicycling in general. Despite this, most everyone agrees that Critical Mass was a major jumpstart to bicycle politics in San Francisco. The media representation gave cycling the coverage that people were wanting, and the city began to feel the power of the vast numbers of bicyclists in the community. It was clear that there were needs to be addressed. The city began to take a serious look at Tanner's bicycle plan, and began to make some real changes.

Tanner's bicycle plan consisted of eleven in-depth pages of plans for real change. The plan focused on four goals: to improve facilities for bicycles, improve bicycle safety, promote bicycling in the city, and increase funding. It also called for: recommended bicycle networks, parking and traffic calming, transit access, organizational changes, city ordinances and policies, safety education and enforcement, design standards in bikeways, and maintenance on existing ones. Tanner's plan has been well received by the city government, and some real ground level changes have been accomplished.

Today we can see the results of the city working toward making this a more bike friendly city. In the 1990s we have seen the many changes. A bike route network has been established that consists of 160 miles, which will be marked by 3,000 route signs (20 percent are currently posted). These routes were published in the community services section of the Pacific Bell Yellow pages on page fourteen. There are thirty miles of widened curb lanes to allow safe passage for bikes. There have been ten miles of bike-only lanes; additional miles are be-

ing considered. Two hundred storm drains' grates that were large enough to catch bicycle tires have been replaced, with funds secured to replace 1,500 more. Seventy streetlights have been sensitized to respond to bicycles, so the light will trigger and they will have the right of way. Seven storage lockers, which can hold up to one hundred bicycles, to have been placed at several locations around the city for safe storage of bicycles while people work. Bike racks have been installed on forty-five MUNI Orion buses on steep or late night routes. Also, the city celebrated on November 26, 1998, the opening of the first bike and pedestrian only pathway in the city, located in the Duboce Triangle.

Peter Straus, Municipal Railway planning director, says that the Duboce bikeway was originally part of a federally funded program to provide ramp access for the disabled onto MUNI lines. Then, with the impute of the bicycle coalition, it widened to encompass a city beautification project that included the pathway, lined with historic street lamps, and a large mural spanning the wall that runs along it. Many are hailing it as an example of how both sides, government and activists, can work together to build public space and create bikeways all over the city. It is the first step on a long road.

Many other changes have happened in the last few years as well. Another battle for bicycle commuters is having path access on the Bay Bridge and the Golden Gate Bridge. Recently, the sidewalks on the Golden Gate were opened up to bicyclists. Access is twenty-four hours, but the areas vary. The times and areas are posted on the eastern sidewalk entrance. The Bay Bridge has no sidewalk to open, and is closed to bicyclists at all times. There is a shuttle for bicyclists across the bridge during rush hours, but it is often full and people complain. Funds have been secured to include a bike lane moving eastbound on the bridge, but funds have yet to be allocated for the westbound direction. Most critics

wonder what good is one direction without the other. The plans for the bike lanes have been approved, but have the lowest funding priority.

There are other options for travel with a bicycle. All public transit operations in the Bay Area offer some sort of passage for a bicycle. Times and ways vary, and most do not include rush hours or peak use hours as an option, which does not fit into the schedule of most commuters. Shuttles and storage are available, but most are severely impacted. More funding is needed to match the growing needs of the bicycling community.

The S.F. Bicycle Coalition recently did an online survey of the number of bicycle commuters in the community. They defined a "commuter" as anyone who uses a bicycle to go to and from work or school everyday. They had 11,000 people respond saying that they were a bicycle commuter. This number does not represent all the people who only ride their bike occasionally, or use it for recreation. This proves that the bicycling community is a large body of voting people, and the city government is responding to the needs of this part of our community.

Bicycling is a viable option for transportation in the Bay Area. It has a temperate climate, with little freezing and snow. The same online survey by the Bicycle Coalition asked these people how far they lived from their jobs; the average was five miles. This makes cycling an attractive and positive solution to many of the congestion problems faced by motorists and MUNI commuters alike. The numbers in the bicycling community are growing. It is now in the city's interest to represent their needs, and make bicycling more attractive to people in general.

The last thirty years has been explosive in regards to bicycle awareness, use, and city planning policy. As more and more people step forward and demand the needs for improvement to bikeways and policies, the city feels their voting force. The city has

responded with some real changes, and more are in the planning. Peter Tannen and his office of five has been successful in obtaining funds for improvements, and is committed to securing more. In the next thirty years, advocates and cyclists alike

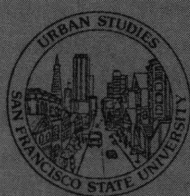
hope to see San Francisco recognized as the most bicycling-friendly city in the nation. With so much focus and impute, there stands a real chance for this to be accomplished.



Acknowledgements

The information used in this essay was collected from a variety of sources. Some were obtained from a collection of different news articles from the S.F. *Examiner* ranging from 1994 to 1998. Many of these articles spoke of the police influence in the Critical Mass movement, the people who were affected and how (the bicycle confiscations), the technicalities of the Bridge movements, Tannen's history, and several personal issues of people involved and comments not used. Information regarding the official S.F. Bicycle plan was obtained from the S.F. Bicycle Coalition web site at www.rides.org. This web site was very informative and gave up-to-date information of what's happening in local politics, as well as other links to bicycling related topics and events. Other sites were available, and the San Francisco city web site at City7.com was helpful with transit information, bicycling groups of all kinds, and where to find maps, including the map of the bike route in the Pacific Bell Yellow pages. A few conversations with locals who had participated in the Critical Mass rides from the beginning helped put the whole issue into perspective for me; one of those people, Greg Haze, told me about the S.F. Bike Coalition and gave me their web site address. Thanks to Greg and all those who work toward making San Francisco a more bicycle-friendly city.

Karna Allen is a junior at San Francisco State University and is majoring in Consumer and Family Science with a minor in Urban Studies. She feels that bicycles are one of the ideal forms of urban transportation available and looks forward to the day when bicycles are recognized for the excellent alternative vehicle that they are by local and state government. She has been an avid bicyclist most her life, and hopes to continue to be so.



A Political History of Rail Transit in San Francisco: The Sad Story of What Might Have Been

Simone Schamach

Contemporary histories of American public transportation systems have given much attention to the "rail to rubber" conversion, promoted by national City Lines before and after the Second World War. The following piece by senior Simone Schmamach illustrates how San Francisco's experience was atypical in this regard.

Setting the Scene: Private Rail Companies

At the beginning of the twentieth century, San Francisco's population of just under 343,000 people was served by cable-powered street railways (built by ten different companies), a few new electric traction railways, and one persistent horsecar line. The main player in this group was the Market Street Cable Railway Company, which had "very close corporate connections with the Southern Pacific Company."² In 1902, Market Street Cable Railway Company acquired its principal competitors: the Sutter Street Railway Company, the Sutro Railroad Company, and the San Francisco & San Mateo Electric Railway Company. This new consolidated organization was renamed United Railroads of San Francisco. Among the smaller lines that resisted the takeover, the Geary Street, Park & Ocean Railway is particularly significant, as it was the first to become public property.

After 1857, all private lines operated under franchise agreements with the city. Terms of these franchises became progressively more restrictive and renewals harder to come by as a fear of the railroads' political power seeped into the national consciousness. A political reform movement, called Progressivism, dating from the 1870s, advocated public ownership of utilities. In the early years of this movement, San Fran-

cisco had neither the financial means nor the political will to enter the utilities market. But by 1900 the situation had changed enough that the new City Charter in Article XII stated, that "It is hereby declared to be the purpose and intention of the people of the City and County that its public utilities shall be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the City and County." Charter amendments of 1902, 1907, and 1910 that limited the City's power to grant franchises discouraged further investment and expansion by private lines. Another amendment in 1903 asserted the City's right to regulate fares and establish service level requirements.

The joint efforts of then Mayor James D. Phelan and executives of Claus Spreckles resulted, in 1906, in the formation of Municipal Street Railways of San Francisco. The purpose of this organization was to take advantage of the provision in the 1900 charter stating that property under franchise could be purchased for the amount of invested capital plus interest. Corporate papers were filed April 17, 1906, but, by the following day, no one had the least interest in this endeavor as the earthquake and fire devoured homes and businesses, carbarns and rolling stock, and twisted rails into startling and useable shapes. United Railroads' Filmore Street crosstown line was up and running within a week, temporarily turning Filmore into the city's main shopping street.

A secondary, long-lasting consequence of the earthquake was that United Railroads gained approval from the city to install overhead wires rather than underground conduit for the rebuild. Overhead wires had been wisely resisted by the citizenry up to this

In the early years of Progressivism, San Francisco had neither the financial means nor the political will to enter the utilities market.

point, but the urgency of having mobility restored weakened resolve. However, United Railroad's involvement in post-fire municipal scandals, coupled with a violent 131-day strike by UR operators in 1907, increased public outcry for municipal control of their only means of transport other than walking.

The first San Francisco bond issue for financing a public transit project was submitted to the voters in 1902. Seven hundred thousand dollars was requested to replace the Geary Street cables with underground electrical conduit and to procure state-of-the-art rolling stock. The measure was opposed by real estate interests (why?) and failed to win the necessary two-thirds-majority approval. Voter turnout was pitiful (as it continues to be today); less than one-third of registered voters went to the polls. A second attempt in 1903 failed again. It is possible that these bonds failed to pass not because the public did not support mass transit but because the Geary Street cable car lines were providing acceptable service as they were. Voters may have thought that no vote or a "no" vote meant there would be no change and public funds would not be spent unnecessarily. Finally, in December of 1909, voters did give approval to \$1,900,000 in construction bonds for a line segment from Kearny to Ocean and another \$120,000 for a Kearney Street to the Ferries extension. The latter extension was addressed separately for fear it would be challenged by United Railroads who held the Market Street franchise, and it was. United

Railroads went to court to prevent issuance of the bonds, but both the Superior and Supreme Court ruled against them. Still, banks were reluctant to buy the bonds, so many of them were sold to local investors, including the Teamsters Union. Litigation brought by the Geary Street, Park & Ocean Railway Company over the right-of-way on Geary Street further delayed construction. But the GSPORC franchise soon expired and the company was forced to abandon all their structures built in public streets.

Birth of the Municipal Railway

On December 28, 1912, the Municipal Railway inaugurated its electric Geary Street Line to great fanfare. An estimated 50,000 cheering citizens were on hand to hear newly elected Mayor Rolph's speech and pay a nickel to ride the trolley. Mayor Rolph declared that this was "but the nucleus of a mighty system of streetcar lines which will someday encompass the entire city." Due largely to the efforts of City Engineer Michael Maurice O'Shaughnessy, with the mayor's unflagging support, this grand prediction did briefly come to pass.

The third important personality from this period was Bion Arnold. A widely known and respected engineer in the transportation systems field, Arnold was hired by the city to examine the problems of the existing system and make recommendations for development. His work is documented in the *Report on the Improvement and Development of the Transportation Facilities of San Francisco* submitted to the Mayor and Board of Supervisors in March of 1913. This report provided the framework for Municipal Railway development over the next fifteen years; the basic routes of the MUNI Metro system as it exists today were laid out by Bion Arnold. Perhaps the most important elements of the plan were the tunnels through Twin Peaks (East Portal and West Portal). In the years 1912 through 1915, the Municipal Railway grew to 42.6 miles of single track.

The following year, 1916, the system's 197 cars carried 40,428,126 paying passen-

gers. A popular 1913 bond issue provided for expansion north of Market to the Harbor View (now Marina district) site of the planned Panama-Pacific International Exposition, for a car barn in the Potrero district, and for a new route on Market from Van Ness to Church, continuing south on Church to termination at 30th Street. The reader will recognize this last-mentioned route as the present-day J line, later extended to the Balboa Park BART station.

The original drawings for the J line called for a wide street and sidewalks along the right-of-way. Construction would have consumed a good chunk of Mission Dolores Park and required the purchase and demolition of several privately owned buildings. An assessment district was to be formed, according to California law, whereby property owners who stand to benefit from such public works projects are taxed for their support. A vigorous and vocal citizens' group, the Church Street Non-Assessment League, was formed to resist the plan. This organization successfully minimized the project; the thoroughfare and sidewalks were scrapped. The much lower expenditure for acquiring the right-of-way for the rails only was subsequently approved by the Board of Supervisors with no cost assessed to property owners.

In Bion Arnold's recommendations to the Board, he advised them to decide at the outset whether city-owned transit would cooperate or compete with privately owned companies. They unhesitatingly chose the way of competition, with sometimes ludicrous consequences.

A tax assessment district *was* successfully formed to build the first Twin Peaks Tunnel. Real estate and other business interests eager to develop the area west and south of Twin Peaks founded the Twin Peaks Tunnel and Improvement Association. They engaged a consulting engineer, at their own expense, to submit a variety of possible plans to the city. Arnold reviewed the plans and submitted his own composite to City Engineer O'Shaughnessy, who accepted it with

little alteration. United Railroads already had in place the Mission-Ocean line, which passed St. Francis Circle and then wended its way across the sand dunes to the beach, but had no direct connection to downtown. Predictably, when United Railroads offered the city operating rights over its Taraval Street, Junipero Serra Boulevard, and Ocean Avenue lines in exchange for access to the Twin Peaks Tunnel, the Board of Supervisors refused. Instead, the Board responded by demanding that United Railroads sell its entire Parkside system to the city. When all was said and done, MUNI gained trackage rights over the Ocean Avenue line in return for a lump sum payment of \$100,000. United Railroads continued to provide all maintenance and electricity on Ocean Avenue, for which MUNI was charged 7.5 cents per mile traveled during the remaining term of the franchise. United Railroad's cars were never permitted in the tunnel until the merger of the two operations on September 29, 1944.

The Cable Wars

The merger left only the California Street Cable Railroad Company operating as an independent. The Market Street Railway (previously United Railroads) had also not converted two of their cable car lines to newer technology. These latter ran on Powell to Mason and on Washington to Jackson and were inherited with the rest of the system by Municipal Railway. Two years after the merger, in 1946, word leaked from City Hall that Mayor Roger Lapham was recommending that the city's cable car system be abandoned. Herb Caen became privy to this information and revealed it to the public in his column of January 7, 1947. The mayor belatedly announced the abandonment plan in his annual message to the Supervisors on January 27. This news prompted a protest movement by citizens who loved the cable cars that grew to include thousands and endured until the cable car system was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1964. Along the way, half of the rails were torn up, but all of them would

have been lost without these citizen efforts led by one Mrs. Klussman. Mrs. Klussman was the president of the San Francisco Federation of the Arts who, with other members of the organization, joined friends in the California Spring Blossom and Wild-

Trains, standard gauge or light rail, can impart a sense of going somewhere that matters, of living and working in an exciting, cosmopolitan city.

flowers Association to form the Citizens' Committee to Save the Cable Cars. The Citizens' Committee first initiated a massive petitioning drive to place a Charter amendment on the ballot that would require the Public Utilities Commission to maintain and operate the "present and existing cable car system" then owned by MUNI. In spite of well-financed opposition by Manager of Public Utilities James Turner, the Real Estate Board, and the League of Women Voters, Proposition 10 won by a 77 percent margin.

The demise of public rail transportation was much accelerated following World War II. "Rails and rolling stock suffered from lack of maintenance and replacement during the war year; shiny new buses looked appealing in contrast." Enter National City Lines. Owned and operating by General Motors, Standard Oil, Shell Oil, and Firestone Tire, National City Lines set out to methodically destroy rail transit in cities all over the country and replace it with private automobiles and bus lines which they themselves produced. San Francisco was uniquely positioned to withstand the onslaught of NCL's henchmen because much of the track was already under public control. Additionally, Hetch Hetchy, also under city control, provided a low cost source of electrical power for the system, and the Twin Peaks and Sunset Tunnels, which were essential to city growth and had been built at great expense, could not be readily used by diesel buses.

California Cable Car was eventually forced out of business by union demands of parity with MUNI workers, by a competing bus line, and, finally, by the disruptive construction of the Broadway tunnel. MUNI bought the assets of California Cable for practically nothing and prepared to dismantle it, setting off a new round of political warfare. *The San Francisco News* commented after a 1957 Proposition E cable car route rebuild: "Municipal Railway Manager Charles E. Miller reported that it has cost the city only a million dollars to reduce a working transportation system to the status of a tourist's merry-go-round." The deceptive tactics of Manager of Utilities James Turner and his hired "publicity man" David Jones in manipulating the passage of Proposition E landed them in court were they were found jointly liable of betraying the public trust. Turner was "punished" by a change of post to head the Water Department. At the close of the cable wars, half the track mileage had been lost, but, more importantly, half of it had been saved. By 1951, the B, C, & M trolley lines had converted to motor coach. The #48 Ingleside-Taraval crosstown bus replaced the L and K light rail lines on evenings, weekends, and holidays. The president of the Public Utilities Commission in 1959 was a Cadillac dealer.

Conclusion

While buses may be less expensive to operate and more flexible to changes in rider demand, they just aren't interesting. Trains, standard gauge or light rail, can impart a sense of going somewhere that matters, of living and working in an exciting, cosmopolitan city.

The proportion of San Francisco's transit system served by rail lines and the overall level of services changes significantly according to the attitudes of the sitting mayor and the department or commission holding the authority to make budget and route decisions. The enthusiasm of Mayor "Sunny Jim" Rolph and City Engi-

neer M.M. O'Shaughnessy (supplemented by still-functioning private service provided by United Railroads and the California Cable Car Company) resulted in an extensive and efficient transit system that operated from 1913 to 1930. The last rail line to be constructed by MUNI was the N Judah, completed in 1927.³ When Mayor Rolph was elected governor of California in 1930, O'Shaughnessy lost crucial political support and was put out to pasture as consulting engineer to Hetch Hetchy. Soon after this, in 1931 or 1932, the Public Utilities Commission replaced the Board of Public Works as Municipal Railway's oversight body. Neither the PUC nor the Metropolitan Transit Commission, which now has major control over federal transit monies coming into the Bay Area, has shown any interest in expanding MUNI rail service in the city proper. The MTC's funding decisions favor the automobile and BART, which to-

gether convey nearly a quarter-million workers into San Francisco from the East Bay and more distant suburbs.

In mid-1946, following the merger with Market Street Railway, MUNI owned and operated 598 streetcars over 261 miles of track. Today, MUNI owns 128 Metro streetcars, 17 historic F-Line cars, and 39 cable cars, a total of 184. Track mileage in use runs only forty-six miles.

Most likely the situation would be even worse if San Francisco riders did not place such high value on the mass transit option to driving. Caring and outspoken citizens work continuously to save what we have left of the rail system and to demand improved service. But, as we can see from the cable wars, it takes a great many people persevering over a long period of time to have any substantial influence.

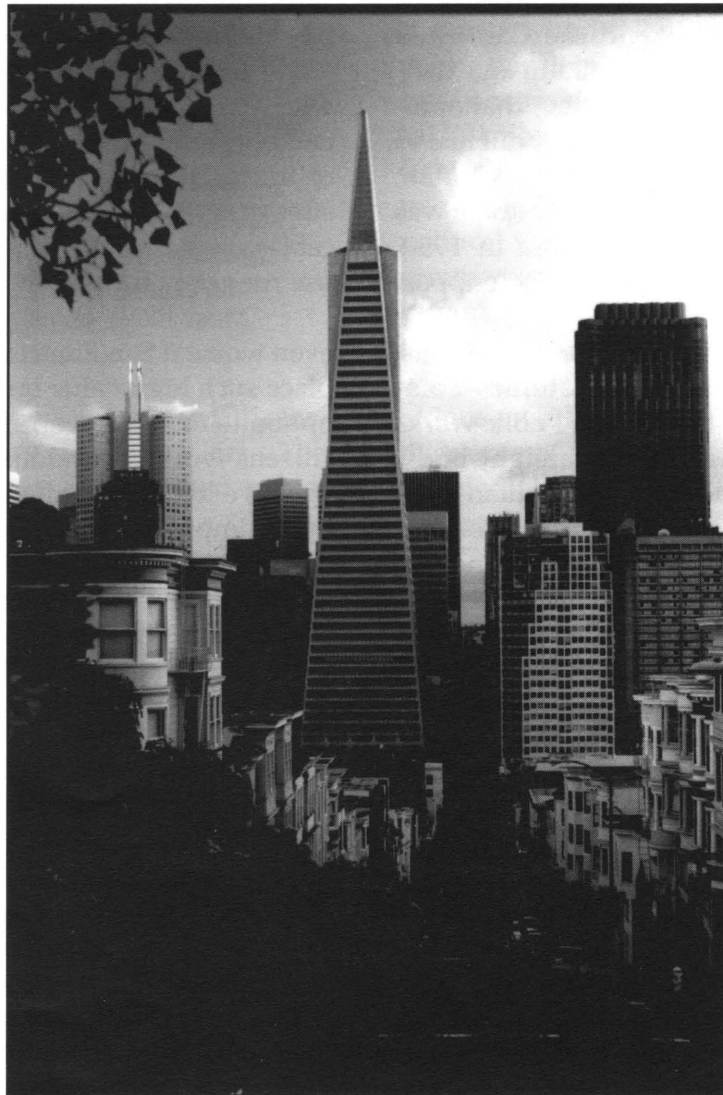


¹Historical facts used in this article are from Perles, Anthony (with John McKane, Tom Matoff and Peter Straus), The People's Railway: The History of the Municipal Railway of San Francisco. Interurban Press, Glendale, California, 1981. This excellent book covers the history of MUNI from its inception through BART construction in the 1970s. It is richly illustrated with photographs of period railcars, rail construction, and (shudder) buses.

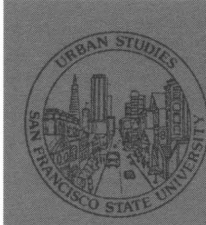
²Ibid, p. 13

³An extension of the historic F-Line is currently under construction. When completed, the F-line route will run from Castro and Market Streets, along the Embarcadero, to Fisherman's Wharf. In 1998, an extension was built from the Embarcadero station to the CalTrain station, but at less than a mile in length, it cannot be considered a new line. However, a new line has been approved for construction that will serve the Bay Shore Corridor from the CalTrain station to Visitation Valley. Ironically, this route was one that did have rail service in the first half of this century. We, the taxpayers, paid removal of the tracks as we will again pay for their reconstruction.

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View of the Transamerica Pyramid from
Montgomery Street.



the city #5 (respiration remix #2)

Michael Cirelli

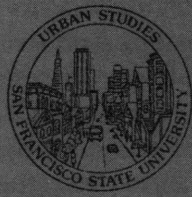
if i climbed up
 onto the scaffolding
 and looked out
 over you,
 would you breathe
 w/ me?
 i'd inhale skylines
 and write you out
 in neon exhalations-
 bridges would form
 my hyphens
 connecting thoughts
 of how you animate
 yourself as if you were
 natural,
 skyscrapers would create
 the body of my work
 and graffiti would be my color;
 my word plays would be held in
 civic centers so that everyone
 could have a verse about you,
 we'd expose you w/ handfuls of brown
 stones
 and see who could break the most
 windows,
 we'd be armed w/ questions like it
 were our mission,
 i'd ask you if i cried
 a song of myself
 would you be my echo?
 pyramids would bring
 me back as if you
 were antiquated
 and st. francis
 would martyr himself
 in aztec ritual,
 we'd call it restitution
 for all the dispossessed

birds and fish,
 prostitution would be seen as
 a symptom of your flu this winter
 and i'd define epidemic so you
 could get it straight too;
 you'd admit that you pull
 lives through you like chattel
 as if your underground railroads
 were equated to freedom
 and we'd talk about how golden gates
 are only residual to those
 who have green growing out of
 their pockets and how
 restoration is only an excuse;
 i'd persuade you to meditate
 w/ me under one of your \$10,000 bus stops
 until you told us to leave and then we'd
 take a train
 through your veins and watch people
 sleep, it makes you happy;
 i would try to highlight your
 twilight in sunset yellow
 as you doze off
 but you don't claim
 to be the city that doesn't sleep
 and you don't want to be anyway,
 you bleed w/ the moon all night
 long, i try to wake
 you but drown in red,
 sirens sound off
 occasionally
 as if they were to
 lure peace,
 they also stand on corners;
 street sweepers greet
 the dawn cleaning up the mess
 as you wake,
 you pass off the welts

on your arm as misquito bites
and catch a ride on the
back of judah,
most of your flowers
are deliberate
but they still face the sun,
your matrix is melancholy,
your streets are misnamed,
hobohemians roam them
searching for salvation,
it leaves a sour taste in my mouth,
journals are filled w/ your shortcomings,
most love you anyway.



Michael Cirelli is a junior in the Urban Studies program. His poem "the city" won first prize at The Starry Plough poetry slam in Berkeley. His passions are words, women, and words. He is currently working on his third book of poems, If I Had Her..., and plans on doing social science research upon graduating.



The Irish in America: Rhode Island History and Nineteenth Century Women

Virginia Pelley

In New England in the Nineteenth century, the Irish people suffered prejudice and injustice that has seldom been repeated. The poor, Catholic Irish people were seen to the rest of Protestant America as inferior, untrustworthy, and different. This paper examines the lifestyles, customs, and history that came as a result of this painful time. Especially spotlighted are the roles of the Irish woman who held onto her individuality and strength and preserved her people's heritage.

For more than fifty years, Agnes Allard celebrated a birthday that was not her own. Most of her own family weren't aware of it until she told her granddaughter, casually, that she had been celebrating her sister Lina's birthday for years since it was Lina's passport and birth certificate that Agnes had been using since she emigrated from Ireland fifty years ago. "I used her identification for my marriage license, my driver's license...it just seemed easier," she said.

Agnes' sister Lina had a paid passage to America and was due to leave in the next few days when she announced to her family that she was staying in Boyle to marry a local boy. Not wanting to waste the money they spent on the ticket, Agnes' parents quickly decided to send her instead. She was sixteen years old.

I know this because she was my great-grandmother, and I open with this story to make a point: many of the stories of poor Irish immigrant women are passed down through families alone, with their families likely to be the only ones interested in them. I originally set out to research the history of Irish immigrant women in my hometown of Providence, Rhode Island. It soon became apparent that there was very little documentation of the Irish in Rhode Island, period (at least as far as availability in California). However, Hasia Diner has written a won-

derful book, *Erin's Daughters in America*, about nineteenth century Irish immigrant women, and argues against this lack of available information: "the mountains of material from government, charity, and church sources, particularly on a local level, seemed insurmountable....More charity and settlement houses left records, published and unpublished, about Irish women than any one study could encompass with real care" (Diner 155).

Diner's book was inspirational, and several small-press Rhode Island sources helped me in my task. However, I feel it will be less confusing and more concise to first discuss Irish immigrant history in Rhode Island—both male and female—and then focus on women's nineteenth century history in a broader scope, while adhering to a New England perspective. Women in nineteenth century Boston and Lowell, Massachusetts, New York City, as well as Providence, Rhode Island—particularly the Irish Catholic servant girls—seem to have had similar enough experiences, triumphs and hardships, to be included in this discussion.

The Irish presence in Rhode Island dates from the mid-seventeenth century, although they were mostly Scotch-Irish Protestants then. "John Carter (1745-1814), the son of an Irish naval officer who was killed in service of the crown, came to Providence

as a journeyman. He was a printer from Philadelphia where he had been apprenticed to Benjamin Franklin" (Conley 6). Carter was the editor of the *Providence Gazette* from 1767 to 1814, and was a supporter of the Revolutionary War. His daughter, Ann, married Nicholas Brown, Jr., the great benefactor of Brown University (originally College of Rhode Island).

The Irish Poor Law of 1838 shifted the "increasingly heavy burden of supporting Irish paupers from English taxpayers to Anglo-Irish landlords" (8). The landlords, therefore, found it more desirable to promote emigration of the poor. Patrick T. Conley, in his "Irish in Rhode Island" pamphlet, says, "it was only a logical succession from eviction to the workhouse, to emigrant ship" (7).

This had a major impact on Rhode Island and other states for two reasons: it increased the quantity of Irish immigrants substantially and lowered their socioeconomic level, prompting a nativist reaction in the States. "It was more than a coincidence that Henry B. Anthony's *Providence Journal* launched its relentless campaign against the 'foreign vagabond' in 1838" (9).

This reaction certainly did not subside in the next twenty years. In "A State of Hope," a booklet published by the Newport Historical Society, Albert Klykberg, "Director of the Rhode Island Historical Society for twenty-seven years," writes:

"An ugly incident at the Sisters of Mercy Convent at Broad and Claverick Streets in Providence was averted March 23, 1855, when the Bishop and the Mayor of Providence convinced a mob of about 2,000 that a young Rhode Island woman was not being held in the convent against her wishes as had been alleged by a sensationalized account in the press" (Klykberg, no page numbers).

In *A Nation of Strangers*, Ellis Cose describes similarly horrific examples of the anti-Catholic hysteria elicited by this new flood of immigrants:

"The phenomenal immigrant-driven growth of the Catholic Church—from 70,000

in the entire country in 1807 to one of the largest religious groups in the nation forty years later—fueled a growing sense of unease among many Protestant Americans. Rumors abounded concerning Catholic priests who allegedly raped nuns and committed other atrocities.... *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* was published by Maria Monk, a Protestant who had converted to Catholicism and then gone to a nunnery, where she supposedly discovered that nuns either submitted to priest's sexual demands or were murdered. The children or such assignations, said Monk, were killed and their bodies disposed of in a huge hole in the basement of the nunnery" (27-28).

Before the great potato famine, between 1815 and 1845, a million Irish immigrants came to North America. Most were Roman Catholic. Perhaps 5,000 of these settled in Rhode Island (Conley 12). Their migration was notable not only for the sheer masses of people that emigrated, but also for the reasons that they did. In *Boston's Immigrants*, Oscar Handlin writes:

"The nature of its distinctiveness may be gathered from the circumstances that produced it. This exodus was not a carefully planned movement from a less desirable to a more desirable home. This was a flight, and precise destination mattered little..."(32).

In *The Irish in Rhode Island*, Conley notes that during this time, the *Cork Examiner* reported: "the emigrants of this year [1847] are not like those of former ones; they are now actually running away from fever and disease and hunger, with money scarcely sufficient to pay passage for and find food for the voyage" (8).

Anti-Irish fervor is evidenced in an infamous event in Rhode Island history: the murder of Amasa Sprague and the subsequent hanging of a young Irish Catholic immigrant, John Gordon. The evidence that Gordon murdered Sprague seemed to be based on accounts from Cranston townfolk that Sprague was seen shoving Gordon in public and insulting him. Sprague had

fought to get Gordon's liquor license revoked, which he felt was hurting business at Sprague's nearby store, and also interfering with the work of his Irish-Catholic industrial workers, who Sprague felt were highly susceptible to the evils of alcohol. This motive was the backbone of the prosecution's case. The case "caused such misgiving that it contributed to the abolition

The growth of Irish Catholic communities was as much entwined with the establishment of their churches as by the availability of work.

of the death penalty in Rhode Island eight years later" (Conley 14).

Most sources of Irish immigrant history point out that the newly arrived became urban dwellers, which at first seems incongruous with their agricultural past. Further examination reveals that the gravitation of the Irish to cities made sense. "They entered the unfamiliar milieu because they needed immediate employment and lacked funds to continue [westward]... The Irish cottier was hardly an agriculturist in the normal sense; he was a wretched subsistence farmer who clung to the soil for survival. The land held bitter memories for him" (9).

The Irish settlement in Rhode Island was very much entwined with that of the Church. The Providence Irish established a Church on Sheldon St. in 1813 (destroyed by the Great Gale of 1815). The settled area of Smith Hill in Providence, once a predominantly Irish area, grew because of the lure of the Irish to St. Patrick's Church, and later St. Patrick's School. Bishop Benedict Fenwick of Boston dispatched Father Robert Woodley to Newport in 1828 as Rhode Island's first resident Priest (14). In April of 1828, he founded St. Mary's, the state's oldest parish; in 1829, he founded St. Mary's of Pawtucket (right outside Providence), the state's first Catholic Church (14). The growth of Irish Catholic communities was as much entwined with the establishment

of their churches as by the availability of work. In *Daughters of Erin*, Diner points out that the Irish servant girls, secure in their jobs as domestics, "served notice if they were not permitted to attend church...[they] were rarely willing to work in small towns where they had no Irish Catholic community to return to on their day off and where they would indeed be isolated" (Diner 93).

Of the Rhode Island parishioners, Conley writes:

"...The six hundred faithful served by Woodley in 1828 were concentrated in Newport, where they worked as laborers on Fort Adams; in Portsmouth, where they were employed as miners at the coal pits; and in Providence, Cranston, Pawtucket, and Woonsocket, where they served the needs of the growing factory system or were employed in such public works projects as the construction of the Blackstone Canal" (13).

Without a doubt, the Irish were the poorest immigrants who had ever come to America, as well as the first Catholics. In Paul Wagner's documentary, "Out of Ireland," it was said that it was "believed you could tell an Irishman by physical characteristics," making the Irish the first group of people to experience racial discrimination, although not nearly approaching the far-reaching discrimination against African-Americans.

In a response to discrimination similar to African-American's rap music and slang use of the word "nigger" in the 1990s, the Irish made up a song—which was very popular in its day—entitled "No Irish Need Apply." The songwriter, or writers, took over the freely and much-used sentiment and put, if not exactly positive, at least a humorous spin on it and made it stand for something else, like young blacks of today have done by creating an entirely new music genre, and some would say, a decidedly different use of language.

Irish women were unique in this country particularly because they did not marry young. Statistically, Irish men and women were the latest marrying people in America,

older than the Italian immigrants, the (semi) natives, and the Germans, who were coming over in greater numbers than the Irish at certain points in the nineteenth century. Hasia Diner analyzes this occurrence:

"Irish-American culture de-emphasized romance. Social realities created a pattern whereby marriage and the interaction between husband and wife was at best one of irritability and separate spheres and at worst one of tension and domestic violence. Tension [in the Irish-Catholic family was] produced by the confluence of female assertiveness within the framework of a culture that supposes male dominance, a high level of mutual disdain across gender lines, and a lack of a social basis for male-female interaction" (58-59).

This creates an interesting picture when one considers the unique situation of the young Irish women who came to America. Diner writes, "It is hardly surprising that the friends and relatives already here who had paid for their passage often arranged jobs for the newcomers even before they set foot on American soil. Immigrant letters sent home to Ireland depicted abundant jobs women could get and the high wages that they could command" (71).

Marriage more often than not meant the end of good earnings for women, and a relinquishing of the independence their well-paying jobs as domestics afforded them. Irish men experienced far more job discrimination than did Irish women; there was a definite generalized notion in America that "Bridget" was more reliable, less prone to drinking, fighting, and other moral lapses than was "Paddy." Irish women were able to achieve financial independence mostly as domestic servants, jobs native girls found abhorrent. Immigrants from other countries shunned the work as well. Italians, for example, were much more family-oriented and encouraged their daughters to go from the protective bosom of their families to early marriages. To them, the idea of a young

girl living in the domicile of another was unthinkable.

As native American middle-class families grudgingly got over their initial reluctance of hiring Irish women as domestic help, and the occupation subsequently came to bore such an Irish label, American girls became even less likely to choose domestic work. This sentiment was pervasive in the daughters of Irish immigrants as well. Diner quotes a young woman who wrote to *Good Housekeeping* in 1890 regarding the choice that she, her mother, and her five sisters made concerning work. They decided to make less money and do needlework, instead of resorting to domestic work: "I hate the word service.... We came to this country to better ourselves, and it's

Irish men experienced far more job discrimination than did Irish women; there was a definite generalized notion in America that "Bridget" was more reliable, less prone to drinking, fighting and other moral lapses than was "Paddy."

not bettering to have anybody ordering you around!" (82).

Interestingly, the "colleens" were in such great demand that employers kept hiring them despite the general feeling among them that the Irish girls could neither cook, clean, nor take care of children as well as they could. They also feared that the Catholic girls would be a bad religious influence on their good Protestant children. Despite this, the Irish girls had significant amounts of job security, as evidenced by this exchange that Hasia Diner relates: "One Boston domestic from Ireland responded forthrightly to Frances Kellor's query as to why she did not want to receive training in cooking and other household craft, 'Shure, now, why should I be l'arnin' when I kin shove my ear in anywhere and get a good job?'" (85).

Irish servants enjoyed a reputation as being chaste, generally, but their image in the eyes of Americans could hardly be generalized as a positive one. Dozens of essays about the demerits of the service of the Irish appeared in magazines and journals of the day. The complaints ranged from accusations of slowness and laziness to a rush to complete tasks quickly, no matter how sloppily. Despite these sentiments, Diner writes: "The greatest attribute of the Irish female domestic worker rendered in her heyday was her availability" (86).

An amusing result of this situation was the appearance at the time of the employers being afraid of offending their young and—in their minds—inferior help. Hasia Diner points out several examples of essays and articles in which the Mrs. cowers in the presence of domestics who knew where their secure place was. "The *Ladies' Home Journal* described the 'poor little mistress' [who] yields tremblingly, because 'it would be too dreadful if Bridget were to leave,' [a proponent of the women's club movement] believed that the middle-class American woman was trapped. 'From January to December, from start to finish, she lived under the nineteenth-century dictatorship of homesick young women from foreign countries, spinsters and widows who must 'support' themselves'" (88). One wealthy Boston woman, who dabbled in humanitarianism, helped to place an elderly lady in a domestic job. The woman soon quit, because although she was "aged," the mistress called her by her Christian name (89).

Nineteenth century servants endured the ridicule and difficulty of domestic work for the substantial financial benefits they were able to secure for themselves. In Massachusetts, the only group of women who earned more than domestics in 1909 was the schoolteachers (90). Domestics earned much more than textile workers or garment workers, two of the other scarce sources of employment for these women. The domes-

tics were responsible for providing the money for many a girl's passage to America, as well as supporting families' back home. In "Out of Ireland," a late-nineteenth century father in Roscommon, upon receiving pictures from his family in America, was said to remark, "We know damn well what they look like....The pictures I want to see are of Abraham Lincoln [on the five dollar bill]."

Servant girls, it was felt by some, were to blame for the low rate of Irish marriages, and thus a stumbling block in creating the offspring that would build a strong Irish-Catholic presence in the Democratic party. Clergymen, while extolling the chastity and virtue of these women, criticized them for their fancy dress, and for contributing to the hatred of the Irish in America with their assertiveness in their jobs.

The domestics had much greater opportunity to absorb American culture than the Irish in other occupations did. They brought middle-class American values back to their own communities, which arguably aided in the assimilation of the Irish into American culture. For a race of people who were seen as lowlifes, dirt farmers who didn't know how to sleep in beds or eat with utensils, quick assimilation for the Irish was a good thing.

The servants were able to save enough money to acquire real estate in many cases, and made substantial contributions to the Church as well. Hasia Diner writes, "So important were the individual donations of Irish servants that one Irish resident of Dorchester in Boston reminisced that 'Father Ronan used to go round to the back door of all the houses and talk to the live-in girls—they're the ones who really started St. Peter's Church.' Miss Catherine Brennan gave St. Mary's in Providence its 340-pound bell and also adorned the church with its largest stained glass window" (138).

In their choice of employment as well as what they did for their communities, Irish women played a strong role in shap-

ing what it meant to be Irish in America. The Irish clearly shaped much of Rhode Island's past, present, and future: by their sheer numbers, their political gains, and

their legacy. From their struggles and triumph over stereotype and discrimination, we can, or perhaps should, learn from their example.



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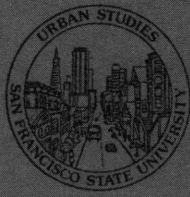
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<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/irish/irishamericans.html>

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Virginia Pelley is a senior in the Journalism Program at San Francisco State University. In addition, she is pursuing a minor in Cinema Studies and expects to graduate in the spring semester of 2000. Virginia is a native of Rhode Island and will prospectively attend graduate school at UCLA in Cinema Studies.



Community-Based Murals in San Francisco's Mission

Audrey Wallace

Community outdoor art continues to be a strong cultural representation of San Francisco's Mission District. The Mission District has been beautified with poignant and socially conscious murals since the early 1960s.

Art has always commanded a special place in society. The artist's relationship with the community is dual: participant and observer. Artists share the experiences of a society and historically either have the direct duty or ideological obligation to interpret, synthesize, and critique a culture based on observations and experiences. Traditionally, an individual artist is either picked or commissioned to create a piece of art for a community. Although the work may be actually made with the help of a few assistants, the design and concept belongs to one person. What happens, however, when the community itself becomes the artist? Since the 1960s "community" outdoor art which is made by and for a community² has become a popular way for neighborhoods to beautify themselves. Also, murals provide a medium in which to state what is important to those living in a neighborhood. Excellent examples of this kind of artwork can be found in San Francisco's Mission District, a region of the city overflowing with murals and public art.

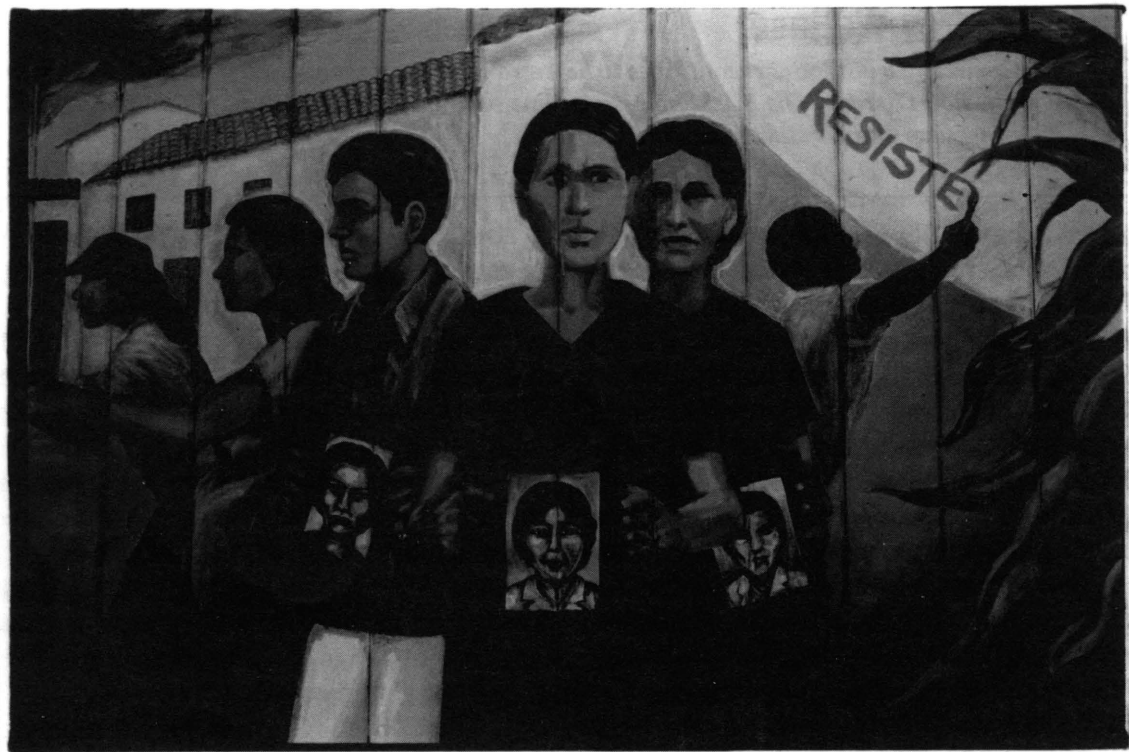
Since before written history humans have been creating art pieces that not only express individual identity but also the identity of a culture's needs and beliefs. Mural paintings, because they are so easily made public, have often become the avenue of expression many communities use.³ Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet-Sanchez write, "Since before the cave paintings' at Altamira some 15,000 years before Christ, wall paintings have served as a way of communicating collective visions within

a community of people."⁴ Timothy W. Drescher agrees when he writes, "One thing today's murals have in common with paleolithic French and Spanish cave paintings is their role in the community. The murals were painted by members of the group which lived with them daily."⁵

Wall paintings have not always been public, however. Many times they decorated temples and tombs that only the elite of a society would ever see.⁶ Although these kinds of paintings are important for the historical knowledge of a time and culture, they cannot be called community-based.

The Catholic Church was the main patron of muralists up until the Renaissance. Murals in churches and cathedrals depicted biblical scenes for the general population, which was largely illiterate. Although these murals were not intended for everyone to see or understand (they were primarily made for the congregation), church murals can be considered public art because of the widespread impact of Catholicism on European culture.⁷

The roots of contemporary community murals are more closely tied with the Mexican mural tradition, but even that tradition can be traced back to Europe. Diego Rivera, the most famous Mexican muralist, studied in France and Spain and toured Italian cathedrals to learn techniques which he then brought back to Mexico in the 1920s.⁸ Rivera painted picture stories to educate a largely illiterate population about indigenous history and culture.⁹ Rivera was joined by two



View of Mission Murals on 24th and Balmy Streets

other muralists, Jose Orozco and David Siqueiros. Together they are Los Tres Grandes (The Three Great Ones).¹⁰ Drescher states, "...their works are a major inspiration for today's muralists, particularly in their commitment of their artistic skills to the struggles of indigenous peasants and workers."¹¹

Until the 1940s all mural paintings had been done largely in tempera, fresco, or oil.

...artists have a very real duty to their community: to assess its concerns and express them visually.

Since all three methods do not stand up well out of doors, muralists had been forced to keep their art inside if they wanted any kind of permanence for their work. Siqueiros, however, invented a kind of paint called Politec acrylic, which made it possible to paint long lasting murals outdoors.¹² This is the kind of paint many muralists use today.

Diego Rivera influenced San Francisco murals both thematically and directly. Rivera painted four murals in San Francisco including one at the San Francisco Art Institute and one for the 1939-40 World's Fair which is now located in San Francisco City College.¹³ Both of these works represent Rivera's commitment to working-class issues. The Art Institute mural, "The Making of a Fresco Showing the Building of a City,"¹⁴ depicts a mural in progress as analogous to a city in progress. Rivera paints workers building and engineering the city as he himself paints the workers, who will in essence bring society into the modern era.

The location of these murals in schools is a tribute to the importance of education in our community. Their locations ensure that a large number of not only art students but also the general population will see and be influenced by them. Drescher writes:

"Diego Rivera significantly influenced San Francisco muralists. The New Deal artists watched him paint in person, and some-

times worked as his assistants. Subsequent muralists learned about his murals and those of other Mexican masters by visiting the walls themselves or through reproductions in books."¹⁵

Other links to the past, in the mural tradition, are the WPA (Works Progress Administration) mural projects. The WPA program ran from 1934 to 1946 and sponsored thousands of murals nationwide.¹⁶ These murals were painted on public buildings such as libraries, courthouses, and museums. The presence of these murals in people's everyday lives planted the seed of inspiration, which grew into contemporary muralism. Drescher states:

"Today's community muralists saw the WPA murals on the walls of their schools, or when they mailed letters at post offices, or when they visited Coit Tower.¹⁷...When the mass political activities of the 1960s focused artistic energies on social issues, a model for one form of expression was already in place."¹⁸

The term "community" does not necessarily have to refer to a neighborhood or geographical location. It can mean a group of like-minded people who use the same social institutions, recreation centers, or workplaces.¹⁹ This creates a unique distinction between what is public art and what is community art. Drescher states:

"Community art is created by or with a group of people who will interact with the finished artwork....The relationship of community artworks to their communities is dynamic, intimate, extended, and reciprocal....Consciously or not, the image-makers articulate their communities' wishes."²⁰

In this way, artists have a very real duty to their community: to assess its concerns and express them visually. Tomas Ybarra-Frausto writes, "The foremost aesthetic aim continued to be the search for an organic unity between actual social living and art."²¹ Judith F. Baca, a California Chicana muralist, speaks about her personal responsibility as an urban community artist: "I see myself as an in-

strument to give voices to the general sentiment."²²

Community murals can be designed and painted by artists and non-artists alike. Many times artists interview residents as to what is important for them to see, create a design, and then invite locals to participate in the painting of the mural.²³ In this way murals are not only works of art but also community experiences that bring people together. The process then is every bit as important as the finished product.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s created the foundation for community-based art projects. That and Mexico began to export Politec paint in 1964 which gave artists a permanent medium in which to work.²⁴ The most famous early community murals project began on the South Side of Chicago in 1967.²⁵ Twenty-one artists worked together to create a mural that celebrated black heroes and pride. Volker Barthelmeh writes:

"This "Wall of Respect" provided the impetus for the cooperative, community-based direction of the American mural movement, with blacks as well as other ethnic minorities (Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians) seeing in it a visual means of expressing their cultural heritage, their solidarity, demands, needs, and desires."²⁶

Some of the earliest community-based murals in the Mission District can be found at the 24th St. Minipark. The park is a small urban playground surrounded by three walls. The theme of the murals surrounding the park is Latino cultural traditions especially directed towards children. The original planners of the murals observed that Latino children were not studying their rich culture and history in school.²⁷ The earliest mural, "Quetzalcoatl"²⁸ (a mythical being who is prominent in many ancient murals and sculptures found in Mexico), illustrates a fantasy scene showing children playing and running on a rock sculpted as the feathered serpent.

Another group of artists who named themselves Las Mujeres Muralistas (The

Women Muralists) produced many early murals in the Mission. They not only painted murals with Latino themes, but added gender perspective to issues of community and identity.²⁹ A mural named Latinoamerica³⁰ (which has since been painted over) depicted indigenous people and contemporary Latino family groups. The mural also had a nature and fertility theme, showing animals and corn growing, which illustrated the importance of the reproductive properties of plants and animals.

These women muralists have had profound impact on the modern mural move-

While many murals are made to evoke "pride" and bring "beauty" to an urban environment, they are also profound political statements.

ment. Their themes, styles, and symbols have become an integral aspect of contemporary murals. Amalia Mesa-Bains writes:

"As women of a movement dominated by men, they have provided their own reparations for the pain of personal conflict, societal racism, and the limitations of gender roles. In the largest sense the women's models of collectivity, inclusiveness, spatial retrieval, and historic and personal memory have become shared elements in the development of mural narratives among Chicanos."³¹

Baca comments on her unique position as a woman artist, yet in a way she speaks for all community artists who are creating non-traditional art or may not even be trained artists. She states, "I didn't think I had the right to call myself an artist, because the image of who an artist was didn't fit. I didn't know that I could make my own definition."³²

While many murals are made to evoke "pride" and bring "beauty" to an urban environment, they are also profound political statements. "Las Lechugueras"³³ (The Women Lettuce Workers), painted by Juana

Alicia, is an example of this. Alicia, while celebrating the work of Latina farm workers, by depicting the figures as strong is also making a social critique on the farm industry. As women perform their duties on the farm, a plane can be seen dusting the crops with a sinister green substance, while men in suits drive by to watch as if to say the farm owners know about the harmful effects of dusting but continue to do it anyway. One woman is pregnant and the viewer can see into her womb as her child grows. This is supposed to make the viewer notice the direct relation to crop dusting and birth defects in the children of farm workers.

Perhaps the highest quantity of murals, in terms of density, resides in a one block street named Balmy Alley. In 1984 forty muralists working together for one summer transformed the alley into a world renowned outdoor art gallery. The group was the idea of Ray Patlan, a community artist working in the Bay Area since the late 1970s.³⁴ The group named themselves Placa. Drescher states, "A 'placa' is a graffiti tag symbolizing the writer, noting his presence, claiming an identity; an image calling for a response."³⁵

During the summer Placa painted murals containing themes of Central American culture and peace. The murals have been added to, changed, or repainted over the years; however they still reflect the main sentiment of Placa. For example the mural "Indigenous Beauty,"³⁶ a colorful landscape depicting indigenous families, animals, and plants, underwent a major change. The central part of the mural was painted on a garage surface that was destroyed in an auto accident. The original muralist was unable to repaint it, so Susan Cervantes (a member of Las Mujeres Muralistas) was given the spot. Instead of changing the entire mural, she kept the outer region the same but on the new ga-

rage doors painted a close up of a child's eyes.³⁷ The new mural within a mural was called "Indigenous Eyes."³⁸

Besides the title the new mural coincides with the old in another way. The old mural had been a beautiful Utopian scene with only one sinister aspect. In the bottom left corner the shadow of a soldier holding a rifle can be seen. A sort of shady reminder that all is not right with this world. Cervantes built on this theme by placing in the reflection in the child's left eye the soldier's face, a skull wearing an army helmet. In the right eye is the symbol of hope and the future, a white dove. This evokes two meanings: both war through a child's eyes and also the two paths that the world could take, war or peace.

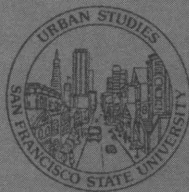
Murals in the Mission District are painted everywhere, from schools, housing projects, the Women's Building, and Garfield Swimming Pool to storefronts and private residences. Themes range from ethnicity, immigrant, and gender issues to the environment, AIDS, and the effect of war. Because of the nature of murals (large paintings outdoors), they easily lend themselves to community statements of identity, involvement, and politics. Another aspect of murals is that while Politec acrylic paint makes murals last longer, they do not last forever. This temporality can be seen as a positive aspect because communities are always changing and reassessing their place in the world. Cockcroft and Barnett-Sanchez state:

To remain valid, an artistic movement needs to engage in continual self-criticism. It must change with the times and the needs of the community while remaining true to its own vision, its own collective self. We call to the new generation of artists, the new activists for their community, to build on the lessons of the past, while creating a future of their own."³⁹



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- ¹ Timothy W. Drescher, San Francisco Bay Area Murals: Communities Create Their Muses 1904- 1997, (Pogo Press: Hong Kong, 1998) 13.
- ² Timothy W. Drescher, San Francisco Bay Area Murals: Communities Create Their Muses 1904- 1997, (Pogo Press: Hong Kong, 1998) 13.
- ³ Eva Sperling Cockcroft and Holly Barnet Sanchez, eds., Signs From the Heart: California Chicano Murals, (University of New Mexico Press: Albuquerque, 1990) 5.
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ Loc. Cit., Drescher, 9.
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ Ibid., 10.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Patricia Rose. (Precita Eyes Mural Arts Center muralist and tour-guide, 1998) (415) 285-2287.
- ¹³ Ibid., 10.
- ¹⁴ Diego Rivera. "The Making of a Fresco Showing the Building of a City," (San Francisco Art Institute, 1931).
- ¹⁵ Loc. Cit., Drescher, 10.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 11.
- ¹⁷ Coit Tower is not actually a WPA project, but was sponsored by the PWAP (Public Works of Art Project), a forerunner of the WPA program. See Drescher, 11.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 12.
- ²⁰ Ibid., 12-13.
- ²¹ Loc. Cit., Cockcroft, 67.
- ²² Ibid., 82.
- ²³ Ibid., 14.
- ²⁴ Loc. Cit., Rose.
- ²⁵ Volker Barthelmeh. Street Murals, (Knopf: New York, 1982) 5.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Loc. Cit., Drescher, 20.
- ²⁸ Michael Rios, Anthony Machado, and Richard Montez. "Quetzalcoatl," (24th St. Minipark, 1974).
- ²⁹ Loc. Cit., Cockcroft, 70.
- ³⁰ Las Mujeres Muralistas. "Latinoamerica," (Mission St. between 25th and 26th Sts., 1974, destroyed).
- ³¹ Loc. Cit., Cockcroft, 82.
- ³² Ibid., Cockcroft, 78.
- ³³ Juana Alicia. "Las Lechugueras," (York and 24th Sts., 1985).
- ³⁴ Loc. Cit., Drescher, 26.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Nicole Emanuel. "Indigenous Beauty," (Balmy Alley, 1984, partially destroyed).
- ³⁷ Loc. Cit., Rose.
- ³⁸ Susan Cervantes. "Indigenous Eyes," (Balmy Alley, 1990).
- ³⁹ Loc. Cit., Cockcroft, 21.

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Chinatown Community Development Center

Danielle DuCaine

The Chinatown Community Development Center works closely with residents, businesses, the Department of Public Works, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Mayors Office of Housing, and MUNI to gain strong political support.

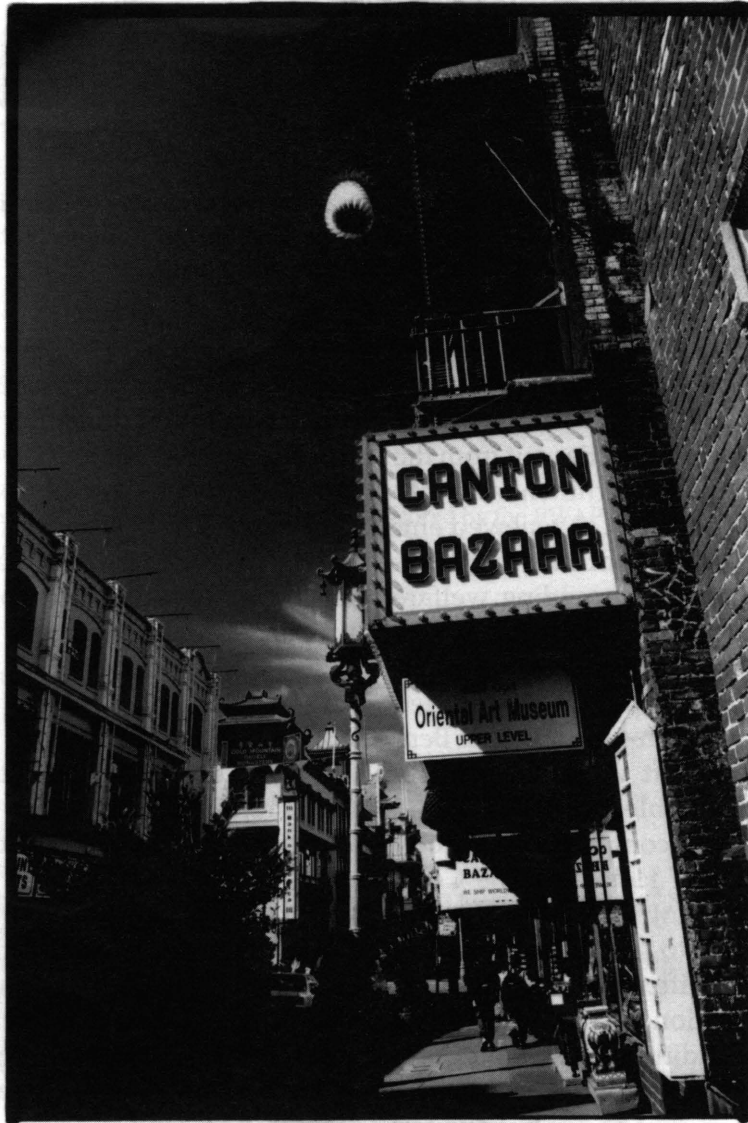
The Community Development Corporation evolved during the 1970s to redirect control of affected communities out from the hands of the Federal Government and into the hands of local agencies. A renewed emphasis on attacking the root causes of poverty rather than merely providing welfare payments, set a base for the formation of more comprehensive community development programs. These programs included the development of non-profit Public Benefit Corporations that were specifically formed for a charitable purpose. Allan Easton explains in his comprehensive study entitled, *Poverty, Self Help and The Community Development Corporation*, that CDC's were formed to "improve the conditions of community life, and the capacity for community integration, and self-direction." He continues by adding that, "Community development seeks to work primarily through the enlistment and organization of self-help and cooperative efforts on the part of residents of the community" (Easton 308).

With these and other objectives, thousands of non-profit public benefit corporations formed in California during the late 1970s. Non-profit organizations have long played a crucial role in the San Francisco Bay Area where hundreds of social service providers, advocacy groups, and affordable housing developers are helping to improve the quality of life of virtually all citizens (Harder xvi). To accomplish their goals, the non-profit corporations are awarded special

privileges. They are not required to pay Federal income taxes under Section 501 (c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and are exempt from state and local taxation as well (Mancuso 1/5). Non-profit corporations also have limited liability. Lawsuits can only reach the assets of the corporation, not the property or bank accounts of its directors, officers, and members.

A CDC Case Study

An examination of the Chinatown Community Development Center (CCDC) illustrates the important role of CDC's in community development. The Chinatown Community Development Center, a 501 (c)(3) non-profit organization serving the greater Chinatown community, North Beach, and Tenderloins neighborhoods, is the formal entity resulting from the 1997 consolidation of the Chinatown Resource Center (CRC) and its sister organization, the Chinese Community Housing Corporation (CCHC). The CRC was formed in 1977 to address the issues of land use planning, tenants rights, open space, expansion of community facilities, and better transportation in the Chinatown area. It was intended to serve as an umbrella organization for five volunteer groups. The five founding groups: The Committee for Better Parks and Recreation in Chinatown, The Chinatown Transportation Research and Improvement Project, The Chinatown Coalition for Neighborhood Facilities, The Chinatown Coalition



View of China Town: The largest Chinese settlement on the West Coast.

for Better Housing, and the Ping Yeun Residents Association, were each committed to making Chinatown a better place. In 1978, the Chinese Community Housing Corporation was created to meet the needs for affordable housing in Chinatown.

One of the main concerns of Chinatown residents was the inadequate supply of affordable housing in this densely populated area.

Located in the North Beach neighborhood of San Francisco, the five founding organizations continue to work with the Chinatown Community Development Center to improve the quality of life for residents of Chinatown- the second most densely populated community in the United States. Similar to other non-profit organizations, the roots of the CCDC lie in government failure in the provision of "public goods." Prior to the formation of a community based organization capable of addressing the needs of the residents, services provided in the Chinatown area proved insufficient for an acceptable "quality of life." (Mission Statement) A careful look at CCDC's commitment to housing development, community development services, advocacy, and open space reveal the many functions of the organization.

Housing Development

One of the main concerns of Chinatown residents was the inadequate supply of affordable housing in this densely populated area. Contributing to the depletion of the housing stock was the encroachment of the financial district. A second housing problem existed because most of the buildings in the Chinatown area consisted of unreinforced masonry and suffered from lack of seismic upgrading. To address these issues, the Chinatown Resource Center and the Chinatown Community Housing corpo-

ration developed over 2,000 units of affordable housing through rehabilitation of existing housing and development of new housing.

Today, CCDC manages thirteen housing developments in Chinatown, North Beach, and the Tenderloin (Appendix A). Their approach to housing is unique from other housing organizations. Instead of simply providing housing to low-income immigrants and former homeless, the programs implemented by CCDC are aimed at self-sufficiency. It has four different models of affordable housing designed to meet the needs of different individuals and families. The special housing models are: residential hotels, elderly housing, housing services for the homeless, and apartments for families. In many of these buildings, CCDC offers in-house support services to its tenants. These services offer vocational training, counseling, and educational workshops providing information on welfare reform and other issues (CCDC Website).

Their commitment to housing is the reason why CCDC has expanded outside of Chinatown. In an effort to produce affordable and senior housing, CCDC was forced to purchase properties in other locations where it works in concert with other affordable housing non-profits. Their expansion has also contributed to their development of supportive housing which has since become CCDC's niche in the larger housing picture.

Community Development Services and Advocacy

While CCDC was committed to improving housing conditions, and creating needs-based housing, they attempted to empower their residents as well. In 1987, CCBH helped create the Community Tenants Association (CTA). The association, which today has over seven hundred members, enables residents to actively participate in housing issues, and support individuals threatened by bad conditions, unjust evictions, or unfair rent increases. To assist resident of the Ping Yuen public housing devel-

opments which were experiencing poor management during the late 1970s, CRC helped the eight hundred and fifty residents form the Ping Yuen Residents Improvement Association (PYRIA). Together CRC and PYRIA staged the historic 1978 rent strike by Ping Yuen residents. The San Francisco Housing Authority, responsible for the unsafe and deteriorating apartments, heard their collective voice and advocacy and responded to the unacceptable living conditions (20-20 Vision 11).

Open Space and Planning

The Chinatown Community Development Center is dedicated to serving its residents and continues to provide a wide range of community development services. Joint advocacy efforts with the five founding organizations, have resulted in hundreds of neighborhood environmental projects and improvements of streets, alleyways, new community centers, playgrounds, and public transportation.

Because Chinatown is the second most densely populated community in the U.S. space management is vital. The CCDC has ingeniously succeeded in maximizing available open space for parks and playgrounds and to produce more affordable housing. An example of this is the rooftop garden constructed on top of the Chinatown Public Library. In order to build senior housing, the CCDC bought the air rights to the space above the garage of the public housing facility Ping Yuen North. Today, the Bayside Elderly Housing consisting of thirty units rests above the parking garage.

Another primary space issue dealt with by the CCDC has been that of Chinatown alleys. The forty one alleyways, laid out during the early development of Chinatown, have been neglected over time. In 1980, the Chinatown Resource Center commissioned a study entitled, "Chinatown Alleyways-Their Potential, Their Future." The report promoted the use of the alleyways as open space and led to the establishment of the Chinatown Alleyway Improvement Pro-

gram, the Chinatown Alleyway Improvement Association (CAIA) and a declaration in the Chinatown Area Plan of the San Francisco Master Plan to implement the alleyway improvement program. Beatification is to be accomplished by landscaping, art projects, street benches, improved lighting, and new pavement. To assist in the process, the CCDC formed the Adopt-An-Alleyway Youth Project (AAA), in which over 1,000 youths and young adults are dedicated to improving Chinatown alleys.

A current attempt to solve the transportation problems plaguing Chinatown is the Park and Ride program. This ingenious program will provide free parking and shuttle service from Embarcadero to Chinatown provided the participant purchases a minimum amount of goods from businesses within Chinatown. A second current planning project includes the construction of the Third St. Light Rail line that will bring the light rail into Chinatown via subway. A couple of past Chinatown transportation improvements that successfully increased mobility in an out of the area are the Stockton Tunnel repairs made in 1984 and the addition of the #83 Pacific bus line in 1981.

The CCDC also participates in the planning and development of community facilities. They helped renovate the Jim Parker public school and developed the Deacon center that provides youth services for children attending the school.

Organization and Funding

To successfully implement the roles stated in their bylaws, which include: housing developers and managers, neighborhood advocates, planners, and organizers, the Chinatown Community Development Center is dependent upon its staff and funding (Bylaws 1). A look at their hierarchical structure demonstrates this important balance.

The Board of Directors

The CCDC Board of Directors was formed as a result of the 1997 consolidation

of the Chinatown Resource Center and the Chinese Community Housing Corporation. The board consists of twenty-seven members serving three year terms with a maximum of two consecutive terms. Directors are elected by the board with one third of the positions on the board coming up for election annually. Board members serve without compensation and meet every other month. Members are organized into subcommittees with a focus on government and do not participate in micro-management of the organization.

The Executive Director

The Executive Director is a non-voting officer of the board, appointed by the Board of Directors. The Executive Director has the necessary authority to operate the corporation, subject to the supervision of the board. Some of the responsibilities of the Executive Director are: carrying out all policies established by the board, organization and management of personnel, preparation of an annual operating budget, maintenance of physical properties, supervision of business affairs, periodic reports to the board reflecting the professional service and financial activities of the Corporation, and attendance at all meetings of the board.

The current Executive Director of the CCDC is Gordon Chin, one of the founders of both CRC and CCHC. He served as Executive Director of both corporations. According to the IRS 990 forms for each organization, Gordon Chin receives \$30,804 annually for twenty hrs per week.

Mr. Chin is an alumni of San Francisco State University and describes the formation of the Chinese Resource Center as an outgrowth of student community activism in the early 1970s.

The Staff and Volunteers

The Chinatown Community Development Center operates with a paid staff of nearly seventy employees. The majority of the clientele represented by the or-

ganization are Asian and both the board and the staff reflect this. Many former clients of the organization can be found working as staff. Wyland Chu, who immigrated to the U.S. in 1971 relied on CCDC services during the 1980s and is now the Chinatown Tenant Services Coordinator.

The CCDC does not involve volunteers in its daily operations. Rather, the volunteers are solicited for particular events or activities. Examples of this are the recruiting of students to participate in the Chinatown Environmental Control Task Force which coordinated the Adopt-An-Alleyway program. The CCDC will also occasionally recruit student interns to assist in various projects. A recent survey of over one hundred and fifty CCDC housing residents was implemented to determine the impact of welfare reform upon tenants of low-cost housing. The survey was developed, conducted, and analyzed with the assistance of three students from the Urban Studies department at San Francisco State University.

Funding

Being organized as a non-profit is a common requirement for obtaining funds from government agencies and private foundations. As a non-profit public benefit corporation, the Chinatown Community Development Corporation receives the majority of its funding from foundations, Community Development Block Grant funds, and fund-raising. The 1996 IRS 990 for the Chinatown Resource Center shows total revenue for the year at \$738,445 with \$460,570 provided by agencies. The total 1996 revenue for the Chinese Community Housing Corporation was \$2,395,000 with \$894,915 provided by government grants and foundations (Appendix B- to see a listing of the agencies).

The Chinatown Community Development Center works closely with residents, businesses, the Department of Public Works, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Mayors Office of Housing, and

MUNI to gain strong political support. The majority of their funding for neighborhood improvement projects comes from the Chinatown Environmental Organization which provides funds for street cleaning and garbage pickup.

Recent Performance and Analysis

Their strong political and community support have enabled the CCDC to provide consistent and reliable service to Chinatown. The description of past, present, and future projects indicate the CCDC's commitment to the community. They also illustrate the success of CCDC's recent performance as a non-profit corporation. Their accomplishments have earned them many awards which also indicate their performance. CCHC has received awards of excellence from the National Recognition Program for Urban Development Excellence sponsored by HUD, and was a recipient of the Fannie Mae Foundation Maxwell Awards of Excellence in 1988 and 1992. CCHC was also recognized in 1988 for outstanding work in the development of affordable housing by Great Western Savings Bank. Their performance within the next couple of years, will reveal how the new CCDC will function as a consolidated corporation.

Through my personal experience working with the Tenants Services Division

of the Chinatown Community Center, I believe their programs are instrumental in the organization, and development of the community. Perhaps their strengths as a CDC are best described by Geoffrey Faux who believes that, "...A community organization with broad based political ties is in a much better position to overcome the political obstacles to development.... Further, in contrast to individuals, community organizations are in a position to get the subsidies necessary for initial economic projects." (Easton, 310). As their power and influence continue to grow, CCDC can meet the diverse needs of the community. My only fear is that this growing power might eventually disconnect them from the people they originally intended to help.

As a non-profit public benefit corporation, the Chinatown Community Development Center demonstrates the objectives of the CDC's. The role of the CDC in the community to provide participation by the poor in community, to provide community services while avoiding the handout system surrounding public welfare, and to promote the economic development of the community through investment in local business, will be crucial as the Federal Government continues to shift its power into the hands of the local government and ultimately the community development organizations.



Appendix A- CCHC Affordable Housing Developments

The Consorcia 1204 Mason, 24 units
The Clayton 657 Clay, 82 units
Larkin Pine Senior Housing 1303 Larkin, 63 units
The Tower 1525 Grant, 34 units
The Swiss American 534 Broadway, 65 units
Bayside Elderly Housing 777 Broadway, 30 units
The Cambridge 473 Ellis, 59 units
The Hamlin 385 Eddy, 69 units
The St. Claire 585 Geary, 41 units
The William Penn 160 Eddy, 92 units
1370 California Street Apartments 49 units
Tenderloin Family Housing 201 Turk, 175 units
Wharf Plaza Francisco and Kearny, 230 units

Appendix B- Funding

Chinatown Resource Center- 1996 IRS total revenue: \$738,445
\$460,570- provided by the following agencies:

McKay Foundation	\$25,000
San Francisco Foundation	\$258,333
Bank of America Foundation	\$25,000
Direct contributions	\$125,237

Chinatown Community Housing Corporation- 1996 IRS 990 total revenue: \$2,395,000
\$894,915- Provided by the following agencies:

Sunda Foundation	\$250,000
Local Initiative Support Corp.	\$57,500
Walter & Elise Haas Fund	\$30,000
Evelyn & Walter Haas Fund	\$50,000
Direct contributions less than \$5,000	\$46,893
Mayor's Office of Housing	\$147,831
Department of Social Services	\$92,036
Mayor's Office of Community Development	\$300,655

Further income is a result of rents and smaller contributions and grants from foundations and organizations.

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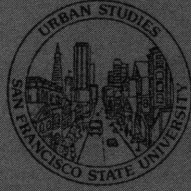
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Danielle DuCaine is an undergraduate student graduating in May with a degree in History. Her emphasis has been European History prior to 1500. Her current interest is in Urban Studies and she plans to pursue her Master's Degree in Urban Planning and Policy.



Pasaja en la Argentina

Dario Jones

This past summer I completed a study abroad program in Buenos Aires, Argentina. To say it was a great experience is not enough. It was truly an amazing, incredible experience that I wish on all my Urban Studies peers. Buenos Aires is a very large port city with a population of twelve million. Built during the 1800s, it served as a major port between Latin America and the rest of the world. European influences are evident in the city's architecture and layout, and I often thought that parts of the city resembled Paris. Buenos Aires spreads out like Los Angeles, but is much denser with respect to its land use. High-rise apartments built in the 1970s are the dominant structures throughout the city in every neighborhood. The residents of Buenos Aires are called "Portenos," or people that live at the port. The people are warm and friendly but also have a sort of New York City edge to them. Personally, I feel that it was the people that made living in Argentina such a great experience.

I began my study abroad program in June, where I found myself living in an old mansion in the barrio of Belgrano. Belgrano is one of ten barrios in Buenos Aires. The neighborhood consists of a collection of large older homes on the main transportation corridor. The layout of the city offers students many opportunities to live around the university. Throughout Buenos Aires, there exist old mansions or hotels that have been converted into student housing. These houses are filled with architectural character from the early 1900s. One of the best ar-

reas to live in is Old Palermo. This area has a base of high-rise apartments mixed with restaurants, bakeries, coffee houses, and jazz clubs all linked by subway to the rest of the city.

My first month in Argentina was an adjustment and I had to learn different social customs. For example, greeting a friend or an acquaintance is usually accompanied with a kiss on the side of the cheek, regardless what gender the other person is. Another example is the social schedule; people do not go out to eat dinner until 11 p.m. No one goes out to a club before 2 a.m., and I always drank a tea called *mate* during the day with a group of friends.

I really enjoyed finding my way around the city. The transportation is surprisingly efficient for such a large city. This was a relief after living with MUNI. I took the subway without fear of breakdowns; I only had to wait a maximum of five minutes to take a bus (*colectivos*). The *colectivos* cost only seventy cents and take you anywhere in the city. A large percentage of the population depends on the *colectivos*. They are privately owned and have their own routes. Increasingly, they work with each other with respect to their routes and schedules. My friends and I would also often take taxis. Catching one usually took less than thirty seconds.

I attended the University of Belgrano (UB). UB was a great school to learn not only Spanish but also the history and politics of Argentina. The classes were held in Spanish in a lecture style, all of which were independent study. An oral exam and a paper



Photo by Dario Jones

Plaza de Mayo, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

were required at the end of the semester. The classes were great, but difficult in the beginning. None of us had developed our "Spanish ear" long enough to understand every single word being said to us. My Spanish was terrible during the first month, and it

Bicycles should not be returned to the riders "to show them [Critical Mass] a lesson," Mayor Willie Brown.

was embarrassing to speak. However, in time I was able to carry on a conversation and travel around South America comfortably.

During my free time, I would usually walk to downtown with some other Argentine university students and eat *empanadas* (pastries filled with meat and Argentine cheese) and drink coffee. Argentine students love to converse for hours. Their favorite topics are anything having to do with world events, Bill Clinton's affairs, and, naturally, soccer.

Soccer games are an event all in their own. The Portenos are very fanatic about *futbol* (soccer). I went to several *futbol* games and sometimes found myself running with the crowd to avoid being hit with boards or bottles thrown by fans of the opposing team.

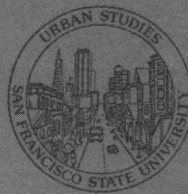
After we found ample defense from flying debris, we would return to singing sarcastic and verbally abusive songs about the opposing team. When Boca (a soccer team) won the championships, there was a celebration for days. Riot police were out in full force. People blared *futbol* fight songs from out of their windows for hours on end. It was great!

Often I would try to ask as many questions as I could regarding everything from *futbol* to culture to the "dirty war." This particular topic is very sensitive, especially for Argentines who are forty and older. The answers to my questions in return were short and quick. Even trying to get answers from my history professor was like pulling teeth. Often I could tell how uncomfortable it made people to think about certain things, and they would just shut down. I was stunned to find out about some of the atrocities that happened only sixteen years ago. I found out that the father of my roommate was abducted and murdered by the *militarios*.

Looking back, Argentina is now one of my favorite places. I am still trying to hold on to my experience: I still watch the news in Spanish, I still drink *mate* (maa te), and I continue to follow *futbol* scores from Argentina. I hope to go back for at least a year after I graduate to work and do it all again.



Dario Jones currently works with a team of eight city planners for the San Francisco Planning Department. His job duties are processing miscellaneous permits, plan checking, and land use surveying. Dario is a graduating senior at San Francisco State University with a major in Urban Studies. His career interests are with the San Francisco Planning Department, identifying lost space within communities, and redesigning it to better serve the city.



Things Back Home (Saga on Changes in a Developing Country)

Marianna Marysheva

I have not been home for two years.... I have not seen my family, my friends, my country for two long years. And now, flying over to Bishkek, Kyrghyzstan, from San Francisco, I had a mixture of quite opposing feelings. On the one hand, I missed home and wanted to get there; on the other hand, I was afraid of facing really dramatic changes in Kyrghyzstan's economy, politics, and lifestyle—changes that I might find difficult to accept.

Kyrghyzstan was a part of a great empire—the Soviet Union—for almost seventy years, until a political putsch in 1991 collapsed the U.S.S.R. and separated the fifteen sister republics. Since then, Kyrghyzstan has been struggling to get to a point when the situation inside the country would be as favorable as of that under the Soviet regime—when every citizen had food, clothing, and shelter; when the police were relied upon; and when the politicians were respected....

For seven years, Kyrghyzstan has been trying to build a better society—a society where markets could be stable, politics would be uncorrupted, and people would earn fair returns for their investments. As of today, Kyrghyzstan has not been able to get any closer to those ideals. Since 1991, the country seems to be moving in quite a different direction—towards an unstable economy, corrupted politics, and severe income inequality among its citizens. Moreover, the situation is getting worse every day....

In the late 1980s, life at home was quite different. Every adult was either working or studying; every child enjoyed the benefits

of publicly provided childcare facilities; and the elderly received quite a fat pension. Unemployment was never a problem. The issue of finding an apartment for rent never existed simply because every household was guaranteed some sort of housing. University students never worried about skyrocketing tuition fees because education was fully subsidised. Parents were never afraid to let their children stay outside late because the police provided really great protection....

Why did it all change? A small fraction of people was, surprisingly, not satisfied with the way things were in the former Soviet Union. These distinct few wanted to make the country different (and, from their perspective, better). They wanted to see an open economy (with imports coming in, and exports going out) and to establish democracy in politics. But above all this, they wanted the changes to happen fast—virtually overnight. Changes did happen—but they certainly were not favorable to most Soviets. Some individuals did, indeed, benefit—mostly as a result of covering up quite illegal actions under the mask of “free speech.” And while a few got rich in a couple of weeks, the rest saw their savings rapidly disappear. In addition, a huge inflation played favorably to the former, and severely punished the latter.

As a result, an increasing number of poor people became visible on the streets of Bishkek about two years ago. Dirty, hungry, homeless, jobless, and, moreover, hopeless—these people occupy the city in great quantities, serving as a live reminder of how badly things turned out for the country.

Most of the poor overcame their pride and went out into the streets to ask for help. Those who stayed home (increasingly, in rented-out apartments or tiny rooms) were not necessarily better off—rather, they either were unable to compromise with their pride, but had at least some hope left in their hearts. Such hopes, however, were not likely to materialize: one is not likely to improve his/her financial situation if there are no jobs due to closed plants and factories, and no public funds to offer income assistance. During my last visit home two years ago, fewer and fewer people around me were smiling, fewer and fewer were optimistic; more and more

were stigmatised and depressed, more and more would cry when I'd asked a simple question like, "How are you?"

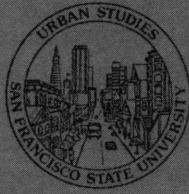
How are things back home now? I was hoping for the better— and was looking for visual clues to tell me that the situation has changed. The clues that I found did not make me happy.... Getting off the plane in Bishkek's airport, I saw depression, anger, and disappointment on people's faces. I was desperately looking for smiles and joyful eyes and was not able to find them. "Nothing has changed," I realized— and hoped that it does not get worse....



Marianna Marysheva graduated from the Urban Studies Program at San Francisco State University in 1998, and is currently a graduate student at the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC-Berkeley. She was born and raised in the former Soviet Union, and lived in Kyrghyzstan from 1996-1998 (prior to coming to the United States to pursue a degree).



Former coal co-operative in Schwerin, Germany.



Ich hab' noch einen Koffer in Berlin Reflections on Berlin

Michael Jacinto

I have always had trouble finding an answer to the question, "So is that how things are in the States?" People often asked me this when I lived in Berlin. And depending on the context of the question, I most likely wasn't able to find an answer to it. The reason being is that in my opinion, San Francisco is not a textbook representation of the average American city, just as Berlin does not adequately represent the "typical" German *Stadt* (city).

Many people thought that San Francisco was some mega-city like New York. They were surprised to find out that San Francisco is only 125 square km (that's 49 square miles) and has a population of about three-quarters of a million. A big-little city. I like San Francisco for the easygoing type of energy and "comfy-cozy" feelings I get in some neighborhoods. This has a lot to do with the compact size of the residential districts. This feeling was a bit more difficult to find in Berlin. Germany's capital city of 3.5 million people spreads out over 234 square km and feels huge compared to San Francisco—a friend of mine describes Berlin as a "synthesis between New York and Los Angeles; you've got sprawling growth at a high density level." And you sense the immensity of your environment more in Berlin than you do here.

I lived in a few different neighborhoods in Berlin. Kreuzberg and Mitte were my favorites. Kreuzberg was exciting because of its history and special feeling this *Kietz* ('hood) gave off. In the days after World II, this neighborhood was at the heart of the allied controlled West Sector and was ad-

ministered by the Americans. After the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961, Kreuzberg became something of a haven for leftists, Turks, anarchists, junkies, *Aussteiger* (slackers), and students leaving West Germany to avoid mandatory military or civil service (for males). These days, there's a lot going on around Bergmann Street for the up-and-coming urban hip set. Go east toward the former Wall for a grungier vibe on Oranien Street. The whole thing reminded me of Upper and Lower Haight Street respectively.

Mitte (Middle) had a different feeling altogether. Living there shaped my historic appreciation of the city. For me East Berlin was a world in which time stood still. Buildings stood empty and decrepit, waiting for a *Wessie* (Western) investor to come along to either renovate or raze them. Their facades spoke of kings, capitalists, communists, and dictators. Some buildings still had bullet holes in them left by street combat from the end of World War II. I subletted a room in an apartment house built in the 1860s in Berlin's Jewish Quarter in Mitte. Rent was \$110 a month. This is a good value compared to the \$600 a month I pay in rent for my room in San Francisco. My room was small, the house was by no means up to American building code, but the environment was perfect and I wasn't really worried too much about my accommodations anyhow. I was within walking distance to school and to Unter den Linden, the main boulevard in East Berlin.

I attended the Humboldt University and studied social science and German. I was confronted with many differences in the

German academic system compared to the American. My experiences at San Francisco State have solidified my opinion that our system is much more regimental—you want to take a class, you touch-tone for it. Everything appears on your transcript and is official. The Germans are more philosophical in this matter, and seem more concerned with whether someone *is* a student. And with good reason. Student life in Berlin is much more comfortable than here. Rents are cheap compared to San Francisco, tuition is nominal (even for foreigners, I paid only \$150 a semester), insurance affordable, public transit passes heavily discounted (about \$60 for a monthly rail and bus pass), and museums and the like were always almost half price for students. No wonder I met many people who had been studying eight years or more. At least officially, that is.

The academic structure and requirements were also very different to me. Generally, you attend a lecture for your own basic subject knowledge and to prepare you for your *Hauptstudium* (upper division course work). Seminars are smaller, usually about fifteen students or so, and consist on the average of the following course load: a class presentation about a topic relevant to the course and a fifteen page paper due by the end of the semester. This was liberating from the midterm-paper-final course structure I was used to. However, German university students are hit with a barrage of oral and written exams at different intervals in their studies. These exams are cumulative on topics that students agree on with their professors. You could conceivably study a subject for two years before your first round of exams. I guess, after all, a fifteen-week semester at SFSU is not all that bad.

Being a foreigner was a great experience. In many ways I enjoyed learning about cultural nuances and being able to reflect on my home and culture through different eyes. After a few months of being there, I began to think of myself as a bit schizophrenic because I was expressing thoughts and feelings in a language not native to me. I tuned in to culture through language and met some amazing people and had many interesting experiences. For example, one of my best memories of Berlin was meeting friends on Sunday mornings for long and lazy brunches. We would make fun of each other's American-ness or German-ness, and believe me, we had ample to laugh about. I also enjoyed Berlin's theaters and cabarets. I enjoyed going to the *Volksbuehne*, or, in English, the People's Stage for some non-mainstream theatre.

I would be interested in returning to Berlin one day to experience the city again. Berlin is a place of rapid change. A few years ago the German government decided to move the capital from Bonn to Berlin. Many people lament this and fear that Berlin will lose some of its flair and *esprit de corps* because of it being the seat of government. However, Berlin benefits from the move in the form of investments and city projects, which are being undertaken on a grand scale. The Potsdamer Platz was up to a few years ago no man's land between East and West. Today, the area is the European headquarters for Sony and Daimler-Benz. Anyone interested in city planning should not miss out on an opportunity to see the changes in Berlin firsthand.

