A Commons For Resistance

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Oakland's housing crisis is starkly visible. In recent years, the tech boom in Silicon Valley has drastically increased costs of living in the Bay Area. Many workers from San Francisco and the peninsula have relocated across the Bay to Oakland, in search of more affordable rent, spurring a wave of gentrification and displacement in the city. Since 2000, Oakland has lost 29% of its Black population[1]. The Bay Area is gradually being re-segregated, as gentrification forces lower-income residents, often people of colour, to relocate to peripheral cities.

A Commons for Resistance examines the current crisis through a dialectic of commons space and enclosures. Commons spaces are spaces a social group deems necessary to be shared by all its members, while enclosures are spaces controlled by an exclusive group, that produce benefits for that group to the exclusion of all others. The thesis posits that Oakland's current crisis is made possible by- and perpetuates- a history of enclosure in the city's urban landscape, which has created the inequality necessary for the current trend of displacement.

Using a theoretical framework of commons and enclosures, the thesis also surveys current state, market and individual tactics addressing the crisis, revealing that most measures accept a default association between housing and private profit, and have limited effectiveness in adequately addressing the shortage of affordable housing. The thesis argues that, to be truly affordable, housing must be detached from motives of profit.

The design response draws upon Oakland's deep history of social justice activism, and the radical practices for living together that have emerged in its communities' struggles to reclaim the commons. It advocates for a vision of housing embedded within the urban commons, kept perpetually affordable through a community land trust, a model of housing provision that is gaining clout in Oakland and in cities across the world facing gentrification pressures. An architecture of *scaffolding* is proposed for this model and applied in the design of three sites in Deep East Oakland. The scaffold refers a guiding framework for community involvement in the design and construction processes for these interventions. As well, the scaffold is an exploration of how architectural forms (surfaces, structures and landscapes) could contribute to the collective stewardship of space.

It is not the place of this thesis, written from an outsider's perspective, to offer a definitive set of steps to solve the housing crisis. Instead, by learning from the crisis in Oakland and the collective efforts to combat it, *A Commons for Resistance* adds a voice to the growing, global call to see housing as a collective responsibility, offering a set of suggestions and provocations that illustrate the potentials of dwelling in the commons.

1   US Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table B03002, 2000).; US Census Bureau, 2016 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Table B03002, 2016).

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Introduction

Amidst a tech boom, Oakland is experiencing a housing crisis. The median for-sale price of a home is around $747,000[1], which is 13% higher than a year ago. The average rent for a one-bedroom apartment unit is $2,494[2], a price unaffordable for many in a city where the median household income is $52,962. The consequences of these sky-rocketing housing costs are evident at multiple scales. Residents are increasingly living in underkept housing, as absentee landlords frequently defer maintenance to make room for more affluent tenants (many of whom are tech workers, themselves seeking more affordable housing than can be found across the Bay). Across the city, homeless encampments proliferate. As of 2017, there are 2,761 homeless persons within the city of 420,000, up 25% from 2015[3]. Housing costs have forced many long-time residents, in particular people of colour, to relocate to the periphery of the Bay Area, where employment, social services and public transportation are less accessible. Between 2000 and 2016, Oakland lost 29% of its Black population. This constitutes a re-segregation of the region, and a theft of the right to the city from many of Oakland's citizens.

Gentrification is thus far from a benign, back-to-the-city movement. Displacement is as often a propelling force behind gentrification as it is a consequence (for example, in the evictions of low-income renters by landlords to attract higher income tenants). This problematizes the common characterization of gentrification as a welcome reprieve for cities suffering from decades of disinvestment. In continuity with redlining, Urban Renewal and the foreclosure crisis, gentrification, enabled by the commodification of dwelling space, excludes the poor, sometimes through violent means,[4] in enclosing the benefits of reinvestment in urban spaces for those who can afford it.

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1   Oakland Home Prices & Values," Zillow, last modified Feb 28, 20182018, https://www.zillow.com/oakland-ca/home-values/.
2   Ibid.
3   Applied Survey Research, CITY OF OAKLAND HOMELESS CENSUS & SURVEY 2017 Jurisdictional Report (Oakland: EveryOneHome,[2017]).
4   For example, through forced removal of homeless encampments – ex. Sam Lefebvre, "Police, City Clear Out Homeless Encampment in North Oakland," East Bay Express. Feb 2, 2017, 2017.and increased security and policing around gentrified areas, ex. Joel Anderson, "How A Brutal Beating Became the Symbol of Oakland's Gentrification Struggle," BuzzfeedOct 17, 2015, 2015. https://www.buzzfeed.com/joelanderson/how-a-brutal-beating-became-the-symbol-of-oaklands-gentrific?utm_term=.tk5mjbdre#.veXjGr9X8.,

Further, housing's primary role as private property has led to the increasing enclosure of spaces of the commons in the city (spaces a particular society deems as necessary to be shared with all its members). Ordinary citizens have little say in changes taking place in their neighbourhoods. This thesis critiques the current exclusive processes of development, arguing for a need to consider alternative modes of housing production more open to community control.

The thesis opens with a discussion of property, through a theoretical framework of commons and enclosures. Chapter 1 maps the spatial impacts of exclusionary housing policies on Oakland's urban landscape, analyzing how these policies have contributed to the current crisis. The chapter also examines political movements growing from domestic space, that have challenged the conception of housing as a vehicle for profit and exclusion, by proposing alternative social and spatial conceptions of the home.

Chapter 2 examines measures currently in place to address the housing crisis, enacted by the City of Oakland, HUD, and private individuals. It asserts that for the most part, government institutions still conceive of shelter as part of a profit-driven ecosystem, rather than a common right. Thus, most measures have limited effectiveness in directly challenging the root causes of displacement.

Given this, the thesis advocates for the need to investigate how more radical models of affordable housing provision, detached from profit imperatives, could potentially lead to more equitable outcomes. Chapter 3 explores one such model, the community land trust (CLT), as an institution for making housing based in the commons. It examines the spatial implications of CLT's emphasis on "trusterty" over property, and community control over individual control of space, through case studies of two CLT spaces.

Finally, Chapter 4 asks how architectural design, through both its process and formal outcomes, could help expand the commoning practices of CLT's. An architecture of scaffolding is proposed for three sites in East Oakland, illustrating various frameworks for community involvement in the design and construction of CLT housing, as well as architectural forms that further support resident stewardship of space. This thesis falls short of proposing a practical solution for the housing crisis. However, it contributes another voice to the call for housing to be based in the commons, already strong within Oakland.

A Statistical Profile of the Crisis

Fig. 1.1 Median Home Sale Price in Oakland

$747K (Jan 2018)

$858K

$659K

$340K (Jan 2011)

$460K

$261K

$60K

2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018
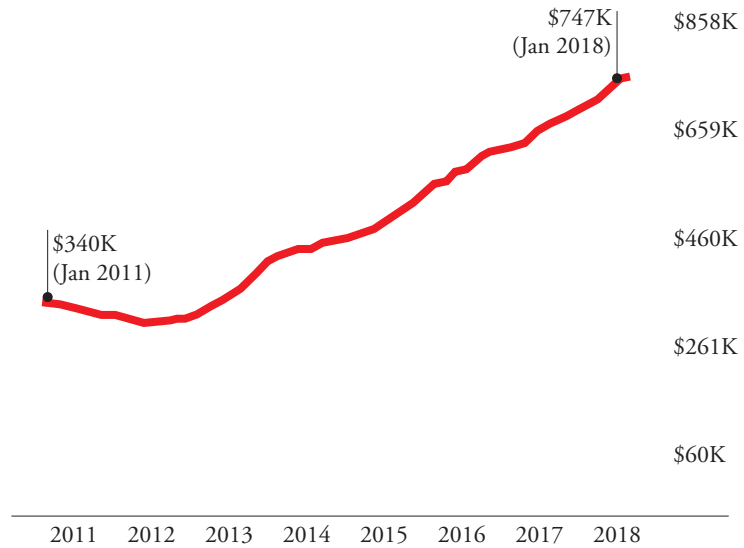
Fig. 1.2 Homelessness in Oakland and Alameda County

5,629 (2017)

Total (Alameda County)

6000

4,178 (2011)

5000

Unsheltered (Alameda County)

4000

2,761 (2017)

Total (Oakland)

3000

Sheltered (Alameda County)

2000

1000

2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018
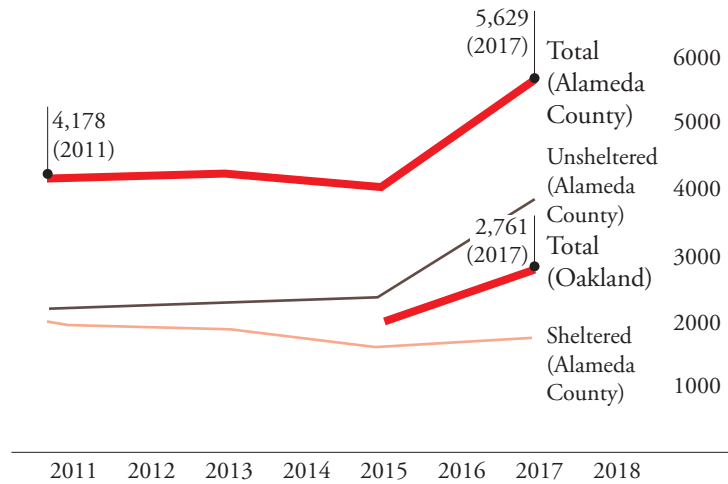
Fig. 1.3 <u>Income Distribution</u> Between 2006 and 2011 there is a significant increase in the share of extremely high income households, and a decrease in low-income households.

Share of all households

12%
10%
8%
6%
4%
2%

2011
2016

<$10000
$10000-14999
$15000-19999
$20000-24999
$25 000-29999
$30 000-34999
$35 000-39999
$40 000-44999
$45 000-49999
$50 000-59999
$60 000-74999
$75 000-99999
$100 000-124999
$125 000-149999
$150 000-199999
$>200 000

3

Fig. 1.4 Median Rent in Oakland (1 BR)

$2494
(Jan 2018)

$2600

$2100

$1409
(Jan 2011)

$1600

$1100

$600

2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018

Fig. 1.5 Race and Population in Oakland

120 000

108,436
(2011)

White

Hispanic/Latino

100 000

Black

96,981
(2016)

80 000

Asian

60 000

2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016

4

Visual Timelines of Gentrification and Displacement

Fig. 1.6

Expansion of "The Living Room" Homeless Encampment:
East Oakland (International Blvd and 84th Ave).
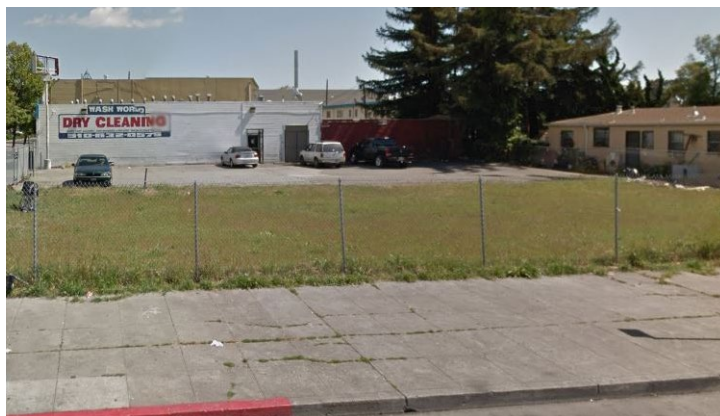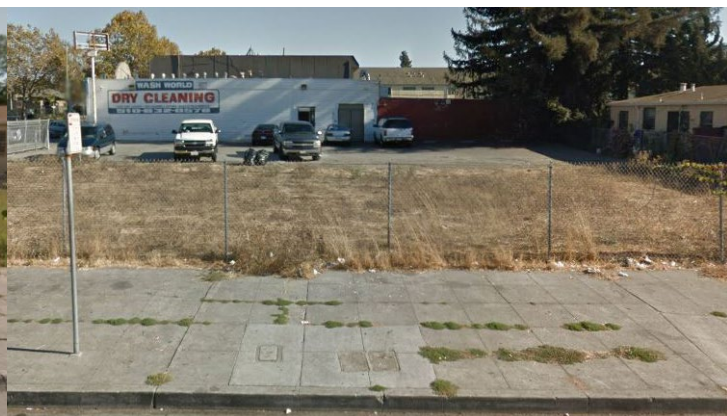
2011   2014

Downtown Gentrification (Telegraph Ave).
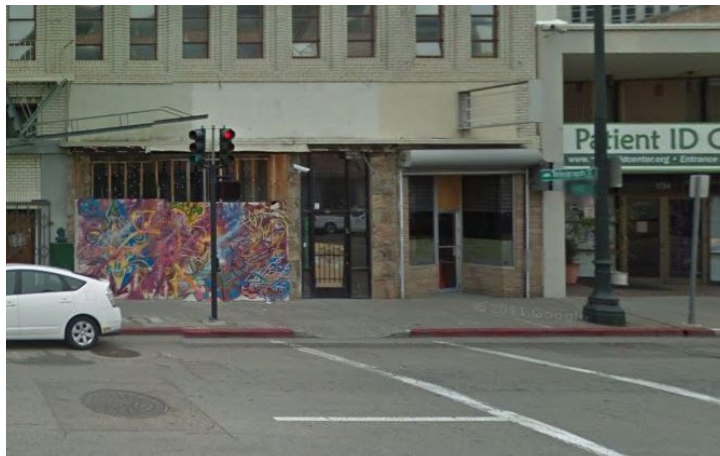
2011   2014

2016
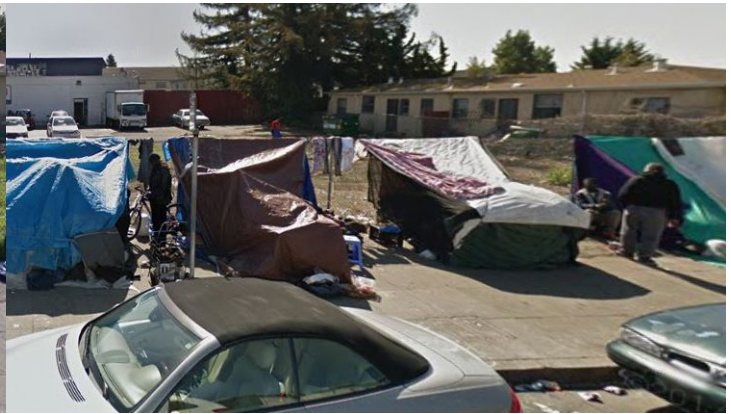
2017

2016

2017

West Oakland - from Foreclosure to Gentrification (Wood Street)

2008

2011

2017

2014   2016

1.
Enclosures, Commons, and the Making of a Housing Crisis

Commons and Enclosures

To truly live together necessitates a re-evaluation of the association between dwelling and private property. As Cheryl Harris and others have argued, property, as the basic determination of "who gets to own what", is socially contingent[5,6]. When property is determined through regimes of uneven power, it frequently becomes a means for reproducing racism and privilege.

This thesis spatializes the politics of property governing dwelling using a dialectic of commons space and enclosures. It traces the historical development of enclosures and commons spaces in the city of Oakland, and their cumulative contributions to its contemporary housing crisis.

It asserts that housing based in the commons can challenge the power of enclosures – and potentially illuminate ways forward from the current trend of displacement.

Defining Commons and Enclosures

In the broadest, most non-essential definition by geographer and social theorist David Harvey, commons space is space which a social group deems is necessary to be shared with all its members[7]. Similarly, theorists Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri describe the commons as "the common wealth of the material world-the air, the water, the fruits of the soil, and all nature's bounty, which in classic European political texts is often claimed to be the inheritance of humanity as a whole."[8] Beyond these more material aspects, Hardt and Negri also refer to the commons as "those results of social production that are necessary for social interaction and further production, such as knowledges, languages, codes, information, affects and so forth"[9]. Commons are dialectically opposed to spaces of enclosure – whether in the form of private property, or state-

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5   Cheryl Harris, "Whiteness as Property," Harvard Law Review 106, no. 8 (1993)1728.

6   Shiri Pasternak, "Property in Three Registers," SCAPEGOAT: Architecture | Landscape | Political Economy 00 (2010), 10.

7   David Harvey, Rebel Cities : From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution (London ; New York: Verso, 2012)73.

8   Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, Commonwealth (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009)viii ., italics by author

9   Ibid.

controlled space. Enclosures are governed by an exclusive group in society, producing benefits for that group to the exclusion of others.

Commons and enclosures are not fixed, binary categories of space, but exist on a spectrum, and in constant states of transformation between each other (**Fig. 1.7**). Commons spaces become enclosed through acts of exclusion. In Oakland, this consists of racist exercises of state biopower[10] within the urban landscape, in the form of policies that literally exclude people of colour from healthful environments, by reserving proximity to the "common wealth of the material world" for White people. Exclusion also occurs through the privatization, atomization, monopolization and co-optation of commons space for the often overlapping motives of capital and state control[11]. Conversely, commons space can be reclaimed from enclosures through acts of commoning[12]. This consists of processes of recognizing a space as shared, by expanding participation in the making of the space, and establishing collective responsibilities for its care and governance, in addition to sharing in its inhabitation.

Thus, there are no spaces that belong to the commons (not even "the air, the water, the fruits of the soil and all nature's bounty"[13], or so-called public spaces) unless society actively insists that they be. Urban space is not *a-priori* a space of collective self-transformation, unless citizens actively demand their rights to the city. Similarly, borders, gated communities and segregated cities do not come into being, except by design.

Generating Commons and Enclosures

Physical spaces of property are materializations of (often mutually reinforcing) politics and economic ideologies.   The political and economic ideologies that generate spaces of the commons and spaces of enclosure are dialectically opposed.

Commons and Enclosures as Political Spaces

10   Michel Foucault defines biopower as mechanisms of state control over the health of populations. Racism and biopower intersect when separations are introduced, between races or groups considered as "good", and thus deserving of health, and inferior races who are put at greater risk of death. Michel Foucault and François Ewald, " Society must be Defended": Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-1976, Vol. 1Macmillan, 2003).
11   Massimo De Angelis, "Does Capital Need a Commons Fix?" Ephemera Theory and Politics in Organization 13, no. 3 (2013).
12   Harvey, Rebel Cities : From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution92, Stavros Stavrides author, Common Space : The City as Commons (London: Zed Books, 2016)34-35.
13   Hardt and Negri, Commonwealthviii

Enclosures in Oakland, as in many American cities, are spaces formed through racist policies that seek to marginalize certain groups. These public policies (ex. redlining) organize investment in private spaces along racial lines, enabling disinvestment, environmental discrimination, and the rationalization of segregation as a byproduct of maximizing property value. As well, increasingly neoliberal municipal policies- such as the privatization of waste management, public housing or parking, place vulnerable, low-income communities in greater precarity.[14] The privatization of these services effectively enclose the life supports required by all living in the city behind barriers of price.

In contrast, commons spaces come into being through co-operation and full participation, through an affirmative biopolitical process. Hardt and Negri define such a process as involving "the creation of new subjectivities that are presented at once as resistance and de-subjectification," and as enabled by the "production of affects and languages through social cooperation and the interaction of bodies and desires, the invention of new forms of the relation to the self and others, and so forth."[15]

<u>Commons and Enclosures as Economic Spaces</u>

Economically, enclosures are the spaces of "capitalist alienation"[16], able to be partitioned and traded away for profit. The characteristic of market-alienability distinguishes private property from the commons. Alienability allows physical space to be commodified. The postwar volumetric suburban house, and the mcmansions and dilapidated housing of the foreclosure crisis are obvious materializations of market-alienated domestic space. The potential to generate market value is the primary factor determining the physical layout of these spaces.

Conversely, commons spaces are market-inalienable. The commons are the things and spaces protected from market volatility, for they are considered necessary for our collective survival. Examples include wildlife refuges, the air and water, languages, human rights. In

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14   Judith Butler describes precarity as "that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support more than others, and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death."
Judith Butler, Notes Toward a Performative Theory of AssemblyHarvard University Press, 2015)33.
15   Hardt and Negri, Commonwealth57, italics by author. See also pages 329-330 from the chapter "Revolutionary Parallellism", for a related discussion of freedom and emancipation in relation to their concept of the singularity and the common.
16   Pasternak, "Property in Three Registers," , 10

the context of the current housing crisis, there is a rallying call for housing to be considered a human right.

Discussions of commons spaces and enclosures intersect in domestic space. Domestic space- as the site of social reproduction- is inherently political. Feminist scholar Sylvia Federici argues that an alternative to our current neoliberal system cannot be practically realized, or sustained unless we "define our reproduction in a more cooperative way, and put an end to the separation between the personal and the political, and between political activism and the reproduction of everyday life."[17] In the narrative of Oakland's development, grassroots movements- from self-organized houseless encampments in the Great Depression to the Black Panther Party's Survival Programs, have always began as revolutions within domestic space that challenge normative ways of living together.

Oakland: The Materialization of Commons and Enclosures

Policies of enclosure, by organizing domestic spaces, have generated the inequalities in Oakland's urban fabric foundational to the current crisis. In some cases, for example, the infrastructures of Urban Renewal, the enclosures are tangible the form of a material barrier. In other cases, enclosures operate through less physical means (as in the case of policies of disinvestment, or of targeted sub-prime lending), but nonetheless generate material inequalities.

The following section maps these enclosures as they are manifest Oakland's domestic spaces and residential neighbourhoods. It also explores the commons spaces formed in resistance to these enclosures, often within domestic spaces: for example, Pipe City, the Black Panther Party Headquarters, as well, the commons spaces formed in creative opposition to the contemporary housing crisis.

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17   Silvia Federici, "Feminism and the Politics of the Commons," in The Wealth of the Commons: A World Beyond Market and State, eds. David Bollier and Silke HelfrichLevellers Press, 2014).

Theories of the Commons: Synthesis

Fig. 1.7

acts of commoning: recognizing a space
for participation, and responsibilities fo

Commons

acts of exclusion: racist biopower,

-space which a
social group deems
necessary to be
shared by all its
members

Some Comparisons

mutually re-inforcing

Economic

-transferability/alienability	-considered market - inalienable
-distinct products	-commons for commons sake

Political

-means of producing space	-space produced through "social cooperation and the interaction of bodies and desires", for the purposes of desubjectification (self-determination)
-governance over use and access	-access embedded in system of responsibilities over care for the space

15

as shared, by establishing conditions
r its maintenance.

privatization, co-optation, etc.

Enclosures

-spaces controlled
by an exclusive
group, and which
produces benefits
for that group to
the exclusion of all
others.

-fully market-alienable, commodified

-capital as profit

-space determined by an external, exclusive group

-uses of space dictated by an exclusive group, with
absolute power to restrict occupation or use

A History Of Enclosures And Commoning Resistance

First Enclosures

The first enclosures in Oakland came with the Spanish colonization of California in the late 1700's. In the early 1800's, the Spanish crown granted a large tract of land to Luis Maria Peralta, where his family established Rancho San Antonio. Mexican workers and Indigenous peoples (the Ohlone), severed of their relationship to the land, provided the labour necessary to construct the homes and facilities that provided the rancho with profit. In the mid 1800's, the American annexation of California, and the Gold Rush resulted in a population boom in Oakland. Across California, the protection of the settlers' safety and private property led to the rationalization of genocide (**Fig. 1.8**). Between 1848 to 1870, the Native population of California plummeted by 90%.

Racism as Enclosure

A more detailed timeline of the thesis research begins at the Great Depression, the period immediately before which had levels of inequality unsurpassed until present times.[19] The New Deal- a set of federal policies formed in response to the Great Depression- re-distributed wealth but created new enclosures in the urban geography along lines of race, forming the basis upon which other designs for generating inequality were layered.

As part of the New Deal, the National Housing Act of 1934 created the Federal Housing Administration to address the wave of foreclosures caused by the banking crisis of 1929. The FHA enacted policies which significantly increased the rate of homeownership (for White Americans).

Around this time, Oakland's population grew by approximately 30%. Black Americans moved to the city in the second Great Migration, escaping Jim Crow in the south and searching for opportunities in Oakland's manufacturing, transportation, and later, wartime industries. Portuguese, Chicano and Latino migrants populated

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19   "U.S. Income Inequality, on Rise for Decades, is Now Highest since 1928," Pew Research Center, last modified December 5, accessed December 14, 2017, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/12/05/u-s-income-inequality-on-rise-for-decades-is-now-highest-since-1928/.

"By means of mounted howitzers, muskets, minnie rifles, dragoon pistols, and sabres, a good many were cut to pieces. But, on the whole, the general policy of the government was pacific. It was not designed to kill any more Indians than might be necessary to secure the adhesion of the honest yeomanry of the state, and thus furnish an example of the practical working of our political system to the savages of the forest, by which it was hoped they might profit."[18]

18   J. Ross Browne, The Indians of California, 2nd ed.Colt Press, 1864)7.

Fig. 1.8   "Protecting The Settlers": an illustration from J R Browne's account of the California genocide. J R Browne was a U.S. Customs' agent and an Inspector of Indian Affairs working on the Pacific Coast during the mid 1800's

under the d...
SURVEY OF T...

Triangulation by F...

under the...

Var.15°32'E.

S A N   S R A N C I S C O   B A Y

Outer pile   Inner pile

Pile

hrd.   Pile

hrd. S.

Peralta Wharf

Statute Miles
Nautical Miles

19

NTONIO CREEK

CALIFORNIA

From a Trigonometrical Survey

rection of A.D. BACHE Superintendent of the

THE COAST OF THE UNITED STATES

.D. CUTTS Assist. Topography by A.F. RODGERS Sub-Assist.

Hydrography by the Party

s command of Comdr. JAMES ALDEN U.S.N. Assist.

Scale 20.000

1857

BROOKLYN

Hibbard's Wharf

Fig. 1.9   Survey of the coast
of Oakland in 1857,
illustrating the form
of the city pre-
industrialization

Jingletown and Fruitvale in East Oakland, working in light industry. Working class White Americans also entered the city in search for employment.

The FHA's policies during this time divided Oakland's geography by race. Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC, or "redlining") maps rated neighbourhoods based on their eligibility for FHA mortgage insurance, on a scale of low risk (A/green, "highly restricted") to high risk (D/red, "old homes… infiltration of Negroes, Orientals, etc.") Redlining made secure mortgage financing virtually unavailable to Black Americans seeking to purchase homes in red-lined communities, and, when combined with racially-restrictive covenants, largely prevented Black Americans from buying property in any neighbourhood. Redlining codified segregation in Oakland, in the absence of Jim Crow.

Redlining is a racist policy that creates enclosures in the commons of the city- even as it operates primarily on ostensibly private spaces[20]. Redlining encloses access to financial assistance towards homeownership for those who are White. Further, by organizing access to funds for housing based on race and place, the state controlled where each race could live, thus, proximity to polluting or healthy environments became racially contingent. Red-lined areas were those located near industrial zones, in proximity to "odors from factories", while the benefits of being in a "sylvan setting" were enclosed in blue and green areas (**Fig. 1.12**, **Fig. 1.13**).

Low-density zoning maintained green or blue-lined hillside neighbourhoods as exclusive enclaves to the current day. Restrictive zoning in the hills means that higher density development is only permitted in the historically lower-income flatlands, which are by definition susceptible to gentrification today. Similarly, at a regional scale, low-density zoning within the peninsula municipalities of Silicon Valley (Palo Alto, Atherton, Sunnyvale, etc.), has restricted residential construction locally, forcing newcomer tech workers to compete for housing with existing residents in higher density, lower income neighbourhoods within San Francisco or Oakland.

The Fair Housing Act, enacted in 1968 following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., outlawed redlining. However, enforcement

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20   In the Buell Hypothesis, the authors argue that far from being an outcome of individual pursuit and choice, housing in America (in particular suburban housing) is one heavily shaped by public policy and discourse. Reinhold Martin, Leah M. Meisterlin and Anna Kenoff, The Buell Hypothesis: Rehousing the American DreamTemple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, 2011)23.

was lax, and overtly racist lending practices only became less common in the 1990's.[21] The legacy of redlining is still evident in Oakland's urban geography, which remains largely divided along the lines of race (**Fig. 1.14**) and income (**Fig. 1.15**) drawn in the original maps. Due to this racialized economic inequality, people of colour today are more likely to live in overcrowded housing (**Fig. 1.21**). As well, the uneven, racially contingent exposure to unhealthy environments enabled by redlining remains. Majority Black and Brown communities are still situated on soils with the highest concentrations of lead pollution (**Fig. 1.16**), and near sources of air pollution (**Fig. 1.14**).

Redlining became the basis upon which other forms of divestment were referenced. For instance, "liquor-lining" describes the phenomenon of the over-concentration of liquor stores (and dearth of large grocery stores) in low-income, majority Black neighbourhoods across the United States[22,23] The layered enclosures of redlining persist in Oakland's urban landscape – in the form of blight and liquor stores in the flatlands and mansions, green space and gourmet groceries in the hills.

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21   Alex F. Schwartz, Housing Policy in the United StatesRoutledge, 2014)255.
22   Ann Maxwell and Daniel Immergluck, Liquorlining: Liquor Store Concentration and Community Development in Lower-Income Cook County NeighborhoodsWoodstock Institute, 1997).
23   Understanding that investment in grocery stores-which are by nature, low-margin, volume businesses - is more secure in higher income neighbourhoods, in lower income neighbourhoods, banks are instead more likely to issue loans to liquor stores, which operate at higher margins. See Mark Bauermeister et al., A Place with no Sidewalks: An Assessment of Food Access, the Built Environment and Local, Sustainable Economic Development in Ecological Micro-Zones in the City of Oakland, California in 2008. (Oakland, CA: Hope Collaborative,[2009]).

Fig. 1.10 Ad for real estate in Rockridge (around B11, A5) showing racial restrictions, and the association between low density and high desirability, 1909

Fig. 1.11 Advertisements for FHA-insured mortgages and home-improvement loans

Fig. 1.12   HOLC Map of Oakland and Berkeley showing locations of major industrial buildings

Coca-Cola Bottling Factory

Port of Oakland and Dry Docks

Phoenix Ironworks

Single Family Residential Zone (City of Oakland Zoning Map, May 2017, City of San Leandro Zoning Map, 2016 and City of Piedmont Zoning Map, 2016)

RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP

— L E G E N D —

A - FIRST GRADE
B - SECOND GRADE
C - THIRD GRADE
D - FOURTH GRADE
SPARSELY SETTLED (Color Indicates Grade)
INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

PREPARED BY
DIVISION OF RESEARCH & STATISTICS
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE APPRAISAL DEPARTMENT
HOME OWNERS' LOAN CORPORATION   JUNE 15, 1937

23

NS FORM-8
8-26-37

AREA DESCRIPTION

1. NAME OF CITY __OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA__ SECURITY GRADE __RED__ AREA NO. __D-9__

2. DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN. __Level__

3. FAVORABLE INFLUENCES. Convenience to local and San Francisco transportation, schools, public library, local shopping center and walking distance to downtown Oakland.

4. DETRIMENTAL INFLUENCES. Old homes, run down in appearance; infiltration of Negroes, Orientals, etc. High city taxes in proportion to value of property.

5. INHABITANTS: Clerical, industrial wage
   a. Type __earners, shop-keepers &__ ; b. Estimated annual family income $ __1000-1800__
   __rooming-house keepers.__

NS FORM-8
8-26-37

AREA DESCRIPTION

1. NAME OF CITY __OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA__ SECURITY GRADE __GREEN__ AREA NO. __A-6__

2. DESCRIPTION OF TERRAIN. __Rolling__

3. FAVORABLE INFLUENCES. Beautiful sylvan setting, among pine and eucalyptus trees; fine view; zoned single-family residential; highly restricted.

4. DETRIMENTAL INFLUENCES. Distance to local and San Francisco transportation, schools and shopping centers; lack of sewers in considerable part of area.

5. INHABITANTS: Executives, professional
   a. Type __and business men__ ; b. Estimated annual family income $ __3500-15,000__
   c. Foreign-born __No concentration__ %; d. Negro __No__ ; ____ %;
   __(Nationality)__   __(Yes or No)__
   e. Infiltration of __Lower classes -No__ f. Relief families __None__ ;

Fig. 1.13 Descriptions of HOLC zones

Enclosures: Redlining Legacy
<u>Race in Oakland</u>
source: Census, 2010

Fig. 1.14

Legend
1 dot =1 person

- ● Hispanic
- ● Black
- ● White
- ● Asian
- ● Other
- ● Multi-racial
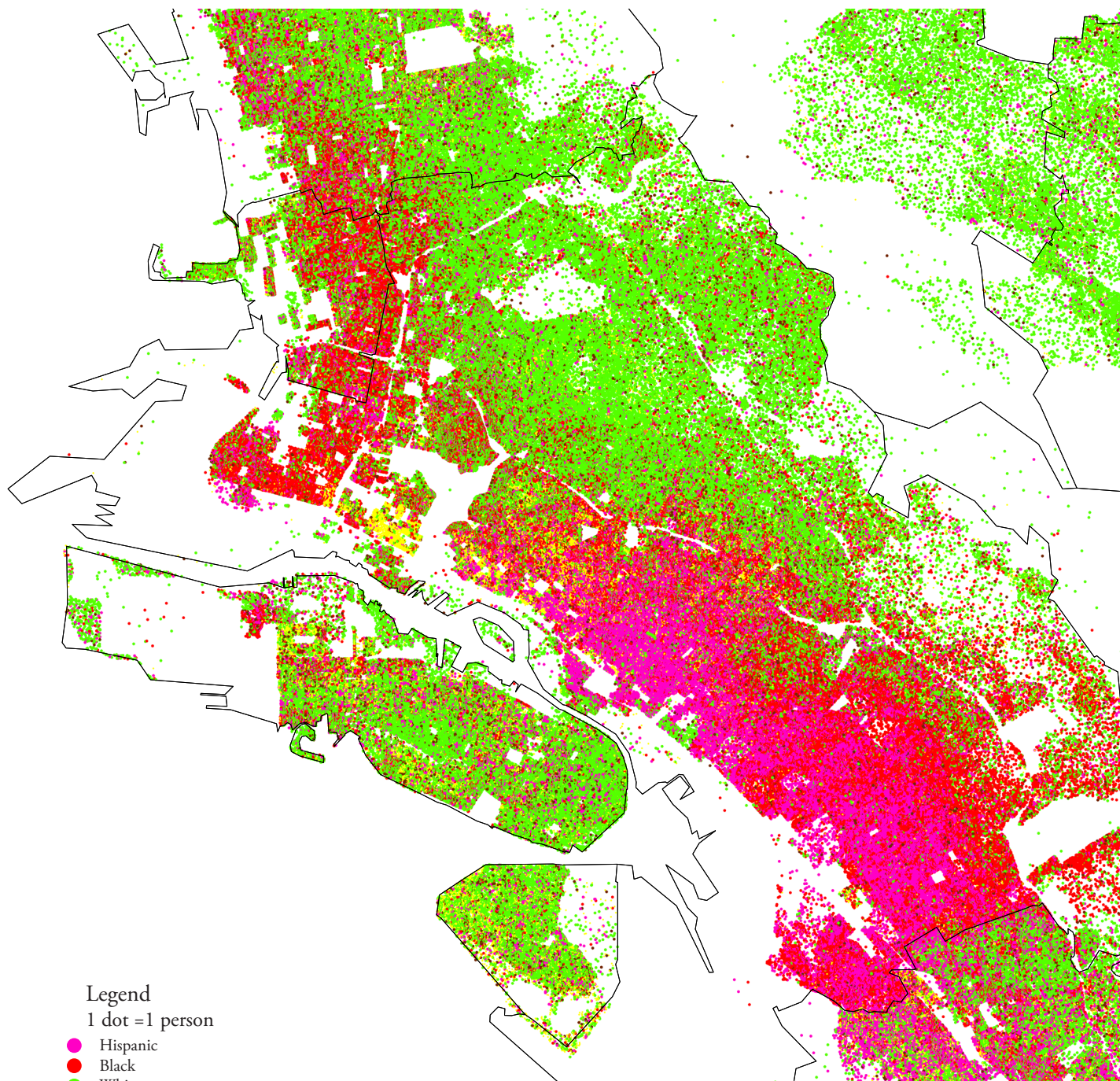
Enclosures: Redlining Legacy
<u>Median Household Income</u>
source: American Community Survey 2015

Fig. 1.15

Legend
Median Household Income ($)

- <25 000
- 50 000
- 75 000
- 10 0000
- 125 000
- 150 000
- 175 000
- 200 000
- >225 000
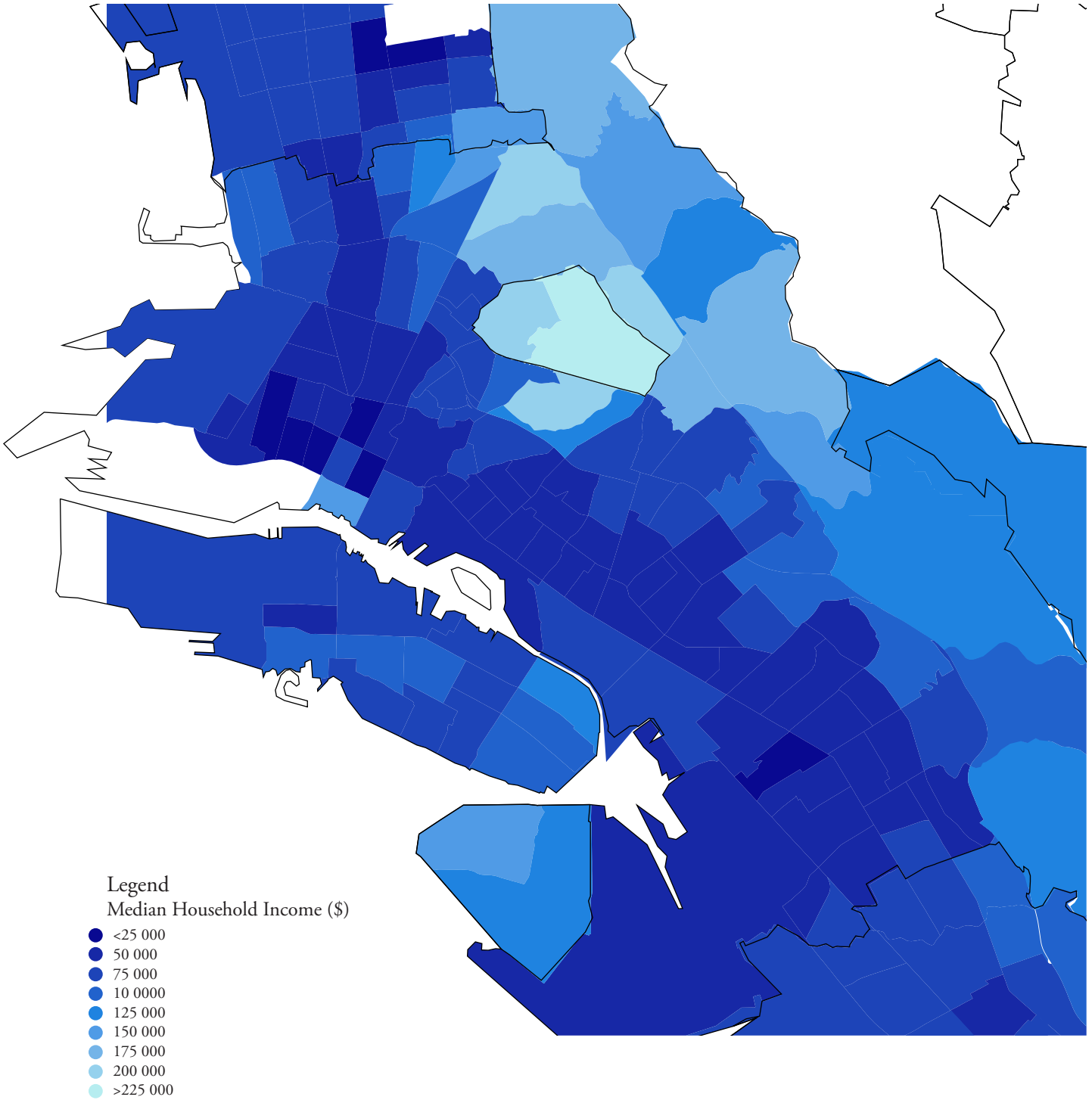
Enclosures: Redlining Legacy

<u>Environmental Racism: Soil Lead Contamination</u>

Source: Assessing Soil Lead Contamination at Multiple Scales in Oakland, California: Implications for Urban Agriculture and Environmental Justice, Nathan McClintock

Fig. 1.16

Amco Superfund Site

Lead Concentration (ppm)

● >401 (400 ppm is the EPA limit for exposed soil in playgrounds)
● 151-400
● 81-150
● 20-80
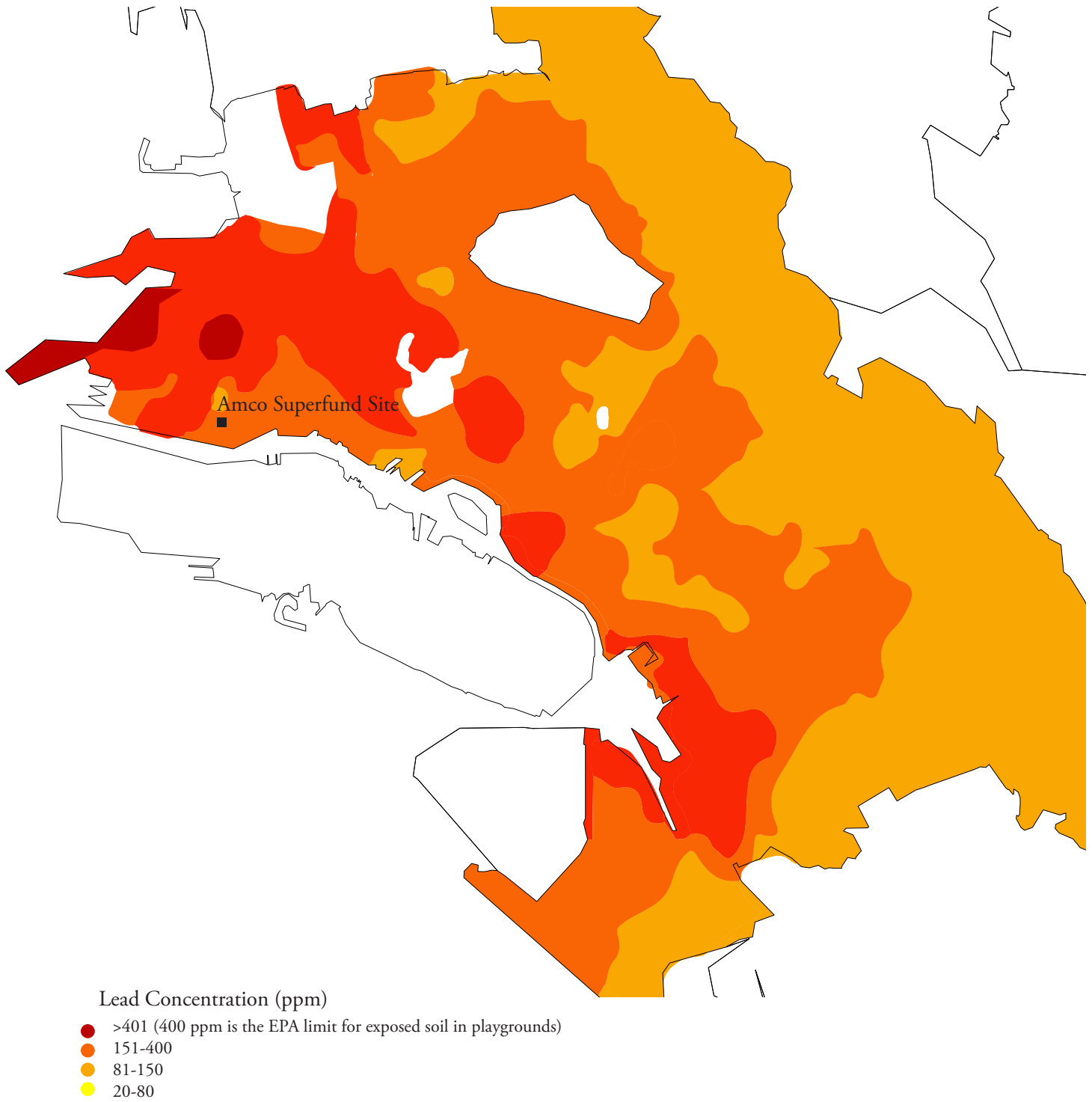
Enclosures: Urban Disinvestment

Illegal Dumping

Source: Oakland Open Data, illegal dumping service requests to Oakland Call Centre

Fig. 1.17

1. **Fig. 1.18**

2. **Fig. 1.19**

3. **Fig. 1.20**
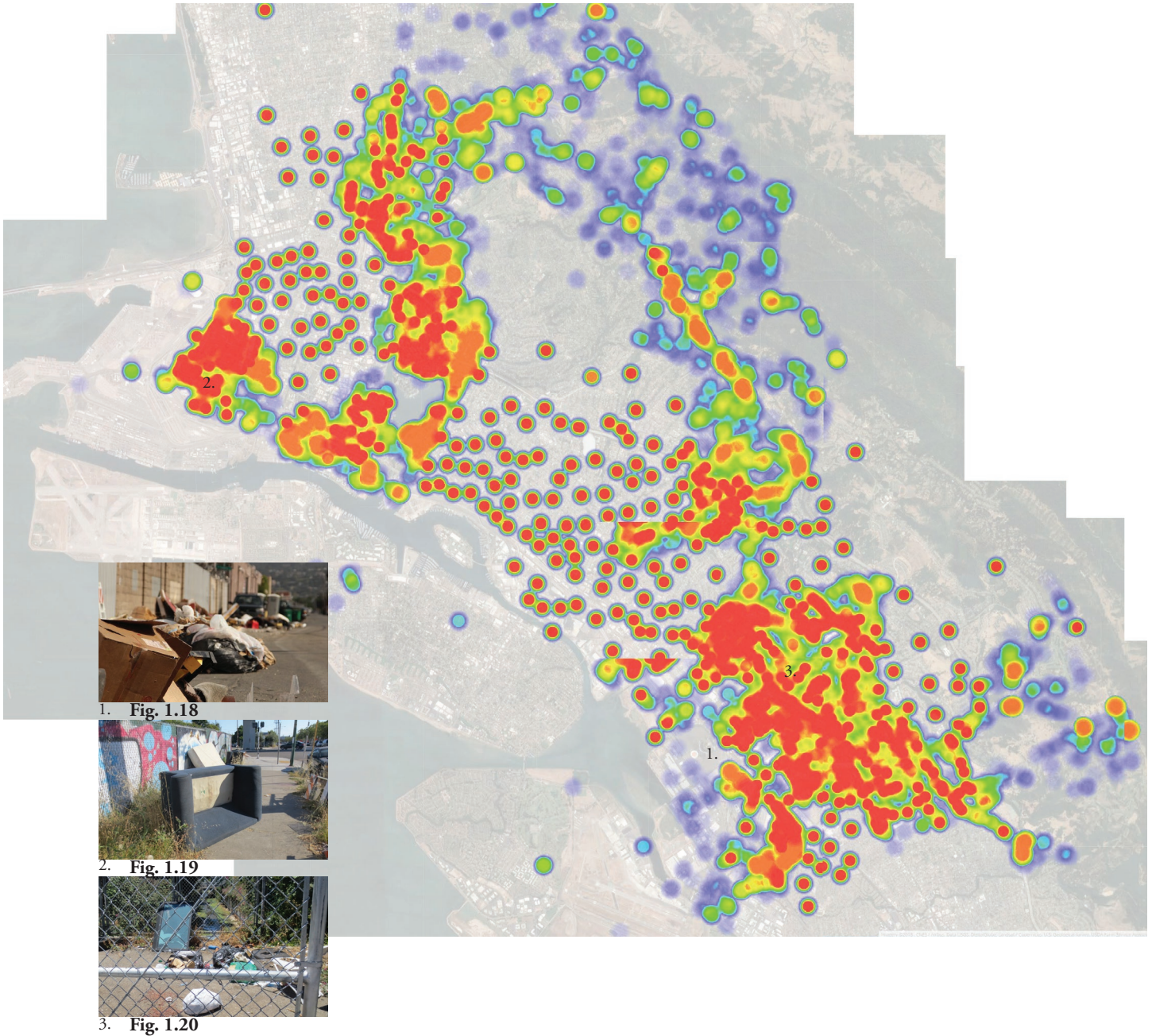
Reports to Oakland Call Centre (since July 1, 2009)

>2000   600   200   0

Enclosures: Redlining Legacy

<u>Percentage of Overcrowded Housing</u>
source: American Community Survey 2015

Fig. 1.21

Legend
% of overcrowded units in tract (with >1 person per room)

- 10%
- 20%
- 30%
- 40%
- 50%
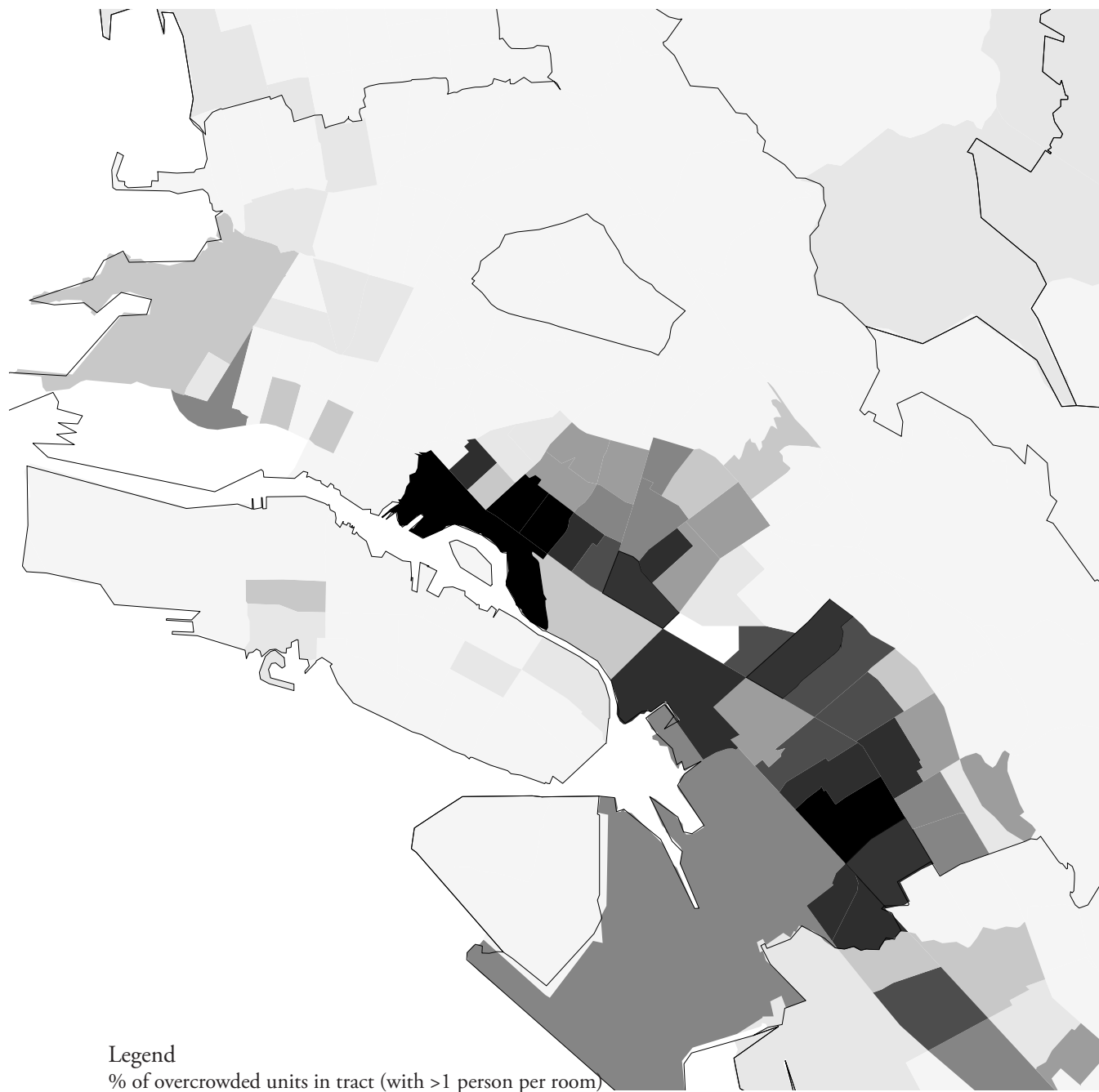
Enclosures: Infrastructure and Urban Renewal
Environmental Racism: Air Pollution in East and West Oakland
Source: Environmental Defence Fund

Fig. 1.22
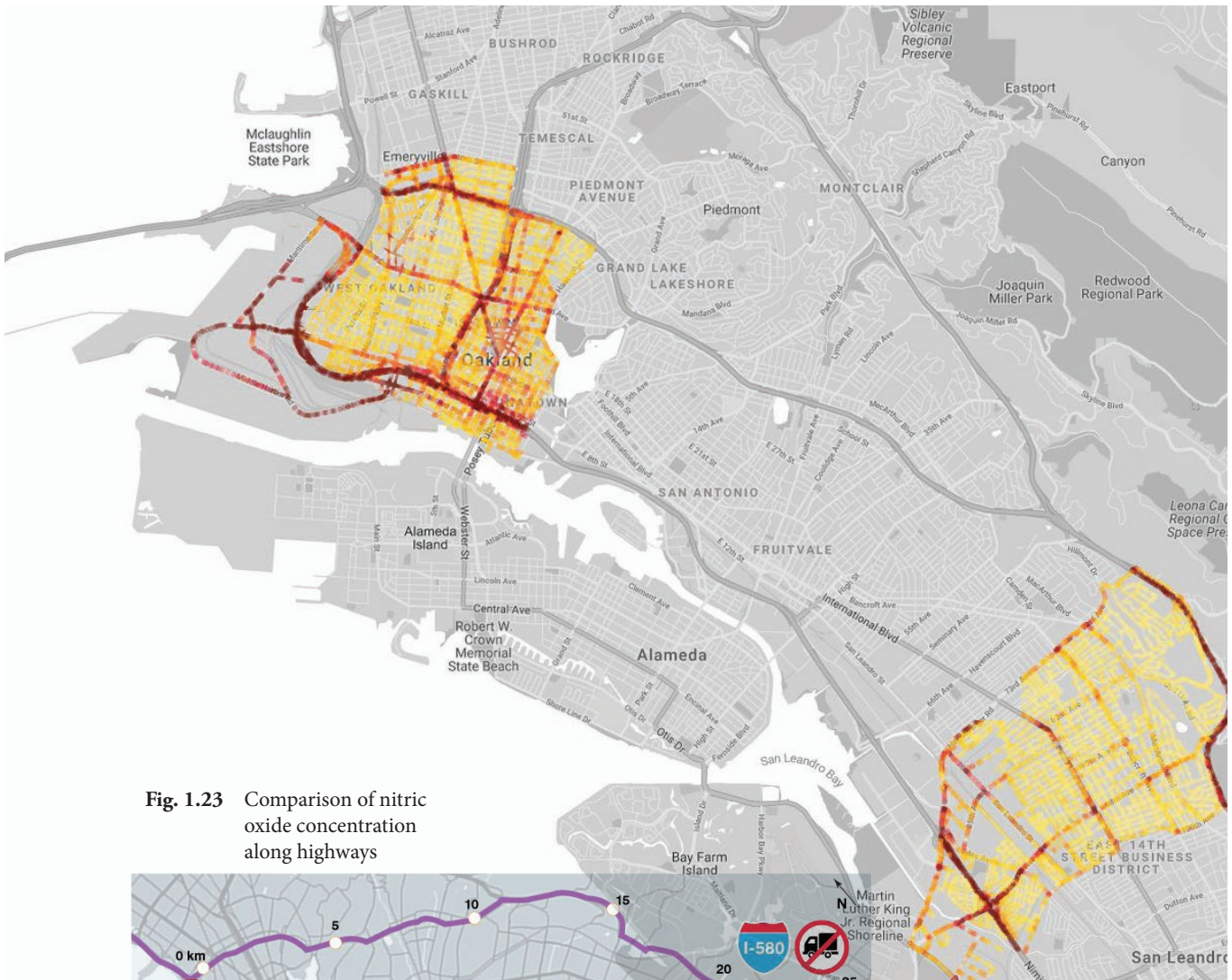
Fig. 1.23 Comparison of nitric oxide concentration along highways

Nitric Oxide Concentration (ppb)

0   6   12   18   24+
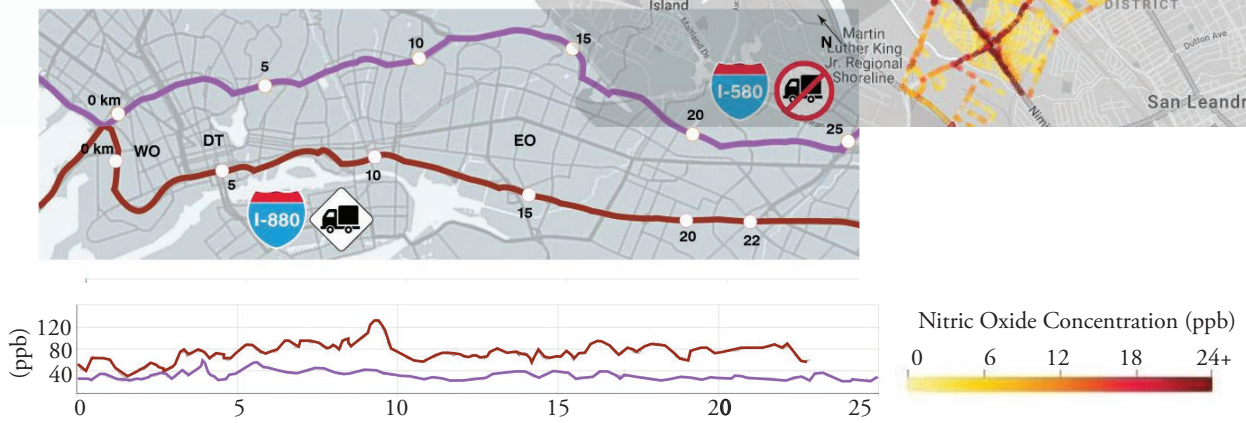
Commoning Resistance, 1930-40

The poverty of the Great Depression, and the journeys and arrivals from the Great Migration resulted in forms of commoning that challenged conventional notions of private property, and inequalities imposed by redlining, respectively.

Pipe City

Fig. 1.24 Man in Pipe City, 1932

During the Great Depression, a group of two hundred homeless men formed a colony within unused lengths of sewer pipe (dubbed Pipe City), near the Oakland Estuary. They formed a system of self government, electing a mayor to administer food and work distribution. Pipe City became the founding place of the Unemployed Exchange Association, an attempt to institute a barter economy in Oakland.[24]

Commoning Through Neighbouring

At the same time, Black women, migrating to Oakland from the south, transplanted commoning practices to their new neighbourhoods. Historian Robert O. Self writes:

> "They constructed informal bonds across the community, reciprocal relationships of exchange and mutual dependence that provided newly arrived families with essential goods and services: from childcare and weddings to healthcare, jobs, food and shelter. This kind of face-to-face social networking…gave West Oakland's bustling streets and neighbourhoods a sense of safety and familiarity while quietly holding families and homes together."[25]

Self also noted that these neighborly bonds translated into political activism. Mutual aid within the domestic sphere translated to advocacy within the NAACP, the East Bay Parent-Teacher Associations, the East Bay Democratic Club, and numerous other community, civil rights and political organizations. In this way,

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24   John Curl, For all the People: Uncovering the Hidden History of Cooperation, Cooperative Movements, and Communalism in AmericaPm Press, 2012)40.

25   Robert O. Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar OaklandPrinceton University Press, 2005)57. For a more detailed account of the work performed by Black women's mutual aid societies in the late 19th century, see Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of all: Black Women's Voluntary Associations," The Journal of Southern History 56, no. 1 (1990), 3-22.

they challenged the gendered enclosure around the predominantly male public realm, racial enclosures imposed by redlining, and the proscriptions of femininity during that time.[26]

The Industrial Garden as Enclosure

Housing's role as an alienable commodity contributed to post-war suburbanization. In combination with urban de-industrialization, and Veterans' Administration (VA) and FHA incentives encouraging White homeownership, this led to the so-called "White flight" that deepened racial, gender and economic divides in the East Bay.

In a bid to attract investment from Eastern and Midwestern capitalists, cities in the Bay Area engaged in fierce competition that created uneven development across the region. Post WWII, Oakland city officials developed the MOAP (Metropolitan Oakland Area Program). It depicted Oakland as an "industrial garden" neatly ordered along lines of gender and class:

> "Workers were male, their labour skilled, productive and rewarding. Women were pictured fulfilling their duty in an industrial economy: taking charge of children and consumption… Boosters and planners began with broad patterns of political economy, from capital mobility to the transportation of goods and the organization of an entire metropolitan interface. But they concluded their narrative of progress inside the private home, the axis of the modernist American project, where marital conviviality, the happiness of workmen, and the accumulation of consumer goods suggested an epochal social fulfillment tied to transformation in the physical spaces of the region."[27]

Other Bay Area cities drafted plans in a similar spirit. In Santa Clara County, these plans would lay the foundations for the development of Silicon Valley[28].

Ultimately, the industrial garden was realized not in Oakland, but in neighbouring San Leandro, where cheaper land, and lower property taxes comprised stronger magnets for industrial development. To sustain growth, San Leandro adopted a strategy of mass-produced residential construction, along with property tax cuts to encourage White homeownership. Attracted also by the promise of higher property values made possible by the exclusion of people of colour (through instruments like "neighbourhood protective associations")
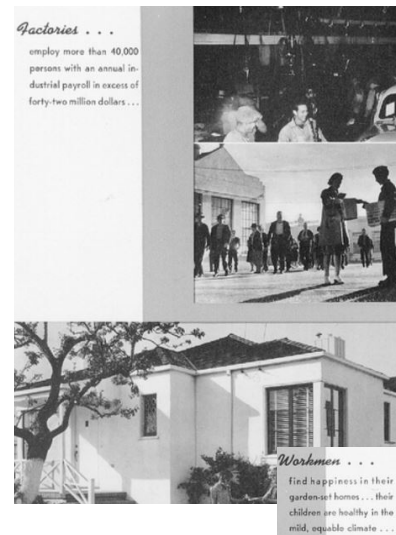
Fig. 1.25 Excerpt from the MOAP

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26   Robert O. Self, "American Babylon: Black Panthers and Proposition 13," Race, Poverty & the Environment 15, no. 2 (2008), 50-53.
27   Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland31
28   Ibid.

[29], White residents flooded out of Oakland into San Leandro, significantly reducing Oakland's tax base.[30]

Infrastructure as Enclosure

By the 1960's and 70's, White Flight, and urban deindustrialization created blighted conditions, which began to threaten downtown property interests. Analogous to disease, blight could only be cured through excision, which necessitated the total replacement of those who lived there with more profitable industries. In cities across the nation, this took the form of Urban Renewal. In the predominantly Black West Oakland, Urban Renewal consisted of the construction of the Acorn apartments and highway and BART construction, which literally enclosed the community from Downtown, while connecting higher-income suburban households to San Francisco (**Fig. 1.29**).

Urban Renewal permanently disrupted the forms of commoning that emerged in West Oakland's major streets and residential neighbourhoods. As well, in the process, between 6600 and 9700 housing units were destroyed under the power of eminent domain. Approximately 1000 replacement units were constructed, a decade later[31]. Urban renewal treated the homes of people of colour as disposable property, to be exploited in the process of subsidizing private industrial and commercial development.

Suburban Enclosures

During this period, the imaginary of home-ownership became embedded within the American Dream of an independence divorced from the commons. Keynesian policies at the national level promoted the home as a site for individual consumption, mass-produced housing as the means for national economic growth, and the upwardly mobile nuclear family as a normative social unit. The 1920's California bungalow, which still constitutes most of Oakland's housing stock, supported this a sense of individualism. One Oakland resident told an interviewer in the 60's:

> "Everyone has slightly more than his own little flat here… Oaklanders are less likely to actually know their neighbors but more likely to know the kinds of society their neighbors stand for."[32]

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29   Mike Katz-Lacabe, "City of San Leandro and Housing Discrimination," San Leandro BytesJul 5, 2007.
30   Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland104
31   Ibid.
32   Ibid.

In Oakland's neighbouring suburban municipalities, the detached home, as a symbol of individual success, fit within an ideology of self-reliance that contributed to California's tax revolt. Due to soaring inflation in the late 1970's, homeowners faced drastic tax increases annually when their properties were assessed. Seizing upon, and further intensifying homeowner resentment against the excesses of the welfare state, anti-statist conservatives like Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann put forward Proposition 13, which froze property taxes to 1% percent of a property's assessed value in 1975[33]. Proposition 13 further slashed Oakland's tax base and deepened its economic disparity in comparison with the wealthier surrounding suburbs.

The loss of local funding resulted in another layer of physical enclosure. For example, the high cost of bulky waste disposal, coupled with precarious housing tenure, means that low-income Black and Brown communities are disproportionately affected by illegal dumping. Essentially, services necessary for urban life become enclosed behind barriers of price.

33   Ibid.

Enclosures:
Infrastructure and Urban Renewal

Fig. 1.29   BART and freeway construction during Urban Renewal.

Map shows highway, BART, and ACORN public housing construction from the late 50's to mid 60's (outlined in red), overlaid on a 1938 map of Oakland. See also **Fig. 1.22**, which maps the correlation between highway constructuring during Urban Renewal and present day levels of air pollution.
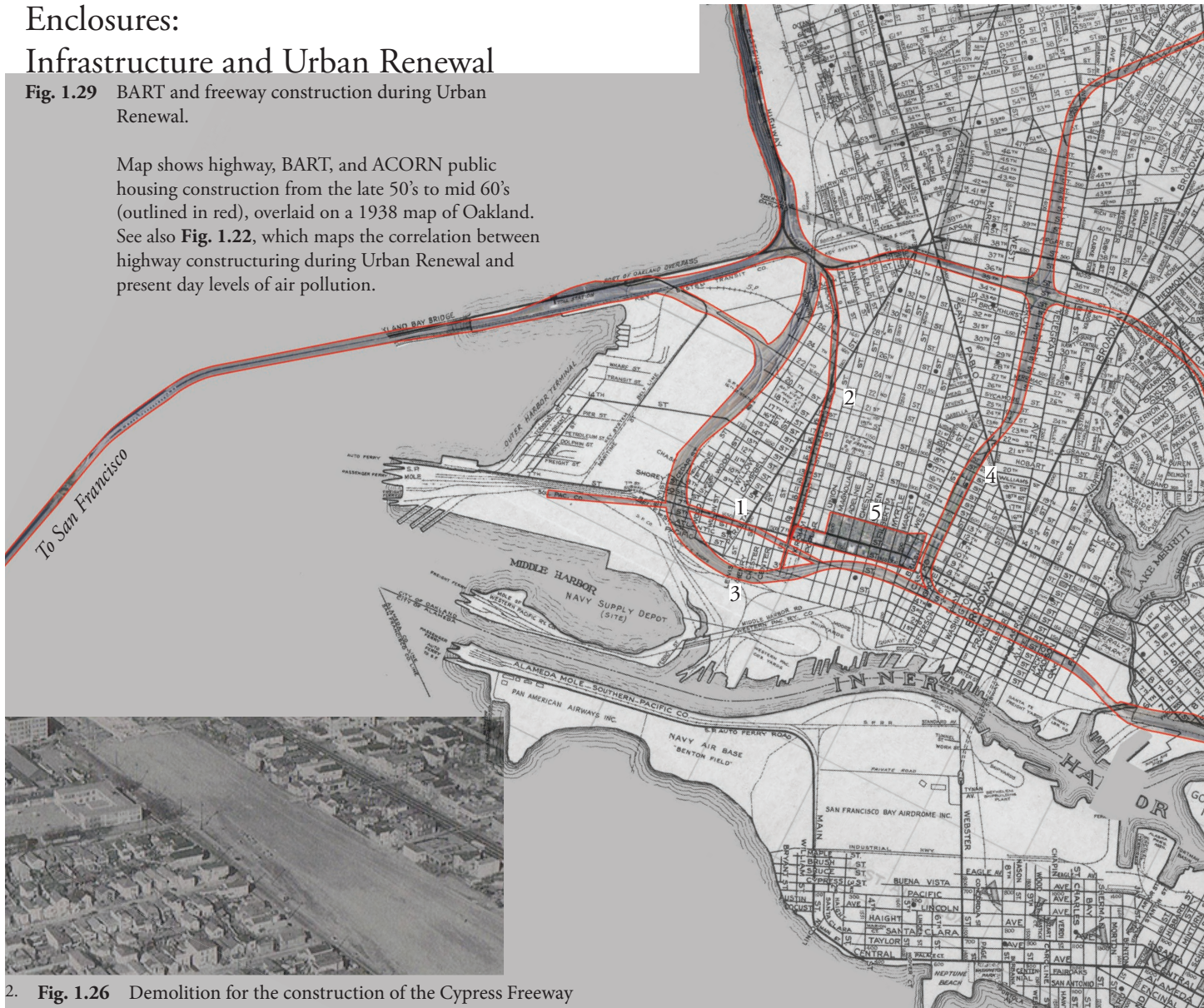
2.   **Fig. 1.26**   Demolition for the construction of the Cypress Freeway

1.   **Fig. 1.27**   Construction of BART tracks on 7th Ave.

Fig. 1.28   Salvaged Sherman tank used for demolition in West Oakland, to make way for the construction of a USPS distribution centre

Fig. 1.30 "Below 580"

Fig. 1.31 "Above 580"

I-580

I-880

Legend

1. BART Construction~1964
2. Cypress St. Viaduct ~ 1957 (Demolished in 1989 following the Loma Prieta earthquake)
3. Nimitz Freeway (I-880) - 1955
4. Grove Shafter Freeway- 1969
5. ACORN Redevelopment - 1962
6. I-580 - 1963

Self Determination and The War on Poverty

In the 60's and 70's, the national civil rights movement, combined with the failures of Urban Renewal, and the growing inequality between Oakland and its surrounding suburbs, led a plethora of community self-determination efforts by the Black and Latino Oaklanders that grew from, and centered around domestic space.

Most famously, Oakland became the birthplace of the Black Panther Party. Although the image of the Black Panthers in popular media is of a gun-toting, leather-clad Black man, by the end of the 1960's women made up the majority of its members. They were especially involved within the Party's community Survival Programs, which included providing free breakfasts for children, setting up sickle cell anemia testing centres, and establishing schools and a daycare.[34] Women's involvement in the Survival Programs, and on the front lines of the party's anti-police brutality activism, embedded the BPP in Oakland's communal life, while simultaneously challenging the Party's patriarchal structure.

The Black Panther Party appropriated domestic spaces as sites of practical revolution. Faced with challenges to personal safety from COINTELPRO[35], some Panthers chose to live together in as "Panther pads,"[36] communal houses which grew into hubs for counterpublic activity.[37] As well, the Intercommunal Youth Institute, focused on providing culturally relevant education for children of colour, began as "Children's Houses" in Victorians in North Oakland and Berkeley, where a rotating staff of Party members provided care for each other's children[38]. Conversely, the Survival Programs also

Fig. 1.32 Black Panther Party Children's House

Fig. 1.33 Black Panther Party Headquarters in West Oakland

34   Robyn Ceanne Spencer, "Engendering the Black Freedom Struggle: Revolutionary Black Womanhood and the Black Panther Party in the Bay Area, California," Journal of Women's History 20, no. 1 (2008), 90-113.
35   Acronym for "COunter INTELligence PROgram", a set of FBI initiatives to surveil, infiltrate and disrupt domestic political organizations the federal government deemed subversive. These groups included feminist and civil rights groups.
36   Stanley Nelson Jr, Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution, Vol. FilmPBS Distribution, 2015)
37   Nancy Fraser describes counterpublic realms as those non-official spheres of discourse created and occupied by marginalized peoples (in critique of Habermasian notions of the bourgeois public). Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," Social Text, no. 25 (1990), 56-80.
38   Ericka Huggins, "An Oral History with Ericka Huggins" Conducted

communalized normally private, domestic activities in public spaces. Most famously, the Free Breakfast for Children Program, which became an informal means for community engagement.[39]

The Black Panthers made housing a central issue in their platform. Point four of the BPP's ten-point program states, "WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS. We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people." Thus, the struggle for an equitable housing process was inseparable from the Panthers' broader goals of collective self determination.

The BPP largely disbanded by the late 70's, due to a combination of internal conflicts and sabotage through COINTELPRO. Their work lived on; in 1973, Panther member Bobby Seale ran for mayor, and Elaine Brown for council member. Today, numerous activist organizations – like Black Lives Matter, continue the Panthers' activism in Oakland and other cities across America.

Incarceration as Enclosure

The Black Panthers fought against the divestment of economic supports, and the entrenchment of the penal state in the city, that, by the 60's had transformed Oakland into an "urban plantation". Increasing the power of its police department was, and continues to be, one of Oakland city officials' primary responses to structural inequality.

In the 1980's and 90's, the urban plantation provided the necessary conditions for the crack epidemic. In a context of disinvestment, East and West Oakland residents seized the opportunities offered by the deadly capitalism of the crack cocaine trade.

The wave of violence resulted in individual fortifications against the commons still visible today (**Fig. 1.34-Fig. 1.40**). Residents fenced their homes off from the streets. Youth curfews were proposed. The state responded through the penal system, with "Tough-on-crime" policies that enforced racially-biased exceptions (which contrast harshly with contemporary state responses to the opioid crisis). The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 mandated a 100:1 ratio

"Through the breakfast program, through the other programs we had- the health program, people come in and talk about how they can't pay their bills, or need childcare…" [46]

46   Emory Douglas, in Stanley Nelson Jr, Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution, Vol. FilmPBS Distribution, 2015)

by Fiona Thompson, 2007 (Berkeley, CA: Oral History Center, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2010).
39   Nelson Jr, Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution 27:02

Enclosures:
Securing the Neighbourhood

Fig. 1.34   Fencing at Allen Temple Baptist Church
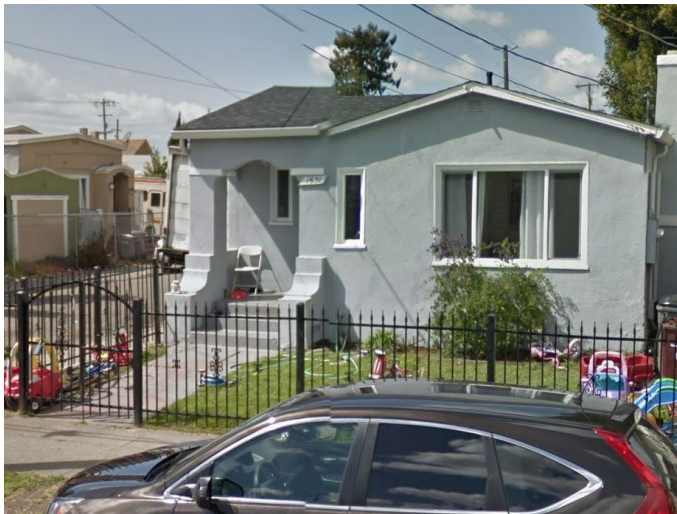
Fig. 1.35   Fenced front yard, with children's toys. Security provided by the fencing sometimes allows everyday life to spill out on the front yard, creating an activated space.

Fig. 1.36   Residential fencing and "Beware of Dog" sign

Fig. 1.38 Fencing around public art at Lakeside Park

Fig. 1.39 Boarded ground floor, International Blvd.

Fig. 1.37 Residential fencing

Fig. 1.40 Security sign on fence

of sentencing for crack cocaine possession compared with powder cocaine possession- enabling a mass-incarceration of Black men. This resulted in harmful multi-generational effects on Black communities in Oakland, fragmenting structures of familial support.

Today, Oakland continues to dedicate a large percentage (41.2%) of its general fund to police expenditures.[40]

Financialization as Enclosure

Financialization of housing, through predatory lending, remains a persistent means of enclosure of domestic space.

In the 1950's and 60's, predatory lending, combined with block-busting tactics reorganized the racial geography of East Oakland. Real-estate agents would purchase a home from a White person at a reduced price, usually by promoting the fear that people of colour will be moving in (thereby leading to reduced property values). They would then sell the same house to Black buyers for up to 20% more than the original asking price[41].

In the late 2000's, predatory lending became a means of extracting maximum profit from commodified homes. A report by Calreinvest found that, in the early 2000's, the largest mortgage lenders in Oakland issued 70% of all high-cost loans within neighbourhoods of colour, and often engaged in racially biased steering practices.[42] **Fig. 1.42** shows that the neighbourhoods with the highest rent burdens were the ones experiencing the highest number of foreclosures.

The foreclosure crisis epitomizes housing as private property. Under a hyper-capitalist lens, the home is not shelter, but rather an alienable commodity that produces wealth solely for the financial institution.

Although the foreclosure crisis is a form of enclosure with less physical causes, its effects- in the form of vacant homes, and disruption to community stability- manifest tangibly within urban space. Boarded windows on foreclosed homes, and the chain-link

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40   Kate Hamaji et al., Freedom to Thrive: Reimagining Safety & Security in our Communities The Center for Popular Democracy,[2017])., data from City of Oakland Budget Office, City of Oakland FY 2015-17 Adopted Policy Budget City of Oakland, 2015), e-96.
41   Self, American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland166
42   Kevin Stein and Nguyen Tram, From Foreclosure to Re-Redlining: How America's Largest Financial Institutions Devastated California Communities (San Francisco, CA: California Reinvestment Coalition,[2010]). See also, CITY OF OAKLAND Vs. WELLS FARGO & CO. 04321 CITY OF OAKLAND vs. WELLS FARGO & CO.3:15, 1 (City of Oakland 2015).

fences (**Fig. 1.41**) erected to protect properties against squatters, trespassers and drug addicts[43], constitute physical enclosures that result from the preservation of the home as a commodity, even post-foreclosure.

By October 2011, 42% of over 10,000 foreclosed properties in Oakland had been purchased by investors, many non-local.[44] (**Fig. 1.43**). The financialization of housing that precipitated the foreclosure crisis transformed the right to the city from a collective right of many Oaklanders, to one owned by the largest financial institutions across the country. This large-scale investor acquisition of dwellings has likely incubated the current displacement crisis. Absentee landlords, generally more concerned with the profitability of their properties than the well-being of their tenants and the local community, are more likely to use a variety of methods to evict tenants, to make room for more affluent newcomers.[45]
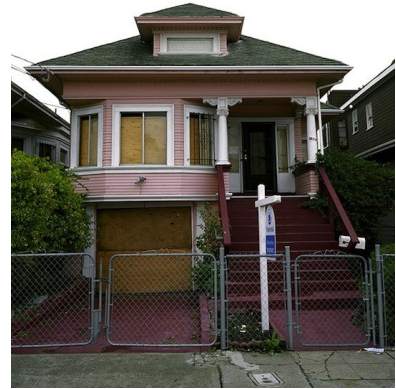
Fig. 1.41 Abandoned foreclosed home with fencing

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43   Carolyn Said, "Vacant Foreclosed Homes Spawn Blight, Crime," SFGateMay 9, 2009.
44   Steve King, Who Owns Your Neighborhood? the Role of Investors in Post-Foreclosure Oakland (Oakland, CA: Urban Strategies Council,[2012]). Who owns your neighbourhood 23
45   P-SPAN #542: East Oakland Listening Session, Video, directed by Peralta Colleges (Oakland: East Oakland Collective, 2016)

Enclosures:
Predatory Lending and the Foreclosure Crisis
Analysis by James Yelen (UC Berkeley, left), and Urban Strategies Council (right)

Fig. 1.42

Number of Foreclosures Per Census Tract

×   2-70

✕   141-211

✕   282-351

Median Proportion of Income Spent on
Housing Costs By Homeowners, 2006 - 2010,
American Community Survey

- 20-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
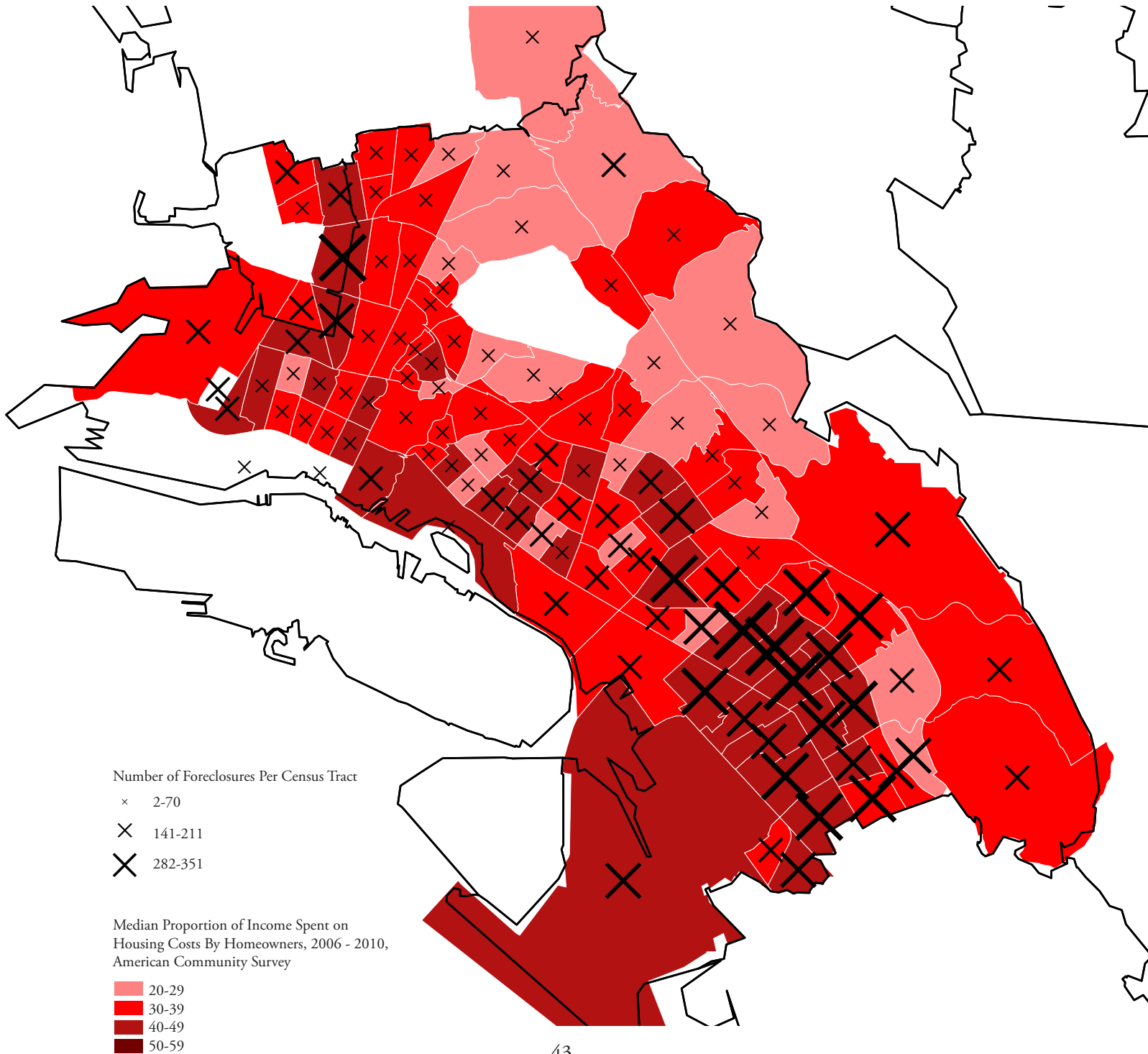
Enclosures:
Foreclosures (top), Investor-Acquired Foreclosures (bottom)

Fig. 1.43
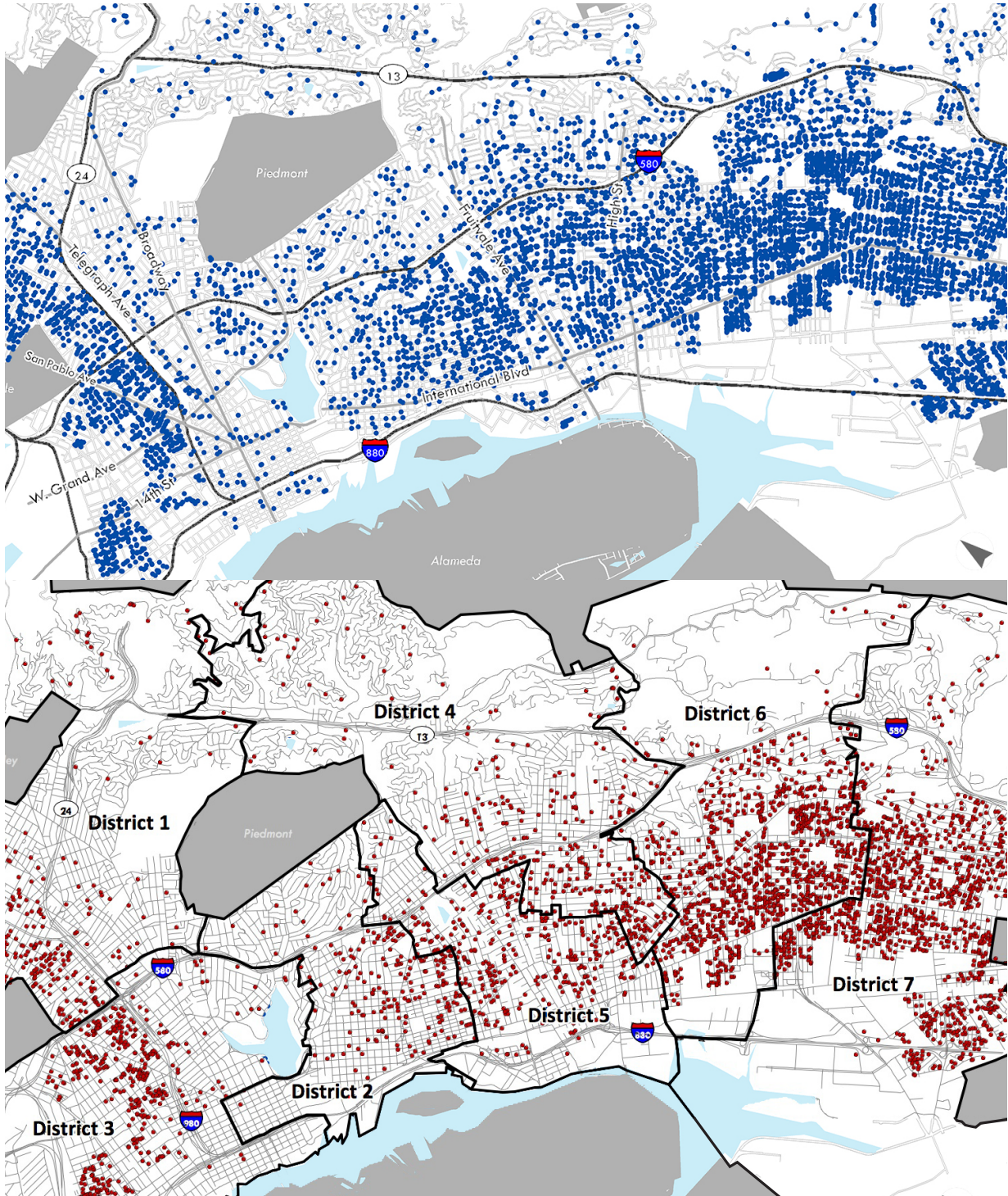
Tech Boom, Gentrification and the Commons

Gentrification is produced by a broader set of actors, than young, wealthy adults seeking an urban lifestyle. Because capital demands that spaces be productive, contemporary political elites in Oakland have consistently sought to prime the city for gentrification, through various redevelopment projects aimed at attracting investment from the tech industry. Jerry Brown, who served as mayor from 1999 to 2007, pursued a policy of aggressive revitalization of Oakland's downtown. Dubbed "Project 10k", and "Jerry-fication" by critics, its objective was to attract 10,000 new residents to the city. Brown instituted a major renovation of Downtown and Uptown landmarks, including the historic Fox theatre.[48] Subsequent mayors have followed suit, with Jean Quan facilitating the transfer of the downtown Sears building to a developer who ultimately sold the site to Uber. The current mayor, Libby Schaaf coined the term, "techquity", to describe the contradictory goals of making the city attractive to tech capital, while requiring companies to contribute funds to the local community. She announced at her swearing in, "Hey, Google: You wouldn't need all those buses if you'd open an office over here."[49] As well, in a 2014 meeting with developers, she also announced that while Oakland is too beautiful to "sell its soul for growth", she promises to make the city "least irritating government in the world" to work with in order to attract "big development in the right places."[50]

Due to these business-positive policies, and perhaps more due to sky-rocketing land costs in San Francisco, tech capital and new development has flooded Oakland in recent years. However, new developments consist mainly of market-rate residences that cater to the more affluent newcomers, many of whom work in the tech industry across the Bay. Marketing materials for these developments tout Oakland –especially West Oakland, for proximity to San Francisco, for its new coffee shops, and for its art, stripped of its

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48   Zusha Elinson, "As Mayor, Brown Remade Oakland's Downtown and Himself," The New York Times Sept 2, 2010.http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/03/us/politics/03bcbrown.html
49   Thomas Fuller, "Who is Libby Schaaf, the Oakland Mayor Who Warned of Immigration Raids?" The New York Times Mar 1, 2018.https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/01/us/oakland-mayor-libby-schaaf.html
50   "Libby Schaaf: Make Oakland Easier for Developers." Bisnow Nov 18, 2014b.https://www.bisnow.com/san-francisco/news/office/Libby-Schaaf-Make-Oakland-Easier-for-Developers-40505

original social meaning (**Fig. 1.49**).

More significantly, these developments lead to more displacement, as landlords raise rents to match the higher potential[51] that could be earned from higher income tenants or sell a property to a developer. With insufficient rent protections in place[52], and, given that the foreclosure crisis resulted in numerous properties being turned over to absentee investor landlords, many residents in Oakland now live in precarious housing conditions. There are instances of landlords deferring maintenance to encourage low-income tenants to leave. As well, landlords sometimes threaten undocumented residents with deportation should they raise complaints.[53] Several studies have demonstrated the adverse health impacts of living in unstable housing situations. For example, children in households at risk of displacement are 20% more likely to be hospitalized, and 25% more likely to experience developmental delays.[54]

The process by which big development moves forward in Oakland is largely opaque.[55] Initial plans and proposals are presented at ticketed events generally inaccessible to the public. Community consultation is often a token act, taking place at the end of the design process[56].

Because of skyrocketing housing costs, many low-income renters, who are frequently people of colour, have been forced to relocate to the Bay Area's outskirts (**Fig. 1.53**). Thus, the affordability crisis creates an urban-scale enclosure, concentrating wealth at the centre and relocating poverty at the peripheries (**Fig. 1.52**), very materially depriving lower income citizens of their right to the city.

Gentrification also destroys the city as a common space. In West Oakland, transit-oriented development links distant enclaves through infrastructure, while generating racial and class tensions locally. The disconnection from the local often prevents the establishment of commoning between gentrifiers and the existing residents.

Figure 2. The depreciation cycle of innercity neighborhoods.
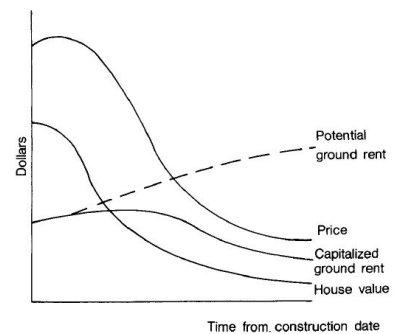
Fig. 1.44 Depreciation of capitalized ground rent and potential ground rent enabling gentrification (diagram by Neil Smith)

"A lot of landlords just don't care, they're doing anything they can to get people out. So, a problem that happened my building, is that I have to pick and choose about when I want to complain about certain issues. Because they can easily say, well your rent is a lot less than someone else's rent, and they're just moving in and boom you get to boot… My building is owned by a large corporation, and I know for a fact that they're booking people for any reason just because they know they can get 2-3 times the rent."[47]

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51   Neil Smith 1954-2012. and Peter Williams 1947-, Gentrification of the City (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986)5.
52   The Costa Hawkins Act of 1995 prevents rent control over certain housing types, like single family homes and newly constructed units. As well, it prohibits vacancy control, meaning that landlords are free to increase rents to new tenants.
53   Kriston Capps, "In California, Landlords Threaten Immigrant Tenants with Deportations," CitylabApr 5, 2017.
54   Megan Sandel et al., "Unstable Housing and Caregiver and Child Health in Renter Families," Pediatrics (2018), e20172199.
55   Member of East Oakland Collective, Interview by the Author, Feb 6, 2018.
56   Ibid.

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47   Ibid.

46

"I can remember when I noticed when something had shifted in West Oakland. The police were always visible. I mean, they were always around in every African American community, but this was completely under surveillance, and with that, people wanted to move... Often the people that move in are looking for a different quality of life than they bought into. They're looking for a middle class, differently educated, differently acculturated group of people. And that isn't what you get when you move into a poor community for a cheap price. You get culture, but if you're afraid of it, you can't see it as that. You see it as other."[57]

In Oakland, this absence of local, place-based trust sometimes results in physical violence towards marginalized communities. Increased policing (**Fig. 1.47**), the bull-dozing of homeless encampments, the implementation of gang injunctions, and bans on un-permitted night-time assembly bolster a sense of security for gentrifiers, by restricting the civil liberties, and right to the city for low-income people of colour.

These consequences complicate narratives that sell increased "livability" as an overriding benefit of gentrification. For instance, protests in gentrifying cities across the world against infrastructural improvements like new bike lanes are proxy battles challenging the construction of environments that support the health of the wealthy, while excluding marginalized people from their same benefits. In Oakland, valid comparisons can be made between plans like the West Oakland Transit Village and International Blvd Bus Rapid Transit Plan, and more blatantly racist projects under Urban Renewal.

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57   Youthradio, West Side Stories, Gentrification in West Oakland, Ericka Huggins, (former Black Panther) Web, .

Fig. 1.45 Anti-gentrification protests, Mission District, San Francisco

Fig. 1.46 Protests against bans on un-permitted night-time protests

Gentrification and Policing

Fig. 1.47
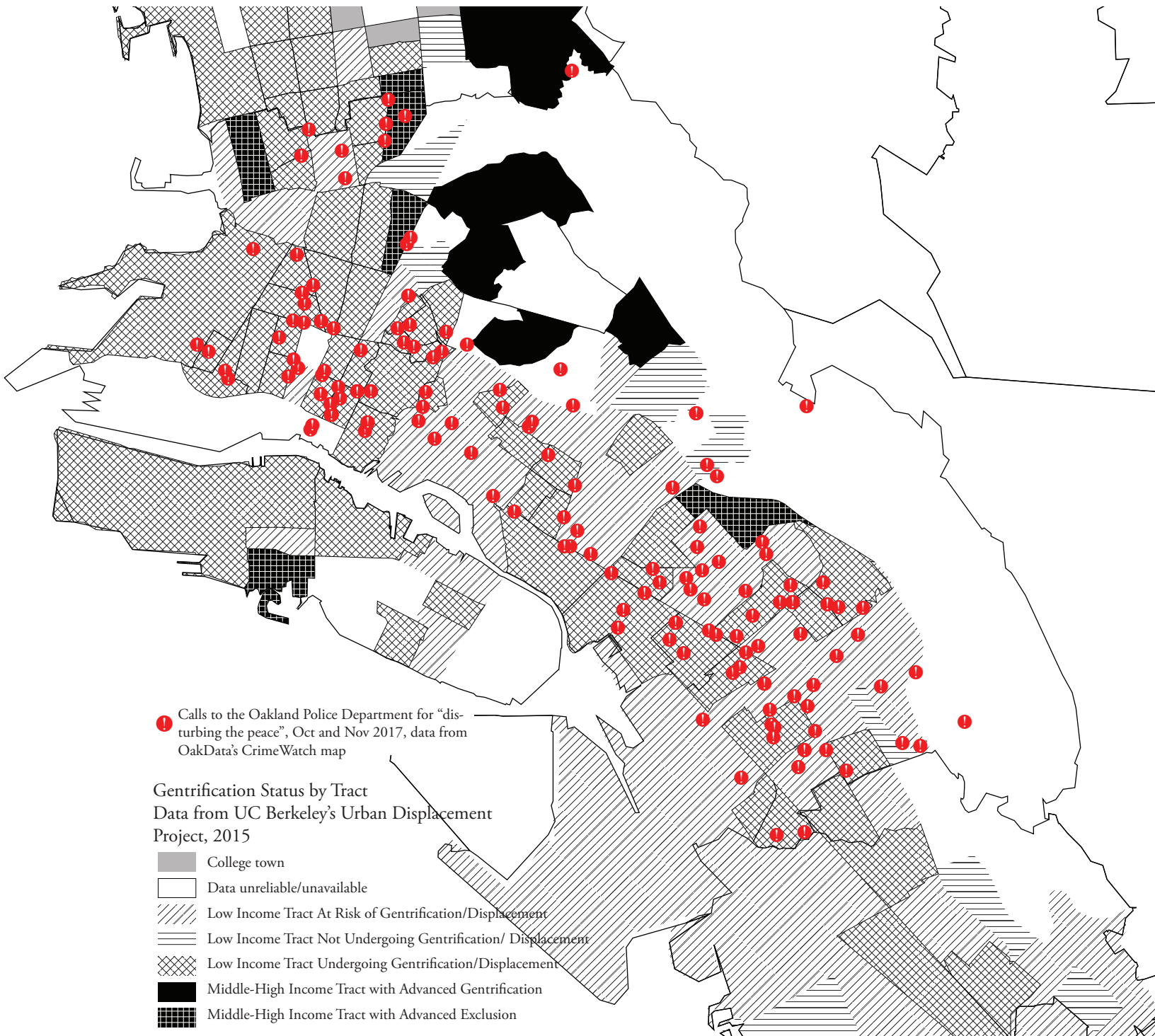
Calls to the Oakland Police Department for "disturbing the peace", Oct and Nov 2017, data from OakData's CrimeWatch map

Gentrification Status by Tract
Data from UC Berkeley's Urban Displacement Project, 2015

College town

Data unreliable/unavailable

Low Income Tract At Risk of Gentrification/Displacement

Low Income Tract Not Undergoing Gentrification/Displacement

Low Income Tract Undergoing Gentrification/Displacement

Middle-High Income Tract with Advanced Gentrification

Middle-High Income Tract with Advanced Exclusion

Marketing Gentrification

Fig. 1.48 Advertisements for Station House (new residential development)

Fig. 1.49 Advertisement for Station House (new residential development)
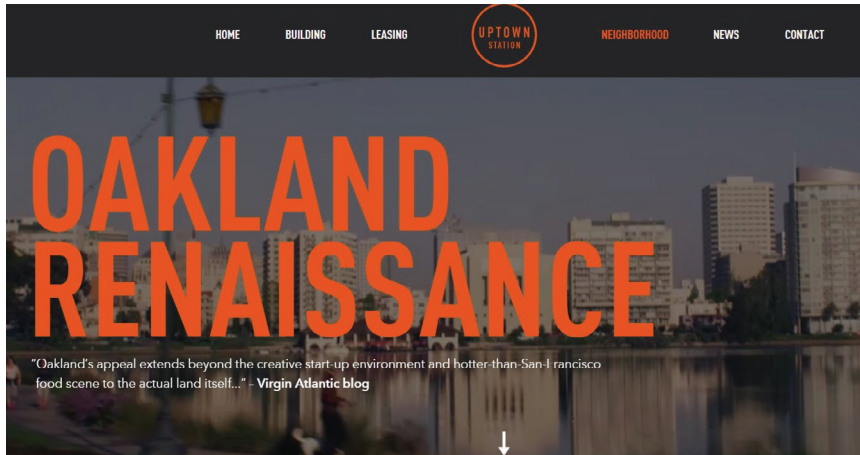
Fig. 1.50 Advertisement for Uptown Station

Fig. 1.51 Advertisement for the Nook (microhousing development)

Gentrification and the "Re-segregation of the Bay Area":
Changes in Poverty, 2000-2014
Fig. 1.52

MAP 4: East Bay Changes in Poverty, 2000-2014

Percentage Point Change in Poverty

- -1.50 - 0.50
- 0.51 - 3.00
- 3.01 - 6.00
- 6.01 - 14.50

Source: Census 2000, American Community Survey 2010-2014
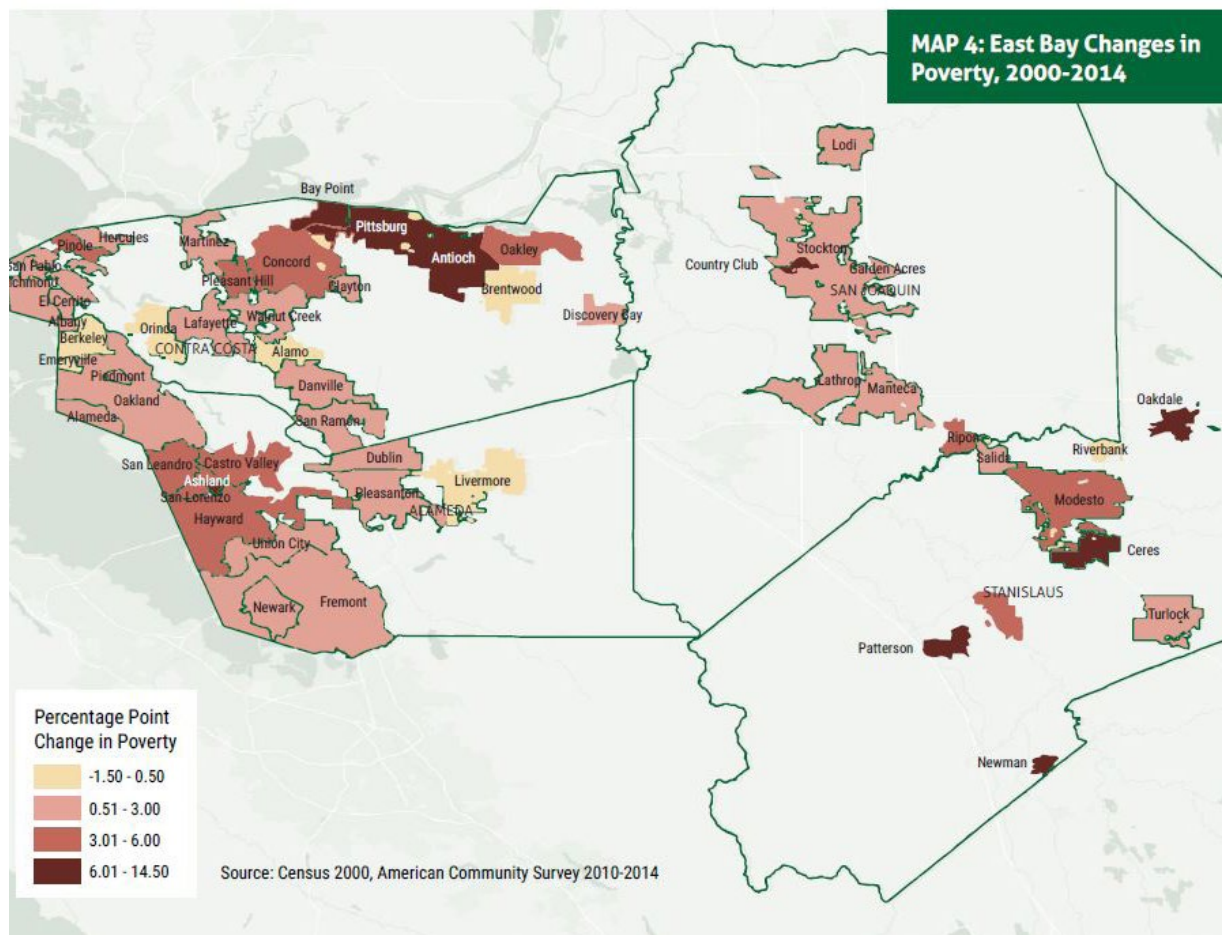
Gentrification and the "Re-segregation of the Bay Area": Changes in Black Population, 2000-2014

Fig. 1.53

MAP 5: Black Population Shifts, 2000-2014

SONOMA
NAPA
SOLANO
MARIN
Vallejo
Richmond
El Cerrito
Berkeley
Emeryville
SAN FRANCISCO
San Francisco
Oakland
Moraga
Antioch
Oakley
Brentwood
CONTRA COSTA
SAN JOAQUIN
Lathrop
San Leandro
Cherryland
San Lorenzo
Dublin
Tracy
ALAMEDA
East Palo Alto
SAN MATEO
Patterson
STANISLAUS
Santa Clara
SANTA CLARA

Largest Black Population Changes
Gains
Losses

Source: Census 2000, American Community Survey 2010-2014

54

2.
A Survey of Affordable Housing Strategies and Tactics

A Survey of Affordable Housing Strategies

Several measures aimed at preserving and producing below-market-rate housing at the local level, combined with existing federal housing programs through HUD do address the current crisis to a limited degree. At the municipal level, the City of Oakland has provided bonds and loans for affordable housing preservation and construction. It has also enacted several developer regulation and incentivization schemes, and is promoting citizen construction of housing, albeit with partial success. Federal programs, through HUD, reveal a shrinking welfare state that is increasingly entrenched in the private market, and reliant upon private investment to supply housing for people of low income.

Although these local and federal programs do provide much needed affordable shelter, they are mostly contingent upon fulfilling investor, landlord or developer demands for profit. Consequently, these schemes sometimes ignore, or worse exacerbate inequality perpetuated by housing as private property

Municipal Programs:
Loans and Grants

To its credit, the city of Oakland has enacted several measures to combat the affordable housing crisis. Notably, in November of 2016, it passed municipal Bond Measure KK, which dedicates funds for the acquisition of properties for affordable housing development. There is also a loan covering pre-development costs for non-profit developers. In addition, the "Naturally Occurring Affordable Housing" (NOAH) Preservation Program provides loans for the acquisition and rehabilitation of homes which have become "naturally"[59] affordable through decades of disinvestment (summarized in the previous chapter).

Developer Regulation and Incentivization
As of September 2016, the city is also now requiring developers

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59   The director of the Oakland Community Land Trust, Steve King problematizes seeing deterioration and deferred maintenance as a natural means and prerequisite for housing affordability: Steve King, "Thoughts on the Unnatural Occurrence of Cheap Housing," Shelterforce, Apr 25, 2017, https://shelterforce.org/2017/04/25/thoughts-unnatural-occurrence-cheap-housing/.

to include an Affordable Housing Impact Fee, to be collected in a trust fund, which will then be made available to eligible projects. Between 2016 and 2017 over $7 million in fees have been collected[60].

There also exists a density bonus to maximize affordable housing development and encourage for-profit developers to contribute to the supply of below-market rate (BMR) units, but the effectiveness has been limited, with most market-rate projects having zero below-market units[61] (**Fig. 2.1**).

As well, California state legislation permits municipalities to enact inclusionary zoning ordinances. Oakland has not yet done so, most likely due to the heavy representation of developers on its planning commission[62].

In neighbouring San Francisco, the inclusionary zoning program has produced a significant quantity of affordable housing. However- the program as currently designed fails to account for San Francisco's drastic income inequality, for it provides an inadequate supply affordable housing for city's large proportion of extremely low-income residents. Furthermore, many projects comply through the fee-payment in-lieu option, failing to address the urgency of the affordable housing shortage (**Fig. 2.2**).

A Critique of Developer Regulation and Incentivization

More broadly, in schemes to incentivize developer contribution to the affordable housing stock, the calculus frequently becomes one of finding balance between maximizing below-market rate units produced, without the requirements being too onerous for developers. Oakland has faced criticism for attempting to lessen the financial responsibility of developers by shifting the definition of "affordable" to include households making up to 120% of Alameda County's Area Median Income (AMI), or $100,350, nearly double the median household income in Oakland ($52,962).[63] Inclusionary zoning programs are similarly

60   City of Oakland, City of Oakland Impact Fee Annual Report for: Affordable Housing, Jobs/Housing, Transportation, & Capital Improvements Impact Fees (Oakland, CA: City of Oakland,[2017]).

61   Density Bonus and Incentive Procedure, Oakland Planning Code (1997): 17.107.010.Oakland Planning Code, 17.107
62   Darwin Bond Graham, "Plans for a 'New' Oakland are Taking Shape, but Existing Residents are Demanding More Equitable Development," East Bay ExpressJun 21, 2017.
63   Darwin Bond Graham, "Housing Groups Slam Proposal to Redefine Affordable Housing in Oakland," East Bay ExpressMar 23, 2016. Alameda

designed to prioritize maximizing developer buy-in, instead of addressing the level of actual demand for affordable housing. When San Francisco mandated that the proportion of required BMR units in larger developments be increased from 12% to 20% in mid- 2017, there was widespread concern that the more stringent requirements would dampen developer interest and thus lead to less housing production.[64] Well-designed regulation and incentivization schemes, while being necessary components of a city's affordable housing strategy, are limited by their contingency upon considerations for developer profit.

The Limitations of Secondary Dwelling Units

Oakland has also relaxed zoning regulations to boost the construction of accessory dwelling units. While this is a much welcome policy change, landlords have little incentive beyond altruism to rent the units out below the market rate, especially given the need to recoup the costs of construction. Thus, the policy is likely to benefit mostly middle-income residents who can afford the cost of renting a market-rate, up-to-code unit[65], or family members of homeowners.

Federal Programs
The Privatization of Public Housing

The bulk of Oakland's public housing projects were constructed in the post-war Urban Renewal period with federal funds from HUD, and are now managed by the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA). They now constitute an important and much needed source of affordable housing for the city. However, with dwindling funding, OHA properties currently suffer from significant lack of maintenance and oversight. In 2007 the city of Oakland even sued the OHA for poor management of the its housing stock.[66]

In recent decades, the stock of public housing in Oakland has decreased significantly, following the long-term trend of the shrinking welfare state. Between 2007 and 2016, the OHA

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county includes higher-income municipalities like Berkeley, San Leandro and Piedmont.
64   Kristy Wang, "SF Makes Sweeping Changes to Affordable Housing Requirements," SpurAug 15, 2017.
65   Red Oak Realty, "Home Truths: Should You Add an Accessory Dwelling Unit to Your Home?" BerkeleysideFeb 8, 2017.http://www.berkeleyside.com/2017/02/08/home-truths-add-accessory-dwelling-unit-home/
66   Christopher Heredia, "Oakland Sues Housing Authority / City Cites Filthy Conditions at Public-Housing Complexes," SFGateFeb 15, 2007.

Proportions of BMR Housing in Oakland's Development Pipeline

Parcels in Development/Construction As of June 2017

Fig. 2.1

Summary of Major Proposed Projects With BMR Units

1.Coliseum Transit Village
Peter Waller / Pyatok Architects
55 BMR Units

2.Foothill School
Pacific West Communities Inc
200 BMR Units

3.1245 23rd Avenue & 2285
International
Satellite Affordable Housing
Associates
37 BMR Units

4.1676 7th St
Elaine Brown
79 BMR Units

5.2201 Brush St
EBALDC
59 BMR Units

6.632 14th St
Robert Hayes Architect
40 BMR Units

7.905 72nd Ave
Resources for Community
Development (RCD)
59 BMR Units

8.Brooklyn Basin Parcel F/FDP
MidPen Housing
1505 BMR Units

Brooklyn Basin (Other Parcels)
465 BMR Units

9.DV11005
Calaveras Housing Partners, LP
28 BMR Units

Legend: Percentage of BMR* Units and Overall Distribution of Proportions of BMR Provision

141
Parcels
with 0 BMR* units/
no information
provided

*Typ. Inclusionary Zoning Ploicy: **Developers to provide 15% units at BMR,** or make payment to affordable housing fund*

12

3

1

0

12

0%/
N/A   1%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%
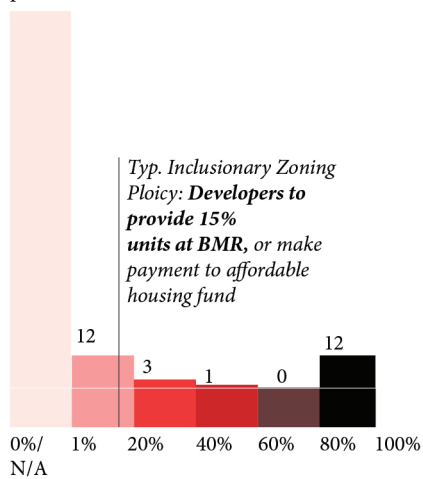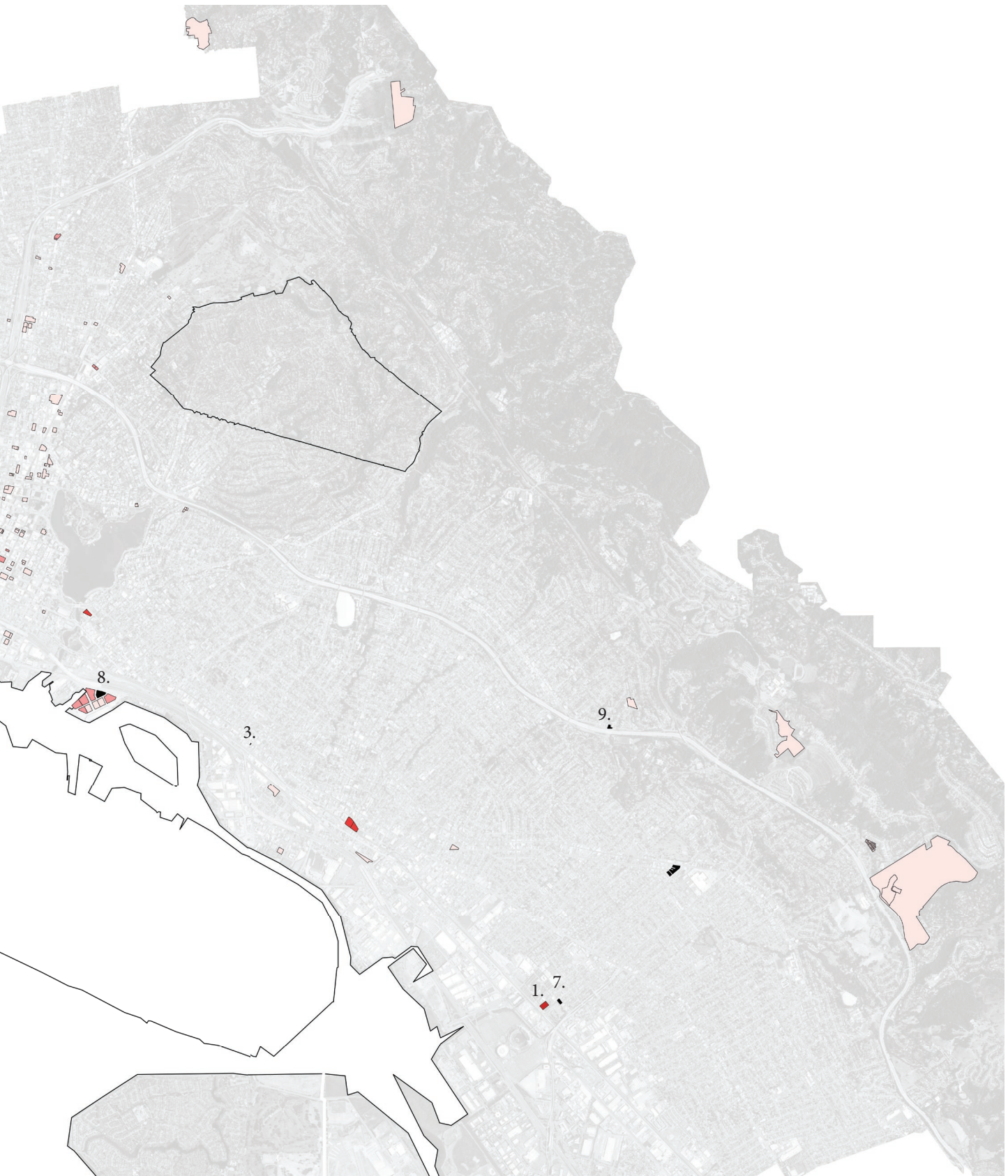
Fig. 2.2
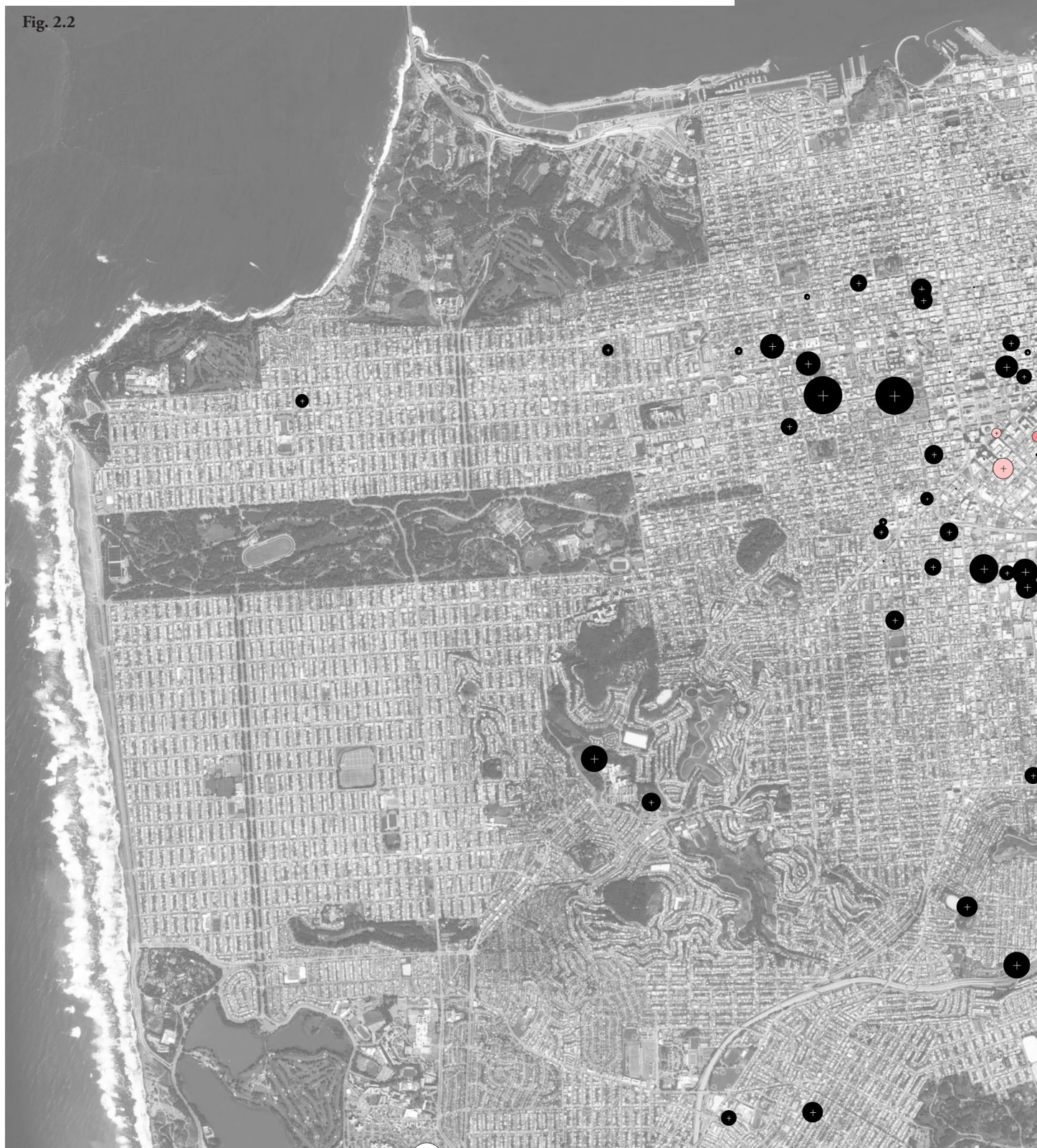
Legend
Number of BMR Units

25   200
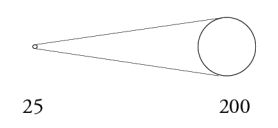
Overall Distribution of Proportions of BMR Provision in Inclusionary Zoning Projects

110

96

All projects with close to 100%
BMR Units are by
non-profit developers.

46
Projects

9   13

2

0%,   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100
Fee
Payment

Projects with >25 units are generally required to
dedicate 20% of those units as BMR- as of 2017.

Analysis

55% AMI
(~$44,400)
-min. 10% of units in
a rental project with
>25 units must be set aside
for low-income households
with <55% AMI

80% AMI
(~$64,550)
-min. 10% of units in
an ownership project with >25 units
must be set aside for low-income
households with<80% AMI

Distribution of Inclusionary Housing Units by Affordability

Income
Required
for Housing   20   30   50   60   90   100   >120
Unit (% AMI)   (~$16,150) (~$24, 200)   (~$40 350)   (~$48,400) (~$72,650)(~$80,700) (~$96,850)
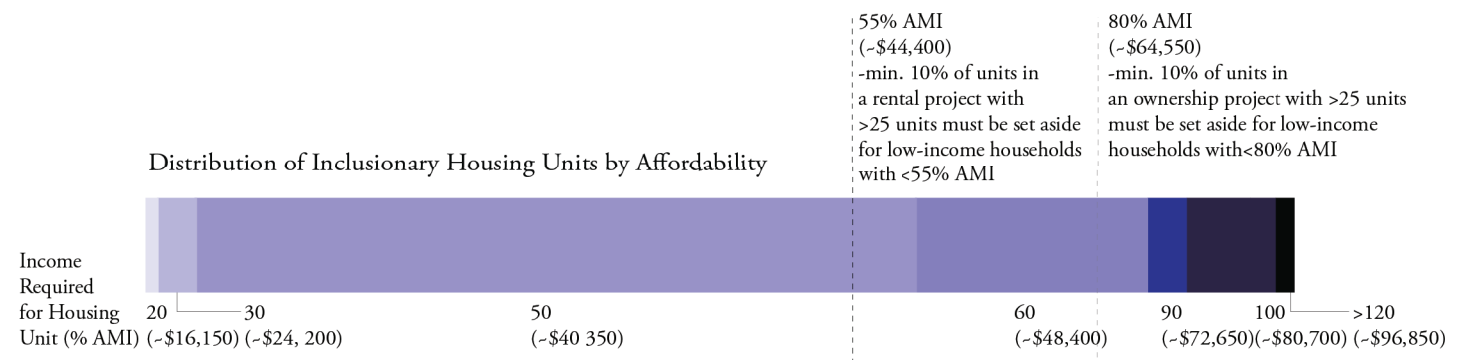
Actual San Francisco Household Income Distribution
Adapted from statisticatlas.com, data from 2013 American Community Survey

Household
Income $0 $15 000 $30 000 $45000 $60000 $75000   >$100 000

62

disposed of 1262 units of public housing. These units were either sold to private owners who entered into contracts with HUD to provide low-income housing in exchange for subsidies (under the section 8 project-based voucher program), or to third party non-profits, which also often contract management out to private organizations.[67]

Renovation of public housing in Oakland has been imbricated with schemes to redevelop communities to attract private capital, sometimes to the detriment of existing residents. In the 1990's and 2000's several OHA properties were demolished and redeveloped under HOPE VI. One such site, Mandela Gateway in West Oakland was envisioned to be a "catalyst project" with "the potential to attract and support new, private-sector development that furthers the dynamic of a 'transit village,'" and "introduce a critical mass of strategic new uses and to make a significant change in the visual character of the transit village center."[68]

The architecture of the new Mandela Gateway project constitutes much-needed improvements over the existing public housing complex, while also expressing a changed "visual character" for the neighbourhood. However, the redevelopment process resulted in the displacement of the some of the housing project's most vulnerable tenants. Although the OHA mandated a 1:1 replacement ratio for all demolished units, only 13 of the original 46 tenant households returned. This was perhaps due to more detailed screening policies which deterred "the type of tenants who created an image and reality of poverty and distress,"[69] who were deemed to be unfit for the area's new character.

Today, public housing in Oakland continues to be significantly under-resourced, especially as the Trump administration slashes funding for HUD. The public housing wait-list in Oakland is currently at 10 933 households long, and closed to new applicants.

"No Section 8"

The section 8 Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program is the

67   Oakland Housing Authority, Fiscal Year 2016 MTW Annual Report (Oakland: Oakland Housing Authority,[2016])., Oakland Housing Authority, Making Transitions Work, Annual Report FY 2007 (Oakland: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development,[2007]).
68   Michael Willis Architects et al., West Oakland Transit Village Action Report (Oakland, CA: City of Oakland,[2001]).
69   Carrie Ann Vanderford, Realities and Perceptions: HOPE VI Poverty Deconcentration and Implications for Broader Neighborhood Revitalization (2006).

largest program of affordable housing provision for low-income Americans, in Oakland and nationally. HCV's subsidize the difference between 30% of the family's income, and the fair market rent (FMR[70]) in the local market.

The primary weakness of section 8 is that it is highly subject to market volatility. HCV holders currently face significant competition with higher income residents for housing on the private market. In most cases landlords are able charge more for rent from someone without a voucher, without having to submit to the regulations and inspections required to participate in the HCV program. Consequently, some ads for rental housing now feature the note, "No Section 8".[71]

One of the HCV program's goals is to decrease income and racial segregation by providing low-income families with the financial support to wealthier neighbourhoods. In Oakland, the actual impact of this has been less than anticipated. In middle and higher-income neighbourhoods, few landlords are willing to rent out to voucher holders.[72] [73]

Similar to public housing, under the Trump administration, cuts to HUD mean significant decreases in funding for section 8. Currently the waiting list for HCV's in Oakland is at over 16 000 households long[74].

Investment and Affordable Housing Development Low income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC)

Introduced in 1986, the LIHTC constitutes the single largest source of funding for affordable housing development in the Bay Area and the United States. Until the foreclosure crisis of 2008, the LIHTC was considered one of the most successful programs for funding affordable housing development, largely because it "overhauled the politics of low-income housing in the United States

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70   Schwartz, Housing Policy in the United States 178 HUD defines FMR as the 50th percentile of rent values in the area. The section 8 program also covers up to 120% of FMR.
71   Tammerlin Drummond, "Red Hot Bay Area Housing Puts Big Chill on Section 8," East Bay TimesJune 17, 2016, . https://www.eastbaytimes.com/2016/06/17/red-hot-bay-area-housing-puts-big-chill-on-section-8/
72   David P. Varady and Carole C. Walker, "Housing Vouchers and Residential Mobility," Journal of Planning Literature 18, no. 1 (08/01; 2018/03, 2003), 17-30.
73   David Varady and Carole C. Walker, Case Study for Section 8 Rental Vouchers and Rental Certificates in Alameda County, CaliforniaRutgers University, Center for Urban Policy Research, 2000).
74   Oakland Housing Authority, Fiscal Year 2016 MTW Annual Report

Figure 13: **DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES WEST OAKLAND TRANSIT VILLAGE**

471 Ninth Street
Oakland, CA
94607
tel: (510) 287 9710
fax: (510) 287 9713

Michael
Willis
Architects

N

Fig. 2.3   Map from West Oakland Development Action Report showing the Mandela Gateway as "Catayst Site"

Fig. 2.4   Westwood Gardens (Mandela Gateway before HOPE VI redevelopment)

Fig. 2.5   Mandela Gateway (After HOPE VI redevelopment)

65

by gaining credence with profit developers."[75]

Under LIHTC, developers "sell" tax credits (a reduction on federal income taxes- for example, at 80 cents per $1.00 tax reduction) to investors and syndicates to cover development, acquisition, construction or redevelopment costs. Investors then receive credits for a 10-year period, provided that the project remains affordable for 15 years.

One of LIHTC's greatest vulnerabilities is its reliance on large investors to fund development. At times of financial crisis, for example, the Great Recession, there is low demand from financial institutions for investment in tax credits. Today, as the Trump administration slashes corporate tax rates, demand for LIHTC has decreased. Post-election, the value of LIHTC's fell by 10%[76].

Moreover, LIHTC has been criticized for lacking oversight, and being an inefficient form of funding, with a substantial proportion of the subsidy going into transaction costs (**Fig. 2.6)**. As well, past the 15 years, some projects are at risk of converting to market rate rentals (though many states and local governments have modified the program to extend the compliance period), and many have insufficient reserve funds for maintenance.[77]

Thus far, top-down initiatives from federal and municipal authorities have had limited impact on addressing the affordability crisis. Measures such as section 8, and Oakland's secondary dwelling unit incentives, fail to account for class and racial delineations in the domestic landscape. In market-based incentives such as the LIHTC and inclusionary zoning, housing continues to be an alienated commodity that investors and developers extract profit from.

A Critique of Tactical Approaches

Faced with the dearth of institutional and market-provided options for affordable housing, the consequence has been a rise in homelessness, and people living in overcrowded, under-maintained, precarious housing.

Design discourse sometimes fetishizes these "tactical" means

75   Kristin Niver, "Changing the Face of Urban America: Assessing the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit," Virginia Law Review 102 (2016), 48.
76   Josh Cohen, "Trump Tax Promise is Already Affecting Affordable Housing," NextCityJan 26, 2017.
77   Schwartz, Housing Policy in the United States121

Figure 2: Typical Legal Structure for Investment in a Syndicated LIHTC-Equity Fund

Upper-tier investment partnership

Syndicator
Organizer and general partner of investment fund

LIHTC investor
Limited partner in investment fund

LIHTC investor
Limited partner in investment fund

Equity — LIHTCs and other tax benefits — Equity — LIHTCs and other tax benefits

Investment fund
Limited partner or limited liability corporation
General partner or managing member: 0.01%
Limited partner(s) or member(s): 99.99%

Equity — LIHTCs and other tax benefits — Equity — LIHTCs and other tax benefits — Equity — LIHTCs and other tax benefits

Lower-tier project partnerships

Project developer
General partner in affordable housing project 1

Investment fund
Limited partner in affordable housing project 1

Project developer
General partner in affordable housing project 2

Investment fund
Limited partner in affordable housing project 2

Project developer
General partner in affordable housing project 3

Investment fund
Limited partner in affordable housing project 3

Application for LIHTCs

Housing credit agency

Allocation of LIHTCs

Equity — LIHTCs and other tax benefits — Equity — LIHTCs and other tax benefits — Equity — LIHTCs and other tax benefits

Affordable housing project 1
General partner or managing member: 0.01%
Limited partner(s) or member(s): 99.99%

Affordable housing project 2
General partner or managing member: 0.01%
Limited partner(s) or member(s): 99.99%

Affordable housing project 3
General partner or managing member: 0.01%
Limited partner(s) or member(s): 99.99%

Fig. 2.6 LIHTC Structure

by which people living in poverty attempt to survive (**Fig. 2.9**). Magazines tout mobile shelters, tiny houses, granny flats or micro-apartments as solutions for more affordable living in themselves. While formally ingenious, these projects work within the constraints of space and material imposed by the conditions of the crisis[78] - and characterize the problem of affordability as one of inadequate density, poor design, or high construction cost. They ignore the decades of enclosures leading to the present level of inequality, and accept the commodification of housing as inevitable.

However, this is not to say that tactical actions never challenge existing relations of property. In Oakland, collective, creative, counterpublic movements by the houseless – for example, by the Village, First They Came for the Homeless, and the Two-Three Hunid Ohlone Village[79], assert the right of the un-housed to claim their right to the city. These movements expand the idea of property to include of sweat equity and direct participation in managing housing. Land Action and Occupy Oakland have advanced the fight for the legal recognition of adverse possession (squatter's rights). Poor Magazine is currently self- constructing a 10-unit housing project for houseless and formerly houseless families[80].

How can these actions pose larger-scale challenges to the current hyper-capitalist modes of housing provision? The following chapter explores the community land trust, as an institution for realizing greater community control over housing and development.

Fig. 2.7 (top)   Homeless encampment at Wood St in West Oakland with RV's

Fig. 2.8 (above)   Clearing of homeless encampment by Caltrans

Fig. 2.9   "Outcampn in the city", a co-working space in San Francisco. Here, RV's are commodified as office spaces for rent at $11/ two hours.

78   Neil Brenner provides a good critique of tactical urbanism in an article on MoMA's Uneven Growth exhibit. Neil Brenner, "Is 'Tactical Urbanism'an Alternative to Neoliberal Urbanism?| Post," Post: Notes on Modern & Contemporary Art Around the Globe (2015).
79   Darwin Bond Graham, "'The Village' is Helping Build a Self-Organized Homeless Camp in East Oakland," East Bay Express.
80   PNN-KEXU Degentrification Tour, Video, directed by Poor News Network/Prensa POBRE (Oakland, CA: Poor News Network/, 2017)https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FkeiQS4r15U

FLOOR PLAN A

STUDIO / 1 BATHROOM
189 SQ FT
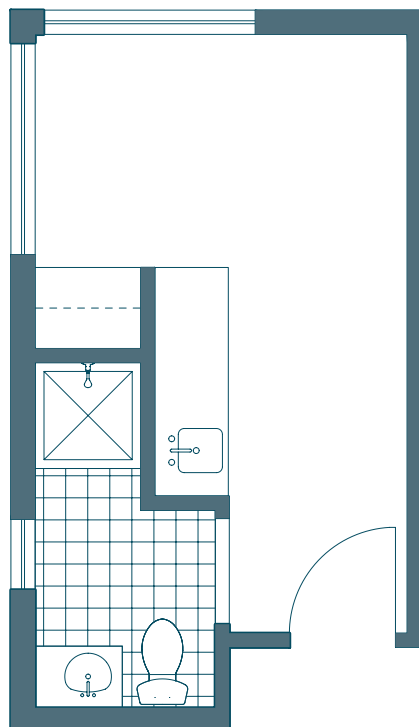
Fig. 2.10   Floorplan for a studio unit in Nook on Valdez, a micro-housing
development. The units rent out from $1550/month and up,
demonstrating that a reduction of floor space does not necessarily lead to an
equal reduction in price.

Fig. 2.11 The Village Houseless encampment, in 2016
An encampment of temporary tiny-house shelters constructed by
houseless people and volunteers.

3.
The CLT: An Institution for Making Housing in the Commons

CLT Structure

In recent years, community land trusts (CLT's) have gained popularity as a model for preserving housing affordability. Under the CLT model, a non-profit organization holds land in perpetuity so that it is permanently removed from market speculation. Structural improvements on the land like buildings are owned separately by individual households or groups, who sign a ground lease granting use privileges for the land.

The CLT's governance structure purports to be open and democratic, giving residents greater agency over the management of their housing.   Membership in the CLT is open to all residents, as well adults of the surrounding neighbourhood served by the land trust. The majority of the organization's board of directors are elected by the members of the CLT from its membership. Typically, local residents comprise two-thirds of a CLT's board. [81]

As a flexible form of ownership, the CLT model has been applied to preserve affordable housing, as well as commercial and open spaces (ex. community gardens) serving low-income communities.

CLT's acquire land through a variety of means- including, but not limited to, working with local municipal or county governments, purchasing foreclosed properties, land donations, or partnering with residents at risk of displacement to remove their property from the market. Other financing sources include foundation support, municipal bonds, loans from community development financial institution (CDFI's)[82] and income from ground leases.

Origins

The community land trust model drew upon a variety of global precedents of communities on leased land, from Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities from the early 20th century, to single-tax communities in the United States modeled upon the 19th century political and economic philosophies of Henry George, to kibbutzim

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81   "Federal Definition of "Community Land Trust"."The Community Land Trust Reader, ed. John Emmeus Davis (Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1992), 257.
82   Sarah Trent, "In Oakland, Community-Owned Real Estate is Bucking Gentrification Trend," LocavestingMar 12, 2018.

(co-operative agricultural communities established through the Jewish National Fund) and Gramdan villages in India.[83]

One of the first iterations of the CLT, New Communities Inc., near Albany, Georgia was founded by Robert Swann, Slater King (cousin of Martin Luther King Jr) and civil rights leaders Charles and Shirley Sherrod, in response to the practical need of Black share-croppers to secure self-governed land in the deep south.[84]

<u>Current Development and Political Clout</u>

Today, there are over 250 CLT organizations across the United States, with several operating in Oakland[85]. (**Fig. 3.1**). CLT's have also gained political clout. In California, they have successfully advocated for decoupling property tax assessments from the market value of CLT properties[86]. At the municipal level, land trusts have developed programs for acquiring properties in co-operation with city governments. For example, the San Francisco Community Land Trust has worked with the city of San Francisco to create a Small Sites Acquisition[87] program for removing small multifamily developments from the market. The Oakland CLT is working to develop legislation giving tenants the priority to purchase a property when a landlords decides to sell.[88] In Boston, The Dudley Street Neighbourhood Initiative has even acquired the right of eminent domain over vacant parcels of privately owned land.[89]

As well, Indigenous groups in Oakland and globally have appropriated the CLT model for decolonization efforts. In Oakland, the Sogorea Te CLT – recently returned two acres of land to native governance. For the Ohlone, a tribe currently without federal recognition, to regain control over land is to challenge state racism, and to reclaim identity, for, "the United states government, through federal recognition, decides who is Indian and who is not,

83   John Emmeus Davis, "Origins and Evolution of the Community Land Trust in the United States," The Community Land Trust Reader 1, no. 4 (2010b).
84   Ibid.
85   Emily Thaden, "Results of the 2011 Comprehensive CLT Survey," Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press.Retrieved December 12 (2012), 2013.
86   Member of Bay Area Community Land Trust, Interview with Author, Jun 06, 2017.
87   "San Francisco Community Land Trust - Home Page," , accessed Mar 25, 2018, http://sfclt.org/index.php.
88   Sarah Trent, "In Oakland, Community-Owned Real Estate is Bucking Gentrification Trend," LocavestingMar 12, 2018.
89   Elizabeth A. Taylor, "Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative and the Power of Eminent Domain, The," BCL Rev. 36 (1994), 1061.

Ninth
St. Co-op

23rd Ave. Building
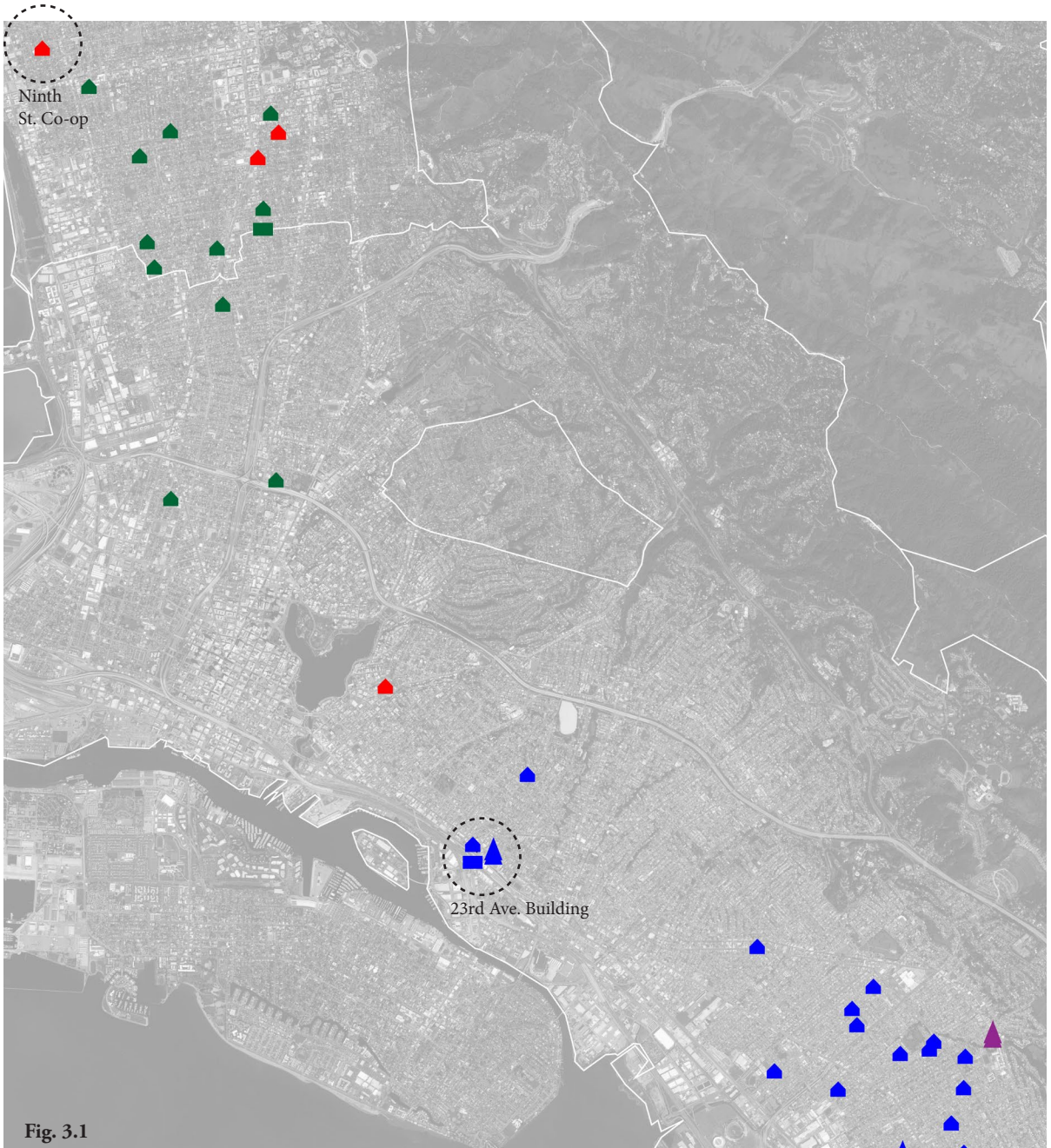
Fig. 3.1

CLT Sites in the East Bay

△ Housing   △ Garden   ☐ Commercial

🔺 Bay Area Community Land Trust

🔺 Oakland Community Land Trust

🔺 Northern California Community Land Trust

🔺 Sacred Community Land Trust

🔺 Sogorea Te Community land Trust

and who deserves land and who doesn't."[90]

The CLT As an Institution for the Commons

The CLT is not a panacea for the housing crisis. In conjunction with broad changes to housing policy, it should be explored along with a thousand other alternative models of affordable housing provision.

As well, in practice, CLT's face significant financial challenges, with regards to acquiring properties in an expensive market. Moreover, the organizations sometimes fall short of realizing a high level of community participation and democratic self-governance. Board members often take on most of the organizing work. For example, the Oakland Community Land Trust, allows residents to engage as much, (or as little) as they want in the organization. This makes the CLT a less foreign model of housing provision, but potentially also less participatory. [91] [92]

Additionally, CLTs' reliance on grant funding from larger foundations places it at risk of complicity with the "non-profit industrial complex", and potentially hampers its radicalism.[93]

However, there are efforts in Oakland to build variations of the CLT model which accommodate more grass-roots means of fundraising. The People of Color Sustainable Housing Network (POCSHN) is collaborating with the Sustainable Economies Law Centre on creating a "Permanent Real-estate Co-operative" model. Under this model, a self-organized group raises capital for site acquisition by encouraging local residents to loan to the project through purchasing PREC shares ($50- $1000), that accumulate a small amount of interest over time. Once a property is purchased, the PREC limits re-sale prices through various means (ex. deed restrictions, co-ownership with CLT's). POCSHN is also developing a Community Co-ownership Initiative with the Northern California CLT, to educate and train residents at risk of

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90   Expanding the Frame: Multiple Perspectives on Gentrification in Oakland, Video, directed by Trisha Barua (Oakland, CA: The "Oakland School" of Urban Studies, 2016)
91   Sustainable Economies Law Centre and People of Color Sustainable Housing Network, "Permanent Real Estate Cooperatives: The Basics and FAQ" Sustainable Economies Law Centre, Oakland, 2017).
92   James Yelen, Community Land Trusts as Neighborhood Stabilization: A Case Study of Oakland and Beyond; Professional Report... (2017). James Yelen's thesis.
93   Andrea Del Moral, "The Revolution Will Not be Funded," LiP Magazine 4 (2005)8.

displacement in options for collective ownership and management.

"Land", "Trust"

This thesis argues that the CLT can be an institution for housing in the commons because of its intrinsic and enduring focus of land as a common good, to be shared with, stewarded, and shaped by the community.

The etymology of "community land trust" reveals its ideological aspirations to serve as a steward of the commons. "Trust" connotes a fiduciary role. Land trust pioneer Ralph Borsodi used the word "trusterty" to refer to a relationship to land based on responsibility:

> "if every trace of ownership is eliminated from them, they should be treated as a trust, a responsibility, or as a sacred obligation. Such is the case when a man or woman says 'my child' or when a child says 'my father' or 'my mother' and when anybody says 'our town' or 'our country'…"[94]

Everyday tasks of stewarding CLT space– for example, tending a community garden, helping with a house renovation – constitute acts of commoning.

As well, Borsodi adds:

> "Land which is owned today often is, in effect, stolen trusterty. Read the history of how the U.S. government first acquired title to the land it is now granting to privileged people and corporations, land to which it obtained title only under law of conquest. Even when the Indians signed treaties at the point of the white man's guns, they insisted that they had no right to 'sell' the land. Land, they said, 'cannot be sold; it is a gift of the great spirit to them and to their children to use, not to sell."[95]

The preservation of land as a common good to be shared for posterity is a guiding value for land trusts. For example, the Sogorea Te land trust envisions a network of undeveloped parcels, that can provide a space for the Ohlone to teach ritual and traditional stewardship practices to future generations, and serve as a space for all to reconnect with local ecology.[96]

"We try to avoid the term ownership because it sort of implies, when we sell we can make a lot of profit. We tend to talk more about stewardship, which is a term land trusts use a lot. In our case it really refers to- you live in a place as long as you want, but your responsibility is to make sure that the property is maintained, and when you move out, it's in better shape than when you moved in."[100]

100   Member of Bay Area Community Land Trust, Interview with Author, Jun 06, 2017.

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94   Ralph Borsodi, "The Possessional Problem," in The Community Land Trust Reader, ed. John Emmeus Davis (Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1978)139.
95   Ibid.
96   "Our Vision | Sogorea Te' Land Trust," Sogorea Te' Land Trust, , accessed Mar 25, 2018, http://sogoreate-landtrust.com/our-vision/.

CLT's steward land to preserve housing affordability, rather than treating land as a means for generating short-term profit. Although independent efforts (for example, limited equity co-ops) do keep housing affordable, the CLT structure formalizes and preserves affordability more permanently.

In practice, the Oakland CLT had ideological debates with the city on the comparative values of private ownership versus stewardship, when requesting federal Neighbourhood Stabilization Funds (NSP) funds to acquire foreclosed properties during the Great Recession. Council members questioned why people of colour, historically denied the benefits of passive income from property ownership, should continue to be denied those same privileges under the CLT model[97]. Oakland CLT argued that under the CLT model, affordable housing can be shared with, and collectively governed by future generations of Oakland residents, as opposed to a benefitting a few new homeowners at the current point in time. By allowing people to occupy, but not profit from housing (in the process, making it more exclusive), CLT's steward housing as a common good, ensuring that marginalized people can claim their right to the city, participating and contributing to the urban commons in perpetuity.

<u>"Community"</u>

If the land trust isolates itself from its surrounding neighbourhood, it risks becoming a privatized enclave. Robert Swann, a pioneer of the land trust model, describes the importance of "community" to the land trust thus:

> "…I thought that if people could join [the CLT] from all around, then you could build it into a real educational element, not just an enclave of people getting together for their own benefit to hold land. It is also a fact that all other attempts have failed because they took merely the approach of taking over land and then subdividing it into smaller ownership units for the larger population."[98]

A community land trust that solely preserves and improves space for a few, fails expand a structure for commoning, and perpetuates the enclosure of domestic space. Conversely, CLT's that engage in organizing can bridge the frequently dissociated relationship between "community development", which is focused on building the physical components of dwelling space, and "community organizing", focused on building collective power towards self-

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97   Member of Oakland CLT, Interview with Author, Jun 7, 2017.
98   John Emmeus Davis, The Community Land Trust ReaderLincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2010a)236.

determination[99], that exists in American housing politics.

Further, co-operation with local grassroots organizations is an important means by which land trusts reclaim more land from the market. This emphasis on a more collective approach distinguishes community land trust model from other similar modes affordable housing preservation (such as Hello Housing, in the East Bay which operates by enforcing resale restrictions only).

"People said when they walk in the [CLT] office there's no one there to say "good evening." When you want to talk [to] somebody, they're too busy. That's not community organizing. You gotta have enough staff to be able to handle. This organization has grown twofold from the time I was here. It's grown as far as houses, but it has not built the community, has not empowered the community, it's only fixed up houses. That's all I gotta say"[101]

"I have some concerns about, because we're not doing the community organizing piece anymore, so it's like all the work that's been put in has things starting to go back in a different direction. And I understand that a lot of it has to come from community people, but a lot of times people need somebody to nudge them along, and they don't have anyone right now that's doing that, so it's starting to revert back to a lot of negativity . . . towards the CLT, and there are just, there's a big problem with the African American male [being harassed by police]"[102]

99   Karen A. Gray and Mugdha Galande, "Keeping "community" in a Community Land Trust," Social Work Research 35, no. 4 (2011), 241-248.

101   Ibid., Resident voices on the importance of community engagement by CLT's, remarking on the decreasing level of community organizing on the part of the Durham CLT (North Carolina)
102   Ibid.

Case Studies:
Community Land Trust Sites in the East Bay

Bay Area Community Land Trust

The BACLT was incorporated in 2006 by a group of community activists and housing co-op members. Most of its sites are in south Berkeley. BACLT favours higher density, co-operative forms of ownership which allow people of lower income, or poorer credit, to obtain housing more easily (than, for example, condominium ownership). Specifically, BACLT focuses on limited equity co-ops- where each individual owns a share of the total improvements on the site, which appreciates according to a set rate. BACLT also provides consulting services for other co-ops and CLT's.

BACLT'S community engagement efforts mostly occur through their website and social media. Representatives also speak at conferences, to university audiences, or at public training sessions to promote the model[103].

9th st Co-op

The author visited the 9th st Co-op, one of BACLT's three established housing sites. 9th St Co-op is a limited equity co-op, formed in 1986 by tenants who purchased the property. It joined the BACLT in 2015. Residents currently pay between $430 to $690 per month in ground lease, and own shares valued at around $5500 each[104].

The buildings on the site were originally constructed as wartime housing in 1943, and consist of five individual units clustered around a central green space. Since the formation of the co-op, one unit was recently remodeled into a two-bedroom unit, after the family there had a child. Residents have also installed solar panels, and planted many more trees and vegetables since purchasing the property.

There is a vegetable garden managed mostly by two of the residents; however, its products are shared between all. Members spend approximately 12 hours each month on a rotating set of chores

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103   Member of Bay Area Community Land Trust, Interview with Author, Jun 06, 2017.
104   "Projects - Ninth Street Co-Op," Bay Area Community Land Trust, , accessed Mar 25, 2018, http://www.bayareaclt.org/projects/ninth_street_co-op.php.; Member of Bay Area Community Land Trust, Interview with Author,

such as tending chickens, making repairs or bookkeeping.[105] There
are also monthly meetings, held on a rotating basis in each of
the members' units. Each unit also has private outdoor space,
which is connected to that of an adjacent unit, as well as the larger
courtyard.

In earlier years of the co-op, the courtyard served as a space for
annual neighbourhood gatherings, however in recent years these
events have not been held as frequently. The co-op has also
applied to have the site listed as an emergency refuge place for the
neighbourhood, in the event of a natural disaster.

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105   Judith Scherr, "Berkeley: Runaway Housing Costs make Co-Ops
Attractive," The Mercury NewsMar 11, 2015.

0m   20m

Fig. 3.2   Ninth St Co-op, context plan

Fig. 3.3   Ninth St Co-op, view west at entrance

Fig. 3.4   Ninth St Co-op, view west at sidewalk

Ninth St Co-op
Ground Floor Plan, 1:200

Fig. 3.5

Legend
1. Studio unit
2. Two bedroom unit
3. One bedroom unit
4. One bedroom unit
5. One bedroom unit
6. Garage
7. Central gathering space
8. Vegetable garden
9. Shed
10. Fruit trees
11. Berries
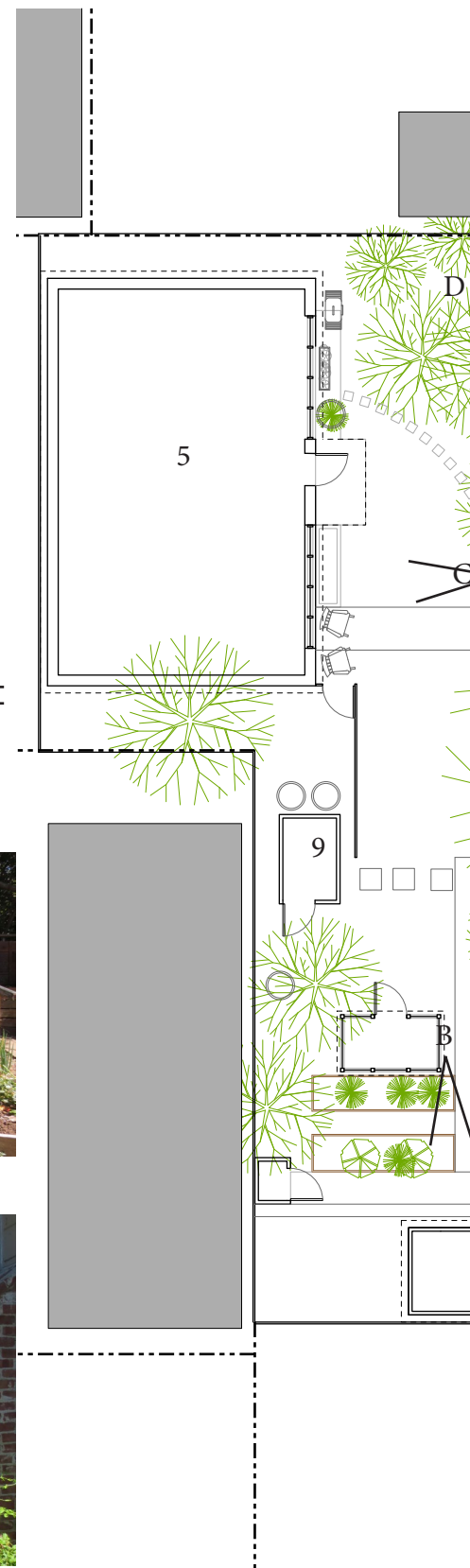
Fig. 3.10

Fig. 3.11

A.
Fig. 3.6   individual outdoor space

B.
Fig. 3.7   vegetable garden/chickens

C.
Fig. 3.8   individual outdoor space

D.
Fig. 3.9   individual outdoor space

1

2

6

7

10

11

8

3

4

6

A

9

A

Ninth St

Ninth St Co-op
Photographic Sections

One-bedroom unit renovated to a two
-bedroom unit

Fig. 3.10

Shared toolshed

Private garden area, typ.

Fig. 3.11

One-bedroom unit renovated to
studio apartment

Fruit trees and garden added by
residents

Solar panel
(beyond, typ.
for each unit)

Garden, greenhouse, chicken coop, added by residents
(managed mostly by two residents, products shared
with all)

Ninth St. Co-op
Shared Spaces: within CLT/ with the community

Fig. 3.12

Legend

☐ community space   ▽ entrance

▨ community/residents

▨ residents (shared)

■ residents (private)
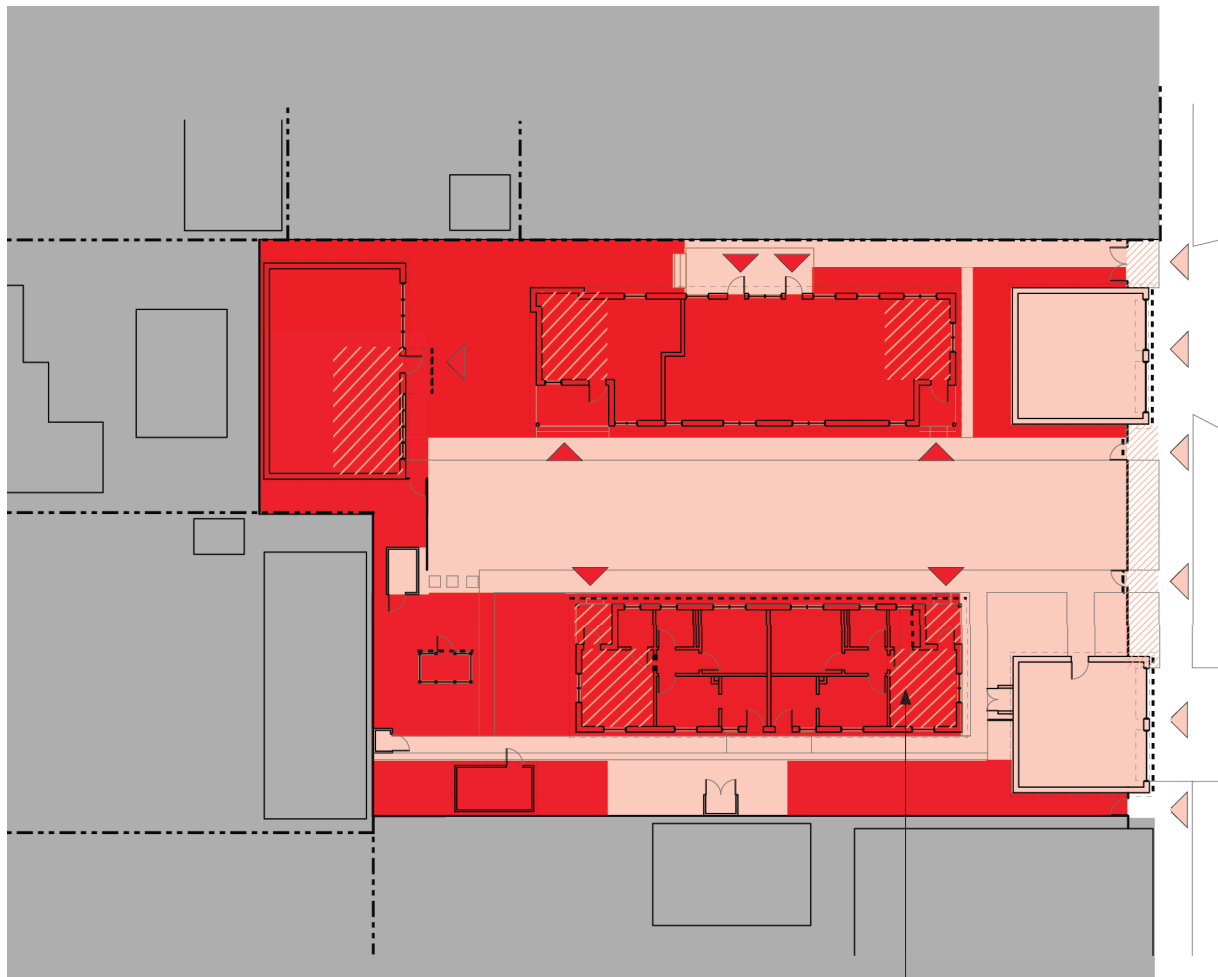
Monthly meetings are held on a rotating basis in each resident's unit.

Ninth St. Co-op
<u>Collective Renovations</u>

Fig. 3.13

Red indicates elements that have been altered by co-op residents
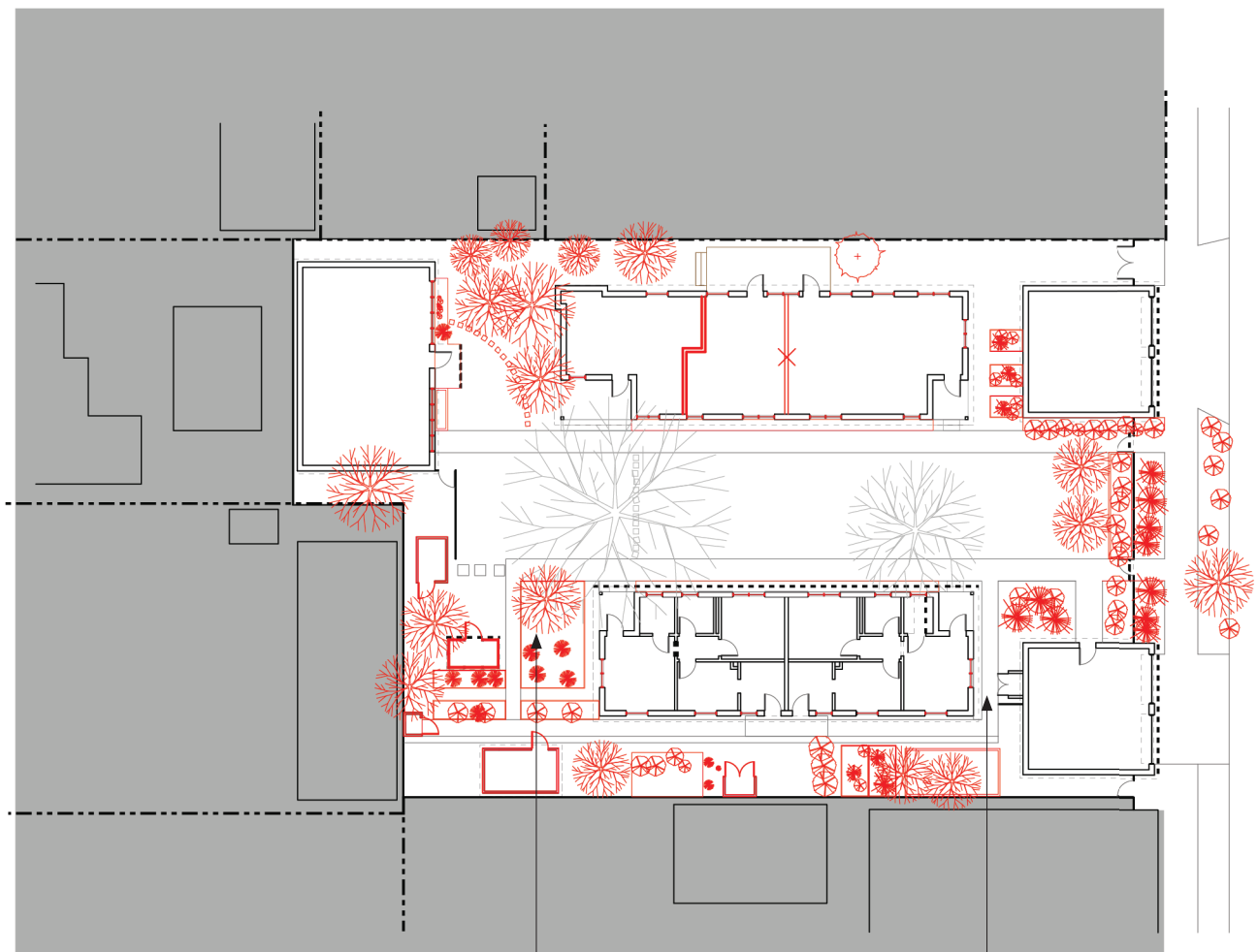
Residents planted all the vegetation, apart from the two largest trees.

There used to be a door here for privacy, but after it broke, residents decided that an open connection was preferred.

Oakland Community Land Trust

The Oakland CLT was formed from the Urban Strategies Council in 2009 in response to the foreclosure crisis. During the crisis, the city allocated federal Neighbourhood Stabilization Program funds to Oakland CLT, which the organization used to purchase and rehabilitate 18 severely blighted single-family homes. It has recently expanded its acquisition efforts to include preserving multi-family housing, a housing type that has remained relatively affordable, in spite of gentrification, with financial aid from the recently passed bond Measure KK (see chapter 2).[106] While the Oakland CLT does not actively encourage its members to participate in governance activities, several households have been enthusiastic in taking up leadership roles in the organization[107].

Oakland CLT's community engagement occurs through media (website, social media, and local news), conferences (the organization hosted the 2017 National Community Land Trust Network Conference), fundraising events for individual projects, and through organically building alliances with other community organizations in Oakland. It has partnered with local urban agriculture organizations to acquire vacant parcels for community gardens, and with youth employment training programs to rehabilitate foreclosed housing.

<u>23rd Ave Building</u>

The 23rd Ave building is a mixed-use building that houses four community-serving organizations on the ground level, along with eight residential units above. The residents recently purchased the building in partnership with Oakland CLT, and with funds from online crowdfunding, a mortgage from the Northern California Community Loan Fund, a loan from the city, and grant from the San Francisco Community Arts Stabilization Trust.[108]

The author visited one of the tenant organizations, Sustaining Ourselves Locally (SOL), a collective of six queer/trans people of

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106   Claudia Cappio, Michelle Byrd and Heather Hood, A Progress Report on Implementing A Roadmap Toward Equity from the Oakland Housing Cabinet (Oakland: ,[2016]).
107   Member of Oakland CLT, Interview with Author
108   Trent, "In Oakland, Community-Owned Real Estate is Bucking Gentrification Trend."

colour (QTPOC) activists working in food and social justice. The "SOLSpace" serves as a shared extension of the residential space on the second story of the building, and acts as a place for QTPOC organizing, local events, and youth programming. Residents have also started conducting stakeholder meetings in the space after the site was transferred to land trust ownership. [109]

The members also manage a garden space, open to visits by school groups, and public participation on "Second Sundays."

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109   Ibid.

Fig. 3.14   23rd Ave Building, Context plan

Fig. 3.15 23rd Ave. Building, front elevation

Fig. 3.16 23rd Ave. Building, view to entrance from interior

Fig. 3.17 23rd Ave. Building, interior view from entrance

23rd Ave. Building
Ground Floor Plan, 1:200

Fig. 3.18

Legend
1. SOL Community space
2. Kitchen space
3. Laundry/storage
4. W/R
5. Stair to mezzanine
6. Storage
7. Community garden
8. Stair up to apartment units
9. LOL (Liberating Ourselves Locally)
10. Shaolin Luohan Institute
11. The Bikery

A.
Fig. 3.19 Edge of community garden at International Blvd, with artworks from SOL's youth program. The main entry to the garden space is not through here, but the SOL space.

B.
Fig. 3.20 Seating at community garden.

C.
Fig. 3.21 Porch space and pergola at garden

D.
Fig. 3.22 Board of household chores

Fig. 3.24   Fig. 3.22

Vacant

10

11

2

8

C

B
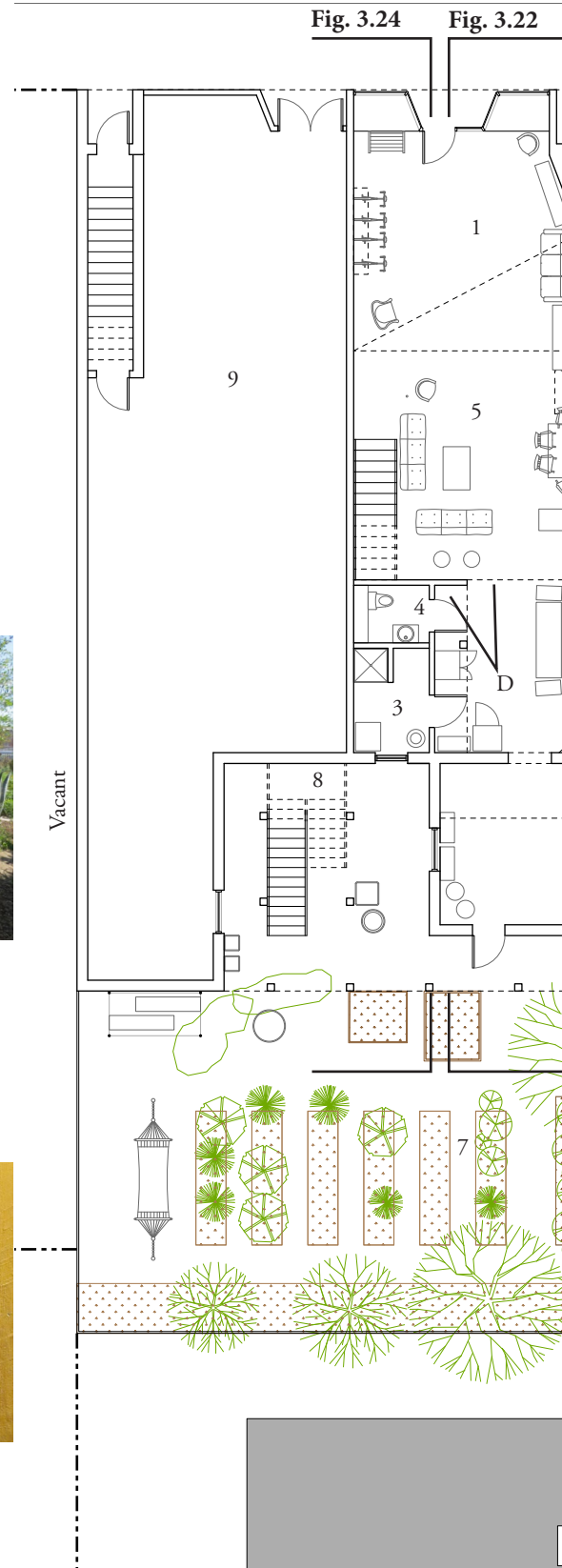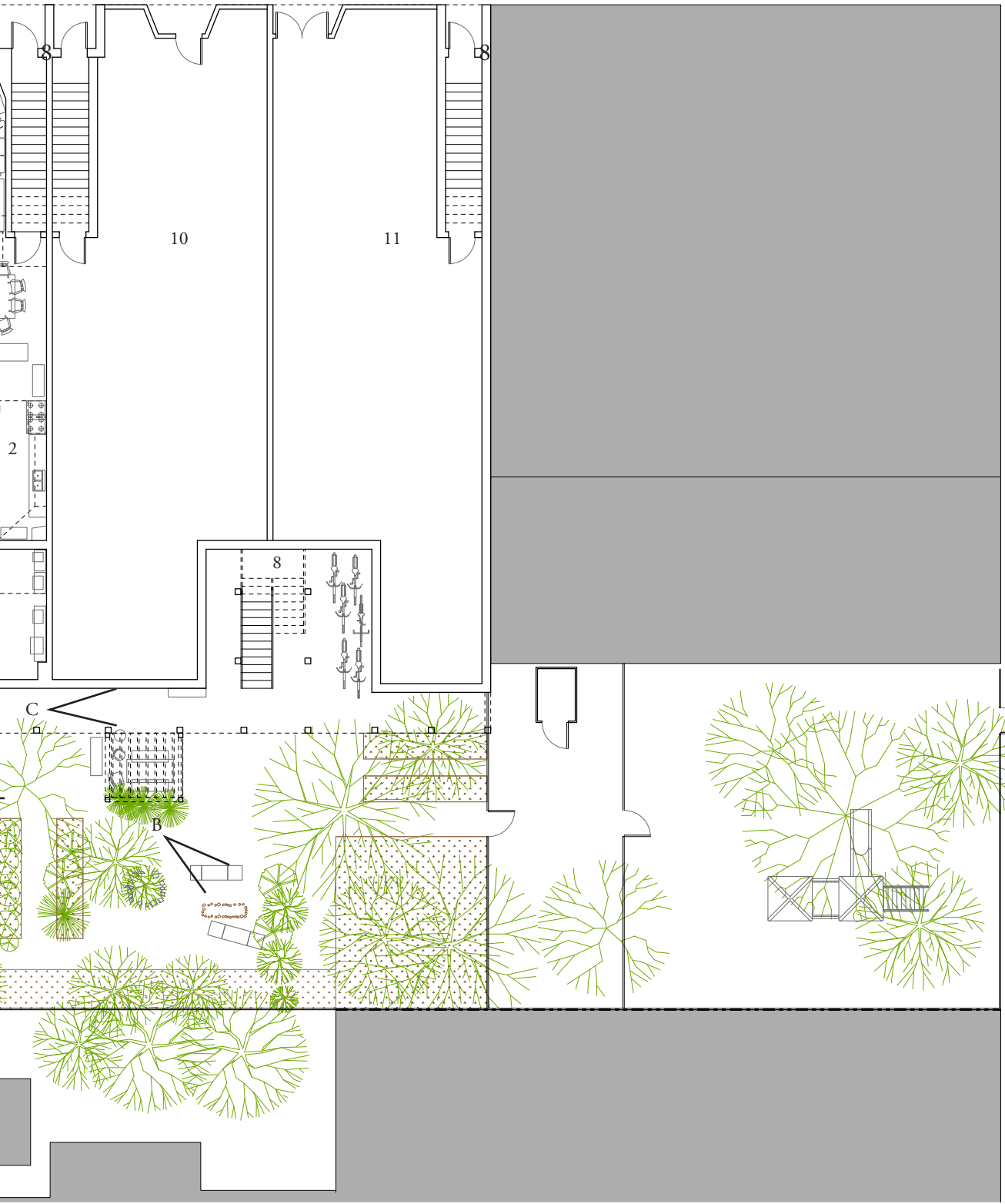
International Blvd

A

23rd Ave Building
<u>Photographic Sections</u>

Shared books, on food justice, activism, etc.

Fig. 3.23

Communal fridge   Individual fridge   Chores board

Fig. 3.24

Communal kitchen shared between 6
residents, used for events

Shared storage

Graphic added by
residents

Stairs up to mezzanine (storage space/
space for hosting visiting friends)
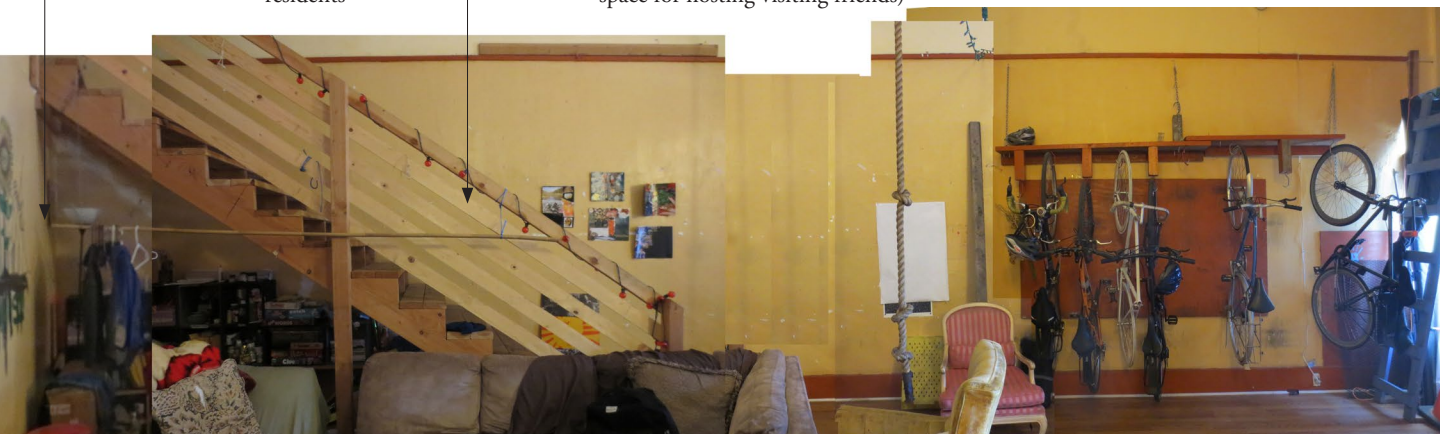
23rd Ave. Building
<u>Shared Spaces: within CLT/ with the community</u>

Fig. 3.25

Legend

☐ community space

▨ community/residents

▨ residents (shared)

■ residents (private)

☐ commercial space (private)

▽ entrance

Shiner

Vietnamese Community Development Centre

VNS Family Wear

The Bikery/ Cycles of Change

Shao-lin Luohan Institute

Sustaining Ourselves Locally

Liberating Ourselves Locally

Vacant
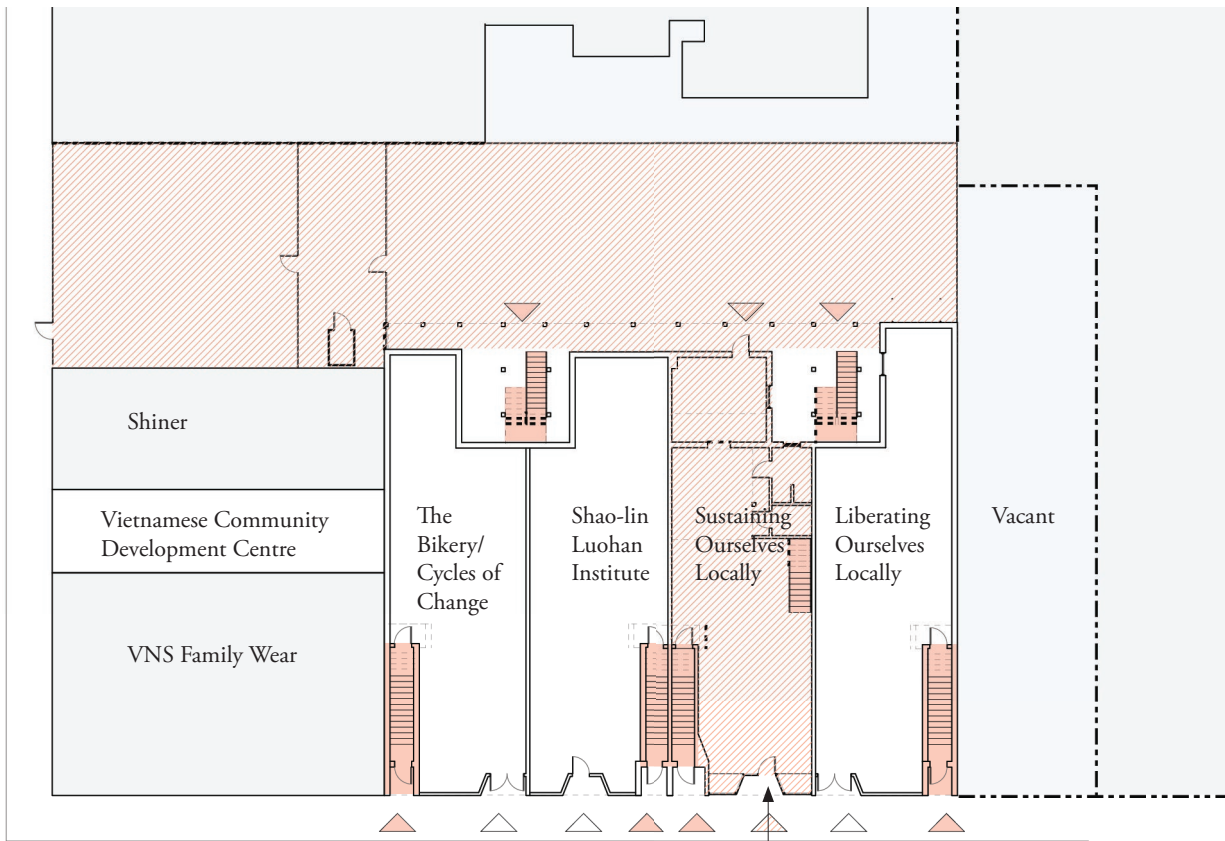
Fig. 3.26   Poster at entrance

23rd Ave. Building
<u>Collective Renovations</u>

Fig. 3.27

Walls have been painted to better express SOL's identity

Community garden planted by residents. Each bed used to be managed by an individual resident, but residents now share in the task of caring for all the beds.
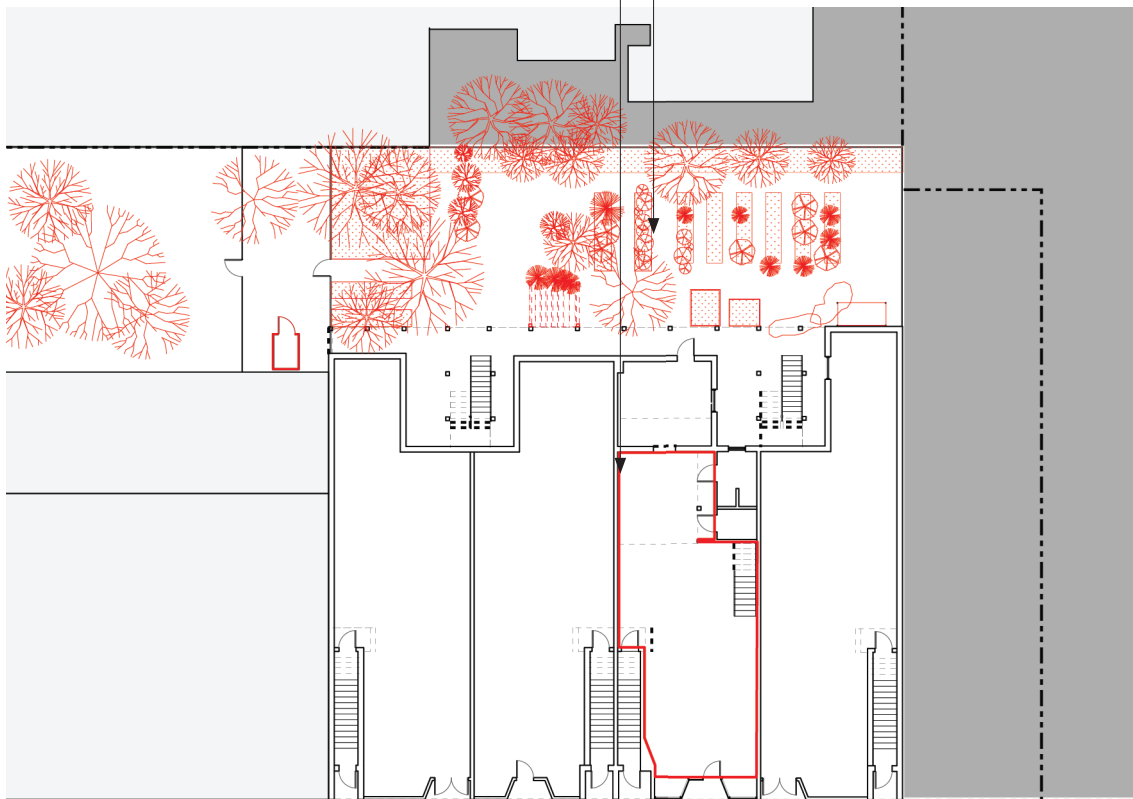
Fig. 3.28 Left:
Painting walls at SOL

Fig. 3.29 Right:
Garden space before planting

Observations on Community and Trusterty

Residents at both sites engaged in acts of stewardship and activism, which were recorded in their appropriation of the architecture and landscapes of their housing. Although the residents engaged in activism independently of the CLT, the model nonetheless assists in providing stability for continuing the work.

Connections to "Community" (Commons, or Privately Owned Commons Spaces?)

Both sites have deep links to their neighbourhoods; however, spatially, they are not wholly open commons. The members of the Ninth street co-op and SOL both view and manage the common spaces within their households as "oases" within urban contexts, primarily on their own. As a result, both households limit free access by the community to a great degree. In the ninth street co-op, a fence clearly separates resident spaces from the public sidewalk. At the 23rd Ave Building, the garden space is accessible only by passing through the SOL community space.

However, the physical boundaries of both sites do form zones of sociality. At the Ninth street co-op, it is a space for literally sharing the fruits of the soil with passersby, and art and expression on the fencing of the 23rd avenue building shares SOL's activism.

These sites differ from privately owned public spaces (POPS). Access is granted through acts of commoning with the residents. In the case of the 23rd Avenue building, LOL, SOL and the Bikery are also quite open to accommodating or partnering in the hosting of events initiated by community members and volunteers within the spaces of the building. There is a balance of power, and an invitation to the visitor to contribute to stewarding and expanding the commoning activities of the space. This contrasts with the typical POPS, where a corporation has expansive powers to exclude a visitor (for example, through security guards) from occupying the space, precluding any negotiation or interaction.

Trusterty

The landscapes of both sites have been drastically transformed through collective acts of ecological stewardship. In both cases, the architecture served as substrates for the residents' expression,

99

and have been added on to in response to shared decisions. Maintaining, or modifying the architecture- whether through painting, or replacing old windows, or moving a party wall, are acts of negotiation that build neighbourly-ness. Perhaps more overtly than other types of multi-unit housing, the CLT home accommodates formalized politics (at the micro-scale).

Given these observations, what role could design play in extending the potentials of the CLT model to serve as a radical, community-controlled model of housing provision? The following chapter explores this question, beginning by examining current approaches to the design of CLT architecture.

4.
A Commons for Resistance

Emerging Architectures of the CLT

As CLT's proliferate, several trajectories are emerging in the architectural design of this model. Many projects mimic the aesthetics of surrounding vernacular architecture. New housing proposed for the Lawrenceville CLT in Georgia intentionally adopts the forms of surrounding market-rate homes (**Fig. 4.1**).

Another trajectory celebrates the CLT as a model that enables commoning in the process of design. In the renewal of ten houses with the Granby Four Streets CLT in Toxteth, UK, Assemble Architects and Steinbeck Studios developed an architectonic strategy that leveraged the collective, self-building resourcefulness of the neighbourhood (**Fig. 4.2**). Assemble Architects also worked with the CLT to develop a vision for incrementally refurbishing the public and commercial spaces of the neighbourhood[57].

This thesis argues that the architecture of CLT housing should reflect the differences of the CLT model from private, market-rate ownership. The design interventions speculate on a process and form for CLT housing in East Oakland, that celebrates the role of the CLT as an institution for the commons.

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57   "Granby Four Streets," Assemble Studio, , accessed Apr 22, 2018, https://assemblestudio.co.uk/projects/granby-four-streets.

TAKING SHAPE

BUILDING NEW IN AN EXISTING NEIGHBORHOOD

■ ELEVATION GOALS:

1. CLT homes are indistinguishable from market rate homes in the neighborhood.
2. Use high quality, enduring materials that require minimal maintenance.
3. Homes learn from historic patterns while considering current conditions

■ HISTORIC PATTERNS

1. Learning from the historic homes throughout the neighborhood to develop a "good home"
2. Think contextually – fit into the existing neighborhood fabric.

Nearby alley home

Nearby street facing home

NEIGHBORHOOD PATTERNS
TYPICAL STREET & ALLEY HOMES IN UPPER LAWRENCEVILLE

07-14-16 © Rothschild Doyno Collaborative

■ CONTEMPORARY MARKET
(a look at what's going on in the neighborhood...)

A FLURRY OF ACTIVITY
ADJACENT RENOVATIONS AND NEW CONSTRUCTION IN UPPER LAWRENCEVILLE

Fig. 4.1   Design proposals for Lawrenceville CLT (underlining mine).

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Fig. 4.2 Renovated housing at Granby Four Streets Co-op (top of page), neighbourhood plan (bottom of page)

Towards a Commons Against Displacement: What Housing in the Commons Should Do

<u>1. Recognize the commons:</u>
In order to develop the community's own agency against displacement, the housing strategy must recognize and support the knowledge, actions and relations of co-operation that already exist locally. Only by acknowledging that marginalized community members are collectively capable of proposing self-determined solutions to the housing crisis, can the CLT truly be a model built upon commoning.

<u>2. Strengthen the commons:</u>
Housing should encourage everyday interactions that strengthen the commons, for example, through the sharing of responsibilities for maintenance, and through informal, neighbourly encounters. Such an approach resonates with the CLT's focus on relations of stewardship, and can also erase boundaries between the political and the everyday, facilitating more direct participation in self-governance.

<u>3. Expand the commons:</u>
Expanding the commons to resist displacement is a task of utmost importance. Expanding support for the commons is also a practical necessity for CLT's and other alternatives to market housing, as these models face practical challenges in gaining broader social and financial support. This requires building networks of support beyond "the commons of identity"[58], and dismantling stratifications of race, gender and class created by policies and ideologies of enclosure.

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58   De Angelis, "Does Capital Need a Commons Fix?" 614Massimo De Angelis - Does Capital Need a Commons Fix 614

The Scaffold

Fig. 4.3

States   Actions for the Commons

The Scaffold

Process
-Organizing
principles for process
of design

Enables

Form
-Principles for how to
organize space

Recognize:
common knowledge
Strengthen:
collective decision-making
(through consensus, co-
operation).
Expand:
network of support for
project

Recognize:
agency of occupants to
modify space
Strengthen:
commoning through
everyday encounters and
stewardship
Expand:
boundaries into thresholds

Scaffold as Process and Form

This thesis proposes the scaffold as an architecture for the CLT – an
architecture which recognizes, strengthens and expands the commons.
Scaffolding describes both the organizing principles guiding a process
of housing design and construction, as well as the resultant form
of the architecture. The scaffold resonates with artist and architect
Celine Condorelli's umbrella concept of "support structures",
which refers to the "physical, organizational, financial and political"
elements that "encourage, care for and assist" and "advocates,
articulates… stands behind, frames and maintains."[59]

Process: Scaffold for Recognizing the Commons:

The first organizing principle of the scaffold as a process is a need for
proximity – of being "right up against the subject of concern, and
taking it on-board, making common cause with it[60]."   While being

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59   Céline Condorelli, Support Structures, eds. Gavin Wade and James
Langdon (Berlin ; New York]: Sternberg Press, 2009).
60   Ibid.

106

"Therefore the intrinsic aggressiveness of architecture, and the forced passivity of the user must dissolve in a condition of creative and decisional equivalence where each- with a different specific impact – is the architect, and every architectural event – regardless of who conceives it and carries it out – is considered architecture."[66]

66   Giancarlo De Carlo, "Architecture's Public," Architecture and Participation (2005)13.

proximate, the role of the architect (like construction scaffolding) must also be "supplementary"[61], and "a means to get the building in a position in which it is able to support itself.[62]" Thus, the architect must recognize the expertise of communities in understanding the varied systems of marginalization affecting their neighbourhoods, and the agency they have in shaping their own housing solutions. As architect Giancarlo de Carlo states, "architecture is too important to be left to the architects".

Techniques for Recognizing the Commons:

A design process that recognizes the agency of the community should begin with the architect concertedly listening to the needs of the CLT's local members. This could be done through listening sessions that invite as broad a range of voices as possible. In diverse contexts such as Oakland, this could mean making translation services available, and conducting smaller focus groups with more vulnerable citizens. The CLT can listen to input at public events like the recent East Oakland Congress of Neighbourhoods- a gathering of East Oakland community members to establish a "People's Agenda" for the future of East Oakland. As well, preliminary design charrettes, with guided citizen presentation and commenting sessions allow the community to discover and recognize the unique skills and knowledge each person can contribute in making a project.

In East Oakland, there are many existing grassroots organizations working towards self determination, that can share their knowledge with CLT's. Conversely, CLT's can and currently do also share resources and merge efforts with these organizations. For example, the Oakland CLT is currently co-operating with the YEP in the rehabilitation of its newly acquired housing, and providing vacant plots to urban agriculture groups. Further, the strategy of connecting with existing grassroots groups prevents competition, and ensures that resources and energy are spent towards a common effort.

Process: Scaffold for Strengthening the Commons

To encourage collective care for housing, the design and construction process must incorporate as many opportunities for community involvement contribution as possible, so that stewardship for the project is cultivated from the beginning.

Further, the means by which design conversations are conducted should strengthen the commons by promoting mutual respect and

61   Ibid.
62   Mark Cousins and Céline Condorelli, "On Support," in Support Structures, ed. Céline Condorelli, 2009)72.

egalitarian decision-making.

Techniques for Strengthening Commoning

During design, architectural discourse itself - with its various methods for critique, open-ended dialogue, disagreement, questioning and consensus building - can provide a framework for strengthening co-operation.

In the construction process, self-building and sweat equity potentially deepens a community's stewardship and responsibility for the project, as well as directly strengthening relations of co-operation between the builders.

Similarly, financing structures that enable local fundraising (ex. the PREC), can strengthen the community's collective commitment towards realizing a successful outcome for the project.

Process: Scaffold for Expanding the Commons

A scaffolding process of architecture uses the design process to grow, and make visible, the widening networks of material support and negotiation required for a project. Such a process also entails acknowledging, and re-appropriating into the commons the wealth and political power accumulated by certain groups through policies of enclosure.

Techniques for Expanding Commoning:

Expanding commoning necessitates engaging in the public life of the city. In conducting research for the design of a Black Cultural Zone for Oakland, the Eastside Arts Alliance hosted a series of block parties[63], and set up booths to solicit feedback at their Malcolm X Jazz festival. Similarly, to develop a "People's Proposal" for the design of housing on a publicly owned parcel in the Eastlake neighbourhood, local architects, planners and community organizations organized a community visioning event, with children's activities, music and food. Such events can intensify urban commoning in existing public spaces, and potentially expand the network of potential collaborators for the CLT. And, as residents of the 23rd avenue building demonstrated, locally-based fundraisers, and parties celebrating milestones in a site's acquisition process can also become events for connecting with the broader community beyond the CLT.

"Support is negotiation—it is not the application of principle, but a conversation toward something that it does not define."[67]

67   "Conversation between Celine Condorelli (Support Structure) and Eyal Weizman, August 2007."The Violence of Participation, ed. Markus MiessenSternberg Press, 2007).
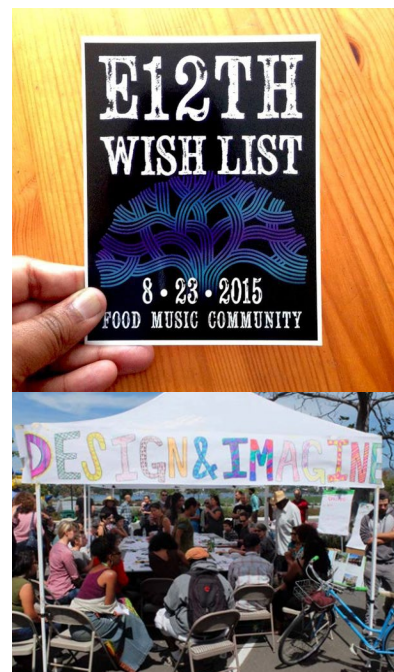
Fig. 4.4   Visioning event to develop a People's Proposal for a site on East 12th St, in 2015

63   Vilalobos, "In Oakland, Art Digs Residents Deeper into Place," KQED News, sec. Arts, Oct 22, 2014.https://ww2.kqed.org/arts/2014/10/22/in-oakland-art-digs-residents-deeper-into-place/

"From this project, how do people in this community learn to become developers, become architects, become surveyors, become managers… How can someone in this community be given an opportunity to better themselves in, or to find out more information about how this happens… Because there are plenty of people in the neighbourhood who want to do this, but there's no direct correlation for them to do this, without going back to school which a lot of them can't afford to do."[68]

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68   Architect Residing in East Oakland, Interview with author, Jan 12, 2018.

To counter the economic and political stratifications created through enclosures, those who have benefitted from inequality should work to re-build the commons by redistributing their wealth and political power to marginalized groups. In East Oakland, the Sogorea Te' Community Land Trust is using funds from the Shuumi Land Tax (a graduated, voluntary "tax" for non-Indigenous people benefitting from colonization) to fund its acquisition efforts[64]. In association, POOR Magazine led tours of Silicon Valley enclaves to ask the "very rich" to redistribute accumulated wealth[65].

Given this, what then, should the role of architects- who often possess race, class and educational privileges- be? The thesis argues that, through a participatory design process, architects should work to dismantle the enclosures surrounding the profession, adding to the commons architectural knowledge and expertise.

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64   "Shuumi Land Tax," Sogorea Te' Community Land Trust, , http://sogoreate-landtrust.com/shuumi-land-tax/.
65   Lisa-Gray Garcia, "Poor People on Park Avenue?" San Francisco Bay ViewMay 1, 2017.

The Process in this Thesis

<u>Methodology</u>

In the making of this thesis, the author falls far short of an ideal of full engagement with the community, in terms of strengthening and expanding the commons.

However, certain measures were taken, to ensure that the design response recognizes the commons, and is in "common cause" with the needs of the community, and supplementary to the existing efforts for preventing displacement.

Programmatic decisions behind the three designs were based upon the existing community conversations conducted by two East Oakland neighbourhood organizations (the East Oakland Collective, and the Eastside Arts Alliance). These conversations have already been published in video format online. (See next section, Appendix A). Inevitably, informal conversations the author had with local residents, and personal observations made during field research also affected design decisions.

The initial design iterations became tools for soliciting comments from community based organizations (CBO's) in feedback sessions. (See Appendix B). These sessions took the form of loosely structured interviews conducted over telephone or Skype, where the author asked representatives of CBO's for general comments on the overall approach, and specific comments on any of the designs with regards to the appropriate-ness of the program, form and material strategy. The author also asked respondents if there were any other ideas or themes that should be included in the designs, or if they had critiques or suggestions with regards to improving the processes of designing or constructing the interventions. The designs were then revised according to the comments gathered.

Summary: Listening to Community Conversations
<u>See Appendix A for annotated transcript</u>

<u>Summary: Housing needs</u>
Participants noted that the lack of affordable housing especially effects certain vulnerable groups: for example, youth transitioning from foster care (18-26 year-olds), and men and women returning from incarceration[69]. One person remarked on the need to re-adapt vacant properties, and others remarked on the importance of making housing available to those with poor credit[70].

<u>Design Response</u>

(**Fig. 4.5**) The residential program in the interventions each addresses the needs of a specific vulnerable population. Housing for the re-entry population is proposed for Site 2. Site 3 includes multi-bedroom units accessible for seniors and others with mobility impairments, enabling housing to be shared between generations.

<u>Summary: Necessary Supports for Community Self-Determination</u>

The discussions also noted a need for community-controlled programs to reverse inequalities (ex. uneven access to food, educational and economic resources) resulting from policies of enclosure[71]. The direct, subjective impacts of those policies need to be addressed, for example, through mental health, culture, and wellness programs, and re-entry programs[72], to rebuild trust and capacities for commoning.

<u>Design Response</u>

Each design intervention centres around a category of supportive programs. Site 1 includes a community garden to address the lack of locally-available healthy food, site 2 incorporates a cultural and political education program to empower the re-entry population, and site 3 adds commercial and production spaces to support local

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69   P-SPAN #542: East Oakland Listening Session, directed by Peralta Colleges
70   Ibid.
71   Ibid.
72   Why Oakland Needs a BCZ, Video, directed by Stevie Sanchez (Oakland, CA: Eastside Arts Alliance, 2016), P-SPAN #542: East Oakland Listening Session, directed by Peralta Colleges

Recognizing the Commons: Programmatic Strategy

Fig. 4.5

Site 1
Front Yard for the Street

Site 2
Healing House

Site 3
Common Wealth

Legend

Residential Programs

- re-entry housing
- transitional aged youth (18-26 years old)
- elder housing
- families at risk of displacement/ formerly houseless

- neighbourly spaces: programs shared between residential units (ex.laundry)

Necessary Social Supports for Community Self-Determination

- re-entry services
- mental health services
- healthy food, recreation
- academic services/ flexible work and learning spaces
- technical education
- cultural programs
- CBO spaces
- Co-op/ social enterprise resources & community-based financial institutions (incubators, credit unions, etc.)

social enterprises and co-operatives. These programs can complement and extend the work of existing local organizations, through sharing knowledge and resources, or providing additional program space. (See **Fig. 4.6**, further explanations on page 129, page 145 and page 165).

Qualitative Characteristics

The community discussions revealed a need for spaces that enable neighbourly interaction and accountability, which was seen as necessary for broader political action. As well, the participants acknowledged a need for a greater sense of ownership over community spaces. In this definition, "ownership" entails an intergenerational, inter-communal responsibility for the care and maintenance of a place[73]. Having "ownership" over a place also means that the place reflects the "heart, the struggles", and the "blood, sweat and tears" that have made it[74].

In response, each design intervention includes shared scaffold spaces that encourage informal neighbourly interaction, and allow for the expression of culture and history by enabling resident appropriation of the architecture.

Siting

The design interventions take place on three sites in Deep East Oakland. Broad-scale investor acquisition of homes during the foreclosure crisis places many renter households at risk of displacement, especially as, in recent years, the area's real-estate market has reached a "sizzling" state[75]. A bus rapid transit (BRT) corridor on International Blvd (the main east-west arterial road) is currently under construction, further adding to gentrification pressures.

The three interventions add to the 18 scattered CLT sites already in the neighbourhood, acquired by the Oakland CLT during the foreclosure crisis. As hypothetical case studies, the three designs illustrate a set of different means by which a CLT could acquire land: through purchasing and renovating a foreclosed property, working with residents of small apartment buildings to remove property off the market, or building housing on a vacant property (**Fig. 4.7)**.

The designs examine how the addition of scaffolds to the existing sites

73   Ibid.
74   Speak Up to Stay Put, Video, directed by Stevie Sanchez (Oakland: Oakland Alliance, 2015)
75   Tammerlin Drummond, "Sizzling Housing: Deep East Oakland Lures Bay Area Homebuyers," East Bay TimesJune 3, 2016, 2016.

can better support commoning practices, through both the design and construction process, and through the resulting architectural forms.

Recognizing the Commons:
Potential Programmatic Connections

Fig. 4.6

Colours indicate type of existing or proposed program. (Refer to legend on page 112)

Site 1

+Program Space-Labour

Knowledge Resources

CLT meeting

Lockwood St

Proposed Black Cultural Zone

Site 2

CLT meeting

CLT meeting

+Program Space

East Oakland Community Project

Site 3

+Program Space

Knowledge Resources

85th Ave. Encampment "The Living Room"

Allen Temple Baptist Church

Acta Non Verba Youth Urban Farms

Arroyo Viejo Park and
Community Garden

POOR Magazine

+Program Space, Knowledge

+Program Space, Knowledge, Resources

Castlemont High School

+Program Space

East Oakland
Pride Elementary School

+Program Space

+Program Space

Youth Uprising

East Oakland
Youth Development Center

+Program Space, Knowledge, Resources

+Program Space

Oakland CLT

Critical Resistance

knowledge/resources

The Village #feed the People

knowledge/resources

Youth Employment Partnership

Mills College
East Oakland Collective

23rd Ave Building
CURYJ

Causa Justa / Just Cause

Program Space

knowledge

knowledge

Program Space

Alliance Academy
Makerspace Project

Siting

Fig. 4.7

Site 1

Site 2

Site 3

Foreclosed (data from Zillow)

Small Apartment Building

Vacant Parcel (Alameda County Tax Assessor, 2016)

Form: Scaffold + Architecture

"In this respect architecture has an incalculable advantage over other activities, for it produces concrete images of what the physical environment could be like if society were different…"[79]

79   De Carlo, "Architecture's Public," , 3-22

"Growth and flexibility in an architectural organism are not really possible except under a new conception of architectural quality. This new conception cannot be formulated except through a more attentive exploration of those phenomena of creative participation currently dismissed as 'disorder'. It is in their intricate context, in fact, that we shall find the matrix of an open and self-generating formal organization which rejects a private and exclusive way of using land, and through this rejection, delineates a new way of using it on a pluralistic and inclusive basis."[80]

80   Ibid

Given constraints on taking practical action, this thesis aims to offer a set of (by no means definitive) images and ideas for the architectural forms of the CLT.

What the Physical Scaffold Can Do: A Physical Scaffold for Recognizing the Commons

The spaces of the CLT must recognize the capacity of its inhabitants to creatively adapt and transform them. Architect and activist Stavros Stavrides writes, "People in their everyday survival struggle actually re-invent spaces of common use, sharing them with others, creating them collectively as able urban craftsmen[76]" In support of this, much as a scaffold, the architecture of CLT housing must have the capacity to be constantly and flexibly appropriated, transformed and improved by the community, as opposed to being rigid in its prescription of uses.'

Thus, the scaffolding space should be constructed with locally available materials, techniques, and labour (ex. stick-building, building from modular units, or using specialized craft available locally). This is not for cultural reasons, but rather to ensure that the design fits within the practical means that the inhabitants collectively possess to transform their environment.

A Physical Scaffold for Strengthening the Commons

A construction scaffold is a dynamic structure surrounding a defined work in progress, a means for circulating from one place to another in the process of building together.

As a physical social space, the scaffold consists of the mundane, unprogrammed, spaces of circulation and transit - courtyard spaces, porches, and other social condensers, spaces of casual encounters- situated adjacent to more defined programs. These are also spaces of everyday, domestic labour- where conversations occur in the work of cleaning, gardening, and otherwise maintaining the shared spaces together. For a CLT, these interstitial, scaffold spaces are where concerns can be voiced, informally, without participation in the structure of formal meetings. These spaces, which erase barriers

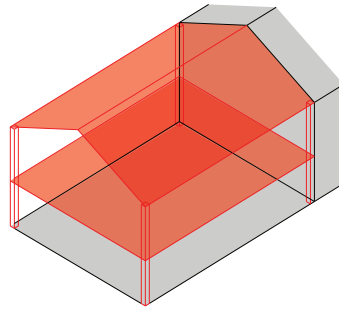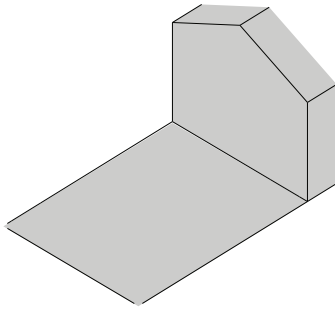76   Stavrides, Common Space : The City as Commons127
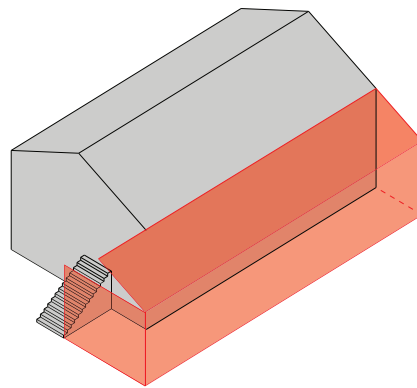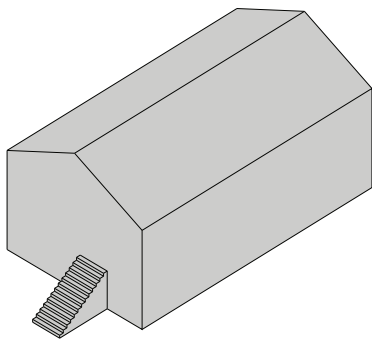
Scaffold: Formal Stategy

Fig. 4.8
The design adds physical scaffolds to three vernacular typologies of residential architecture in East Oakland, expanding spaces for commoning.
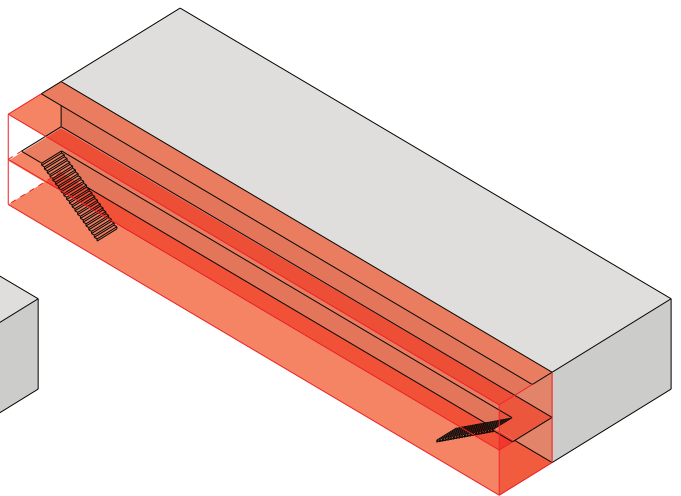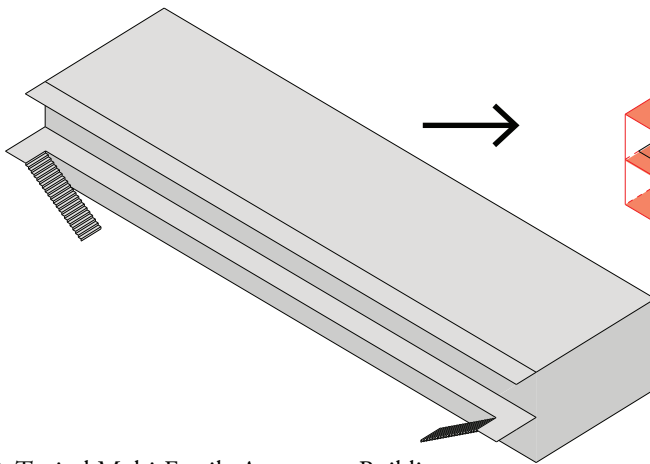
<u>Existing Residential Types</u>   <u>Type + Scaffold</u>

1. Front Yard/Parking lot

2. Typical House

3. Typical Multi-Family Apartment Building

"For liberals, then, the problem of democracy becomes the problem of how to insulate political processes from what are considered to be non-political or pre-political processes, those characteristic, for example, of the economy, the family, and informal everyday life."[81]

81   Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," 65

between the pre-political, or non-political, and political, and are thus vital to sustaining collective self-governance, and strengthening the commons.

A Physical Scaffold for Expanding the Commons

The scaffold is an enveloping structure that marks a liminal zone, a physical, as well as subjective space of ambiguity and transition. Thresholds are means through which commons space expands. [77]. As ambiguous and transitional spaces, thresholds allow for moments of engagement with otherness beyond "identity-based commons" [78]. Engagement with, and openness to the surrounding context is essential, because a commons that is closed becomes an enclave.

As well, threshold spaces- in the form of porous boundaries, landscape elements, or passageways, allow CLT's to share products of their commons spaces with a broader surrounding community.

77   Stavrides, Common Space : The City as Commons55
78   De Angelis, "Does Capital Need a Commons Fix?" 12De Angelis 12
 "Conversion, here, is the main mechanism of commons development, a mechanism, however, so inadequate from the perspective of the challenges of building an alternative model to capital in the midst of an emergent crisis of social reproduction. I have run across radical social centres that refused to engage with local community on the terrain of reproduction because the cultural marks of that community did not match with the principles of the activists."

Scaffold: Formal Typologies

Fig. 4.9 Surface scaffold: ornamentation on walls of Fruges Pessac originally designed by Le Corbusier

Fig. 4.10 Structural Scaffold: House framed using the Segal Method

Surface Scaffold

A surface (wall, floor, etc) acts as a substrate on which the community can collectively express identity (ex. by painting, attaching images or ornamentation, writing on, etc). The surface scaffold is architecture as collective palimpsest, or collage, records of speech in urban space.

Structural Scaffold

The structural scaffold is a spatial frame that can be flexibly shared, appropriated, added on-to or otherwise occupied, or modified by the people who use it.

It fits within the "frame and infill" tradition in architecture. Historical precedents include the timber framing technique developed by architect and champion of self-building, Walter Segal, which consisted of a post-and beam structural frame made of standard-sized lumber that once erected, allowed occupants freely arrange partitions and openings (**Fig. 4.10**). Segal developed a system of standardized panels that eliminated the need for any wet trades, further simplifying the self-building process such that even children could assist with construction[82]. Similarly, Belgian architect Lucien Kroll, in collaboration with students, developed a "mock-house" method, where occupants were free to self-build their living spaces inside a house that was completely stripped of its interiors.[83] In the contemporary canon, Lacaton and Vassal's Grand Parc project appends a structural model to an existing apartment building, creating balcony spaces that could flexibly occupied by residents.[84]

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82   Peter Blundell Jones, "Sixty-Eight and After," Architecture and Participation.Edited by Jones, Peter Blundell, Doina Petrescu, and Jeremy Till.Eds.New York, NY: Spon Press (2005).
83   R. De Graaf, "Few Architects have Embraced the Idea of User Participation; A New Movement is Needed," The Architectural Review (2016).https://www.architectural-review.com/rethink/viewpoints/few-architects-have-
84   "Transformation of 530 Dwellings, Block G, H, I," Lacaton & Vassal, , accessed Apr 22, 2018, https://www.lacatonvassal.com/index.php?idp=80

Soft Scaffold

The soft scaffold consists of landscape elements that can be collectively shaped and nurtured by the community. The soft scaffold is in affinity with traditional agricultural commons found in many cultures. Besides being a shared resource for providing food or other ecological necessities, the soft scaffold is a place for the inter-cultural, inter-generational transmittance of ecological knowledge, for the sharing of responsibilities towards the care of the land, and for nurturing relationships between human and non-human forms of life.
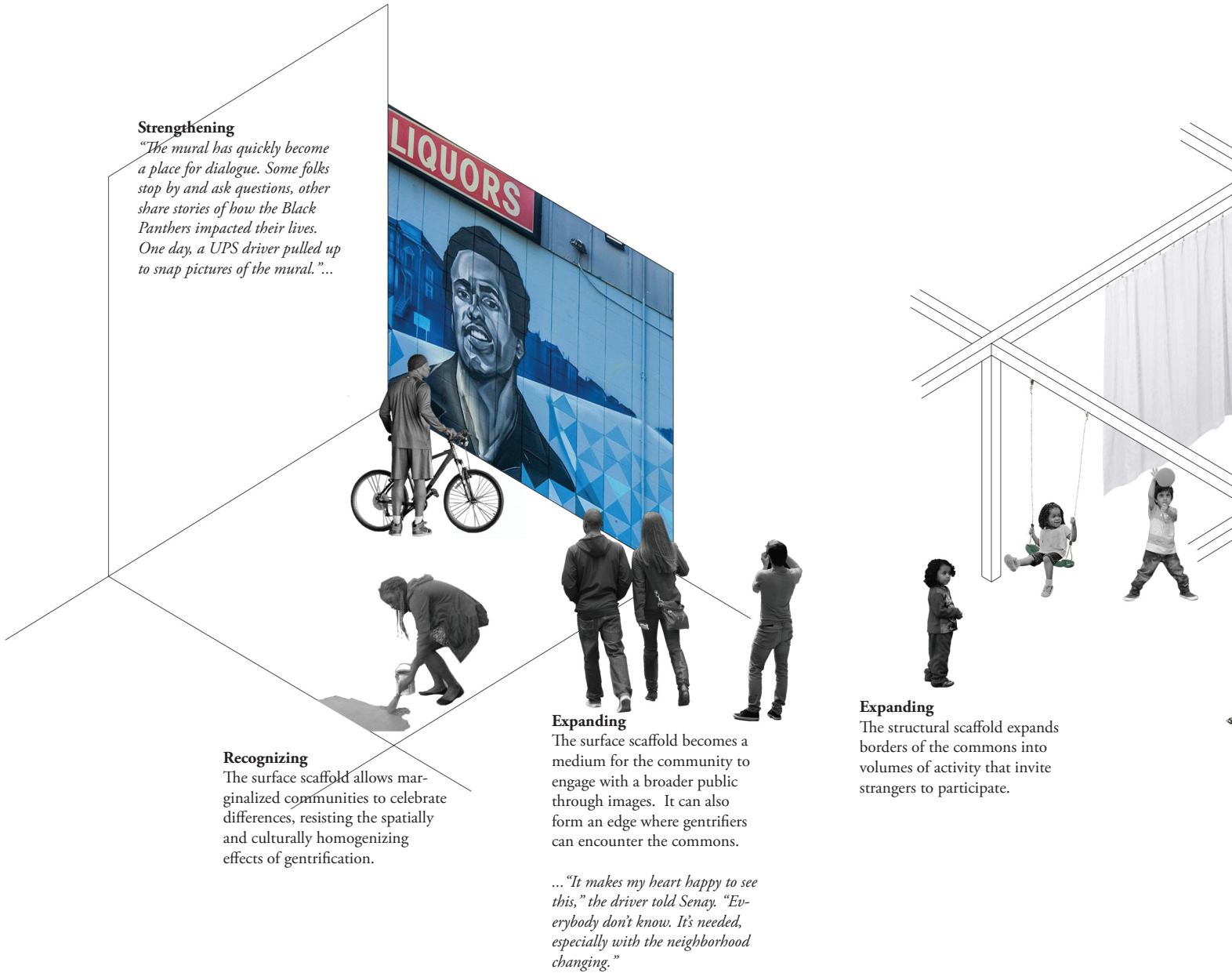

Fig. 4.11 Soft Scaffold: Michigan State University. Desire paths from trails formed by walking are paved over as hardscape paths.

Scaffold Forms in Detail

How the <u>scaffold</u> becomes a space for recognizing, strengthening and expanding the commons.

Fig. 4.12

Strengthening

"The mural has quickly become a place for dialogue. Some folks stop by and ask questions, other share stories of how the Black Panthers impacted their lives. One day, a UPS driver pulled up to snap pictures of the mural."...

Recognizing

The surface scaffold allows marginalized communities to celebrate differences, resisting the spatially and culturally homogenizing effects of gentrification.

Expanding

The surface scaffold becomes a medium for the community to engage with a broader public through images. It can also form an edge where gentrifiers can encounter the commons.

..."It makes my heart happy to see this," the driver told Senay. "Everybody don't know. It's needed, especially with the neighborhood changing."

Expanding

The structural scaffold expands borders of the commons into volumes of activity that invite strangers to participate.

Surface Scaffold

Methods of collective modification:
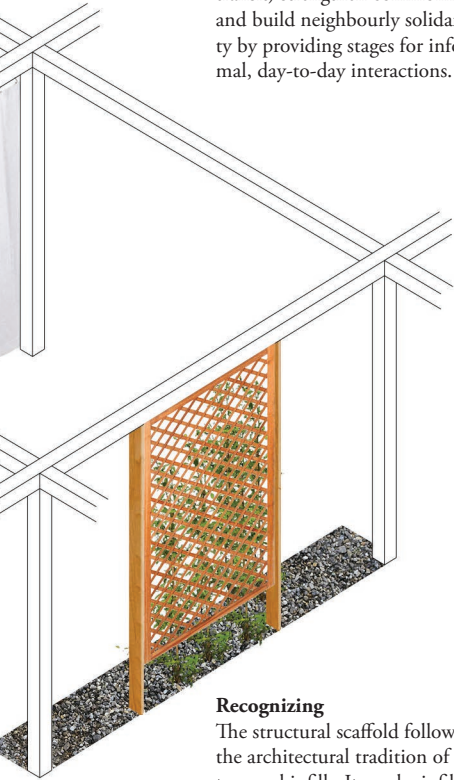Affixing, painting and re-painting, defacing, ornamenting, writing...

Structural Scaffold

Methods of collective modi
Suspending, infilling, furni

Strengthening

Unprogrammed spaces framed by the structural scaffold (like porches, courtyards, and other shared spaces of arrival and transit) strengthen commoning and build neighbourly solidarity by providing stages for informal, day-to-day interactions.

Strengthening

Through interactions that occur in performing the everyday tasks of stewardship, the soft scaffold becomes a site for strengthening commoning practices.

Recognizing

The community can directly take control of its own health and survival by planting on, or shaping the soft scaffold.

Recognizing

The structural scaffold follows in the architectural tradition of structure and infill. It can be infilled with local construction materials, methods and "commoning ingenuity", by the community to suit the community's needs.
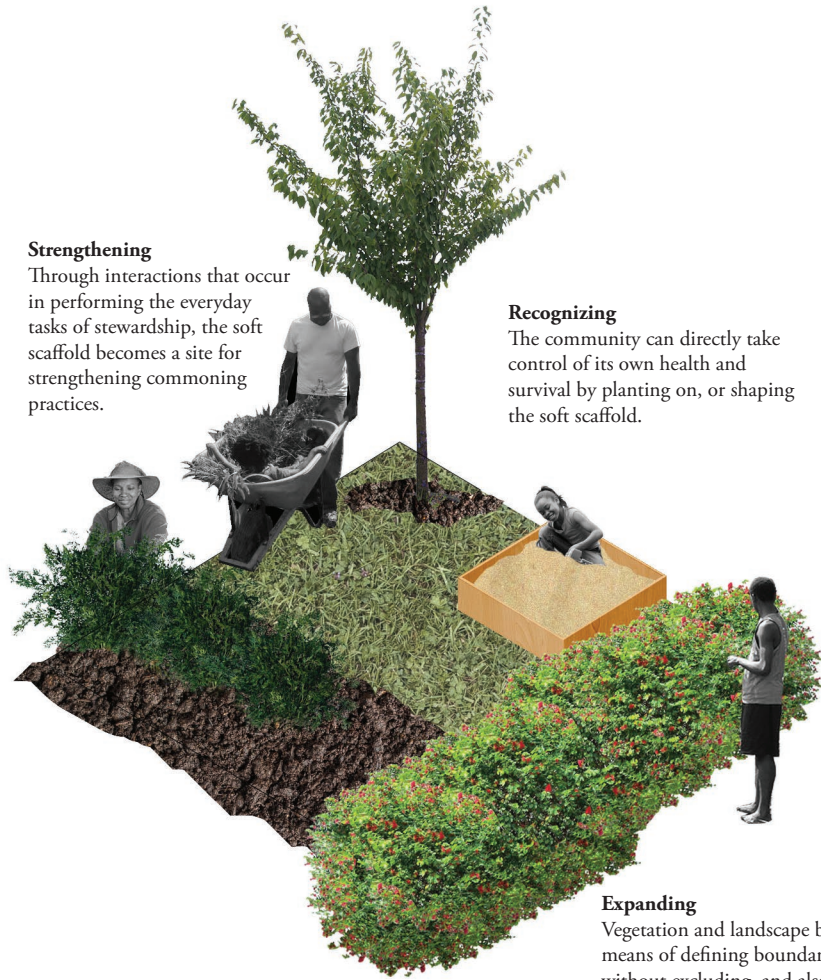
Expanding

Vegetation and landscape become means of defining boundaries without excluding, and also for sharing the products of the commons with the wider community.

ification:
shing, subdividing (temporarily)...

Soft Scaffold

Methods of collective modification:
Planting, excavating, mounding, walking (forming a path)...

126

Site #1
Front Yard for the Street

Location and Existing Condition

The Front Yard for the Street is an extension of an existing small apartment building near Arroyo Viejo Park.

North

Fig. 4.13   Site Plan, 1:1000 (Above)

Fig. 4.14   View from street

128

Programmatic Connections

Fig. 4.15   Acta Non Verba
Youth Urban Farms

Fig. 4.16   Oakland SOL

Fig. 4.17   Arroyo Viejo Park,
aerial view.

Front Yard for the Street addresses the need for healthy, affordable food in East Oakland, while simultaneously providing a safe space for recreation and intergenerational sharing of nutrition, stewardship, and cultural knowledge. In this respect, it is most similar to the garden at Oakland SOL (profiled in part 3), as well as existing local initiatives like Acta Non Verba Youth Urban Farms which merges food justice and ecological activism with educating youth.

There is an existing park near the site, which serves an important place for large community events and has a playground that is regularly used by local families. However, it is also somewhat disconnected from the residential fabric of the community. Solid backyard fences separate the park from surrounding houses, and the large, spatially undefined lawn is too vast to be occupied for day-to-day uses (**Fig. 4.17**).

By combining a resident-managed communal kitchen with a garden shared with other neighbours on Lockwood St, this intervention brings food justice, health and ecological activism into the space of everyday life. In addition, the occupation of the kitchen and garden spaces, especially after sunset, encourages stewardship of the street it faces, providing a sense of security without overbearing surveillance.

Summary of Feedback[85]

Of the three interventions, *Front Yard for the Street* received the least critical reaction. There was positive response to the programmatic strategy of the kitchen, open space and play space. (See appendix B).

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85   See Appendix B
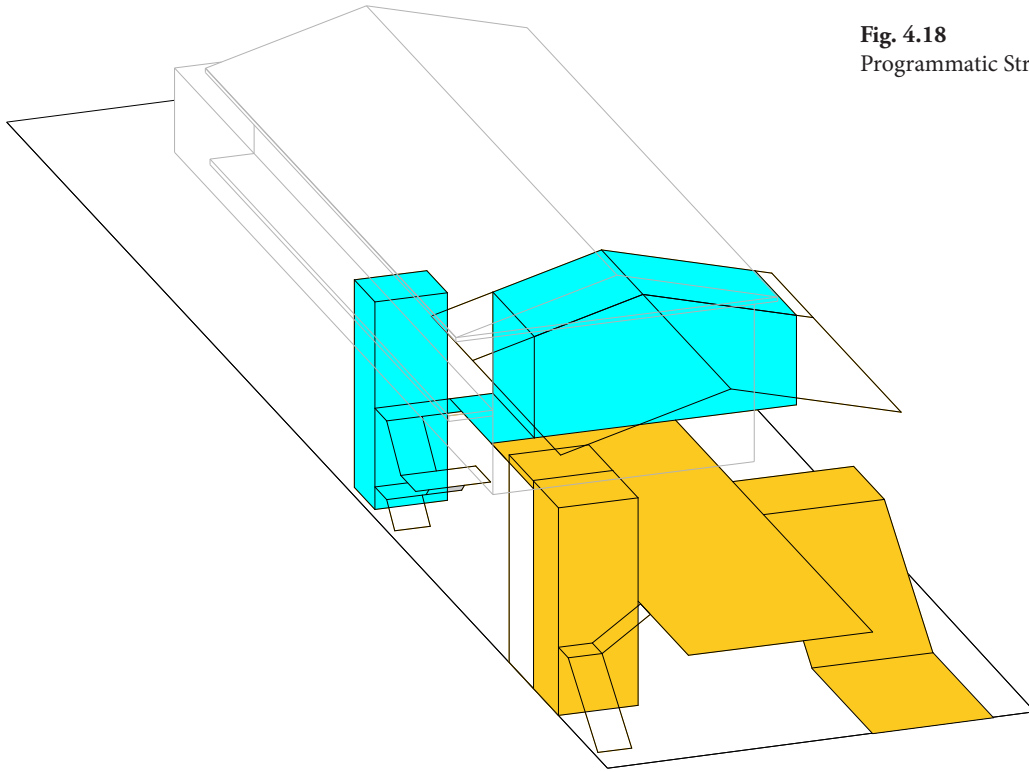
Fig. 4.18
Programmatic Strategy

Residents-Shared

Kitchen
[CLT meeting
spacce]

Community Space

Garden

Sports Area
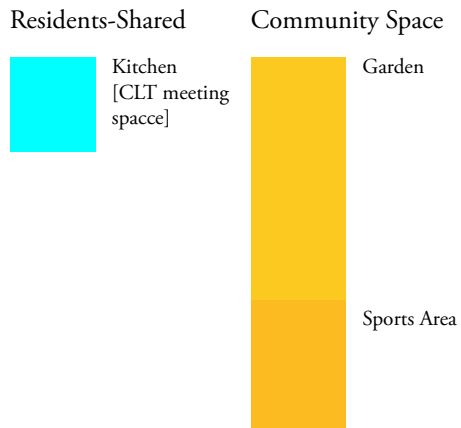
Fig. 4.19
Existing Typology

This intervention can be applied on typologically similar sites common across East Oakland, which consist of a multi-family apartment buildings (5-25 units) with large parking spaces in front.

Scaffold: Form

Fig. 4.20
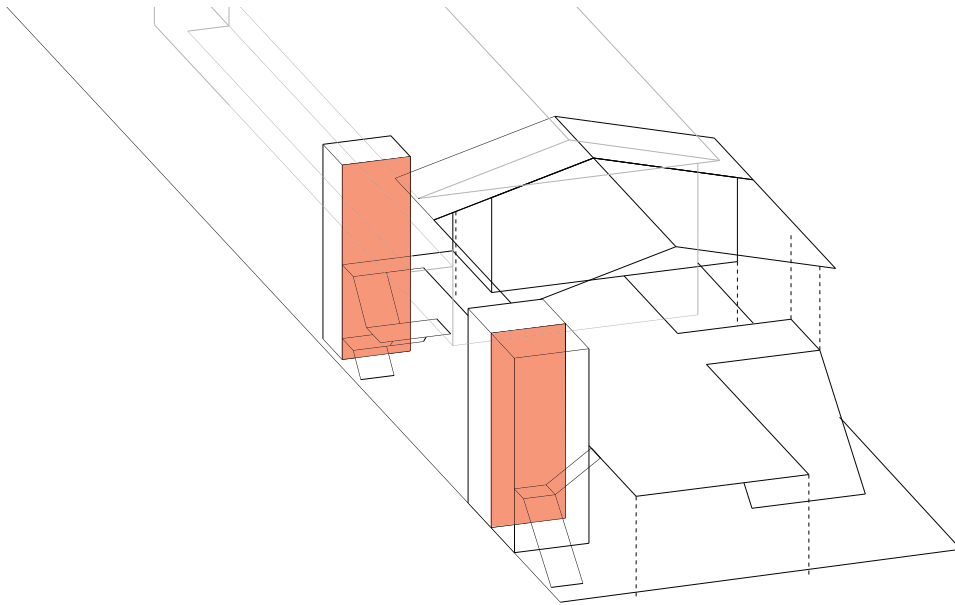
Surface scaffold

The tower elements of the addition act as surfaces for community expression.
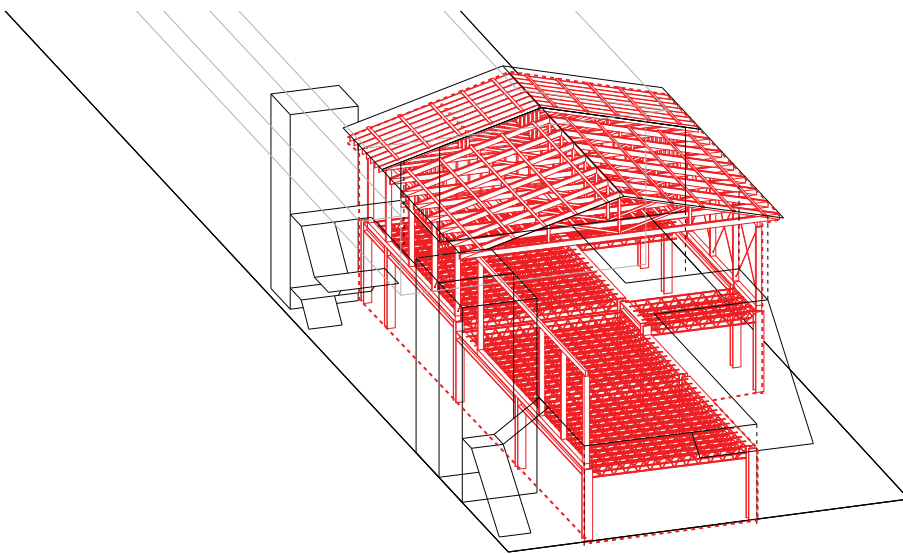
Structural scaffold

The structural scaffold forms a sheltered space that extends the interior communal space of the kitchen.
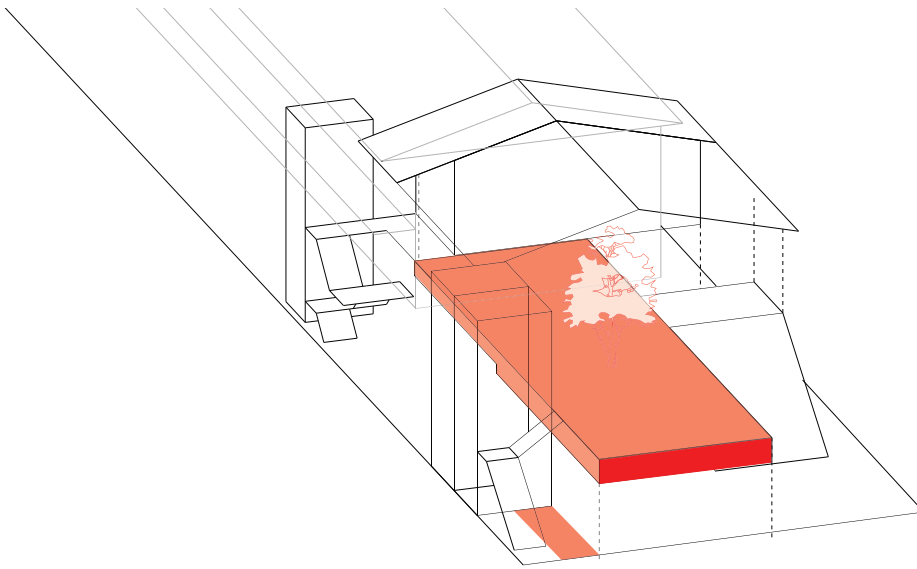
Soft Scaffold

A green roof, with adequate soil depth to grow a variety of vegetables occupies the entire extent of the exterior addition.

Residents can flexibly approrpiate the space by adding pavers, creating walking paths, and planting as they see fit.

Funding and Acquisition

Fig. 4.21

This intervention involves the acquisition of a small apartment building in a process like the SFCLT's Small Sites Acquisition Program. The Oakland Community Land Trust is working to develop a similar program, whereby the CLT partners with residents of small apartment buildings at risk of displacement to remove it from the market. The proposal converts the existing rental apartment into a resident managed, limited equity co-op.

Another funding source is the city of Oakland's NOAH (naturally occurring affordable housing) preservation loan program, which dedicates monies to rehabilitate housing that have become "naturally" affordable through disinvestment.

Through a collective process of planning for the future of the site, the hope is that residents in the neighbouring small apartment buildings will become aware of the CLT model.

1. Acquisition:
The CLT holds community meetings and events to kick off acquisition efforts and raise funds.
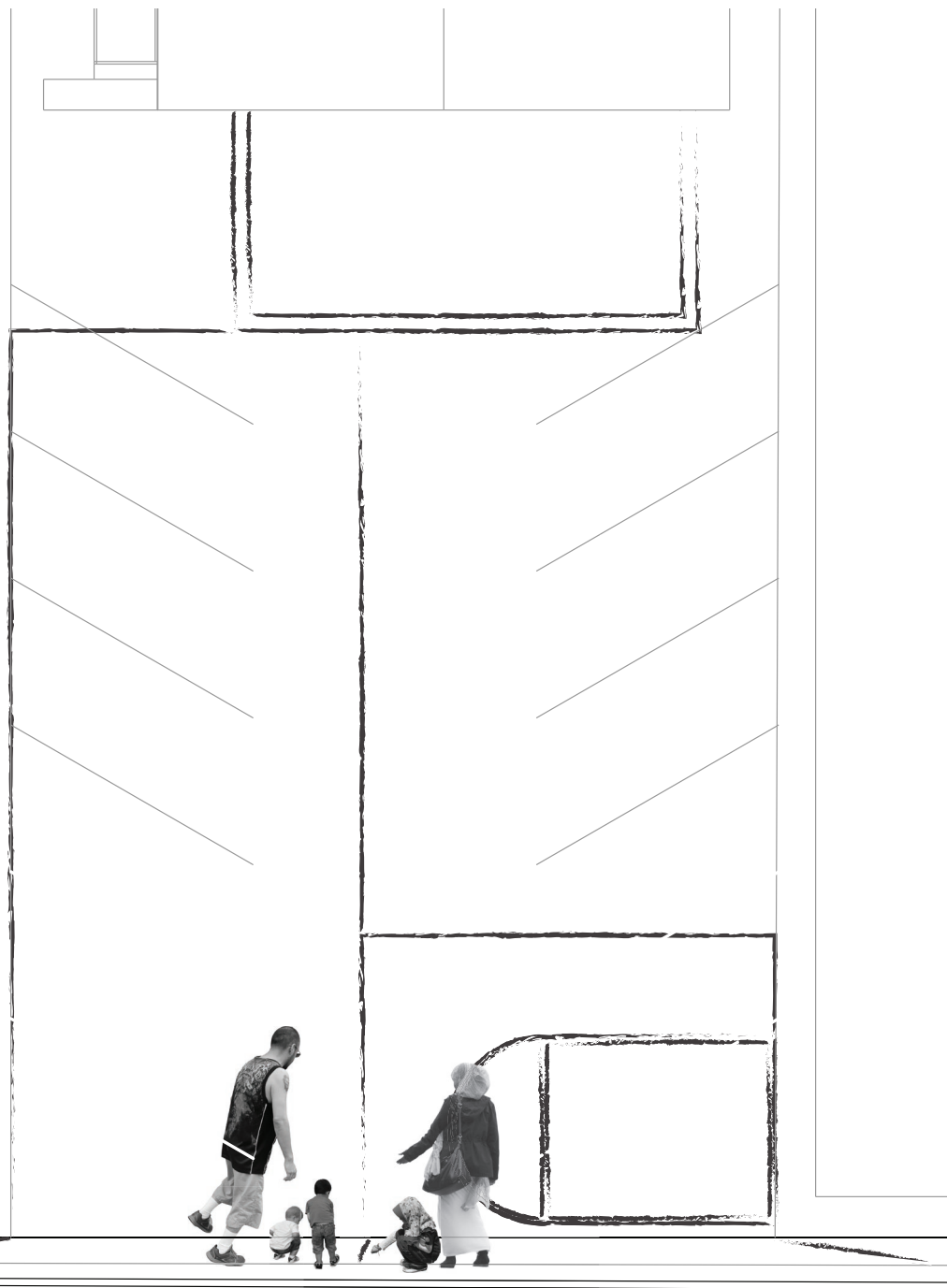
2. Design:
In-situ collective planning exercises (ex. tactic: using 1:1 plans in chalk to test out program layouts) make the design process accessible, and inviting for a wide range of participants.
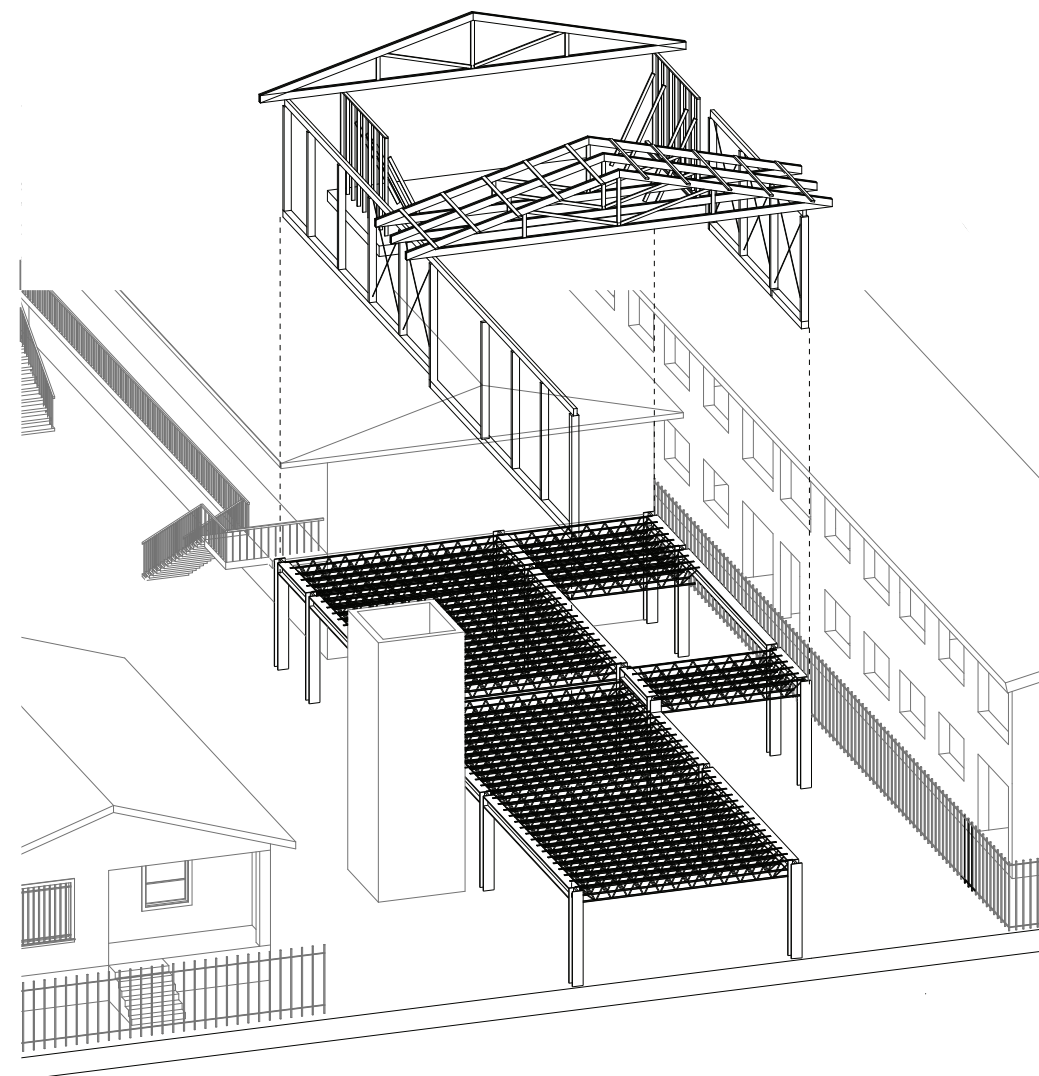
3. Construction:
A steel structure for the lower level allows for fast erection time, minimizing disturbances to day-to-day life. The second level (in wood) can be self-built.
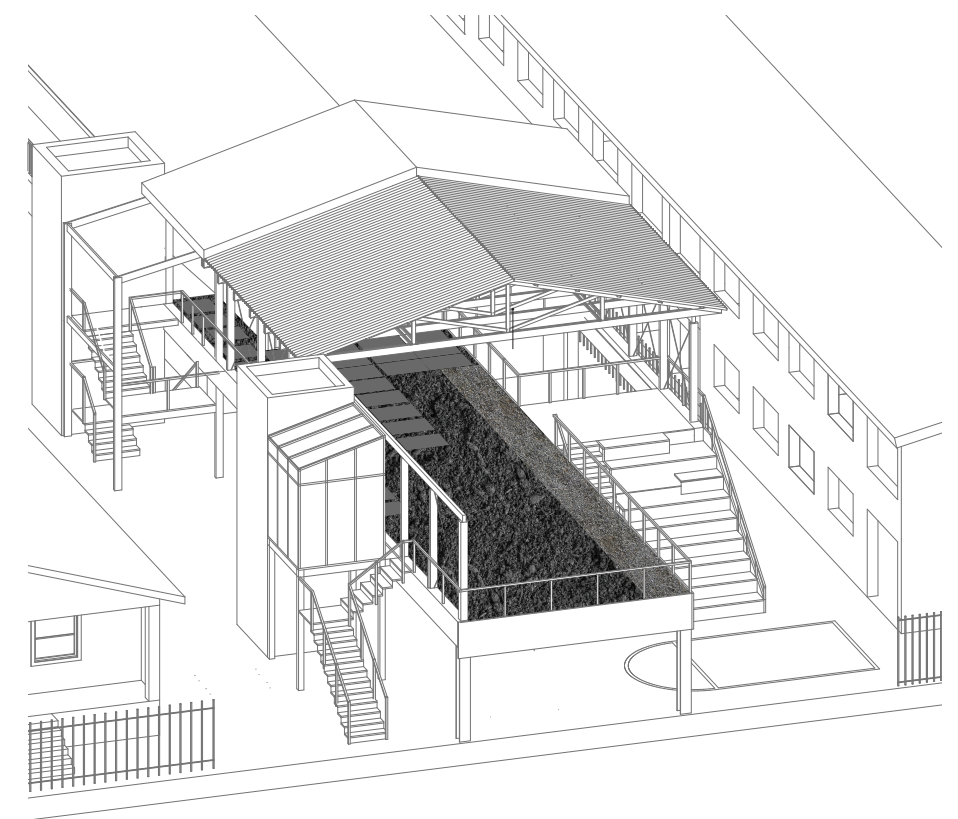
4. Occupation:
The soft scaffold can be re-shaped (ex. with pavers and planting) to suit the changing needs of local residents.

Fig. 4.22 Site 1 rendered axonometric view

135

Level 2
1:200

Fig. 4.23

6

1

2

3
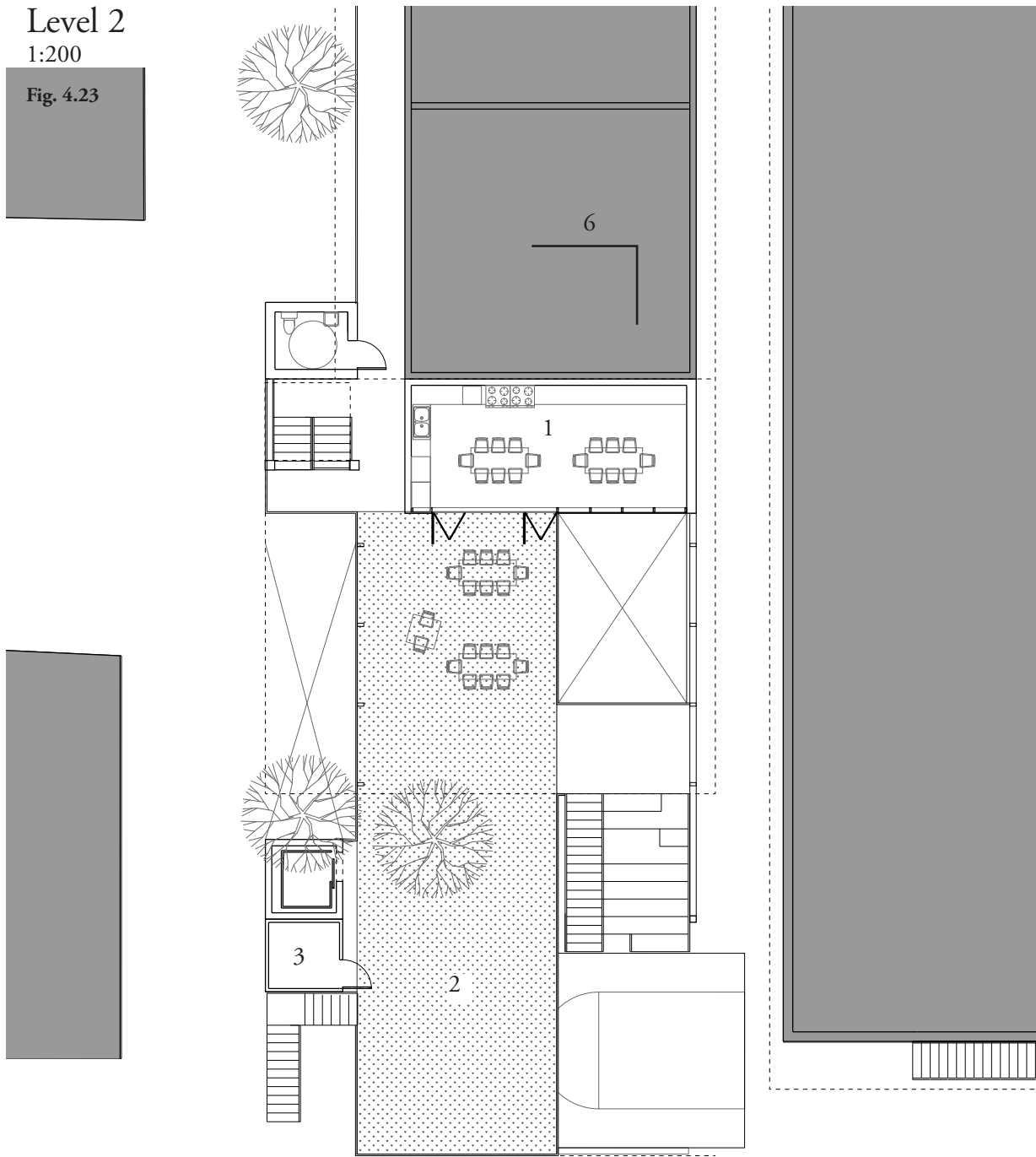
Section

Ground Floor

1:200

Fig. 4.24

6

4

4

5

North
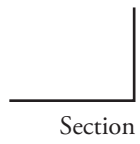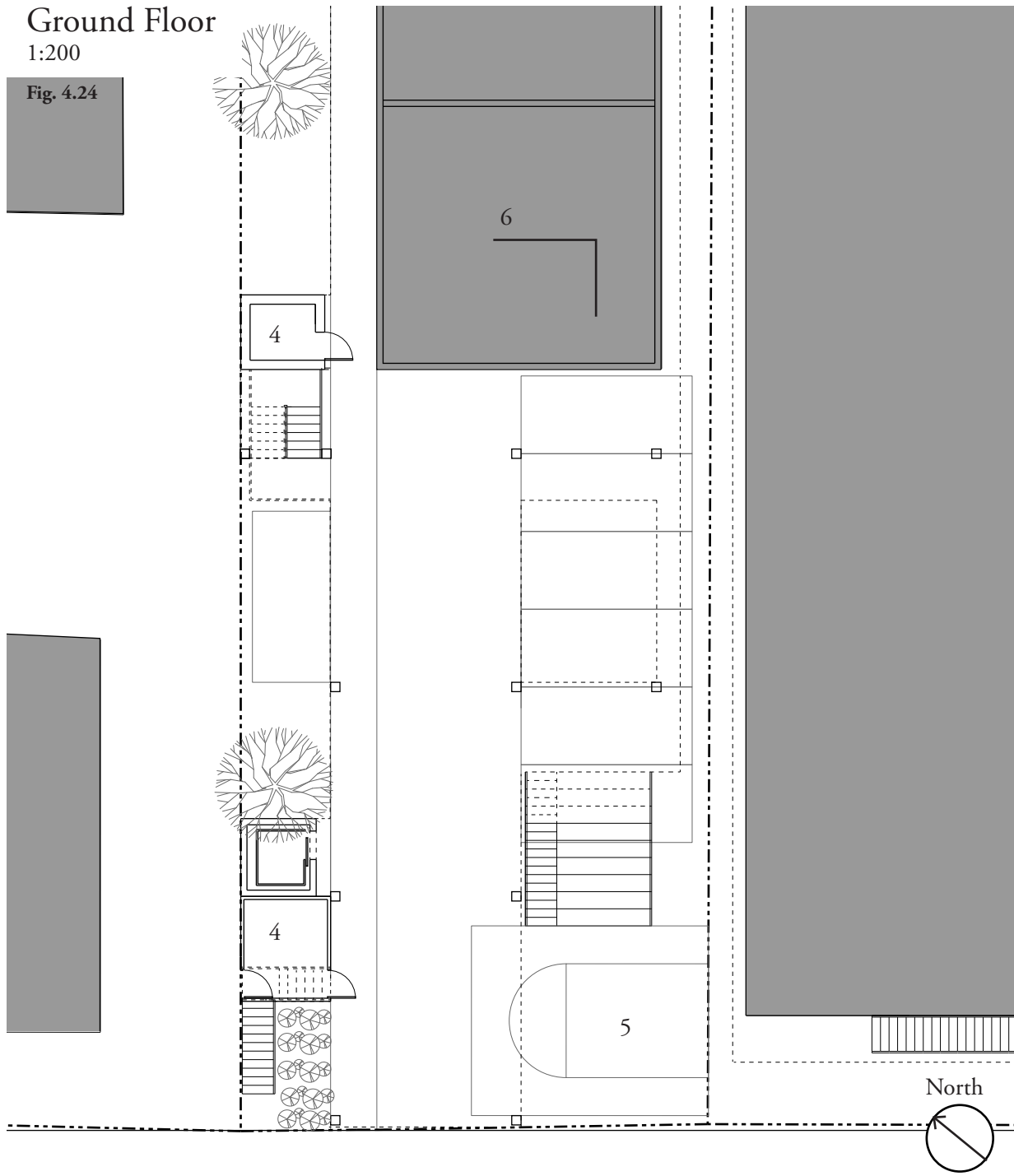
Section

Legend
1. Shared resident kitchen/
interior CLT meeting space
2. Community garden
3. Greenhouse and tool storage
4. Storage and tools
5. Hardscape for sports
6. Existing 7-unit apartment
building

Section

Fig. 4.25
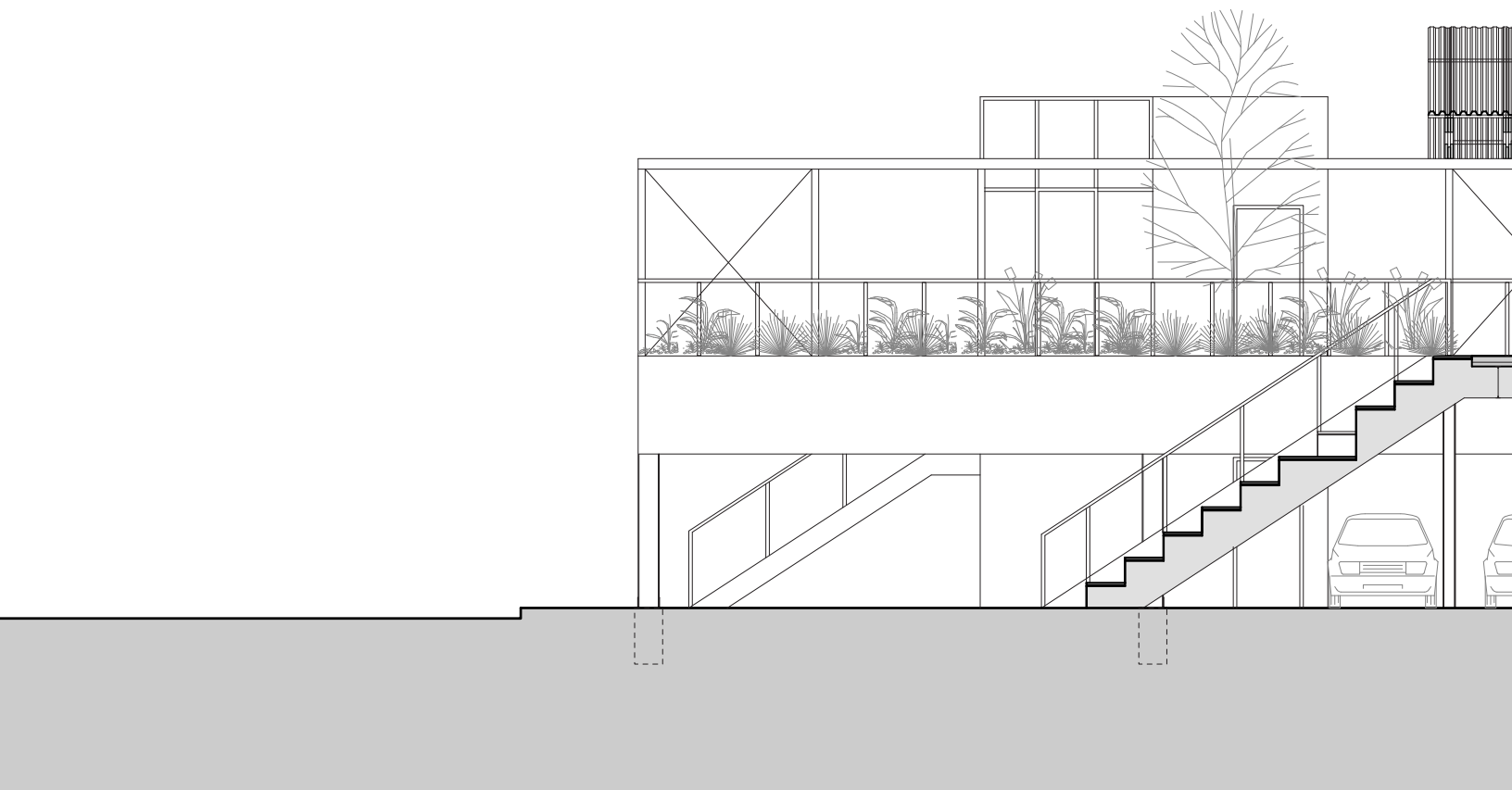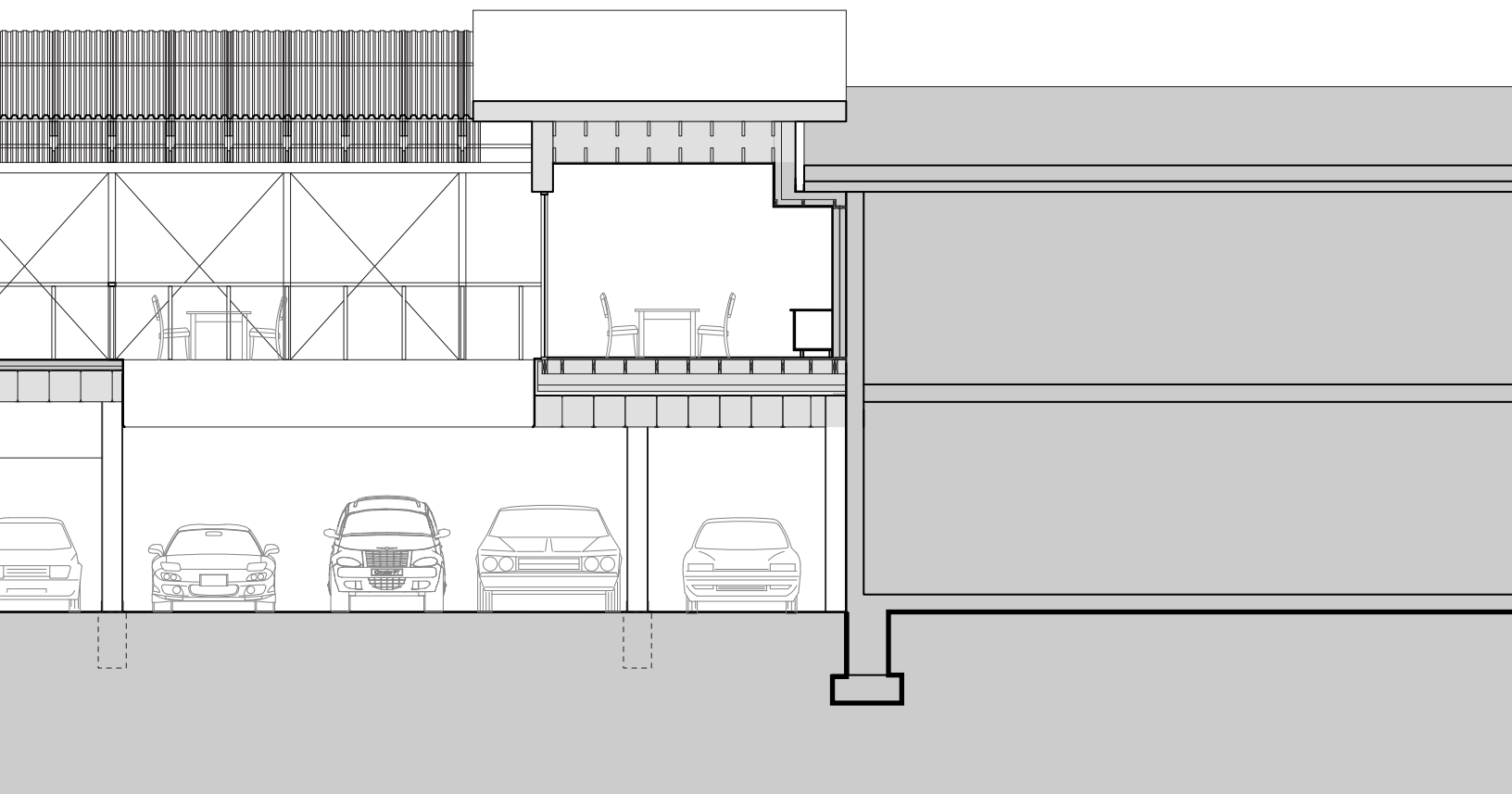
Fig. 4.26   View from kitchen

Site #2
Healing House

Location and Existing Condition

The Healing House renovates a foreclosed property, located on 76th street near International Blvd. The existing house was first constructed in 1922, and several extensions have been added on since then.

North

Fig. 4.27   Site Plan, 1:1000

Fig. 4.28   View from street

Programmatic Connections

Fig. 4.29 The First 72+
The house on the left contains residential programs (re-entry housing for 5 men), and the house on the left contains support services (case management, legal services and small--business incubation) which are also open to non-residents.
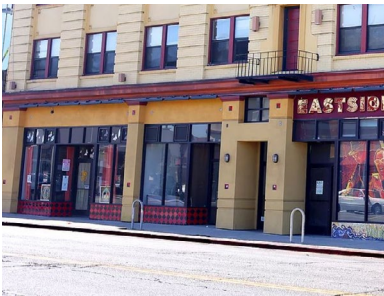
Fig. 4.30 CURYJ

From the listening session, and from feedback gathered, it is evident that there is a need for more housing options, as well as supportive programs for "homecomers," men and women who are returning to their communities following incarceration, especially following the passage of Proposition 47[86].

The programmatic strategy for *Healing House* is similar to The First 72+ in New Orleans, an organization led by formerly incarcerated people that provides re-entry housing, along with resources to support micro-business entrepreneurship and community engagement. The organization is housed in two buildings, one containing living areas for up to five men, and the other containing offices and support services.[87]

This design also expands upon the work of local restorative justice organizations such as Communities United for Restorative Youth Justice (CURYJ). CURYJ practices restorative justice and builds political leadership in previously incarcerated youth, to reform the criminal justice system and address structural inequality through local actions. CURYJ also emphasizes personal and community healing through cultural education (through an Indigenous framework), a mural and arts program, life-coaching, mentorship and social enterprise, in the form of its "La Cultura Cura" coffee shop.

Healing House combines re-entry housing for up to nine individuals, with administrative space for a re-entry assistance organization. A multi-storey void, along with an external scaffold provides a flexible space that can be appropriated for cultural, communal healing and political organizing.

Summary of Feedback[88]

In the initial iteration, the program consisted of a live-work space for artists and activists who were people of colour. A scaffold of chainlink fence material was proposed, warped to create an entry threshold and meditation pavilion at the rear of the site.

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86   See Appendix A, Member of Eastside Arts Alliance, Interview with Author, Feb 26, 2018.
87   "Our Programs," The First 72+, , accessed Apr 19, 2018, https://www.first72plus.org/copy-of-our-history.
88   See Appendix B

There was critical feedback on both the programmatic strategy, and the materiality. One respondent questioned the appropriateness of housing for artists, suggesting expanding the definition of "artist" to include people who work in food or ecological justice, so that the potential inhabitants can be more engaged with the conditions of the local community. As well, she suggested re-entry housing as a more fitting residential program. While there was a positive response to general intent of the scaffolding space, with respect to how it mediated privacy, while displaying the residents' art, chain-link was determined not to be the most suitable material, because of its associations with the prison yard.

The program was accordingly revised to incorporate re-entry housing, and, responding to a general provocation of how the architecture could serve as an educational element for the community, there is now a more pointed emphasis on the role of the scaffold as a frame for displaying artifacts (specifically posters and banners) from community activism.

Fig. 4.31
Programmatic Strategy

Residents-Private

Bedrooms/
washrooms

Residents-Shared

Kitchen/
living areas

Community Space

Re-entry services office
Meditation space

Kitchen

Open meeting/workspace
[CLT meeting space]
Exterior Gallery

146
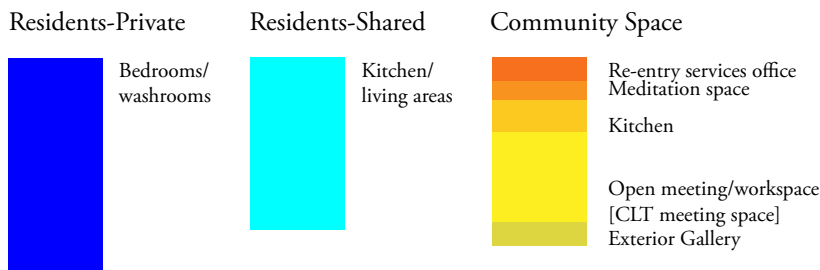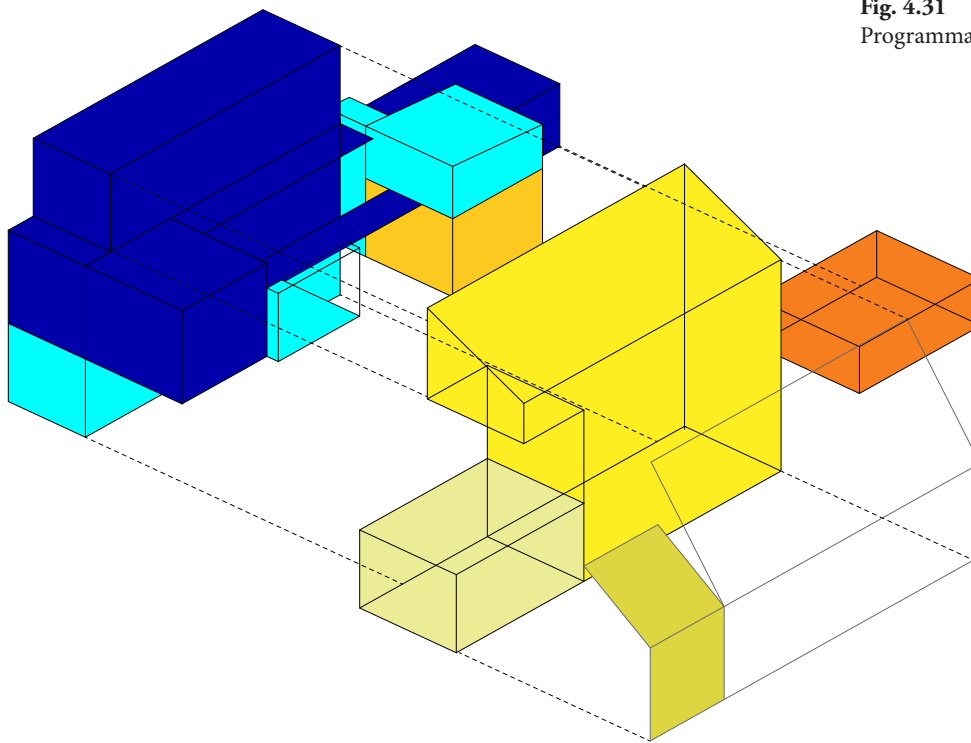
Scaffold: Form

Fig. 4.32
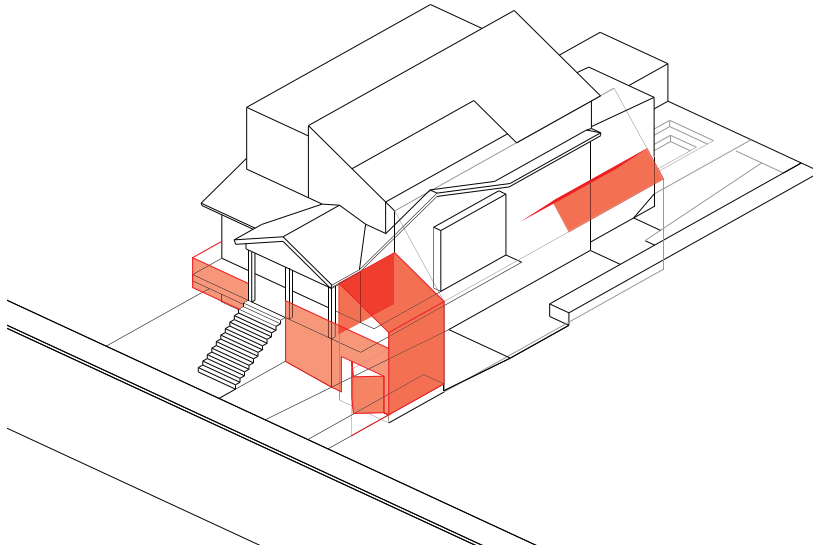
Surface scaffold

Posters and banners, hung on the structural scaffold, record of the cultural production and activism of the house and its local community.
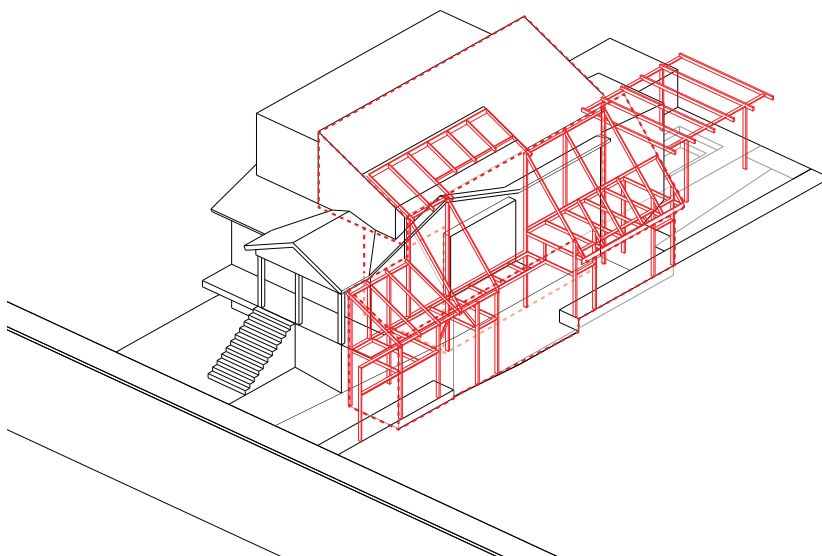
Structural scaffold

The structural scaffold forms a sheltered exterior space that extends the central communal space inside.
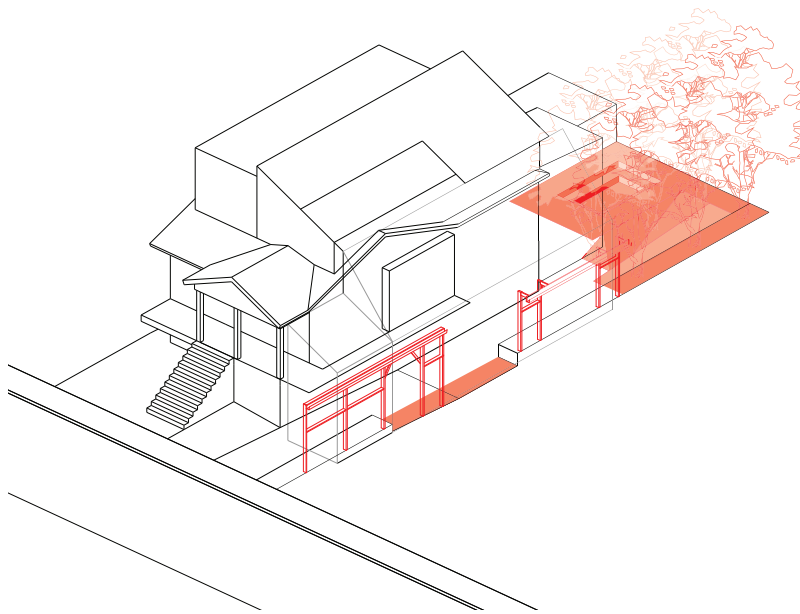
Soft Scaffold

A sunken landscape provides a quiet space that can be used for a variety of healing activities, like meditation, ceremonies, restorative justice practices, and counselling and mentoring sessions, without complete separation from the rest of the site.

Funding and Acquisition

This scenario involves the acquisition and rehabilitation of a foreclosed home, similar to Oakland CLT's work during the Great Recession. A re-entry support organization could partner with the CLT to acquire the foreclosed property, with grassroots financial backing from the local community.

Alternatively, the site could be purchased entirely under a PREC model, where a group of organizers could fundraise capital, acquire the housing and shepherd it into the land trust.

Since foreclosed properties that are financially practical for CLT's to acquire usually require significant repair[89], funding for the rebuilding and re-design could come from the City, for example, through the its Neighbourhood Housing Revitalization Program.

Over time, the hope is that the individuals that have transitioned out of the re-entry housing (moving into permanent CLT housing), will create social enterprises – that can be hosted at Common Wealth (site 3) - providing financial support for the organization as well as employment for other homecomers.

89   Member of Oakland CLT, Interview with Author

Scaffold: Process

Fig. 4.33

1. Acquisition/Design

The CLT can hold an open-house, inviting neighbours and other interested community members to express concerns and ideas for the project.

Artistic expression, for example, through music and dance at local events could be another means of building a collective vision for the project, while expanding the commons.

2. Construction

The structural scaffold can be stick-built out of modular components, which allows a wide range of people to participate in collectively rebuilding the house.

3. Construction/ Occupation:

Occupying the scaffold with banners can be another event, expanding and strengthening commoning .

The photos below (taken by the author) demonstrate that people of Oakland and the East Bay already proudly display their politics on the facades of their homes.

Roller-blind assembly or similar

Recycled banner

Detail: Surface scaffold assembly
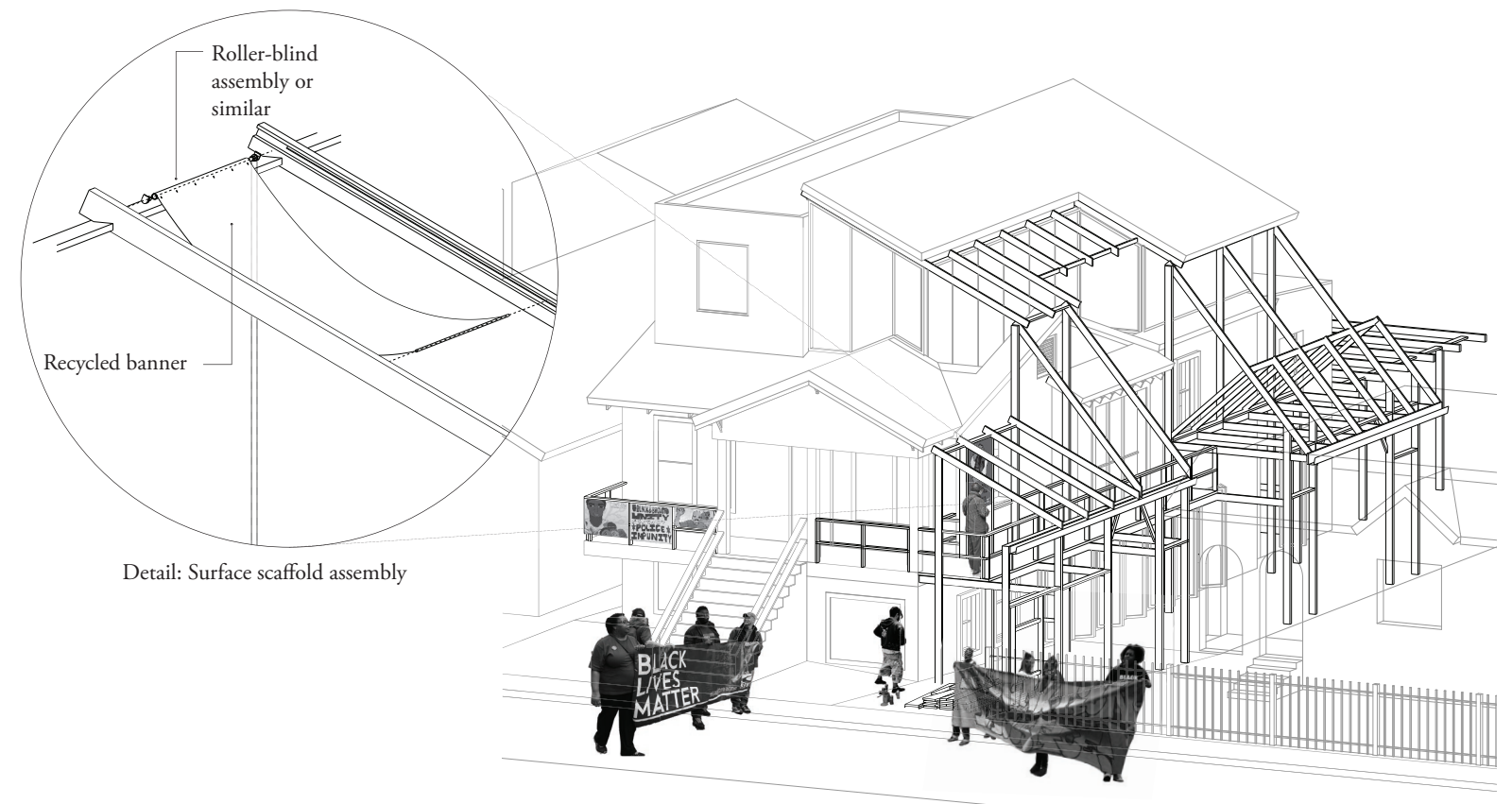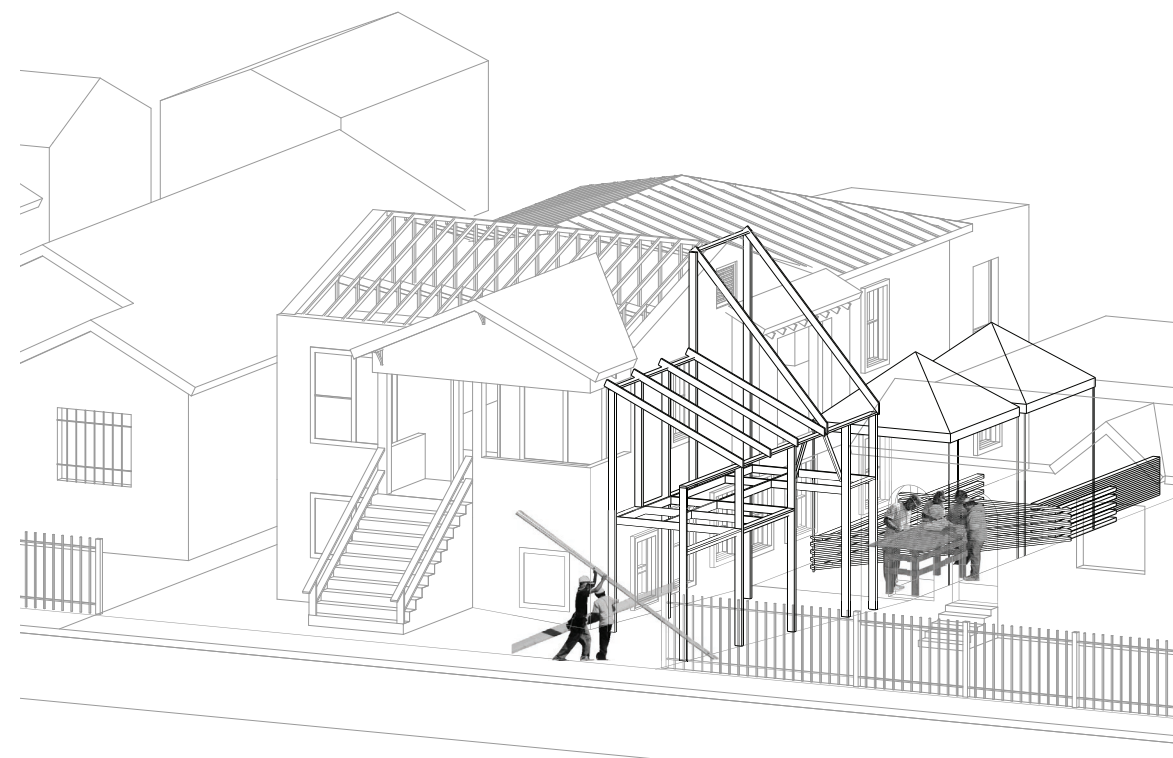
Fig. 4.34   Site 2: Rendered axonometric view

Existing Plans (Assumed)
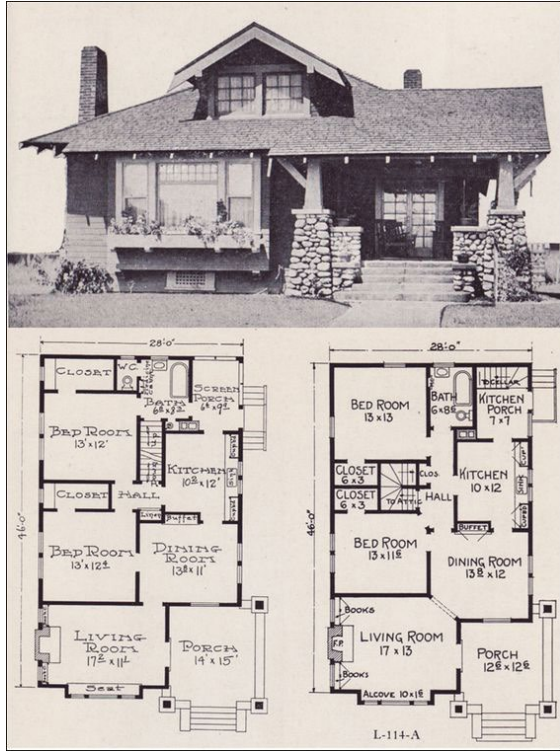
Fig. 4.36 Plans of a typical 1920's California cottage
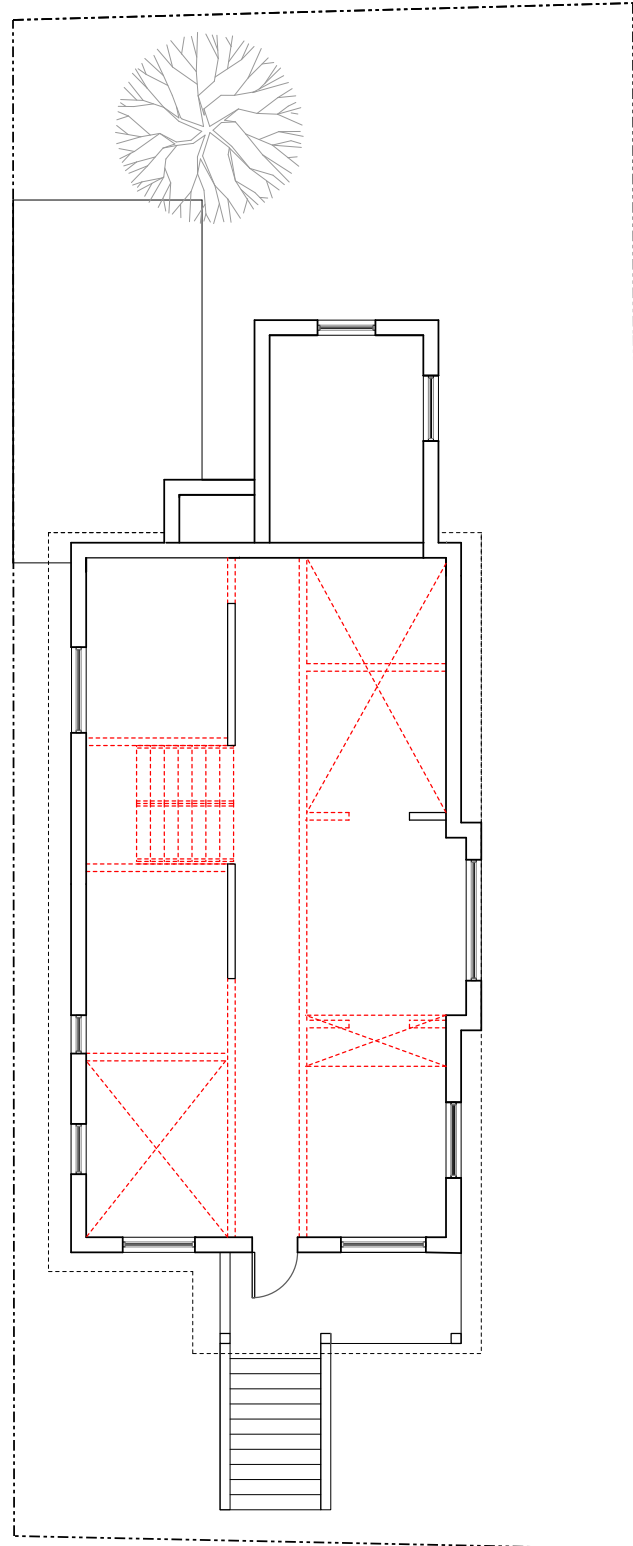
Fig. 4.35 Assumed existing level 2 plan (1:150)
Red indicates existing walls and areas to be demolished

153
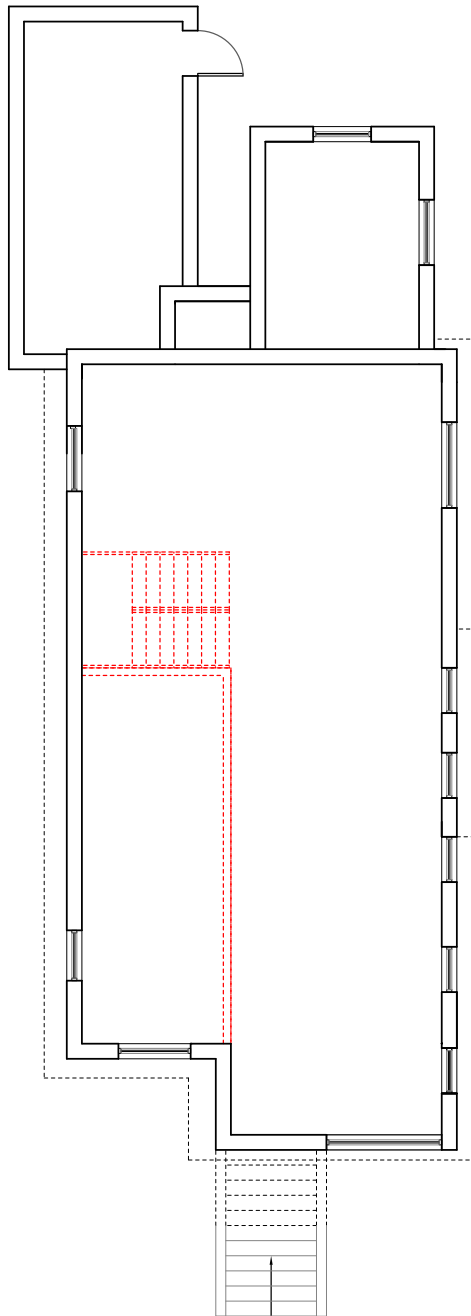
Fig. 4.37 Assumed existing ground level plan (1:150)
Red indicates existing walls and areas to be demolished

154

Second Floor Plan
1:150

Fig. 4.38

2

1

up

dn

Section

North
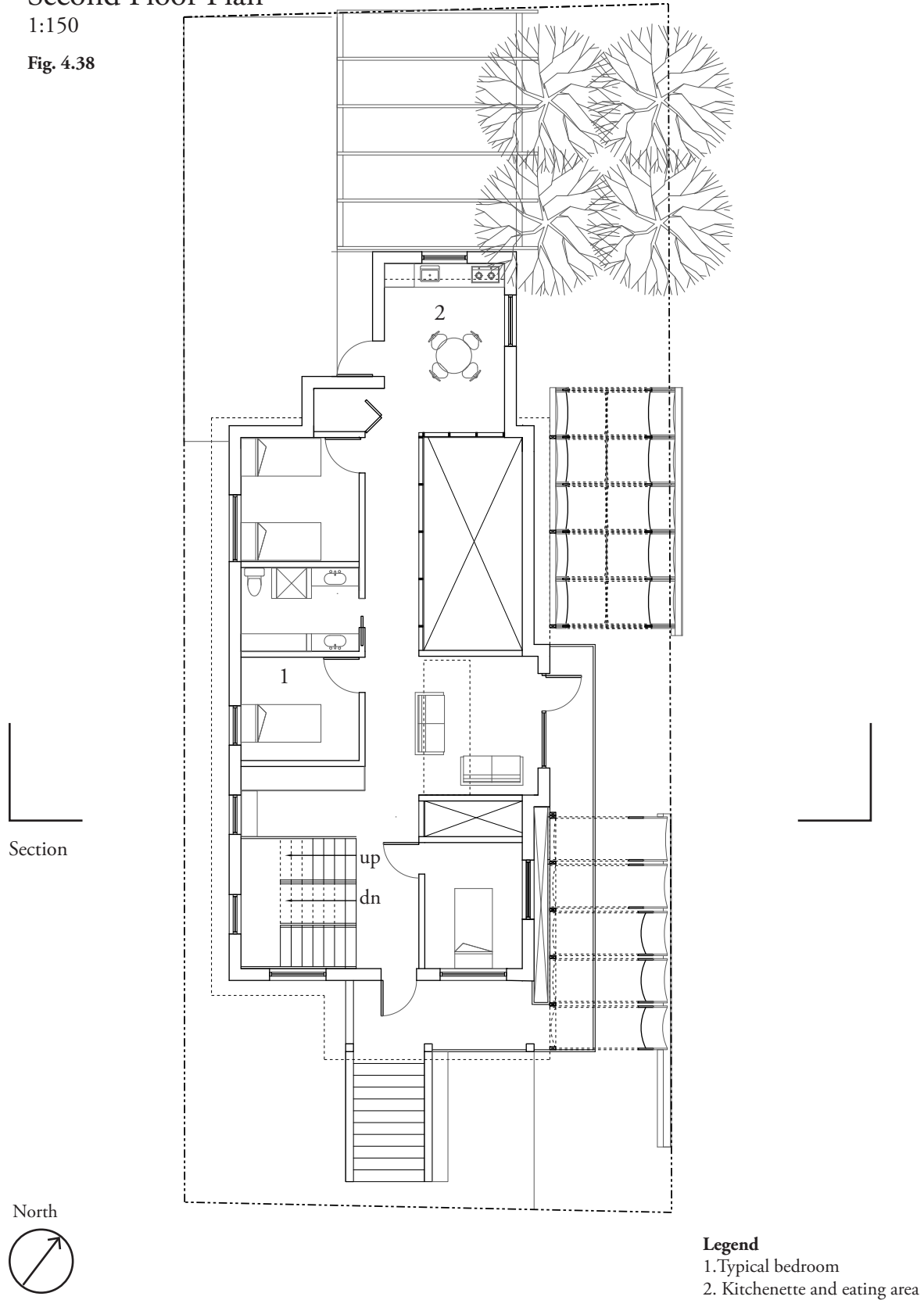
Legend
1.Typical bedroom
2. Kitchenette and eating area

Ground Floor Plan

1:150

Fig. 4.39

6

3

4

2

5

DN
5%

1
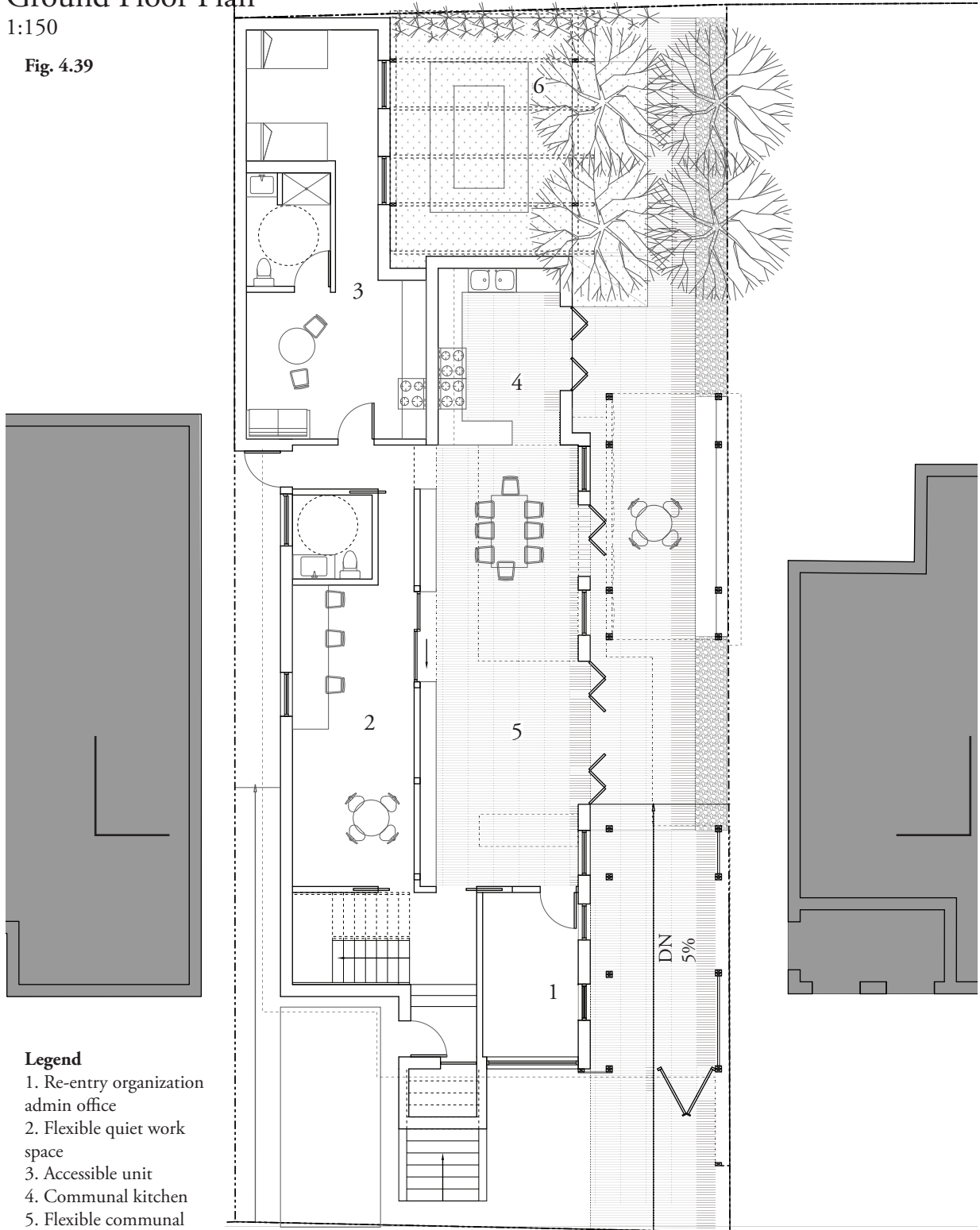
Legend
1. Re-entry organization admin office
2. Flexible quiet work space
3. Accessible unit
4. Communal kitchen
5. Flexible communal space
6. Meditation and healing space

Third Floor Plan
1:150

Fig. 4.40

Section

North

1

2
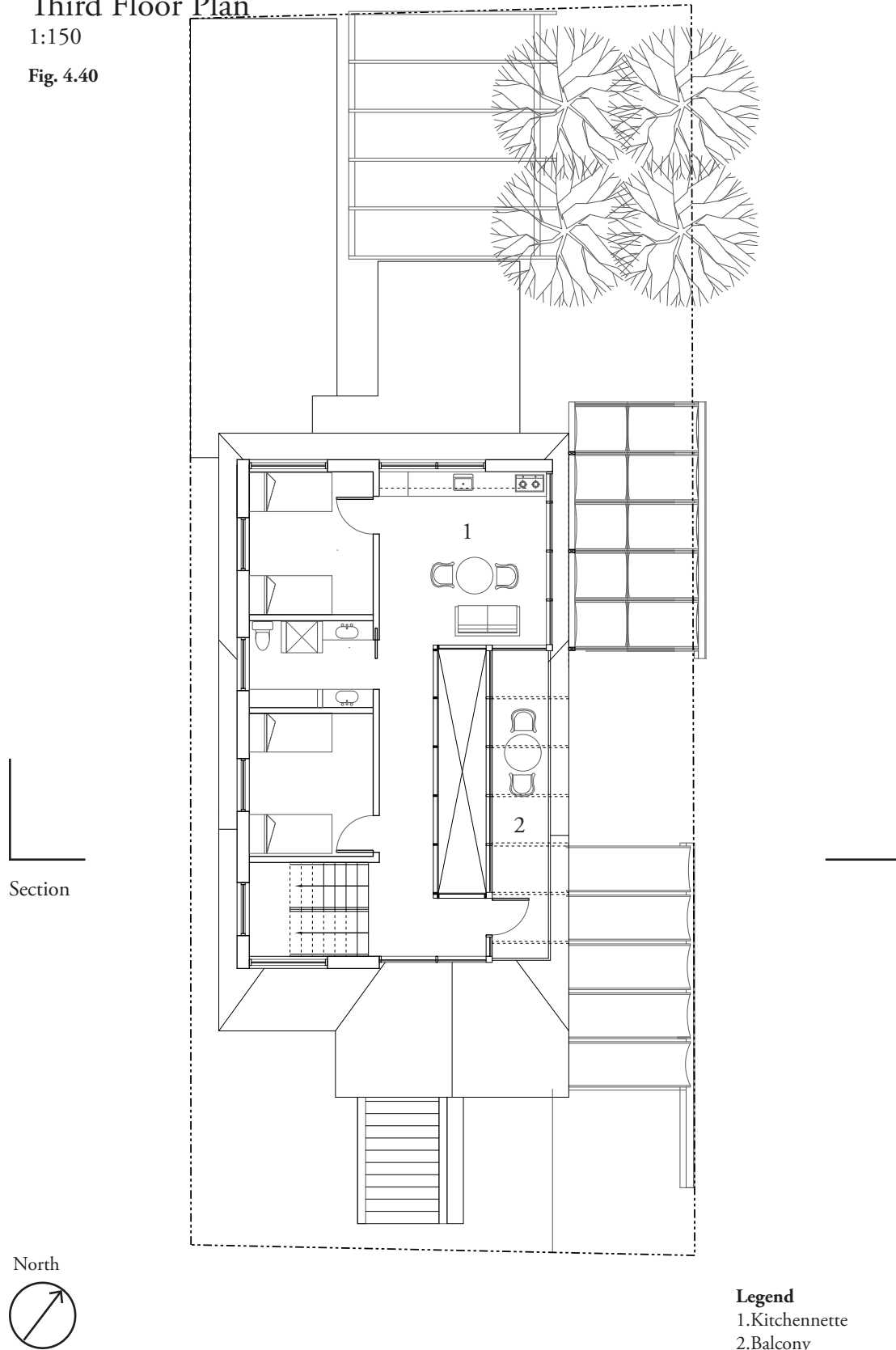
Legend
1.Kitchennette
2.Balcony
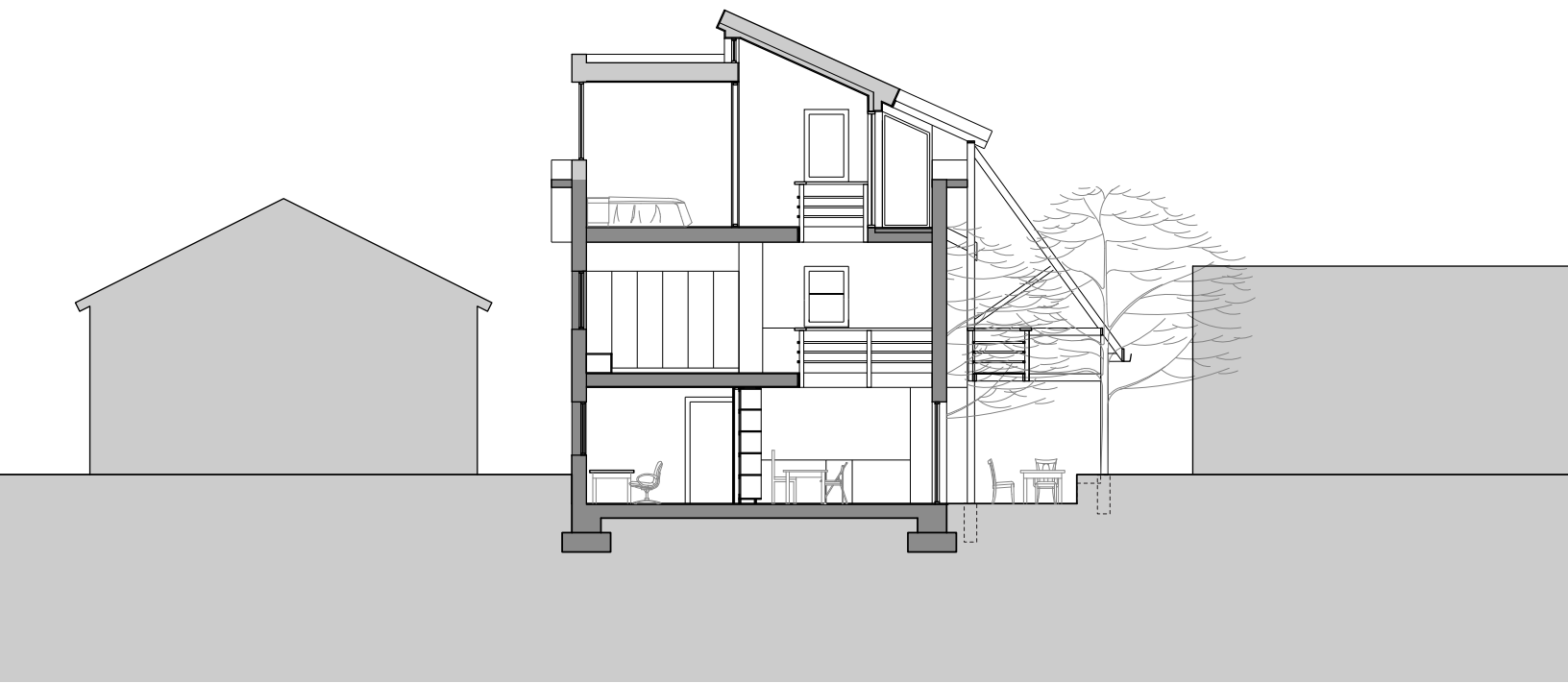
Fig. 4.41
Cross-section
Scale 1:150

Fig. 4.42   View of exterior common space and scaffold at night

Fig. 4.43 View out from flexible communal space

Fig. 4.44 View of house during event

Site #3
Common Wealth

Location and Existing Condition

Common Wealth is to be constructed on a vacant lot on International Blvd. There was previously a daycare on the site. (It was demolished in the mid 2000's).
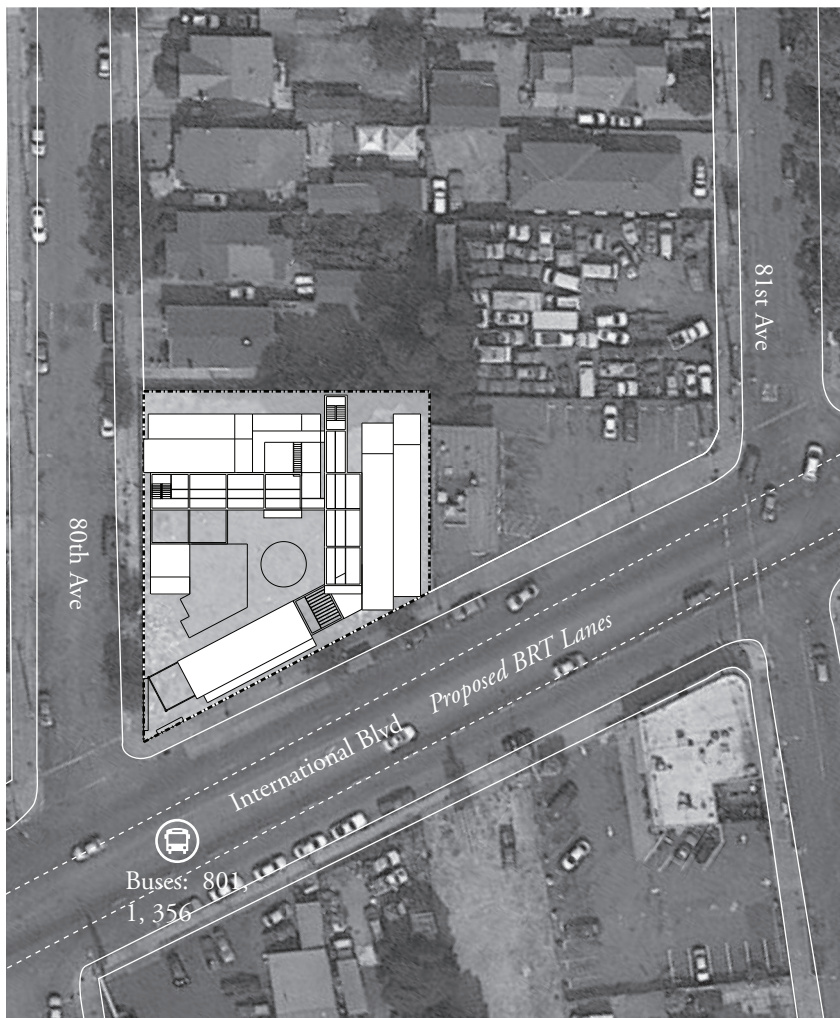
Fig. 4.45 Site Plan, 1:1000

North

Fig. 4.46 View from Street

Programmatic Connections

Fig. 4.47 Poster calling for the donation of building materials for the Village in Oakland
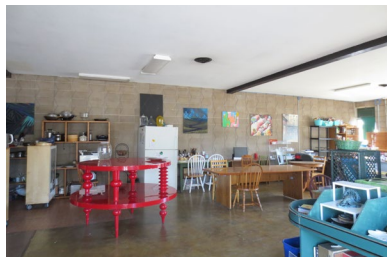
Fig. 4.48 Local precedent-flexible work space at GROW Incubator in West Oakland

Common Wealth expands the ability of the home to serve as a site for the exchange and sharing of community wealth, knowledge, and possessions. It addresses the need for building an economic commons in deep East Oakland, but through an inclusive, equitable process that does not reproduce the structures of exploitation and social alienation of Silicon Valley's hyper-capitalism.

Thus, the programmatic response centres around spaces of communal production and exchange. At its most public threshold along International Blvd – a threshold between the regional and local, is a commercial space that can potentially house a local co-operative, a social enterprise, or headquarters for a grassroots non-profit. This space can also serve as a site for employment or social entrepreneurship for the residents at Healing House, and others returning from incarceration.

On the ground floor of the southeast building is a communal production space, open to use by houseless people to build self-determined shelter (in support the Village in Oakland's work to provide temporary, immediate relief from the homeless crisis). The ground floor of the northeast building hosts a space that can be flexibly used for immaterial labour or as an indoor meeting space for the CLT. An associated childcare space, opening to an exterior scaffold that structurally supports playground structures, allows for the sharing of childcare duties. Other spaces of domestic labour are similarly collectivized, from a large community kitchen, to a central garden (**Fig. 4.56**).

Neighbourly Accountability: "NOT Calling the Kkkops - EVER"[90]

Due to the legacy of disinvestment and the crack epidemic, violent crime persists in Deep East Oakland, especially along parts of International Blvd. Gentrifying and low-income neighbourhoods alike call upon law enforcement to address security issues- leading to increased distrust and isolation between neighbours, racialized violence between police and people of colour, and the expansion of the prison industrial complex. Given this, it is necessary to explore means of providing security other than increased policing.

90   Lisa-Gray Garcia, "NOT Calling the Kkkops - EVER," Poor Magazine | Prensa PobreJan 22, 2016.

In affinity with the numerous grassroots groups in East Oakland addressing violence through a community well-being and relationship-building approach, the formal and programmatic strategies in Common Wealth enable neighbourly accountability.

The structural scaffold forms thresholds, mediating boundaries without isolation or exclusion. Views from both residential and community programs are directed towards the shared green space and entrances to the site, to promote collective responsibility for security. Similar to the Village houseless encampments, security is delegated to a volunteer safety officer[91]. This safety officer would occupy the same space as counsellors, who provide mental health support rebuild residents' capacities for trust and commoning, and prevent future violence.

Expanding, (not Destroying) Family

The design privileges 2 and 3-bedroom units. They are included in a variety of configurations to allow for flexibility in sharing, whether between blended families, single-parent families, extended families, or unrelated individuals.

Feedback Summary[92]

Feedback from the first iteration pointed to the need to better address security along the International Blvd edge, as well as to maximize density. In the revision, the community kitchen and social enterprise spaces were moved closer to the street edge to enable casual surveillance, and a slatted gate was added, to provide privacy as necessary while hinting at occupation of the space within. Height was increased to the maximum allowed for in terms of light wood construction and current zoning regulations.

As well, with regards to design methodology, one respondent encouraged the author to get feedback from more front-line organizations. Regrettably, due to time constraints, the author was unable to address this suggestion.

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91   Ali Budner, "Oakland Dismantles Tiny Houses at Homeless 'Village'," KQED News, sec. The California Report, Feb 3, 2017.
92   See Appendix B

Fig. 4.49
Programmatic Strategy

Residents-Private

3 br units

2 br units
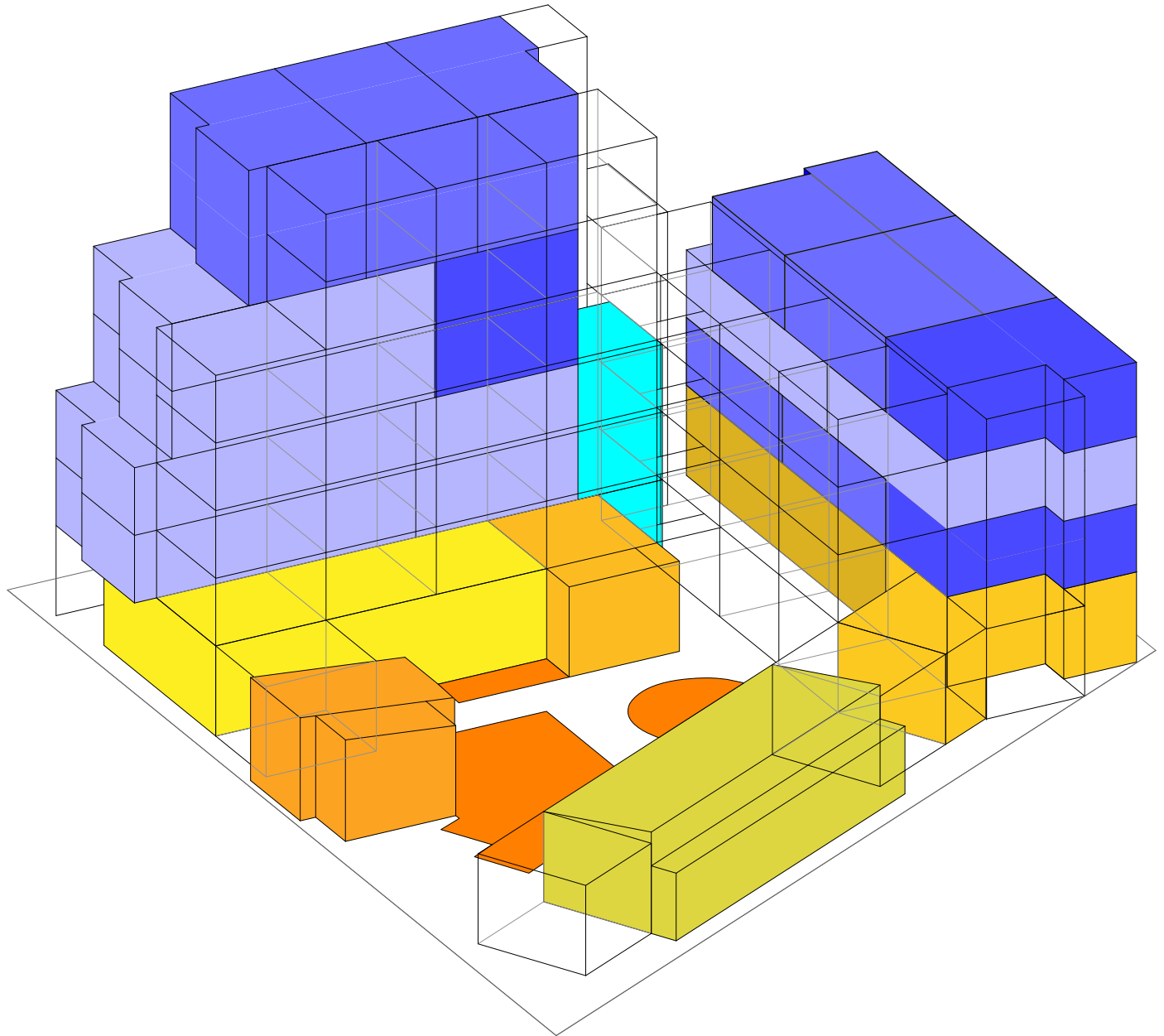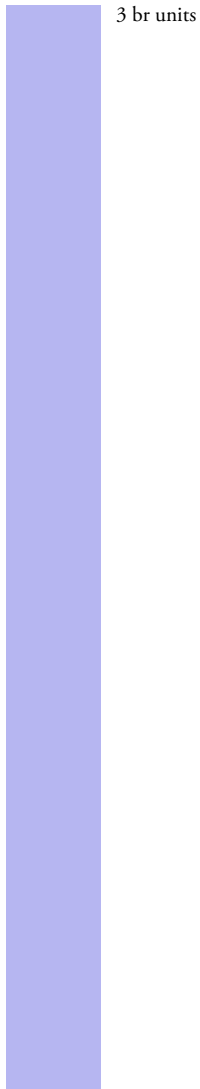
Residents-Shared
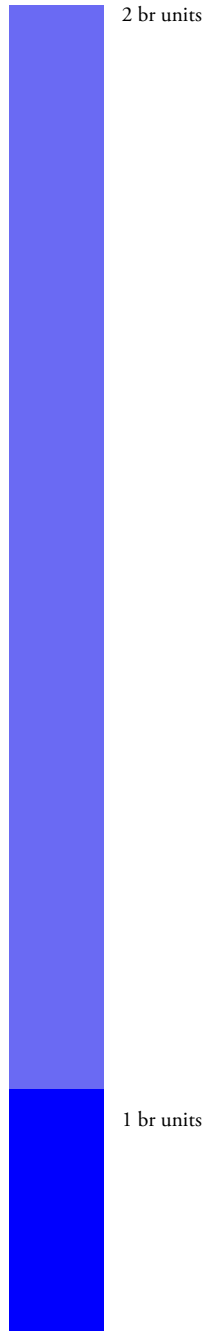
Laundry,
lobby
and admin.

Community

Admin/Reception

Counselling/Mentoring

Childcare

Kitchen

Garden

Open work/
meeting/
event space
[CLT interior meeting
space]

Porches

Workshop

Social Enterprisse

1 br units

Scaffold: Form

Fig. 4.50

+ 2 storeys / 13 units/ +15' possible height with 35% affordable housing density bonus

5 storeys/ 39 units / 60' max. height

35' min. height

0' side / front setback permitted

10' setback adjacent to RD-2 zone
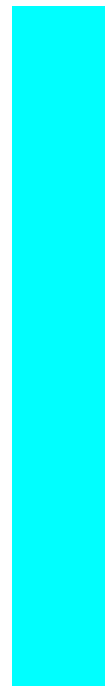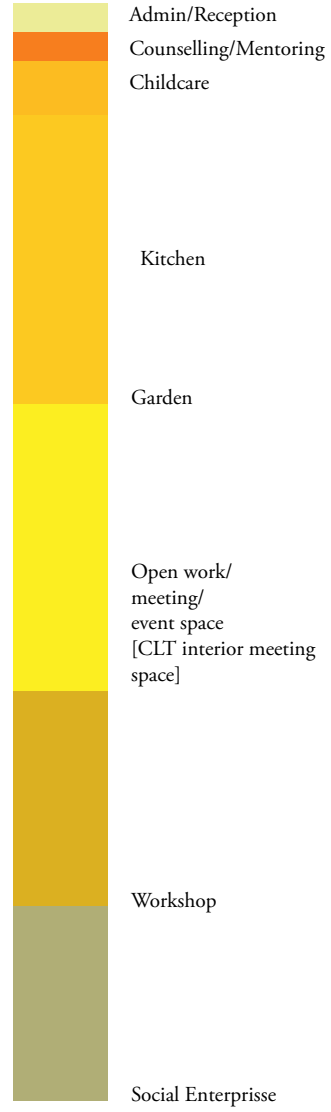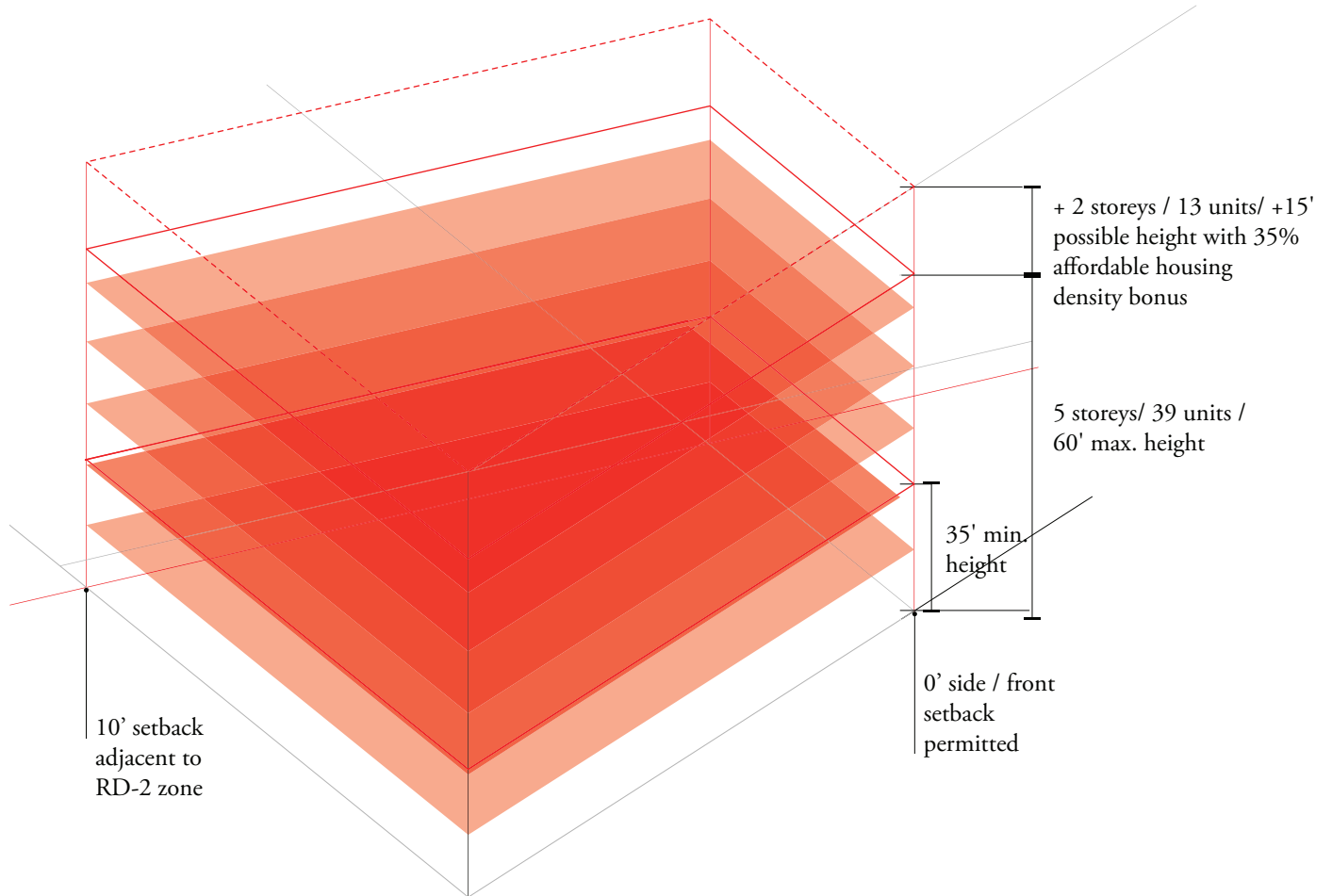
Existing Site and Zoning:
Site Area: 14822 sf
Existing Zoning: RU-5
Number of Permitted Units: 39 units (52 with density bonus)
Permitted Height: 5 storeys, 60'
Parking: 0.8 per unit

Fig. 4.51 Massing Diagram

reduce massing to minimize shading

stack

stack

extend balconies

create threshold

create threshold
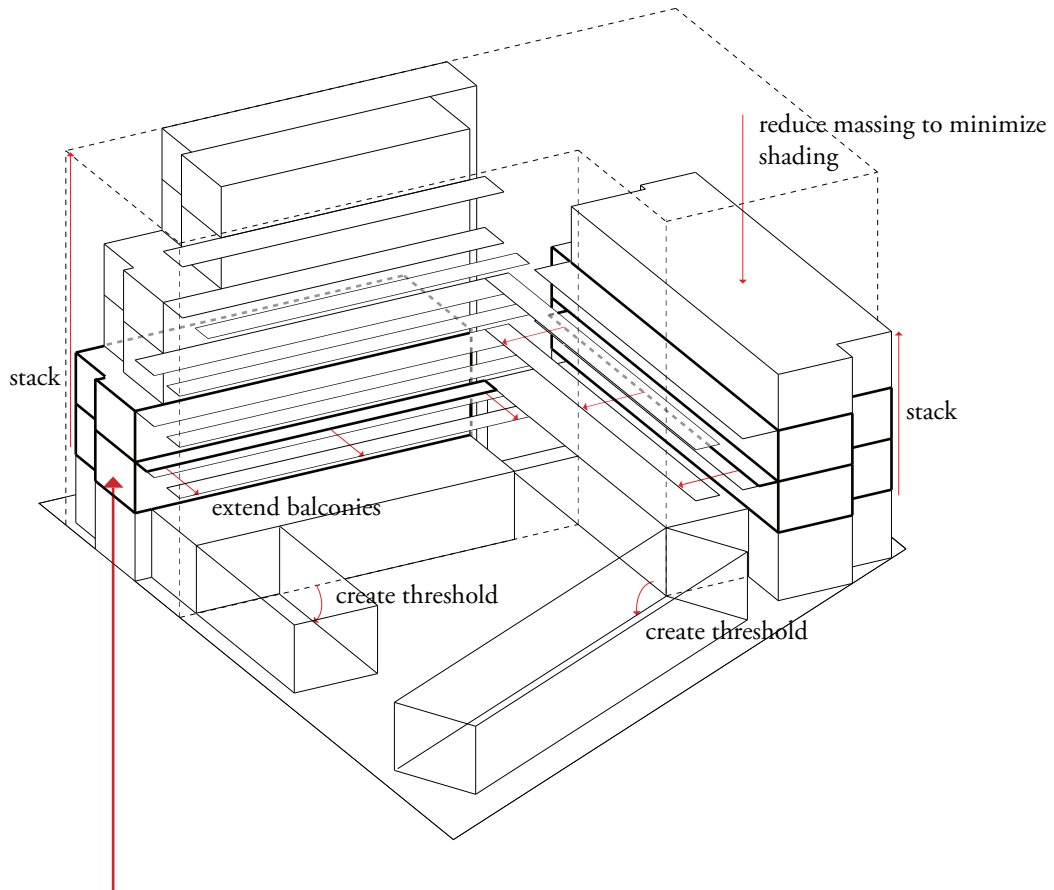
Fig. 4.52 Existing typical "motel-style" multi-family housing

170
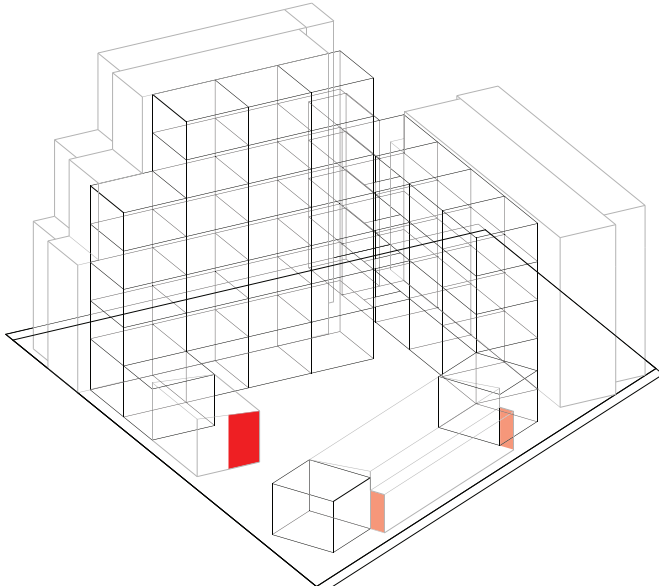
Scaffold: Form

Surface scaffold

At the most public thresholds, solid surfaces for murals allows the community to express identity and culture.
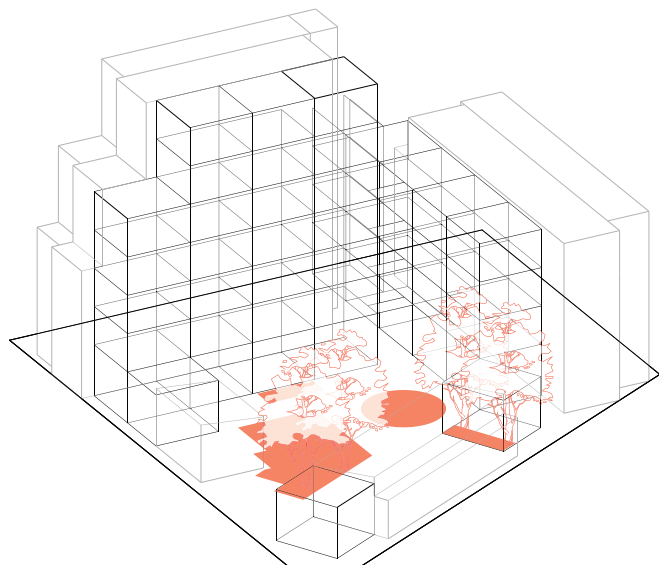
Soft Scaffold

Vegetation provides a privacy buffer at entry thresholds. As well, the soft scaffold forms a space for healthy, affordable food production, and an exterior meeting space that can be flexibly used day to day (ex. as a sandy play space, or a picnic area).

long/
resident

duration of occupation

short/
visitor
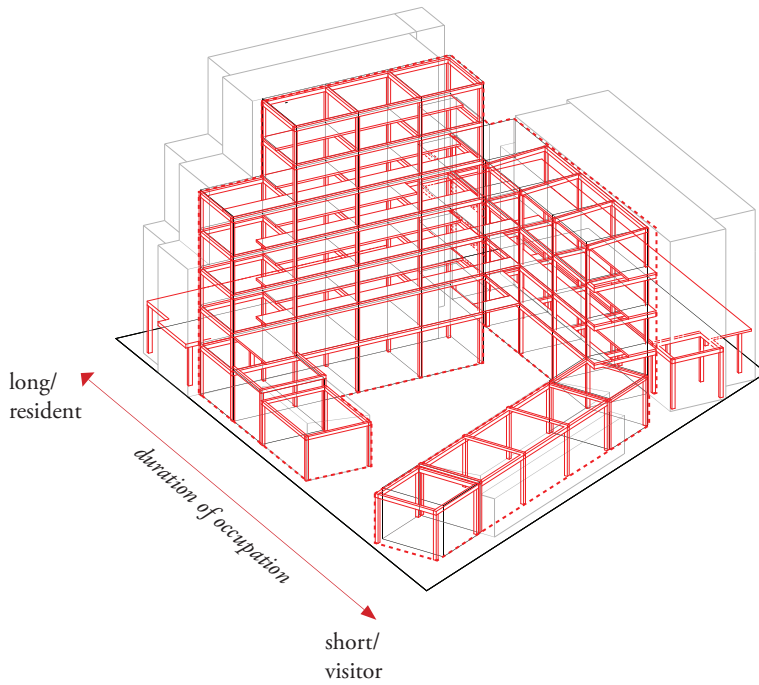
Structural scaffold

The structural scaffold mediates privacy. It forms an entrance threshold along International Blvd and 80th ave. It also forms a liminal space around programs that are more resident-focused, or occupied for longer durations in time.

At the residential levels, the structural scaffold acts as porch spaces that encourage neighbourly encounters.

Funding and Acquisition

This intervention requires the most financial support from public funding.

If this parcel is tax-defaulted, funding for acquisition can come from an existing OakCLT program, whereby the organization partners with Alameda County to remove vacant, tax-defaulted properties from the market.

This parcel is on a privately held piece of land, and thus it is more expensive to convert its use to an affordable housing development, than if it were a public property. However, it is listed as an "opportunity site" [93], perhaps meaning that the city is more willing to dedicate resources towards its acquisition, for example through Bond Measure KK, which provides loans for the purchase of vacant land. Funding for the development and construction of the site could also come from this measure.

Other sources of funding for acquisition and development include community fund-raising, perhaps through a PREC model (similar to site 2 and 3).

Over time, CLT's in Oakland could increase their power to directly acquire and convert vacant parcels to affordable housing, perhaps following the model of the Dudley Street Neighbourhood Initiative in Boston, which acquired the power of eminent domain over privately-owned vacant parcels.[94]

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93   "Figure C-5 Opportunity Sites for Residential Development," City of Oakland, last modified Oct 17, accessed Mar 25, 2018, http://www2. oaklandnet.com/oakca1/groups/ceda/documents/policy/oak051109.pdf.
94   Taylor, "Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative and the Power of Eminent Domain, The," , 1061

Process

The process shown below is based on is a synthesis of precedents: including a template process in the Community Planning Handbook by Nick Wates[95], the process used in development of the Church Grove Pilot Project (a CLT development) in Lewisham, UK[96], and plans for the consultation process in developing Oakland's Black Cultural Zone[97].
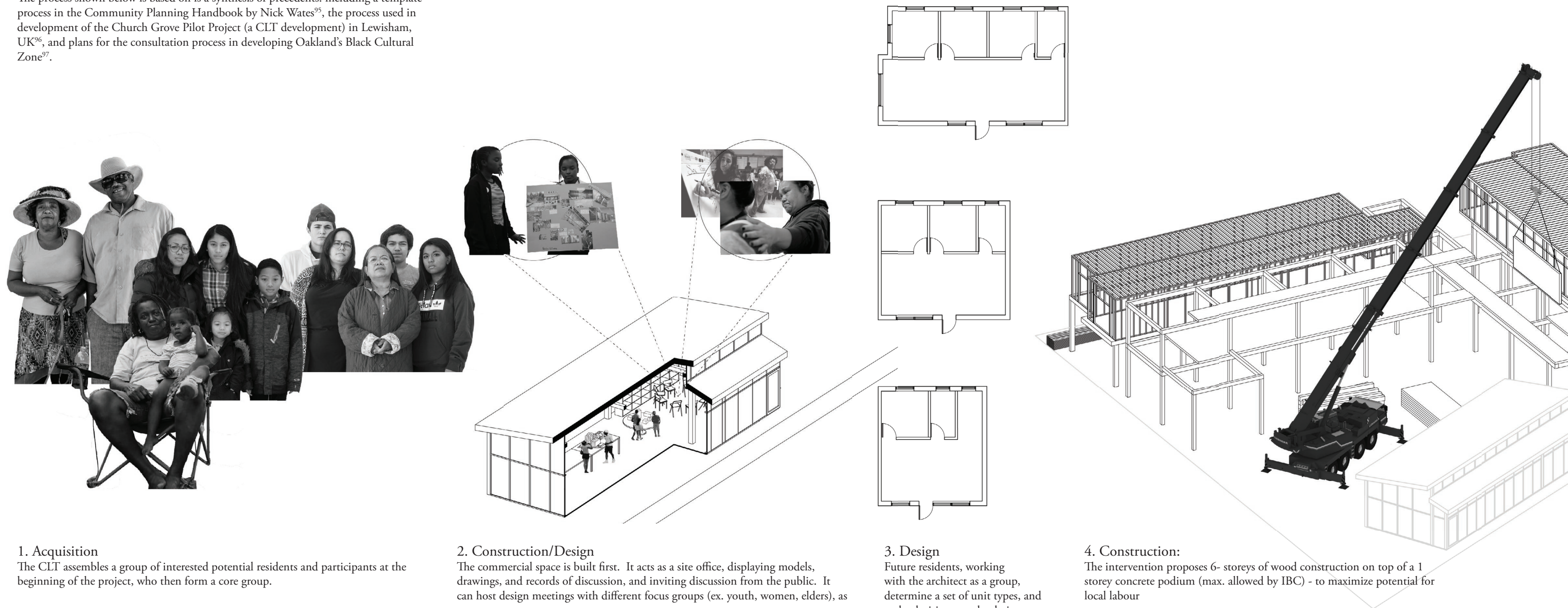
1. Acquisition
The CLT assembles a group of interested potential residents and participants at the beginning of the project, who then form a core group.

2. Construction/Design
The commercial space is built first. It acts as a site office, displaying models, drawings, and records of discussion, and inviting discussion from the public. It can host design meetings with different focus groups (ex. youth, women, elders), as necessary.

3. Design
Future residents, working with the architect as a group, determine a set of unit types, and make decisions on the design details.

4. Construction:
The intervention proposes 6- storeys of wood construction on top of a 1 storey concrete podium (max. allowed by IBC) - to maximize potential for local labour

The structural scaffold can be made of pre-cast concrete by local contractor.

95   Nick Wates, Jeremy Brook and Urban Design Group., The Community Planning Handbook : How People can Shape their Cities, Towns and Villages in any Part of the World (London: Earthscan, 2000).
96   . An Innovative Approach to Community-Led HousingRural Urban Synthesis Society,[2017]).
97   Architect Residing in East Oakland, Interview with author

Interior partitions and doors within units can be placed flexibly, as they are non load-bearing.

Residents can choose to enclose the porch space if desired to extend activities in private space into a space shared with neighbours.

Possible appropriation: a play space is appended onto the structural scaffold; a community group plants a therapeutic garden in the soft scaffold.
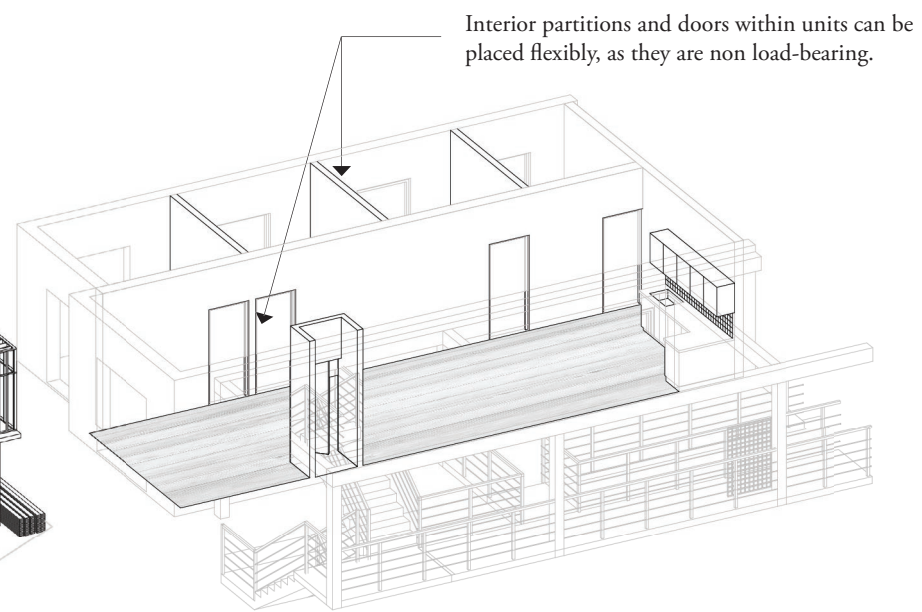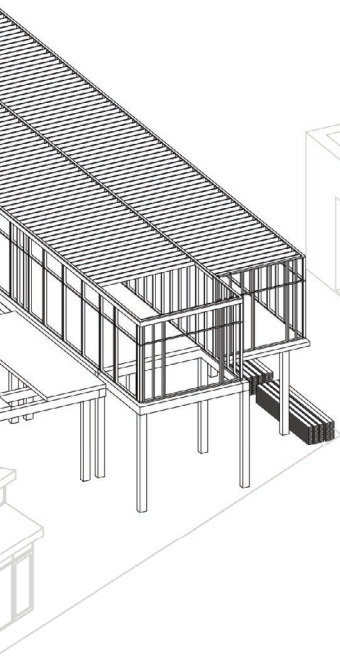
5. Construction:
Families can put in their own sweat equity in finishing their units, to reduce purchasing costs, if desired.
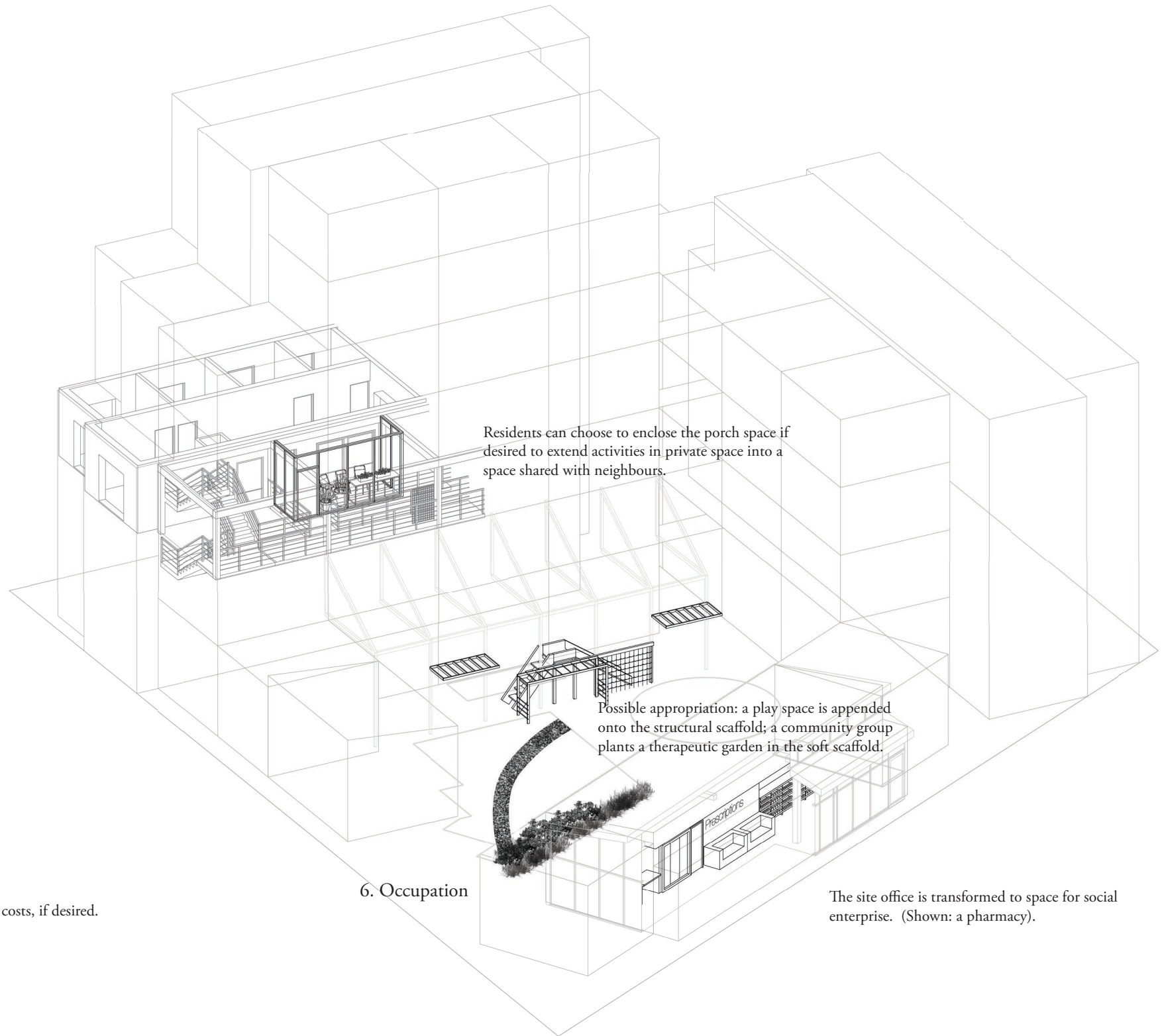
6. Occupation

The site office is transformed to space for social enterprise. (Shown: a pharmacy).

Fig. 4.55　Site 3: Rendered Axonometric

Ground Floor Plan
1:200

Fig. 4.56

6

7

9

8

15

North

11
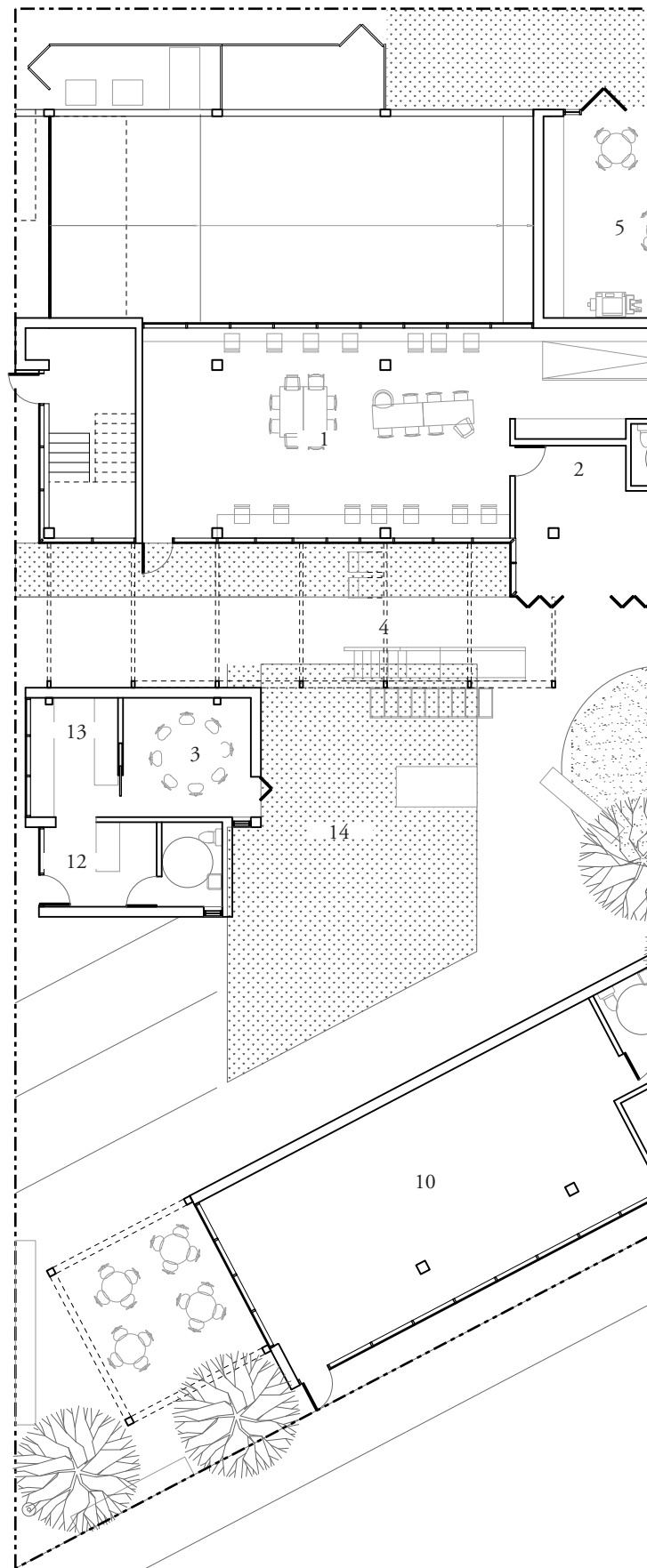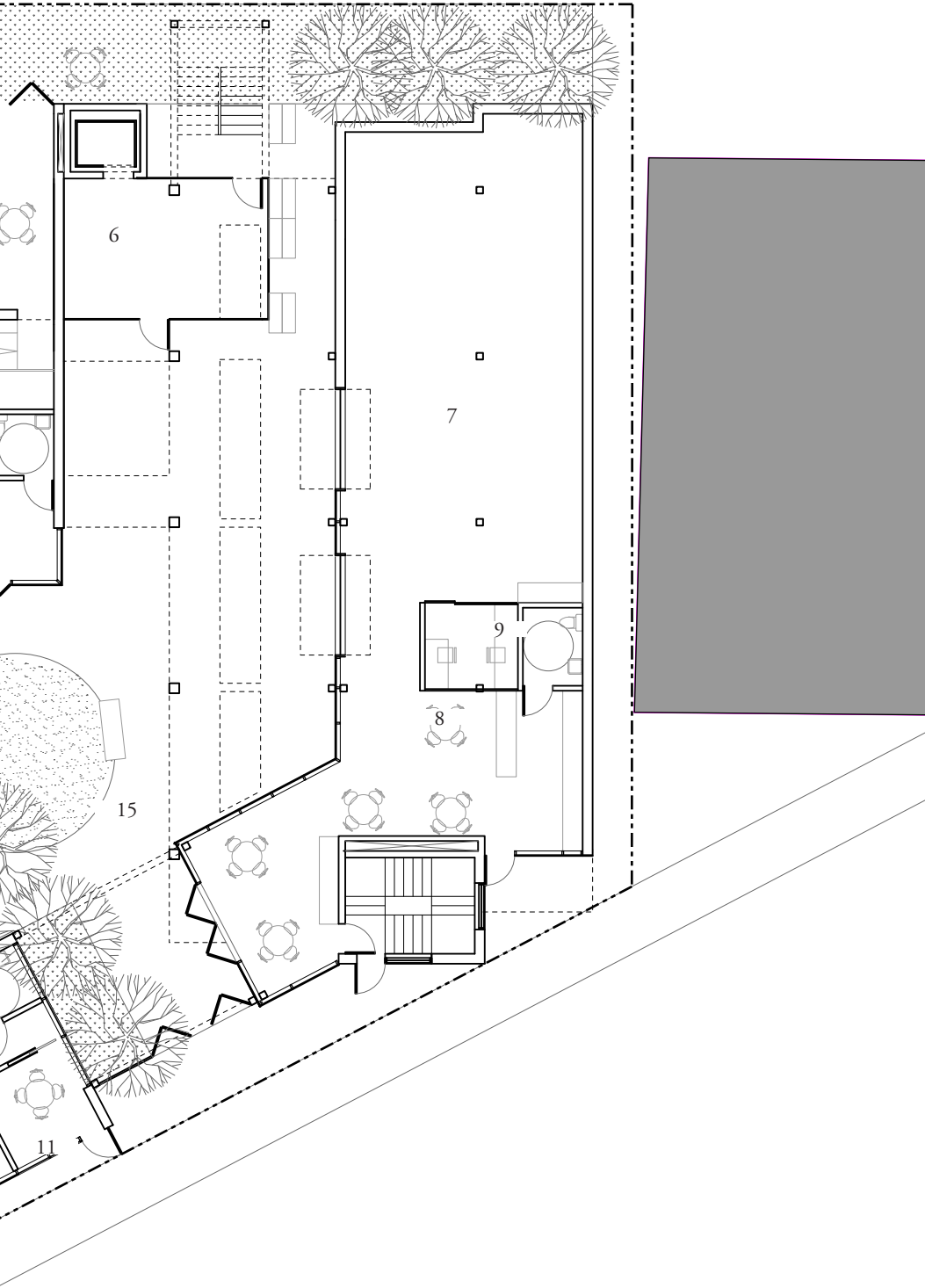
Legend
1.Flexible work space, CLT meeting
space
2. Indoor children's play room
3. Meeting / counselling/ volunteer
orientation room
4. Outdoor play area
5. Quiet work area
6. Lobby
7. Workshop
8. Community kitchen
9. Workshop/ kitchen Supervisors'
office
10. Co-op/social enterprise space
11. Social enterprise space and co-
op administrative space
12. Reception and security
13. Counsellor admin space
14. Community garden
15 . Outdoor CLT meeting space /
sandbox

180

Level 2 Plan
1:200

Fig. 4.57

Level 3 Plan
1:200

Fig. 4.58

21

22

23

21

21

North

Legend
16. 3-bedroom accessible unit
17. 1-bedroom accessible unit
18. Building manager
19. 2-bedroom accessible unit
20. 2-Bedroom accessible unit
21. 3-Bedroom unit
22. 2-bedroom unit
23. Laundry

Level 4 Plan

1:200

Fig. 4.59

21

24

22

24

22

Levels 5, 6, 7 Plans
1:200

Fig. 4.60

Legend
16. 3-bedroom accessible unit
17. 1-bedroom accessible unit
18. Building manager
19. 2-Bedroom accessible unit
20. 2-Bedroom accessible unit
21. 3-Bedroom unit
22. 2-Bedroom unit
23. Laundry
24. 1-Bedroom unit
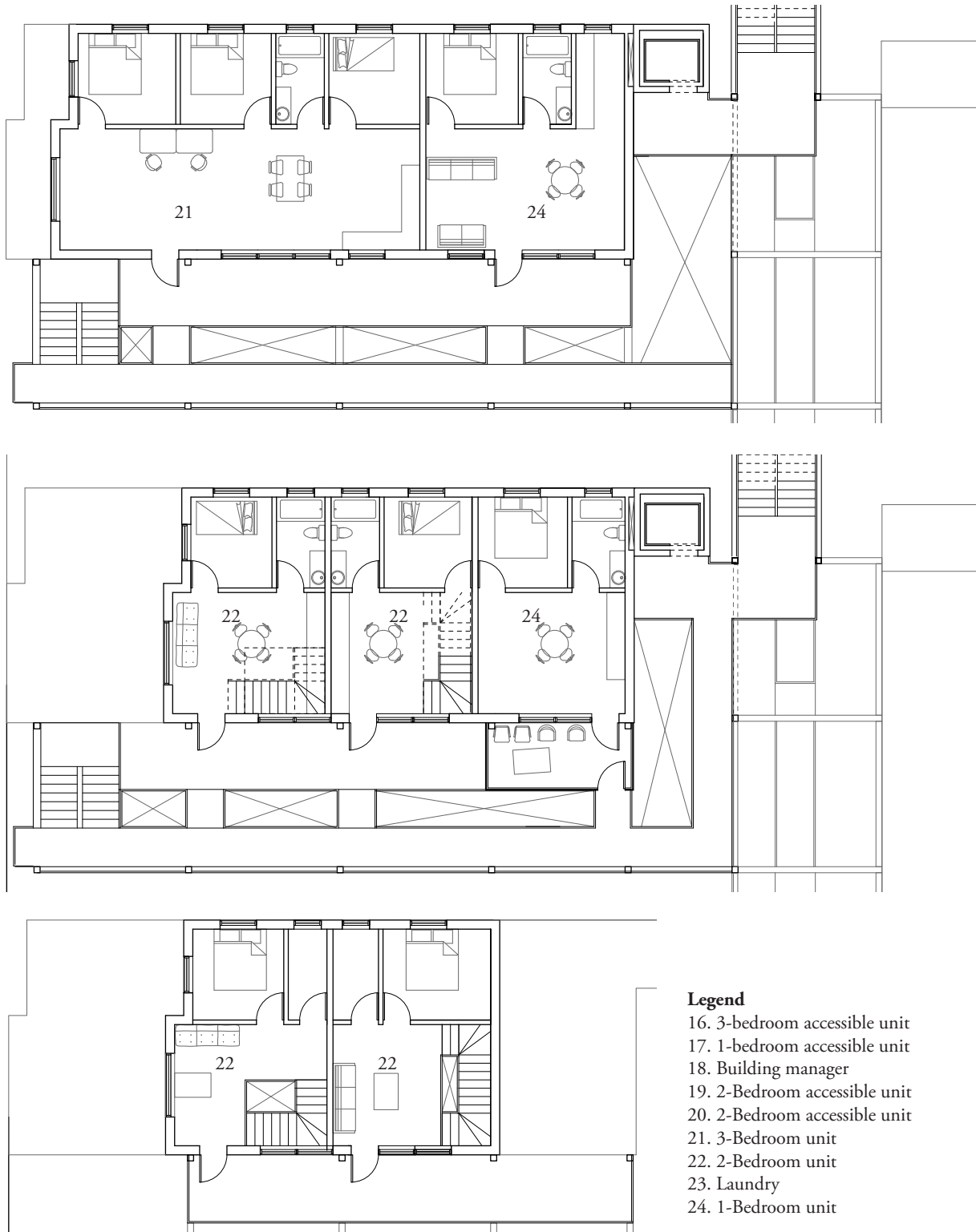
Basement Plan

1:200

Fig. 4.61
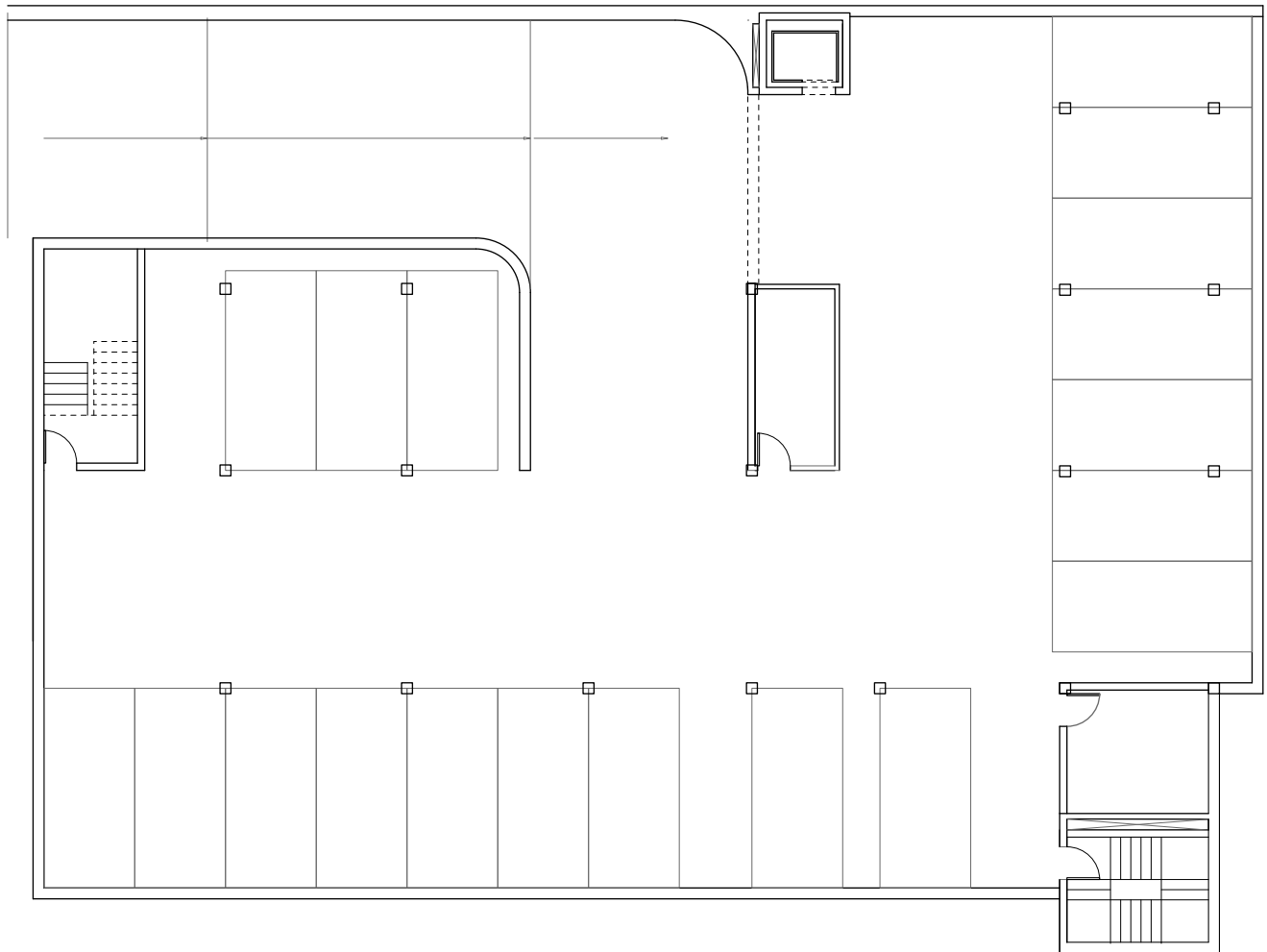
Section
1:200

Fig. 4.62
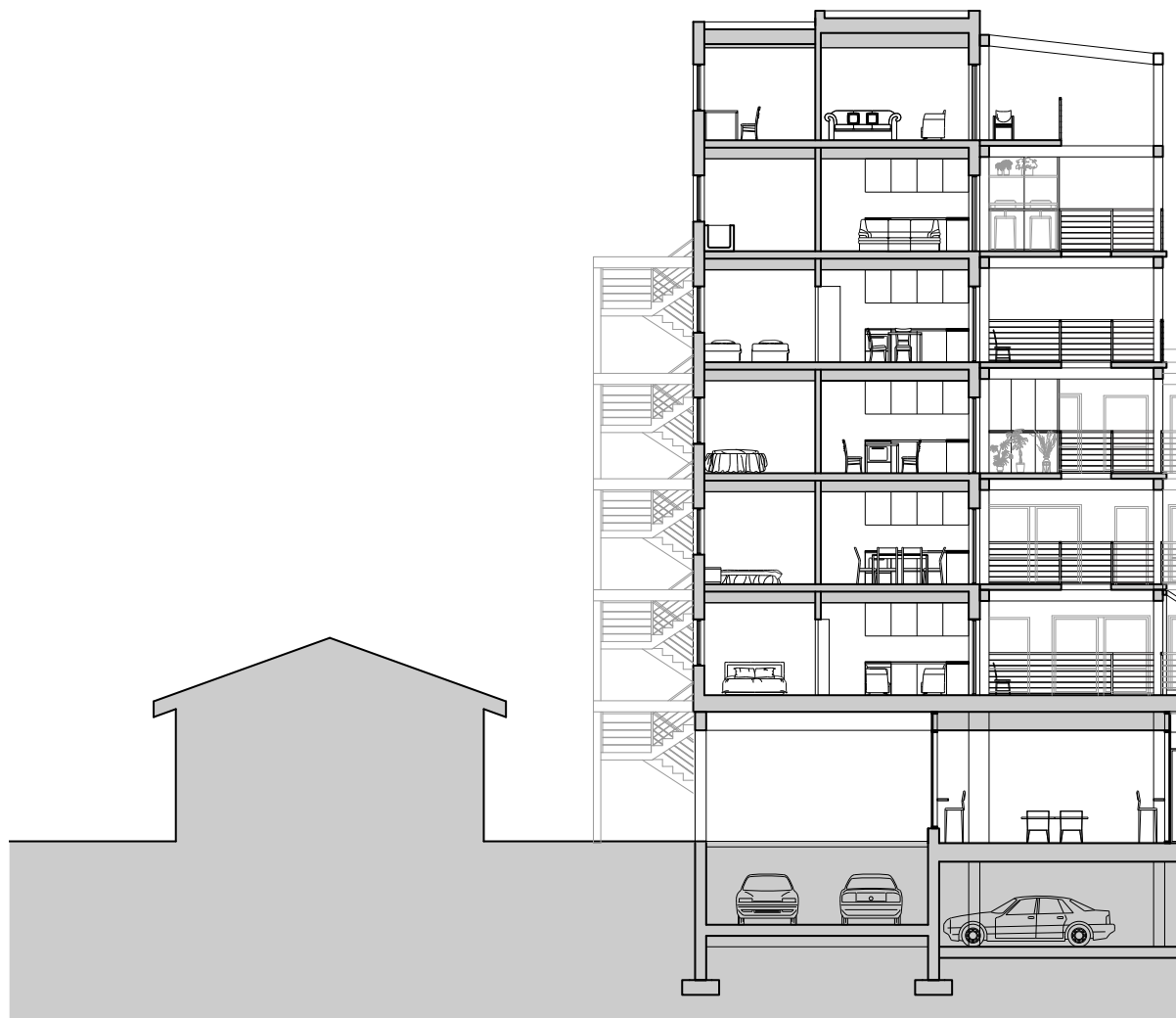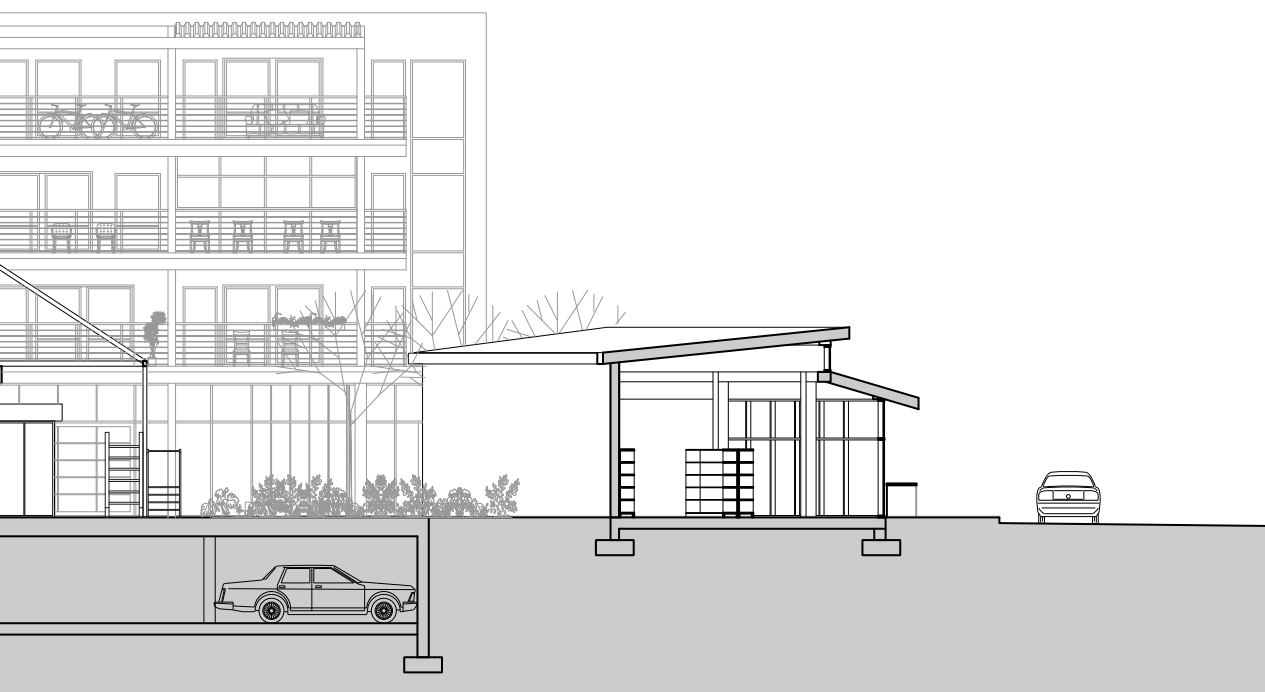
Fig. 4.63   View at entry at International Blvd

Fig. 4.64   View at outdoor meeting space

Fig. 4.65   View of balconies

Conclusion

Oakland's affordable housing crisis is rooted in the problem of housing as enclosure. Racial, class and gender inequalities etched in the geography of the city, from colonization, to red-lining, to the foreclosure crisis, enable the current trend of displacement.

Institutional responses, from section 8 to public housing to LIHTC prioritize the role of affordable housing an instrument for producing profit for landlords, investors or developers (or at best, an expense to be minimized), as opposed to the material support for life in the commons. In this view, adequate housing is not the collective responsibility of society, but a benefit which must be earned by deserving individuals.

The thesis argues that housing must be detached from motives of profit to be truly affordable. It explores the architectural implications of the community land trust, one model of housing provision that separates shelter from profit imperatives. It advocates for the importance of considering housing as process for recognizing, strengthening and expanding the commons. A communalized framework for designing, financing, constructing and managing housing gives agency to those who have historically been marginalized by policies of enclosure, to collectively shape their neighbourhoods. In support of this, the design interventions begin to question how the scaffold, beyond accommodating everyday commoning practices through built from, can also be designed with consideration of how it could strengthen community in the processes of its own making and re-making.

Limitations

The design interventions, specifically the higher density housing proposed at International Blvd, are perhaps unrealistic considering the current financial constraints faced by CLT's in Oakland, and the typical ways community land trusts operate. For CLT's and related movements for the decommodification of housing to expand the scale of their acquisition and development activities, there needs to be significant shifts in public housing policy and broader societal attitudes towards the role of housing. This would be difficult task, since, with an ever-decreasing social safety net, and increasingly precarious employment, the home is an important means for those who can afford ownership to preserve wealth.

The collective processes of acquisition, design, construction and occupation illustrated in the thesis also differ somewhat from the conventional ways in which CLT's operate. Though they purport

191

to be community-driven, democratic organizations, in practice governing boards sometimes operate independently from local residents. The scaffold is an attempt to explore the architectural implications of a CLT that is more in affinity with its radical origins, for example, in its role as a means of self-determination in the civil rights movement, or in contemporary decolonization efforts by Indigenous groups.

The author, as an outsider to Oakland's with no skin in the game, should not have power to advocate for any particular solution as the best way to combat the crisis. The designs put forward in the thesis are intended to represent only the author's broad speculations of what architectural forms could result from a participatory process. Due to constraints of time and resources, the design methodology falls far short of the true action or engagement advocated for in the thesis.

Instead, the thesis is only intended to add another voice to the chorus that calls for housing not as an instrument for profit, but as a human right. It shares lessons learned from Oakland's history of resistance, and the many actions towards affordable housing and community self-determination that Oakland residents have already put in motion to combat the current wave of displacement. These lessons can be translated and adapted to rebuilding housing in the commons in the many other cities across North America facing similar crises of affordability.

The housing crisis cannot be solved with architects staying within the disciplinary bounds of the profession. It is essential for architects to explore designing in alternative frameworks to those exclusionary processes and structures through which housing is conventionally produced. This is a difficult, but necessary task, for inaction can only lead to further enclosure and fragmentation of our shared world.

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Appendix A:
Recognizing the Commons
Bringing Our Voices Deep East Oakland Listening Session

The "Bringing Our Voices" listening session was organized by the East Oakland Collective, as an event for residents of Deep East Oakland to come together to discuss issues of economic empowerment, housing and urban blight in the community. Possible solutions, and ways of moving forward, were also discussed.

Source:
P-SPAN #542: East Oakland Listening Session, directed by Peralta Colleges, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WX-JGVRz57Q
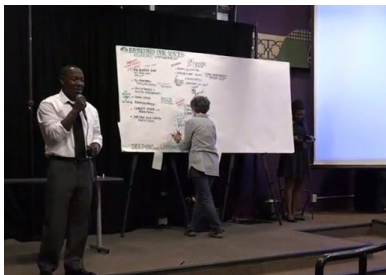

Fig. 4.66

Fig. 4.67

Economic Empowerment

4:20: *What barriers to employment do people face in your community?*

"the re-entry population- those men and women, who have been in prison or in jail- we call them home-comers, when they come back, a lot of employers will not hire them."
"education, and often times people are ill-prepared for it, for the jobs they want, or the jobs that are available."
"lack of access to mental health services before placing those people in jobs"
"lack of training, or technical skillsets"
"legal status"
"If we have our own, brick and mortar businesses, we will be more likely to hire a re-entry population, than say, you know, some corporate American business."

7:58: *What resources would you say we need to help businesses thrive in our neighbourhoods?*

"access to capital"
"capital that is accessible to people in the community "
"incubation "

10:05: *Would you and your community participate in a collective economic workshop, and if so, what topics would you like to see?*

"accountability and trust- pretty much everything we're talking about here is people coming together... Can you actually trust your community to have your back, can you trust your community to actually show up at the bank and we're all co-signing together, and we're all going to get this building together."
"how to start a co-op..."
"investing or investments. As we all know, the black dollar holds tremendous power."

13:20: *What are the types of businesses you would like to see in East Oakland, what are the needs, what would you like to see pop up?*

"academic services"
"wellness and nutrition"

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"more pharmacies"
"I don't want to have to go somewhere else to buy groceries that are not going to kill me."
"As a student, I would like to elaborate on academic services. I would like to go somewhere like an all-purpose, Impact Hub type place where I can do my studies"
"Financial institutions. We need more banks and credit unions."
"An Alano club, which is like a space for recovering people"
"There's a lack of preventative resources and preventative services... resources such as mental health facilities, rehabilitation facilities."

Housing
32:18 *Now how about the relationship [of the housing crisis] to homelessness, that we're seeing that's on the rise?*

"There are not enough homeless shelters in the area."
"For a lot of my youth, once their foster funding runs out, they're stuck. They take these programs, and they're forced back into homelessness, or they have to leave Oakland."
"We're also dealing with CBO's (community-based organizations) who can't be here. Because they're being forced out because they can't afford the rents, so they can't stay in Oakland to help the people who need it."

35:41 *What are the barriers to homeownership?*
"down payment assistance"
"credit restoration"

Blight
45:00 *How do we hold our city officials accountable?*

"Hold ourselves accountable, make sure that we're in the know... I think it's all of our duties to stand in a forum, as much as we can, so that we can strategize, be at the city hall, every two weeks when we can."
"I think there needs to be accountability in the city, but we have to hold our residents accountable too. I think there needs to be a campaign, on not littering, not dumping, and we need to start young."

50:00 *Why is this happening?*

"it's all about the narrative, we have people that claim this place, claim that place, and have real ownership. People don't really feel like they own it... . So I think it's just that you have to start with it young, and really teach the correlation, the connection between how you take care of something when you value it, when you want to call it your own.
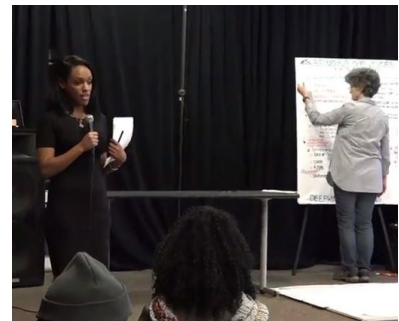

Fig. 4.68

Annotations Legend

Residential Needs/Programs

Necessary Social Supports for Community Self-Determination

Qualitative characteristics

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"We have to have open communications with our neighbours before anything, as far as an action, or a call to action. Do you know your neighbour? Does your neighbour feel the same way as you do? We have to start talking to one another… We walk by each other everyday. We don't say hi. If we do say hi, somebody got a problem."

60:00 *Moving to solutions...*

"We should be creative. If we are doing trash collection, maybe taking it to city hall and dumping it there. This is a public health issue."
"I work with students at Stonehurst elementary on various issues and they've done beautification projects… never has an adult driving by stopped to help while they were collecting trash, making signs for no more dumping."
"Is there a way to reclaim these abandoned buildings?"
"We can get together with HUD, and these different banks and the city of Oakland, who has these huge amounts of vacant buildings and we can buy them in batches or whatnot. Again that comes with capital, but we got to collectively come together and do all of that."

1:10:19 *How many people here would be interested in an event where we just get to know our neighbours?*

Fig. 4.69

"we already do that."
"there are already a lot of blocks that do that, but connecting those blocks to other blocks, that's how we build power"
"so you brought up the idea- of how do we make sure we all get to know each other- if everyone knows each other it's a stronger, more organized community. It's good to make things fun, people show up if it's fun... If there's a way to have some kind of league that's on-going, with things like spades, or chess, or dominoes, in certain spaces..."
"To your point, this is an open space, we have studios, this is a place for young people to have fun, so hopefully you find that here."

1:20:00 *What do you like about east Oakland, and what you want to preserve for generations to come?*

"the families, the sense of community."
"the love. Being included. Family, loved one, cousin- that's how we address one another, and we're not physically related... that's one of the most important things to impress upon newcomers, that culture of inclusion that's so key here."
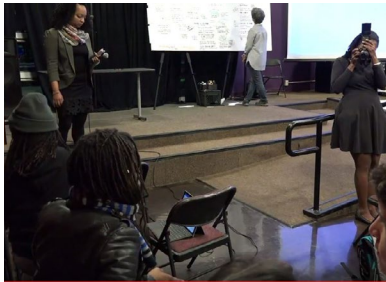
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Speak Up to Stay Put

11:42 "One thing I would do is I would unite and organize ourselves. We need to unite to fix our cities. We need to organize ourselves."

14:00 "It literally and figuratively feels like we're getting pushed out. Like we're strangers in our own community… And a lot of those spots, people from Oakland, we can't even afford to go to."

16:49 "We have to fight. Events like this bring people together. It takes a village to make change."

17:06 "I see suffering, I see elders being pushed out, I see people walking around like they're lost, only because the resources have been taken out.

17:33 "It looks nice, it looks beautiful. But at the same time, you cannot suckerface the people that have been here for generations… I am an ILIW longshoreman. I work here in Oakland. And I'm not planning on leaving because of the blood, sweat and tears that has been left on these streets."

Why Oakland Needs a BCZ

0:27 "because all families should be able to have fun at a cultural centre and listen to good music"

0:43 "because culture is the essence of life, and everyone needs to know their essence."

0:59 because the Black people need to share their feelings by drawing it in art.

1:13 "Because Oakland has a rich history of Black Culture. We put Oakland on the map. Us. The first people. Black. So it needs to be out there for the young people, this new generation, the gentrifiers. To know who we are. To know what we provided, the heart, the struggles we've been through."

1:21 "Because Black culture is under attack. You need a zone in which it has space to live and grow and rebuild."

Fig. 4.70

Fig. 4.71

Appendix B:
Comments from Community Organizations on Previous Design Iteration

<u>Respondents:</u>
-Architect residing in East Oakland, and working with Y-Plan (organization providing design education for youth)

-Member of Eastside Arts Alliance

-Member of POSCHN (People of Color Sustainable Housing Network)

The author is noted as "MD."

<u>General Comments</u>
-"I mean I like the openness too of a multi-use space, whether it's a space for arts, a space for gardening or a space for meetings, there's a sort of possibility that's open to those community design questions. I kind of feel like there's a sort of simplicity to it that doesn't need to be overcomplicated, and there's a tendency to do that. But literally open space, that means it's malleable and flexible, and I appreciate that about your designs- that they can become many things."

-" And particularly with regards to your design, I think you have some really interesting ideas that you're putting forward there- I can't remember what you call that- what word you use- not appendages you're adding on but what is the term-
MD: I'm calling them scaffolds for now.
-"I think that's an interesting concept."

-*On Process*
- "Yeah, if you're going to do that [include a degree of self-building], you're going to have to keep most of your designs really simple, if you're going to bring people in that are going to be there without long-term training. You maybe want to stay with stick-building, but how do you stick build and stay within a modular fashion, so that they are building these repetitive things and it's something that can go up quick, and also allows them to understand the value of modular design. And then look to see what is locally manufactured within Oakland or has something that allows them to do more installations of that same type of material somewhere else. So it becomes an economic generator."

-*On Other Themes:*

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-" I'm wondering if the idea of healing space in there somewhere. Some of the actions and things I've been involved with, there's always a sort of emphasis on a place for healers to do their work... I'm thinking of modalities like acupuncture, massage, sort of like, different sorts of folks who do trauma therapy in very somatic forms, there are a lot of community healing folks in the Bay that I think could benefit from space that way. I'm thinking of Movement Generation, they have these pop-ups, they've done one at Eastside Arts Alliance, they've done several others in the past and they've been pretty successful places for folks to come in and heal in this very public space. People smell the sage as they're walking by, so that work could be imagined in it."

- "And also the other things, your project should be a demonstration for alternative energy, so it should be on display there and part of an educational process. And that could be something that could be used as a marker to draw on – for the schools around there- hey- we're talking about climate change, energy resources, electricity, water cycle, making that building a teaching element that can be used by everybody in the community... And that's also a form of training- you can easily train people to install solar panels on, and also having water catchment systems, and doing bioswales on-site. Those are things that community members can learn to do very easily, and planting on the project.

And integrate on there somehow a history of what that community is, or if you can find it, what was on that site. So that the site is, once again, in this process of becoming more than just a project. It is a learning element, and a source of knowledge for the community in many different avenues that go beyond just buildings"

- "I'm interested in seeing more design and co-creating design where those discussions [sustainable agriculture and housing] are not in separate worlds. Urban ag – it's this giant that drives gentrification and displacement, and there are so many projects that sometimes are led by long-term residents, people of color, Black folks, that are then facing the communities they serve with that food sovereignty project. To me, I believe that in terms of new forms of new forms of ownership and residency, how do we integrate the goal of a new ecological future, especially urban space."

- "I grow up in SoCal, and a big part of my childhood, I lived in section 8 housing with my mom, an aunt and two cousins, and we never called it a co-operative, but we had chores, we had a system- the network of single moms in that same structure, we all had a sense of support, shared labour. People were babysitting, people were doing dishes and people were throwing parties. For us it's a reclaiming of, we always were doing this. We were always in harmony with a sense

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of solidarity, and community living, and how do we have features are better set up for us to do that, to be in solidarity with each other, to encourage that instead of the narrative of one day, you'll get your single family home, and that's all you got to worry about."

Site 1

Fig. 4.72

-"I like the open outdoor green spaces, I like the common kitchen..."

-"I love the play space, play space always wins. I appreciate the small sites acquisition information and the acquisition plans there."
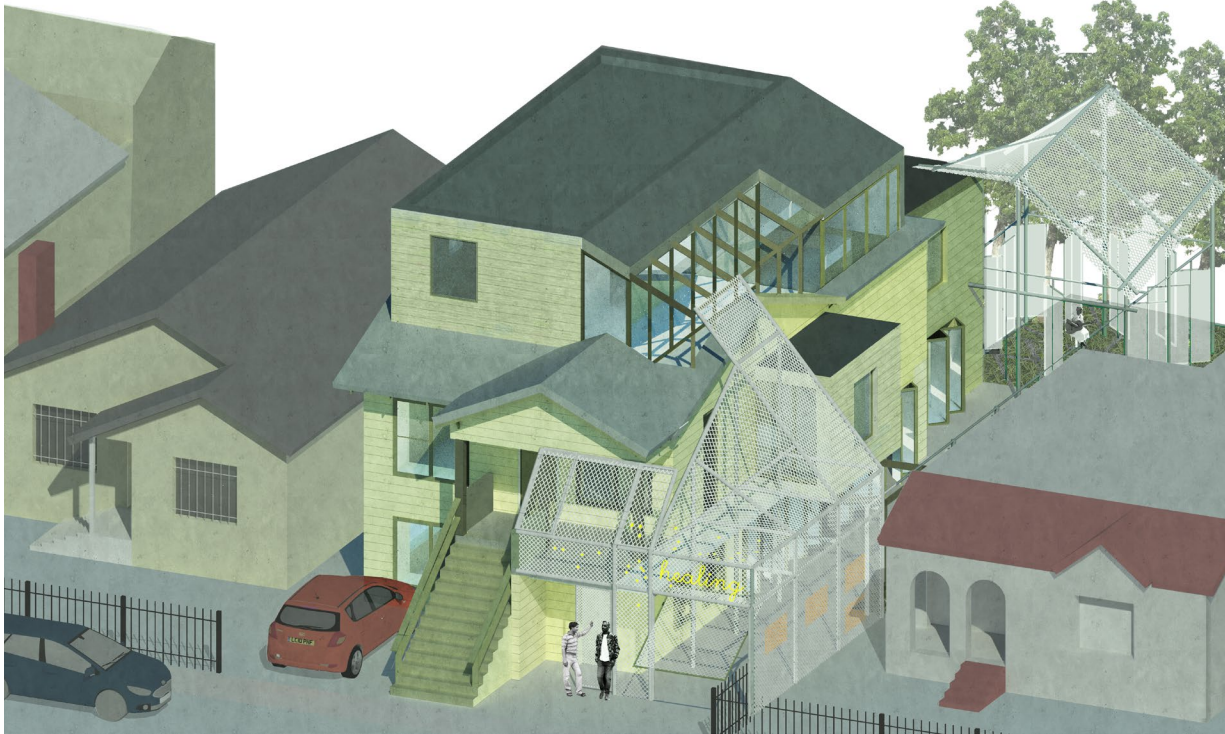
Fig. 4.73

<u>Site 2</u>

The original programmatic proposal for this intervention was a live-work space for an imagined group artists fighting gentrification.

Comments on Program, and the appropriateness of artists' housing:

-On initial ideas for the Black Cultural Zone, and other residential programs with more priority: "But when we're thinking – after we got away from the 57th avenue [property], if that doesn't work out, and there's this plot of land where we could pretty much build whatever we wanted, different ideas were coming around, like having art-making spaces, and maybe some co-housing spaces, maybe something like a rooming-house situation, because there's also a lot of folks, because of proposition 47, who are returning to their neighbourhoods from jail, not really having any kind of welcoming space. I don't know how useful this is to you, but the first reaction to something that's just artist's housing feels too removed. "

-"It's like these, they're almost like artist settlements, and they have this weird feel about them, you know, I see it there's an artist across the street from my house, and you know, whenever they use the word "community" they actually just meant themselves, and the community they are building around that particular spot."

-MD: Is there anything I can do to make it plugged in to the vision of the

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Black Cultural Zone?
-"Well, I mean this kind of expanding the idea of who an artist is, it's people who are cooking food, and gardening and all of that. Then it feels a lot more organic, from the neighbourhood, because it's kind of rare to have Black folks just claim that "artist" label."

-On the process of acquiring/building the project:
-" Well, I see where this can have an application, in this idea of people trying to keep their houses, existing, because they can convert it into something that's a little more serving the community, there could be some potential income generating from that, you know, feeding people, or having people buy food. Somehow the challenges are elderly people who own their homes, what can be done so that they keep their house, so that their children keep their house and make it something else... Also any way that this can be seen as helping with an anti-displacement strategy.

-MD: Yeah, I guess in that respect, the idea is to come up with what can be done through community land trusts, so the one I sent you in particular is about how can you take a foreclosed home, which is one of the ways land trusts acquire housing, and how can you transform it into something that is more connected with the community.

-I see. So it's kind of post- displacement. So it's more like to welcome back, a sense of that existing"

- "...it does [also] fit in with the group I told you about, the One Hundred Black Youth, it would be a great opportunity to co-purchase something, and have it support a greater vision of a Black Cultural Zone."

-On Form and Materiality:
-The one thing I would like to particularly talk to, about design, in the one you're doing for the house, and you're kind of doing this chainlink kind of enclosure, you got to change that. You cannot use chainlink. And do you know why?

MD: I'm going to have to ask.

-The main reason why is because that chainlink is going to pull a direct correlation back to the prison yard, which is not what you want. I like the idea of the semi-enclosed space, and you can do it in so many different materials and also since you are working on this idea of culture embedded into it, how can those panels be panels that tell a story, that allows an artist to present.

-I like the that it opens up at some points and closes up at some points.

-MD: Yeah. That's going to get revised a bit for a different material than chainlink.
-It could be kind of cool, I think, but definitely reminiscent of caged places. Yeah.

Site 3

Fig. 4.74

On Process:
-"I think the city project, you can probably talk to more people, it's sort of like with our project where we are a small group of people at the core, where we have these conversations of what does outreach actually look like, and I think a lot of us have class and education privilege. But also [there are] a lot of long-time Oakland residents, Natives, low-income backgrounds, and meet all these standards of what does it mean to work with frontline communities, and not only to work with them but follow the leadership of, given that so many frontline communities are stuck in the constant trauma of survival, and I think as folks that are part of a Non-Profit complex sprawl, it's always this contradiction of what we want to do, and what we're being asked of. So I guess that's a shared criticism- what sort of community engagement looks like."

On Form:
"So the same thing for the large affordable housing building that you're doing, towards the end of it in Deep East Oakland on east 14th, same thing with those outdoor spaces, those terraces that you got on the outside- how can those things become a larger piece of work, but how can they be a larger message back to the community? And even that idea that you had, the semi-enclosed space, I think would work well on parts with interacting with East 14th, to have

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this idea that it's protected, but can connect visually- so that there's a visual connection and a visual understanding."

- "And the other thing is, make sure you're using the most appropriate zoning, and the most appropriate allowances along East 14th, because that whole corridor has been upzoned, and just make sure that you're seeing that, and even then, you can push it more, mainly because it's a transit corridor. If you were to do this in real life, you probably could add in an additional floor or two, without it really being too much of a problem, because it is a transit corridor, and there is not a lot of density along that corridor to begin with, and you being a catalyst project, it would be helpful to set that trend to get that associated for the community to kind of understand that."

- "also, one of the things you're still going to need to create, because it is East 14th, that is not necessarily the safest part of the neighbourhood, and it's going to be that way for quite a while, is creating some way, for those spaces to actually provide protection. Right now if I look at them, they're very open, which is good, but how do you provide the protection but the openness at the same time. So maybe it's pushing some of the buildings closer to the sidewalk, and allowing some viewing planes into them, or entry portals into there, or connection points into there, that allows people to see that that is a safe place in there but the residents coming in and out, that they can see out just as well as they can see in but also that they can provide some protection."

Appendix C:
Map of the East Bay Showing Oakland
Neighbourhoods

Fig. 4.75

Berkeley

North Oakland

Temescal

San Francisco

West Oakland

Uptown

Downtown

Alameda

San Francisco

213

Piedmont

ockridge

Montclair

Oakland

"The Hills"

stlake

San Antonio

"Foothills"

Fruitvale

Maxwell Park

"The Flatlands"

Anthony Chabot
Regional Park

Millsmont

Central East Oakland

Eastmont

Seminary

Havenscourt

Arroyo Viejo

Coliseum

Deep East Oakland

Elmhurst

Alameda

San Leandro