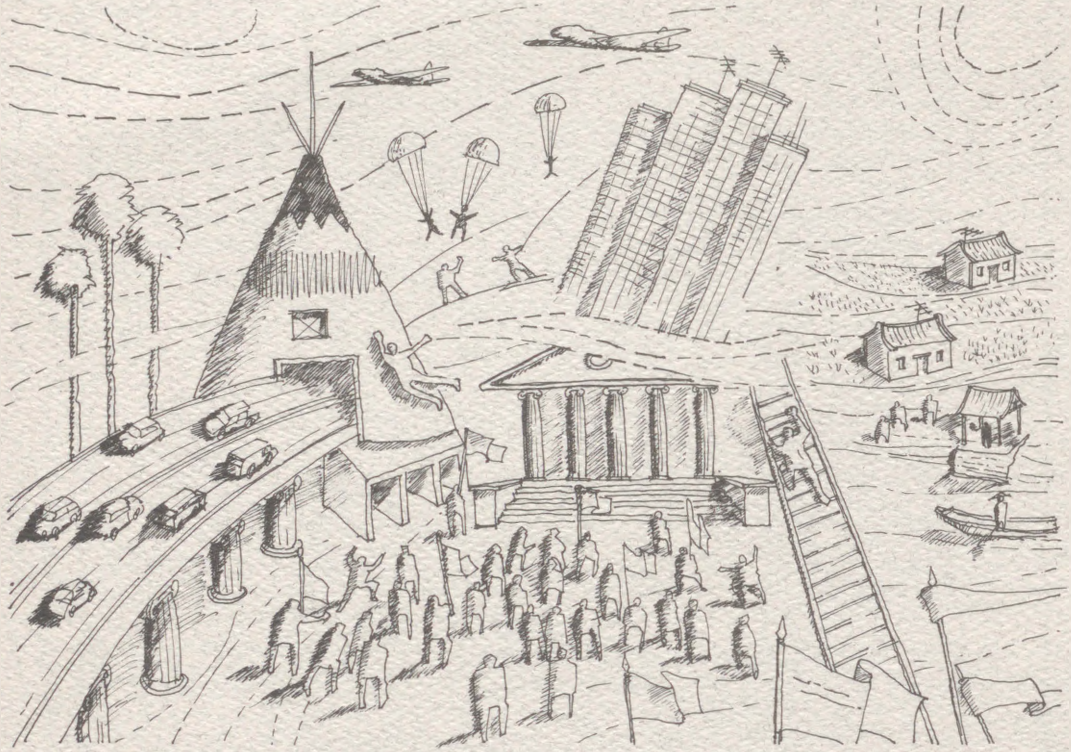
# CRITICAL PLANNING



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# CRITICAL PLANNING



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## a note from the EDITORS

This 1998 edition of *Critical Planning* celebrates its fifth year of student intellectual interchange as expressed in an academic journal. *Critical Planning* remains committed to opening a discursive space for student's ideas and queries. The momentum of student participation has carried it through a few generations of Urban Planning students, and now enjoys a wonderfully international backbone. If one views the ideas on the following pages as entering the journal like community members might enter a homestead, it deserves mentioning that everyone who brought this text to life announced their presence differently. The intellectual cacophony of all who entered the literary abode ranged from a simple "knock – knock" on the door (English) to a "qiao-qiao" door tap (Mandarin). The French Quebecois arrived with a "toc-toc-toc!", and the Taiwanese contingent beat out a "Ko-ko-ko!" on the journal's door. Finally, the (Tagalog) "katok" on the door declared that all interested were present and ready to build this year's journal! We ask the readers to imagine this journal as a house for ideas, but it reads more like a houseboat since its structure moves through four principal themes. Each section invokes a prominent disciplinary verb: 1) **Going Places**, 2) **Meeting Spaces**, 3) **Building Communities**, and 4) **Sharing Knowledges**.

The first section, **Going Places**, brings together literatures examining travel, transportation, equity and memory. Brown's *Race, Class, Gender and Public Transportation: Lessons from the Bus Riders Union Lawsuit* traces the bus rider union formation and lawsuit, and critiques the Metro Transportation Authority's focus on rail while neglecting low income Angelenos' bus ridership needs. Polston's *No Transfer: Lack of Public Transport to San Francisco International Airport* describes political and economic consequences of a specific route of public transportation and how its use is limited because of legislative negotiations with the private sector. Hess writes about early rail terminals and their later abandonment in *Arrivals and Departures: Rail Terminals, Circulation, and the Urban Fabric 1910-1940.*

Section two, **Meeting Spaces**, includes work on social life in public spaces, dilemmas of urban place-making, and alternative meanings of space and place. Boudreau's article, *Chatting in a Public Park: An Urban Conversation*, documents the intellectual engagement of a graduate student and a homeless person in a public park. Redding's *Public Space in the Castro and the Historical Reembedding of Queer Culture* takes on the politics of economic development, urban revitalization, and queer cultures in San Francisco's Castro. Santo reflects on her children's ideas about space and place in *When Graduate Studies Become a Family Affair: An Intergenerational Excursion into Space and Place.* Martin explores the aesthetics of public space in his poem *Echo Park Day Trip.*

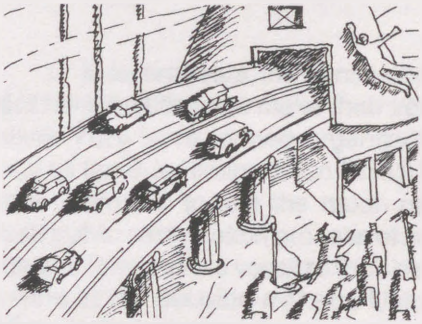
The third section, **Building Communities**, examines divergent dilemmas in community development. Davison analyzes changes in district allocation and activities as impacted by electoral shifts and unbalanced development in her *Case Study of Community Development Block Grants in the City of San Diego 1991-1995. From Gang Member to Community Leader: the Development of an Activist*, documents what Nakaoka learns through an interview with a local community leader. Keys' *The Proletarianization of Tribal Subsistence Economies: Resource Degradation and Unpropertied Communities* presents the effects of privatization on fishing rights of indigenous communities in the Northwest in relation to fisheries depletion, and the tensions between governmental/corporate management and traditional/subsistence economies.

The final section, **Sharing Knowledges**, looks at postcolonial Taiwan and the foci of 1997-1998 conferences in UCLA's Urban Planning Department. Consciousness and nationalism in contemporary Taiwan, and the contrasting principles of 'Chinese Renaissance' and feminist activism, are discussed in Sun's *Stirring the Chinese May Fourth: Alternative Bottom up Version from Postcolonial Taiwan.* Lingafelter discusses the *Lecture Series on Gender and Community Development* in *In Their Own Words.* Yun Chung Chen and Valen write about the current economic crisis in Asia as debated in the conference on *Labor Rights and Labor Organizing in the Pacific Rim.*

Paulo Freire, the late Brazilian educator, described gaining literacy as learning to "read the world"— not just "read the word." It is in this light that we offer the words and ideas embedded in *Critical Planning* Journal volume 5. This edition was created through a series of (sometimes exhausting) creative, intellectual, and communal acts. This process continues in your valued reading of the enclosed articles.

*The Editors*
*May 1998*

# Going Places



# RACE, CLASS, GENDER, AND PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION PLANNING: LESSONS FROM THE BUS RIDERS UNION LAWSUIT

Jeffrey Brown

Mobilization around issues of transportation is a relatively recent phenomenon reflecting the crucial role played by public transportation in the lives of the transit-dependent. The transit-dependent are those individuals who, lacking access to an automobile for reasons of age, income, or health, must depend on public transportation to meet their mobility needs. Public transportation therefore serves as their link to the world outside the home -to work, to services, to family and friends. Unfortunately, the transportation planning process often fails to address the needs of the transit-dependent. The transit-dependent are disproportionately non-whites, low-income, female bus riders -precisely those groups whose voices are most likely to be drowned out in a planning process that gives greater weight to the "needs" of politicians and other powerful special interest groups.

In recent years, the transit-dependent have mobilized to make their voices heard. They have formed organizations such as the Bus Riders Union (BRU) that have attempted to use the much publicized public participation process of hearings and town halls to vocalize their needs in front of the decision-makers. Unfortunately, in far too many cases, public participation is a hollow phrase -decision-makers listen politely to the public's concerns but do not take them into account when decisions are made. In three cases, transit-dependent communities whose needs have been ignored by policymakers have taken their struggles to another realm -the courts. Because the transit-dependent are disproportionately persons of color, the plaintiffs in these lawsuits have been able to rely upon the anti-discrimination and disparate impact protections in the Fourteenth Amendment and the

Civil Rights Act of 1964 as the legal bases of their suits.

This article recounts the story of one of these suits: the Bus Riders Union lawsuit in Los Angeles. It focuses not only on the specifics of the lawsuit and the resulting Consent Decree but also upon the crucial issues of race, class, and gender at stake in this struggle. The lawsuit charged the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) with a history of discrimination against minorities, with engaging in actions that had a disparate discriminatory impact on its overwhelmingly non-white and low income bus riders, and with operating two separate and unequal transportation systems: a heavily subsidized rail system that disproportionately served whites and an overcrowded, run-down, resource-poor bus system whose passengers are overwhelmingly "minority".

Race and class were present in the specifics of the suit and in the Consent Decree that settled the suit while gender, which should have been much more visible, was conspicuous by its relative absence -especially given that a majority of MTA bus riders are women. The Bus Riders Union's struggle was encouraged by the earlier, ultimately unsuccessful, legal struggles by bus riders in Philadelphia and New York. In Los Angeles, the Bus Riders Union case has turned out quite differently than the earlier struggles because the MTA chose to settle the case by signing a Consent Decree granting some though not all of the Bus Riders Union's demands rather than risk a court battle. Signing the Consent Decree was an effort at damage-control by an already embattled MTA.

**The Setting**

Los Angeles County is the most populous county in the nation with approximately 8,000,000 residents. It is also a large county in terms of its physical size with just over 4000 square miles of area. Although certain parts of the inner city in Los Angeles have high population densities, most of the county, including much of the City of Los Angeles, are typically low-density, sprawling environments in which the dominant form of transportation is (and arguably should remain) either the automobile or one of its cousins, the motor bus.

Presiding over the transportation system of the county is the Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) -a vast bureaucracy responsible for regional transportation planning and resource allocation, freeway callboxes and traffic control systems, a new rail network, and the nation's third largest bus system.[1] MTA directly operates two modes of public transportation: rail and buses. Nearly 94 percent of all MTA patrons use the agency's often overcrowded, dilapidated bus system. Of all MTA bus riders, 80 percent are non-whites (which represent 60 percent of the county population), 60 percent earn incomes under $15,000 per year (compared with 21 percent of the county), 54 percent are female, and 51 percent are without access to an automobile (compared with 11 per-

cent of the county) (see Plaintiffs' Revised Statement of Contentions of Fact and Law). The bus riders depend on the MTA to meet their transportation needs -needs that many argue are not being adequately addressed.

The author's own interviews with bus riders, as well as statements made by bus riders in the course of the litigation, revealed a host of bus rider needs.[2] The most frequently expressed need was the need for more buses to reduce overcrowding; on many inner city bus lines, the MTA operates at 140 percent of passenger load factor (ratio of passengers to seating). The bus riders consistently expressed the need for additional service in the inner city -specifically routes linking the residential areas to places of work. Female bus riders with domestic responsibilities expressed the need for more flexible service to meet their shopping, childcare, and errand-running needs. All of the bus riders expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the quality and cost of the service MTA provided: frequent breakdowns of buses led to travel delays, absence of adequate security led to fear of using certain lines after dark, and the MTA's high base passenger fare (the highest in the county -previously $1.10 and now $1.35; i.e. $42 for a monthly pass) was an enormous economic burden on very low income passengers.

MTA representatives and boardmembers have been well aware of the needs of the bus riders for a very long time. MTA internal memos and the MTA's Inner City Transit Needs Assessment (1993) all speak of the woeful state of the bus system and the need to devote substantially more resources to improving service. During public meetings of the Board, members of the public frequently attest to the significant needs of the bus system. Given the decisions made by MTA it would appear that the public might as well have been talking to a brick wall. The board failed to devote more resources to the bus system. Instead, billions of dollars were poured into a catastrophe-plagued rail system that, to paraphrase several anti-rail activists, leads to nowhere.

*MTA's History: Neglect or Discrimination?*

The records of the MTA and its predecessor public transportation agencies, the Los Angeles County Transportation Commission (LACTC) and the Southern California Regional Transit District (RTD), in meeting the needs of minority, low income bus riders are far from exemplary. In fact, they paint a picture of neglect, if not of outright discrimination.[3] In 1980, the people of Los Angeles County implemented a 1/2 percent sales tax increase to fund transportation improvements, including bus improvements and the construction of a regional rail system, through Proposition A. Between 1983 and 1985, a large portion of the Proposition A proceeds were used to maintain a $.50 fare on buses operated by the region's largest operator, RTD. These three years witnessed a spectacular resurgence in transit ridership and annual passenger boardings peaked at nearly 497 million. In 1986, the fare was raised to $.85 and

then to $1.10 as more of the Proposition A funds were shifted into rail planning and construction. Overall ridership dropped as a result of the fare increase -even though the number of transit-dependent persons in the county increased. As a result, many low income people were being priced off the bus system. In 1990, Los Angeles County voters passed Proposition C which instituted an additional 1/2 percent sales tax increase for transportation purposes. Although many of the funds raised by the propositions are dedicated to specific transportation uses, including providing subsidies for operating bus service, 40 percent of the funds are discretionary funds that can be used for any transportation purpose -recently, most of these funds have gone to rail construction.

Since the shift of Proposition A and C discretionary funds to rail, overall bus service has significantly worsened. Buses are aging and those in the inner city tend to be the oldest in the fleet -pollution-spewing, frequently broken-down diesels rather than the gleaming new alternative fuel buses operating in some outlying areas. Buses in the inner city are terribly overcrowded and the overcrowding has worsened over time. Inconceivably, even with the critical deficiencies in its bus system, the MTA has actually decreased its resource commitment to buses in recent years and cut its actual bus service by 16 percent from 1985 to 1992 (MTA 1993, MTA 1995). The bus system's severe underfunding stands in sharp contrast to the enormous amounts of money spent on the agency's dubious rail program.

*MTA's Rail System*

While the bus system was withering, the MTA began construction of the regional rail system. The MTA's rail construction plan originally featured an extensive regional rail network which, due to resource limitations, was scaled back to five lines: the $877 million Long Beach Blue Line, the $1 billion Green Line, the $5.8 billion Red Line subway, the Metrolink Commuter railroad, and a proposed Pasadena Blue Line. From the very beginning, cost overruns and construction snafus have plagued the rail construction program. These cost overruns and construction disasters, such as the infamous cave-in of Hollywood Boulevard, have coupled with state and federal funding cuts to leave the agency with a huge deficit -a deficit which its critics charge is the result of an overextended rail plan.

Rail passengers, only 6 percent of MTA ridership, receive 70 percent of all MTA budgetary resources while bus riders, 94 percent of MTA ridership, receive only 30 percent. Remarkably, two MTA bus lines, the Vermont and Wilshire lines, each carry more daily passengers than are carried by the county's entire rail network and at a fraction of the cost. The rail system serves a disproportionately white, higher income clientele. On Metrolink, a commuter railroad, the typical passenger is a white male in his early 40s with an

annual income of $65,000. While minorities make up a majority of passengers on MTA's other rail operations (Blue Line, Red Line, Green Line, Red Line), whites are disproportionately represented when compared to their numbers among bus riders although not compared to their numbers in the total county population. Latinos, Blacks and Asian Americans (non-whites) make up two-thirds of all MTA rail passengers and whites make up one-third. Comparatively, non-whites represent 80 percent of bus passengers while whites represent 20 percent. Most current rail projects have occurred in suburban or near suburban environments -disproportionately white and higher income communities.

In the summer of 1993 rumors began to circulate that the MTA was going to raise bus fares in order to balance the budget deficit arising from declining state and federal operating and capital assistance. Moreover, significant cost overruns characterized rail construction programs. During MTA board meetings at this time, the Board of Directors made a conscious decision to ignore recommendations from MTA staff, several board members, and members of the public that the MTA curtail its rail construction programs in order to make up the deficit. The members of the board, politicians from different parts of Los Angeles County, were reluctant to scale back the rail program because of intense pressure on the part of influential politicians and lobbyists arguing that the San Fernando Valley or Pasadena deserved their "fair share" of rail. The board appeared more concerned with a perverse form of geopolitical equity than with any other form of equity and it was reluctant to even consider offending the pro-rail lobby. Still, the board had a deficit to make up.

On July 13, 1994, the MTA Board voted to institute a fare restructuring program in order to meet what it claimed was a $126 million deficit in its operating budget (see Defendants' Contentions of Facts and Law 8-12). The board voted to eliminate its $42 unlimited use monthly pass and to increase its base cash fare from $1.10 to $1.35. Community groups and civil rights advocates cried foul and their anger was only heightened by two events which took place in the following few weeks. On July 20, 1994, the board voted to allocate an additional $123 million to construction of the Pasadena Blue Line. Shortly thereafter, the board voted to allocate $50 million to the County of Los Angeles to help the county meet its own budget deficit. The bus riders seriously questioned this action by the MTA Board in light of its claims that budget deficits were the reason for the fare restructuring program. If all of this money was lying around, why couldn't it have been used to offset the deficit instead of instituting the fare restructuring program which would produce under $50 million for the MTA. The fact that the MTA made many of these decisions in a manner quite different from its established highly-structured decision-making process and expressly ignored alternative plans proposed by MTA staff, certain board members, and the public

also raised a number of eyebrows. The civil rights community was inclined to view this as just another blatant example of MTA discrimination against its bus riders who were overwhelmingly low income people of color.

**The Bus Riders Union**

One of the most vocal opponents of the MTA's rail program and its neglect of the bus system has been Eric Mann.[4] Mann, a former auto assembly line worker, is the founder of the Labor Community Strategy Center (LCSC), a multi-racial center for policy and organizing, focusing on civil rights, labor reform, industrial and transportation policy, and the environment. In 1993, when rumors of fare increases first surfaced, Mann decided to create the Bus Riders Union as an offshoot organization to mobilize bus riders to fight the MTA. The Bus Riders Union (BRU) is a nonprofit organization devoted to fighting for the transportation needs of the transit-dependent. Although nominally separate from the LCSC, the LCSC uses the BRU to further its own political agenda. This is a potentially significant problem and raises concerns over how truly member-driven the BRU really is. The BRU is funded by contributions from the LCSC, interested supporters and membership dues. There are currently 1500 registered members of the BRU -all of whom pay membership dues of between $10 and $50 annually based upon their ability to pay. The organization counts 30,000 unofficial members -approximately 9 percent of all MTA bus riders. The BRU relies upon the extent of its unofficial membership to make its claim to be the spokesperson for the needs of bus riders as a class.

According to the BRU, membership is evenly balanced between males and females. Although minorities are the majority of members, whites are disproportionately represented compared to their numbers as bus riders.[5] (Exact numbers were unavailable.) The BRU is governed by a board whose members are nominated and then elected by the general membership. The board is responsible for making all policy decisions. According to a BRU volunteer, its leadership are primarily persons of color, and two female persons of color are among the four most influential board members. It must be pointed out however that the union "organizers" affiliated with LCSC are disproportionately represented on the board and include three of the four most influential board members. In its "Common Questions" pamphlet, the Bus Riders Union offers its goals and philosophy:

> The Bus Riders Union is committed to the fight against racism, class oppression, sexism, and the oppression of immigrants... We seek to build a democratic, multilingual, multiracial, gender balanced organization whose leadership and membership reflect the racial and gender make-up of our society (BRU 1997: 1).

Reading its literature one can see that the BRU aspires to be a member-driven group although the enormous influence exercised by LCSC and by Eric Mann in particular are somewhat unsettling.

The BRU has developed a nine point program, dubbed "Billions for Buses," for transportation in Los Angeles. Among their demands are: a $.50 fare, a $20 monthly pass, 2000 new buses, better service, end to rail spending, equalization of bus and rail subsidies, and the establishment of an elected MTA board. Such a program would indeed require billions of dollars but would, BRU argues, truly meet the needs of LA's overwhelmingly minority and low income transit-dependent community. The organization believes this money can be found in the rail program. However, it is highly unlikely however that simply scrapping the rail program would produce the needed revenues because rail funding is actually declining. New funding sources would also have to be found -sources not yet identified by the BRU.

The Bus Riders Union views high quality public transportation as a right rather than a privilege. Seen from this perspective, the fact that the transportation planning profession has allowed, if not encouraged, the MTA to make the decisions it has makes the profession itself suspect. The bus riders can not rely upon even progressively-minded planners to "plan for them." Rather, transportation planning processes must be developed to guarantee planning by the bus riders. This philosophy of empowerment rather than advocacy was reflected in the organization's subsequent relationship with its lead counsel in the lawsuit, the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund (LDF), and in its relationship with its technical experts in the case. The BRU wanted not only a final say in all aspects of any settlement but also wanted a veto of sorts over the nature and content of the testimony given on its behalf.

The BRU had attempted to make their voices heard through the public hearings held by the MTA board but no change in MTA policy occurred. Therefore, Eric Mann's own experience as a successful labor organizer and the fact that bus riders in Philadelphia and New York had pursued legal redress of their own transportation grievances in recent years encouraged the Bus Riders Union to seek allies and to take the MTA to court. Determined to stop the MTA's fare restructuring plan and to engender a shift to a community-driven, more balanced form of transportation planning that stressed the needs of the transit-dependent, a coalition of community groups and civil rights organizations, led by the BRU and represented by the NAACP LDF, filed suit against the MTA on August 31, 1994, in Federal District Court in Los Angeles.

**The Lawsuit**

The NAACP Legal Defense Fund, as lead counsel for plaintiffs, alleged that MTA ran a separate and unequal mass transit system that violated the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI rights of MTA's overwhelmingly non-white, low-income bus

riders by favoring the disproportionately white rail passengers at their expense. Thus the plaintiffs also charged the MTA with a history of discrimination against minorities in the provision of transportation service. Specifically, their initial complaint alleged that the MTA violated the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000d, by "intentionally discriminating against racial and ethnic minority groups and perpetuating a pattern of racially discriminatory delivery of transportation services" (Plaintiffs' Revised Statement of Contentions of Fact and Law 1996: 5). Further, plaintiffs alleged that the MTA violated regulations set forth by the US Department of Transportation governing federal fund recipients and their implementation of Title VI's provisions, 49 C.F.R. Part 21, "by maintaining transportation policies that disproportionately impact racial and ethnic minorities without a justifying business necessity and without regard to less discriminatory alternatives" (Plaintiffs' Revised Statement of Contentions of Fact and Law 1996: 5).

Both the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibit discrimination by the state or its agents on the grounds of race, color, or national origin. The protections apply not only in cases of intentional discrimination but also, according to the Supreme Court in the landmark *Griggs v. Duke Power* decision 401 US 424, to actions which while not intentionally discriminatory nevertheless have a disparate discriminatory impact on a protected class. The plaintiffs charged the MTA with both types of violations. Incidentally, the burden for proving intentional discrimination is much higher than that for demonstrating a disparate discriminatory impact.

To connect the proposed fare restructuring plan (meant to help balance the deficit caused by rail overspending) to issues of intentional discrimination and disparate impact, the plaintiffs noted the critical fact that 80 percent of MTA's bus riders were people of color (the latter representing 60 percent of the county population). Rail passengers, on the other hand, were disproportionately white because whites were present in greater numbers (34 percent) than their percentage as bus riders (20 percent). MTA disagreed with this type of analysis noting that up to two-thirds of its rail riders were non-whites. According to the plaintiffs, a program that penalized bus riders in order to build a rail program, as the fare restructuring plan did in their eyes, discriminated against racial and ethnic minorities. The plaintiffs then followed by noting that 60 percent of bus riders earned under $15,000 per year (versus 21 percent of county population), 51 percent had no access to a car (versus 11 percent of county population), and 54 percent were female. Bus riders made up 94 percent of all MTA passengers yet received only 30 percent of MTA's resources. On the other hand, the disproportionately white rail passengers, 6 percent of total ridership, received 70 percent of the agency's budgetary resources.

The plaintiffs sought to enjoin the fare restructuring plan (increase in base fare from $1.10 to $1.35 and elimination of monthly passes) set to take effect on September 1, 1994, on the grounds that the new fare structure would result in substantial loss of mobility on the part of low income bus riders. The MTA countered that the fare restructuring plan was a budgetary necessity. As for the needs of its bus passengers, the MTA stressed the availability of a $.90 fare token as a way for bus riders to avoid the fare increase. Minimizing the impact of eliminating the monthly pass, the MTA claimed that monthly passholders were those most likely to be able to afford a fare increase -even one which raised their transit bills $50 or more per month- contrary to MTA's own surveys that showed passholders to be overwhelmingly low income individuals.

The plaintiffs elaborated on their claims that bus riders were treated as second class transit users by noting the extreme disparities in the per rider subsidies MTA offered passengers of its rail and bus operations. The subsidies were used as a proxy for measures of service quality in addition to being a direct measure of the cost of service not borne by the passenger. It is important to note that used as a proxy for measures of service quality in addition to being a direct measure of the cost of service not borne by bus riders, Blue Line passengers, and Red Line passengers all pay the same (then-$1.10, now $1.35) base fare while Metrolink fares vary according to distance traveled.

The disparities between the different modes were phenomenal. MTA did not dispute these figures although it did claim that capital subsidies were not an appropriate subject of analysis because rail cost a lot more to build. The MTA would have preferred a comparison of operating subsidies although two of the rail services do not fair very well on this measure either. The MTA also challenged the inclusion of Metrolink on the grounds that it was a legally separate entity -the plaintiffs thought otherwise because of MTA's role as principal financier of Metrolink. Thirdly, the MTA also argued that non-whites made

| Mode | Capital | Operating | Total | Cost of Security |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Metrolink | $17.19 | $3.83 | $21.02 | $1.29 |
| Blue Line | $ 8.27 | $3.0 7 | $11.34 | $1.29 |
| Red Line | $ 2.63 | $0.29 | $ 2.92 | $0.57 |
| Bus | $ 0.25 | $0.92 | $ 1.17 | $0.03 |

Figure 1: *Comparisions of Subsidy and Cost of Security Per Passenger*
Source: Plaintiffs' Revised Statement of Contentions of Fact and Law 1996 : 17, 29.

up a majority of rail passengers. Plaintiffs responded by noting that although non-whites were in the majority on some lines they were still under-represented compared with their numbers on the bus lines and thus suffered a discriminatory impact from MTA's subsidy and fare restructuring policies. Finally, the MTA dismissed the plaintiffs' claim that suburban bus passengers, disproportionately white when compared to MTA bus passengers, enjoyed higher quality service at lower fares by stating that plaintiffs had not proven that most of the passengers were -which was not what the plaintiffs had charged.

The plaintiffs relied on a research study conducted by Professors Martin Wachs and Brian Taylor of UCLA to illustrate that non-white MTA bus passengers were also discriminated against when compared with white MTA bus riders. Employing MTA data, Taylor and Wachs used a line-by-line analysis of the most and the least minority bus lines (determined from actual ridership data rather than MTA's process of classifying a line as minority simply because it passed through a predominantly minority census tract) which revealed that the total subsidy per boarding was $1.91 for whites but only $1.63 for non-whites for the surveyed lines. The MTA commissioned experts of its own, including Peter Stopher, to attack the methodology employed by Taylor and Wachs and to claim their analysis was flawed because of sampling errors, inconsistencies, and biases (see Defendant's Statements of Facts and Law 1996: 53).

Many aspects of the plaintiffs' case appeared overwhelming -especially as the plaintiffs were able to use MTA's own internal memos and planning documents against the agency. For example, the plaintiffs were able to demonstrate that the MTA recognized that its fare restructuring would have a negative impact on minorities because a January 21, 1994 internal memo to then-CEO Franklin White stated this fact. The plaintiffs also noted that a 1993 Inner City Transit Needs Assessment conducted by the MTA had noted the dire condition of the bus system and argued for more revenue support. Plaintiffs claimed that MTA had all of this information -yet it did not act on it. The plaintiffs were inclined to view MTA's inaction/ignorance to be evidence that the agency was up to something distinctly invidious and discriminatory.

While the plaintiffs and the defendants were engaged in their factual and legal research processes, the case continued in the Federal District Court. A preliminary injunction had been issued in September 1994 freezing the base fare and retaining the $42 monthly pass. This was modified on January 25, 1995 to permit the MTA to increase its monthly pass price to $49. On March 7, 1995, the District Court certified the suit as a class action suit on behalf of 350,000 bus riders. At the end of the year, MTA entered a motion for summary judgment which was denied by the court on December 22, 1995. The parties agreed to mediate the dispute under the guidance of Donald Bliss, who was later appointed Special Master in the case. During 1996, negotiations between the MTA and the NAACP

Legal Defense Fund eventually led to the negotiation of a proposed Consent Decree on September 25, 1996, and its ratification by the Judge Terry Hatter of the Federal District Court on October 28, 1996, two weeks before the actual trial was scheduled to start. Donald Bliss was then officially appointed Special Master by the court to oversee the implementation of the Consent Decree.

*Consent Decree and Its Results*

The Bus Riders Union was initially upset that the NAACP Legal Defense Fund had negotiated the Consent Decree without their "full input." The BRU felt that the LDF was taking too much power and exercising too much discretion in negotiating the Consent Decree. The BRU went so far as to offer a legal brief in opposition to the originally proposed Consent Decree. After some modification in the terms -specifically in the representation on a soon-to-be-established Joint Working Group and the discounting of off-peak fares- the BRU's leadership eventually signed off on the Consent Decree although they retained some misgivings about provisions for establishing a low income pass in lieu of the monthly general pass. Still, the BRU cited the signing of the Consent Decree as a victory for the new community-driven transportation planning which was its goal.

The Consent Decree contains three general guiding principles. First, the MTA agreed to the principle that its highest priority was the improvement of the quality of bus service in Los Angeles. (The MTA Board had adopted such a resolution in September 1995.) Second, the MTA committed itself to an equitable distribution of resources and the equitable charging of fares for its services. Third, the MTA agreed that "[c]onsistent with MTA's other statutory responsibilities and obligations, MTA's first priority for the use of all bus-eligible revenue realized in excess of funds already specifically budgeted for other purposes shall be to improve bus service for the transit dependent" (see Consent Decree 1996). Taken together, these three principles spelt an end to business as usual at the MTA.

More specifically, the MTA agreed to reduce overcrowding on its buses by adding 102 new buses by June 1997 and meeting specific load factor (ratio of passengers to seats) targets. The MTA also agreed to increase the number of transit police assigned to its bus system. One year later, the MTA and BRU are in dispute as to whether MTA has accomplished these objectives. Future court action on these aspects of the Consent Decree are likely. (The BRU certainly thinks so.)

On the fare side, the MTA was to retain the $42 monthly pass, to set a base fare of $1.35, to retain its $.90 token, and to enact an off-peak discount fare of $.75 on selected lines used by transit dependents. The fare structure would remain in effect for two years -although the monthly pass fare could be adjusted if MTA developed a special pass for low income passengers. The BRU objected to this low income pass provision on the grounds that it was too hard to receive a low income pass under the procedure outlined and that it would stigmatize low income bus riders.

One year later, the MTA has retained the $1.35 base fare, the $42 monthly pass, and its $.90 discount token, and instituted $.75 off-peak base fares on all of its bus lines. Perhaps the most significant provision of the Consent Decree, at least as far as the BRU was concerned, was the establishment of a Joint Working Group (JWG) whose task was to coordinate between the MTA and the BRU in developing and implementing plans to meet the objectives of the settlement. The JWG, an eight member group, includes four representatives each of the MTA and the BRU. The Bus Riders Union's representatives are elected by its membership. Decisions are made by the JWG. If there is a disagreement, the members first turn to their own counsel for assistance and then to the Special Master to make a ruling. Decisions of the Special Master may be appealed to the court.

Under the JWG's aegis, the MTA and BRU have sponsored numerous public forums to hear from transit users about their needs. So far, the BRU is relatively pleased with the functioning of the JWG because its very existence makes them a partner in the transportation planning process. However, as the BRU and the MTA have fought recently over MTA's record in meeting its new bus purchase and overcrowding reduction targets the meetings of the JWG have grown much more contentious.

MTA's recent decision to raise rail fares from $1.35 to $1.85 and to delay some of its new bus purchasing plans due to cost and technology reasons has angered the BRU, especially Eric Mann who has been noticeably vocal in the local media. Mann contends that the two-year prohibition on fare increases established by the Consent Decree applies to all MTA transit modes whereas the MTA contends that it applies strictly to buses. As written, the agreement actually makes no distinction between service modes and Mann appears to be correct. This dispute is only one of many disagreements between the two parties. At the end, the plaintiffs agreed to the settlement. Going to trial, on the other hand, held out a strong possibility of defeat. Although I have no definite proof, it is quite possible that MTA decided to sign the Consent Decree for political and public relations reasons (especially given the mismanagement accusation of its rail program and the potential negative publicity arising from a court trial). Additionally, the MTA did not want to endanger federal transportation funds by being found guilty of racial discrimination in court. In signing the Consent Decree, the MTA admitted no wrongdoing on its part. MTA has quite obviously adhered to some of the provisions of the Consent Decree although dispute as to the others will likely lead to legal action of some sort. The Consent Decree is scheduled to remain in force for ten years.

**An Assessment of the Bus Riders Union Lawsuit: Issues of Race, Class, and Gender**

The Bus Riders Union lawsuit touched directly upon issues of race and class. The BRU linked race and class together by noting that the overwhelming majority of bus riders were low-income per-

sons of color. The BRU used the civil rights protections accorded to racial minorities as a way of getting the MTA to recognize needs related more closely to class than to race i.e., the needs of the transit-dependent. It is indeed quite remarkable that the expression "transit-dependent" appears more often in the Consent Decree that settled the case than the word race does even though race was the legal basis of the suit. The BRU has succeeded in getting MTA to recognize the existence of a class of transit users, the transit-dependent, whose needs are very different than those of the "public" for whom MTA planned in the past. Now, the MTA not only has to avoid discriminating on the basis of race but it has also pledged in the Consent Decree to give priority to issues of class, age and health under the umbrella of favoring the needs of the transit-dependent in its planning decisions. This must be seen to be a step in the right direction and the BRU should be applauded for achieving this result.

At the same time, however, the recognition of the needs of the transit-dependent tends to obscure the important fact that people covered by this expression are a diversity of communities with a diversity of transportation needs. The needs of a retired African American male who uses public transportation for access to senior services are very different from the needs of a young immigrant family from Central America or the needs of a wheelchair-bound transit user. In its literature, the Bus Riders Union appears to recognize this enormously important fact although it has not explicitly said so. The MTA, on the other hand, has to be pressured, as an organization, to recognize the need for extreme flexibility in the provision of transportation services.

One class of bus riders whose needs seemed to disappear during the struggle is women. Women make up 54 percent of MTA bus passengers. Women's transportation needs can differ quite significantly from the transportation needs of men. Perhaps most obvious in this regard are the different travel patterns followed by women who work in the household and/or serve as the primary care-givers for their children. These women have different transportation needs than women who commute to work on a regular basis, who themselves often have needs arising from domestic responsibilities. Yet the MTA, in their zeal to serve commuters, often make decisions that negatively impact different groups of women. These negative impacts stem from the fact that like racial minorities and the poor, women have often been traditionally excluded from the MTA's decision-making process -even though two members of the MTA board, Supervisors Braithwaite-Burke and Molina, are women.

Perhaps one reason gender disappeared from the discussion is because gender is not a protected category under either the Fourteenth Amendment or the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the two statutory bases of the lawsuit. However, class is not protected either and this did not stop the BRU from linking race and class. The Union could perhaps has done the same with gender since gender is protected under the Civil

Rights Act of 1991 in cases of employment discrimination under Title VII. The courts have frequently looked to Title VII precedents when deciding Title VI cases such as the Bus Riders Union suit. Perhaps if the suit had gone to trial, gender would have reemerged as an issue.

Perhaps the transportation needs of women will be an area of mobilization for the Bus Riders Union in the future. The BRU boasts about the important roles played by women in its leadership. The BRU stresses its feminist agenda in its brochures and handouts. Is BRU being honest about its commitments to women's needs or is it simply paying lip-service to these needs? Given its written and verbal statements and the critical positions held by women in its leadership, the BRU would appear to be a sympathetic forum in which women can mobilize themselves to demand that the MTA and other transportation agencies address their transportation needs. But this has not happened yet. Instead, women remain classified under other categories -racial minority, commuter, and, now, transit-dependent. Thus the questions remain: How can we guarantee that individuals can make their own transportation needs heard? How can we recognize the diversity of individuals and needs of the transit-dependent? How can women's voices be heard and women's needs be met?

Although the Bus Riders Union does not explicitly say so, its behavior seems to imply that the answer to all of these questions, at least in Los Angeles, is the Joint Working Group established by the Consent Decree. In the Joint Working Group with its equal representation of the MTA and the Bus Riders Union, individual needs can be brought to the attention of those who are making the policy decisions, or so the theory implies. The Bus Riders Union believes that the democratic nature of its election process and its commitment to a progressive social and political agenda guarantee that everyone's voices are heard by the organization's own decision-makers.

However, democracy and progressive ideals by themselves are not enough. Organizations must make concerted efforts to listen to all of their members -particularly those who, by status or by nature, are less inclined to be heard. There is always a danger that the leadership or a small segment of the membership, will come to dominate a social movement's agenda at the risk of jeopardizing a truly participatory process.

One sees this danger in the Bus Riders Union, and particularly in the workings of the Joint Working Group. One can also see that the predominant role played by Eric Mann and the Labor/Community Strategy Center as potentially conflicting with the needs and goals of the Bus Riders Union membership. In my discussions with leaders of the BRU, it was implied that the elective structure of the organization provided adequate safeguards for the membership. Of course this is true although one can not discount the enormous influence accruing to an organization's founder, in this case Mann, simply through the act of founding an organization and being publicly visible during a mobilization struggle. The Bus

Riders Union must remain a member-driven, grounds-up organization. A second source of potential problem is the Joint Working Group itself. The JWG is a genuine step in the direction of more community-driven forms of transportation planning given the equal BRU and MTA partnership structure. This is all fine and well for the BRU and its members but what about other groups and other voices? The BRU currently holds a monopoly on non-MTA representation in the JWG. Other community organizations do not have this status vis-à-vis the MTA. Thus, one can foresee the possibility of the MTA requiring all public commentary to be facilitated through the Joint Working Group. The JWG, including the BRU's representatives, could act to prevent voices that disagree with its positions and ideas from even being heard. The members of the BRU could themselves become a special interest group whose needs are met at the expense of other public transportation users. All of these things could happen and it will take a great deal of effort on the part of all parties concerned to guarantee that they don't. The JWG must be open to the needs and concerns of all individuals and must strive to make its best good faith effort to address these needs. Perhaps the best way to do this would be to open up the membership of the Joint Working Group to other community groups in order to break the duopoly of the MTA and the Bus Riders Union. If the JWG becomes a permanent institution, rather than retain its current temporary status as the result of a Consent Decree, such a step would have to be taken. For the present, we must all keep a careful watch on the actions of both the MTA and the BRU.

When all is said and done, the struggle has only just begun. The Bus Riders Union has succeeded in opening the door for the community to become involved directly in the transportation planning process. The BRU has shown that community mobilization can have a real impact and can change institutions and practices. The weaknesses in the lawsuit (lack of attention paid to the issue of gender, possibility of misrepresentation of the BRU and the JWG) serve as warnings that this struggle is only one small step forward along a distant path. The challenge for all of us -planners, policymakers, transit users, or simply as interested individuals- is to use the Bus Riders Union's "victory" as an opening to an even more participatory and open process of transportation planning that recognizes diversity of individuals and needs and not to regard it as an ending.

**Concluding Remarks: Implications of the Lawsuit**

The Bus Riders Union lawsuit has enormous implications for transportation planners, policymakers, and community groups seeking to follow the BRU's example. Transportation planners must be more cognizant of the impacts of their plans on often marginalized communities. Transportation policymakers must pay more attention to the needs of transit-dependent communities public participation has become a popular term in the transportation planning literature and in agency statements. Both transportation planners and

policymakers have learned to be more careful that their actions do not create a disparate discriminatory impact on legally protected classes. They have done or are doing so out of a change of conscience, a reinforcement of previously-held beliefs, or, as it seems more likely, out of simple fear of being sued themselves.

The success enjoyed by the Bus Riders Union will likely lead to similar mobilizations in other communities. In fact, the BRU has itself been contacted by community groups in New York, Indianapolis, and San Francisco who are interested in mobilizing to demand equity in the actions of their own transportation agencies. The future indicates more struggle although the outcome of such struggle can not be predicted. This will depend not only on the specific actions of plaintiff and defendant but also upon the attitude of the parties towards mediation and/or court settlement.

In conclusion, despite the weaknesses in the Bus Riders Union lawsuit and in the suit's settlement, the Bus Riders Union and its allies must be applauded for what they have done as trailblazers. Far too often, critics focus on weaknesses rather than recognize and applaud success. I have indeed devoted a lot of attention to what I perceive to be weaknesses and potential grounds for concern. Still, the Bus Riders Union lawsuit has indeed made an important difference and has led to significant change in the philosophy and decision-making process of public transportation in Los Angeles. As a progressively-minded planner I applaud their effort, embrace their achievement, and recognize the need for additional struggle.

**Endnotes**

[1]The Los Angeles Metropolitan Transit Area is governed by a thirteen member board made up of politicians from throughout the county. The board members include all five members of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, the Mayor of the city of Los Angeles, three city council-persons, and four representatives of the other municipalities (generally mayors or councilpersons). The MTA Board is responsible for making all of the major policy and budgetary decisions at the agency. Day-to-day operation of the MTA is in the hands of the Agency's Chief Executive Officer. Perhaps given the structure of the MTA board (politicians with their own local constituencies to look out for) it is not surprising that the policymaking process has been extremely political and subject to a great deal of interest group pressure. More registered lobbyists are present at the MTA (well over 1,000) than at the State Legislature in Sacramento, and charges of corruption are a recurrent problem at the agency. Far too often, board members have tried to get something for their little part of the county to the detriment of most MTA patrons.

[2] The author analyzed statements made by bus riders in court documents pertaining to the case and conducted several interviews with MTA bus riders during the Fall of 1997 as background to this paper.

[3] In the wake of the Watts Riots, the McCone Commission of 1965 had documented the existence of extreme inadequacies in the county's transportation system. The commission argued that these inadequacies had "handicap[ped] minority residents in seeking and holding jobs, attending schools, shopping, and fulfilling other needs," contributing to the isolation that led to the 1964 Watts riots (see Plaintiffs' Revised Statement of Contentions of Fact and Law 5). The commission had stressed the need to keep fares low (the 1965 fare of $.25, equivalent to $1.14 in 1994 dollars, was judged to be prohibitively expensive) and to expand service. The RTD (MTA's predecessor) failed to act on these recommendations. In fact, the agency failed to offer any service in the minority communities south of Manchester Boulevard until after 1972. Where it did provide service, RTD appeared to take great pains to avoid linking minority neighborhoods to non-minority parts of the city.

[4] Eric Mann is also the author of *Comrade George: An Investigation into the Life, Politcal Thought, and Assasination of George Jackson*, *Taking on General Motors: A Case Study of the UAW Campaign to Keep GM Van Nuys Open*, *LA's Lethal Air: New Strategies for Policy, Organizing, and Action*, and the forthcoming *Driving the Bus of History: The LA Bus Riders Union Models a New Theory of Urban Insurgency in the Age of Transnational Capitalism.*

[5] Much of the information about the BRU comes from the organization's documents and a Fall 1997 interview with Ted Hayes of the organization.

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# NO TRANSFER: LACK OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT TO SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

Joshua Polston

The San Francisco region lacks fast, convenient, public transport to the San Francisco International Airport (SFIA). This paper explores the origins of the ironic situation in which a publicly-owned bus company that serves this publicly-owned airport is prohibited from carrying passengers with luggage. The San Mateo County Transit District (SamTrans) operates the 7F line that provides express bus service to the SFIA with approximately 30 minute headways. Ironically, the 7F is the only SamTrans bus line that specifically prohibits passenger luggage. The reason for this prohibition is a 1981 settlement between the District and SFO Airporter Inc., a private bus shuttle between SFIA and downtown hotels. The settlement was the result of a complaint filed under the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 section 1602 3(e) which limits the use of federal funds for direct competition with private bus companies under certain circumstances. Details of the complaint and case law indicates that the Airporter had very weak legal standing yet was able to impose severe restrictions on the airport service. This settlement has denied Bay Area residents fast and efficient public transport to SFIA at minimal cost which is especially relevant now that the region will spend $1.2 billion on a BART train extension to the SFIA that will be less efficient than the current bus line that it replaces.

**History of SamTrans and the 7F Route**

The San Mateo County Transit District was created in 1974 by act of the State Legislature and a countywide vote. The District was authorized to consolidate the 11 separate transit systems operating along the peninsula at the time. In order

to finance the venture, voters approved the imposition of a half-cent sales tax. SamTrans was charged with the task of coordinating the numerous redundant systems and ensuring that all parts of the County were properly served.

At the time, Greyhound was operating the mainline routes which began in San Francisco, made a stop at SFIA and went on to Palo Alto, the southern end of the County. Over the years the integrated service once offered became more fragmented as public transit lines took over portions of the route area (Mohr 1997). Greyhound, a private bus company, was operating the service in a very different regulatory climate than exists today. The State Public Utilities Commission kept a very tight reign in on bus operators. They were treated as monopolistic entities that were regulated in every aspect from route to fare structure. By 1974 Greyhound desperately wanted to get out of the local transit business as they were losing money on the route (Homburger 1997). Initially, SamTrans contracted with Greyhound to continue the service, which was eventually abandoned in 1977 (SamTrans 1998). After Greyhound completely extricated themselves from the service, SamTrans contracted with Grosvner Inc. to operate the former Greyhound line (Lloyd 1997).

**Early Bus Service to SFIA and the SFO Airporter Inc. Settlement**

In 1974, two private bus companies served the SFIA with bus service to downtown San Francisco: Greyhound as part of its greater peninsula routes and SFO Airporter, which ran direct buses to and from the airport. According to a 1974 study prepared by the Metropolitan Transportation Commission, the Airporter Bus carried from 6,000 to 7,000 passengers per day between the Airport and San Francisco central business district. The Commission study estimated that at the time, 40 percent of the air passengers with downtown origins or destinations were served by the company. Buses ran at 15 minute headways and made the trip in 20-25 minutes. One-way fare was $1.15.

Greyhound operated bus service out of its 7th and Mission Street depot. Greyhound buses bound for SFIA and Palo Alto departed every 20 minutes. The buses served both airport travelers as well as peninsula commuters. No counts were taken at the time to distinguish airport users from the commuter population. These trips took approximately 40 minutes and cost $.90 or roughly 25 percent less than SFO Airporter (Metropolitan Transportation Commission 1974).

Soon after SamTrans took over the Greyhound line and renamed it Route 7F, the SFO Airporter Inc. complained to the District. The owner of the SFO Airporter, Mr. Liondikus, was very well-connected in the local political establishment (Homburger 1997). Mr. Liondikus had also served on the Golden Gate Transit Board and knew the lay of the land regarding public transit funding. The SFO Airporter based its complaint on provisions in the federal Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 (UMTA) that gave existing private operators some protection from state subsidized transit service. UMTA §1602 (3)(e) states:

"No financial assistance shall be provided under this act to any State or local public body or agency thereof for the purpose, directly or indirectly, of acquiring any interest in, or purchasing any facilities or other property of a private mass transportation company, or for the purpose of constructing, improving, or reconstructing any facilities or other property acquired (after the date of the enactment of this Act) from any such company, or for the purpose of providing by contract or otherwise for the operation of mass transportation facilities or equipment in competition with, or supplementary to, the service provided by an existing mass transportation company, unless (1) the Secretary finds that such assistance is essential to the program of projects required under section 8 of this Act, (2) the Secretary finds that such program, to the maximum extent possible provides for the participation of private mass transportation companies, (3) just and adequate compensation will be paid to such companies for acquisition of their franchises or property to the extent required by applicable State or local laws... " (UMTA 1964).

SamTrans was the recipient of UMTA funds through bus acquisition grants and some operating revenue and was therefore subject to the limitations as described above.[1] The SFO Airporter brought its complaint to the local UMTA Administrator for Region IX. The Administrator did not issue any formal decision on the matter and asked both parties to meet and resolve the dispute among themselves. SFO Airporter began negotiations with SamTrans over the service and how they might avoid a legal challenge in federal court.

Over the next few years, SamTrans negotiated with SFO Airporter and viewed the private company as part of a larger plan to greatly expand transportation services in the vicinity of the airport. SamTrans General Manager John Mauro wanted the District to provide many of the internal shuttle services as well as create a greatly expanded airport feeder service network. The plan was submitted to the Airport Commission (operated by the City and County of San Francisco) but ran into political problems. Area Congressman Phil Burton, at the behest of the owners of Lorrie's Airport Shuttle, informed SamTrans that he would seek to block funding for any such proposal. The SamTrans proposal would have greatly expanded the service and regional stature of the transit district and would have "taken it into the big time" (Gallagher 1997). Unexpectedly, General Manager John Mauro died and with him the ambitious plans for public transit service to the airport.

On October 16, 1981, SamTrans and SFO Airporter signed a settlement agreement and release. In the recitals at the beginning of the document, SamTrans state that they dispute the validity of the

UMTA 1602 (3)(e) claim and have settled only to best serve the interests of the public. "Following extensive negotiations Airporter and District have determined that it would be in their best interests, as well as the interests of the public, to resolve their dispute pursuant to this settlement agreement and release" (SamTrans 1981). The agreement allowed for the continuing operation of the 7F, 7B, and 3B routes subject to the following 12 conditions:

A) No luggage requiring storage will be permitted on Route 7F buses and the District will issue bulletins to drivers operating on said route informing them of the luggage restriction pertaining hereto. In addition, the District will issue a notice to its patrons concerning said baggage limitation.

B) No buses capable of storing baggage will be assigned by the District to San Francisco Airport Service.

C) Signs will be placed by the District on Route 7F buses stating: 'This bus carries no passengers with luggage requiring storage.'

D) The District will utilize only two stops at the SFIA terminals, both of which shall be on the upper level roadway.

E) District information kiosks at the SFIA will be relocated to points adjacent to District bus stops at the upper level roadway. 'San Francisco' designation signs will be removed from said kiosks. Revised kiosk identification signs shall be subject to the reasonable approval of Airporter.

F) Signs will be placed adjacent to the two stops at the SFIA stating: 'No luggage requiring storage is carried on Route 7F.'

G) A sign will be placed at the SamTrans Terminal in San Francisco adjacent to the District's bus stop at said location stating: 'No luggage requiring storage is carried on Route 7F.' Airport passengers with luggage requiring storage will be informed of alternate available bus transportation service.

H) Route 7F, 7B and 3B buses will not be operated through the SFIA more frequently than on a 30 minute headway basis for each route. No new routes will be established by the District linking the SFIA and downtown San Francisco.

I) Head signs on Route 7F buses will read: '7F San Francisco.' Head signs on Route 7B buses will read: '7B San Francisco Local.'

J) Articulated buses will not be assigned by the District for the sole purpose of serving passengers at the SFIA.

K) The district will not actively promote its bus services to and from the SFIA and downtown San Francisco and in connection therewith will withdraw its brochures publicizing such services.

L) No full-time personnel will be assigned by the District at the SFIA for the purpose of diverting Airporter passengers to District buses.

These conditions severely limit the utility of the 7F line. Conditions A & B limit the carrying of luggage or the provision of luggage racks on buses. As logic would dictate, this would greatly discourage air travelers from using the bus. Condition D relegates the 7F line to only two locations on the upper platform, hidden from view of the majority of arriving passengers. The upper level at the SFIA terminal is designed for departing passengers. Ground transportation services including shuttle vans, taxis, and jitneys are located on the bottom level. The 7F is further rendered obscure by condition E which requires information and schedule kiosks be placed on the upper level only, out of sight of arriving passengers. Condition H limits SamTrans from increasing headways on existing lines and prohibits the creation of any new service. Condition K is perhaps the most odious of the group. It essentially places a gag order on SamTrans and prevents the District from promoting the transit service and calls for the removal of existing brochures to inform travelers of the low-cost public transport option.

The agreement continues on to stipulate that these conditions are for the exclusive benefit of SFO Airporter, shall be binding as long as the company continues to provide bus transportation to SFIA, and are not assignable to any other party. The last paragraph states that SamTrans and SFO Airporter will continue to "meet, confer, and negotiate in an effort to achieve an agreement to combine their transportation services under the authority of the District," but according to District staff there has been no movement on this issue.

**Legal Context and Case Law**

Looking at other cases that involve conflicts between public and private transportation companies, it appears unlikely that SFO Airporter would neither have been able to prevent SamTrans from receiving UMTA money nor exact compensation for the revenues lost due to competition. A similar case involving a public transit district and a private operator is *South Suburban Safeway Lines Inc. v. Chicago Transit Authority*, 416 F .2d 535 (1969).

South Suburban operated regularly scheduled bus service from downtown Chicago along the Dan Rayan Expressway to the southern end of the City. The Transit Authority proposed an extension of a rail line down the median strip of the expressway and secured UMTA funds to begin the project. South Suburban filed suit claiming that the rail extension, funded by tax dollars, would be in direct competition with and supplementary to their existing service and would cause financial loss to the company.

The court found that the company had no right to be free from competition and that "the threat of financial loss does not give standing to challenge the validity of a federal loan or grant which will

make the competition feasible." The defendants conceded that the rail service would be supplementary to South Suburban's service but that it would not cause them any direct harm. The court found that of the three findings necessary as outlined in §1602 (3)(e), the first two are entirely up to the discretion of the Secretary of UMTA and the third condition calling for compensation is determined by State law. In the South Suburban case the court determined that "no franchise or property of a private mass transportation company would be acquired." In all, the court upheld the discretion afforded to the Secretary and did not see any need to limit funds for the rail project nor compensate South Suburban for possible losses due to competition.

California State law also addresses the issue of compensation for a privately owned transit system that is adversely impacted due to public competition. A number of transit districts do not require the district to purchase publicly or privately owned transit systems or compensate them for losses due to competition. These districts include: Counties of Alameda and Contra Costa (AC Transit), Southern California Rapid Transit District (now operating as the MTA), Stockton Metropolitan Transit District, Marin County Transit District, San Diego County Transit District, Santa Barbara Transit, and the Fresno Transit District (California PUC). The Santa Clara County Transit District and the Greater Bakersfield Transit District are required to purchase or compensate private operators if at least 40 percent of the revenue miles (miles logged while providing service for fee) are operated within the district (California PUC).

The San Mateo County Transit District (SamTrans), as well as the West Bay Transit District, Orange County Transit, and Santa Cruz Metropolitan Transit District all require that compensation be paid only if 75 percent of the revenue miles are operated within the district (California PUC).

In 1977 Peerless Stages Inc. brought suit against the Santa Cruz Metropolitan Transit District for damages arising out of competition along the same bus routes, *Peerless Stages Inc. v. Santa Cruz Metropolitan Transit District*, 67 C.A. 3d 343 (1977). Peerless Stages is one of the oldest operating bus companies in California and has been operating in the Northern part of the State since 1916. Within the past year they have ceased all regularly scheduled service due to shrinking market and rising costs (Gaeta 1997). At the time, Peerless ran a bus line between Scotts Valley and the City of Santa Cruz. Santa Cruz Transit began running a bus along the same route and Peerless filed a suit in State court claiming inverse condemnation. The court rejected the claim on the basis that article XII of the California Constitution does not bestow upon a common carrier any protection from competition, as stated, "[t]he right to compensation because of competition by a transit district is purely statutory." As in federal law, the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments have been found not to be applicable to commercial injury as a re-

sult of competition with a governmental entity; "[i]t is well established that there is no right to be free from governmental competition." [2] Peerless had no statutory recourse since it operated substantially less that 75 percent of its revenue miles in the District and was therefore not considered an "existing system" eligible for compensation. Since they did not meet the 75 percent requirement, Peerless claimed that the definition is arbitrary. The court found that the legislature has the purview to create statutes for specific transit districts and the fact that they differ from others is no indication that the action was arbitrary.

The Peerless case is a powerful analogy for the statutory relationship between SamTrans and the SFO Airporter. SamTrans shares the same statutory requirement of 75 percent revenue miles before a private entity may be considered an "existing system" and be eligible for compensation or purchase. Since the SFIA is only a few miles into San Mateo County, one can infer that the SFO Airporter also does not meet the 75 percent threshold and therefore is not considered an existing system under State law.

Considering that the SFO Airporter has no legal standing under State law and a marginal position with regards to federal statutes, it is quite surprising that SamTrans would agree to such a draconian settlement as it did in 1981. As discussed in the South Suburban Case, of the three findings necessary to allow a public transit district to compete with a private company, two are entirely up to the discretion of the Secretary of UMTA (in 1991 UMTA became part of the Federal Transit Administration) (Sukies 1997). The last finding calls for acquisition or compensation "to the extent required by State or local laws." As discussed in the Peerless case, private companies are eligible for compensation if they are considered an "existing system" according to State law. Since the Airporter would not be considered an existing system in San Mateo County, they have no standing in State law and by association, are not required to be remunerated under UMTA 1602 3 (e). In the case *Rose City Transit Co. v. City of Portland, Or.*, App., 525 P2d 1325 (1974), the court held that there is no overriding federal law to determine "just compensation," and that State and local laws make such determination.

One possible explanation for the accommodation of private concerns is the overall ideological climate at the time. When Ronald Reagan became Governor of the State, he brought with him an ideology of allowing markets to operate on their own. This strong market-driven emphasis pervaded many levels of government. People working in the State regulatory agencies were aware that the executive levels took a very dim view of public agencies competing with private companies and may have modified their actions accordingly (Gibson 1997).

It is equally surprising that SamTrans did not emphasize the difference between Route 7F and Airporter service. The Airporter operates as a shuttle

between downtown hotels and the SFIA. They describe themselves as, "scheduled bus service from SFIA to San Francisco hotels," whereas the 7F Route serves as a regional link between the Transbay Terminal in Downtown San Francisco to points south on the peninsula (SFO Airporter 1998). The line serves both airport passengers and commuters as did the former Greyhound line that it replaced.

To illustrate the differences in service, imagine there are two different airport bound passengers. The first is visiting from Texas and is staying at a downtown hotel along the Airporter "Union Square Route." The second is taking public transit from Berkeley and will board the AC Transit F Bus for a 25 minute trip to the Transbay Terminal costing $2.25. The Texas visitor has the porter bring his bags to the hotel entrance, tips him $2, and waits for the SFO Airporter to arrive, $10 bill in hand. The fellow on public transit carries his bag to the bottom level of the Terminal and waits along Fremont Street for the 7F to arrive. The only problem is that he will have to find another way to the airport because he stuffed his large bag full of dirty laundry for his holiday visit home and now the bus driver will not let him board. These hypothetical trips illustrate that these two travelers are operating in two completely different systems. Just as it would be highly unlikely that the visitor from Texas would carry his bags 5 blocks to the 7F stop in order to save $7.50, it is also impractical to expect the Berkeley student to leave the regional transit terminal and walk 5 blocks to the nearest hotel to catch the SFO Airporter.

**Airport Access: User Options**

For the airport user or employee there are four major travel options to SFIA. The first and most common mode is the use of private automobile. The airport maintains large facilities to accommodate the private auto including passenger loading ramps, a large central parking structure, and peripheral surface lots. Airport parking generated over $55 million dollars in 1997 representing 18 percent of total revenues (Chuba 1998).

Next, passengers may use any number of on-demand transportation services. These options include shared van service, limousine service, and private taxi. Costs for these services range from $12 for shared van service[3] to $30 for private taxi.[4] Limo service costs approximately $80 from downtown San Francisco to SFIA.[5]

| Transportation Mode | Modal Share |
|---|---|
| Private Automobile | 46% |
| Rental Car | 13% |
| Taxi and Limousine | 13% |
| Private Transit | 19% |
| Hotel Courtesy Shuttle | 6% |
| Public Transit | 3% |

*Figure 1: Ground Access Modal Splits to San Francisco International Airport 1991*
Sources: Cunningham 1996.

Third, SFO Airporter operates regularly scheduled bus service between downtown San Francisco hotels and SFIA. The Airporter has an exclusive agreement with SFIA to operate this route and pays the Airport a franchise fee for this exclusive right. Airports have the ability to enter into exclusive agreements with private companies for the purpose of controlling and profiting from ground transportation services (Rhyne 1979). The trip takes anywhere from 45 to 50 minutes and costs $10 each way (SFO Airporter 1998). In 1997 the Airport collected nearly $3.5 million dollars in franchise fees from these various private operators for the right to access airport property (Chuba 1998).

Last, one may ride public transportation to the airport. SamTrans route 7F provides direct service from the downtown Transbay Terminal to SFIA and points beyond. The 7F departs San Francisco every 30 minutes and makes the trip to the airport in 27 to 36 minutes depending on the time of day and area traffic conditions. One way fare is $2.50 (SamTrans 1997). In addition to the 7F, SamTrans now runs a new shuttle bus from the Colma BART Station. This trip, from downtown San Francisco, takes approximately 40 minutes and costs roughly $4.00.[6] SFIA receives no revenues from public transit operators for service to airport property.

**Route 7F and the Public Interest**

As a result of the 1981 settlement, the public has been denied fast, efficient, and inexpensive transportation to SFIA. The result for the environment has been a net sum loss as most people continue to travel to the airport via private auto with all the resultant traffic congestion and air pollution. Second, the public will pay over $1.2 billion dollars for a rail extension to SFIA that will provide service inferior to the 7F.

The Bay Area Rapid Transit District (BART) broke ground November 3, 1997 on a 5 mile extension that will bring trains into the new international terminal at SFIA (Griswold 1997). While the extension will greatly improve regional connectivity to the airport, it will cost an estimated $1.2 billion and will not offer any improvement over the existing 7F bus service.[7] It is projected that it will take roughly 33 minutes to travel from the Embarcadero Station to the new International Terminal once BART is completed (BART 1994). Once at the terminal, patrons who are not on international flights would need to transfer to the automated people mover for a 5-10 minute ride to their desired terminal, bringing total travel time to 38-43 minutes. Expected one way fare for this trip is $5.[8] Currently, the 7F makes the same trip in 27 to 36 minutes from the same origin in downtown San Francisco. Adjusting the current fare to a 2.5 percent inflation rate to the year 2002 when the BART extension should be operational, the fare of the 7F would be $2.76 (see Figure 2).

SamTrans expects to abandon or greatly modify the northern 7F Route once the BART extension is completed to SFIA/Millbrae (Gallagher 1997).

| | BART | Route 7F |
|---|---|---|
| Travel Time to SFIA (minutes) | 38-43 | 27-36 |
| Expected Cost | $5.00 | $2.76* |
| Service Frequency (headway in minutes) | 20** | 30 |

*Figure 2: Comparison of BART SFIA Extension and Route 7F*

Notes: * assumes 2.5% inflation to the year 2002 when the extension should be operational.
** BART headways for other recent extension lines such as Dublin operate at 20 minutes headways. Current headways from Embarcadero to Colma are also 20 minutes.

## Conclusion

The SFIA has been greatly underserved by public transportation. The settlement in which SamTrans agreed to limit service to the Airport may have been unnecessary and overly constraining considering the experience of other transit operators and State and federal case law. The net result has been a loss to the public and the environment as patrons lack viable travel options other than the private automobile. Now with the BART Extension to SFIA underway and the billions of public investment committed to the project, one must ask if we might have been able to achieve similar results while only spending a fraction of the cost.

This case has had a detrimental effect on transportation policy in the region. Access to the Airport was been essentially held hostage by one private company, creating a vacuum in public transit to the airport. This artificial suppression of service has skewed the debate over BART to the Airport since the public has not been able to fully assess the relative costs and benefits between investments in different transit modes. It underscores how transportation initiatives that cost little money find it difficult to compete with huge capital projects such as the BART extension which has highly questionable cost effectiveness.

## Endnotes

[1] For the current 1998 fiscal year, SamTrans received $41,200 in federal operating assistance (0.1 percent of the operating budget) and $12,539,550 for capital projects (47 percent of capital budget, primarily for bus replacement). See San Mateo County Transit District, Operating and Capital Budget Fiscal Year 1998, aopted by the Board of Directors May 14, 1997, San Carlos, California.

[2] *Westport Taxi Service Inc. v. Adams*, (571 F.2d 697, 1978). See footnotes on page 700 relating to federal 'takings' and freedom from competition.

[3] American Airporter Shuttle, Published rates, Pacific Bell Yellow Pages, September 1996

[4] Telephone quote from Luxor Cab Co., 12/11/97

[5] Telephone quote from Expresso Limousine Service, 12/11/97.

[6] SamTrans Telephone Information Hotline, (1-800-660-4BUS) and BART (http://www.transitinfo.org)

[7] Projected cost of $1.2 billion for adopted alternative with an internal airport alignment and international terminal station. Original locally preferred alternative took BART to west side of Highway 101 where it would provide an intermodal station for CalTrain and connection to SFIA via automated people mover. Original 1989 SamTrans agreement with BART called for intermodal station with a savings of $250 million over adopted alternative. While transportation planners have advocated the intermodal station zx the most efficent facility, State Senator Quentin Kopp has made it his personal crusade to see tha BART actually comes into the airport no matter what the cost. Cost projection: BART to SFIA Extension DEIR/DEIS. 1995.

[8] The current one-way fare from Embarcadero to Colma (the current end of the line) is $2.25. Based on the distance traveled this works out to $.25/mi. Using this cost per mile figure, one can extrapolate that the base fare will increase to $3.50 over the 5 mile extension. In addition, BART has budgeted a $1.50 surcharge on SFIA patrons to create a capital fund for cost over-runs.

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# ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES: RAIL TERMINALS, CIRCULATION, AND THE URBAN FABRIC 1910-1940

Daniel Baldwin Hess

To my mind, railroad stations are the most fanciful class of buildings. I have been lucky enough during my lifetime to visit many grand stations. As a child growing up in Buffalo, New York, I remember first experiencing the drama of a rail terminal when I visited Buffalo's Central Terminal to see off my older sister who was taking the train to visit relatives in Connecticut. Soon after, Central Terminal discontinued all passenger service and has remained abandoned ever since. As an undergraduate college student, I had the good fortune to study abroad at the City University of London, where my dormitory was only blocks from the famed St. Pancras Station, a Gothic revival masterpiece. As part of my study abroad experience, I purchased a Eurail pass and traveled the continent. Each train station announced the arrival in a new city and seemed more spectacular than the last. In the capital cities of Europe I learned how a building can be inseparably linked with the fabric of its city. While living in New York City after graduation from college, I made frequent trips to Buffalo to visit my family. I was a regular airline commuter between the two cities, but once a year I made time in my schedule to take the train. The eight-hour Amtrak journey between Buffalo and New York City includes stops in large and small historic New York State cities, many of which grew as a result of rail activities. Rail travel gives a bleak introduction to cities, and the view of the abandoned and dilapidated former industrial tracts that line the urban rail yards is depressing. But nowhere is the effect worse than in Buffalo, where the Amtrak train lumbers by the magnificent but abandoned Central

Terminal, a ghost of its former self, only to stop at a squat suburban station in Cheektowaga and a deserted downtown station beneath the elevated thruway.

Later, I learned that my maternal great-grandmother and her seven children traveled in 1919 from Brooklyn to live in Buffalo, arriving at one of Central Terminal's predecessors, the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Terminal at the foot of Main Street in downtown Buffalo. As the family was preparing to set out for their life in a new city, my grandfather, who was ten years old at the time, was told by people in Brooklyn (who believed that Buffalo was the Wild West) that their train would be met by wild horses and Indians in Buffalo. Instead of untamed wild, they found Buffalo to be a bustling city at its height of industrial and manufacturing glory as they arrived at one of its monumental railroad terminals. During the heyday of intercity passenger rail travel in the United States the urban rail terminal occupied the central position in the urban fabric as a gateway to the city; it both unified and gave a core to cities.

This essay stems from my fascination with urban rail terminals and my belief that as a building type they occupy a special place in the history of U.S. cities. Rail terminal design plays an important role in accommodating the arrival and departure of large numbers of passengers at all times of the day and managing their change of travel modes. The rail terminal also functions as a gateway which has to connect two very different kinds of circulation systems with one another: the traffic space of the city, and that of the railroad. Furthermore, rail terminals serve as a very important public spaces in the city. My focus will be on how design issues of rail terminals during the automobile age contributed to a new kind of urban space. I will explore the ways in which urban space transformed to accommodate the railroad terminal, as well as ways in which the railroad terminal transformed to accommodate the automobile. Four urban rail terminals will be examined in order to characterize the interface between rail travel and the automobile and its impact on design and urban life. Two of these stations, Grand Central Terminal and Pennsylvania Station, were built when the automobile age was in its infancy. The other two stations, Buffalo Central Terminal and Cincinnati Union Terminal, were built when the automobile age was well underway. I chose these stations because of my first hand experience with the three that are still standing. I can hardly resist the pleasure of entering Grand Central Terminal every time I am in midtown Manhattan. I also vividly remember visiting Buffalo Central Terminal as a child before it ended passenger train service. Cincinnati Union Terminal is still standing but has been transformed into a museum which I always like to visit whenever I pass through the region.

**Historical Background**[1]

A brief historical analysis of the relationship between urban form, transportation, and rail terminals would begin with

Baron Eugène-Georges Haussmann, who renovated Paris into an imperial capital (1858-1870) at the behest of Napoleon III. Haussmann, Prefect of the Seine, replaced medieval streets with grand boulevards to conform to the counterrevolutionary needs of the Second Empire. The new streets were organized around military and communication routes and emphasized ceremonial functions. They also functioned as commercial corridors that complemented Paris' many urban rail terminals. Haussmann's streets were promoted as a new kind of boulevard that featured broad pavements and ensemble architecture with uniform cornice lines (Schivelbush 1977, Scott 1971). In Haussmann's tradition, the passenger stations were not located close to the centers of the city unless the expenditure involved in such close location was justified by the advantages gained. Because the technology for rail transport came after the medieval urban fabric was firmly established, Paris and other nineteenth-century European cities were often encircled by a ring of train terminals on the urban periphery.

Railroad terminals were a key element in Haussmann's vision of a remodeled Paris. The flow of passengers into stations needed to be distributed speedily, requiring an urban circulation system featuring major roads to connect the termini.[2] Haussmann's plazas, designed to connect the axial boulevards, functioned more as traffic nodes than as civic places. Haussmann extended radial roads to the suburbs, and established a pattern of circular roads to keep the traffic moving around the heart of the city. Owing to new parks, squares, and wide, organized boulevards that replaced narrow streets, the cityscape of the new Paris was said to have achieved "urban grandeur."

At the same time, in the United States, the City Beautiful movement was to be a panacea for the ills of the American city. The City Beautiful Movement was in part motivated by the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which popularized formal Beaux Arts design ideals and forecast powerful moods of civic design. For the next twenty to thirty years city leaders in America would build monumental city halls, public libraries, museums, union stations, banks, concert halls, and academic institutions. The City Beautiful was an attempt by architects, engineers, and planners to bestow order, beauty, and monumentality on American cities, which had become increasingly gritty and chaotic throughout and subsequent to the Industrial Revolution. The emphasis was on civic art: the way that buildings could be arranged in groups to produce grand places.

American planners and designers adapted City Beautiful planning notions first presented at the Chicago Fair to achieve their goals of beautifying cities and improving older urban landscapes that were experiencing economic and social decline. The results were grand urban places that followed the formal orders of antiquity, with monuments and buildings situated at highly advantageous

central city locations, often fronting on open public spaces, parks, and squares. The City Beautiful's trademark revivalist architecture was considered to be forward-looking and a style that was well-suited to the creation of "formal" urban space. Civic art was especially appealing to architects and planners because it paired utility with beauty. The reformist advances that were being made at the time in public health, housing, and municipal engineering were incorporated with new interest in beautifying urban places. Transportation was a key element of the City Beautiful movement, promoted through wide boulevards, public squares, and traffic circles that provided both beauty and organized access. Equally important was rail access.

The concern with the relation between urban planning and civic space led to a consideration of the place of the railroad terminal in the city. The famous firm of Burnham and Co. became closely involved with the combination of urban planning and station design, notably in Washington, D.C., and Chicago.

**Railway Terminals and Circulation**

Around the turn of the century, greater attention was given to the problems of circulation and the control, movement, and organization of great numbers of people in the stations themselves. Internal circulation facilities within stations included stairs, elevators, concourses, street entrances and exits, special entrances and exits for subways, elevated lines, and streetcar lines. Circulation facilities that linked the terminal with the street fabric of the city included entrances and exit drives for carriages, automobiles, taxis, and buses. The guiding design principles were to bring great numbers of people from the street past the ticket offices and to the trains as efficiently as possible. The design had to manage inbound and outbound crowds of people at all times of the day and night, because at stations people were arriving and departing continuously, unlike other buildings serving large numbers of people, such as churches and theaters. Designers became more adept at improving circulation by providing numerous entrances and exits on many sides of the building to provide access in multiple directions, improving on earlier stations that funneled visitors through a fewer number of entrances and exits.[3]

Station-building redesigned the contours of cities, shifting and promoting the flow of traffic and of population and influencing the pattern of commercial and habitational growth. The first consideration was to place the station as close as possible to the working heart of the city, as illustrated by the decision to place the two New York stations in the central area of midtown Manhattan. A negative impact of this practice was the demolition of a considerable area of prime downtown property in order to provide space for the terminal and its approaches. The overall plans of new facilities were aimed at fitting

the established patterns of land use, street arrangement, and railroad trackage. A site large enough was required to provide space for station tracks, approaches, coach yard, and other subsidiary structures. Existing railroad tracks were often rerouted to accommodate new alignments. New terminals required changes in the street pattern in the vicinity of the new terminal and construction of access drives.[4]

The siting of a station depended on a large number of interrelated factors: topographical considerations, land-ownership patterns, and whether or not the station was a terminal. Station siting was also determined to a large degree by the configuration of railroad tracks. Stub-end facilities, such as Grand Central Station, offered maximum convenience to the passenger but were a nuisance to operate because empty or deadhead train movements were made on the same tracks as those used by loaded trains. The construction of a stub-end facility in a downtown core required the clearance of only one swath of land from the urban periphery to the site to accommodate rails, while a through station required the clearance of two such swaths of land for a linear rail corridor leading from one edge of the urban periphery to the other and traversing the urban core. Stub-end facilities required trains to reverse down trunk lines to rejoin the mainline, resulting in more train movements and longer travel times.

The opening of a station in central business districts produced a redistribution of land use and a realignment and stimulation of internal traffic routes. The rail terminal actually increased the amount of wheeled traffic in its vicinity, often upsetting the city's interior structure and calling for the modernization of street and pedestrian networks. Locating a rail terminal at the heart of the city guaranteed maximum interaccessibility of stations with the higher-order functions of the city and the centers of art and entertainment.[5]

A central location offered more disadvantages in the United States, where the railroad was supported exclusively by private investment than in Europe, where the state supported the railroad system. Before the advent and spread of mass transit it was most desirable that the station be placed close to the city core as a matter of physical necessity. During the railroad age, the colossal scale, ample sites, and vast interiors of rail terminals resulted from deliberate choices. The factors determining location, however, changed radically with the advent of mass transit and motor vehicles and with the rapid expansion of metropolitan areas and populations.

Nationwide, the number of rail passengers more than doubled in the twenty years from 1890 to 1910, then nearly doubled again in the succeeding decade (Condit 1977, 1981a). During the twenties, the heyday of rail travel, the passenger train and the locomotive were still popular symbols of power and speed and national fulfillment; they were only beginning to be eclipsed by the automobile and were as yet unaffected by the air-

plane. The general decline in prices and income in the thirties and the serious threat of competition from lower-priced trucks, buses, and automobiles compelled the railroads to reduce freight rates and passenger fares.

**Grand Central Terminal and Pennsylvania Station, New York City**

With respect to urban movement, Grand Central Terminal (1913) is one of the primary nodes in the New York pattern of interrelated circulatory systems, not only by virtue of the traffic within the body of the station complex, but also through the interaction of that complex with the surrounding arteries. Condit observes that "[t]he full urbanistic role of Grand Central Terminal -the place, function, life, and meaning of this civic monument in the circulation and architectural ambience of New York -far transcends internal rail traffic and the lively commerce of the numerous shops and restaurants that make it the greatest microcity in America" (Condit 1981a: 93).

The importance of accommodating vehicular traffic at Grand Central Terminal was made explicit in the plan. The guidelines for the terminal's design competition stipulated that Park Avenue traffic was to flow freely through the property. This challenging requirement separated "through" traffic from "local" traffic and forced designers to manage the diversity of wheeled and pedestrian traffic around 42nd Street. While most entries showed street-level tunnels through the terminal, the design firm Reed & Stem devised an elevated circumferential plaza that took traffic by ramp around the periphery of the building (Tauranac 1985).[6] Grand Central Terminal, envisioned as a multi-level transit nexus, was to be the centerpiece of a massive urban reconstruction project in midtown Manhattan. The New York Central Railroad sunk below ground train tracks in midtown Manhattan in order to free valuable land for vast air-rights development. The tracks for suburban trains lay below those of the express system, and baggage and passengers were separated.[7] New tunnels built just prior to the turn of the century provided rail access to Manhattan from the east and west. Prior to this event, passengers from the west on the Pennsylvania Railroad disembarked trains in Jersey City and ferried across the Hudson River, and passengers from the east disembarked Long Island Railroad trains and ferried across the East River. Through tracks running in the east-west direction permitted McKim Mead & White to build Pennsylvania Station (1910, demolished in 1963) directly above the railroad tracks in the spirit of economizing on space in the heart of midtown Manhattan. This was the first time that vertical separation was used to handle passengers, baggage, and connections to other forms of transportation. Prior to this the customary design was that of a terminal, with a large train shed fronted by a "headhouse" or terminal building.

The Romanesque-revival style, inspired by the baths of Carcalla in Rome,

answered the imperatives of the railroad while announcing the importance of the railroad in New York City with a monumental public space. McKim Mead & White's design attempted to marry the historic classicism of City Beautiful monumentality with the structural steel advances of the day in building technology. On the other hand, Pennsylvania Station was envisaged as New York's primary interchange for all forms of transportation, whether the journey was by carriage and subsequently by car, by bus, by train, or on foot. The level of attention paid to vehicles was matched by a concern for separating them from pedestrians. Pedestrians were provided with direct access to their destinations, while carriages and motor vehicles were required to travel further. Pedestrians could enter the station via foot on all sides of the building. In contrast, Grand Central Terminal's pedestrian access was largely along 42nd Street facing south, reflecting then current geographical development patterns of Manhattan.[8]

Carriages entered Penn-sylvania Station only from the south along a sloping driveway, designed for motorized access, and exited the station to the north. Along the driveway, passenger drop-off areas and *portes-cochères* were provided. This system prevented congestion at the pedestrian exits, and "certainly proved a far more effective solution to the circulation problem than the elevated driveway of nearby Grand Central Terminal" (Parissien 1996: 10).

The station was demolished in 1963 by real estate pressure, although the decline of intercity rail passenger travel due to the automobile greatly influenced the decision. On the site arose Madison Square Garden flanked by two office blocks. The underground railroad station is still in operation, but it is a ghost of its former self.

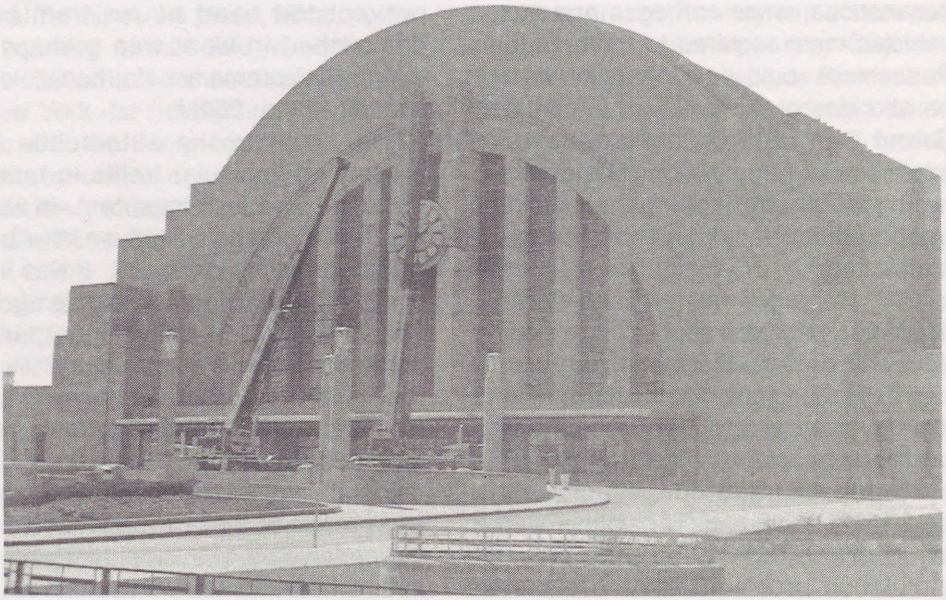
The demolition resulted in a massive public outcry and inspired concerted efforts nationwide in the arenas of historic preservation and landmark designation as efforts to combat urban renewal. "The greatest single work of building art so far undertaken in the United States remains Pennsylvania station in Manhattan, although this status did not prevent the head house from being demolished in what was perhaps the country's supreme act of urban violence" (Condit 1981a: 259).[9]

Prior to the automobile age, preserving vehicular traffic in terminal precincts was less important. In fact, a great deal of land was given over to the railroad terminal in the city. It was in the spirit of the dawning automobile age that Grand Central Terminal incorporated grade separated Park Avenue traffic into the initial design of the terminal, and Pennsylvania Station originally made special provisions for traffic. Such elaborate provisions for automobile traffic were made at these two stations during the early years of this century when the automobile was a new invention and not yet owned on a mass scale.

**New York Central Terminal, Buffalo NY and Union Terminal, Cincinnati, OH**

The passenger train dominated intercity passenger transportation from its invention until about 1910, when the automobile challenged the passenger train's dominance. Beginning in the nineteen twenties, railway architecture was influenced by the international model, characterized by neutrality and operational functionalism. At New York Central Terminal in Buffalo (1929), Fellheimer and Wagner expressed their dissatisfaction with the Beaux-Arts classical approach by adopting *Art Moderne* influences popularized at Paris' 1925 *Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes* which sparked the Art Deco movement.

During the search for a site for a new station that would replace a series and succession of downtown rail terminals, several center city sites were rejected in favor of a spacious location two miles from the core in an east side residential neighborhood.[10] Fellheimer firmly believed that good circulation was paramount in terminal design. Connecting



Approach to New York Central Terminal, Buffalo, NY

highways were laid out to the central part of the city with separate routes for trolleys, buses, trucks, and taxis. A large elevated plaza dominated the north side of the terminal. Vehicles reached it by way of a ramped boulevard approach that brought them to the same level as the main floor of the station, lending a Baroque quality to the station's layout. Easy access to the terminal from every part of the expansive parking lot was as important a concern as providing adequate spaces for the cars themselves. The provisions for parking were a novelty and were considered to be a sign of progress: previous rail terminals in Buffalo, such as Exchange Street Station or the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Terminal, were located in the city's core and in all cases the building, tracks, and platform consumed the entire footprint of land, leaving no room for on-site automobile parking and no adjacent room for parking lots after demand developed.

A new through station was deemed necessary because as the New York Central Railroad grew it expanded westward from the East Coast, and Buffalo became its geographic center, carrying high volumes of rail traffic relative to the city's modest size (Cousins 1985). Because Central Terminal was to be a through station rather than a terminal station, passengers would have to go under or over tracks to reach trains. Fellheimer stretched the train concourse over the tracks with ramps for arriving passengers on the east and stairs for departing passengers on the west. Fellheimer preferred ramps to Beaux-Arts-style staircases because of the circulation benefits. The station's office tower dominated the East Side neighborhood, which was the first in the city to become industrialized, rising high above the two- and three-story wood frame houses and churches built by a succession of immigrant communities.

The suburban location of the terminal was attacked by citizens, business leaders, and city officials, because it was believed to be far-flung from the centers of population and commerce and difficult to reach. New York Central countered criticisms to the site by pointing out that the location would be central to the residential population and that the city would grow toward and around it. This never happened. The terminal's immediate neighborhood remained largely working-class residential and industrial. A site away from the central business district, it was argued, would relieve street and vehicular congestion that plagued Exchange Street Station, and the new facility would be built with no disruption to downtown rail activities. A terminal station at a downtown location would have proven more accessible to the majority of the population. In the end, passengers were subjected to inconveniences of travel to the station, but ease of operation was the New York Central Railroad's prime consideration. The railroad siting set the precedent for disinvestment in Buffalo's downtown and the city's decline from the core to the periphery.

In its functional circulation,

Driveway and facade of Union Terminal, Cincinnati, OH

Cincinnati Union Terminal (1933) has significant affinities with New York's Grand Central Station. It was designed by Fellheimer & Wagner who also designed Buffalo's Central Terminal. The construction of a *union* terminal, as opposed to a terminal dedicated to one railroad company, also gave the railroads the opportunity to disentangle freight and passenger facilities. The firm Fellheimer and Wagner, Reed and Stem's successors on Grand Central Station, handled pedestrian and vehicular circulation no less masterfully at Union Terminal than their predecessors had at Grand Central Station. Far out from the urban center, Union Terminal was to be a station for the automobile age, situated on ample land with vast parking lots. The site layout made generous accommodations for the automobile. An enormous elevated plaza dominated the station's facade; from the plaza, passengers entered the concourse at grade level. Three curving ramps led down to the lower level, where buses or taxis deposited departing passengers and picked up arriving ones, then looped around and continued back up the ramp to the plaza. Circulation was the fundamental consideration; the layout "remains today the most elaborate provision for vehicular traffic in any modern station" (Meeks 1956: 157).

It is ironic that when the railroad terminal attained to pure functionalism in design, as in Cincinnati Union Terminal,

the function of the railroads it served was starting on the downgrade. Cincinnati Union Terminal was physically isolated from the urban fabric, and in the spirit of *Art Moderne* functionalism, housed few enterprises on the premises removed from the objective of transportation. Although the station was conceived as a civic center, its location deprived it from achieving a critical mass of passengers and visitors. The station construction in Buffalo and Cincinnati, during the Great Depression years, compounded problems and meant that the stations never realized their full potential except during World War II, when they served as terminals for troop trains. Even as the stations were being constructed, Americans in increasing numbers were choosing to travel by car.

The recognition of the importance of the automobile and the removal of the rail station to the edge of the city were ominous and foreboding. The sites of the Buffalo and Cincinnati stations were chosen for the convenience of the railroad, not the passengers.[11] In both cities, downtown locations were considered too congested for rail terminals, yet it is that very congestion that the railroads depend upon to survive. Both the rail terminal and the automobile played a role in the transformation of the Victorian city. It was inevitable that with the availability of the automobile to large numbers of people Victorian urban patterns would end.

Would the stations have thrived in Buffalo and Cincinnati if they had been sited in the city centers? The automobile age would certainly have marred their success. But perhaps a downtown station might have maintained the stations' role as an important public space. Downtown rail station in Indianapolis and Washington, D.C. have been given new life as mixed use retail and commercial centers, with a rail component greatly reduced in size.

Under the influences of the automobile age, the designers located the stations in the suburbs where there was room for new roadways and parking lots. The terminals were placed closer to the residential population, so that people would not have to travel downtown to reach the station. The displacement of the rail terminal to the periphery was a symptom of the evolving relation between car and city, which put the city residents at a distance from the core. Since the terminals stood removed from the core area, neither they nor related civic developments could play any role in the day-to-day life of the city or in the natural flow of its traffic (Condit 1977).

Throughout the middle decades of the twentieth-century, the urban rail terminal was relegated to a position of little importance in the urban arena, if not neglected altogether, even by modernist designers and architects. Frank Lloyd Wright's anti-urbanist Broadacre City and Oscar Niemeyer's Brasilia emphasized private transport and elaborate circulation patterns marked by divisions of traffic type. Although Le Corbusier rejected railroads, he incorporated a rail terminal into his 1922 Radiant City, but the station

itself became invisible, sunk below a huge pedestrian piazza surrounded by tall buildings.

The best urban rail terminals, with their clear sense of direction and careful management of the flow of people, offer a model for a distinctly twentieth- century building type: the airport. But siting paradigms that plagued the builders of rail terminals are evident in the location of airports, many of which have awkward, if any, transit connections and are therefore most comfortably reached by private transport. In the second half of the twentieth-century, airports have assumed the monumental character once unique to great railroad stations. But few airports, apart from those in Europe, have adequate rail connection and even fewer have attained architectural distinction; functionalism and efficiency are the operative design goals.

The fact that the passenger branch of the railroad business was failing even before airlines offered serious competition suggests that railroad managers unsuccessfully adapted the passenger train to the automobile age. During the period between 1910 and 1940, when America adopted the automobile, government policy evolved to treat highway construction and automobile travel more fairly than railroads through the interstate highway construction program. At the same time, railroad management was insensitive to market signals and constrained by government regulation (Thompson 1993).

**The Future of Urban Rail Terminals**

That a rail revival is at hand, at least outside the United States, is evidenced by the opening of the Channel Tunnel and two spectacular new stations to serve it -Waterloo International Terminal and EuraLille. Because new high speed lines in Europe usually run on newly created rail lines, modern stations are required on new sites. The best of these stations offer state-of-the-art connections to all forms of motorized traffic, as well as superior pedestrian environments. Rem Koolhaas' design for EuraLille train terminal (1994) puts the well-connected rail terminal at the focus of planned urban development.

At Roissy-Charles de Gaulle Airport Train Terminal near Paris (1994), five circulation levels provide access to high speed and metro trains, airport train links, travelators to airport terminals, and cars, taxis, and buses. At Kowloon, Hong Kong (1997), designer Terry Farrell puts the new rail terminal at the center of a master plan that includes office, retail, and residential development. Vehicles will circulate around and beneath the development, while the raised main plaza will be pedestrian-oriented and free of traffic. A similar scheme has been used by Harry Reijnders at Leiden Central in the Netherlands (1995), where road traffic disappears into a tunnel beneath the station square, which becomes a civic place for pedestrians. The outstanding design feature that these stations have in common is their emphasis on intermodal transportation. New stations created by

the rail revival, both in the United States and abroad, have an expressive quality that celebrates the historical importance and current renewed interest in rail travel (Binney 1995).

**Conclusion**

In the early stages of the automobile age, when the two New York City stations were built, urban rail terminals made elaborate provisions for vehicular traffic and took great care to separate vehicular traffic from pedestrians. The stations in Buffalo and Cincinnati were built when the automobile age was well underway; the automobile was privileged to the extent that the stations were sited in the suburbs for the convenience of the automobile-owning public, but not at the geographic center of population or commerce. American proclivities for individual choice, private transport, and homogenization of travel and design eventually pitched the railroads into decline. While terminal sites, layouts, and designs were modified to accommodate the automobile, the railroad companies themselves were eclipsed by the dominance of automobile companies and federal highway-building programs. Because it dealt with multiple modes of travel, the rail terminal was the locus of transition from the train to the vehicles on the city streets. As this essay has attempted to demonstrate, the rail terminal was a place where architects and planners experimented with the art and science of providing circular access around and vehicular access to monumental public buildings.

I personnally deplore the decline of the urban rail terminals' significance in the United States. To me it represents a loss of urban space, a place where different social classes could meet and rub shoulders, despite class and ethnic segregation practices. It was also a place that signified industry, progress, speed, and dreams about the future. It was a place that represented confidence in the possibility of constructing a better society.

And here I stand, trying to understand what happened to these great buildings, and how they impacted social, political, economic, and daily life in American cities. Although I am fully aware of the immense difficulties facing any attempt to give new life to railroads and terminals, in this essay I wanted to convey my fascination with their design and their former role as urban places. In other words, this exploration of the importance of rail terminals is a call for further efforts to construct more spaces in our cities for public encounters, interactions, and dialogues.

**Endnotes**

[1] This brief account of mainstream planning history does not relate other aspects of railway terminal development. Issues of politics, labor, gender, class and ethnic conflicts were also very important in shaping these urban monuments, and deserve

further investigation. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that Haussmann played a vital part in the improvement of circulation in Paris. On the other hand, the City Beautiful movement was very powerful in orienting discourse in American cities towards civic pride and industrial progress.

[2] For example, the Boulevard de Strasbourg begins at a terminal, the *Gare de l'Est*, and then runs as a direct continuation of the rails (Schivelbush 1977).

[3] The earliest big city terminals, like London Euston (1839) had separate station entrances and separate booking-halls for different classes of travelers. Members of the upper class, who were able to send servants to the station to book tickets and check baggage, arrived at the station shortly before departure and proceeded directly to the train (Richards and MacKenzie 1986).

[4] In Buffalo, Cincinnati, and at Pennsylvania Station, rail terminal construction was also coordinated with the construction of adjacent postal facilities (Condit 1977).

[5] Nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century rail terminal in Europe were often built with hotels as station frontage. In addition to accommodations, the stations attracted places of refreshment and entertainment: cafés, restaurants, and pubs (Richards and Mackenzie 1986).

[6] An early design by McKim Mead and White for Grand Central would have placed a skyscraper office tower — the tallest in the world— above the station. The terminal building would have been penetrated by arcaded streets, allowing the city's traffic to flow through it (Powell 1996). The upper level road around the terminal, the circumferential plaza that a vital circulation element in Reed & Stem's original design, was not completed until years after the terminal building.

[7] Grand Central Terminal is still standing, is fully operational, and has been maintained over the years to keep deterioration at bay. Its rail function, however, has been reduced to little more than a transit stop. Only the New York city subway and the Metro-North commuter railroad, providing service to Westchester county and Connecticut, stop here. Amtrak has consolidated all service to what remains of Pennsylvania Station, where underground passenger and rail areas have been modernized to facilitate passengers' switching rail lines.

[8] Projects are currently underway to provide northern pedestrian access to Grand Central Terminal, which would serve the massive office and residential developments of the east side of midtown Manhattan. This comes at a time when Long Island Railroad is planning to construct the necessary rail connection to make eastside access to Grand Central Terminal feasible.

[9]Plans are currently in the works to convert the New York City Post Office (1913), another classical building by McKim, Mead and White, into a new terminal and concourse for Pennsylvania Station. The massive Beaux-Arts structure, covering two city blocks, has been declared obsolete by the U.S. Postal Service. The conversion is practical because the Pennsylvania Station rail yards continue beneath the Post Office building. The new station will have a grand concourse and a "presence" for each rail unit, something lacking the current underground station (Huxtable 1994).

[10]One unfulfilled dream of Buffalo's past was a Union Terminal to be used by all rail road companies. Plans for Romanesque-revival Union Terminal were unveiled by architect George Cary in 1888. The site for Cary's Union Station was Genesee Street just west of Niagara Square, hub of the city's radial street plan and extending to the harbor. An expensive boulevard and park approach fanned out in front of the proposed station to the east.

[11]In Cincinnati, the terminal company needed 300 acres, and no other affordable site was available.

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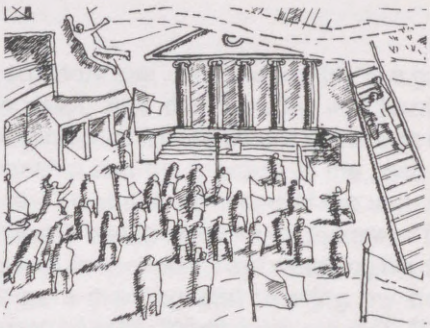
# Meeting Spaces



# CHATTING IN A PUBLIC PARK: AN URBAN CONVERSATION

Julie-Anne Boudreau

I am sitting under a broad canopy tree, painfully fighting sleepiness as I read this highly theoretical book on citizenship entitled *Deep Citizenship* by P.B. Clarke (1996). An old man, walking barefoot, holding a blanket, looks at me. "This is the real world", he says, "not that shitty piece of writing! I'll show you what real life is". And he sits down right in front of me. He grabs my book out of my hands and starts to read the underlined passages. "I might lose your page, do you mind if I fold one corner?" "Go ahead", I respond, half-afraid, half-curious, overwhelmed and torn by my willingness to interact with this homeless man and to fight the constant avoidance of the presence of those who do not fit the norm.

My thoughts are interrupted by his voice. "To be political in this sense in which I construe that term", he reads, "is a good in itself, and the broader mechanism within which it is acted out is through citizenship and the practice of the civic virtues." This one sentence of the very first page is enough for him to declare: "This guy is an asshole!" I am watching his dirty fingers marking and twisting my book when he asks: "What do you study?" "Politics", I say. "So you're a politician", he retorts. "No. I *study* politics", I respond. "Were you born in this country young lady?"

I say yes, after a brief hesitation. I am a Québécoise. For me, Canada seems like another country, but for him it is probably just part of the same dominant society. "Well you should become a politician, even if you hate their guts. Canada is the best society in the world. You have to work to make it what it de-

serves to be...", he says with passion, "politics is good, it's better than sociology. I'll show you what the real world is. See, I'm a bum", he says watching for my reaction. "I'm a bum, my shorts stink more than my shit. And you know what? Your book stinks more than my shorts. Now I have a conversation, let me explain".

And he sits even more comfortably, with a smile on his face and excitement in his glazed eyes. "See that?" He shows me a white crystal-like rock hidden in his dirty hand. "This is a piece of crack" he says. My heart jumps as I see this piece of crack in his dirty hand... Welcome to the real world... I am suddenly reminded that I am sitting in this beautiful park in downtown Toronto, at the edge of the gentrified gay neighborhood, St. Jamestown (a densely populated, multiethnic and poor area), the student ghetto of Ryerson Polytechnic University, and the edge of the newly gentrified and family-oriented Cabbagetown. But this beautiful park -Allan Garden- with its botanical society's greenhouse, becomes one of Toronto's heroine and crack exchange points at night. Sherbourne Street at the corner of Dundas is well-known for its many crack houses. My mind also recalls all the mandatory "educational" movies and books read in high school to "teach" us how drugs are dangerous and vicious. And then, I remember this movie I saw last year -*Trainspotting*- in which junky young men in Scotland show us how orgasmic a heroine fix is, and how political being a junky is when you choose to break from society's conformism.

"I will enjoy a couple of puffs later," he continues, "the guy I was supposed to smoke it with ran away from me. But I don't mind, I want to know what it feels like. See, I'm a Metis. Do you know what a Metis is? You're an educated young woman, tell me". I respond that "a Metis is a person of mixed Native and European background". "Well it's either from Scotland or France", he confidently specifies. "I'm proud, I'm a Metis." I ask him if his family was French or Scottish. "French, I was raised to be a Frenchman, because Indians don't get jobs. My family betrayed what we are", he responds with anger.

I am thinking that we share a same French heritage and thus we share a sense of alienation in this Anglophone country. I want to tell him that I understand his frustration because as a Québécoise, I am an Other also in this country. But I keep my mouth shut, partly because he seems to despise his French education, and partly because I feel that my alienation is not as deep and cannot be compared to his. He speaks about his origins, his family, the job he once had with Nortel Corporation. I don't quite follow him in what he is saying, but I can see his pain. He cries and sweeps his tears with his dirty fingers, leaving dark marks on a fascinating wrinkled, sun-proof face.

A young man passes by with his dog. He looks at me, not sure if he should rescue me from this "bum." I read the worry in his eyes. I look at him with a smile, my eyes are responding: Don't worry, this old man has the right to be where he is.

Look at me, I'm not afraid and you shouldn't be either.

"You should become a politician", he repeats, "Stop reading these books, they're twisting your mind. You should become a politician and not get corrupted by them. We have to get rid of these leaders who make deals for money. See this piece of crack? How do you think it got in this country? By people who make deals for money. I'm a social democrat you see. But Bob Rae [the former social democrat Premier of Ontario] is a piece of shit. I'm a unionist, but unions are just making deals for money. You have to go into politics, take my advice as an old man...". "Maybe one day", I respond, "but now I'm too young to get elected". He asks me how old I am. "Well, I'm 23." His reaction is quite surprising and amuses me: "Well, godamn it, 23 is already too late. You should have started this at 16. You have another year, after that forget it. Unless you are part of an organization, or unless you write a book, 'cause that could change society".

I am thinking how interesting it is that this old Metis man does not separate politics from political action. This is what I am trying to argue in all my work. Politics is more than presidents, prime ministers, congressmembers. Politics is activism. This man did not lose his faith in the power to change things from within the political system. He is not cynical. At the same time, he emphasizes that other political actions are important.

"I'll write a book", I say to him. And I stand up, knowing very well that he will keep this conversation going all day if I do not end it. "Is this your goal in life?". He stands up also. "Don't mind me, I'm drunk", he says leaning on the tree to secure himself, "but this employment equity program of which I don't understand anything. I don't mind the language but I don't want young men not to have a job because they have to give it to young ladies like you or Blacks or Japanese or any other races. Except perhaps Chinese because we used them. Let's compete with the mind". I am walking away, thinking how curious it is that he can talk in such racist and sexist terms. "I won't have a good day", he says, "I'll smoke this crack". I leave him with my silly automatic response: "Don't smoke it, it's not good for you" to which he automatically responds: "Oh yes I'll smoke it. I hope you'll dream about me".

I am walking away, thinking about Patricia Williams' book *The Alchemy of Race and Rights* (1991) in which she argues academic writing is hypocritical because the authors do not engage themselves in their text. I am heading towards a café. I need to write down this story, and maybe use it one day in this book I just promised to write. As I am writing these lines, I realized that I forgot to ask his name. I would have liked to know in order to go beyond this anonymous conversation we had. I should always remember to write for him and avoid using this "twisted" academic jargon.

I am thinking about my father who visited me in Toronto yesterday. And I realize that urbanity is a way of life that you

have to learn. My father is a social worker, an ex-hippy dreaming to change the world, and he does, in his own way from within the system. He is the one who always told us that we were lucky to have what we had growing up in our suburban home with two cars. He is the one who warned us not to judge people on welfare. However, he is the one who was disturbed by all the homeless people he saw on the streets of Toronto. He said he did not want to look at them because they were bothering him. Urbanity is not easy to learn, even for the most leftist father I know. The encounter with difference was definitely something missing from our suburban life but it was only a matter of time before difference encounters me as I was studying citizenship under a broad canopy tree.

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# PUBLIC SPACE IN THE CASTRO AND THE HISTORICAL REEMBEDDING OF QUEER CULTURE[1]

Scott Redding

I began my experience within the American empire at 2 am, November 16th, in the Cleveland bus station. An antique Ms. Pacman and other more contemporary video games played in one corner, families slumped on wire benches, hot dog buns fried up in grease, and passengers (white and African American) fought over seats on the bus. Or perhaps I arrived during a bus ride through Pasadena, CA. Two African American passengers were talking about questionable police shootings in the LA area, and the white driver called back to keep the volume down. One of the two passengers told of paying $1500 per year to keep his daughter outfitted for the high school cheerleading team. The United States is a complex mass of contradictions of race, gender, class, disability and sexuality, with a sequestering of both ideas and groups into specific spaces and conformities. Numerous commentators have begun a discussion on the locations and processes surrounding and Valentine, 1995; Namaste, 1996; Peake, 1993; Squires, 1994; Staeheli, 1996. I have looked at the shaping of urban space with regard to the cultural changes under neoliberalism and queer media efforts in Toronto (Redding 1997). As a Canadian on a six-week visit to San Francisco, I attended a meeting of Castro Area Planning and Action (CAPA), a queer planning group exploring the redevelopment of the Castro District (traditionally viewed as the center of gay male social space in the city). In this short paper, I want to observe more in practice how these contradictions affect queer culture, and, specifically, the creation and sustaining of gay male public space within the urban form of the Castro.

*"Space is a pressing matter, and it matters which bodies press against it."*[2]

While I visited both Indiana and Los Angeles during my trip, most of my time was spent in San Francisco. San Francisco, on its surface, more than other cities, is oriented towards the recognition of plurality and the continual creation and recreation of public space. The very terms of what makes up private and public space -what is public and private culture, what are the boundaries of public and private spheres, and the definition of what ideas are public and private -are a terrain of struggles. Staeheli (1996: 604-5) outlines four competing definitions for the public-private divide: 1) liberal-economic i.e., the state as public, the market as private; 2) republican-virtue i.e., state sovereignty as public, and conceptions of community and the citizen as private; 3) sociability i.e., the symbolic display of identity as public, non-disclosure as private; and 4) what feminist theorizations have traditionally challenged i.e., the state-economy sphere, the domestic-family sphere constructed as private.

More importantly, Staeheli emphasizes that the two spheres might best be viewed as in constant tension with each other, that the boundary(ies) between them are permeable, and that the construction of what is deemed public and private (by dominant and oppositional cultures) is fluid and is a function of political contestation over time. As an example of the liberal argument, Squires cites Brandeis who said that "the right to be alone [is] the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized man [sic]" (Brandeis in Squires 1994: 390). Squires extends Brandeis by saying that "privacy must be seen as a socially created and respected right to control when and where one appears to others... [privacy] entails power over the space which surrounds one[self]" (Squires 1994: 390). As a theoretical backdrop to an examination of CAPA, I will position public and private space as a continuum that is influenced by political action and movement. Furthermore, I want to invert Squires' argument to position queer movement as moving formerly private actions and morality into the public realm, thereby changing both the private and public spheres on a permanent basis (Bell 1995: 312). Space is ambiently heterosexual (Bell and Valentine 1995). Through efforts in political organizing, and the claiming and construction of space through media (Redding 1997), lesbian, gay and bisexual movement has to *work* not only to queer space, but to queer space in producing a counter-hegemonic *and* less-commodified atmosphere.

As a case-study, San Francisco stands apart as a North American city (Keil 1994). It is a Democratic city that overwhelmingly voted for Michael Dukakis in the 1988 U.S. presidential election. It stands with the island of Manhattan (where consumer advocate Ralph Nader outpolled third party candidate Ross Perot in 1996) as an aberration within American party politics. Apart from Democratic electoral politics, which some see as inherently bankrupt, San Francisco also saw mass protests drawing hundreds of thousands of people against the Gulf War in 1990. Numerous readings, speeches, performance art events, open microphones for poetry, film festivals and music scenes overlap in cultural layers within the city.

Finally, across North America, the city stands as a symbol, gathering place and tolerant space for sexual minorities and their organizations.

At the same time, however, San Francisco is rent by contradictions of class and race. Homeless people are omnipresent in the downtown core and queer-centric areas: members of Food Not Bombs, an activist group that feeds the homeless vegan food, have been cited by Amnesty International for enduring mass arrests and persecution. To a brief visitor to the Bay Area, race seems a very contradictory terrain. Issues surrounding race seem to be underplayed as matters for grassroots discussion, at the same time as an African American mayor governs in San Francisco. At the time of my visit, the national mainstream media continued to treat the issue of race as a spectacle (whether in its coverage of the recent firing and suspension of Bay Area basketball star Latrell Sprewell or Bill Clinton's town halls on racial reconciliation). Filmore Avenue in San Francisco, a formerly African American centric area teeming with jazz clubs, has been gentrified by boutiques and stores catering to the pedestrian upper middle class and their weekend leisure time. Furthermore, the first week I was there, a discussion between longtime activists Angela Davis and Amiri Baraka on the opening of a community center in Oakland was underplayed in both the mainstream and alternative print media.

What is striking about San Francisco, in parallel to my home of Toronto, is that it is built around communities. People live within the confines of the city, even within areas near to the downtown core. Most of my time (social and otherwise) was spent in the Castro. Nestled in a valley at the west end of Market Street (the spine of the city from west to east) at Castro Street, the area is full of restaurants, theaters/venues, coffeehouses, bookstores, and specialty shops. Queers feel free to openly cruise each other on the street. Gay-owned businesses abound. The headquarters of community art initiatives like the NAMES project (with a walk-in center for providing supplies and help in making portions of the Quilt commemorating those who have died from AIDS) are there. Loci for transnational queer cultural activity (such as the Castro Theatre) are there. But what do you do outside of shops, theaters, restaurants and cafes? Not only in the Castro, but also in communities such as North Beach, Haight-Ashbury, the Mission and South of Market, it is becoming progressively more difficult to find images and spaces that are not bought and sold. In short, San Francisco seems to have a more vibrant public culture of ideas and histories than other North American urban centers, that is yet increasingly sequestered into, and expressed in, private spaces.[3]

One citizen group, Castro Area Planning and Action, (CAPA), recently invited environmental designer Gordon Brent Ingram to speak on the issue of redeveloping the Castro (December 5, 1997). As a primary goal, CAPA wants to expand and redevelop Harvey Milk Square at the corner of Castro and Market and, secondarily, move to revitalize the area. The redevelopment of the square does seem to be a priority. Milk was the first openly gay elected official in California. He was a camera-store owner who ran

three times for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors (and city council) before the adoption of a ward-based system more accurately reflected Milk's electoral support. Milk championed gay rights and was a primary figure in successfully opposing a state-wide initiative to ban gays and lesbians from employment in education. But, in alliance with the mayor, George Moscone, he also believed in progressive coalition politics across social movements of class, race and gender. The four corners of Harvey Milk Square are today an entrance to an underground streetcar station (Castro Station, incidentally, not Harvey Milk Station), two gas stations and a bank. A flagpole with a large rainbow flag stands to the west of the bank. A single plaque, below ground level, commemorates Milk at an entrance to the station. I went to the CAPA meeting hoping that they would address the questions of what can be done to revitalize the area, and specifically, the vitality of the square?

The meeting itself consisted of six white gay or bisexual men. I was the only one of them under the age of 30. The size and makeup of the group was disappointing, yet two community summits between CAPA and city urban planning officials have already occurred over the past eighteen months. Discussion at the meeting and CAPA's plans include the following suggestions for the redevelopment of the Castro:

- pedestrian islands in front of cafes to relieve sidewalk congestion;
- the extension of the Castro district back towards downtown San Francisco for at least three stop lights, not six;
- commission public art to highlight the area's specific culture;
- an enlargement of the green space surrounding the area for the promo tion/protection of the right to public sex;
- a "Walk of Fame" commemorating both the history of the area and the achievements of the lesbian, gay andbisexual movement; and,
- an "interactive exhibit (as part of the Walk) that could involve people at a video wall coming out for the first time" on Market Street.

CAPA's answer to the issue of expanding public space was very disappointing. Public space for CAPA seems to be, implicitly or explicitly, an extension of commercialized space. In looking at struggles over People's Park in Berkeley, Mitchell argues that urban space can be seen as a contest between two definitions of public space: 1) public space as "marked by free interaction and an absence of coercion by powerful institutions" so that "political movements" can organize and expand into wider arenas; or 2) public space as an "open space for recreation and entertainment... a controlled and orderly retreat where a properly behaved public might experience the spectacle of the city" (Mitchell 1995:115).

CAPA supports more space for cafés and their weekend visitors from outlying suburbs: such visitors don't have Castros in their local neighbourhoods and the weekend is perhaps the only time when they can walk with their arm around their lover in public. Should the priority here be therefore more space for cafés or more space that is public in Mitchell's first sense of the term? As well, I saw an ugly sentiment underpinning the discus-

sion at the meeting that it is the expansion and colonization of areas further back towards downtown along Market Street that matters; such an expansion might only include certain people. Certain of CAPA's members feel that the Castro's street youth should be pushed out of the district. (CAPA itself has no official position on the matter). This despite studies that suggest forty percent of street youth are queer, having been forced out of their families through suffocating homophobia or disownment. CAPA seems to be aiming towards a "celebration of constrained diversity" which will only be accessed by certain groups in San Francisco.

It is hard to argue against CAPA's broader aims: a promotion of gay, lesbian and bisexual history within the Castro and San Francisco. But the Castro is primarily a gay male social space and is not the only queer-focused area in San Francisco. In conversation after the formal end of the evening, Ingram, the featured lecturer, commented that a similar speech given a month earlier in the Mission district produced a different focus to the question period. In it, questions specific to the experience of queer people of color and lesbian spatiality were put on the table for discussion. Areas in the East Bay (specifically areas of Oakland and Emeryville) are focal points for women's groups. SOMA (South-of-Market) is notable for its play parties, queer-positive bars and clubs and warehouse raves. The Bay Area Bisexual Network holds events at cultural centers such as Fort Mason, or clubs like the Trocadero in SOMA. CAPA seems to be promoting a consolidation of queer space (read: gay white male space) along Market and Castro. This leads me to serious concerns as to who would be excluded from a "Walk of Fame" along Market Street.

Finally, coming-out is an intensely personal process that is not a one-time event. It occurs each time someone asks a gay or bisexual man if he has a girlfriend, when a mother makes a homophobic joke in front of her openly lesbian daughter, or each time a gay man makes a misogynist comment to a man who identifies as bisexual. At each of these junctures, we choose to step back into the closet or be public with our identity. That CAPA would link these events integral to our identities to a vulgar economy of tourism along Market is perplexing.

It is an achievement for queer communities to have established spaces grounded in small business (be it West Hollywood in LA, the Castro in San Francisco, Valencia, Greenwich Village in NYC, Parliament Street and Church/Wellesley in Toronto, or Ste Catherine Street in Montreal between Beaudry and Papineau. But that cannot be enough. In light of visiting CAPA and San Francisco, I would say that the history of lesbian, gay and bisexual movement needs to be pursued in a more inclusive and public manner. Broader initiatives that integrate history into the queer urban landscapes listed above and our daily lives need to be sustained by our communities. Queer histories, and our knowledge of them, can help us use the past in present actions within the urban spaces that we have claimed, constructed and sustained as queer.

Such processes of education can be viewed as conduits that bring issues defined by the dominant heterosexual culture as private into public space and

discussion. Each time that someone comes out in a constructive and self-affirming way, public space, through oral communication, is created. Each time that someone asks a question challenging assumptions of groups such as CAPA (the relation of lesbian social networks to the Castro, the hospitality of the Castro to people of color), a more public space is created. It is an achievement for non-profit programs such as the Queer Exchange in Toronto, or courses through the Harvey Milk Institute in San Francisco, to promote queer histories and empowerment of communities through knowledge of self. Community radio in Toronto (CKLN, CIUT and CHRY) and San Francisco (KPFA and various pirate radio stations in the Bay Area) promote queer issues as part of their regular news programming, as well as with specific shows.

In this light, we can say that there are varying degrees of public space (backed by specific forms of material power) and varying degrees of access to it (access based in race, gender, ability or sexual orientation). These factors produce forms of politics within and, perhaps more importantly, between these public spaces that are differentially conducive in transcending present structures of oppression.[5] Hemmings points out that "dominant discourses rely on the presence of an 'other' " and that "unless transgression actually disrupts the underlying forms of the discourses being challenged, the attempt runs the risk of becoming yet another partner in... binary oppositions" (Hemmings 1995: 48). What CAPA should perhaps aim toward is less a liminal economy of queer Castro tourism and perhaps more the development of alliances, with perhaps non-profit institutions such as the Harvey Milk Institute that are also based in the area, that move towards the creation of public space with a more educational focus. In this regard, agencies anchor spatial practices and societal biases (Peake, 1993: 417). With regard to avenues for future research into the production of queer public space, San Francisco has nascent forms of intellectual-material networks, in the form of co-sponsorships of various events (small business helping out the Walk for AIDS or Gay and Lesbian Pride celebrations in late June with in-kind donations and community radio promoting such events as part of public service announcements), that could stand as a progressive alternative to for-profit representations of the communities that visit and live in the Castro.[6]

North American society seems to be groping towards a historical reembedding of its cultural and social life to offset the increased economic instability with a more globalized economy. Equally, this is how religious-political movements such as Promisekeepers, the appeal of the Nation of Islam or deep ecology, as well as postmodern cultural shifts such as architectural movements in "new urbanism," historic streetcars on light-rail in San Francisco, or throwback pro sports venues (Camden Yards in Baltimore), can be read. If we want to move further in the emancipation of people who identify as queer, having a better sense of our collective self-identity seems imperative. Implicit in this short paper has been a call for people to participate (and financially support through donation and volunteer effort) media organizations that are run by and for the queer community. But what

also needs to be addressed across a variety of fields is the degree to which history is absent or integrated into our daily lives and its degree of commodification. That is, is a video wall at the corner of Castro and Market an appropriate way of representing queer history? Efforts at the reembedding of history into daily life need to be conscious of who they are excluding and including (in terms of race or diversity of sexual expression) and what forms of material power are financially backing, for example, public art initiatives in gay villages. Then perhaps we can talk of the production of a more equitable public space (to complement a vital urban public culture) within areas such as the Castro in San Francisco.

**Endnotes**

[1] My thanks to Bruce Rusk for his typically erudite comments on an earlier draft of this paper, conversations on the topic with Iris Schenk, and suggestions for revision from three anonymous referees.

[2] Elizabeth Probyn, cited in Bell and Valentine (1995: 18).

[3] See Zukin (1995) for an examination of this process with regard to public parks in New York City.

[4] On November 27, 1978, Dan White (a former Supervisor who had had been a political opponent of both Milk and Moscone, and had resigned amidst corruption charges), assassinated the two men in their offices at San Francisco City Hall. Forty thousand people spontaneously held a candlelight march that night to honour the memory of both Milk and Moscone, which has been repeated each November since. See Epstein (1984) for an Oscar award-winning documentary film of Milk's career. See also Shilts (1982), for a more comprehensive biography of Milk and his legacy.

[5] Indeed, bisexuals can be said to create space through sexual expression (and cultural activity related to it) anywhere along a continuum between gay/lesbian space and the heterosexual saturation of everyday life.

[6] For an examination of intellectual-material networks and private international relations councils, see Gill (1990).

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# WHEN GRADUATE STUDIES BECOME A FAMILY AFFAIR: AN INTER-GENERATIONAL APPROACH INTO SPACE AND PLACE

**Amy, Avila and Reva Santo**

As a graduate student, and a parent of two young children, I am acutely aware that my family is going through the Urban Planning doctoral program along with me. Without a doubt, my graduate studies have altered our daily life; from our back seat car conversations to our bedtime rituals. In all seriousness, in order to stay afloat I have been forced to take extreme measures like turning Gramsci into bedtime reading for my sleepy three-year old daughter, or explaining the theory of a commodity to my curious six year old son. In fact, I am typing this note with my daughter asleep in my lap! Despite the obvious negative externalities, such as limited income and excess stress, there may be some positive side effects as well. It seems that doctoral students and young children have something in common: persistent inquisitiveness.

One of the more notable moments in my family's communal educational endeavor entered into the discussions of the *Critical Planning* editorial collective. It began one afternoon as I drove east on Bundy under the freeway on ramp. Quite unconsciously, I let out a dramatic sigh that grabbed my children's attention.

> "What is it Mommy?" they inquired.
>
> "Oh, nothing... just some stuff about place and space for a paper I am writing," I answered nonchalantly. I was feeling perplexed as I mused over my pending presentation on De Certeau's theory of spatial practices. Much to my surprise, my son responded affirmatively.

"I know about that! I know about that! Space and Place, I know about that!" he yelped. "Tell me about it," I prodded him on.

"If you say it is a 'space' then it is YOUR space. Your space. That's MY space. That's YOUR space. If you say its a 'place' then you will know its NOT YOURS. If they say its your space then it is ONLY yours. If they say its a place, then its NOT yours — it is everybody's. And if they say its a space EVERYWHERE, they will think it is only, only, only yours."

When we arrived home I jotted down his words to the best of my ability, and filed them in a unruly pile of amazing drawings and sculptures that my children have given me over the years. Intrigued by his analysis, I sent out a whimsical note to my colleagues in departmental cyberspace. It read something like this:

*>Date: Mon, 26 Jan 1998 18:13:46 - 0700*
*>To: critplan@ucla.edu*
*>From: Amy Santo <capoeira@ucla.edu>*
*>Subject: On Space and Place*
*>*
*>Hi everybody!*
*>I would like to submit a quote on space and place from my six year old son Avila. We may have difficulty with the distinction between space and place, but Avila seems to have very clear thoughts about the two.*

Much to my surprise, my colleagues interrogated Avila's comments.

*>Return-Path: <critplan@ucla.edu>*
*>Date: Mon, 26 Jan 1998 22:05:29 - 0800*
*>To: capoeira@ucla.edu*
*>Subject: Re: On Space and Place*
*>*
*>Amy and Avila,*
*>Avila DID a good job in identifying those two abstract spatial concepts for us. Maybe he will be a promising 'philosopher' in the future! How old is he now ? According to Soja's lecture last Wednesday, a child can't identify the spatial hierarchy from home, community, region, to global etc. until s/he is 6 or 8 year old. Yes, I can't agree with Avila more. PLACE is initially such a concept that can't simply be taken as an objective SPACE to be owned or privatized. However, along the process of capitalization, PLACE has been disappearing. Furthermore, through the tourist economy, PLACE has been reinvented as a HETEROTOPIAN SPACE for*

*people to reacquire. Nostalgia or Liberation? See, I almost loose the ability to say simple words as Avila. Ha!*
*>—Ruei-Suei.*

*>Date: Wed, 28 Jan 1998 10:51:57 -0800*
*>To: Amy Santo <capoeira@ucla.edu>*
*>From: esoja@ucla.edu*
*>Subject: Re: A Six Year Old's Space*
*>*
*>Dear Amy,*
*>I DO read my e-mail—but answer only when I can be brief (my machine conks out when I take too long). So: bravo for Avila! He is a budding spacenik. Perhaps I should take him along when I present a paper on space and place at the Geography meetings in Boston.*
*>ED*
*>*
*>Date: Wed, 28 Jan 1998 14:40:19 -0700*
*>To: esoja@ucla.edu (edward soja)*
*>From: Amy Santo <capoeira@ucla.edu>*
*>Subject: Re: A Six Year Old's Space*
*>*
*>Dear Ed,*
*>Great! When discussing travel Avila usually requests visiting New York. He believes that Batman lives there. Although he has heard about Gotham City, he thinks that films are "fakes." He has decided that Batman lives in New York because Manhattan's landscape looks similar to the celluloid filmscape (i.e., New York must be the "real" place used to represent the fake one.) Despite his infatuation with New York, I am sure he would adore an adventure to Boston with you.*

*> Tchao,*
*>Amy*

This expanded discussion was enjoyable and made me reevaluate my worries about the negative effects of parental graduate study on their young children. Surprisingly, the journal requested including Avila's thoughts about space and place in their publication. But "please send us his biography" they demanded. I approached him over dinner:

"Avila, the friends have asked to publish your thoughts about space and place in the magazine." (If I said the word "journal" he might mistake it for his own school notebooks.) As anyone who has spent time around groups of children might expect, my daughter soon wanted to get involved.

"I want to do it too!" she exclaimed.

"OK, Reva," I asked. "What is space?"

"Another world," she responded gleefully. Yet another provocative answer!
Avila described space as intimate and personal while Reva viewed it as a galactic dimension.

I continued, "what is a place?"

"I don't know," she quietly responded. A few seconds passed and she exclaimed, "Places are were you want to place them!"

Her conclusions supported Avila's previous argument about the commodificat-ion of place. Pleased with her answers, we moved on to the quest for biographies.

"The journal wants your biography," I began asking my eldest.

"What is a biography?" he questioned.

"It tells us about you. Where you come from. Where you went to school. What your interests are," I explained.

He began, "I was born in the UCLA hospital. I go to Will Rogers School – in room two. I am a man."

My daughter boldly interrupted, "No! You are not a man."

He rebutted, "I am *going* to be a man."

"You are not an old man are you?" she asked jokingly. Pausing for a moment she added, "And, I am a lady."

"You are not a lady," my son huffed. "You are a girl."

"You said you are a man," she told him bluntly, "so I am a lady."

She had defended her argument convincingly, and a victorious pause ensued. We retired from the dining room table to brush teeth and repel into bunkbeds for the night. I, of course, struggled valiantly against their infectious slumber to return again to my noctural studies.

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## ECHO PARK DAY TRIP

**Phillip Martin**

Reminiscent of a misty mountainscape, the downtown skyline is shrouded in thick, brown tinted air. From my position on a worn wooden park bench in Echo Park, life is an injection of goodwill and escapism. LA caters to escapism more than any city I've known or visited. There are spots aplenty, where one can 'pull back' and enjoy the ambiance of LA noir, that indescriptable-indefatigable conundrum that sucks the inhabitants of this city into a whirlpool of indulgence and forgetfulness. A watery terrain, cohabited by ducks, residents and visiting 'questers,' Echo Park provides tranquility amid the celestial grind of LA.

A Latino family of four uses teamwork to glide across the lake's polished surfaces -itself, a glistening-sparkling harbinger of flow.

In Echo Park, you experience flow.

A flow that induces thoughts of utopia.

A divine utopia of humanity and nature in convalescence.

In the middle of the lake is an island littered with debris. The soil is wet from a sprinkler's morning shower. Doses of civic cleansing hits one in waves. Draped in beauty, Echo Park is nostalgic -a noble gesture connected to reality by the un-intrusive menagerie of walkway, boathouse, playground, storybook bridge, ethnic diversity, and quality architecture.

Rising sprays of water gush from the middle of the lake like a geyser, jettisoning lavishly towards the blue, day sky overhead. Wisps of clouds hang just above the edges of palm tree clusters. The park needs refurbishing; however, this fact does not diminish from LA's *luminea naturae* and its silent fostering of this underbelly oasis.

Slowly making way from outer reality to inner facilities, burrowing its own brand of municipal grooves in the solar plexus to a deeper place, Echo Park is functional and spiritual. Just take a seat and unwind and you will experience its testaments.

Mike bends over his notebook, an earnest look of pleasure washing his face. The seat creaks. The wind angles past the leaves, forming a transcendental *pas de deux*. The water rolls, undercurrents pulling it foward. Paddle boats glide. Families picnic on the brownish green grass. A mailman circles the park. Cars pass along the border of the park, unable to disturb the brown-faced men playing games of chess and checkers or all the other people in different states of 'chillin.' An ice cream vendor snoozes in front of us, coming to a perch in the trees behind us. The faces of the people tap into the park's sanctity, their troubles, yesterday's desires in the yolk of today's needs.

Echo Park takes all this in. All this is too much.

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# Building Communities

# THE PROLETARIANIZATION OF TRIBAL SUBSISTENCE ECONOMIES: RESOURCE DEGRADATION AND UNPROPERTIED COMMUNITIES

Craig S. Keys

The danger that privatization and market-based conservation policies present for subsistence economies are tremendous, in part, because they are so widely and deeply rooted. Market-based approaches to resource management are supported by a long tradition of "scientific" development theory that has Malthusian and Coasian roots.[1] This tradition contends that the problem of population growth and resource scarcity necessitates policies and laws which allocate rights to resources in terms of "efficiency" rather than in terms of sustainability. The rationale is that market-based resource distributions are presumed to be efficient and therefore just (Hecht 1995: 403).[2] The problem with this view is that this tradition of "scientific" development promoting "efficient" society's needs through market considerations pay little if no attention to the needs of "less productive" communities i.e., subsistence economies as non-wage-based systems of economic production.

The traditional hunting, fishing and farming activities of indigenous communities throughout the world are among the most noted "subsistence" or non-wage-based economies still in existence.[3] One example of a subsistence economy -although there is minor participation in wage-based production- is the economy of the approximately 600 Ka'apor Indians living in the eastern portion of Amazonian Brazil, in the state of Maranhao. Their subsistence is maintained primarily from slash-and-burn agriculture, gathering of local plants, hunting, and fishing (Balee 1997: 123). For such communities, the production of food in a subsistence economy is primarily for local consump-

tion (use value) rather than to produce a trade commodity (surplus value). Privatization policies have generally alienated native people from resources and have created strong incentives for unsustainable development. Once alienated from their resources, native people have been more dependent upon the exchange of their labor for wages as a means of economic support.

Other examples of subsistence economies are evident among communities that are also characterized as peasant communities. Peasants that grow or raise food to ensure their livelihood or to supplement their wages also participate in a subsistence economy of sorts. As peasants become wage-earners and active market consumers of goods, they display the basic attributes of a proletariat, rather than those of participants in a subsistence economy.

Perhaps the most important distinction between a proletariat and a subsistence economy is the communities' participation and consumption within a market economy (Deere and de Janvry 1979; Bernstein 1980).[4] In examining peasant agricultural production in Africa, Henry Bernstein found that despite the advent of commodity consumption behaviors, the peasantry could not properly be termed a "proletariat" because they retained a measure of autonomy and control over hunting or fishing activities despite governmental policies restricting the use of traditional fishing methods or restricting tribal access to other traditional food sources (Bernstein 1980).

The survival of subsistence economies is particularly threatened by recent global trends towards privatization in domestic and international resource management policies. Market-based allocation schemes are being applied to natural resources across the board from water, to land, and to the wildlife they sustain. It has, for example, also driven proletarianization in Latin America as the pharmaceutical industry has expanded to extract medicines from indigenous forests (Kyle and Cunha 1992: 22).[5] Extractive resource uses (medicinal, mineral and forestry) and deforestation due to new land development stand in direct opposition to habitat and biodiversity conservation.[6] Biodiversity and the related concept of ecosystem management were prominently featured at the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit. The Biodiversity Convention defines biodiversity as "the variability among living organisms from all sources including, inter alia, terrestrial, marine and other aquatic ecosystems and the ecological complexes of which they are part; this includes diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems" (UN Conference on Environment and Development 1992).

For the purposes of evaluating the impacts of market-based development, general biodiversity can be thought of as a measure of the potential resources available to subsistence economies -the remaining supplies of food, medicines and building materials. As development of the land progresses fewer resources will be available to support lifestyles existing out-

side of the market economy.[7] Whether occurring in Africa, Latin America or North America, the process of proletarianization among subsistence economies exhibits several basic characteristics: declining access to natural resources; degradation of those resources; and the expansion of market-based resource management policies.

This essay will examine the expansion of non-native property rights and other market-based policies that contribute to the proletarianization of tribal cultures in North America. The fishing rights of Northwestern Indian tribes have been a source of local and international disputes.[9] The Indian policies of both governments (influenced by the Canadian Royal Proclamation of 1763), "recognized native property claims and was binding on the colonies that preceded both countries" (Johnson 1991: 643). Salmon fishing has been an integral part of Northwest Indian life. Indeed, salmon (an anadromous fish spending part of their life cycles in both fresh and ocean waters) have long been prominent in Indian religious life, trade, culture, and diet -providing up to eighty to ninety percent of the diet of many of the tribes (Johnson 1991). Still today, fishing provides a vital part of the subsistence and livelihood for many Indians in the Northwest (Miller 1991).

Two specific issues are of tremendous financial importance and have had critical value in the preservation of traditional economy and culture. First, traditional economic activities are threatened by recent U.S. domestic policies enacted to establish and reallocate property interests in domestic fishing rights -the Individual Transferable Quota systems (ITQs). Secondly, tribal economies are potentially endangered by recent international agreements seeking to manage ocean resources in cooperation with foreign nations (salmon migrate across national boundaries and so tribal fishing rights to salmon stocks have international dimensions).

## Domestic Fishing Policy and Tribal Subsistence

Historically, native subsistence rights to Pacific salmon have come into conflict with competing recreational and commercial fishing interests. In the recent years, salmon populations have experienced a serious decline due in large part to the combined pressures of national fishing fleets, recreational fishing, and the presence of hydroelectric dam systems. It is estimated that the dams alone cause the loss of eight million fish annually, and despite many scientific and legislative efforts to help the fish recover, salmon population continues to decline (Miller 1991). Moreover, advances in technology and over-investment in fishing equipment have resulted in unsustainable growth in the fishing industry world-wide. Thus, while the sustainable "low tech" and traditional fishing practices of the Northwest Indians are being undermined by privatization, domestic fishing fleets have developed the capacity to fish far beyond the available stock in many fisheries (Collons Keys 1997). The persistent de-

cline of domestic fish stocks, despite regulatory limits on permissible fishing gear and the duration of fishing seasons, has prompted the creation of various experimental individual transferable quotas systems. The resource management goal of this system is to reduce the strain on the fish stocks by limiting the number of commercial fishing boats and by restricting the total annual harvest of fish to reserve enough of the fish population for the reproduction and maintenance of the stock (Collons Keys 1997).

Due to their reliance on privatization strategies, the use of individual transferable quotas has been problematic for continued subsistence fishing. ITQs privatize fishing rights and provide for the transferability, by lease or sale, of the right to harvest from a specific fishery (Collons Keys 1997). Such market-based privatization scheme is designed to bring Natives into the commercial fishing industry (Collons Keys 1997).[9] To be eligible for ITQ participation in the fishery industry, native communities must have partnership agreements with commercial fishing entities and must operate as a business. As a result, ITQs may impose wage-labor systems on unwanting communities and undermine tribal subsistence economies. For instance, the Han Kutch'in Athapaskans of Alaska and Yukon Territory have taken on a corporate form, Chief Isaac, Inc., to further the tribe's economic development, but at the cost of increasing their reliance on non-Indian political structures and external markets (Miller 1991).

**Tribal Subsistence Practices and International Treaties**

The survival of tribal subsistence economies is also in conflict with international efforts to preserve salmon fisheries or to improve Indian economic resources. The problem is that most preservation efforts treat undeveloped lands and resources as "a vacuum onto which European culture naturally flowed" (Hecht and Cockburn 1990: 270).[10] As the governments of Canada and the United States are cooperating to restrict access to fisheries, the rights of native communities to traditional fishing practices have historically been subject to attacks from commercial and recreational fishing interests, and thus subjected to increased governmental scrutiny. Under the Canadian-U.S. Pacific Salmon Treaty, for instance, six fisheries are regulated in an effort to prevent over-fishing (Miller 1991).[11]

Among other dispositions, the treaty seeks to avoid economic disruption of existing fisheries and to give due regard to annual harvest variations. Each of these six fisheries is governed by restrictions on harvest quantities, permissible equipment and specific boundaries set out in Treaty Annex IV (Yanagida 1987). Since harvest levels fluctuate dramatically, due to the fact that Canadian and U.S. species intermingle during their ocean migrations, the provisions of Annex IV are necessarily short-term. This condition subjects native fishing rights to frequent challenges and scrutiny. In the pursuit of economic and conservation goals, U.S. and Canadian agencies must

allocate between domestic commercial and tribal fishery uses on the one hand, and the obligation to preserve a portion of the migrating stock for use by the other nation. These international allocations have serious consequences for fishing interests and can give rise to disputes regarding the allocation of domestic access to the fisheries -between commercial, recreational, and native interests. Although respective interests of national fishing fleets, domestic industries, and the native tribes are likely to continue to spark disputes over fishing rights, Canadian and U.S. governments have increasingly recognized their responsibility in conservation and their commitments to cooperatively manage fisheries,

The recent United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (LOS) represents a significant international commitment to manage fisheries. President Clinton exalted the treaty: "[a]s a far-reaching environmental accord..." emphasizing that "the convention promotes continuing improvement in the health of the world's oceans..." and praising the Convention's aspirations for facilitating "solutions to the increasingly complex problems of the uses of the ocean -solutions that respect the essential balance between our interests as both a coastal and a maritime nation" (Clinton 1994: 40).

While other conventions affecting Pacific salmon have also focused on habitat management and allocating rights to the allowable catches; prior agreements have generated less political and legal pressure to cooperatively manage salmon fisheries. Both environmental and commercial concerns for preserving salmon habitats and populations are reflected in the provisions of the Law of the Sea Convention. While commercial fishing concerns are focused upon long term yield from the stocks, they are less concerned with the survival of wild species or biodiversity than they are with annual harvest yields. Environmentalists, however, are concerned with the low survival rates of replacement species that have been introduced in order to sustain harvest yields and place a high premium upon the integrity of the stocks; seeking to conserve stocks by preserving biodiversity. Thus far, commercial fishing and market-based regulation have failed to manage the fisheries sustainably. If stocks are depleted to the point where the preservation of biodiversity requires complete bans on the harvest of the more endangered species, then ironically, pressures from environmental groups may indirectly undermine tribal fishing rights in some instances as competing fishing interests fight for the largest possible portion of the remaining "allowable" catch. Article 119 of the Law of the Sea Convention determines and provides for the enforcement of the allowable catch on the high seas. The "allowable catch" is defined as the harvest of fish which, if taken within a year, will best enable the fisheries management objectives such as optimizing long-term yield of the fish stock. Among other things, Article 119 requires states to consider the effects of harvesting on

the populations of dependent or associated species. It also provides for the enforcement of fishing equipment regulations such as controlling for net size and vessel type. But heightened competition for fish, and the necessity for fisheries to be preserved through the use of moratoriums are both signs of a failing policy (Brohman 1996: 320).[12] For some species such as the Atlantic salmon the success of the convention in limiting the take of large fishing vessels may relieve some pressure to limit fishing catches closer to shore. On the other hand its failure to do so may exacerbate existing pressures. The effects of the Law of the Sea Convention will depend upon its enforcement and are therefore difficult to foresee.

The convention has the potential to affect tribal fishing rights through several of its provisions designed to conserve and cooperatively manage fisheries. The Law of the Sea Convention states in Article 66 that "[s]tates in whose rivers anadromous stocks originate shall have the primary interest in and responsibility for such stocks"; and so the spawning state need not be a "coastal" state. Under this rubric, Canada and the United States provide several examples in which the state with authority is the spawning state, but not necessarily the state from whose waters the fish reach the ocean. Under Article 66 of the treaty, the state of origin may prescribe regulations for salmon fishing throughout its 200-mile zone and also beyond. Salmon fishing is to be conducted only within the 200-mile limit except when "this would result in economic dislocation for a State other than the State of origin." In addition, while the state of origin may establish total allowable catches for its stocks, it can do so only "after consultation with other states" fishing stocks beyond any zone and in another state's zone. The state of origin has the further obligation to co-operate in minimizing economic dislocation in other states fishing these stocks.[13] Thus, the treaty further requires the coastal state with jurisdiction to take action to conserve fisheries and to interact with other states to do so.

In essence, the treaty requires conservation of fishing stocks, shared management of fishing stocks, and a maintained access to them. It therefore does not fully contemplate the possibility that ocean stocks are already being overfished. If current salmon population trends continue, economic dislocations are inevitable. As salmon stocks deplete there will be a greater pressure from foreign states to permit greater access to ocean fisheries, and from domestic commercial fishing companies to limit inland burdens on the stocks such as recreational fishing and tribal fishing. The measures of the law now required to salvage badly damaged fish stocks are certain to keep tribal fishing under scrutiny, as domestic and international laws begin to treat seriously the degradation of coastal and river fisheries. As a result of the continuing decline in salmon populations the U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service is under increasing pressure to list certain species of the Columbia River anadromous fish as

threatened or endangered under the Endangered Species Act.[14] Additionally, regulations flowing from the Pacific Salmon Treaty, which govern the use of fishing equipment, may limit native harvests to amounts significantly below those they are entitled to under treaty agreements.[15] Given the above described treaty requirements, it appears that the economic dislocation of foreign fishing interests may place greater pressure on "spawning" states such as Canada and the U.S. to reduce domestic catches, including the tribal catches. To the extent that observance of the provisions is consistent with customary law, the obligations of the U.S. under the Convention, may actually require further restrictions on Pacific salmon catches, and may create new legal obstacles for the Northwest tribes. Such restrictions may bring the tribes into conflict with U.S. and Canadian governments as the two nations work out conflicting obligations. Articles 61-66, as well as Articles 116-120, of the Law of the Sea Convention specifically create obligations related to salmon fisheries. While complying with tribal treaties, the U.S. and Canada are challenged to cooperatively manage the fisheries in a way that 1) conveys domestic responsibility for the stocks spawning within national boundaries; 2) maintains customary access; 3) results in equitable division of the resource; and 4) achieves overall goals of conservation.

The Law of the Sea Convention generates greater pressure to conserve the fisheries because a large number of nations are involved and many have already ratified the agreement, which lends it greater moral force than previous treaties (such as the bilateral agreement between Canada and the U.S.). However, the Law of the Sea Convention will be difficult to enforce. Since the treaty addresses allocations between the U.S. and other industrialized nations such as Canada, rather than between U.S. and solely Third World nations, the U.S. is more dependent upon voluntary compliance and international cooperation to achieve it policy goals. Nevertheless, the Law of the Sea Convention may have a more binding affect upon the U.S. than was evidenced by previous treaties because such law has been adopted by many of the major coastal nations; and because there is increasing recognition of the need for global, cooperative, management of both the environmental health and the commercial resources of the sea.

**Conclusion**

Native fishing has never been a significant detriment to salmon populations yet commercial and environmental regulations have at times treated tribes as seriously as they treated the threats posed by commercial fishing, logging or hydroelectric dams. In most cases tribal fishing accounts for a minority of the total fish harvested, and even where actual tribal harvest rights are as much as 50 percent of the allowable catch, has not impacted fisheries to the extent large national fleet fishing, agriculture, or the

power and lumber industries have impacted fisheries. Daniel explains that "[h]ydraulic mining, filling of wetlands, and pollution from pulp mills and sewage outfalls have also figured into the decline of Columbia Basin wild salmon from their primordial strength of untold millions to some 300,000 today. To push them to the brink of extinction, however, required more than over-fishing and the many serious blows to their spawning and rearing habitat" (Daniel 1993: 78). This assessment of industrial impacts on the environment suggests that a fundamental reason for the relatively low impact of tribal fishing is that as compared to commercial fishing, its scope is smaller, and the methods employed are more environmentally sound.

Given the fragility of subsistence economies, their limited impacts on salmon populations, and given the existing salmon conservation policies, it is clear that national and international regulations may not fully contemplate the impact of conservation measures upon tribal fishing, and may fail to make distinctions between tribal and non-tribal fishing. When this important distinction is not made, tribal treaty obligations may be overlooked, and regulations limiting fishing equipment or designating species of salmon as endangered may frustrate Indian treaty fishing rights by severely restricting any activities which exacerbate the threats to the continued survival of anadromous fish (Murray 1992: 169). As salmon are an indispensable cultural resource for the Northwestern tribes, current market-based resource management policies threaten the survival of tribal subsistence economies and undermine the ability of tribes to maintain traditional lifestyles.

Unless Northwest Indian communities are afforded greater legal protections for their subsistence resources, or unless market-based policies are adjusted to account for the social costs of resource degradation and depletion, Northwest tribes will suffer under such conditions. Moreover, native communities are likely to become increasingly dependent upon wage-based labor while becoming increasingly alienated from their traditional land and water resources. This is an ironic proletarianizing of communities whose uses of natural resources are more environmentally sustainable than the "conservation" policies which are threatening their self determination.

**Endnotes**

[1] Ronald Coase is well-known for theorizing that private ownership of property creates strong incentives to "conserve" resources or to use them in the most "efficient" or "productive" ways. Thomas Malthus argues that as the world population increases, the finite resources of the environment will be exhausted and that unless population is controlled, human subsistence cannot be sustained. Together these premises have been applied to justify resource management policies which concentrate resources into the possession of the elite, and which disfavor redistributive,

sustainable, or equity-maximizing policies. See Coase (1972) and Malthus (1970).

2 Hecht points out the weakness of the dominant development paradigm. She asserts that while Malthusian explanations are "currently enjoying a new vogue" with respect to Third World poverty, Malthusian theories "merely seek out generalized relations among various empirical objects and events themselves, and not abstractions about what produced them"(Hecht 1995: 403).

3 The term indigenous refers to communities, peoples and nations that were occupying a territory prior to colonial contact.

4 Henry Bernstein has attributed proletarianization to a process of "commodification" under which traditional skills are lost as modern commodities replace traditional tools such that goods are consumed "to meet needs previously satisfied by the production (and simple exchange) of use-values" (Bernstein 1980: 424). On the other hand, Carmen Diana Deere and Alain de Janvry (1979) explain the transformation of the (Peruvian) peasantry from feudalism to a capitalist economy as a shift towards wage labor relations influenced by notable differences in 1) the proportion of household production that is consumed within the household, and is therefore unavailable to market as commodities; 2) access to land; and 3) surplus extractions through taxes, rent, and the undervaluation of labor and commodities. See also de Janvry 1981.

5 Privatization policies often encourage unsustainable uses of natural resources. This is particularly true where, as in the Amazon, inequities between the producers and consumers of natural resources create "runaway export markets". Steven C. Kyle and Aercio Cunha note that "because farmers have to settle for 'primitive accumulation of capital... [a]griculture is turned into an extractive activity, similar to mining" (Kyle and Cunha 1992: 22). Also, Michael D. Coughlin Jr. (1993) also argues that iIn an effort to reduce the inequities resulting from the commercial extraction of forest resources, Costa Rica's Instituto Nacional de Biodiversidad (In-Bio) entered into an agreement with Merck & Co., to condition Merk's extraction of forest biological and chemical resources upon the payment of royalties to In-Bio which are then available to fund forest conservation efforts.

6 The privatization of land rights in Latin America has contributed to an accelerating rate of development. During the last 25 years, Brazil has employed a number of developmental and environmental policies which have contributed to the decline of subsistence economies including mineral extraction projects, development of trans-Amazonian highways, large navigation and hydropower projects, and the

use of tax credits and exemptions to encourage cattle ranching. See Panayotou 1993 and Hecht and Cockburn 1990.

[7] Historically, Latin American governments have promoted greater state, rather than private, control over its frontier lands. Recent policies have favored placing more land under the developmental control of private actors. Multinational corporations now play a major role in Latin American development policy, as privatized land holdings are being developed on a large scale with little government oversight or control over the environmental impacts. As a result biodiversity loss is accelerating. In Latin America, the regulation of development and control of habitat loss presents a very serious problem and have long been challenged by grassroots movements. In North America, where ecological and land use movements have had the advantages of a more forceful court and government regulatory system, legal restrictions on land use have buttressed the protection of habitats and endangered species. Karkkainen notes, for example, that efforts to preserve forest biodiversity have benifited from the fact that the spotted owl had been identified as a management indicator species for forests in the Pacific Northwest even prior to its listing under the Endangered Species Act (Karkkainen 1997).

[8] Such disputes are increasingly implicated in the environmental and ocean resource policies of the United States and Canada, whose policies toward these Indian tribes restricted their access to land and water resources.

[9] The potential danger of these systems to tribal cultures is strongly evidenced in the halibut and sablefish fisheries.

[10] Hecht and Cockburn (1990) refer here to the expulsion of Miwok Indians in order to create Yosemite National Park.

[11] The six fisheries are: salmon that spawn in the transboundary rivers of British Columbia and the Alaskan panhandle; salmon from areas around the disputed maritime boundary between Alaska and British Columbia; Fraser River sockeye and pink salmon of exclusively Canadian origin; and the Chinook, coho and chum salmon harvests (Miller 1991).

[12] John Brohman has noted that even sustainable development initiatives have often focused on biological or technical solutions which neglect the social dimension" (Brohman 1996: 320).

[13] For a discussion of the Law of the Sea Convention impact on pre-existing domestic regulations, see Burke 1982.

[14] See Endangered Species Act 16 U.S.C. ss 1531-1534, 1990.

[15] The U.S. federal court exercised continued jurisdiction in United States v. Washingtonn, 459 F. Supp. at 1050-1056, to exempt Indians when under the Pacific Salmon Treaty the U.S.-Canadian International Pacific Salmon Fishery Commission refused to accomodate the different type of

gear used by Indians, preventing them from harvesting their legal share.

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# CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANTS IN THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO 1991-1995

Susan B. Davison

The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 established the Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG), one of the first major federal experiments with structured block grant aid. Congress consolidated six previously established federal assistance grant-in-aid programs -urban renewal, model cities, water and sewer facilities, open space, neighborhood facilities, and public facilities loans -into a single program. The new block grants were disbursed to cities and counties in the form of broad, flexible payments. Most large city governments automatically qualified, since eligibility for participation in the program was determined solely by population. The amount of funds each city received was calculated based on its population, the number of households in poverty, the number of households experiencing overcrowding, the growth lag and the age of housing. Originally the program was federally administered, but soon the states assumed administrative responsibility. Three areas of eligible activity were mandated: housing, public facilities and economic development. In addition, activities were to address at least one of three following objectives: 1) to serve lower-income people, 2) to eliminate slums or blight, or 3) to resolve urgent community development needs.

If activities and objectives of the program were so clearly defined by the federal government, what was significantly new about the restructuring of the CDBG? The creation of the CDBG program changed the nature of the federal-local relationship regarding urban redevelopment by allowing localities to make funding decisions. Housing and urban development was no longer solely being administered at the national

level. Local political and administrative officials were now entitled to define their own community development projects within the scope of broad federal guidelines. The CDBG program not only gave the decision-making responsibilities to local government officials with the direct intention of increasing their flexibility to determine local spending priorities regarding growth and redevelopment, but such program also became a potential vehicle for local officials to achieve political goals. Given the vague objectives of the program, CDBG funds could be used by local officials as a new political resource to secure support of special interest groups.

The issue of who benefits has been a research focus since the program's inception. The fact that local government officials pursue goals and objectives that differ from their constituents is no news. Each party has different incentives, expectations and values, which motivate their agendas. Thus, some politicians may favor various forms of development over other types of activities. As an example, local officials may choose to favor economic development over providing social services. It is clear that allocation decisions will benefit certain groups over others. Yet, different groups such as bureaucrats, legislators, professional associates, constituents, interest groups, and community organizations have an interest in the outcome.

The purpose of this study is to compare the allocation of CDBG funds within the City of San Diego from 1991 to 1995. Despite the fact that the City of San Diego uses a multitude of federal, state and local programs to fund urban development, this study focuses specifically on the funds spent under the CDBG program. For example, individual housing projects often are developed with a variety of federal, state and local funds. In some instances, CDBG dollars are mixed with Home Investment Partnerships program (HOME) and Emergency Shelter Grants (ESG) to finance particular housing projects. It has become increasingly difficult for the City to support community development utilizing funds from just one federal assistance program. Moreover, a number of federal grant programs required that the receiving city contributes matching funds. Due to fiscal constraints caused in part by Proposition 13, the City of San Diego has been increasingly strained in coming up with matching funds. Only by spreading the grant allocations over multiple projects and using multiple funding sources, has the City been able to structure and complete projects that otherwise would have proved impossible. Concurrently, the support of the general public, community agencies and special interest groups has also been more difficult, or at least more risky, to obtain in larger projects. When a huge portion of CDBG funds is spent on one project, lack of public support can largely delay or stop the project. Without this support, large projects (whether they are economic development or housing projects) do not often obtain the necessary City Council approval. Reaching a consensus for large allocations rarely occurs because funds are limited and project demands tend to vary among groups.

The San Diego City Council allocates and administers CDBG funds through the Community Service Program office (CSP). The City of San Diego has been a recipient of CDBG funds since the early 1970's. From this time until the early 1990's, local officials favored economic action (via downtown redevelopment) over other types of projects.[1] The Horton Plaza retail redevelopment and the Columbia Commercial redevelopment were just two of the many projects funded with CDBG money to rehabilitate real estate in the downtown district.

**Allocation of CDBG funds: Comparison and Analysis**

CDBG program allocation was examined by analyzing actual spending patterns following Rosenfeld's standard of analysis (Rosenfeld 1995). Rosenfeld's analysis separates spending information into seven distinct categories: 1) housing (rehabilitation loans and grants, rehabilitation administration, code enforcement, modernization of public housing, relocation allowances, and demolition for housing); 2) public works (stand-alone facilities for physical improvements, parks and recreation), 3) neighborhood conservation (packaged activities for public works or parks); 4) economic development (acquisition of property, demolition, infrastructure improvements, commercial rehabilitation, technical assistance, and loans for equipment and inventory); 5) social services (health, job training, child care, and senior citizens); 6) social service facilities (including construction and maintenance or rehabilitation); and finally, 7) planning and administrative services (planning, administration, and citizen participation). CDBG spending data was taken from the City of San Diego's Grantee Performance Reports for fiscal year 1991-1992 (FY91) and fiscal year 1995-1996 (FY95). In-depth interviews were also conducted to obtain information regarding the decision-making process of allocating funds.

In comparing the allocation process of CDBG funds from FY 1991 to FY 1995, funds allocated to neighborhood conservation rose from $916,000 (in FY91) to $4,347,406 (in FY95). This was the largest dollar increase and an overall rise of 475 percent in categorical spending. Public works increased 378 percent in five years; almost quadrupling from 1.4 percent of CDBG total funds in FY91 to 5.3 percent in FY95. Over the same period, social services and social service facilities reflected 53 percent and 47 percent increases respectively. Housing showed a 12 percent increase in total allocation during this time. However, planning and administration decreased approximately 8 percent from FY91 to FY95.The greatest decline was observed in funds allocated to economic development. While 45 percent of the total CDBG expenditures were directed to economic development in FY91 ($5,137,332), FY95 expenditures declined to $3,199,982, capturing only 16.3 percent of total CDBG expenditures. This represents a decrease of 38 percent (in total economic development expenditures).

The obvious question here is whether the shift of funds from economic

development (in FY91) to neighborhood conservation (in FY95) indicated a change in the City Council's development philosophy? I expected to find San Diego's spending priorities supportive of economic development since the City evinces a strong commitment to growth. The allocation of 45 percent of CDBG funds to economic development in FY91 highlighted this propensity towards growth. However, FY95 reflected a significant decline in funding in this area. Does such a decline indicate that the City Council changed its policy objectives? I would argue that development remained a policy focus of the City Council.[2] An indication of their direction was visible in the allocation of $1.295 million in FY95 towards vacant land acquisition (for future commercial development). This amount represented roughly 6.7 percent of the total CDBG annual distribution in FY95. While this action does not signify that the City focused solely on economic development, it does signify intent.

In fact, a brief look at the past shows that the City of San Diego has systematically used CDBG funds to develop their long-term economic development projects.[3] In FY91, the City Council allocated $1.7 million to the Marina Residential Development; $1.2 million to acquire and develop land along the State Route 252 corridor and; $2.1 million for their on-going payment for the Gateway East economic development project.[4] The Marina Residential Development mixed CDBG funds with bond issuances to pay the yearly payments on this project. In FY93, the City Council allocated $7.25 million dollars to fund the Mercado Commercial Project, a 10-acre retail center located in the Barrio Logan neighborhood.[5] Local officials are currently using CDBG funds to finance large-scale development within the City of San Diego.

While San Diego's investments and development policy continues to shape the physical landscape of the city, the City Council has, in recent years, allocated more CDBG resources to address the varying social needs of its inhabitants. In looking at the data of the Grantee Performance Reports, San Diego appeared to balance the needs of many groups by allocating CDBG resources over many categories. But, as mentioned earlier, FY91 data highlighted the fact that almost half of the allocations were directed at economic development, while FY95 data reflected a sharp decrease. This suggested that the City Council redirected and distributed the funds more evenly. Why?

**A Shift in the Allocation of CDBG Funds**

The City Council can no longer conduct business as usual. In the 1970's, Councilmembers straightforwardly pursued their development objectives in the downtown district. Fifteen hundred acres were designated for redevelopment under this plan. But, in 1988, San Diego shifted from citywide to district elections.[6] As community and special interest groups became concerned by urban redevelopment policies and involved in the district participation, their ability to affect the decision-making process increased and thus affected the City Council's ability to automatically direct funds downtown. The

district electoral process has forced councilmembers to carefully weigh the needs of their constituents against citywide issues. Funds that were once directed downtown for the benefit of the business-elite are now being redirected to neighborhoods and particular groups. FY95 data showed district-specific groups received allocations in greater numbers, especially those who sought to fund their own projects by applying pressure directly at the councilmember's district office. This arrangement has given some organizations and political groups an advantage in the competition for funds. The result is that councilmembers have become increasingly responsive to the power of his/her constituency to support or vote him/her out of office. Although councilmembers now have to press for the funding of projects in their own district, this is not to presume that deal making is new to City Hall.[7] Councilmembers have concluded that the surest way to get re-elected is to deliver to their own district, regardless of citywide consequences.

However, delivering to the district plays out in different ways. Councilmembers often have allocated neighborhood conservation funds to buy off citizens and neighborhoods with tot lots and neighborhood parks. Other times, projects are the political price paid for community support.[8] An excellent example of this is the Malcolm X Library funded in FY94 in District Four (Powell 1994: b-1). Councilmember George Stevens had originally agreed to allocate enough funds to develop a 10,000 square-foot branch library. Public pressure by local community groups and organizations forced the development of a larger 26,000 square-foot building and pressure from these groups redirected funds counter to original recommendations. Thus, neighborhood conservation funding has increased significantly.

It appears that negotiations among councilmembers have also increased in importance during these five years. The institution of a new CDBG allocation formula disrupted the manner in which the San Diego City Council traditionally dispersed funds. Originally allocated city wide, the City Council approved a formula in 1994 that distributed 60 percent of available funds over the districts. This distribution was based on the percentage of low-income persons residing within each district (based on 1990 census). The remaining 40 percent was allocated citywide to the City of San Diego.[10] Changes thus occurred in the process used during the allocation of funds. In FY91, councilmembers only had to communicate their project choices to the CSP office, which compiled the prioritized list of projects to be presented to the City Council for ratification.[11] With the 1994 formula change, councilmembers could no longer allocate funds with impunity. They now had to contend with heightened community participation and increased public scrutiny over their choices. I suggest that the councilmembers portioned out a percentage of their district funds in support of community projects in order to continue their development projects. The appearance of a balanced allocation

process is not just the result of desired equality among councilmembers, it is also the result of increased negotiations among the City Council and special interest groups.

**Conclusion**

Critics of the district electoral process argue that councilmembers now give little recognition to problems larger than the neighborhood level. Little attempt is made to address problems that affect more than one neighborhood because of the focus on districts. Proponents argue that elected officials are finally more responsive to the demands of their citizens. District elections have given greater individual and collective potential to influence the distribution of funds than citywide elections ever did. For the residents of San Diego, the net result has been a more equitable CDBG allocation process.

The district elections and the CDBG formula change have also allowed for greater participation for marginalized groups. For example, low and moderate-income groups and individuals are benefiting from the creation of a retail/commercial center in Barrio Logan (an economic development project). The Mercado Commercial project is one case where community-backing helped it achieve funding from the City Council as a whole. There is considerable political benefit to be garnered through active involvement in a highly visible community project. The Mercado Commercial Project gained community and business support primarily because of its close proximity to the city core. Local business groups could justify the expenditure due to its enhancement of the downtown district (Stanfield 1993).[12] The central location maximized the economic interests of downtown business. Community support was also gained since the project was believed to contribute to the low-income area in which it is located. This highlights the argument that community development projects can be justified because the long-term beneficiaries are deemed to be low and moderate-income individuals (Peterson and Wong 1986). City officials benefit politically without sacrificing their long-term development interests. Local officials touted its job-generating capability. Social groups countered that the influx of funds would trickle into the surrounding community, benefiting the low-income residents (Lowry 1995).[13] On a political level, the Mercado Commercial project balances the competing social demands of the neighborhood with the demands of the downtown residents -by meeting the physical requests of redevelopment groups (and possibly slum clearance under the veil of community development) while addressing the needs of low and-moderate income groups. The end result to these residents is possible increased job opportunities and income. The benefit to the City is possible increased tax revenues from new business and property taxes from the new building construction. Downtown business has also gained additional rental office space from the project.

Overall, there appears to be greater equity in fund distribution among diverse groups. The downtown district is no longer the sole recipient of CDBG funds. Areas that would not have received project

funding in the original citywide distribution formula are seeing results. Local libraries and small parks are being built in poor and middle-class neighborhoods. Neighborhood organizations (Little Leagues and Boys and Girls Clubs) have received money to support their programs. The City Council will continue to struggle over CDBG allocations until available funds meet the needs of the city's inhabitants. Fortunately, with the advent of district elections and a new CDBG formula, councilmembers are becoming more accountable to the needs of the citizens.

**Endnotes**

[1] From 1972 to 1991, the City of San Diego allocated over $161 million dollars to the development of 300 acres in the downtown district.

[2] The author has made no attempt to differentiate between different types of development. The author is aware of the conflicts involved in doing so, as the different groups may have opposing interests that do not necessarily benefit the city and its inhabitants in the same manner. Further in-depth research is necessary to define the many development areas in which the City of San Diego chooses to place CDBG funds.

[3] $75 million went to the development of Horton Plaza retail project in 1972, $61.3 million for Marina residential project and $37.1 million for Columbia commercial project in 1976, $5.7 million for the Gaslamp Quarter historical redevelopment project in 1982 and $7.25 million went to the Mercado Commercial project in 1993.

[4] Formed in 1976, this project received over $61.3 million dollars in funding to renovate the area southwest of Horton Plaza.

[5] Mercado Commercial consists of five separate projects: a fire station, supermarket, restaurants, shops and commercial offices.

[6] Adopted by voters in 1988, this electoral system allows politicians to capture seats by being elected by voters only within the district being sought, rather than citywide.

[7] In December of 1990, Councilmember Bob Filner delivered the swing vote on two separate issues before the City Council. In exchange, Councilmembers Henderson and McCarty voted against Ron Robert's nomination as deputy mayor. With Roberts removed from contention, Filner easily won election with the majority vote. The participants denied any deals were struck, but individuals close to the proceedings have stated otherwise.

[8] Further analysis is needed in this area to conclusively define the level of community participation. To what extent does the City Council negotiate neighborhood works in exchange for support of their own projects?

[9] CDBG requests must choose which formula (60 percent or 40 percent) from which to request funds. The City of San Diego uses the majority of their 40 percent allocation to fund housing and social programs citywide, along

with program administration costs. This leaves little for public requests. Thus, the majority of applicants request funding from district sources. Also, because the City Council has made several loan guarantees under this program, these loan repayments also reduced available funds in certain Council Districts.

[10] During this time, being placed at the top of the Community Service Program list almost guaranteed funding.

[11] Stanfield's research in Terre Haute, Indiana supports the theory that local officials prefer to put funds into projects that expand and attract industry downtown.

[12] Lowry theorized in his research that the allocation of capital to economic development was necessary to improve the overall social and economic well being of people. The economy can further social goals that government intervention cannot.

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# FROM GANG MEMBER TO COMMUNITY LEADER: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ACTIVIST

Susan Nakaoka

I first met Manuel Lares while working with the City of Los Angeles Housing Authority at Mar Vista Gardens. I interviewed him for a case management position in a youth diversion program. Raised in West Los Angeles, Lares claimed that he could add to our case management staff by his ability to relate to youth participants. Manuel got the job and delivered on his promise to provide quality programming to the youth he served. Five years later, in January of 1998, Lares left the Housing Authority to develop a program that he considers to be his life's work: a gang intervention program called Barrios Unidos that will serve his neighborhood. Eventually, I joined Barrios Unidos as a consultant. Barrios Unidos is a national coalition of non-profit organizations run by ex-gang members to curtail youth violence. The interview below reflects a compilation of several discussions and one structured interview with Manuel Lares.

**Q**: Tell me a little about your lifestyle as a gang member.

***A:*** *Drugs, violence and a lot of interaction with the police surrounded my life in the gang. My car was shot at and blown up. I've been beaten up several times. I've been stabbed and shot at. It was pretty much the typical lifestyle on the streets. If there were drugs around, I was doing them. I sold drugs when I couldn't find a job. I sold drugs because I needed to make money; it had nothing to do with belonging to the gang. The reason I belonged to the gang was to defend the neighborhood.*

*Family from Santa Monica [gang] has surrounded my life. Nowadays, you would consider it a gang, before it was*

*just "fella's from the neighborhood." Being a part of Santa Monica wasn't a choice for me. I have approximately 18-20 family members that all grew up in the area and helped to form Santa Monica. There were no options or choices, you defend your community and when one of your partners gets hurt, you get retribution. You don't allow people to come into your neighborhood and push people around. Any act of violence that I've ever committed has been in defense of my life or in defense of someone that was close to me. I was so loyal to the guys around me because they were my family. Anytime I had problems; they would help me solve them. When my father didn't have time for me, the guys in the neighborhood did. In a lot of instances, the guys helped me to survive, physically and emotionally.*

**Q**: You have said that you were forced into this lifestyle. Some people would say that a lot of people grew up in your area and didn't belong to a gang. Why were you forced?

***A:*** *Most people believe that gangs are a choice; they aren't always. Some people have other options -a support system in their lives. The majority of us on the streets are isolated from a mainstream way of life and have poor family structures. Other people may say, "well, I came for a dysfunctional family and I made it." Well, I would say yes, but at the same time were you harassed by the police, watch your friends get shot, feel unwanted at school, and have no one investing time in you? There is a lot of contributing factors that influence gang involvement. Other youths may have a teacher, neighbor, parent or coach that takes an interest and invests time in them. We had to take matters into our own hands, to protect ourselves, because there was nobody there to protect us.*

**Q**: What made you get out of the lifestyle?

***A:*** *In a sense, I'm not out of it. I'm just not out physically defending my community. To this day, I organize to better my community and it's still dangerous at times. I've just changed perspectives on how I do what I do. I'm no longer selling drugs and advocating violence. Now I advocate peaceful solutions to potentially violent situations. I don't think I've undergone a drastic change; my life is still a constant struggle.*

**Q**: What made you change your philosophy on how you "defend" your community?

***A:*** *I started to change my thought processes when I was kicked out of Santa Monica High School for fighting with a security guard. After that incident, I was sent to a continuation school and I would constantly argue with a police officer that was placed there. Whenever something went down in the neighborhood over the weekend, I would go to school and debate with the officer about what happened. We would argue our different perspectives of the event. These discussions spurred me to think about why I lived the way I did. At the same time, I started to venture out of*

*the neighborhood and see how other people lived. I saw how people had goals, and I wondered why I was forced to live the way I did. Most of my life I expected to be dead by the time I was eighteen. Then, a teacher at the high school referred me to a youth leadership program through the City of Santa Monica called "Kid City." In this program I learned to facilitate meetings, organize, and began developing public speaking skills. It was this teacher at Santa Monica High School and the continuous concern from my mother that furthered my development as a person.*

*My philosophy has changed, partly because I understand the larger picture of how I was forced to live the way I lived. I see how young people today are isolated from mainstream life and the opportunities that go along with it. I felt it was necessary to evolve and take advantage of more options by using the community organizing skills that I was learning. Besides, killing people just ain't cool; there's nothing cool about it.*

**Q**: Why have you chosen Barrios Unidos as your method of helping the community?

***A**: In 1992 I had the privilege of being part of a peace treaty among four feuding neighborhoods. The leaders wanted to stop the killing and I was able to represent my neighborhood to help make this happen. This was an extreme accomplishment that I never thought I would see in my lifetime. A few guys and I wanted to continue to make change. Next, we set out to start an organization that would invest in the youth of our community. By accident, we found out about Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos and we saw their successful intervention program. Their program was one we could believe in and it was run by community activists and ex-gang members like us. After talking with the members of the organization, we found out that Barrios Unidos had wanted to start a chapter in the Los Angeles area. They had faith we could run it properly.*

**Q**: What will starting the organization do for your community?

***A**: It will create young people that have the skills, self-esteem and power to work for their community and to empower it and themselves, to participate in the democratic process and to inspire and lead the rest of the community into a better life.*

**Q**: How would you teach young people to make better lives for themselves?

***A**: The first thing the kids have to learn is self-discipline, enough to sit in a classroom and finish what they start and to have respect for themselves and those around them. The second is to instill a sense of confidence and self-esteem, to teach them how to feel good about themselves. Without these two elements, education cannot happen. Third is the education component or what we call 'technical skills.' Teaching about college entrance, entrepreneurial programs and community organizing is the focus of this third component. Once our youth leaders' possess these skills, Barrios Unidos staff creates opportunities to put these skills into*

*practice: If they're in an entrepreneurial program, we put them into a real business setting. If they like community organizing, we put them on a project so that they could learn skills first-hand.*

**Q**: You sound pretty optimistic about the future.

***A**: Don't get me wrong; we will be here for a long time. The thing about social service programs is that they are long term. There is no immediate gratification and real results take time. We're talking about development, we're talking about changing people's thoughts, we're talking about changing the way people live and the way they see the world.*

*Our prognosis is this, if we're successful at teaching the basic elements to success to our youth, and them, then the program as a whole will be successful. I don't think anyone can argue that without self-discipline, self-esteem and education, you can't be successful. Santa Monica Barrios Unidos will be successful. It will just take a lot of patience, dedication and hard work.*

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Santa Monica Barrios Unidos is the newest affiliate chapter of the National Coalition of Barrios Unidos. The coalition was founded in 1977 by community organizers who saw the need to address the growing problems plaguing their barrios, primarily youth violence. The coalition is comprised of thirteen chapters in California and twenty-seven nationally. The main goal is to curtail violence among youth through cultivating leadership and economic development programs. Community activists are committed to accomplish the ultimate goal of bringing peace to the neighborhood and sustaining peace. The philosophy and method promoted by each chapter is rather loose, but the idea is to use the local resources present in our communities. Barrios Unidos uses gang members themselves to deal with the problems that youth face.

In Santa Monica, Lares uses the three component approach instituted by the Santa Cruz chapter. The first component is outreach and intervention. This includes community education for teachers, parents, and community leaders to make them aware of the factors that cause gang involvement: dysfunctional families, police harassment, unemployment, inadequate school system and isolation from support networks. The purpose of such outreach is to change these factors to limit the influence that gangs have on young people. The second component is leadership development. Lares customized our program by targeting the very specific causes of why young people were not successful. The third component of the program is community economic development. A non-profit business will be started to create a revenue source for the social service programming and to create businesses that can hire the ex-gang members that would not otherwise get work. Although this is a long-term goal, other Barrios Unidos chapters have been successful at running businesses such as silk-

screening and moving companies. For Manuel Lares, community organizing has proved encouraging. Since the inception of the 1992 cease-fire, violent crimes are at its lowest in decades.

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# Sharing Knowledges

# STIRRING THE 'CHINESE MAY FOURTH': ALTERNATIVE BOTTOM-UP VERSION FROM POSTCOLONIAL TAIWAN

Ruei-Suei Sun

On the eve of May 4th, 1998, the editorial board of *Critical Planning* met to review the re-submissions to this year's journal. Each article, whether a theoretical reflection or an analysis of action, inevitably led us to the now familiar, yet unsolved discussion on the meaning of 'critical planning'. However, our discussion reminded me of the struggling history and discourse of 'Chinese May 4th".

**May 4th as Starting Point for Chinese Modernization**

Within Chinese context, May 4th is the day originally and literally referring to a collective patriotic event initiated by a group of university students at the Beijing University in protestation to various forms of imperialism (mostly Japanese at that time) towards China in the early 20th century. In order to rescue the declining China, on May 4th, 1919, students and other protesters called for a better political regime and a better modern state apparatus. They broadcasted the slogan: 'Extinguish the country-betrayers within and struggle for Chinese national authority without'. This protest rapidly acquired the broader echoes and support of the intellectual society demanding the establishment of a 'Chinese nation-state' articulated along new 'Chinese modernism' impeding the threat from Japanese and other kinds of western imperialism. The movement was not only supported by other groups of different social status and classes, but it eventually expanded its influences on broader social and cultural reform. Most scholars would describe the broadening influence and astonishing political, cultural and social changes as a 'movement', or even as a 'revolution' with

modern form. For most people, it was known as the "May 4th movement", a movement for Chinese modernization and westernization .

Shi Hu, a leading figure in that movement, called May 4th "The Chinese Renaissance." This would lead to further and profound cultural transformations. First of all, Mr. Hu was a strong advocate of the transformation of Chinese traditional character and writing style into more civic and westernized form. For Hu, such transformation of Chinese orthography was necessary in order to be ready to open to the (western) world. Thus, we may claim that May 4th serves as a crucial starting point to understand the beginning of modernization and westernization in early 20th century China. Since then, one could argue that intellectuals within have not only played a crucial role in cultural transformations but also became the historical agent pushing the machine of Chinese modernization.

Indeed, most intellectuals in the May 4th movement completely adopted the ideas of western modernity such as "Democracy" (the so-called "Mr. D") and "Science" (the so-called "Mr. S") as their highest criteria for institutional innovation, social reform and even cultural aesthetics. Both Democracy and Science were believed to be the most influential and effective emancipators, rescuing the declining Chinese culture of the time. However, it is important to note that the emancipators in the process of modernization, significantly symbolized as a Mr. represented a male capitalized subject. As to the strategy of westernization, some scholars have proposed a more eclectic understanding, claiming a pragmatist position with the well-known slogan: "Chinese culture as a body, and Western culture as a tool". The Chinese body, mainly emphasized the spirit of Confucianism, contrasted with the western tools emphasizing the scientific method and approach. Starting on May 4th, 1919, we may say that the formation of 'Chinese modernity' has been dynamically entangled with the developmental process of western 'modernity' and 'colonialism'. Moreover, we may argue that the composition of 'Chineseness' has been historically reformulated within the process and essentially hybridized with many kinds of 'western-ness' such as 'German-ness', 'French-ness', 'American-ness' and 'Japan-ness'.

**May 4th as Discursive Space for Chinese Elite and Nationalists**

With regards to the process of Chinese westernization, I believe that the key agent was elites sent abroad by the government to be educated and trained to become the future governors. It appeared that they imported not only the famous 'Mr. D' and 'Mr. S' from the United States, England and Germany, but also some other radical thoughts such as progressive theories of human rights, revolution, and anarchism…etc. Among these oversea students, Xun Lu, as well as Du-Hsiu Chen have been credited for the importation of pro-leftist thoughts such as communism and Marxism respectively from Japan and France. A reflection on

the role of 'overseas student' within the process of Chinese modernization and westernization forced me to reconsider the issues of intellectual (re-)presentation more seriously. Such issues include problematic interpretations of what 'knowledge' is and whether it is 'useful', the questionable dichotomy between East and West, and the conspired relation between the elite and the nation-state.

In looking at the history of the relationships between the formation of intellectuals and the process of nation-state building in early 20th century China, we can understand why 'May 4th' is such an important discursive space that every Chinese leader or elite have attempted to appropriate and conquer. Ze-Dong Mao, the well-known Chinese revolutionary, is the best example of this. Actually, Mr. Mao inherited the legacy of May 4th and directly appointed the historical mission to Chinese intellectuals, and of course to the elite, to establish Chinese socialism by way of centralizing the nationalist state. From some perspectives, in spite of being defensive for proletarian interests, Maoist version of revolution never really profoundly challenged the top-down model and its hierarchy of power within Chinese modernity.

**Bottom-up May 4th: Feminists' Deconstruction and Appropriation from Postcolonial Taiwan**

Except for taking the protest anniversary as a cultural strategy to foster a Greater China identity, the government of Taiwan never really got into the May 4th discourse. This is due to the ideology of anti-communism and the politics of Taiwanese nationalism. Social movements definitively avoided the discourse of May 4th dominated by Chinese nationalism. In addition to the growing discourse of Taiwanization or indigenization, the interpretation of May 4th was kept silent for almost 40 years. For me, an intellectual raised in the space of localized Taiwanese discourse, the interpretation of May 4th always seems a kind of historical burden. Especially under the recent threat of Chinese nationalism, participation in May 4th events would come up mostly through resistance. I would like to share with you a totally different version of May 4th, initiated and stirred by feminist groups from postcolonial Taiwan.

Instead of following the 'for' or 'against' strategy of 'May 4th' by Taiwanese nationalists, some women students, feminist activists, and professional women planners attempted the third way of interpretation and further appropriation of it. In protest of the gendered discrimination caused by the uneven distribution of public toilets between women and men, some feminist groups initiated a new kind of urban social movement. On May 4th, 1996, women users of different ages and classes purposely occupied men's public toilets individually and collectively all over Taipei City. Furthermore, occupied toilets were located in some important symbolized landmarks such as the Taipei's Central Train Terminal, the symbol of old city center, and the Da-An Central Park. These are main spaces of reproduction

and recreation for middle class. Opposing gender discrimination caused by unequal access to public facilities, many women who had participated in this movement stated that they could never feel like real 'citizens' until they can freely use and comfortably participate in city public life. Moreover, they never thought that their claims for their private need to piss could become an issue brought forth in the public sphere.

This gendered border-crossing movement, which was intentionally set up on May 4th, was very successful. First of all, it was successful in pointing out that women's needs in public spaces were still under-served because men's toilets are twice as numerous as women's. Secondly, feminists groups were also successful in voicing other forms of gendered discrimination all over the city. Most women were very proud of coming out and acting as historical agents in such an important day in Chinese intellectual history. And thirdly, with the significant image of the female body, the collective actions were also successful in not only deconstructing the male-dominated discursive space of May 4th, but also subverting the athletics of the bourgeois city. They crossed creatively the dichotomy between private and public sphere with the wonderful slogan: "For Women's Comfort, We Want a 'Bottom-up' May 4th"!

Since then, the battle for interpreting May 4th still goes on among different social groups. It is interesting to continuously observe that, after nearly 40 years of silence, the Taiwanese government tries to echo the other side of China with its new version of patriotism in the 90's. The newly formulated patriotism tries more than ever to incorporate different kinds of voices from different groups from the bottom. While the Highest Education Authority recasts the 'May 4th spirit' as the leading spirit for nurturing the elite and tries to call for a newly Taiwanese nationalism with high-tech fantasy, the voices from the "bottomed" groups are translating that project into popular education for local communities. Nevertheless, the feminist appropriation of May 4th in 1996 did create a model for resistance and reconstitution, and also a space of possibility where meaning and actions will continue to come up.

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# IN THEIR OWN WORDS: THE LECTURE SERIES ON GENDER AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Teresa Lingafelter

*I'm angry, I'm proud and I will defend my community -Community Organizer, Proyecto Pastoral*

*My people are anybody who is struggling against injustice. There's got to be something bigger than our little differences - Executive Director, West Angeles Community Devlopment Center*

*Our battle and struggle as women is to build something better for our kids -Child Care Worker, Pacoima Urban Village*

The Public Lecture Series on Gender and Community Development gave participants the uncommon opportunity to hear about the conditions of the lives and neighborhoods of women engaged in community work. The Lecture series, co-sponsored by the Department of Urban Planning, the Center for the Study of Women and the Community Outreach Partnership Center at UCLA hosted six lectures on topics ranging from land control in Boston to health promotion in Tijuana. The series was designed to complement the Urban Planning course on Gender and Community Development by exploring issues confronted by women in their day-to-day experiences of community-building. Urban Planning Professor, Dr. Jacqueline Leavitt who conceived the series, said its purpose was "to draw people together from inside and outside the academy to learn about the impacts on women and the communities in which they live at a time when rapid policy changes are occurring nationally and internationally."

Although the lectures represented broadly different projects, ethnic and cul-

tural backgrounds and communities, several common themes wove through the discussions. The first four lectures pointed out the integrated and organic approach to community development adopted by women organizers. Women community workers seemed to demonstrate a consistent interweaving of emotional and political concerns in their community-building efforts. Finally, many participants reported the need for inclusive community-level structures to ensure a public forum for women's participation.

Many of the presenters described their entrance into community development work through the need to respond to a concrete problem in their lives. In each case they sensed that there was something wrong and that they could do something about it. Organizers from Pacoima Urban Village saw that they and their neighbors could not work outside their homes if safe, reliable child care was unavailable. They experienced the need for care that extended beyond the normal 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. working day to accommodate the long and irregular hours worked by many women. They responded by forming a child care cooperative with links to home-based workers who could provide care during the actual hours many women needed it. The women from Pacoima then discovered what other neighborhood activists have learned -that solving one problem often exposes another. For their child care center to be licensed, the women had to provide certified teachers. Because they wanted the center staffed as much as possible by neighborhood women, the organizers devised a plan whereby they would use temporary teachers while they enrolled in a child development certification course. Similarly, in addressing problems of poor housing in the Maple/Adams - Hoover/ Adams neighborhood of Los Angeles, women from the Esperanza Community Housing Corporation discovered the need to learn how to solve health care concerns such as lead poisoning, prenatal care and domestic violence. Women from Proyecto Pastoral in East Los Angeles discovered that their children could not participate in after school programs unless they addressed the problems of gang violence in the neighborhood. In each case, when women reached out to solve a problem, new and related issues were exposed. Women organizers soon saw that the interrelated and complex nature of the problems facing their neighborhoods could not be effectively addressed on an issue by issue basis. As a result, many of the community development efforts represented in the lecture series organized comprehensive sets of programs to address interrelated problems simultaneously.

Women who shared their experiences in the lectures, expressed the importance of integration at programmatic and personal levels. They referred to the ways in which their psychological and emotional lives connected with the life of their communities. They clearly described the relationship between their ability to make decisions about their own lives and their ability to influence decisions made about the future of their neighborhoods. Some or-

ganizers see their community work as an extension of functions they fulfill in the home, a theme echoed in readings for the class about Native American women, migrants to the East Bay/Oakland Community, Latinas and Asian Americans. Several women voiced their pride in the role they play in transmitting identity and culture to their children, but admitted that they themselves often devalue this crucial community-building work. Women organizers seemed to view their community work as a calling as much as a job. Organizers from Proyecto Pastoral described their primary allegiance as a commitment to the whole community rather than to a particular organization or group. Lecture participants shared a strong sense that those things that benefit their neighbors will also improve the lives of their families.

Participants expressed the shared challenge of having their voices heard and validated in the public arena. They explained the connection they experience between the devaluation of women's work in the labor force and in the home with the second-class rating of their work in the community. This struggle manifests itself in at least three different ways. One participant described the gendered division of labor inside many community development organizations that assigns soft work (child care, health, and welfare) to women and hard issues (economic development, physical development and external relations) to men. She felt that these kinds of divisions limit everyone's creativity and block the invention of innovative solutions to persistent problems. Participants also said that gender specific questions were rarely asked in community development planning. For example, they were aware of few instances where planners asked: *How many women are involved and in what ways? What are the women of the community saying that might be different from men? What do the statistics show about the condition of women in this neighborhood? Are neighborhood organizations structured for inclusion?* In the cases where community development organizations are addressing women's issues directly, these issues are easily subsumed for the sake of neighborhood or racial and ethnic solidarity. Women experienced that when this happened, views of the privileged groups, whether those were men or governmental or non-governmental agencies, dominated the development agenda. Finally, women experienced that their work was welcomed as long as it was carried-out "behind the scenes". Once women voiced their concerns in the public arena, their participation was less welcome. One participant reported that at a public meeting, "people were angry at me for just being there".

Over against these challenges, participants identified at least two strategies they employ to support women's participation in community development. Drawing on their own experience and sharing that with other women, organizers build networks of support and solidarity. One organizer reported that she connects with women in the neighborhood because they

share life experience. The success and courage of the organizer encourages other women to step out and become active in neighborhood work. Second, in many of the projects women are working to ensure that governance structures within their neighborhoods and organizations are inclusive and encourage the participation of women, youth and other poorly represented groups.

The lecture series raised a number of questions about the ways women's participation in community development work is viewed. Although women have long been associated with some aspects of community development, their contributions in the form of creating connections across difference and developing inclusionary structures tends to be valued less than the bricks and mortar work of low-income housing or economic development. The women and men who participated in the lecture series demonstrated that for authentic community-building to occur a complex set of skills, relationships and meaning must be orchestrated into a coordinated plan implemented in a constantly changing environment. In that environment successful community development efforts honor and value each contribution and encourage inclusive participation of neighborhood residents.

**Public Lecture Series: Gender and Community Development**
**April 23 to June 4, 1998**

Boston's Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative
Holding Ground Video,
Discussant Gus Newport

Health and Art at the Border:Tijuana and San Diego
Cristina Ayala, Sara Fiesco,
Teresa Franco and Victor Ochoa

Culture and Child Care in Pacoima
Eva Barajas, Gloria Marinez,
and Rossana Perez

Faith-Based Community Development in LA
Lula Bailey Ballton, Sister Diane Donoghue, Stephanie Klasky-Gamer,
Olivia Montes

"Not Simply a Banquet"
Mickey Chan's film from Taiwan
Discussant Ruei-Suei Sun

The Politics of Gender
Elena Ong and Sylvia Scott-Hayes

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## ORGANIZING A SYMPOSIUM: LABOR RIGHTS AND LABOR ORGANIZING IN THE PACIFIC RIM

UCLA, May 22-23. 1998

**Yun-Chung Chen and Terry Valen**

In the midst of the current Asian financial crisis, we spent the last two quarters hopelessly searching for classes on the political and economic climate of contemporary Asian society. Unavailable in the department as well as throughout the whole campus, we were inspired to fill this gap ourselves by initiating an international conference that would bring together scholars and activists currently involved in the debates of globalization, global solidarity and global governance. The result was the conference "Labor Rights and Labor Organizing in the Pacific Rim" held on the campus of UCLA last May 22-23, 1998.

When we first met to organize the event, we sat down with our dissatisfaction about the current discussions of the Asian Crisis which have been dominated by neoliberal economists criticizing "crony capitalism," and by the business community worrying about diminishing rates of return on investments in Asia. Thus, we wanted a more grassroots and activism-oriented understanding of the impact of an Asian economic meltdown on the everyday lives of people in regions across the Pacific. It became clear that the conference was to focus on the impact of the Asian crisis on the global labor struggle and the interdependencies across the Pacific Rim due to intensified migration and capital flows, and hopefully to find ways to build labor solidarity across the Pacific Rim. While acknowledging the large array of various social, economic and political impacts of the Pacific Rim, we tentatively focused on unemployment, political violence, and labor movements in reaction to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and various state interventions

to "save" the economy. The conference brought together labor activists, students, and academics in solidarity with labor from Asia, the U.S. and Mexico.

Three panels and a roundtable discussion were organized around the important topics of globalization. The first panel *The IMF, State Interventions and their Impacts on Labor in Korea, the Philippines and Indonesia* discussed how the closing down of plants, unemployment and food riots do not only "slow" down the economy but have longer term consequences on restructuring of ethnic relations, popular protests and regional integration.

The second panel on *Organizing in Southern California and Southeast Asia* invited activists from Southeast Asia and California to share their experiences of labor organizing in Southeast Asia and Asian immigrant labor organizing in Southern California. The intensification of the Asian Crisis not only jeopardizes labor in Asia, but complicates the migrant worker-organizing in Southern California due to intensified labor migration from Asia.

The third panel entitled *Pacific Rim Solidarity* presented two case studies of Asian transnational capital in California and Tijuana and their repression of local union organizing efforts. Labor organizers, focusing on the Japanese New Otani Hotel in Los Angeles and the Korean Han Young factory in Tijuana, shared their experiences on the possible strategies to link the local struggles to the headquarters of these transnational corporations in Japan and Korea respectively.

Finally, the conference concluded with a roundtable discussion *on Political Violence and Human Rights in Southeast Asia* as a way to capture the wider dimension of the impact of the economic crisis on everyday life in this region.

**Prospects**

Throughout the different panels and discussions, three important topics were raised by this conference. The first deals with the issue of *agency in globalization.* Globalization often regards capital flows, transnational corporations and the nation-state as the main agents in the globalization of economic activities, while regarding labor as a passive victim of globalization.

Some scholars have argued that labor is inextricably involved in the process of globalization of economic and political relations as well. Andrew Herod has argued that the activities of U.S. labor played an important role in maintaining Latin America and the Caribbean in a state of dependent development vis-à-vis the U.S, both by helping to undermine political organization that has challenged this dependency and by ensuring that markets remained open to US. goods and services (Herod 1997). Although an important break in the emphasis of labor as an active agent, Herod's work has referred mainly to the predominant Anglo-white nationalist AFL-CIO union. This is very different from the activities and transnational realities of immigrant worker union activities who developed dense networks and

connections to the sending countries. The conference has made increasingly clear the role of immigrant worker activity in shaping the globalization process as a new realm for research and political struggles.

The second important, although less documented debate of globalization, raises the question of *global solidarity.* We have to remind ourselves that, although important, labor is not the only agent in the process of globalization. Hence, this is not just the revival of an old "internationalism", which focuses exclusively on labor and class struggle against imperialist capitalism. Rather, we observe in a "new internationalism" and in the new social movements (women, ecology, peace, and human rights), a sort of new global solidarity pushing forward a socialist or proletarian internationalism based primarily on identity of solidarity, and asserting single international mass interest against a single opponent. This new meaning of global solidarity, Peter Waterman suggested, would include reciprocity (equal mutual advantages), complementarity (differential contribution), and affinity (a community of feelings and desires). It would not only provide a multidimensional norm but also a useful analytical tool.

The third arena of inquiry dealt with *global governance and the nation-state.* Here the interventionist role of the IMF forcing nation-states to "liberate" their economic structures appeared as a clear evidence of the erosion of the power of nation states to control their "national" economies. We understand that new supranational relationships and agreements between international institutions (like the IMF, GATT, WTO), regional institutions (APEC, EU, NAFTA), nation-states and localities pose important political challenges to the existing political structures and offer an important new realm of research.

**Endnotes**

[1] We are grateful to Professor Geoffrey Robinson, coordinator of the Southeast Asia Program, for his valuable advice and his efforts in helping us raise most of the budget for this conference. We also thank the North American Integration and Development Center (NAID), Graduate Student Association and others for their financial support.

[2] This conference was organized by five graduate students of Asian descent studying in the graduate program of the Department of Urban Planning at UCLA. They are Martha Matsuoka (Third generation Japanese American), Terry Valen (Filipino American); Trinh-Nguyen (Vietnamese/California); Ruei-Suei Sun (Kaoshiung/Taiwan Islander) and Yun-Chung Chen (Borneo Islander/Southeast Asian). The conference was held in UCLA Faculty Center on May 22 and 23, 1998.

C R I T I C A L  P L A N N I N G
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## CALL FOR PAPERS

Submission Deadline: January 29, 1999

***Critical Planning*** is a student-run journal formed in 1993 by students of the Department of Urban Planning. The journal was established to serve as a forum for the urban planning and public policy communities at UCLA, particularly students, to present current research interests and debate timely issues. We welcome submissions from graduate students, faculty, and alumni.

***Guidelines for Article Submissions*:**

1. Submissions should be not exceed 20, double-spaced pages. Contributors must submit two hard copy versions of the article and one version of the same paper on an IBM formatted computer disk using MS Word 6.0 or higher.
2. All submissions are reviewed by the Editorial Review Board. The author's anonymity will be protected during the review process.
3. The Editorial Review Board evaluates submissions according to the following criteria: clear statement of thesis or objective; relevance of subject matter; clear development of ideas; clear and concise writing.
4. Place the author's name, phone number, e-mail address, and title of submission on the cover sheet. The first text-page should contain the title of the article, without the author's name, as a means of identification.
5. Tables, illustrations, and photographs should be titled, numbered, and included separately at the end of the text.
6. Cite sources by the author-date system of reference described in the *Chicago Manual of Style,* 14th edition (University of Chicago Press, 1993), chapter 16.
7. All submissions are subject to editing by the Editorial Review Board and the editors. Authors will be given the opportunity to review the final edited version of their paper prior to publication. The editors, however, have the final authority on the publication-ready version of all submissions.

## Contributors

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