URBAN STUDIES & PLANNING
San Francisco State University

Urban Studies & Planning Program
School of Public Affairs & Civic Engagement
San Francisco State University

URBAN ACTION

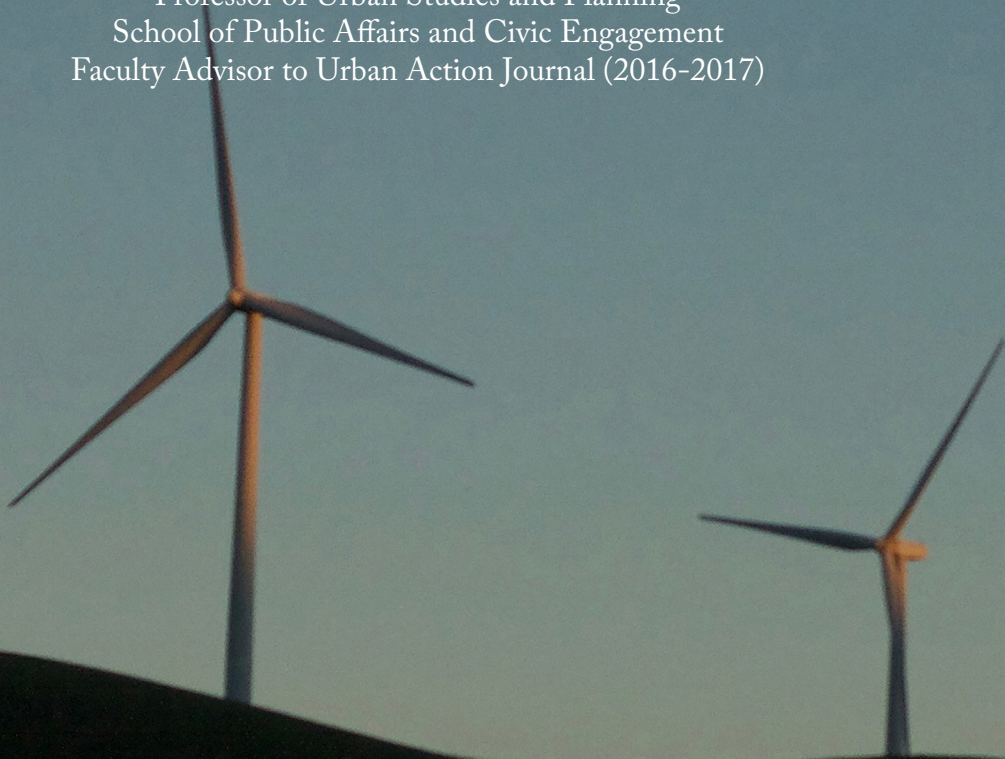# URBAN
ACTION

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2017

It is my great pleasure to introduce the 2017 edition of Urban Action – a student run journal in the Urban Studies and Planning program since 1979. The Journal's proud history truly reflects a labor of love. It is built on countless hours of student work, collaboration, and serious thinking to push the boundaries of scholarship about cities. The 2017 edition is no exception. It includes articles and photo essays that represents the vanguard of critical thinking and policy action in the realm of city and regional planning. Student authors have researched and written about topics that cover pressing contemporary concerns of the field: affordable housing, Transit-Oriented Developments (TODs), downtown revitalization, gentrification, street activation using urban design interventions, public parks, pedestrian safety, access to clean drinking water, and civic engagement in the transformation of our cities. That these topics embody the core mission of the School of Public Affairs and Civic Engagement (PACE) solidifies USP's significance in its curriculum. Kudos to the editorial team and all the contributors! Enjoy reading the following pages and join the conversation.

Dr. Ayse Pamuk
Professor of Urban Studies and Planning
School of Public Affairs and Civic Engagement
Faculty Advisor to Urban Action Journal (2016-2017)

It is my pleasure to introduce the 2017 edition of Urban Action, a journal produced entirely by the extraordinary efforts of the students of the School of Public Affairs and Civic Engagement (PACE). Six years ago, the Urban Studies and Planning (USP) program formed PACE, along with programs in Criminal Justice Studies, Environmental Studies, Gerontology and Public Administration.

For the past 38 years, students in the Urban Studies and Planning program at SF State have produced Urban Action and this issue demonstrates the connections between the curriculum in USP and the broader mission of PACE to instruct students in the pressing public affairs issues of our time. Topics such as gentrification and transit are not only important to the future of cities, but have important impacts on environmental conditions, issues of crime and safety in the community, and broader concerns about civic engagement and the future of public institutions. Each of these issues is highlighted in this edition, as students examine issues such as the "honor system" crosswalk, clean drinking water, and the impact of civic engagement on urban transformation.

For the past 38 years, students have demonstrated the power of student-run publications such as this, consistently producing exemplary work showing the power of creative thinking. With the articles in this issue, students further demonstrate the power of curiosity by disrupting traditional disciplinary boundaries, expanding our knowledge about the world around us, and demonstrating the need for a holistic consideration of urban issues. I am extremely delighted and honored to write the foreword for this issue as it demonstrates the power, possibility, and potential of the world to come-brought to you entirely by the dedication of PACE/USP students. I hope you enjoy reading it as much as I.

Sincerely,
Elizabeth Brown
Director, School of Public Affairs and Civic Engagement

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Introduction & Acknowledgments

Dear readers,

I'd like to start by saying thank you so much for reading this year's edition of Urban Action! Urban Action has come out yearly since 1979, making it one of the oldest student-led productions at San Francisco State University. With each new edition, the contributors tackle different issues facing the Bay Area and beyond. Issue 38, which I am so excited to share with you, is no exception. Running through many of this year's pieces is a theme of fighting for the rights of marginalized peoples, which speaks not only to our values as San Francisco State University students, but also as active participants in an increasingly unjust world. Hopefully in your time reading this edition of Urban Action, you will be inspired to rethink the nuances of the bustling, complex, and robust urban environment which shapes lives across the globe.

Thank you to Professor Ayse Pamuk, our faculty advisor, for pushing us to make this edition the best we possibly could. I'd also like to thank the PACE department chair, Dr. Elizabeth Brown, as well as Urban Studies and Planning Professor Tony Sparks, for their encouragement throughout this process. We could not have produced this edition without your help. Furthermore, I want to thank Jack Kovacich and Rebecca Romero for their unconditional support and friendship over the last year, without which I wouldn't have been able to fulfill my role as Editor-in-Chief.

Last, but most assuredly not least, thank you to everyone who contributed to Urban Action 2017. Without drive, passion, and countless hours of work from the authors, peer reviewers, photographers, and editorial team, this edition would not have come together. This issue is as much mine as it is yours. From the team of Urban Action 2017, thank you for reading this edition! Enjoy!

Annamarie Prima Cunningham

Editor-in-Chief

Urban Action, Issue 38

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Fremont – Daly City Line
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Richmond – Millbrae Line
(no evening or Sunday service)
Transfer Station
BART Parking

Richmond

El Cerrito del Norte
El Cerrito Plaza
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Downtown Berkeley
Ashby
Orinda
Rockridge
MacArthur
timed transfer (southbound)
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timed transfer (northbound)
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Pittsburg/Bay Point

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Lafayette

SAN FRANCISCO

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Castro Valley

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Hayward
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MON-FRI *before 8pm*
MON-FRI *after 8pm*
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Millbrae

Fremont

PENINSULA

MUNI METRO MAP

muni metro

Legend

J
K
L
M
N
T

SFMTA | Municipal Transportation Agency

  ACCESSIBLE STOP — OTHER STOP

BART STATION

INBOUND ⓘ CONTINUES AS Ⓣ
OUTBOUND Ⓣ CONTINUES AS ⓚ TO SUNNYDALE
                     TO BALBOA PARK

CALTRAIN DEPOT

◯ BALL PARK

All Muni Route & Schedule
Information. 311 or visit
www.sfmta.com

Map Not to Scale

Stations

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outbound   inbound

N
M
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FOLSOM
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CARROLL
LE CONTE

EVANS
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Caltrain

MISSION
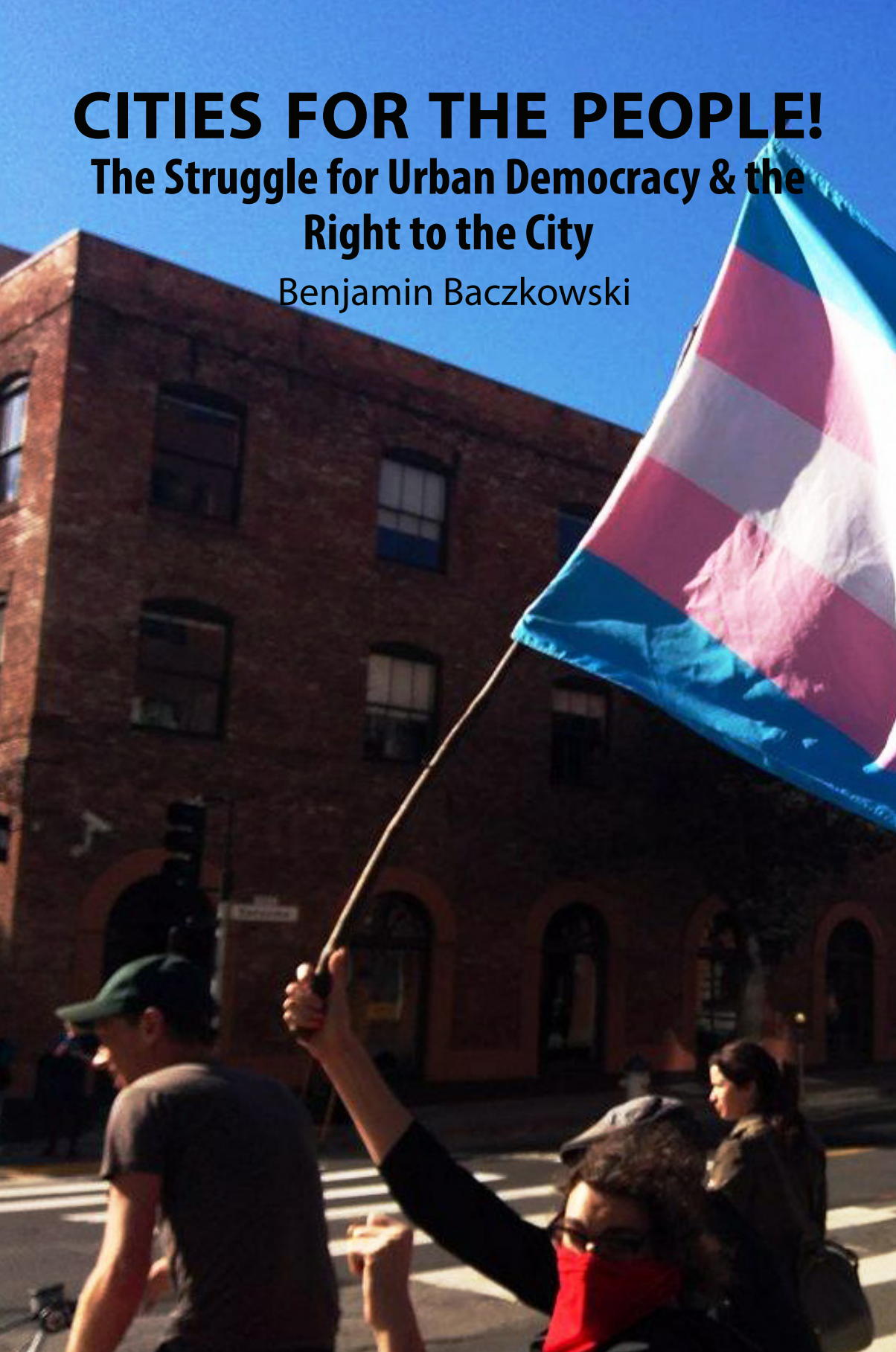
GENTRIFICATION

CITIES FOR THE PEOPLE!

The Struggle for Urban Democracy & the Right to the City

Benjamin Baczkowski

Money, we make it/Before we see it, you take it/Oh, make you wanna
holler/The way they do my life Make me wanna holler The way they do
my life This ain't livin', this ain't livin'
(Gaye, 1971)

Introduction

The colossal growth of sprawling urban settlement has marked a distinctive shift
away from previous modes of social, political and economic life. Never before
in the history of civilization have individuals been so densely interconnected,
deeply interdependent, and so far removed from 'organic nature.' Due to the
enormity of modern metropolises, and the magnitude of the productive forces
which drive them, the human character of city spaces has largely been lost to
urban denizens. It has long been argued that capitalist cities operate as strategic
sites for commodification processes, and that their evolving socio-spatial
organization, governance systems and patterns of socio-political conflict, must
be understood in relation to this role (Brenner et. al, 2009; Harvey, 1976, 1982;
Lefebvre, 1996; Marcuse, 2008, 2009).

Contemporary cities are being increasingly integrated and repositioned into
volatile, financialized circuits of capital accumulation, and producing gross
material inequality and social insecurity as a result (Brenner, et. al, 2009).
Yet despite the growing evidence of its destructive, destabilizing social and
environmental consequences, capital's drive to enhance profitability continues
to play a determinative role in producing and transforming urban space
(Brenner et. al, 2009). Demands for the construction of cities that correspond to
concrete human social needs, rather than profit-driven bourgeois utopias, have
been repeatedly articulated throughout the course of history. Take for instance
Engle's (1845) exposition of Manchester as he analyzed the miserable condition
of the English working class; Mumford's (1937) criticism of the City Beautiful
movement and the failures of traditional urban planning; the sociological theory
of urbanism of the Chicago school (1938), or Lefebvre's (1996 [1968]) call for
'the right to the city.' The assertion that cities should be understood as places
primarily for people, and the intensification of the social relationships therein,
has held a historically significant place in the sociological imagination.

The need to re-imagine the city has taken on a renewed sense of urgency as cities
across Europe and the United States have erupted in demonstrations, strikes,
and protests in the wake of the intensifying global economic recession (Brenner
et. al, 2009). In light of these trends, the purpose of this paper is to examine,
politicize and affirm the city as a place for the unfolding of the human ontology,
and the realization of communal social imperatives.

"The sheer pace and chaotic forms of urbanization throughout the world have made it hard to reflect on the nature of this task. We have been made and re-made without knowing exactly why, how, wherefore and to what end (Harvey, 2003, p. 1)."

The Urban Problematic: What is the City?

The recurring problematic of the city has been the tenuous relationship between urban theory and political praxis. In order to remake the city to our heart's desire, there must first be a normative philosophy of social space (Harvey, 1970). This underlying problem must be overcome if we are to understand, or hope to control, the complexity that is the city and the urban experience. Prior to the 1920's, academic scholarship took a very quantitative and methodological approach to urban planning (Mumford, 1937; Wirth, 1938). The traditional view of cities that dominated the then emerging field of urban planning measured them in purely physical terms such as population size, density and heterogeneity.

However the inadequacy of traditional urban planning to address complex social problems became increasingly apparent, leading critics like Lewis Mumford to comment that "most of our housing and city planning has been handicapped because those who have undertaken the work have had no clear notion of the social functions of the city (Mumford, 1937, p. 93)." Even more acerbic is his appraisal of the City Beautiful movement in America declaring that: "Our imperial architecture is an architecture of compensation: It provides grandiloquent stones for people who have been deprived of bread and sunlight (Pratt citing Mumford, 1996 [1955], p. 223)." Thus, the early 1930's saw the growth of a more humanistic conception of cities, elucidated by the Chicago School of urban scholars such as Lewis Mumford, Ernest Burgess, Louis Wirth, and Robert Park; which was then further expounded upon in later decades by authors as ideologically diverse as Jane Jacobs, Henri Lefebvre, and David Harvey amongst others (Brenner et. al, 2009). The sociological school of thought holds that cities should primarily serve social and cultural functions; with economic and physical means of urban existence secondary to the primary needs of people and their communities. The Chicago School of sociologists conceived of urban existence as an important factor in the development of human cultural and individual personality. Louis Wirth referred to this conceptual framework as the 'sociological theory of urbanism' (Wirth, 1938). His criticism of rigidly quantitative views of cities was merciless in declaring that:

"As long as we identify urbanism with the physical entity of the city, viewing it merely as rigidly delimited in space, and proceed as if urban attributes abruptly ceased to be manifested beyond an arbitrary boundary line, we are not likely to arrive at any adequate conception of urbanism as a mode of life (p. 4)."

Wirth aimed to create a conception of cities not only as a place, but as a distinctive mode of life, one that was qualitatively characteristic of urban existence. The process of urbanization could no longer be simply denoted as a process which led people to gravitate towards cities; the process refers to the concentration of the accumulative characteristics of the mode of life which are associated with the growth of cities (Wirth, 1938). Notably the concentration of industrial, commercial, financial and administrative institutions, transportation and communication lines, cultural and recreational equipment such as theaters, museums, concert halls, professional organizations and higher education institutions amongst others (Wirth, 1938). The conception of the city as a process has continued to be one of the most influential frameworks of urban theory in the history of the field. Wirth placed special emphasis on the importance of the relationship between a theory of urbanism and sociological research (and more importantly the production of knowledge). The multiplicity of social problems of which urban scholars and city planners address requires a correspondingly integrated and coherent perspective in which to work (Wirth, 1938; Harvey, 1970; Marcuse, 2009). It appears, to varying degrees, that population size, density of settlement, and heterogeneity of the urban population may be possible to explain some of the differences between cities of various sizes and morphology.

Wirth suggested that urbanism as a mode of life ought to be approached from three interrelated perspectives. First (1) urbanism may be seen as a physical structure comprising a population base, a technology, and ecological order. Second (2) urbanism may be seen as a system of social organization involving a characteristic social structure, a series of social institutions, and a typical pattern of social relationships. Finally (3) urbanism may be viewed as a set of attitudes and ideas; a diverse community of people engaging in forms of collective behavior subject to characteristic mechanisms of social control (Wirth, 1938). Mumford's (1937) critique of 'traditional' urban planning employed a similar sociological perspective to address a number of important social questions unique to city planning such as: what is the desirable size of a city? How should it be organized? What form should the city take? Mumford asserted that without the 'social drama' animated by the concentration and intensification of city life, there are hardly any social functions that could not, and have not, been performed in rural areas (Mumford, 1937). It is precisely the intensification of social relationships that occurs in urban areas which makes city life a culturally important fixture of modern society. Since there is some evidence that social relationships are bounded by geographical limitations, there may in fact be population or density restrictions to the functioning of the social community in urban environments. However the absolute figure is not an entirely important limitation. What is important is the expression of the social needs to be served in the built environment of the urban scene. Following this logic Mumford

envisions an urban government which could intelligently and adequately plan cities to address concrete social needs (Mumford, 1937).

> "As long as we identify urbanism with the physical entity of the city, viewing it merely as rigidly delimited in space, and proceed as if urban attributes abruptly ceased to be manifested beyond an arbitrary boundary line, we are not likely to arrive at any adequate conception of urbanism as a mode of life (p. 4)."

Towards a Right to the City: Continuing the Struggle for Urban Democracy

While divisions in cities have always existed, cities today seem to be at the extreme, and in the words of Peter Marcuse, "almost drawn and quartered, painfully pulled apart (Marcuse, 2008, p. 270)." Poor areas are getting poorer, rather than being in transition to improvement, and they seem, in many places, to be distinguishable by their color and ethnicity (Marcuse, 2008). Impoverished communities are increasingly considered dangerous places to be in or go to; and their inhabitants are being viciously criminalized through the passage of civility laws which unscrupulously target the specific behaviors of the poor (Beckett & Herbert, 2008). Furthermore communities on the fringes of the American metropolis have attracted recent attention as the centers of the foreclosure crisis and the emergence of new 'exurban' slums (Schafran, 2013). This has drawn attention back to urban nature of the crisis – the role of such 'urban' factors such as housing policy, racial segregation, urban mobility and the conflation of the American Dream and homeownership – as the collapse of the sub-prime mortgage market gave way to a near full scale global economic meltdown. Capitalist 'market-driven' cities have long served as sites for the relentless commodification of urban space in crisis prone schemes of capital accumulation (Harvey, 2003; Sassen, 2005; Brenner et. al, 2009; Marcuse, 2009). The power dynamics of this social organization are relatively clear; conceived of as the interrelated hierarchies of neoliberalism, capitalism, imperialism, patriarchy, and so on; the contradictions of which are intensifying the need to conceive of radical alternatives to the destructive status quo of worldwide capitalist driven urbanization. Thus the major political battle of the 21st century will be to radically democratize urban space, and recontextualize the right to the city around the social needs of the people.

We live in a society in which the inalienable rights to private property, and the rate of profit, essentially extinguishes any other notion of inalienable civil rights that can be thought of. To live under capitalism is to accept or submit to that bundle of rights necessary for endless capital accumulation (Harvey, 2003). These rights include the right to 'freely' sell labor power, to be treated with 'dignity', to

be free from the coercive force of others; along with the freedom of thought, and of expression, and of speech (Harvey, 1970; 1982; 2003). And admittedly, these rights are intuitively appealing; they collectively form the literal foundation on which liberal democracies exist today. The credulous adoption of these values on their face, however, is only done so by the immiseration of those who are at the bottom of the socioeconomic system. The sweeping liberalization of financial markets has unleashed a storm of speculative powers. Just a few people, in exercising their inalienable right to make a profit by whatever means they see fit, have destroyed and gutted our communities, cities, and in some instances entire economies (Harvey, 2003; Marcuse, 2009; Brenner et. al, 2009; Schafran, 2013). Making the assertion that there are fundamental contradictions within the capitalist package of rights is done so to the point of redundancy. The right to the city is, amongst other things, an expression of outrage over the repugnant material conditions of the socially marginalized; the economically exploited; the politically disenfranchised; and those individuals who are uniquely excluded from supposedly 'civilized' society.

Demands for justice come from those people in society who are directly deprived, directly oppressed, those for whom even their most basic material needs are not met: the homeless, the hungry, the imprisoned, the persecuted on gender, religious, and racial grounds (Marcuse, 2009). Outrage over social and economic injustice has long been a central driving force behind the mass mobilization of people into social movements. Outrage and injustice, as noted by David Harvey, have:

> ".... long animated the quest for social change. We cannot cynically dismiss either. But we can and must contextualize them. All ideals about rights hide suppositions about social processes. Conversely, social processes incorporate certain conceptions of rights. To challenge those rights is to challenge the social process and vice versa (Harvey, 2003, p. 2)."

Thus the right to the city is not merely a right to what already exists, but a right to remake the city after 'our hearts desire (Lefebvre, 1996).' The ability to reshape ourselves by creating a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality is, in essence, the most precious of all human civil rights (Harvey, 2003). The crucial question for city planners, social activists, and ultimately all urban denizens, is twofold. Can we construct a socially just city? And if we can, what is the meaning of social justice? The creation of a new urban commons, and a wide-ranging public sphere of active democratic participation, can only be done so by conceptualizing democratic rights in a more meaningful way. Any claim to a 'right' is essentially a moral judgement; one founded on normative principles

of justice, of ethics, of morality, of virtue, and of the 'good'. As was noted by Marcuse, "it is crucially important to be clear that it is not everyone's right to the city with which we are concerned, but that there is in fact a conflict among rights that need to be faced and resolved, rather than wished away (Marcuse, 2009, p. 191)." It is the right to the city for those who do not already have such a right that are the locus of this conversation. 'Right' in this sense is not intended as a legal claim, enforceable through the existent juridical process. Rather, the right to the city is a bundle of multiple rights, not just one singular assertion. Marcuse (2009) conceives of such a right as:

> ".... not just a right to public space, or a right to information and transparency, in government, or a right to access to the center, or a right to this service or that, but the right to a totality, a complexity, in which each of the parts is part of a single whole to which the right is demanded. The homeless person in Los Angeles has not won the right to the city when he is allowed to sleep on a park bench in the center. Much more is involved, and the concept is as to a collectivity of rights, not individualistic rights (Marcuse, 2009, p. 193)."

And that:

> "The demand is made as a right not only in a legal sense but also in a moral sense, a claim not only to a right as to justice within the existing legal system but a right on a higher moral plane that claims a better system in which the demands can be fully and entirely met (Marcuse, 2009, p. 193)."

However such a right cannot be conceived of as simply returning to an idea of traditional cities or the democratic polis of antiquity. The right to the city does not necessarily imply a city in the conventional sense at all; but may be conceived of as a place in a future urban society in which the hierarchical distinction between the city and the country has disappeared. It requires, at its very core, the reassertion of 'urbanism as a way of life.' The complexity and multiplicity of the problems we face today are, in some sense, a reassertion of the problematic faced by Chicago school of urban theorists in the early 20th century. Keeping that historical and theoretical endowment in mind, how can theory inform and help practice? Because "while in theory, theory and practice are one, in practice there are real differences (Marcuse, 2009, p. 193)." Marcuse (2009) outlines an approach, called critical planning, which he summarizes in three words: Expose, Propose and Politicize. This means:

"Expose in the sense of analyzing the roots of the problem and making clear and communicating that analysis to those that need it and can use it. Propose, in the sense of working with those affected to come up with actual proposals, programs, targets, strategies, to achieve the desired results. Critical urban theory should help deepen the exposé, help formulate responses that address the root causes thus exposed, and demonstrate the need for a politicized response. Politicize, in the sense of clarifying the political action implications of what was exposed and proposed, and supporting organizing around the proposals by informing action. Politicizing includes attention to issues of organization strategy and day-today politics. And where appropriate, it includes supporting organization directly with interventions in the media and sometimes raising issues within the critic's peer groups themselves, often academics (Marcuse, 2009, p. 194)."

However, if this strategy is to work, critical urbanists must assert in some meaningful sense the principles and goals in which they are striving towards. If the most immediate goal of the right to the city is a claim to a totality, to something wholly different from the existing city and society, what are the principles by which a more equitable society ought to be conceived? This idea has had many names throughout the course of history: a democratic society, or a society supporting the striving for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; or liberty, equality and fraternity; or perhaps a 'just' society which allows for the full development and flourishing of human capabilities (Marcuse, 2009). Nonetheless, such a society must account for the material and social needs required for a meaningful and fulfilling human existence. Although there are ideological differences as to how to bring about this particular goal, such a formulation must be motivated by humanity, solidarity, equality and democracy, as opposed to the for-profit economy.

Conclusion

Demands for the construction of cities that correspond to concrete human social needs, rather than profit-driven bourgeois utopias, have been repeatedly articulated throughout the course of history. It has long been argued that capitalist cities operate as strategic sites for commodification processes, and that their evolving sociospatial organization, governance systems and patterns of sociopolitical conflict must be understood in relation to this role. However the package of rights which undergirds this system is critically weakened by its own underlying illogicalities; resulting in the immiseration and exclusion of those who cannot be integrated into the market; and intensifying the contradictions around which social movements are organized.

The right to the city is, amongst other things, an explicit expression of outrage

over the repugnant material conditions of those individuals who are uniquely excluded from supposedly 'civilized' society. The assertion that cities should be understood as places primarily for people, and the intensification of the social relationships therein, has held a historically significant place in the sociological imagination. And although there are ideological differences as to how to bring about this particular goal, such a formulation must be motivated by humanity, solidarity, equality and democracy, as opposed to the for-profit economy. Thus the major political battle of the 21st century will be to radically democratize urban space, and recontextualize the right to the city around the social needs of the people.

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15 April 2017, San Francisco, Tax March

THE CITY FOR SOME
The Uneven Results of Rural to Urban Migration
Ryan Costello

CLIMB
SMARTER.

WITH A
BABSON

BABSON COLLEGE

14th St

EXCEPT MUNI

Introduction

The world is urbanizing. In the twentieth century and in particular, the second half of the twentieth century, a great rural to urban migration has taken place which has continued into the contemporary era. This phenomenon is the result of influences on rural residents which are two-pronged; those that push people away from the rural, and those that pull people into the urban. Urbanization however, is a process which occurs unevenly. While great wealth is accumulated by some, extreme poverty is experienced by many. In some cases, and particularly in 'global cities,' urbanization has seen the formation of destitute slums, the magnification and impacts of environmental injustice, the widening of income gaps, and the displacement of urban residents through the process of gentrification. It is the aim of this paper to demonstrate that the urbanization of the 20th and 21st century, facilitated by economic and cultural globalization, is a process that is cloaked in the bitter divisions of class, and the spatial expressions of power by one group over another.

What is Urbanization?

The term urbanization refers to the rural-urban migration that the world has undergone, particularly since the specialization of manufacturing production, which is the hallmark of the industrial era. According to the UN 2014 World Urbanization Prospectus, "In today's increasingly global and interconnected world, over 54 percent of the world's population now lives in urban areas, up from 30 per cent in 1950 (UN, 2014, 1)." This reality is one without precedence, "In 2007, for the first time in history, the global urban population exceeded the global rural population (UN, 2014, 7)." Although these figures are staggering in their own right, they are eclipsed by the eminent reality that urbanization is expeditiously increasing. "[T]he world's population in 2050 is projected to be 66 per cent urban. The global urban population is projected to grow by 2.5 billion urban dwellers between 2014 and 2050 (UN 2014, 1)." People are migrating inwards at a rate that has never been observed in human history. Although the implication of such profound demographic change is not yet fully known, it becomes necessary to understand the economic and social rationale underpinning its occurrence.

Why is it happening?

This population shift occurs for a myriad of reasons which act on populations to either push them from their rural environments, or pull them towards urban spaces. In effect, "Contemporary urban change is for the most part a process of adaptation to changes that are externally induced (Friedman, 70)." In other words, it is the influence of societal forces on the individual (whether they be environmental, social or economic) which work to encourage urbanization.

Advances in agricultural technology have dissolved some previously necessary farming positions into obsolescence. Global warming has brought extreme drought and unpredictability to rural areas, diminishing the profitability of agriculture, while large multinational farming conglomerates have consolidated resources and influence to make the practice far less sustainable for the small farmer.

The evolution of transportation modalities has made urban areas more accessible and the navigation of their space more efficient. Cultural norms have changed, (whether organically or in response to societal shifts is a matter of perpetual debate), to favor the creativity and artistry promised within the confines of urbanity. The city offers the ideals of community and education, as networks for knowledge sharing and the proliferation of ideas are more easily formed. The era of industrialization in the 20th century specialized manufacturing production, and Global connectivity fueled by modernization (and in particular, advancements in telecommunication technology) has enhanced international trade capacity; "Approximately 80 per cent of global gross domestic product (GDP) is generated in cities (UN 2014, 7)," which places distinct demand on centralized production centers. The increasing interconnectedness of international economies, driven by industrial capitalism, has facilitated urbanization, and has resulted in the formation of what Saskia Sassen (2002) contends are 'Global cities'. "As crossborder transactions of all kinds grow, so do the networks binding particular configurations of cities. This, in turn, contributes to the formation of new geographies of centrality that connect cities in a growing variety of cross border networks (Sassen, 2002, pg.14). The process of economic globalization, or the systematic opening up of trade borders between nations, gives rise to the emergence of global cities. These fit into evolving, financially driven networks, often transcending the role of interstate relations, "The management and servicing of much of the global economic system takes place in a growing network of global cities and cities that might best be described as having global city functions (Sassen, 2002, 14)." In other words, as economic demand drives individuals into urban areas of production, those areas can emerge as having specific roles within newly formed intercity economic networks.

All of these factors coalesce to promote the movement of people from rural to urban places, and in some cases, result in the formation of cities with unprecedented populations and influence. Often these cities emerge with new and specific functions within the world economy. Perhaps more important than understanding the reasons why people are pushed from rural areas and into urbanity, is the exploration of the impacts of such a powerful transition. If we hope to plan for the future, we must survey the past. With such drastic

demographic shifts (both of the present, and of those projected), it becomes paramount to examine the perceivable effects of modern urbanization. The profound movement of people from rural to urban spaces is accompanied by equally profound impacts on both social and environmental spheres. The influx of people into cities puts strain on the physical infrastructure of those areas, creating a crisis of shortage: "The expansion of global management and servicing activities has brought with it a massive upgrading and expansion of central urban areas, even as large portions of these cities fall into deeper poverty and infrastructural decay (Sassen 2002, pg.14)." The capacity of social programs geared towards education and health are challenged, and the rise in commuter traffic and manufacturing production facilitate an increase in the emission of greenhouse gasses and air pollution. These issues all occur as the result of aggressive urbanization, but are not experienced equally by its participants.

Uneven Development

As the Global population disperses unevenly, so too does the wealth that urbanization creates. Oftentimes the process of rural to urban migration occurs in a manner which is radically unbalanced. The process of urbanization has helped some amass unprecedented wealth, allowing for superior access to health care, education, social and physical infrastructure, and investment capital. In the increasingly deregulated environment of economic globalization, it is often true that wealth begets more wealth. However this does not tell the whole story as uneven development also results in aggressively widening income gaps, and the unjust exposure of the poor to the adverse consequences of population concentration. The concept of 'uneven development' describes this process, and entails the propensity of economic classes to diverge during a period of social advancement.

Within the context of urbanization, the GINI coefficient, which measures income inequality, can exemplify this phenomenon (xxxxxxxx). Global cities are disproportionately represented amongst cities with the highest GINI coefficients, and include New York, Sao Paulo, London, Los Angeles and Rio de Janeiro. Cities which offer the greatest access to global trade networks have generally urbanized the most rapidly, and have often developed the most unevenly. This process generates economic polarization where some garner tremendous wealth, others experience poverty, and the divisions between the two become increasingly visible. "Urbanization has brought about combined processes of social exclusion, spatial segregation, and environmental degradation (Fernandes 2007)." Thus the geography of the city can be viewed as a physical demonstration of class inequality. In this context it becomes apparent that urbanization, for some, represents (and perpetuates) the accumulation of intense

wealth. "The restructuring of cities has led to an increased profitability of real estate, from which the already wealthy disproportionately benefit; From 1973 to 1987 additional revenue from property constituted 45 percent of the income growth among the top 1 percent of the population." (Marcuse 2008, 273). The contrast between economic classes is expedited by a process which is structurally uneven.

Marxist ideas of class struggle are often illustrated with striking lucidity as global cities materialize. "Urban growth threatens sustainable development when the necessary infrastructure is not developed or when policies are not implemented to ensure that the benefits of city life are equitably shared" (UN, 2). In other words, if the economic prosperity that urbanization generates are not dispersed in a manner which benefits all of its participants, the consequences have the potential to undermine and marginalize. In the following section, I will demonstrate that uneven urban development has in many cases resulted in exactly that set of circumstances.

Growth of Urban Slums

Urbanizing populations are are often subjected to this harsh process of uneven development, resulting in many cases, in the concentration of the labouring poor, forming the abhorrent conditions of spatially segregated slums which clarify the delineations of class and power. While some bear the profound and irrefutable fruit of global cities, the concentration of people within the world's industrialised centers often intensifies the formation of impoverished slums. The implications of life in city slums is of statistical importance, as "[t]here may be more than quarter of a million slums on earth." (Davis, xxxx 14). And, "[an] estimated 863 million people, representing nearly one third of urban residents in developing regions, lived in slums or informal settlements in 2012," (UN 2014, 2). Meaning that slums represent a weighty portion of the world's urban population, and must be considered in examining the effects of urbanization. These slums express the inequitable distribution of wealth generated by production capitalism, and articulate the widening divisions of classes in a spatial context. It is often here that the commodification of the laborer is structuralized, and the ambitions of some are valued over the rights of many.

A vivid representation of the spatial segregation inherent in urban slums can be found in Brazil where "Brazilians have been self constructing a precarious, vulnerable and insecure habitat in favelas" (Fernandes, 203). Life in these favelas is particularly arduous for their lack of access to services supporting basic human needs such as potable water and sanitation. "26 million people living in urban areas do not have access to water; 14 million are not served by rubbish collection;

83 million are not connected to sewage systems; and 70 per cent of the collected sewage is not treated (Fernandes 2007, 203)." The inequitable fashion in which urbanization can sometimes progress is illustrated in the shear volume of these statistics. In favelas, we witness the physical manifestations of poverty, as housing infrastructure is tenuously constructed and inadequately supplied. "The provision of lifeline infrastructures lags far behind the pace of urbanization (Davis, 16)." Insufficient access to necessary resources for survival, coupled with heightened rates of violence, expose the residents of these neighborhoods to acute vulnerability.

Environmental Injustice

The growth of urban slums situates their populations in particularly vulnerable positions with regards to environmental risks. Often, these risks exist as the result of manufacturing production itself, leaving their populations vulnerable to magnified health detriments in their exposure to environmental pollutants (UN 2014, 3). The concentration of populations around the manufacturing centers of cities often exposes their residents to the adverse byproducts of industrialization. The lack of access to adequate health care, often inherent in poverty, heightens the problem by reducing treatment options for respiratory complications. The close quarter nature of slums introduces an additional set of issues in the form of vulnerability to the spread of infectious disease, and increased danger from fire and flood. Without adequate infrastructure to address these hazards, the peril of these risks falls disproportionately on the poor.

The urban poor are everywhere forced to settle on hazardous and otherwise unbuildable terrains—over steep hillslopes, river banks and floodplains. Likewise they squat in the deadly shadows of refineries, chemical factories, toxic dumps, or in the margins of railroads and highways. Poverty, as a result, has 'constructed' an urban disaster problem of unprecedented frequency and scope, as typified by chronic flooding in Manila, Dhaka and Rio, pipeline conflagrations in Mexico City and Cubatão (Brazil), the Bhopal catastrophe in India, a munitions plant explosion in Lagos, and deadly mudslides in Caracas, La Paz and Tegucigalpa. (Davis, 16) As the concentration of impoverished residents increases, so to do their vulnerabilities to catastrophe.

Urban Renewal Policies

Within the context of the spatial segregation of economic classes, we have often witnessed the separation of wealthy residents and institutions from the blighted communities of the marginalized workforce. Marcuse wrote of New York, "If [the wealthy] reside in the city, it is in a world insulated from contact with nonmembers of the class...If the city no longer offers profit or pleasure, they can abandon it.". (Marcuse 2008, 273) Given the reality of spatial segregation, world

cities have often seen the emergence of rhetoric and subsequent legislation which enables the destruction and "renewal" of those areas by and for the elite. "Between 1990 and 2003, 51,461 houses were demolished in Delhi under 'slum clearance' schemes. Between 2004 and 2007 alone, however, at least 45,000 homes were demolished." (Bhan 2007, 127). The creation of Global cities has instituted the recurring demand that those cities remain competitive and attractive within global networks. In India, "…as part of the government's officially declared plan to make Delhi into a 'world class city'…public finances in the early 2000s were gradually shifted away from education, public housing, healthcare, and food subsidies toward large, highly visible, and 'modern' infrastructure developments" (Ghertner, 280). Slums, which emerged, in part, as the result of the requirement for cheap industrial labor, stand in stark contrast to the pressures placed on the city for aesthetic beauty by their position within the global economy. As such, new policies of "urban renewal" have been developed in order to facilitate the destruction of those slums, in favor of the construction of consumer driven, aesthetically pleasing developments.

For example, "In January 2003, the Ministry of Tourism of the government of India announced its plan to redevelop a 100acre strip of publicly owned land on the banks of the Yamuna River into a riverside promenade meant to be a major new tourist attraction." (Bahn 2007, 127). This strip of land however, housed over 150,000 residents who were primarily daily wage workers, most of whom had migrated to the riverside in the 1970s. (Bahn). This demolition came on the back of rulings by the Delhi High Court, which declared that the city; "… is a show window to the world of our culture, heritage, traditions and way of life. It cannot be allowed to degenerate and decay." (Bahn 2007, 128). Such action by the legislative body in India demonstrates the prioritization of land use for investment capital over residential housing for the poor, and typifies the precedence of Urban Renewal Policies. As urban renewal policies have institutionalized the demolition of infrastructure designated for the poor and the reconstruction of infrastructure deliberately positioned towards consumer capitalism, the road has been paved for the recolonization of those areas by the wealthier classes as a means of capital investment. "For the wealthy, the city is less important as a residential location, than as a location for power and profit." (Marcuse 2008, 273). This process is laden with the central motif of this paper; the divisions of class, and the spatial expressions of power by one group over another.

Gentrification

'Gentrification' is a term which emerged in 1964, under British sociologist Ruth Glass, who described the changes she witnessed with regards to the

housing market in London; "One by one, many of the working class quarters have been invaded by the middle class upper and lower ... Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Glass 1964, .xvii). 'Gentrification' has since come to signify a myriad of concepts, however, within the context of this paper, I aim to focus on the reappropriation of housing infrastructure, inhabited by the working poor, for the use of investment capital by the wealthy. Neoliberal economic ideology emphasizes laissez faire capitalism, and the notion that the privatization of services in every sector institute the greatest benefit for the greatest number of people. The demand for these services are teased out by the perpetual influence of market forces, driven by motives of profit, and the accumulation of these profits will 'trickle down' from wealthy to working classes.

As margins for capital gains open and are identified, it is the role of actors within those markets to step in and exploit them. When residential real estate is subjected to these revered doctrines, its role shifts from homes for people to investment opportunities for profit. In this environment of neoliberal economics, the process of gentrification often becomes a viable strategy for monetary gain. This process often involves the purchasing and redevelopment of residential property within an urban center by wealthier citizens, in order to garner profits through rent or resale. When this seemingly harmless process transpires multiple times over, its effects become magnified, and a darker reality emerges. Often, the culture of a community reforms, real estate values appreciate, and longtime residents are replaced by those of the wealthier 'gentry' class. In effect, the process of gentrification comes to resemble the process of colonialism. "[B]oth gentrification and colonialism require an economically empowered few to oversee an operation to economically and politically displace one group for another, while achieving financial gain and political power." (Wharton 2008, 1). Again, the spatial expression of power by one class over another comes into view in the form of gentrification.

Although this process of class struggle and displacement becomes apparent to those who focus their attention on its implications for the whole, on its surface, gentrification can appear to be an attractive proposition. Often, boutiques and social institutions open up, catering to the tastes (and revenue) of the wealthy. Crime rates may fall in conjunction with the scaling back of police presences, and the lack of economic necessity for the reliance on informal economies. Property values often increase, as neighborhoods might take on a more pleasing aesthetic. For these reasons, Neil Smith contends that there has emerged "...a generalization of gentrification as a global urban strategy" (Smith 2012, 437). In other words, the process of gentrification has been internalized by policy

makers in cities on a global scale in their attempts to address issues of poverty and economic deficits. If current predictions of urbanization in the near future are accurate, and Smith's contention of 'gentrification replacing liberal urban policies' are borne out, then we can only expect to see growing divisions between economic classes, and more violent manifestations of uneven development.

Conclusion

The world has undergone a substantial change of late. The era of industrialization served as the impetus for movement from rural to urban spaces. Fueled by a plethora of influences, citizens of the world were often pushed from lands of agriculture, and pulled into the streets of industrial production. This migration was the catalyst for the emergence of global cities, and remarkable rates of development. That development, however, achieved realities often hidden from view; realities of a more insidious nature. Urbanization has been filtered through the lens of uneven development, which has proliferated divisions of class and income. While some have accumulated tremendous wealth, many people have concentrated into urban slums and destitution. While some have reaped the exceptional benefits of aggressive development, others have suffered the debilitating impacts of environmental injustice. And while some replace, others are displaced via the process of gentrification. Urbanization has revealed an ugly truth in the way that space, and all the resources that space implies, are distributed. The inequity that rural to urban movement propagates, affirms the power of affluent classes over the impoverished. It is the duty of policymakers and urban planners to recognize this form of development as the fundamental injustice that it is, and to mitigate the impacts of uneven development through the equitable distribution of space and power.

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THE UNDERGROUND

Matthew Ferullo

The following series of photographs depict the industrial landscape where previous and currently active fringe-art and DIY art organizations have found solace. These cultural incubators are externally guarded with minimal daytime activity and windowless concrete walls which may seem hostile to the urban pedestrian. However, Erick Lyle's 2008 book titled, "On the Lower Frequencies," identifies defensive structures as ideal venues for radically free thinkers to express themselves and share ideas openly in a community unpersecuted by general society.

Forgotten by urban revitalists, DIY venues have been held victim to gentrification. A combination of diversified land uses, changes in urban demographics, and the overall unaffordability of rental space has steam-rolled the displacement of underground artist institutions.
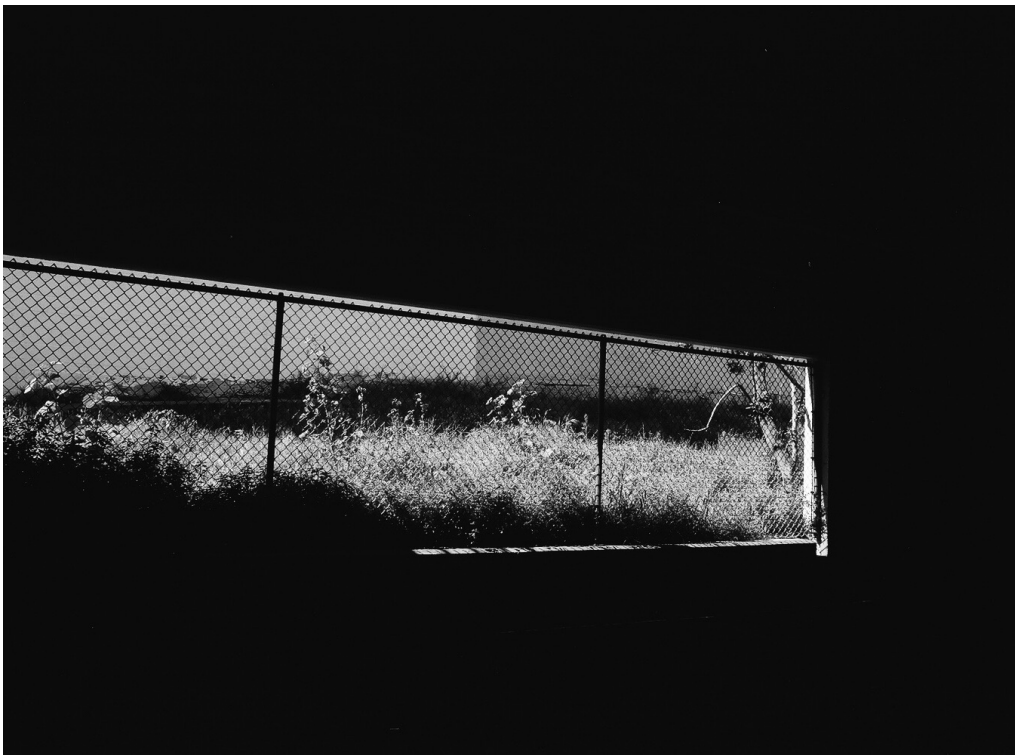
←← ↓ →→   Club Six: A licensed, but somewhat questionably operated, venue that has featured queer performance art and music.

← Back entrance to the Hypnodrome: A legendary performance-arts theater founded by The Cockettes, recently shuttered due to a 300% rent increase.

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AN EXAMINATION OF "HONOR SYSTEM" CROSSWALKS IN SAN FRANCISCO

Benjamin Baczkowski & Juliano Sarinelli

Introduction

With its temperate climate and moderate rainfall, the city of San Francisco is undoubtedly a walker's paradise. The majority of its fifteen neighborhoods are within easy walking distance of numerous commercial areas, and thousands of acres of public park space. Moreover, San Francisco's relatively robust public transportation system does a great deal to encourage walkability, allowing people to move about the city without the aid of personal vehicles. Recent scientific research has indicated that there is a direct link between mild aerobic activities, like brisk walking, and the decrease in incidences of heart disease, diabetes, obesity, depression, and other health problems (Center for Disease Control; Vision Zero LA). However as the city has grown in population, automobile congestion and pedestrian safety has become a serious issue for all San Franciscans. Often times the sheer volume of automobile traffic puts pedestrians and motorists in direct conflict for access to city streets.

The major arterial streets in San Francisco have extremely high traffic volumes, congestion, and consequently, very high rates of pedestrian deaths and injuries (The Pedestrian Safety Project, 2005; Vision Zero Traffic Fatality Protocol, 2016). According to the San Francisco Department of Health's Pedestrian Safety Project, approximately 435,000 vehicles drive into or through San Francisco on an average workday (The Pedestrian Saftey Project 2005). An additional 469,000 vehicles have been registered in San Francisco, which totals over 900,000 vehicles in a geographically small city (2005). In 2015 alone, thirty-one people were killed in transportation-related collisions on the streets of San Francisco. This is the same number of traffic fatalities seen in 2014 (Vision Zero, 2015). Sixty-five percent of those fatalities happen in an High Injury Network (VZHIN). Furthermore, an astonishing seventy percent of all pedestrian related fatalities happen on just twelve percent of San Francisco streets (Vision Zero San Francisco Two-Year Action Strategy, 2015). Of those fatalities, forty-one percent of pedestrian related crashes in take place in a crosswalk. "All intersections of streets wider than 25 feet are legal crosswalks, unless

15 April 2016, Pedestrian using crosswalk, Geary Ave

they specifically say 'no crossing'…Whether the crossing is marked or unmarked with crosswalk paint, it's a legal crosswalk" (California Department of Motor Vehicles, Cal. Veh. Code 219501996). Driver voluntary crosswalks are not truly voluntary by law. Rather, all motor vehicles must come to a complete stop when any pedestrian enters a marked or unmarked crosswalk. Although the law is clear on who has the right of way in such situations, in reality, the bay area has a well-documented problem with motorists failing to yield to pedestrians.

There has been very little lasting success in reducing traffic related injuries despite consistent efforts by the police to increase enforcement in high risk areas. To better understand the problem, the authors of this report observed several intersection crosswalks in the city, over an extended period of time, to better understand the problem from an empirical point of view. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to examine issues of pedestrian safety, and the efficacy of voluntary crosswalks, in an effort to better promote San Francisco as a safe and "walkable city."

Observation Site Map
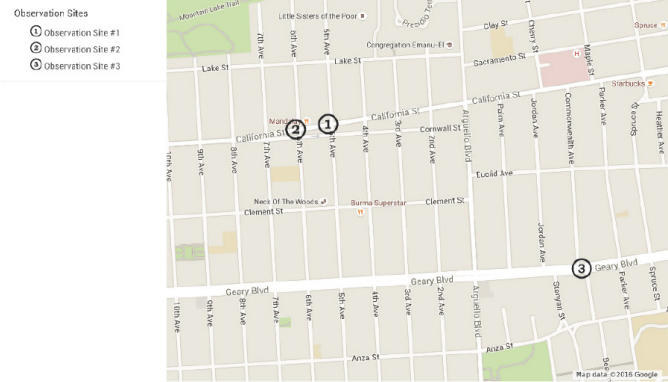
Methodology

For this assesment of pedestrian safety, student researchers observed three high traffic thoroughfares in the Inner-Richmond district of San Francisco. The first (1) site was the crosswalk at the intersection of Fifth Avenue and California Street; the second (2) was the intersection of Sixth Avenue and California Street; and the third (3) was the intersection of Beaumont Street and Geary Street. The date of our observations was the 22nd of April, 2016 from 12:30pm-2:30pm in the afternoon. The weather was typical for an early spring day in San Francisco with cloudy, overcast weather, moderate rainfall, and temperatures in the low fifties. For it being such a melancholic day there was a fair amount of pedestrian traffic to be observed. We broke our criteria down into three sections. Motorists who stopped fully; motorists who partially stopped; and motorists who did not stop at all. Researchers also traversed the crosswalks themselves to achieve an adequate number of observed behaviors for our analysis. Finally, interviews were conducted with selected pedestrians so as to ascertain their personal experiences and opinions of their personal safety.

Analysis

While conducting observations in the Richmond district, researchers began to observe an overwhelming pattern of law-breaking behavior. The majority of observed automobiles did not even attempt to stop for pedestrians at the "Honor System" crosswalks. Even when trying to be an aggressive pedestrian, and assert our rightful use of the street, only a marginal number of automobiles stopped. On several occasions while asserting themselves into the crosswalk, and throwing caution into the wind, there were multiple instances when other pedestrians would get trapped in the middle of the street as cars behind us would drive off and oncoming traffic would refuse to stop and let us go. Some of the weightiest offenders turned out to be San Francisco Muni Coaches, many of which would unashamedly run through the crosswalks with pedestrians waiting on both sides. This phenomenon of municipal workers breaking the civil code has been documented many times before by reporter Stanley Roberts in KRON 4's regular "People Behaving badly" segment. In addition to most Muni coaches already violating municipal law, the upcoming Geary Bus Rapid Transit system will incorporate central island onboarding & offboarding which will only further exacerbate the problems of quick and efficient pedestrian travel. This will undoubtedly increase pressure from community organizations to more adequately address pedestrian traffic problems.

Interviews were conducted with passersby at all three observation sites. Five out of five interviewees proudly acclaimed their disdain for these crosswalks as they were found to be excessively dangerous and at the very least overly time consuming. At the observation site at California and 5th Ave. we were able to interview a mother with a toddler who had significant amount of trouble crossing the street, she states that "This crosswalk is a ridiculous crosswalk and very unsafe... A lot of the time we have to wait for cars to stop". Toward the end of our observation we encountered a man jogging through the intersection with strong confidence in his gate, when asked about the intersection he stated "Well ya'know, you just gotta go on through. They really don't care and just pretend they don't see you... you have to be aggressive and assert your use of the crosswalk". While the

15 April 2016, Pedestrian Crosswalk

statement that most drivers actually see the pedestrians is quit accusatory, it is in fact closer to the truth than one would think. When conducting the initial set of observational and participatory experiments we found that many drivers would lock eyes with us as we attempted to cross the street. Visual deniability is a large factor when drivers are pulled over by police, recalling Stanley Roberts many documented interviews with cited drivers, they almost all inevitable state that the pedestrians were not visible and that they should not be held accountable for phantom pedestrians. The reality is that many drivers would see us and drive on by, some would even speed up as if we were a yellow light about to turn red. Many drivers simply wish to "pass the buck" behind them and feel exempt from traffic law and common courtesy. A desire to interview offending vehicles was present, yet not feasible as no police officers were present to force a communal conversation to be conducted.

Conclusion

The current system of voluntary crosswalks along Geary and California Streets amounts to what is essentially an "Honor System" crosswalk, a system which appeals to the commuter's good nature and civic responsibility towards their fellow citizen. Whether it is a Busy boulevard like Geary, or a smaller community street like the outer reaches of California street, cars often will not stop for waiting pedestrians, be they timid foot-travelers or aggressive power walkers. The pedestrian traffic issue in San Francisco, and more specifically the Richmond District, is a systemic problem. So much so that even our city employees deny the rights of pedestrians in what is supposedly one of the most walkable cities in the entire United States. What hope is there for common urban citizens when even city employees, who are arguably held up to a higher standard of civic and municipal knowledge, do not obey municipal laws? The fact is that without clearly overt signage, and a true sense of civic responsibility, most people will simply not stop. Many motorists often throw the burden of waiting to the vehicle behind them. Therefore, we must contemplate the adequacy of the "Honor system" crosswalk, and find new rejoinders to this problem. Finding a solution where both pedestrian and commuter traveling can be streamlined is a challenge, and a difficult one at that. Nonetheless, as a city of immeasurably diverse daily life as San Francisco, we must not settle for mediocrity, but instead strive for civic greatness and equity within our communities.

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KONNECT

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TRANSIT ORIENTED NEIGHBORHOODS:

Transportation, Equal Access, & Communal Equity Planning in San Francisco

Nick Fish

Introduction

San Francisco's public transportation is a growing and expanding infrastructure based on the ever changing needs of the Bay Area. With the introduction of Bay Area Rapid Transit in 1972 the region became more connected than ever before, transcending the automobile dependent modernity seen in other California cities like Los Angeles. The average citizens were involved and excited for its grand opening, many of whom had been eagerly waiting for as long as a decade for its first day of service to see the fruits of their tax dollars (BART, 2009). Unlike many other transit options of its time, BART included large comfortable seats to draw people onto the new transit system. The trans-bay tube connected the central business district of Oakland with San Francisco's, as well as countless other Bay Area communities. BART boasted a nine-minute commute time under the Bay Bridge, which enabled commuters to leave their cars at home or in BART parking lots. Not only did it offer commuters an alternative to driving, it also provided many poverty stricken and low income individuals in Oakland and beyond access to a city that was once only reachable by car. BART represented a new era in connectivity, equity, and increased access resonating with influence from transit oriented cities of Europe and New York City.

Public transportation in an urban area is a citywide service that aims to provide its residents with reliable, safe, and affordable means of navigating throughout a city. Public space is limited, and privately owned land is expensive, resulting in far less dedicated space to park personal vehicles. The connection and influence of transportation on the realm of urban space and social structures is something planners cannot ignore. Urbanism therefore often implies sacrifice of the automobile, as city streets are planned around walking to satisfy most day to day needs. This would alleviate unnecessary local trips by car to the corner store, decreasing clogged arterials in and around a city. Public transportation also deconstructs the class favoritism consequent of investing in highways and roads at the expense of lower income communities. This is especially true of individuals who cannot afford automobile dependent lifestyles. For cities like San Francisco, the presence of hills or endless gridlock can make even the shortest distances burdensome and time consuming. Thus, traveling to West Portal from the Castro is as easy as walking below the busy cityscape and spending a short 5-10 minutes sitting on the subway, rather than a long and tiresome hike over twin peaks. The beauty of San Francisco's MUNI and the Bay Area's BART is that it provides people with an expansive and reliable alternative to driving that not only simplifies the process of getting from point A to point B, but has the potential of significantly reducing travel times. Car maintenance, insurance, parking tickets, smog, greenhouse gas emissions, and street congestion are all things that a successful local and regional transit system aim to reduce. The benefits of these systems are based on the fundamental social assumption, most

famously represented by Henri Lefebvre, that all have rights to these services if they choose to live within a vast urban community like that of the Bay Area. This makes the urban experience more livable and equitable for all. In this paper, I will diagnose transportation issues that many low-income San Francisco natives are facing as a result of gentrification and perpetuated displacement.

Housing Affordability

In recent years, the massive redistribution of wealth and resources in San Francisco has created extreme hardship for people who now find themselves unable to afford market-rate housing as rents and home values have shot up at unanticipated rates. The growing number of communities displaced by wealthier outsiders have fueled more expensive private sector housing development. As a result, average home prices in the Bay Area are now increasing at a much faster rate than the national average, influencing infrastructure development with a heavy hand often dictating which neighborhoods receive transit investments and which ones do not(Chas and Uhler, 2015).

This housing trend is beginning to make many of the neighborhoods with accessible MUNI, BART stations, and freeway access unaffordable. Between the period of November 2013 and March 2014, in a report conducted by the San Francisco City Planning Department, the city-wide average for a 2 bedroom apartment was $4,100, "roughly 380% over rents affordable by very low income and 233% over for low income residents" (San Francisco, 2015).

According to Edward G. Goetz, "economic changes occurring in American central cities provided a fertile environment for large-scale redevelopment and the reimagining of large parcels of central city land that had, for a generation or more, been dedicated to low-cost housing for the nation's neediest" (Goetz, 2011). Goetz explores in The Transformation of Public Housing Policy, 1985–2011 how many of the policy changes after 1980 reflected a very different way of addressing affordable housing needs. Lacking funding to sufficiently maintain public projects, many public housing authorities chose to embrace tenant-based voucher subsidies as an effort to leverage the private sector where public dollars were not enough. With federal disinvestment from public housing projects, vouchers offer an alternative to the systematic social and racial isolation that many low income households, especially those of color, experience by living in housing projects. This shifts the market responsibility to provide low income affordable housing options to the private sector, and enables low income households an avenue to integrate into their communities in a more cohesive and natural manner while increasing overall diversity.

The Mission District has seen an average 57 percent change in rent between 2000

and 2013 (Zuk, Chapple, 2015). Public housing and rental vouchers have been the most direct and accessible affordable housing options for low income residents in the city, however, the waitlists and qualifications to have access to Below Market Rate (BMR) programs have become increasingly burdensome and less realistic option the average household can expect to depend on (Sabatini, 2015). The result of a rapid decrease in housing affordability is the large displacement of communities. Many who live and work within the urban fabric are still being forced out to distant neighborhoods (characterized in Figure 1, UC Berkeley's Urban Displacement map in Figure 1), which often facilitates auto-oriented lifestyles. These changes often pressure residents to purchase a car or live in a position of transportation disadvantage. Drastic lifestyle changes such as these are extremely disruptive and it is reasonable to assume employment retention becomes more difficult.

The nature of affordable public housing is dictated and controlled at a local level as legislation allows local public housing authorities to issue bonds as a means to finance affordable housing development. The budget for these projects often times is far lower than say if developed by the private sector at market-rate
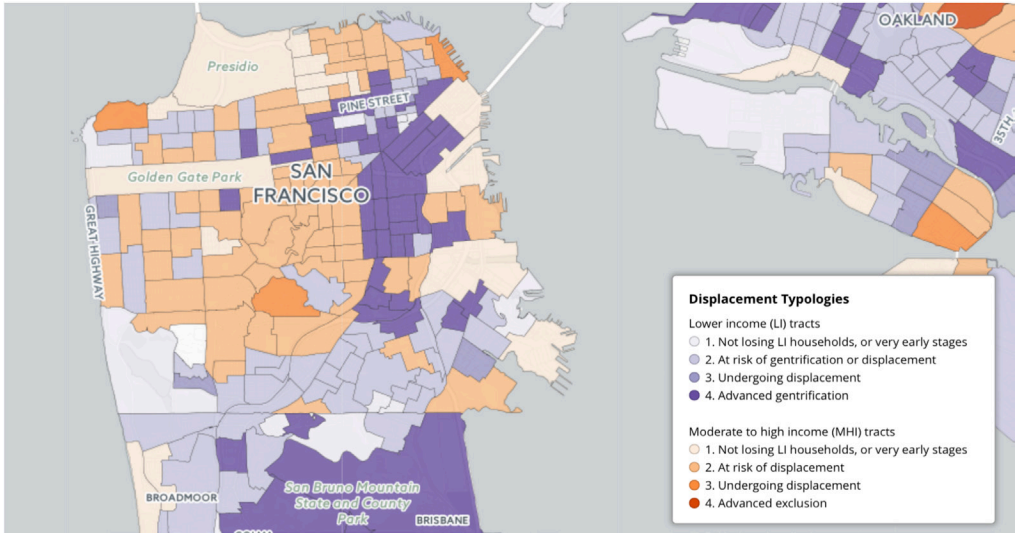

Figure 1: UC Berkeley's Urban Displacement Map
(Schwartz, 2010). The greater impact of a shrunken budget leaves the city less economically capable of purchasing land that offers strategic benefits to those who will eventually live there. The result leads to development on cheaper land in more isolated locations.

Section 8 housing options are an alternative to public housing and are often far less expensive. Section 8 and rental vouchers, unlike public housing development, give low-income individuals more flexibility in where they choose
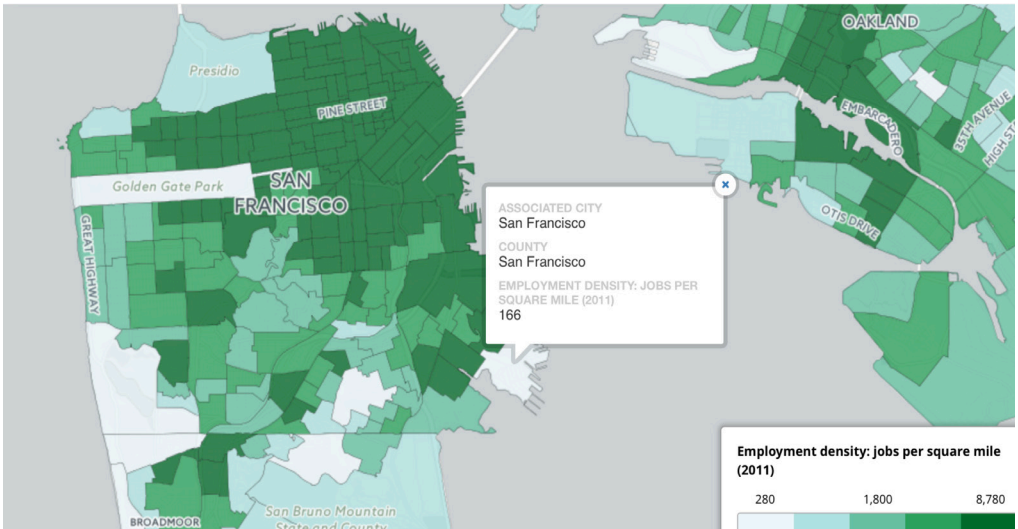
Figure 2 of Courtesy UC Berkeley

to live. Despite the progressive nature of Section 8 vouchers, the program is not a fail safe against the hyper-segregation that was propagated by housing projects. There are no requirements to implement the program and landlords are not legally obligated to participate if they wish to rather rent to non-voucher tenants, making it a less than ideal solution for the Bay Area's issues with housing. Cities and neighborhoods without diversity, reaping the advantages of white-flight policies, are less likely to embrace those who hold these vouchers as they mistake the poverty, crime, and civil disfunction as a characteristic of race rather than the product of social neglect.

In a city like San Francisco, building owners would likely increase prices depending on market demand, rather than dealing with low-income individuals. This is primarily due to unfounded stigmas associated with low-income housing tenants, that they bring poverty and crime to higher income neighborhoods. Although Section 8 direct rental subsidies offer low-income residents more flexibility in determining where they may live, it is often that building and land owners choose not to participate in the program, as lack of market rate and luxury housing restrictions incentivizes discriminating voucher holders. The implications of Section 8 and voucher oriented housing for landlords and owners are a step in the right direction but ultimately do not pull enough weight to make a real difference in overall affordable housing availability in San Francisco. The most affordable place to develop public housing in San Francisco since the housing bubble of the 1990s has been in the Bayview. For the sake of this paper, the Bayview will be the primary example, despite many other notable neighborhoods in other Bay Area cities experiencing the same unfortunate

dynamic. Market factors in determining the neighborhood rent and home prices were strongly dictated by its access to transit and its existing overall development, which is indicative of recent transit-oriented development initiatives. These neighborhoods are usually decentralized and low density, often requiring residents to own a vehicle to navigate throughout the area. Considering most of these people are often too financially burdened to afford their own personal vehicle, the employment limitations inherited by relocating out of the job-rich central business district will directly emphasize and likely further perpetuate financial burdens. In an Urban Displacement study conducted by UC Berkeley, employment density per square mile decreases as one moves farther from San Francisco's city center (Zuk, Chapple, 2015). As displayed in Figure 2, if a household were displaced from the Mission District to public housing in Hunters Point, there would be a sharp decline in employment density. Juxtaposing UC Berkeley's findings to utopian standards for city planning as being ones which embody equality by design and facilitate sustainable community development practices for the benefit of present and future generations, it becomes clear that where there is growth there is also likely succession.

Transportation Infrastructure

It is clear that due to market forces and a shortage in overall housing availability, there are no quick fixes for the many affected by the housing crisis. The shear volume of development over the past fifteen years stretching from Dogpatch all the way up to Bayview Park is a representation of this. Thus, it is unclear whether San Francisco will see much affordable housing within neighborhoods that have seen the most displacement. Often, the only solution to a poorly located housing development is a viable means of getting around. San Francisco's transportation infrastructure, like many other large cities, is built around addressing ridership needs to reduce congestion in and around the city center. The development of bus and taxi lanes on dense corridors have allowed for more efficient and reliable transportation schedules and increases in the overall flow of people. The Bayview district is relatively isolated, but in recent years, has begun to gentrify (Blanca, 2014). The cause for this could be attributed to the construction of MUNI's T line, offering more connectivity to the downtown area for young urban professionals looking for more affordable housing options near the city.

Despite the significant improvements to transit accessibility in the area over the last ten years, the often low-density districts chosen by public housing authorities (PHA) are designed in with auto-oriented lifestyles in mind. Suitable transit-oriented infrastructure in the Bay Area is far more progressive than other northern California cities, holding a steadfast commitment to its transit-first policy which values "economically and environmentally sound alternatives to

transportation by individual automobiles"?). According to an ACS housing summary prepared by ESRI, in a 2.55 square mile area spanning from Hunters Point to the 3rd street Muni rail line, between 2009-2013 about 26% of renting households among renters have no vehicle available, compared to only 2.1% of owners in the area (American Community Survey, 2016). With such high proportions of renters who lack access to vehicles, from a planning perspective, it is essential to provide more walkability and transit infrastructure to meet community needs. With such progressive ideals, the lack of integrated new-urbanist planning by public housing authorities is a shocking juxtaposition to strides taken in other parts of the city.

Although transportation is available from Bayview utilizing Muni's T line, it is difficult to receive direct transfers to all parts of the city. Muni's rail line and several busses run through the neighborhood, its integration is inconvenient, at best, for residents living near Hunters Point. If a student were living in Hunters Point in public housing, and were wishing to travel to San Francisco State via public transportation, according to Apple Maps (Figure 3), that trip would take an estimated 1 hour and 10 minutes and involve one transfer, as opposed to 23 minutes by car. It's extremely clear that many of the surrounding neighborhoods that are chosen for public housing are not suitable for residents who may depend on public transportation as a daily means to move about the city. Although many cities are able to swiftly and affordably integrate more busses and expand routes to meet new needs in undeveloped neighborhoods, bus capacities still cap far lower than Metro, as well as further contribute greenhouse gas emissions.

It is critical for any resident to live in a neighborhood with affordable housing options, only if these affordable housing opportunities are situated as part of an ecosystem providing adequate transit to employment opportunities. Transportation is a fundamental part of most people's lives, some of the "nation's poorest families spend more than 40% of their take home pay on transportation" as opposed to 16.7% for households above $70,000 (Bullard). Neglecting to address transportation as an essential element of poverty undermines the entire process of affordability, potentially worsening someone's financial burdens.

What are the improvement initiatives in San Francisco?

The Bayview is, relative to the rest of the San Francisco, isolated from the agglomerative central business district located in neighborhoods directly surrounding Market Street. As previously discussed, as one moves farther away from the urban core, job density steadily and predictably declines in synchronization with population density, which is commonly the case in mono-centric city structures. As our world is continually shaped and influenced by technology, telecommunication and preferences for auto-oriented planning

have pushed Americans to live sprawling lifestyles. The fragmented new city orientation has encouraged many to depend on their car to navigate to and from work. According to public funded radio station WNYC, average commute times in the Bayview hover around 30 minutes (WNYC, 2016). This doesn't stand out compared to the rest of the Bay Area, but it represents something significant in that despite all the advances in technology, Americans are still dependent on the automobile, regardless of its ability to make travel quicker. Contrary to architects like Frank Loyd Wright, technology has not eliminated the need for an urban and active central business district, and the mono-centric urban model simply will not die.

Since Pruitt-Igoe, federal disinvestment in public housing has lead to drastic shifts in Housing and Urban Development policy, as well as increased variation between cities in how they choose to deal with ways to provide affordable housing to low income households. In 1975, California amended requirements "for local general plans to require that communities make adequate provision for the residents and projected needs of all segments of the community." Unfortunately, in 1980, language was revised making housing goals less concrete, and success more ambiguous. California ultimately only held authority in
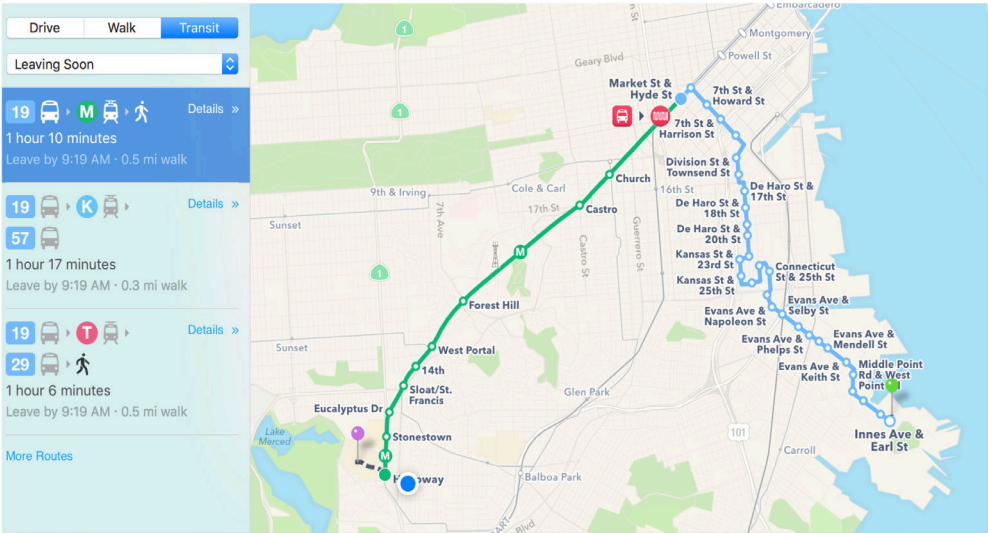

Figure 3 of Courtesy Apple Maps

requiring local governments to submit plans, lacking any leverage to penalize a lack of implementation (Schwartz, 2015). Despite pacifism from authorities exemplified by housing policy, there was another federal program that promoted thoughtful and well designed affordable housing.

Hope VI was a brief federal program with the goal of demolishing and redeveloping public housing into mixed-income and mixed-use communities for cities that applied and qualified to receive the grant funding. The program was praised because it addressed the many inherent design flaws which were fostering crime, perpetuated social dysfunction, and poverty within public housing, as well as effectively killing hope of local subsistence economies from forming.

The unfortunate side effect of these efforts was the unintentional increase in gentrification, most notably in Southeast Washington DC. The program focused on design-based influences to change communities. The presence of mixed-income and mixed-use development in historically distressed communities is believed to be a viable solution. Criticisms of this particular program were specific to gentrification that resulted in Southeast Washington DC as residents felt developers exploited those living in the neighborhoods into agree to redevelopment projects which ultimately failing to serve the communities who lived there. This commonly occurred by means of not fully disclosing the contractual clauses relevant for their return, often hinging specifically on income standards (Wild, Walton, 2011).

The short term success of this program is indicative of larger systemic issues that this could not be addressed with Hope IV. Can a federal or local program solve issues of community disinvestment by developing better buildings in more thoughtful places, or does city infrastructure as a whole need to be reevaluated?

Mixed-income redevelopment is a proven mechanism for stability in low income neighborhoods that are burdened with crime, disinvestment, and economic fragility. According to Schwartz, the "goal [of mixed income housing] is to bring higher income families into lower income buildings and lowering income households into higher income buildings", the result of "mixed-income housing is extremely diverse" (Schwartz, 2015). Historically, this is best exemplified by select Hope VI projects across the country, demolition and redevelopment of poor public housing has lead to disruption of community ecosystems and increases in systematic gentrification. Thus, a key priority for redeveloping distressed public housing projects is to ensure that between the time of demolition and completion of the new housing projects no households are displaced from the physical community.

Revitalization of public housing in San Francisco needs to follow several standards, specifically characterized by Hope SF which aims to "prioritize current residents while also investing in high-quality, sustainable housing and broad scale community development". The mission of Hope SF is clearly stated in the four goals on their website: aiming to "build superior housing", "enhance lives of the

existing residences", "serve as a catalyst for the surrounding neighborhood", and "advance knowledge in the field nationally about best practices in public housing revitalization and community development" (Hope SF, 2016). Redeveloping physical components that will enrich and revive economic and social attributes of the community thus needs to achieve three goals; design a neighborhood that is uniquely crafted by the community members through discourse and feedback, minimize household displacement during development, and plan mixed-income communities which maintain one for one low income unit replacement.

The Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development (MOHCD) has taken huge strides in moving affordable housing developments in new directions which focus on orientation to transit and building design, qualities that shape the building's relationship with the surrounding community. One successful development by MOHCD is the mixed-income, mixed-use affordable housing development on Ocean ave managed by Mercy Housing. According to an NPR article written by Kasey Saeturn, "In San Francisco, one-bedroom apartment rents average $3,490 a month. There are about 1,600 homeless young adults in the city on any given night, and public housing is out of reach for many of them". The development specifically caters to young adults between the ages of 18-24 (Saeturn, 2016). According the the Mercy Housing website, 1100 Ocean Ave has 71 units, 55 of which are 50 percent of the area median income (Mercy Housing, 2016). The development is highly accessible to public transportation, with an existing Muni stop for the 29 bus and K rail line right in front of the building.

The severe disadvantage of public and affordable housing without these qualities is the difference between access to employment and isolation from economic and social opportunities. Transportation access in and out of these areas is thus an absolute necessity for low income communities, otherwise they will experience a disproportionately larger burden from auto-oriented transportation. With these development ideals in mind, it becomes increasingly clear that existing city and regional transportation networks act as god-like forces in the success for affordable housing development.

What can be improved--Successes Outside of San Francisco

Considering that the most negatively impacted communities to auto-oriented development are those which are low income, transit-oriented development needs to be an integral part of the process of planning public housing and below market rate affordable housing in San Francisco. To combat isolation for those living within the Bayview, better regional transit needs to be planned in synchronization with job locality.

The diagnosis of systemic disadvantages associated with living in the Bayview district I discussed earlier place heavy emphasis on the symbiotic role housing development locations play with existing transportation structures in the area and a joint effectiveness in reducing poverty, creating diversity, and building equity. Bus lines that bypass downtown, with the exception of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), are not nearly as beneficial as light rail or underground metro, as they are susceptible to street level congestion and have much lower holding capacities. This however, means that the successful flow of people everywhere must first head downtown. With the increase in brownfield development in the Bayview and an increase in demand for transportation in that part of the city, the T rail line of Muni was constructed as a means of transporting the flow of the people living along that corridor to and from Embarcadero. Despite the expansion of the T line, it still falls within the realm of a mono-centric structure. Meaning, all flows of people and goods are all being directed to one area. The transportation watershed effectively moves people to Market street, but if the flow of commuters have no need to pass through that area it effectively becomes less efficient to take transit as more distance is being covered than necessary.

The issues of mono-centric transportation networks and its relationship to surrounding infrastructure is that is does not maximize all possibilities for the flow of goods and people in all directions. The special flows must first pass through the most central portion of the city before reaching its final destination. A poly-centric system will facilitate more efficient flows which expand to all areas rather than just one, making the modernity of Los Angeles less ridiculous so long as a tailored system can facilitate proper coverage. Figure 1 is a map of Métro in Paris, which best displays this design orientation. Each portion of the city is accessible by means of public transit without any particular region being clearly isolated or lacking access to public transportation infrastructure.

Paris is not only a great example of what effective transit options look like, but how effective transit options can positively influence the region as a whole. Lucie Laurian writes in A 21st-Century Eco-City, "about one billion trips are made on the sixty-four bus lines in Paris and about two hundred suburban lines every year" (Saeturn, 2016). This means that any part of the city is an ideal location for affordable housing, as equal access across the city will translate to increased opportunity.

Conclusion

Sustainable forms of social equity are highly at stake in San Francisco as housing and rental prices skyrocket creating social disparities which displace large proportions of families from neighborhoods they may have lived in for

generations. Often, these families are forced to relocate to undesirable parts of the city, lacking in fundamental infrastructure and resources which are needed to participate in essential social roles. Affordable housing policies are one of the few options available to support those who are living within the shrinking affordable housing market.

It is clear, despite the many efforts in providing affordable living options to displaced households, that low income individuals are living in disproportionately underfunded communities designed for low density and auto-oriented lifestyles. Many of the policies designed to solve these issues are further perpetuating what is a clear division of social classes. Affordable housing and planning in the Bay Area is changing at a rapid pace and heading in a direction that places much more financial hardship on those who are the most vulnerable. It should be a priority to plan all communities, despite their economic or cultural background, with the same access and attention to detail in mind as is done for wealthier and gentrified neighborhoods. The integration of transit orientation with affordable housing development cannot happen all at once. Existing transit infrastructure needs to be in place before affordable housing development begins, otherwise disenfranchisement is much more likely to occur. The weaving pattern of transportation does not favor one destination over the other, which explains the sheer volume in yearly ridership.

The modern city must combat sprawl and pay special attention to design, orientation of facilities, and transit to better facilitate the needs of a poly-nucleic urban system. Design oriented land use needs characterized elements that engage with sprawling and disenfranchised communities as a means of changing the way people think about transportation. Because those whom are the most negatively affected by sprawl are the poor, more local and regional infrastructure needs to be tailored to the needs of public transportation. Social mobility and economic advancement heavily depend on housing location and means of transportation. Federal programs have attempted to resolve issues with affordable housing but did not fully gain traction. Despite discontinuation, their successes have left a legacy and influenced local policy and planning improvements with Hope SF. Gentrification and the NIMBY phenomenon have put excessive strain on already disadvantaged low income communities, with transportation and affordable housing developments as two necessary components of one solution. The more transportation and affordable housing developments can be prioritized in San Francisco, the more empowered low income communities will become.

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TRANSIT ORIENTED AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN SAN FRANCISCO

Jesse Hammond

Introduction

Any conversation about the future of urbanism is bound to include the topic of transit oriented housing. It is a hot topic in the field, portrayed by some urbanists as a cure-all to the issues surrounding transit, pollution, and the housing crisis in the United States. A similar discussion is related to the housing and demographic crises that many major cities are facing, gentrification being a contributing factor. The ironic place where these two ideas meet is the conflict between the desire for transit oriented housing for underprivileged and low income people because of the obvious benefits it confers them, and the typical desirability and high housing prices in high transit areas. Transit oriented housing seeks to reconcile these two forces and create a safe, convenient, and affordable place for low income people to enjoy the benefits of a developed transit infrastructure, and the attending environmental and social benefits that brings. This paper will examine the idea behind transit oriented affordable housing, the forces behind it's development, and will examine two case studies in the city of San Francisco. San Francisco is a particularly illuminating example, partially because of its relative focus on public transit, and the recent and severe housing crisis. It is a space ripe for transit oriented development.

Context

San Francisco has been aware of the issues surrounding housing, pollution, and transit infrastructure for quite some time. The city has been experiencing rapid population growth, without a corresponding explosion of housing, and with a transit infrastructure which is incapable of keeping up. Since 1990, the population of San Francisco has increased by one hundred and twenty four thousand people. During the same time frame, the amount of available housing has only increased by just under fifty thousand units. (Elsen, 2015) In addition to this, high income renters and development have flooded the market, making the effect on housing prices even more noticeable and extreme. This has had a profound effect on low income people living in San Francisco. Since 1994, the median rent in the city has more than tripled.(Paragon, 2016) All of this has contributed to a housing crisis in the city of San Francisco, such that many long term residents and low income people find it entirely impossible to afford housing in the city. This is especially true among vulnerable populations of the city, including people who are disabled, older, or who require special housing. (Brinklow, 2016) The city has recognized the need for more low income housing, but simply building more market rate housing is not a workable solution. The city of San Francisco has a severe lack of developable land, and the demand outstrips the supply so thoroughly that building is not a viable option. There is a greater push, therefore, to create affordable housing for the use of people who would otherwise not be able to afford to live in the city.

The city of San Francisco has made several moves to address this problem, with mixed reviews as to it's effectiveness. There also seems to be a dissension as to the best approach to providing adequate affordable housing. Whatever expert on the subject is asked the opinion seems to be that affordable housing will be part of the solution. From commitments made by the mayor to increase affordable housing, to a collection of ballot measures in the 2016 general election, (San Francisco Dept. Elections, 2016) there seems to be a focus on it in city policy. One of the more telling documents is the San Francisco general plan as of 2016. The general plan outlines a direction for policy to take which encourages below market rate housing and the development of affordable and supportive housing. It goes on to elaborate on the need for housing conducive to so-called "at risk" populations, such as struggling families, the chronically ill, and the recently homeless. In its analysis, the general plan calls for the further retrofitting and construction of below market rate housing for these people in the San Francisco area. (S.F. Planning Department, 2014) It outlines a series of suggested practices, including subsidizing rent to keep tenants in buildings, retrofitting old units into affordable housing, and building new affordable housing.

The general plan also calls for a greater focus on public transit and a shift away from the automobile. The transit element of the general plan calls for the focus of the city's transit infrastructure to be developed to make public transit more efficient. The plan cites the efficiency and comparative environmental benefits of public transit, as well as its social benefits to low income people. It also suggests that public transit be made a workable alternative to automobile transit for crowding and environmental reasons. To this end it encourages development in and around public transit over road and parking improvements. (S.F. Planning Dept. 2016) In the general plan the Planning Department also states that the city should "use rapid transit and other transit improvements in the city and region as a catalyst for desirable development…" (§2.1) This demonstrates a desire to connect transit to new areas of development, one of the major ideas being that housing and destinations being developed near transit reduce the amount of vehicle traffic, improve quality of life, and give greater options to the people in the area.

Transit Oriented Affordable Housing

A simple definition of transit oriented affordable housing is housing which is affordable to people below the median income for the city, with access to adequate public transit. It is to some degree a combination of two different connected urban strategies; affordable housing and Transit Oriented Development. In most cases in the bay area this means the rents are artificially supressed , and they must be connected to multiple transit routes, such that

the people living there can get to any necessary destination without having to drive. This is a very simplified explanation of transit oriented development and many authors have gone into greater detail. Brian Quinn, in his article "Transit Oriented Development: Lessons from California" (Quinn, 2016), defines Transit Oriented Development as "...a physically deterministic attempt to use the urban design principles of compact urban form, walkable neighborhoods, and public transport orientation to encourage more sustainable behavior" (p.320). This is an apt description, and includes in it one of the main objectives of this type of development; sustainability. This has been a central tenet of Transit Oriented Development (henceforth referred to as TOD) since Peter Calthorpe first began defining much of the nomenclature in the early 90's.

There had been previous discussion of many of the central concepts of the movement, but it was in his work, "The New American Metropolis" (Calthorpe, 1993) that much of the modern concept of TOD was collected. (Carlton, 2007) There is a focus on returning to the "classic style" of American town; walkable, dense housing, with central downtowns and areas for work, and access to local and regional public transit. (Calthorpe, 1993) This was seen as a way to alleviate the negative effects of sprawl; massive traffic and infrastructure problems, commuting between suburban areas, atrophy of the city center, pollution and loss of community. It is also suggested that neighborhoods built in such a way may be more effective modes of living for low income and working class residents, stating that the single family home had become a burden and a TOD influenced lifestyle provided many advantages to people who could not afford the expenses and waste of typical suburban American living.

Although the original intention of the TOD model is a response to sprawl and suburbanization, it is useful in an already dense and developed urban context. The idea of building housing in proximity to transit in a dense and developed urban area such as San Francisco makes sense for a number of reasons. Utilizing an already relatively developed transit infrastructure in the Bay Area, effective transit orientation is possible, more so than in other regions. In addition, this type of development has the ability to relieve some of the massive traffic congestion that is present in the city. (Hobson, 2005) The higher density style of development can also be used to meet the city's goal of increasing density as a method of combating the housing crisis.

An issue often associated with TOD is its clear historical connection to increased housing prices. There have been multiple studies linking the development of transit, or transit oriented housing to a sharp rise in higher income residents in previously low income areas. One of the most interesting and shocking revelations these studies reveal is that not only does greater transit connectivity

attract higher income residents, but that these residents are also much less likely to utilize the transit infrastructure which attracted them in the first place. (PCCDP, 2012) If the objective of TOD is to create more inclusive and diverse community oriented housing, while increasing public transit use, then there is a strong impetus to create TOD which is affordable and accessible to lower income people. This is the reasoning that the Transit Oriented Affordable Housing model is built on.

Case Studies;
5th and Howard & Taylor and Eddy Developments

The creation of affordable TOD is exemplified by two projects currently being put forth by the Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation. These two projects are being developed in the Tenderloin/South of Market area in San Francisco, an area ripe for this kind of building plan. The area is one, known for its skyrocketing housing prices and extremely automobile choked streetscape. Secondly it also is located near major transit hubs of MUNI bus lines, MUNI light rail, and the Bay Area Rapid Transit regional light rail lines. The neighborhood itself is one which is extremely walkable, with most necessary resources and services located within walking distances, with dense housing and access to the urban core. Housing which is affordable and located near public transit would be both easy to produce and maximally impactful in this area.

5th and Howard

The 5th and Howard development is actually two separate buildings, located on the corner of 5th Street and Howard Street. The first is a 201 unit multifamily development at 921 Howard Street, the second is a 231 unit multifamily development at 206 5th Street. The current locations are occupied by a 2 story commercial building, and a parking lot, respectively. (TNDC, 2012) The land for the project has been purchased as of 2013, and architectural plans have been drafted. The projects would include ground floor retail and mixed use space as part of the plan, with proposals leaning toward locally owned businesses. As of yet, no environmental impact report is on file. The location is only four blocks, or less than a third of a mile from Powell Street Station, making transit within the city and regionally possible from this location. The figure below shows all of the MUNI bus lines within easy walking distance of the development. The location of the affordable housing blocks is indicated in the image, which is meant to show roughly the walkable area around the project, as well as the location of the Powell Street MUNI light rail and BART station. The Project is indicated in red, and the station in yellow. Due to the nature of the project being oriented toward public transit, there is not to be any parking developed.

The numbers and colored lines in the image are the paths of MUNI bus lines. As is obvious from the image, the locations are in close proximity to many local bus routes. As indicated by the colors of the lines all of these buses arrive every 15-20 minutes. Transit from this location is available to any place in the city and, through BART, to many areas in the region. Following the future connectivity of downtown San Francisco to Amtrak, there will be a connection through the San Francisco Transbay Transit Center to the rest of California (Transbay Joint Powers Authority, 2016).

The project is composed of several different mixed types of housing, intended to accommodate families, single resident units, and even units designed to accommodate special needs persons. At least 35% of the units are to be made available at more reasonable rates, making this project significantly higher than current San Francisco below market-rate housing requirements. The remaining 65% of the housing units will be rented at market rate.

Area Around 5th and Howard Development, SFMTA. April, 2016

The total cost of the development has not been calculated, however a sum of four million dollars has been promised to the project by the Bay Area TOAH, or Transit Oriented Affordable Housing, Fund, (Bay Area TOAH, 2012).

The area surrounding the planned development is zoned for mixed use residential, meaning that the project will require no special dispensation from the city. It also remains well within the specified height and bulk limitations for the area. (San Francisco Planning Department, 2016) As of the writing of this report, ground has not been broken on the project, although the land has been purchased. It is not known if the problems that have plagued the Taylor

and Eddy housing project, to be described in detail below, have had any effect on this current proposal. No statements have been forthcoming on the project from any of the officials listed as involved, and the lack of a timetable or explicit cost descriptions may however indicate that the project has been put on hold, as the most recent information is several years old. The information provided here describes the plan as it currently stands, and all indications are that the TNDC plans on continuing with the project.

Eddy and Taylor Family Apartments

Of the two projects described in this paper, the Eddy and Taylor Family Apartments is further along in the development process, with full renderings of the structures and a construction company already selected to begin construction. The initial plan shows the TNDC sponsoring a fourteen story, 153 unit mixed residency and mixed-use building with two full-time social workers attached to the structure. Approximately 35% of the total units have been set aside for formerly homeless families, and the agency plans to aside five units for developmentally disabled or otherwise special needs individuals. The project was also intended to provide a grocery store, which is badly needed in the area. (Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation, 2012) The project required several modifications to the area plan, including one which entailed the difference in character of the development from its surrounding structures, and one waiving back yard space requirements. (San Francisco Planning Department, 2015) This is true also of the amendments to the project filed in 2015. (San Francisco Planning Department, 2015) The project is being designed and directed by David Baker Architects, although their website still does not show the updated structure (David Baker, 2012).

The project is intended to be built from 168 to 186 Eddy street, within a quarter mile of Powell Street Station. As with the 5th and Howard development this would give it access to both local and regional transit. Below is pictured the surrounding area in the same scale as the previous image of the 5th and Howard, meant to suggest convenient walking distance around the project. The red arrow is the Eddy and Taylor Family Apartments and the Yellow is the Powell Street Station. Since the Great Recession, the state of California has cut funding to the development of affordable housing, and such funding has not been reinstated. (Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation, 2012) In addition, another main source of funding for the project, the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, was dissolved in February of 2012. (Ferrato, 2012) The funds that the redevelopment agencies had access to were not reserved for their proposed projects, and the Eddy and Taylor development lost the lion's share of its funding. The project was put on hold, but the development agency announced it's intention of continuing to seek funding and resume development.

Later that year the agency decided to redraw its plans to more realistically fit it's potential budget. The building's design was reduced by six stories, and the total number of units was reduced from 160 to 103. The project still intends to reserve thirty units for below market rate housing, as well as the proposed five units for developmentally disabled individuals, but some critics have doubts about the project's ability to adequately do so. (Anderson, 2015) The agency hopes to revitalize the project with funds from the Multifamily Housing Program, and the recent Cap and Trade initiative in California. (Weinberg, 2015) The Paramount Group has suggested that they would be willing to fund the rest of the project if special height dispensations were allowed for their tower being developed on the waterfront, but so far no conclusions have been reached in the discussion.(Anderson, 2015) There was a $7 million dollar sum offered by the Bay Area TOAH Fund, which is still on the table. (Bay Area TOAH, 2012) The grocery store is still supposed to be built.

Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation

The Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation is a non-profit, community oriented organization which identifies affordable TOD as one of its main objectives. It is the primary organizer of both the 5th and Howard, and the Eddy and Taylor Developments, as well as the landholder which owns both the properties the projects are to be built on (TNDC, 2016). They currently provide a number of community programs, including an after school program for Tenderloin youths, as well as homeless services such as soup kitchens in the area. (TNDC, 2016) Below is a map of the buildings operated by the TNDC, the Eddy and Taylor and the 5th and Howard developments

Area Around Eddy and Taylor Apartments, SFMTA. April, 2016

are items D1, and D4, respectively.

The organization manages 39 buildings oriented toward affordable housing in the community. Between them they provide over four thousand affordable housing units. (TNDC, 2016) The organization receives funds from a multitude of sources, some of the most notable and significant contributors are the Low Income Investment Fund, and the Mayor's Office of Affordable Housing. (Low Income Investment Fund, 2016) Over the past decade, the corporation has run into issues of funding associated with the recession and the dissolution of various redevelopment organizations, but it still remains an active force in future developments in the area (Ferrato, 2012).

Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation, 2016

Bay Area TOAH Fund

Although it was a relatively small contributor to each of the two projects that are the focus of this paper, the Transit Oriented Affordable Housing Fund, or TOAH, is worth mentioning. The fund is made available to encourage the development of affordable TOD housing in the nine Bay Area counties, and as such helps to give an idea of the attention this idea gets. It is also helpful in that it gives a firm definition of Transit Oriented Affordable Housing, and helps to define what a workable project looks like.

The Bay Area Transit-Oriented Housing Fund, or TOAH, is a $50 million fund dedicated to financing the development of affordable housing near major public transit nodes in the nine Bay Area counties. The project aims at creating housing that working class families can afford near transit nodes, areas where typically housing prices are prohibitively expensive. (Tenderloin Neighborhood Development, 2012) The intended result is housing which is comfortable, affordable, accessible, and eco-friendly.(Overview, TOAH, 2013) The fund

is a collection of money from several different public sources, including the Metropolitan Transportation Commission, the Corporation for Public Housing, and private funders such as the Citi Community Loan Fund.(Projects, 2016) The fund was established in 2005, and is still active. Since it's inception it has funded four complete building projects and a host of retrofits and land development grants. The fund offers a variety of loans, for property acquisition, redevelopment, and even small business loans. These loans can only be given out if a project meets certain criteria. Included in these are; proximity to public transit, local public sector support, and intended use as affordable housing or community development.(Bay Area TOAH, 2013) The fund is controlled by a ruling body as well as local planners.

Conclusion

Despite the setbacks experienced by several of the projects in the city of San Francisco, the concept of Transit Oriented Affordable Housing is still a major focus of discussion and planning. Everything from the existence of multi-million dollar foundations established to encourage affordable TOD, to an insistence in the general plan that it be built, suggest that it has a future in the city. However the problems that hinder its implementation seem to be the problems that hinder affordable housing in the city in general: a lack of funding and support. Given the known benefits and the record of the types of resources required to make affordable transit-oriented housing workable, it would seem that it would be urgent to all of those involved to contribute resources to getting these projects on their way. It is, at least, encouraging that there are organizations and plans to develop these types of projects in the first place.

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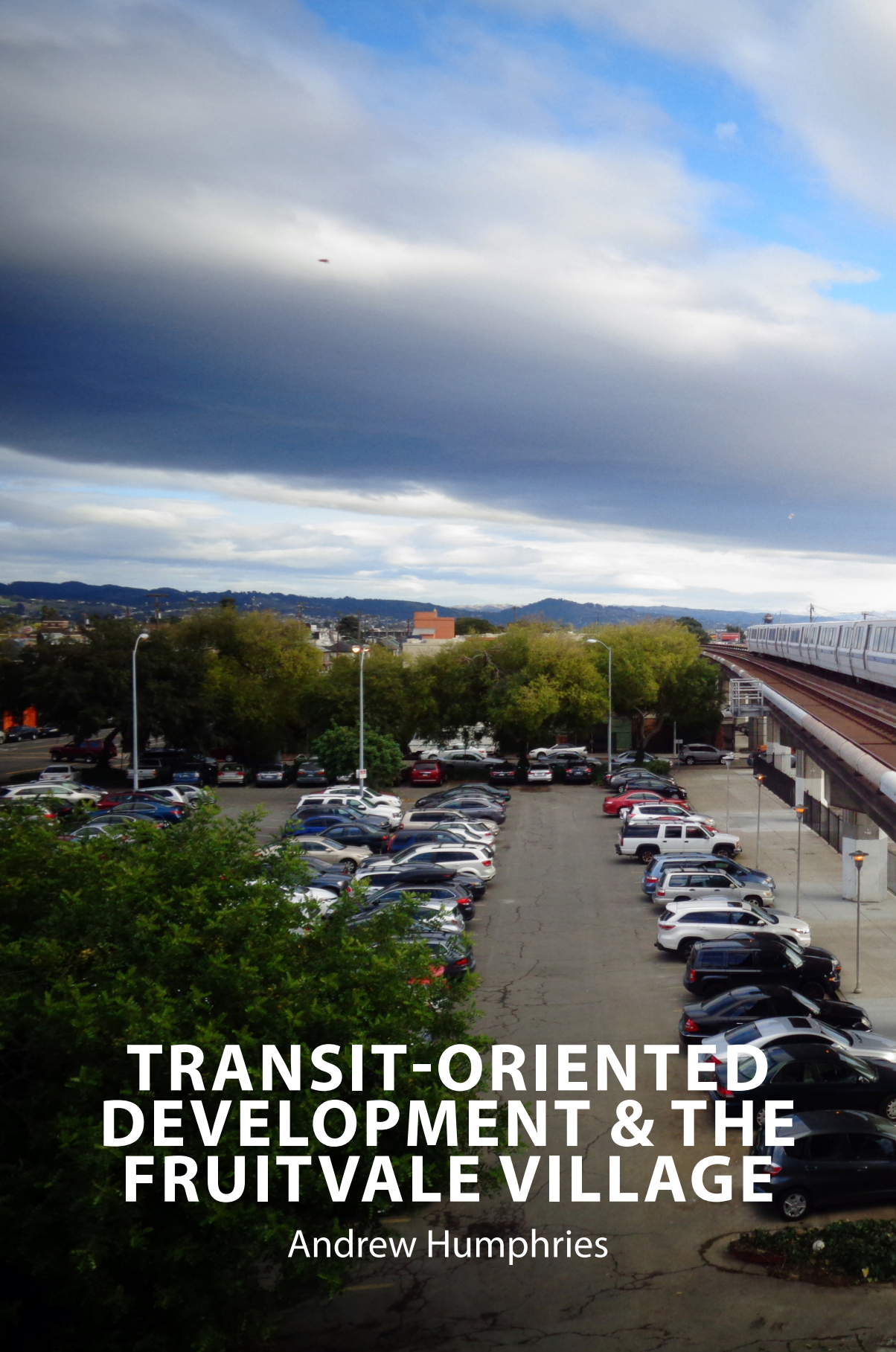
TRANSIT-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT & THE FRUITVALE VILLAGE

Andrew Humphries

Introduction

Urban sprawl has long been under attack as an inefficient and unsustainable use of land, and urban designers and planners hope to dampen its spread with projects like the Fruitvale Village. The Fruitvale Village and similar developments are the product of a longstanding collaborative effort between city planners, urban designers and activists to create housing solutions that are accessible, equitable and sustainable. The Fruitvale Village is the brain-child of a community activism organization, The Unity Council, in collaboration with BART, AC Transit, and the City of Oakland. The design is unique but the development strategy is part of a larger movement in city planning, one that challenges the standard set about by Euclidean zoning and automobile dependence. Adopting these ideals while developing a commercially viable site remains in an experimental phase, and developments like this will be key in re-defining the future of American development. To understand why the Fruitvale site and these types of developments are so important it is useful to look at the historical context of transportation and development in the Bay Area.

Bay Area Transit History

Looking at the microcosm of the Bay Area we can see that into the mid 20th century the Bay Area had a transit system, the inter-urban Key System railway, which served the general public in an affordable and efficient manner. The 66 miles of electric streetcar track connected the various streetcar-suburbs of the East Bay with San Francisco via the Bay Bridge. As happened in many American cities, the financially ailing Key System was bought and dismantled in what came to be nationally known as the "Great American Streetcar Scandal" (Goddard, 1995). A front company, National City Lines, systematically dismantled streetcar systems on behalf of their corporate investors (those eventually indicted were General Motors, Firestone Tire, Phillips Petroleum, and Mac Truck) to be replaced by less efficient bus lines in cities across the U.S (Goddard, 1995). Fortunately, shortly after the complete discontinuation of the Key System in 1958, the newly formed publicly owned AC transit absorbed the Key System's former facilities and construction for the BART lines began shortly after, beginning service in 1972. The disappearance of the streetcar coincided with the rapid spread of Euclidean, or single-use, zoning which further fueled an increasing outward expansion that has seemingly irreparably defined the form of American development. Many other factors, such as the affordable automobile and availability of Federal Housing Administration loans have also been credited with hastening the spread of low-density housing (Farrell, 2002). During this time a cycle of disinvestment began to occur in inner cities as urban sprawl and "white flight" became interwoven. As traffic congestion increased and commute times lengthened many people began to realize the merit of mass-transit and a

dense urban core with amenities within walking distance. Statewide, billions of dollars have been spent to expand public transit operations in hopes of lessening automotive dependence. In response to these events urban thinkers, and many Bay Area residents among them, began to ask how we can bring communities to mass transit rather than to bring mass transit to outlying communities. The praxis of this ideology is what is now known as transit-oriented development.

What is Transit-Oriented Development?

The most reductive definition of transit-oriented development is housing development that places residents closer to transit reducing their need for an automobile; yet there are more aspects to this ideology than are implicit in the term. The term transit-oriented development was coined by Peter Calthorpe in his book The Next American Metropolis (1993), and is very broadly described as mixed use development, of medium to high-density, within walking distance of a transit station. In the traffic congested and generally environmentalist Bay Area this idea has gained traction among local governments, planners and community activists. The environmental aspects of transit-oriented planning are the most obvious purported benefits, as reducing single-occupant vehicle (SOV) trips is a straightforward method of reducing carbon emissions. Calthorpe's early career was enviro-centric, demonstrated by a failed solar-village he proposed and the description from his cohorts as "one of the original environmentalists"

(Delshon, p.18). Calthorpe set out to challenge the growing urban periphery of homogenous vehicle dependent sub-developments in The Next American Metropolis on the basis of the environmental and social degradation induced by the form of American development. In this regard Calthorpe was not a lone idealist. Many of his ideas overlapped with those of prior urban thinkers such as Jane Jacobs, who criticized Euclidean zoning and sprawl in her book Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961), and even retains some Garden City elements proposed by Ebenezer Howard in the 1920's. Calthorpe and other like-minded Urban Thinkers founded the Congress for New Urbanism in the 1990's to define and lobby for their ideals in development. These principles can be found in the dogmatic code of New Urbanists, The Charter of New Urbanism (2000). The fifth article of the Charter, which promotes transit-oriented development, argues that the necessities of daily living should be within walking distance and automobile trips should be discouraged in order to conserve energy (Hebbert, p.198). From this idea a myriad of terms have evolved such as Smart Growth or Transit Village; all of which hinge on the philosophy of mixed-use, high-density development near transit hubs. The concurrent ideology of New Urbanist adherents goes beyond the environmental aspects of transit-oriented development and into a wide-range of social issues they believe can be mitigated through the implementation of their designs.

While the environmental aspects of transit-oriented development are the most apparent, there are many social issues that New Urbanists hope to address in their design. The Charter of New Urbanism emphasizes the importance of fostering pedestrian friendly streets and plazas, particular building height and setback limitations, accessible social services and common amenities, reduced parking mandates, and socially inclusive developments that preserve a neighborhood's historic characteristics (Hebbert, p.199). New Urbanists feel these additional design adjustments will create more than an environmentally friendly development. A development which has an ambiance that fosters a psychological reaction among residents. New Urbanists feel their designs will revitalize urban areas and create a feeling of civic engagement and social inclusion absent from America's sprawling suburbs, all the while minimizing the environmental degradation related to urban sprawl. Lope (1994) perhaps best summarizes the vision of Calthorpe and his New Urbanist ilk, writing that New Urbanists propose "If streets are made walkable again, air pollution will abate as traffic congestion declines. If compact developments are built, less land will be consumed by low density housing. If neighbors are given a greater mix of activities and opportunities to meet, crime and social isolation will wane. The premise, is that new development that is planned in this manner will alter people's habits in response to a different built environment from the typical suburban community." (Basiago, p.149). The battle over transit-oriented development is not solely defined by antagonism to resource intensive urban-sprawl, it's proponents see it as a battle to re-establish the, hopefully, more racially and socioeconomically diverse, traditional township model in what they perceive as a country socially divided and personally isolated. As is reflected in the long-range plans of many progressive cities such as San Diego, Portland, San Francisco, and Oakland planners have grown attentive to the New Urbanist sensation. Yet, as often happens when idealists approach a broader public, New Urbanists have accumulated their fair share of detractors.

The idea of transit-oriented development and its concurrent ideology has received its fair share of criticism. The San Francisco Examiner categorized Calthorpe's magnus opus The Next American Metropolis as a "self-righteous approach to planning…. (that) pretends we don't need automobiles"(Delshon, p.19). Calthorpe coyly responded, "I can say until I'm blue in the face that I don't advocate eliminating cars, that I advocate providing healthy choices, and some people still won't get it. It really infuriates me because it tends to make these ideas seem really flaky and utopian." (Delshon, p.19). More criticism came to Calthorpe following his first project, the Laguna West development in Sacramento. The development, which was initially opposed by environmental groups before Calthorpe became involved, succeeded through dozens of code

and zoning changes. The reality of bureaucratic process, compromise and construction issues ultimately watered down Calthorpe's vision. Wall Street Journal architectural critic Eve Kahn referred to Calthorpe's first design as "Laguna Worst", accusing planners of rubber-stamping his ideas out of awe rather than thoughtful consideration (Kahn, Eve). Other critiques of the transit-village sensation shy away from personal attacks and touch on larger issues, such as that transit-oriented development is often pursued in historically marginalized areas and rapid investment has the potential to gentrify an area and displace former residents faster than one might expect. This criticism relates to the growing proclivity for urbanism among millennials, making the idyllic Transit Village a utopia for these suburbia fatigued masses. An oft-cited study on transit-oriented developments from 14 cities found that, at the census tract level, areas which invest in transit-oriented development also undergo a faster rate of gentrification than similar areas which do not (Kahn, 2007). Some other examples of criticisms include that suburbanization induced by zoning laws can not be reversed by further regulation or the similar neoliberal argument that American sprawl is the result of consumer preference (e.g Wendell Cox). Yet despite these criticisms local, state and federal agencies have taken note of transit-oriented development (and often the social New Urbanist ideal riders) and begun to invest and participate in such developments.

The transit-oriented development experiment increasingly continues to gain validation through funding by federal, state, and local governments. In the case of the Fruitvale Village, The City of Oakland received a $245,000 Sustainable Communities Grant from Caltrans to explore transit-oriented developments at six locations along International Boulevard. The plan won the Grassroots Project award from the Northern California branch of the American Planning Association in 2011. The grant that bankrolled the transit-oriented development feasibility study along International Boulevard was ultimately paid for by the Federal Transit Administration. The stated goal of the Sustainable Communities Grants program is, according to their webpage, to "fund transportation planning projects that achieve the Caltrans Mission and Grant Program Overarching Objectives, identify and address mobility deficiencies in the multimodal transportation system, encourage stakeholder collaboration, involve active public engagement, integrate Smart Mobility 2010 concepts, and ultimately result in programmed system improvements." (California Department of Transportation). While the legalese description given might not offer many clues as to what specific agendas Caltrans is seeking to address with these grants, a hint is offered in their example descriptions. The first three example projects they list are: "Studies that advances a community's effort to reduce transportation related greenhouse gases.", "Studies that assist transportation

agencies in creating sustainable communities" or "Studies that advances a community's effort to address the impacts of climate change and sea level rise". This shows an increased awareness among state and federal agencies of the urgent need to address environmental risks posed by urban sprawl. On the local level this foci is illustrated in Oakland's general plan, which emphasizes transit-oriented development. In 1996 Oakland adopted a "Transit First" resolution which sought to prioritize investment in public transit above the interests of single-occupant vehicles. Oakland's General Plan lists the Fruitvale BART site as a "first priority" transit-oriented development, and further elaborates that it is to become a "Transit Village" (a key term in New Urbanist syntax) in the Policy Framework section of the Transportation element (City of Oakland). Presently the Fruitvale Village is one of two dozen transit-oriented developments being planned along just the BART corridor (Smith), which is only one of many Bay Area transit services that have begun to take the hotly contested New Urbanist vision off the drawing boards and into construction.

The Fruitvale Villate Transit-Oriented Development

The Fruitvale Village transit-oriented development is a two phase mixed-use development, adjacent to the Fruitvale BART station and AC Transit Hub, which includes many New Urbanist themes and designs through a new zoning overlay in Oakland's planning code. In order for the City of Oakland to proceed with this development planners had to create the new S-15 Zone overlay, because the type of high-density mixed use development in the Fruitvale Village design

> "The S-15 zone is intended to create, preserve and enhance areas devoted primarily to serve multiple nodes of transportation and to feature high-density residential, commercial, and mixed-use developments to encourage a balance of pedestrian-oriented activities, transit opportunities, and concentrated development; and encourage a safe and pleasant pedestrian environment near transit stations by allowing a mixture of residential, civic, commercial, and light industrial activities, allowing for amenities such as benches, kiosks, lighting, and outdoor cafes; and by limiting conflicts between vehicles and pedestrians, and is typically appropriate around transit centers such as Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) stations, AC Transit centers, and other transportation nodes." (Oakland Planning Code, p. 369).

was without precedent. The definition of the S-15 zone is stated in Oakland's planning code, Chapter 17.97.

The mixed-use transit-oriented development in the Fruitvale Village Phase I is overall reflective of the vision New Urbanists proponents have lobbied for. The zone permits a wide-range of uses that are beneficial to the community, such as: a residential care facility, health clinic, library, bicycle storage and repair center,

child care center, and community education center (all of which are present in Phase I of the Fruitvale Village). The zone also includes more traditional commercial activity such as: food services (including, with conditions, fast food), consultative and financial services, and retail stores. Developments in the S-15 zone are also mandated to include a pedestrian plaza, very similar in design to those which New Urbanists argue help foster a sense of civic engagement and community they feel is missing in standard Euclidean-type developments. The maximum parking increase is set at a 75% increase in spaces which must be a in a multi-level parking garage (minimum three stories), built to replace an existing at grade parking lot. Additionally no increase in street parking is to be permitted in S-15 designated zones. Parking fees in S-15 zones are to be designated by the City of Oakland to promote the multi-modal transit goals outlined in the city's General Plan. Phase I on the Fruitvale Village contains 47 one and two bedroom apartments, 10 of which are designated as "affordable units" for those earning between 35-80% of the Area Median Income (The Unity Council). The maximum height limitation in S-15 zones is 30 feet. Phase I of the Fruitvale Village is the end result of years of meticulous planning and community organizing.

Phase I of the Fruitvale Village was accomplished largely as a grassroots effort by community activists. The history of the Fruitvale Village development began in 1991 when BART proposed building a parking structure at the site, only to be met with fierce opposition from the community and local businesses who felt it wouldn't serve the benefit of the neighborhood. After BART withdrew their proposal, city planners met with the Unity Council, a local non-profit, to reach a consensus about how to redevelop the area surrounding the Fruitvale BART Station. The Unity Council (formally known as the Spanish Speaking Unity Council) is a non-profit organization founded in 1964 to protect the rights of the predominantly Latino population of the Fruitvale Area. Through the 1980's and 90's the Unity Council began to acquire properties to renovate and use as low-income or senior housing. In 1992 the City of Oakland gave the Unity Council a $185,000 grant from the city's Community Development Block Grant to determine an alternate plan for the site, and, after being impressed with the Unity Council's work, the Federal Transit Administration offered an additional $470,000 grant in 1993. According to the Unity Council website the Fruitvale Project "was the culmination of years of partnership and coordination between hundreds of agencies and governments." (The Unity Council). While the degree of these partnerships isn't completely documented, the completion of the project demonstrates that the Unity Council was an effective intermediary between the community and government agencies. In 1997 the Unity Council (under their newly formed moniker The Fruitvale Development Corporation, or FDC) gained control of the land in a land-swap with BART. Around this same time BART

received a $7.3 million grant to erect a new multi-level parking garage providing 150 parking spaces. AC Transit also underwent a Major Investment Study on how to increase services in the surrounding communities to the Fruitvale BART area (AC Transit), supporting the goal of increasing multi-modal transit outlined in Oakland's General Plan. Groundbreaking for the Fruitvale Village Phase I begun in 1999, and the development was formally opened in 2004. (Federal Highway Administration).

Phase II of the Fruitvale project is less eclectic in its social benefits, but retains the fundamental goal of increasing housing density near transit hubs. Phase II of the Fruitvale Village transit-oriented development is to consist of three four story condominium buildings, with a mixture of one, two and three bedroom apartments. In total Phase II will consist of 275 mixed rate housing units and will be accompanied by the construction of a six floor parking garage with 277

parking spaces (Fruitvale Village Phase 2 final EIR). The site of Phase II is a ground level parking lot that currently consists of 547 parking spaces. There will be four pedestrian courtyards for the buildings and pedestrian walkways between the parking garage and Phase I of the Fruitvale Village development. Construction is set to begin in 2017. The main concerns, and their corresponding mitigation measures, listed in the Environmental Impact Report for Phase II of

the project largely address the issue of traffic flow and congestion in the area. This is reflective of Transit Element of Oakland's General Plan, which recognizes traffic congestion as a significant issue in the Fruitvale BART area. The mitigation measures listed in the EIR suggest increased traffic monitoring equipment, as well as pedestrian and bike lane improvements. It's suggested in the EIR that the Fruitvale Village Phase II development will not surpass the greenhouse gas emission threshold, as the development should decrease the overall amount of greenhouse gas emissions by placing residents near transit options. Carbon sequestration will also be pursued through an increase in vegetation along the surrounding blocks. Funding, however, for this phase of development has become tricky as one of the main investors, L + M Development Partners, decided to back out of the project following a dispute with the city; they wanted to buy the land rather than lease it (Li, p.2). The Unity Council is still seeking funding to begin this project, which is set for next year.

Conclusion

The Fruitvale Village transit-oriented development is an example of what a socially and environmentally sensitive development should be, but there are underlying and unavoidable issues with this and similar developments. How these developments will affect the neighborhood and whether or not they can have an effect on the issues they attempt to address is yet to be seen. More specifically, will the construction of "transit village" developments be able to keep pace with the ever growing demand for such practical designs? Investors are still wary of such designs, evident by the lack of funding for Phase II of the Fruitvale Village, and the increased cost of including New Urbanist designs is not helpful. Still, developments completed by New Urbanist designers (e.g Calthorpe, Duany, Plater-Zyberk) often outperform their modern sprawling counterparts in demand and value. For example a report from the organization TOD Index proudly boasts that transit-oriented developments are valued at 3.48 times more than non-TOD developments per square foot (Renee). This raises the question; will the rate of displacement increase in transit accessible areas, such as Fruitvale? And if so are wealthy residents going to be switching places with those who are more vulnerable to increased transit costs? The bell of urban sprawl has been rung, and supporting smart-growth is a good step forward, but the rate of development is not promising. If the New Urbanist transit-oriented developments can be built in a scale large enough to create negligible difference in the intermodal commute split numbers is yet to be seen.

Another issue is if the New Urbanist designs of the Fruitvale station are having the social impacts proponents claim. While the many social services offered in Fruitvale Phase I are certainly beneficial, the deeper social impacts New

Urbanists claim will materialize have yet to be seen. The idea that incorporating certain designs will somehow reform bad actors in a community seems a little far fetched. The Fruitvale BART is still ranked as the second highest station in numbers of property crime, and other crimes seem to continue unabated. The private security that have been hired may help reduce the numbers of crime eventually, but that is a far-cry from the claim that crime will wane as a result of the New Urbanist designs. Perhaps those types of changes take years to materialize, and if they do occur it will more likely be from gentrification rather than design elements.

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PUBLIC SPACE & CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

OUT OF THE PARKS, INTO THE STREETS:

How Civic Engagement is Transforming Public Spaces

Cole Brennan

Introduction

Public space development is a foundational element of urban planning. Much of the discipline of urban planning evolved from the need for more and improved open spaces in cities in the nineteenth century, and the provision of public space continues to be among the most obvious and valued effects of urban planning. As the U.S. population has grown increasingly fond of living in big cities in the past twenty years, demands for new and improved urban public space have also grown. Civic engagement in public space use and design is growing beyond the narrow confines of traditional public comment meetings. In some cases, residents have circumvented the planning process to create the public space they crave. There are a few strategies that have emerged as to increase the public in public spaces, ranging from small interventions that use the boundary of public and private space as a zone of interaction, to city-sponsored festivals of new public space ideas, to makeshift infrastructure made to intervene where locals feel there is an unmet need. Some Citizens are altering public spaces to improve their community, and sometimes in order to change local plans or the planning process itself. Some governments are harnessing this resurgent civic engagement by temporarily altering regulations to allow the public to use a space differently.

This paper will use three case studies to understand the diversity of public interventions and their impacts. Two examples, Little Free Libraries and San Francisco Municipal Transformations, originated with private citizens acting to improve their own local conditions. The third example, Market Street Prototyping, illustrates how planning departments can encourage, organize, and incorporate lay-led public space interventions. What counts as good public space has changed as cities have changed over the past hundred and fifty years. Civic urbanism reflects and represents those changes by incorporating public engagement at the most irreducible public urban element: the street.

Case Study 1: Little Free Libraries

Little Free Libraries started in Wisconsin in 2009. They are simple little boxes, about shoulder height, that face the street and contain free books donated and taken by passers-by. They are registered to a central organization, but they are not monitored by the organization. There are over 10,000 in North America, including 23 registered in the San Francisco, and over 50,000 built world-wide (Little Free Libraries, 2016). Although there was nothing new about community free-boxes (Berkeley has a particularly notable one that has long been a resource for obtuse academic books and bourgeois-bohemian children's clothing), Little Free Libraries innovate by having a registry of the libraries and an online network connecting the stewards who maintain the libraries. Unlike

previous free boxes and libraries, Little Free Libraries are meant to encourage the creation of more Little Free Libraries. The creators started with a goal of topping Andrew Carnegie's 2,509 free libraries created. Although Little Free Library is now a registered non-profit with libraries all over the world installing, maintaining, and using the libraries is not guided or mandated by any agency.

Little Free Libraries are emblematic of a trend for Do-It-Yourself (DIY) urbanism. The characteristics of DIY urbanism are a creative, unsanctioned (not necessarily legal or illegal) project with the aim of improving the civic experience without permits and without an expectation of affecting change in the planning structure. DIY urbanism projects are often created on an ad hoc basis. DIY urbanism differs from tactical urbanism in that the

libraries are often posted at the edge of the steward's private property, facing the sidewalk, as a very subtle subversion of public-private boundaries. They are casual, conversational neighborhood features that uninterested passers-by need not ever notice. They do not present themselves as alternatives to public libraries, and because of their titular smallness, they are never mistaken for one. They offer almost no comment on public planning, with one slight, implied exception: they are a civic-led non-commodity installation piece that gently disturbs the balance of insular private property and bland common ground that is so common to residential neighborhoods (Gollner, 2013) By using the sanctity of private property for the cases and free speech for the books, the Little Free Libraries have gone up all across North America unchallenged. By placing the libraries at the edge of their own property, stewards get around one of the biggest deterrents to casual civic engagement: an ambiguous legal framework governing the acceptable use of public spaces. This ambiguous legal framework is the biggest challenge facing the motivated members of the public who would like to use and improve public spaces. It crops up in all of the case studies, and this paper examines it more closely after reviewing all of the case studies.

Case Study 2: Market Street Prototyping Festival

Some civic urbanism projects start with individuals, and some start with nonprofits or government agencies. Market Street Prototyping Festival (MSPF) started with Gray Area Foundation for the Arts, a local art-supporting non-profit, trying out an Urban Prototyping festival for artists in San Francisco in 2012. Fatefully, they included the SF Planning Department as part of the jury, and the Planning Department enjoyed the festival enough to commission one of the prototypes. After reviewing the responses from surveys asking about improvements for the future of Market Street, the Planning Department took it upon themselves to work on a prototyping project for the critical but neglected street. They partnered with Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, and hosted the first Market Street Prototyping Festival in 2015 (MSPF, 2016).

The prototyping festival is itself a form of the place-making it is searching for. By hosting a festival on Market Street to try out new ideas for Market Street, the Planning Department is, in a very meta way, trying out a new idea on Market Street. In comparison to the DIY urbanism of Little Free Libraries, MSPF is a tactical urbanism project. The key difference is that the goal of the festival is to change the policy, rather than just the norms, governing that particular area. The SF Planning Department is looking to change how it manages this street, and is proactively reaching out to the public for solutions. This is in contrast to usual planning processes, which would come up with ideas first and ask the public for reactive feedback. The festival works as civic urbanism because the prototypes are created by a variety of local groups, from the San Francisco Public Library to youth arts programs. (At the 2016 MSPF, the library hosted a prototype that included old newspaper boxes full of free books people could take home, not unlike the Little Free Libraries.) The prototype festival brings pedestrians to the area and encourages an open mind about Market Street's potential. Both constructing a prototype and attending the festival act as forms of civic engagement, with the added appeal of being much more truly engaging than any public comment meeting.

Case Study 3: SFMTrA

After a tragic night in June 2016, when two bicyclists were killed in unrelated incidents in San Francisco, a small group of concerned citizens got together to do more than ask for change. They called themselves the San Francisco Municipal Transformation Agency. They purchased some traffic cones and stenciled them with the acronym of their group, SFMTrA, and began placing them at the beginnings of bike lanes, starting with the two intersections where cyclists had recently been killed ("About", 2016). Their point was that any physical barrier on the bike lane might have helped avoid the deaths of the two cyclists and the

thousands of other pedestrians and cyclists injured by motorists each year. And the traffic cones worked. Although the test case is too small to know if injuries were prevented, the group filmed cars going through the intersections with and without the cones. Motorists approaching the cones travelled more slowly and did not cut into the bike lane while turning. Since speed increases the severity of injuries and turning vehicles are more likely to be involved in a crashes than vehicles travelling straight, these changes indicate that bike lanes with even minimal physical barriers are safer than ones made of only paint. Soon, the group graduated to gluing down safe-hit posts.

The only hitch is that all of this is technically illegal. The group expected push-back from SFMTA, but they also knew that city officials are proud of their Vision Zero commitment to eliminate traffic deaths in San Francisco, and embarrassed by the lack of progress in bringing down the death rate despite expensive investments. SFMTrA wielded their commitment to stopping traffic deaths against the city's, saying that the cones and posts might work- why not let them stand until the city builds something better? The cones and posts have created fans among city cyclists, and when SFMTA periodically comes to remove them, the group reminds their social media followers to write and call SFMTA: "We want the city to know that (1) the posts on Folsom made you more safe (2) you want those posts to be replaced with something as good or better, and (3) that you demand immediate safety improvements while long term street transformations are developed." -SFMTrA, October 24, 2016 With their local following and simple interventions, SFMTrA has been able to affect real change from SFMTA.

While the official organization begrudges the informal interventions, the outcry from removing them is substantial, and SFMTA has removed and reinstalled at least three sets of safe-fit posts around town. SFMTA has also sped up plans to improve bike infrastructure in SoMa in response to the concerted public response to SFMTrA's interventions. SFMTA's blog now regularly posts articles like "Beyond Safe-Hit Posts: Tackling the challenges of engineering safer streets" (Bailick, 2016) and "Three Ways Painted Safety Zones Make People Safer" (Jose, 2016), trying to highlight where they do and why they don't always implement or allow SFMTrA's interventions.

Weaknesses of Civic Urbanism

It is important to note that not even Mike Lydon himself promotes tactical urbanism as a replacement for traditional planning (and he literally wrote the book on it: Tactical Urbanism, 2015). Civic Urbanism works best at the level of small-to-moderate improvements of existing projects and very localized new

projects. Beyond that, and the scale of interdependencies becomes too large and the amount of investment needed becomes insurmountable by ad hoc groups of citizens or even big organizations. SFMTrA can demonstrate safer interim bikeway designs, but is still asking for SFMTA to provide the permanent infrastructure and the city-wide scale, both of which are outside of SFMTrA's scope. Tactical urbanism, let alone DIY urbanism, cannot approach the level of policy complexity entailed in projects like the Transbay Terminal. Professional urban planners are still needed.

Another weakness of civic urbanism is that it does not address conflict over space. One of the reasons sidewalks are generally passable is that there is a social construct of not using the sidewalk so much that you block it. Free Little Libraries sound good, but what about free little DJ booths? Streets and sidewalks can tolerate much more diverse use than they currently support, but not an infinite amount. Not every civic-minded idea is a good idea. How can a city or a citizen weed out objectionable forms fairly? This remains an open question. Perhaps a counter civic intervention will be needed to mitigate the first.

Commonalities and Trends

One aspect that all three examples have in common is a view of city streets as the most vital, most impactful, and most improvable public space. This view of streets as the center of civic life is present in each project, but is especially obvious when the projects are taken as a whole. This represents a major shift from public space paradigms from even half a century ago, which centered parks, plazas, and open spaces as the crucial public spaces of urban life.

The shift toward streets is indicative of two trends in urban life. The first is that the image of city life has become enviable rather than intolerable. When Ebenezer Howard was proselytizing for the Garden City movement at the turn of the last century, while the field of urban planning was still taking shape, cities were dirty, poor, crowded, unsafe, and unsanitary. Parks- especially verdant parks- were seen as medicinal. They were good for what ailed cities. Public parks made the air more breathable and the inequalities between the classes more bearable (Stuart & Le Gates, 2016). While public parks remain vital aspects of civic life, the idea that city-dwellers need a reprieve from city life is no longer the guiding principal in urban planning. In the modern view, the city is itself enjoyable and civilizing.

The second urban trend is toward movement and integration, away from atomization and reprieve. Cities are loosening their reliance on single-use zoning in order to mix functions, classes, and businesses, to bring vitality and dynamism to more parts of the city (Montgomery, 2014). Fewer parts of the city

are maintained as single-use zones. Large public open spaces function as a kind of single-use zoning, just as RH-1(D) limits a tract of land to a very particular kind of housing. While there is still broad public support for public parks, there is also a move to mix more park elements into other public spaces. Parks no longer have a monopoly on a city's benches, chess tables, and nice places to walk. Although the official use of streets is still as functional spaces of circulation, the social ideal of streets includes many elements traditionally reserved for parks, such as places to sit and eat, greenery, art, and even some entertainment.

Policy and law still fall firmly on the side of streets as circulatory system. In his essay "Colored Rabbits, Dangerous Trees, and Public Sitting", Nicholas Blomley describes the circulatory street as a functional public utility preserved by a police asserting a negative legal space, "rather than a traditional positive legal logic, whereby all is permitted unless expressly forbidden, a Coded sidewalk appears to require active permissions by the state." (Blomley, 2012) Public space streets that act as fora for diverse uses represent a civic humanist perspective on street use, according to Blomley. The new (or renewed) patterns of civic engagement that use tactical and DIY urbanism to transform street spaces bring the adage that "it is easier to ask for forgiveness than permission" stance to public space modifications. Even when the projects are sanctioned by the planning department and properly permitted, as is the case with the Market Street Prototyping Festival, there is still the rest of the public that needs to grant the unconventional use. Parking is an especially sacrosanct part of the urban streetscape, and civic urbanist forays to recapture that wealth of urban space have been both promising and controversial.

San Francisco's Pavement to Parks program, for instance, started as tactical urbanist stunt of feeding a parking meter and rolling out some sod instead of parking a car. If a car can pay for the use of the space, why can't a lawn chair? City planning official responses ranged from bemused to skeptical to assimilationist. The concept proved popular enough to need an outlet, but the fear of (more) parking space anarchy in San Francisco loomed over the regulatory agencies. What started as a cheap, moveable side project for the civic-minded became a regulated, permitted, and substantially more expensive tool for cafes to expand their seating in a cool way. Still, there are now approximately fifty parklets scattered across San Francisco (SF Planning Department, 2016), and more planned. The city has adopted this tool for reclaiming street space as public space. The popularity has spread to other cities, including nearby Oakland and far-flung Cape Town.

Similarly, Ciclovia started in Bogota in the 1970s and spread around the world.

It came to San Francisco as Sunday Streets in 2008 (Livable Cities, 2016). Could SFMTrA and Market Street Prototyping be the next projects to spread around the world? SFMTrA shows strong signs of snowballing across the country. Like Little Free Libraries and the original parklets, SFMTrA needs just a few committed individuals and some cheap supplies to get started. In just the few months since SFMTrA began, erstwhile branches have popped up in Boston, Portland, and Chicago. There seems to be momentum for street-level civic engagement. Planning departments should help or get out of the way.

Groundplay is San Francisco's Newest Public Space Program

In March 2017, the San Francisco Department of Public Works announced that their separate projects for Market Street Prototyping Festival and parklets (known as Pavement to Parks) as well a few similar projects would all be held together under the umbrella group called Groundplay. The projects are focused on the theme of repurposing street space for public use as defined by the public. "Groundplay emphasizes a grassroots process that's community-driven and encourages the kind of stewardship that can sustain real and integrated change," according to their new website (Groundplay, 2017). The goal of this rebranding was to better emphasize the commonalities of the projects and make it clearer to the public who to reach out to for street space projects. They hope that this rebranding will make their efforts more easily recognized and make it easier for people with project ideas will know who to reach out to in city government. This seems like a positive development for the public development of public spaces in the future, because it make the Department of Public Works open to more varieties of public space transformations.

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DOWNTOWN STOCKTON REDVELOPMENT

Annamarie Cunningham

Introduction

I was born and raised in Stockton, a city that for years couldn't catch a break. While the adversity that Stockton faces is far from over, there is a growing team of young people dedicated to bringing about positive change. This photo essay features the stories of a few of the people who are working on changing the physical landscape of Stockton's historic downtown.

←← View of Weber Avenue and Sutter Street in Downtown Stockton. Weber Avenue in particular is home to many buildings that are in the process of being redeveloped.

← The exterior of 726 Weber Avenue, a warehouse space bought by Bay Area transplants, Jared Rusten and Emily Oestreicher. Jared is a furniture designer and Emily is an event planner. Exorbitant rents pushed them out of San Francisco and, after a long search, into Stockton. They purchased 10,000 sq ft of space, 5,000 for the building and 5,000 for the vacant lot next to it, for $210,000. Their monthly mortgage payment on 726 Weber is less than one-fifth of what their monthly rent was in San Francisco.

↑ Jared, and his dog Cash, in the workshop part of their building.

Stockton's downtown is easy to fall in love with. There are ghost signs advertising long-gone hotels and general stores, amazing views of the sun going down over the delta, and beautiful historic brick buildings, including 726 Weber, which was built in 1918. When Emily and Jared started looking at buildings in Stockton, they also reached out to members of the community and "were immediately welcomed." They bought 726 Weber in 2015, rehabilitated it for a year, celebrated their wedding there last August, and moved in the following month. While the renovations aren't completely done, they've already shared their building as an event space for a few different organizations from around the city.

↑   Emily stands with Cash in their kitchen.

Emily and Jared are invested in Stockton for the long haul. Not only do they now own and live in a piece of the physical landscape of Downtown, but they've made it a point to be a part of the culture of positive change that's growing Stockton. As with any redevelopment, there is the threat of gentrification, displacement, and loss of culture. But Emily explains that "what we want [for Stockton] is less important than what the city wants for itself," and Stockton wants to see better days. "There is an opportunity here to revitalize a city in an inclusive way without running of the risk of any displacement." After years of investment by community organizations, non-profits, and people like Emily and Jared, Stockton is ready for "mindful revitalization" and positive change.

→ Engine house #3 (nicknamed the Firehouse), a historic building located at 19 North Pilgrim Street in Downtown Stockton.

The Firehouse was built between 1906-1908, and will eventually be home to the current owners, Amy Baskerville and Rudi Blondia. Amy and Rudi purchased the Firehouse in February 2016 for just under $190,000, and ultimately hope to transform it into "a photographic art space for current and historical photographic processes with a gallery and photo studio." Amy explained that their vision for the firehouse is to see it transformed into a space of civic engagement, mutual respect, and "an environment in which learning and discovery are supported."

As they transform the Firehouse, Amy and Rudi hope that it will become a "base for the neighborhood, from which all are respected and encouraged to grow and contribute." They are bringing their strengths, Amy, her enthusiasm and "ability to get things done," Rudi, his passion for "art, science and technology," and they hope that the neighborhood will respond in kind. So far the community, many of the same people Emily and Jared are involved with, has responded positively.

Both Amy and Rudi are dedicated to contributing to the "mindful redevelopment" of the downtown area. Rudi describes Stockton as having the right mix of "grit" and people with "passion and enthusiasm" to make lasting positive change in the city. Their desire is to revitalize downtown "in a way that it's full diversity is encouraged and protected." Amy and Rudi's hopes for the Firehouse represent a step towards a positive, inclusive future for downtown Stockton.

Thank you to Emily, Jared, Amy, and Rudi for opening their homes and sharing stories with me! And thank you to Jasmine Leek from Third City Coalition for helping me get in touch with these fantastic individuals!

← Staircase leading to the second floor of the Firehouse, where Amy and Rudi's private living quarters will be located, as well as a living space for visiting artists or guests.

↓ Amy, center, on the second floor of the Firehouse.

FLINT, DAKOTA ACCESS PIPELINE, & MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES' FIGHT FOR CLEAN DRINKING WATER

Jose Francisco

Introduction

Have you thought twice about your drinking water source? For some, having access to clean water may seem unequivocal. But for some communities, the access to a clean water source may pose as a major obstacle. Marginalized communities--low income communities and communities of color--continue to carry a heavier burden when it comes to receiving equal access to resources including those that pertain to health and environmental equality. But when it comes to having clean drinking water, something that is essential to our survival as human beings, why must some communities have to fight for such basic human right? Current issues in our nation have highlighted marginalized communities and their fight for clean drinking water. Flint, Michigan residents and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe are just two examples of communities that have struggled and still continue to fight for safe drinking water.

Public Utilities and the Inequality of Access

In Flint, a predominantly low-income and African American community, residents continue to face tainted drinking water containing lead and other toxins after the city tapped into the Flint River as its main water source. According to the United States Census Bureau (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), 41.6% of residents in Flint live below the poverty line and the median income is $24,679, almost half the amount compared to Michigan's overall median income of $49,087; while a majority of Flint's population is African American with 56.6% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). The improperly treated water caused lead from aging pipelines to leach, exposing citizens to negative health effects due to the consumption and use of lead-contaminated water. According to the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), behavioral and learning problems can result in children, while cardiovascular and reproductive problems can rise in both men and women (EPA, 2016a). The consumption of lead-contaminated water has since caused health problems to residents of Flint. The EPA has since criticized the state's lack of "transparency and accountability" in addressing Flint's water crisis and its citizens (EPA, 2016).

In the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's fight against the Dakota Access pipeline, which desecrates spiritual ancestral lands, also presents environmental concerns including threats of endangering the tribe's water supply. The pipeline was switched from the town of Bismarck, North Dakota, a predominantly White community, to the tribe's water source, the Lake Oahe in North Dakota (Buncombe, 2016). According to U.S. Census Bureau, 92.4% of residents in Bismarck are white (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). On December 4, 2016, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers denied the Dakota Access pipeline company to permit access to cross under Lake Oahe. However, since Donald Trump's inauguration

into office on January 20, 2017, the continuation of the construction of the pipeline has been enacted. As of March 14, 2017, the Huffington Post states that oil may pass through the pipeline for the first time in the coming weeks (McLaughlin, 2017).

Marginalized communities continue to become targets for injustice. Flint officials presumed using dangerous water supply because of concerns of higher cost, which signal their value of economic gain over the safety of Flint residents. The local and state government's lack of transparency over the water crisis to their residents brings to question the morality of those in power. Those in government and political power must place the well being of its residents first rather than the interest of economic gain. The water crisis places Flint residents at most vulnerable due to their high rates of poverty and overall low median income. Flint's poverty rate is almost three times higher compared Michigan, 41.6% versus 15.8% in the state overall (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015); and Flint residents have a disproportionately lower median income ($24,679) that is almost two times lower compared to the state overall ($49,087). Those who live in poverty have less access to health insurance and adequate health care services (Stiehm, 2000). In addition, having a low income prevents more residents from moving and relocating to other housing and neighborhoods away from the affected water pipelines. In terms of education attainment, less Flint residents have attained a bachelor's degree (11.2%), almost twice as low compared to the state overall (26.9%). Education is critical to social and economic mobility and can affect one's ability to navigate health care and economic resources, to local and state government officials and policy (Zimmerman, Woolf, & Haley, 2015).

The injustice faced by Flint residents reflects the Sioux Tribe's, especially the exploitation of officials in power to minority communities. The overwhelmingly White community of Bismarck was able to get the Dakota Access Pipeline moved without a fight, while members of the Sioux Tribe continue to fight against the pipeline to this day. The territory off the Sioux Tribe covers both North Dakota and South Dakota. Native Americans in both states earn less of an income, almost twice as low, compared to the median income in each state: the median income in North Dakota for Native Americans is $25,255, compared to the state overall with $48,670; while the median income in South Dakota for Native Americans is $24,747, compared to the state overall with $50,000 (North Dakota Department of Health, 2010; South Dakota Dashboard, 2016). Again, those who make less of an income have less access to economic and health care resources. However, other issues arise such as the continuous exploitation of Native Americans and their land, along with the policies that have alienated their involvement in the state government and the control of their own land (Lewis, 1995). Further, the expansion of fossil fuel extraction on federal land deflect

away from current efforts to strengthen solar power and renewable energy. Fossil fuels such as natural gases are finite, and according to Roger Lyn, staff attorney at the environmental justice organization Communities for a Better Environment, "we are running out of oil." Lyn predicts that we will run out of traditional oil sources in ten to twenty years, and continuous effort to extract oil from the ground using methods such as fracking present a health hazard, not only to our environment but our health. In terms of natural gas extraction, the process utilizes fracking, which uses and contaminates a significant amount of water and increases the chance of earthquakes, while NOX is released from gas-fired power plants, which is a probable human carcinogen (The Endowment for Human Development, 2016; U.S. Department of Energy, 2016).

Being a resident of the Bay Area, we are fortunate to live in a state that became the first to recognize the human right to water. In 2012, California Governor Jerry Brown signed AB 685 which aims to ensure universal access to safe water by declaring that "every human being has the right to safe, clean, affordable, and accessible water" (California Legislative Information, 2012). This directs state agencies to consider the human right to drinking water when revising, adopting, or establishing policies and regulations. However, even for California residents, the fight for equal access to clean drinking water is not over. According to Community Water Center, a non-profit organization dedicated to addressing ongoing drinking water problems of California's Central Valley communities, "more than one million Californians are exposed to unsafe drinking water from the taps in their homes and schools" (Community Water Center, 2016). Therefore, we must remain aware of potential contamination from our sources of drinking water.

Conclusion

Clean drinking water is a basic human right, not a privilege. One's socioeconomic status or the color of one's skin must not be a determinant in receiving access to clean water. It is alarming that such basic human right as to having equal access to clean drinking water is still a barrier and threat to communities of such an industrialized nation as the U.S. It is important to address systematic problems of racial injustice expressed through institutional racism and structural violence that affect people of color. Fundamental attention in policy must be directed towards social justice, and changes in such policies must assert value and priority to all human life--especially to those most vulnerable.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) states that every community water supplier must provide an annual report (CDC, 2009). In order to check for your neighborhood, you can search your Consumer Confidence

Report thought the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's website at https://ofmpub.epa.gov/apex/safewater/f?p=136:102.

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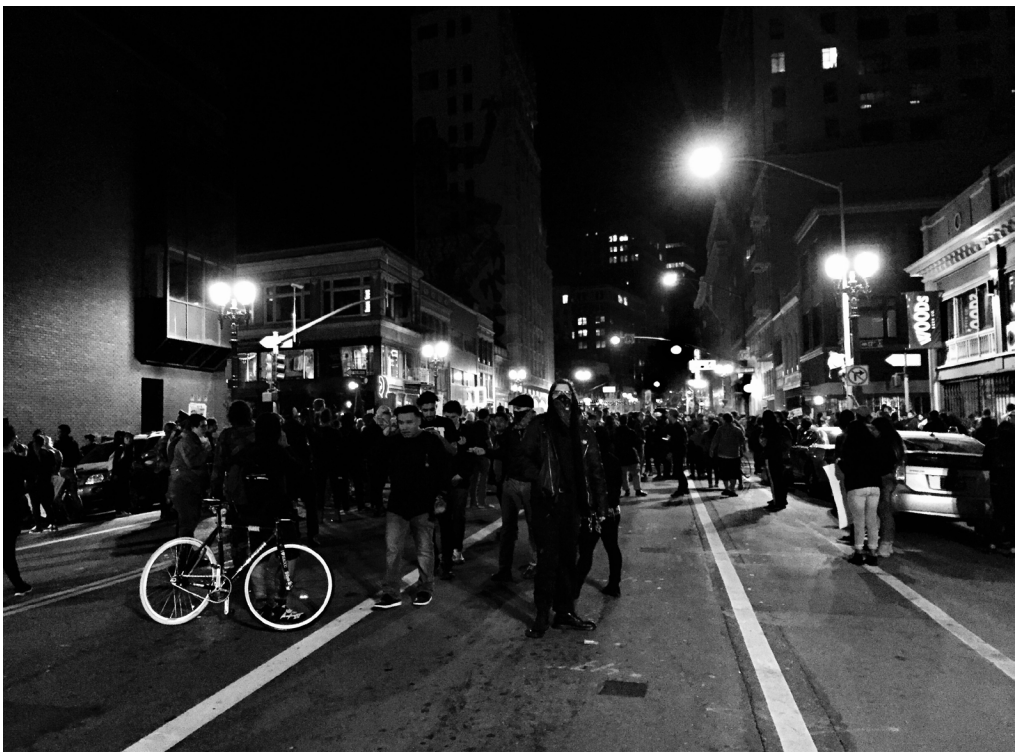February 14 2017, Solidarity with Standing Rock, Castro neighborhood

TRUMP PROTEST: OAKLAND 2016

Mia Taber

Introduction

I attended the protest against Donald Trump on November 10, 2016 in Oakland, California, two days after he was elected president of the United States. Protesters assembled at Frank H. Ogawa Plaza (Oscar Grant Plaza) and rallied and marched in opposition of Trump's hateful rhetoric against women, immigrants, Mexicans, African Americans, Muslims and LGBTQ. The protest was peaceful for the most part and lasted about three hours.

←←   Behind the March on 14th St.

←   Do Not Enter

←   Marching Down Telegraph Ave.

↑   Locked in Make Westing

↑   Fists up around a sign with anti-capitalist sentiment

←   Arrest in Front of Rudy's Can't Fail Cafe

↑   Sidelines of the Rally

↑   Signs arguing against bigotry and racism

→→   Rally at Oscar Grant Plaza

WOMEN'S MARCH ON SAN FRANCISCO:

A Movement of the People

Michela Yared

Introduction

On January 21, 2017 people representing a multitude of ethnic backgrounds and social identities united in downtown San Francisco to participate in the international Women's March. Coinciding with the March on Washington in D.C., the city of San Francisco was part of a collective of sister marches that occurred in urban spaces all across the globe, including cities such as London, Paris, and Amsterdam. Within San Francisco alone an estimated crowd of 100,000 people gathered in solidarity for the protection of the rights of women, immigrants, religious faiths (in particular Muslim and Jewish), people identifying with the LGBTQ community, Native and Indigenous people, people with disabilities, and the economically impoverished. Held at Civic Center Plaza, the demonstration initiated with activists' words of comradeship and encouragement, including performer Joan Baez leading the crowd in singing "We Shall Overcome" in Spanish. The rally was followed by a march down Market street to the Embarcadero where people held signs and called chants including the popularized "A people united, will never be divided!" In the midst of divisive political rhetoric individuals took to the streets to voice unity in a peaceful, vigorous demonstration.

← ← A large crowd fills Civic Center Plaza as people wait for the rally to begin.

← Woman raises a symbol of female empowerment during a speech made by grassroots coordinator Maria de Lourdes Reboyoso.

→ → A protestor holds up a sign in front of the Women's March stage set in the center of the plaza.

← Two individuals hold homemade signs on the corner of Market street as the march begins.

↓ College students hold posters and decorate clothing to encourage others to rise up.

→→ Woman carries a protest sign against the proposed wall to be built between Mexico and the United States.

NO PARKING

Editorial Team Biographies

Ben Baczkowski is a graduating Urban Studies and Planning student hailing from the heart of the Rustbelt: Detroit, Michigan. Having experienced first hand the challenges of living in a disinvested, poverty stricken city, Ben brings a deep commitment to social justice in his work as a planner and community activist.

Cole Brennan is an aspiring policy wonk who is determined to graduate in December 2017. She grew up in Pennsylvania on the opposite end of Interstate 80, but she left coal country behind and came here on a Greyhound bus in 2002. Now Cole is an avid wanderer, reader, and pigeon-spotter living in San Francisco's SoMa neighborhood. She is also a worker-owner at Rainbow Grocery Cooperative in the Mission. She never walks past a hopscotch grid. As an urban planning professional Cole hopes to create and enact policies that encourage more meaningful civic engagement and better use of public space.

Annamarie Cunningham grew up in Stockton, California, where the harsh urban environment served as an early inspiration for her interest in Urban Studies and Planning. She hopes to pursue a career in public policy, specifically homelessness and poverty policy. When not doing academic things, Annamarie spends her time learning about space, getting tattoos, and listening to 2Pac.

Nick Fish, a Northern California native, originally from the Sacramento region, is a new resident to the Bay Area who is passionate about community building and housing policy. At San Francisco State, his focus has been housing issues in California, specifically in several research projects for the City of San Francisco's Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development. A hobbyist of several photographic mediums, grassroots arts influence his desire to keep cities affordable for everyone without submitting to a deregulating an already fragile housing crisis.

Jesse Hammond is a lifelong resident of the Bay Area and a passionate student of urbanism at SFSU. He is also currently working as a communications intern at SPUR S.F., as well as copy editor of Urban Action and a volunteer with the Bay Area Child Abuse Prevention Council. He is a passionate promoter of effective, efficient, and equitable policy, and typically does not describe himself in the third person.

Andrew Humphries became interested in Urban Studies and Planning through a variety of volunteer experiences and coursework in Environmental Science. Between 2006-2010 Andrew performed volunteer work in places ranging from Delhi, India to Tijuana, Mexico getting a better understanding of the unmet needs and tremendous strength of people across the globe. Andrew hopes to make the planet we all share a better place through participation in the processes that shape our cities. Through building on the shared interests we all have as global citizens Andrew hopes to help build communities that meet the needs of all their inhabitants.

Sean Pounder is a senior finishing his last semester at SF State. A native of the Bay Area his primary studies focus on the future of housing policy, regional planning & governance, and trends of the global urban environment.

Chris Ramos is a California native, born in the central valley and has lived in San Francisco for the last nine consecutive years. He works as the Facilities Manager for the Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy managing maintenance, life safety, remodels and historic preservation at each facility. Chris transferred to San Francisco State University from City College of San Francisco and is slated to graduate in May 2017 with a Bachelor of the Arts in Urban Studies and Planning.

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