The Long Road From Babylon To Brentwood:
Crisis and Restructuring in the San Francisco Bay Area

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation integrates policy analysis, archival research, ethnographic field work, GIS mapping and statistical analysis to build a broad geo-historical understanding of the role of planning, policy, capital and race in the production of the foreclosure crisis in the San Francisco Bay Area. It begins from the premise that an explanation of the foreclosure crisis that focuses solely on either finance capital or the action of homeowners misses the critical importance of history, geography and planning to the production of crisis. The specific and racialized historical geography of the initial wave of foreclosure in the Bay Area, which like in Southern California is particularly concentrated in newly built suburban and exurban areas which are exceptionally diverse, is evidence of the deeper role of two generations of urban development, regional economics and planning politics in what is too often cast as a 'housing problem.'

This dissertation argues that thinking about the current problem as an urban crisis forces us to reexamine the dysfunctionality of planning politics at every scale and the reality of a metropolitan geography where hyper-diverse demographic and economic sprawl and geopolitical fragmentation is a historical fact rather than a pending reality. What emerges is an understanding of fragmentation which pushes beyond the state, forcing us to confront a deeper set of divisions based on race, class, environmentalism and capitalist development, divisions which have undermined the urban project that is California and raised serious questions about both resilience and citizenship in the 21st century.

The text is constructed in a way that the form itself works to develop a more holistic and grounded way of approaching the regional nature of urban development and the complex politics of regional governance. It begins with a historiography of the Bay Area, one that challenges conceptions of sprawl and fragmentation. It then examines the demographic restructuring of the region through a combination of

census data analysis using GIS and ethnographic interviews, arguing that the changes in the region both blurred the lines of traditional American racial segregation which simultaneously producing a more "mobile" form of segregation on a megaregional scale.

From this historical and geographic foundation, the argument is built to mimic, in a sense, the scales of the crisis itself. Chapter Three begins a more intense focus on planning institutions, the politics of development and shifting urban economics to show the interaction between decisions and events in eastern Contra Costa County, a portion of the region that saw dramatic growth and a stunning collapse over the past thirty years. This chapter focuses intently on planning, both on the plans that were approved and implemented and ones that died before either approval or implementation, with an eye for the vastly different playing field that these communities faced compared with ones which developed during earlier eras. This focus remains in Chapter Four, which examines the often ignored scale of the county to better understand the production of "edge cities" in Contra Costa County, developments which both restructured the region's labor markets and helped contribute to the growing stagnation of the politics of development. Chapter Five returns to the regional scale, focusing on race and the collective failure of both regional and local institutions to adequately solve the problems of inner core poverty inherited from the postwar era, problems which provided the demographic push for much of eastern Contra Costa County's demographic growth. Chapter Six focuses on the megaregional scale beyond the formal confines of the Bay Area, a challenging level of analysis because of its physical and human scale and lack of political and planning institutions, but made necessary by the fact that this is where the growth – and the foreclosures – are most notable.

Finally, the conclusion examines the politics of race and development in the state of California, an analysis which illustrates and critiques the narrowed possibilities inherent to planning during this era. This scalar approach illustrates the broad collective responsibility for the production of crisis, where public and private, local and nonlocal, individual and collective actors all played a role in bringing the Bay Area to this point. It also points to three linked conclusions critical to the future of planning: the need to rethink the state-centered conception of planning, which has never held in the United States; the need to accept and work within the historically fragmented and multi-polar system of cities which has defined places like the San Francisco Bay Area since their founding; and the need to push for a broader and deeper conception of institutional responsibility, where institutions involved in the intentional production of space at all scales and in all sectors – i.e. planners – take responsibility for the "common purpose" that is urbanization and development.

To the Bay Area:

May you one day be the just and sustainable metropolis the world needs you to become

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continued collaboration. MJ Mota was there for me every step of the way, especially those long trips up and down the Montmartre when I was stuck.

It takes a village to raise a PHD student, but it is even better to have amazing parents. I certainly do, and without Ruth and Warren Schafran this dream, and many more, would have died long ago.

Most importantly, I fell in love just as my research was coming to a close. A magical 19th century love story in a 21st century setting swept me away to a small apartment on the Place de Clichy, were one Tiffany Alexandra Junko Fukuma Schafran stood by my side during a year of 1000 word days. This dissertation may be dedicated to the Bay, but it owes its life to the love and support of my wife.

Figure 1: "A metaphor." 2011, outside Patterson, CA. Photo by Alex Schafran

INTRODUCTION: GHOSTS IN THE MACHINE

> There is no political solution
> To our troubled evolution
> Have no faith in constitution
> There is no bloody revolution
> - *Spirits in the Material World,* opening track of The Police's *Ghost in the Machine*, 1981

> Therefore, without major regional policy changes concerning highway funding and environmental acceptance, the corridor without a BART extension would most likely experience a limited level of growth.
> - 1976 Pittsburg Antioch Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) Extension Project, Final Summary report

BART was wrong. Perhaps it was their way of coaxing the growth machine to get behind their extension plans for eastern Contra Costa County – make them feel that growth would not happen if the train didn't come, so that they would back the train

politically. Perhaps they honestly believed that a constrained Highway 4 would clamp down on growth, even as the real estate industry was already moving east en masse. By 1982, without a widened Highway 4 and without a BART system and with no concrete plans for either project, the City of Antioch had decided to double its population, by adding more than 15,000 units for approximately 45,000 people on 6,500 acres.[1] By the 1990s, the fever had spread east to Oakley, which grew almost 1000% between 1980 and 2000, and neighboring Brentwood, which earned fastest growing city in California status for the better part of the 1990s (Heredia 1998).

By 2000, eastern Contra Costa County – "East County" to locals - had more than 230,000 residents, almost four times the 1970 census numbers which formed part of BART's forecasting baseline. By 2007, as a foreclosure crisis which would ultimately morph into a financial crisis and global economic meltdown began to unfold, more than a quarter of a million people called East County home. Most were middle class, both blue collar and white collar, many were immigrants or the children of immigrants, more than half were non-white. They often worked in the building trades, constructing and reconstructing the rapidly growing Bay Area, including the subdivisions they lived in and those like it across a 250-mile long arc stretching from Santa Rosa to Stockton to Gilroy. They were FedEx and UPS drivers, nurses and teachers, cable guys and repairmen, meter readers and other public employees who have kept the region running for generations. Many worked in the booming "edge cities" which blossomed during the late 80s and 1990s along freeway corridors in Central Contra Costa County and neighboring Alameda county, some in well-paid executive and technical positions, others as part of the growing and feminized wave of back-office service workers whose work was steadily suburbanized over the past generation (Nelson 1986). Long-distance commuting was a way of life – local jobs were scarce, and people left home early and came home late, often stuck in terrible traffic jams on freeways never designed for the type of traffic they were asked to handle.

By 2008, East County had become a major epicenter of foreclosure at the national scale, along with dozens of other cities and towns on the fringe of the Bay Area, introducing readers of the *New York Times* to cities like Antioch, Lathrop and Manteca. The *San Francisco Chronicle* called Brentwood "the poster child for the housing bust," and reporters from across the world filed stories documenting how the American and Californian dreams were falling apart in subdivision after subdivision along the edge of one of the wealthiest regions in human history (Egan 2010; Moore 2008; Temple 2008). Lost homes morphed into deep fiscal nightmares, pushing cities like Antioch and Stockton to the brink of insolvency and neighboring Vallejo – part of the same larger regional story – into one of the largest municipal bankruptcies in American history. Property values remain at rock bottom, with homes trading at late 1980s prices when adjusted for inflation.

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[1] This is the combined growth approved by two separate specific plans in late 1981 and early 1982 respectively.

This is not the case everywhere in the Bay Area. As Americans watch the continued struggle of rust belt regions and the now exposed and teetering metropolitan economies of the Sun Belt, the fortunes of the Bay Area as a whole remain golden. Incomes and property values and bourgeois life in San Francisco, Silicon Valley, the North Bay and the East Bay's Tri-Valley area have never been better, as a region made rich on gold and industrialized agriculture stayed at the top of the global economic food chain even after the dotcom crash of 2000. Between Apple's 2012 announcement that it had $100 billion in cash and the impending Facebook IPO, realtors in San Francisco and Palo Alto are bracing for another uptick in home prices. As many cities and towns in America deal with cratered home prices which impact the basic economics of maintenance and public services, San Francisco's newly elected mayor convened an affordable housing task force, for once again, despite a real estate crash and global economic meltdown, gentrification and affordability is the primary question of the day in "the City", not abandonment and foreclosure.

Both the struggles of East County and the continued boom in San Francisco and Silicon Valley are indications of a new map of segregation and inequality which has emerged, one marked not by the hard red lines of the postwar ghettos but by softer and more mobile patterns, patterns which nevertheless left broad swaths of the outer portion of the Bay Area searching for answers while wealthy inner ring suburbs and a revitalized and increasingly gentrified core emerged stronger than ever. It is not as simple as "two Bay Area's", and in many ways that type of dichotomous thinking is as dangerous as it is inaccurate. But this late 2011 comment by Google CEO Eric Schmidt, made as Occupy movements from San Francisco and especially Oakland were drawing national attention for their ferocity and helping remind American that inequality was growing, epitomized the growing divide in the region and the fact that inequality in California remains deeply spatial:

> Occupy Wall Street isn't really something that comes up in daily discussion, because their issues are not our daily reality…. We live in a bubble, and I don't mean a tech bubble or a valuation bubble. I mean a bubble as in our own little world…. Companies can't hire people fast enough. Young people can work hard and make a fortune. Homes hold their value (Rosoff 2011).

This dissertation is about how a place like East County ended up as the center of foreclosure while Eric Schmidt's bubble grew only a few ridges away. The simultaneity of these two processes is no coincidence, and in sussing out the linkages one is forced to peel back many layers of Bay Area history. The new geography of inequality in the Bay Area also forces us to rethink some of the contemporary dogma about growth, regions and the politics of the build environment, about city and regional planning and the politics of scale. But most importantly, it means coming to terms with ghosts, with the racialized, segregated and suburbanized metropolis produced in the postwar era, and the fact that planning as an institution has never fully recovered from its involvement with this period. When met with the profound challenge of a collective reaction to this

inherited geography, planning was not able to respond effectively. It was not the political geography of a vast and growing region which had become fragmented, it was the politics of planning itself.

The scales of engagement

In his now classic treatment of post-war Detroit, historian Thomas Sugrue (1996) argues that we must see the urban riots of the 1960s and 70s not as the beginning of the end but as the culmination of a historical era whose roots stretch back at least a generation. In a similar vein, this new map of inequality and crisis in the Bay Area has deep historical roots, and at its core, this dissertation is an attempt to piece together how and why this new map came about, particularly since the 1970s, when BART made its fateful and ultimately incorrect prediction. It is a multi-dimensional account of the evolution of the edge of the greater San Francisco Bay Area since the 1970s, a description and explanation of the production of East County as far-flung suburb, how it became central to a massive and troubled set of new regional and racialized geographies which have redefined the Bay Area, and how actors at every scale and in every sector of the urbanization and planning process participated in this production as part of the larger restructuring of the Bay Area and virtually all of urban Northern California.[2]

Like Sugrue's Detroit, or Soja's (1996, 2000) Los Angeles, tales of a restructuring region operate at multiple scales, as a conversation between the specificity of a region's history and the larger question of American urbanization. In California, there is the added complexity of a state which in itself is an urban project, arguably the most important urban project of the 20th century.

The major pieces of this restructuring are familiar to any student of the American metropolis –segregation and race/class inequality, gentrification, "edge city" employment centers, the emergence of a service- and tech-centered economy amidst steady but incomplete deindustrialization, neoliberal urban policy at virtually every scale of governance, a steady rise in the suburbanization of poverty, questions of political and geographic fragmentation and the century-long quest for regionalism, and of course the much debated question of urban sprawl. These are processes underway to some degree in every major metropolitan area in the country. A similar pattern of foreclosure emerged in Los Angeles' Inland Empire, far east of downtown LA and the prosperous West Side, alongside similar patterns of regional restructuring. Virtually every economically successful, "upmarket" region in the United States, including New York, Chicago, Washington D.C., Atlanta, and Seattle, has gentrified its core, seen the rise of farflung and diverse exurbs on its fringes, altered its economic makeup and regional economic geography, build edge cities, and in general followed some aspect of the larger blueprint that has been

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[2] These changes are part of a process I discuss as restructuring, which following Soureli and Youn's (2009, p. 36) derivation of ideas from Ed Soja, I see as "the multifaceted processes driving the major transformations of city-regions."

regional development in the neoliberal era. Engaging with the restructuring of the Bay Area therefore means engaging with the broader narrative of American urbanism, despite arguments about Californian exceptionalism.

This attempt to weave together multiple strands of American urbanism is spurred by an overarching belief that the fundamental challenge for urbanists in this country is not the development of highly specified knowledge about different policy threads, nor the social scientific obsession with separating out specific causal factors, but the largely unmet conundrum of how, in Ed Soja's (1989) words, "it all comes together." The great contribution of the Los Angeles School of urban geography was not the recognition of Los Angeles as a model, nor any particular emphasis on new metropolitan forms or postmodern geography, but the simple push to think more holistically about regional development and change. Phenomena like gentrification, which is now in its fourth or fifth wave of scholarly research, are too often considered on their own, as opposed to as part of a larger pattern of race and class change across regions. The same is true for more policy-oriented subjects like growth management and sprawl, discourses which too often are detached from the broader questions of urbanization, political economy and the contemporary means of production.

A more holistic approach to American urbanization and development, and the forms of planning and politics which undergird it and react to it, is made all the more necessary by a foreclosure crisis which is an urban or metropolitan crisis in virtually every way, a question fundamentally about the larger process of city- and region-building, what Dymski (2009) refers to as "the urban problematic" in understanding the crisis.[3] Interpretations of this crisis have tended to favor one of two approaches: first as a housing problem, a question of banks, homeowners, bad debt and the "American Dream", second as a broader question of global finance- and greed-driven capitalism, focused on mortgage-backed securities and the ways in which real estate equity backed a fragile, overheated and increasingly liquid international shell game. Both of these explanations are deeply true, but the link between homes and capitalism cannot be understood without simultaneously pulling apart the larger enchilada that is urbanization and development.

The foreclosure crisis is not the dotcom crash, where worthless paper was converted into valuable paper and back into nothingness. This crisis could only have been built on an asset as ubiquitous and as valuable as the American home, and homes have to be built somewhere by someone, on land owned by someone, by an industry that did not appear overnight and is generally not made up of 20-year olds thinking up ideas in their dorm room. In virtually all cases in the United States, this also means a body of elected officials, part of the local constellation of power, voted in some way to approve it. In the immortal words of one teacher turned real estate

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[3] There is now a sizable and diverse literature arguing along these lines. See also Schafran (2009a, 2012a), Wyly et al. (2009); Crump et al. (2008); Leinberger (2008); Bardhan and Walker (2010); Florida (2009); Newman (2009).

agent in Gustine (Merced County), "every vote to allow more houses for the 'come to's' was cast by a 'come from'."[4]

It also means a series of unelected bodies and officials signed off on it, often as part of a "plan", even if that plan were exceptionally general. These plans are constructed around cities' and counties' ideas of what will happen in the future, and around the fiscal, economic and political constraints they perceive in the present, which include both built and planned infrastructure and the highly complex and constantly shifting sets of rules, revenue streams and opportunities which come down from State and Federal agencies, are agreed upon by regional bodies in which they participate, or come up from citizens, business and community groups which hold enormous sway in elections at every scale. And like the development industry who built these homes and most of the formal and informal political infrastructure which argued over their development, many of the plans have been on the books for years. While subprime undoubtedly expedited both the pace of growth and its link to foreclosure, making it much more widespread and much more destructive, the Bay Area has been driving down a path of unsustainable and continuously unequal urbanization for two generations now, and many of the core problems with planning, development, infrastructure, transportation, affordable housing and fiscal instability would be rearing their ugly heads regardless of whether Wall Street had poured gasoline on the fire.

Unfortunately, many of the "urban" interpretations of crisis focus their ire on the wrong aspect of this unsustainable and unequal urbanization. To some, the geography of crisis and its deep roots in metropolis building are simply another argument against "sprawl", an indication that those who opposed development on the regional fringe were right all along, that California's (and America's) pattern of rapid, low-density and resource-intensive suburbanization over the past half-century is not only environmentally destructive but financially unsustainable. Urbanists like Chris Leinberger (2011) have used the current moment to celebrate "the death of the fringe suburb", with foreclosure as the well-placed iceberg for America's regional development Titanic.

There is no question that how the Bay Area was built since World War II is at the heart of the situation. But the fundamental problem with the sprawl discourse in the United States is that it has a tendency to root the problem geographically: whereas sprawl in theory is a form and pattern of development, it too often becomes a geography of development. *Any* growth in a place like Antioch, 50 miles from San Francisco, becomes sprawl in the mind of many, especially those in the urban core secure enough to have no need for the affordable American Dream long available *only* on the urban fringe.

This geographical rooting of the problem makes Antioch and East County the problem in and of themselves – the developers who build the houses, the politicians

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[4] Interview 4.

who approved them, the homeowners who bought them – as opposed to the broader system of urban and regional development, including actors at higher scales – region, state, national, international – and actors in other parts of the region. The parallels between the blaming of the Antioch's of America for the current crisis and the blaming of the post-war inner city for the urban crisis of the 1950s and 60s is striking, and Bob Beauregard's (2003, p.6) statement that these discourses of decline provide "a spatial fix for more generalized insecurities and complaints, thereby minimizing their evolution into a more radical critique of American society," could just as easily have been written about the flood of post-foreclosure journalism and critique aimed at struggling communities on the metropolitan fringe . There is a deep tendency in America to assume problems evident in geography are the result of choices and decisions and events made primarily in that geography, as opposed to inequalities and poor decision-making in the wider system of urban and regional development.

When we seek this spatial fix, we also trod another all too familiar historical path best left untouched. The discourse of decline brewing on the urban fringe has already begun marking those who live there, a bitter irony considering that many communities who now call places like East County home are survivors of the earlier marking of the inner city. The fast-growing cities on the fringe of the Bay Area are collectively majority-minority, in some cases more than 2/3 communities of color. Sadly, urbanists are beginning to repeat a deep and dark tradition in American urbanism – looking at problems in communities of color and declaring those places as problems in and of themselves, again as opposed to a symptom and component of a larger historical system of injustice. Rather than ask pointed questions about segregation, we simply cast aspersions, or discuss the "death" of these places without any regard for who lives there.

For many who oppose sprawl, oppose segregation, or argue the link between the two, the real enemy is geopolitical fragmentation. Since the days of Robert Wood's (1961) famous *1400 Governments*, scholars and practitioners alike have pointed to the issue of fragmentation as the source of many problems in planning, generally limiting their views to the formal political geography of the State. All of these separate local, county, subregional and regional governments, authorities and independent agencies make planning less efficient, limit cooperation and empower certain jurisdictions to be selfish and exclusionary. The "natural" response to fragmentation, and in turn to the patterns of segregation and sprawl it is thought to cause, is some form of regional governance, itself a century-old dream of many planners and political scientists (Weir 2004).

Unfortunately, this view of fragmentation and regionalism makes two key geographic errors, one theoretical and one historical. It engages in a common scalar fetishism which sees one particular geographic scale as ideal for the governance of

the production of space.[5] But the production of space has always been a set of relationship between actors operating at different scales, and one must focus on the broader question of the politics of planning across scale rather than the possibility of planning at a particular scale. This between-scale question is made all the more necessary by the unfortunate tendency to misread history, especially in the Bay Area. Central to this dissertation is an argument that the Bay Area was born fragmented and multi-centered, spread out and sprawling, and that the current geography of crisis is rooted in a political unwillingness and inability to plan for this fragmented world.

Another approach to explaining the production of crisis is the broad rubric of neoliberalism. As Peck and Tickell (2002) note, neoliberalism became an intellectual catchall during the first decade of the 21st century to describe a series of actions whereby the "market" was prioritized over the "state", financialization and privatization were rampant (Harvey 2005), and individuals were held to be the primary economic actors in society, heroic entrepreneurs in the mold of Ayn Rand's Howard Roark. Peck and Theodore (2002) divide neoliberalism into "roll-out" and "roll-back" neoliberalism, separating those sets of actions which eroded existing institutions or regulations from those that established new rules and new entities. We can also conceive of a tripartite view of neoliberalism – neoliberalism as removal, absence and creation, the former two concepts delineating between instances where the state eliminates institutions or protections it once had or simply fails to act in a way it might once have (Schafran 2009a). There is little argument from critical scholars that one can find direct and indirect relationships between virtually all aspects of neoliberalism and the foreclosure crisis, driven as it was by deregulated capital (financialization, removal) spreading and taking on new forms while governments at multiple scales largely ignored the ticking time bomb (absence), a bomb fed by the persistent fetishization of homeownership (the entrepreneurial self) led in part by quasi-governmental institutions like Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac transformed during the past two decades (creation).

If regionalism stems from a geographic view of fragmentation, scholars of neoliberalism emphasize the fragmentation of the State as a whole (eg Graham and Marvin 2001, Brenner and Theodore 2002). The question is not simply about the power of local jurisdictions, or the number, but about the role of increasing power of private sector actors in the production of space. In its emphasis on the broad political economy of urbanization, the neoliberalism approach more closely resembles my own, and has contributed greatly to my thinking about the crisis in the Bay Area.

But there are two aspects of the broad neoliberalism discourse which are limiting. One is an at times incomplete reading of history. To talk of a radically devolved and

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[5] There is a parallel in scholarly circles which seeks the ideal scale of analysis. Advocates of local governance and control are also just as guilty of scalar fetishism. See Purcell (2006) for an excellent discussion.

disempowered state may make sense in Europe or Latin America, but it makes little sense in California, where the brief window of Keynesianism is hardly the historic norm. The idea that intercity competition, private-sector power or any of the other hallmarks of neoliberalism are somehow new is to misread regional history. These factors, much like geopolitical fragmentation, are virtually inborn in Californian urbanism, and as Mark Weiss (1987) makes so breathtakingly clear in his classic *Rise of the Community Builders*, private sector actors are at the heart of *every stage* of the formation of the regulatory and planning apparatus in California.[6]

Scholarship on neoliberalism also has a tendency towards institutional fetishization, a trait it shares with many subgenres of urbanism. This is the viewpoint which favors or blames certain actors – the state, the market, community-based organizations, etc. – an institutional parallel to regionalist's pursuit of the proper scale. The power of certain institutions becomes the problem in and of itself, an institutional fix instead of a spatial one. But the production of space in the United States, and especially in California, has always been constituted by an intricate set of relations between a vast number of state and non-state institutions at every scale, held together and driven apart at different times by different sets of collective politics and sociocultural/socioeconomic trajectories.

It is the fragmentation of this broader politics that should be the focus of attention, a "splintering" which goes beyond questions of the State or the number of local governments (Graham and Marvin 2001). As I will make more clear below, and I as attempt to show throughout the dissertation, it is this broad fragmentation which helps account for new geographies of crisis throughout the country. Rather than build towards a new urban/metropolitan politics which could have produced more equitable and more sustainable space, a "common purpose" as California's long forgotten 1978 Urban Strategy would call it (California Office of Planning and Research 1978, p. iii), politics instead grew more divisive, with key institutions and movements locked into unwinnable wars, haunted by ghosts of the past. This fragmentation is part of the California's collective transition from Babylon to Brentwood, a there are few better places to understand this than the Bay Area, in part because it has always been fragmented.

The Bay Area

> Although it is fatuous to make too much of the San Francisco Bay Area's "uniqueness," it is equally dull-witted to act as if the Bay Area functions, spatially, just like all other metropolitan areas in the United States. - James Vance (1964, p. 2)

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[6] As I will discuss in more detail below, the neoliberalism discourse also tends to ignore the ways in which neoliberalism is built on a modernist era which itself was problematic, and that what emerged as the neoliberal era, which is the fundamental object of study, is the product of a complex historical math.

The one addendum I would respectfully add to James Vance's statement about the Bay Area's uniqueness is that the differences themselves have much to tell the rest of the world, for four very different but interrelated reasons. Long before conversations about urban sprawl, edge cities, postsuburbia and the expanding and multipolar geography of the post-fordist American metropolis, the San Francisco Bay Area was born as just such a region. The region is home to two former capitals of the state of California and the 10th largest city in the United States, none of which is San Francisco. It is the only significant region in the United States with three major cities – San Francisco, San Jose and Oakland – part of an archipelago of municipalities which includes 12 other cities with more than 100,000 people, a calculation which does not include the major cities of the Central Valley – Stockton, Modesto and even Sacramento – which are now entrenched in the region's commuteshed and migration network. The overwhelming majority of growth implicated in the new geography of crisis did not occur in brand new cities imagined by developers, postmodern versions of Levittown or Lakewood.[7] In the 25 cities in the greater Bay Area which grew by 50% and saw at least 5000 new residents between 1990 and 2010, the median founding date was 1873.[8] The region did not sprawl so much as grow into a lattice work of small industrial cities and old farm towns established during the 19th and early 20th centuries, and it has long had a strong regional identity as the Bay Area or its more inclusive variant, Northern California. When one fully confronts the reality of a region born "postmodern", one begins to see some of the problems with the way the region has confronted and planned for questions of sprawl, growth and regionalization, lessons valuable throughout the nation as more and more places begin to emulate the structure of the Bay Area, not the other way around.

The Bay Area was also one of the world's first truly multi-racial regions in a nation constituted on largely black and white lines. This pioneering diversity, which included significant 19th century Chinese and Latino populations alongside ethnically and religiously diverse white communities, grew even more complex with turn of the century Japanese immigration and the influx of Filipinos and African Americans during World War II. This diversity, now increasingly common not only in American cities but through the globe, was met with similarly "inventive" racism, from the 19th century development of zoning to keep out the Chinese to the formation of a "white noose" of exclusionary suburbs around heavily black Oakland during the postwar era. The Bay Area has long been at the forefront of both inclusion and exclusion, a colorful and complicated mosaic which like Roger Sanjek's (1998) Queens represents the "future of us all", not a multicultural anomaly.

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[7] The Bay Area does have two of these – Discovery Bay in eastern Contra Costa County and San Joaquin County's Mountain House. Mountain House in particular is fascinating and a potent symbol, it is hardly representative.

[8] Defined as the 9 county region + San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Merced. See methodological appendix for details on 50/5000 calculation and all other uses of data.

The Bay Area as a model of diversity – and the exclusion of the diverse – is only matched by its role as an icon of technology and "creativity"-driven economic success. It is arguably the wealthiest region in the nation and one of the most economically vibrant regions in human history. Legions of economic development specialists and regional geographers have flocked to the Bay Area over the years, trying to divine some of the secrets of the Silicon Valley miracle.[9] Given the predilection for models, "best practices" and other forms of metropolitan imitation all too prevalent in urban policy circles, critical examinations of the "successful" regions are increasingly common in global urban studies.[10]

Finally, the region's legend as an economic success is only exceeded by its notoriety for mass progressive politics. It is the place where 'the 60s never ended', where free speech, gay rights, black power and environmentalism had some of their most foundational experiences.[11] The Bay Area is the bluest place in the country by a long shot; in 2008, it was the only major metropolitan region where Barack Obama won more than 60% of the vote in *every* county.[12] Obama won a higher percentage of the vote in Marin County, a vastly wealthy county just across the Golden Gate Bridge from San Francisco whose 2010 population was 2.8% African American, than his former home base in Chicago's Cook County, which is 25% African American.[13] One would be hard pressed to find a major global region that is as well-known for both economic success and progressive politics, yet this crisis of metropolitan inequality still emerged on its doorstep.

These four factors form the heart of the Bay Area's great paradox. The region has always been the "Bay Area", as opposed to simply an extension of San Francisco, always been sprawling, always been politically fragmented, always been racially and ethnically diverse, yet despite its progressive politics and considerable economic resources the region was never willing or able to heal the vast racialized wounds which were so foundational to its history, especially those wounds inscribed in space and place. The fact remains that the region's incredible record of economic and social innovation was matched step-by-step by similar innovation in racial exclusion and outright bigotry, while its incredible record of environmental preservation was never matched by a similar world-class effort to overcome the inequalities and division which mar the collective landscape. The Bay Area became more adept at conservation-minded park-building, technology-driven company-building and even preservation-minded neighborhood-building than equity-driven metropolis-building, and at times allowed important majorities to believe that these things were mutually exclusive, a potent symbol of the fragmentation of the politics

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[9] Those secrets not available in Saxenian (1994) or in the reams of other studies aimed at understanding our own success.

[10] See Esther Dyson's (2012) article on the ideas of Paul Romer for a particularly virulent strain of best practices meeting competitive cities discourse with a dash of social entrepreneurialism.

[11] For a fascinating look at the link between progressive ideas and the Bay Area's technology sector, see Turner (2006).

[12] Only New York can count as many counties in its Metro.

[13] http://elections.nytimes.com/2008/results/president/map.html

of planning and development and part and parcel to the larger failure of planning and geography in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Ghosts, fragmentation, and the failure of planning and geography

The title of the dissertation is an allusion to Robert Self's *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland,* a book which both sits alongside Sugrue's *Origins of the Urban Crisis* in the pantheon of historical scholarship of the postwar American metropolis, and a perfect starting point from which to reconstruct contemporary history. The title is also a clue to the fundamental historical argument of the dissertation, an argument that owes a good deal to Self's highly spatialized telling of history.

The landscape of East County and the communities like it throughout the country are unmistakably the product of sprawling suburbanization under conditions of neoliberalism, what I refer to as the "post-industrial garden," Robert Self's postwar "industrial garden" without either the promise of well-paying industrial jobs, an industrial tax base or any of the other trappings of Keynesian urbanism. These communities were much more on their own when it came to urbanization and development, and the end result is that they are far less stable fiscally and in relation to major regional infrastructure.

But what has occurred is not simply the end result of neoliberalism or the inevitable result of a postwar model destined to fail, but as the end result of a "neoliberal era"[14] built on the ghosts of the postwar era. When it comes to urbanization and development, the neoliberal era must be conceived as the result of a multiplicity of reactions to the sins and the unsolved problems of the urban crisis of the post-war era, an epoch which established an unworkable and racialized urban/suburban dichotomy, structured metropolitan areas into distinct zones of opportunity and destroyed faith in much of the political apparatus which was integral to its development. The neoliberal era is the result of the complex math of one era being built in reaction to, on top of, and side by side with another era which never truly went away, etched as it is in the built environment, in political institutions, in collective memory.[15] This historical residue, from concrete freeways through poor communities to abandoned plans for regional mobility, from institutional memories of top-down planning to the deep legacy of racial exclusion both residentially and politically, are what I collectively refer to as *ghosts in the machine.*

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[14] This historic viewpoint of neoliberalism, less as a set of policies or transformations and more as an epoch where the push for those changes occurred, is the fundamental use of neoliberalism in this text. As Peck and Tickell (2002) note, it can be difficult to separate out the era of neoliberalism (generally accepted to begin in the mid-1970's) from the policies themselves. For the purpose of this text, the "neoliberal era" is the period from 1978 to 2007, the "postwar era", also referred to as the Keynesian era, from 1945-1977.

[15] This historical math owes an intellectual debt to Ed Soja's (1996) interpretation of Los Angeles history from the Watts Riots of 1965 to the LA Riots of 1992.

These ghosts undergird the broad loss of faith in urbanization as a collective project over the past 35 years. What was at times sold during the postwar era as a collective effort was in reality driven by powerful but narrowly constructed coalition of elites, a "growth machine" that extended far from downtown, especially in California. In examining the recent history of the San Francisco Bay Area and the production of a new geography of crisis, one can see clearly how the broad implosion of Keynesian urbanization came as a result of an attack on this machine from virtually everywhere, from left and right, environmentalists and racial justice advocates, local governments and homeowners. Both environmental and racial justice advocates grew more powerful during the neoliberal era, but in different spaces fighting for different things. Developer power did not wane in the least, but they, too, carved out new spaces and territories and ways of operating. Local governments, regional agencies, transportation authorities, community-based organizations – virtually everyone involved in the urbanization process found their niche to defend, their issues to promote and their spaces to build and rebuild, but the collective endeavor needed to meet the truly massive challenge of a post-civil rights metropolis in a booming and gentrifying metropolis was never possible. The trauma of postwar urbanism was so great that when the model finally began to come apart at the end of the 1970s, the end result was not simple a "splintering" of the "integrated ideal" but *a deep sociopolitical fragmentation of the politics of space and development* at virtually every scale and every sector, far beyond the traditional geographic-centered conceptions of political fragmentation focused on the overabundance of political jurisdictions and the lack of regional cooperation – a fact which was largely established on the ground long before the end of Keynesianism.[16] In the words of what is now a tragic letter from then-Governor Jerry Brown in 1978 (California Office of Planning and Research 1978, p. iii), what was needed was a coming together around the "common purpose" which was California's urban and regional development, and what happened was exactly the opposite .

This fragmentation took on many forms. As environmentalists grew in power, they were able to go head to head with development forces on the fringe, a battle which grew in vitriol and expense and resulted in what I call the *Dougherty Valley Dilemma*, planning and land use politics where powerful and well-off actors fight to a draw over competing alternatives, neither of which would actually solve the major issues of workforce housing or environmental sustainability that each side claimed to stand for. Despite links in the broad progressive camp, advocates for racial justice and environmentalism were never able to combine their growing and considerable power in order to articulate a broad politics of urbanization and development which could have healed postwar wounds rather than blowing them up on a megaregional scale.

The role of race in the fragmentation of Californian planning politics and the failure to find "common purpose" is fundamental. Rooted in a defining and shameful moment in California history - the passing of a historic housing anti-discrimination

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[16] The underappreciated Paul Lewis (1998, 2000) makes this point clear.

bill in 1963 which was then overturned in a 1964 ballot initiative by a rising conservative movement and a vindictive white majority – California's racial ghosts run deep and find similarly powerful moments at every scale. California as a state has never fully recovered from this era, and rather than spend the 1980s and 1990s working to make up for and acknowledge the past and build common purpose for a multiracial society, it has reaped the pain of those soiled roots and drove the wedges even deeper, either through ignorance and elitism in the Bay Area or revanchism 2.0 at the scale of the state.

One result of this broad and deep fragmentation was that certain aspects of the modernist planning project that underwrote the Keynesian era, including the ability to think big and connect far-flung portions of the metropole, were dramatically undermined even as they remained necessary. The planning which emerged from the postwar era was determined to do better at planning and respecting the micro, and in this it largely succeeded, but it largely failed to meet the challenges of the macro, of a post-industrial, postsuburban, and post Babylon landscape. Again, this was not simply a case of local jurisdictions not being able to cooperate or regional agencies not having enough power, but the inability of all of the major institutional actors involved in the production of space to come together to confront the ghosts of planning's past and meet the challenges of a rapidly growing and rapidly changing region still heavily scarred by inequality and beset by the double edge-sword of a beautiful but difficult physical geography.

Not all of the ghosts in the machine involve things done which should not have been done. My notion of ghosts refers equally to all of the ideas left on the table, generations of good ideas and worthwhile plans that have gathered dust even as the situation on the ground worsened. When one begins to pick through these ghosts in the Bay Area, one sees that there were many opportunities to do things differently. Buried in the same long-forgotten BART plan as the quote which opens this introduction is another haunting passage, a line which hints not of the failure to adequately project but the failure to follow through. Development in eastern Contra Costa County, the plan argues, is "an area where BART can direct growth rather than merely respond to growth (Bay Area Rapid Transit 1976)."

There is a similar sentiment in many other sets of plans and ideas from the 1960s and 1970s, evidence that planners recognized some of the failings of postwar suburbanization, had concrete ideas on how to make changes, and simultaneously understood the risk of repeating these failures once again - only this time farther from the core with hundreds of thousands of new residents. Even the plans that unleashed this growth on East County included ideas which could have perhaps allowed things to unfold differently, ideas which today are taught as contemporary "solutions" to longstanding planning problems, particularly in the suburbs: transit-oriented development, walkable and bikable communities, improved connections between housing, jobs and education, local agricultural preservation, etc. But these ideas, like so many of the time, were left on the table, or left buried in plans on the shelf and never implemented.

The true shame of what happened in East County is that planners, politicians, activists and academics have long seen the writing on the wall, but were unable or unwilling to build the type of planning politics necessary to alter the direction of history and build a different geography. From the late 1950s up and through the first wave of foreclosures, regional and state agencies, local planning departments, respected consulting firms, powerful advocacy organizations, academic institutes and developer trade associations knew what was slowly unfolding on the region's fringe. They wrote reports and plans and projections, argued for solutions and fought battle after battle after battle, but at the end of the day little changed. Planning failed not because it saw the future incorrectly, but because it saw it all too clearly and failed to adequately intervene. The Bay Area had many good plans, and even more good planners, but at the end of the day the system of planning could not alter the course of history.

As I strive to make clear throughout this entire dissertation, responsibility for this failure of planning, for the continued fragmentation of the politics of urbanization and development, lies in every institution and at every scale, was driven by both developments on the ground and in turn drove those developments. It is a partly a failure of the planning establishment to articulate an honest definition of planning, one which incorporates non-state actors and which moves beyond the fallacy of planning as the *public* production of space in the United States.[17] But the failures, and the crisis of the Bay Area's new geography of inequality, are also linked to a set of broad misconceptions of geography which grew worse in the neoliberal era, including ideas about sprawl, about what constitutes the region, about what is core and what is periphery, what is central and what is not. Geography is integral to this entire endeavor, and what follows is a brief road map of a text which is fundamentally organized along different scales of engagement.

Organization of the dissertation

The text weaves together quantitative data, archival research, stories and anecdotes, interviews with politicians, planners, activists and developers, the results of two years of fieldwork which took me to almost every single census-designated place in a 50-mile corridor, and the endless reading and rereading of an ever-expanding list of writers who have tried to understand the complexities of urban and regional development and metropolitan segregation since the days of Patrick Geddes and Friedrich Engels.[18] It is very much a 21st century hybrid of Levi-Strauss' (1966)

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[17] This is the definition put forth by Huxley and Yiftachel (2000). I will discuss this in more detail in the conclusion.

[18] The research for this book was formally conducted over two years, from May 2009 to April 2011, with significant preliminary work done in 2007 and 2008. I spent much of the four year period travelling between my home in Oakland and eastern Contra Costa County, the primary subject of the book, and the full range of commuter towns in central and western San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties, particularly Modesto and Patterson. I conducted 79 formal interviews (listed in the appendix) with planners, engineers, elected officials, policy wonks, real estate developers and

bricoleur and *engineer*, a product of a new world where unlike in Levi-Strauss' time the *bricoleur's* tools and materials are seemingly infinite. Never before have scholars and intellectuals had so much at their fingertips, and I do my best to take advantage of the contemporary moment to tell a contemporary tale.

The regional nature of the Bay Area is the focus of Chapter 1, a chapter which as serves as a more in depth introduction to the history of the Bay Area and more specifically to Bay Area historiography. It seeks to establish how diversity and physical/jurisdictional fragmentation are as old as the region itself, one of the many reasons why fragmentation in the traditional sense is a weak explanation for a new map of inequality. This is an issue I will return to in the conclusion, where I reconsider the broader American debates about sprawl, regionalism and planning in the light of the restructuring of the Bay Area.

I begin the contemporary story in Chapter 2, which explores the transformation of the Bay Area in terms of race and the question of segregation. I chart what I consider to be a new pattern of "mobile segregation" at the heart of this crisis, a racialized structuring written across 10,000 square miles. This is not the hardened red lines of the post-war ghettos, but neither is it an aracial melting pot where segregation is a thing of the past. East County and its neighbors in the fast-growing outer ring of the Bay Area, where much of the development occurred in a post-Civil Rights Act environment, are majority-minority, a fact of concern because these places – and the people who now call them home – have lost so much value as a result of the crisis. This 21st century reiteration of racialized injustice through space and place is central to any understanding of this crisis.

brokers, activists, journalists and a few academics who were longtime students of the region. I attended public meetings, festivals, rallies, high school sporting events, and farmers markets, engaging in innumerable informal conversations about life, urban change, crisis, politics, crime, and inevitably, traffic. I read the local weekly almost every week and the semi-local daily almost every day, did archival work in local libraries and historical societies and online, gathering bits and chunks of information, ideas, anecdotes and conundrums in "discrete patches" for the unwieldy Arcades project which forms the empirical foundation of this book. And of course, in this day and age one can find mountains of quantitative data with a few clicks of the mouse, data which was analyzed and mapped descriptively by myself and with more complex statistical methods with the help of colleagues far more capable than I.

As my goal from the outset was to write a truly regional book which avoided scapegoating or valorizing one place in particular, I visited (almost) every single mapped location in Alameda and Contra Costa counties during that time – sometimes for formal interviews or formal fieldwork, other times just to have a cup of coffee, walk and drive and bike around, and take pictures and chat with people I met. I lived for a summer in Brentwood with a transplant from Pennsylvania (via Walnut Creek) who needed a roommate to avoid foreclosure, in a brand new half-built subdivision surrounded by empty lots, working here and there at the local farmers market. I spent another winter in Antioch, in a 100-year old house downtown with man in his 50's who had grown up in town and whose great grandfather had built the house we lived in. I made friends, drank beer, went to car shows, and spent hours and days wandering around East County and the Central Valley going to garage sales, talking to people, and taking approximately 5,973 pictures. From the friendships I made and some which I had before, I built a series of life histories, mostly of people from my generation, stories which helped add a critical backstory to my thinking.[18]

From this base I move into a scale by scale breakdown of the political economy of transformation, starting with the cities of East County and moving upwards. Chapter 3 focuses on the "post-industrial garden" of Antioch and its neighbors in East County, how they fought to develop or fought development, built new neighborhoods at the expense of old, worked together and against each other, stole each other's tax base and were forced by devolution and retrenchment to do things that were done at higher levels of government in earlier eras. It begins with the fateful decisions in late 1981 and early 1982 by the city of Antioch to blow open the floodgates to east County development, the most critical moment in its transformation from small, semi-isolated working class town to large, semi-isolated working and middle class suburb. It continues into the more contemporary manifestations of longstanding difficulties with diversity and the structural instability of the entire economic model of neoliberal homeownership – race and class tensions over crime and belonging and a foreclosure crisis that won't go away. Cities had no choice but to be creative and innovative under the fiscal conditions after Proposition 13, but they were also petulant, provincial and unable to recognize just what they had gotten themselves into in the long run.

The suburban boom in Contra Costa County would not have been possible without the active involvement of the county government, a fact that sets it apart from many other counties in the region, and which is one of the key stories in Chapter 4. Counties play particularly critical roles in a geographic sense in the suburban parts of the metropolis, for most small suburbs are not big enough to have powerful civil society and political society actors. Despite this fact, research has largely ignored the county as either a political or geographic entity. Chapter 4 juxtaposes the experiences and actions of the wealthier, whiter and earlier to suburbanize municipalities of central Contra Costa County with the more recently suburbanized East County cities, a juxtaposition that illuminates both the radically different hand both subregions where dealt depending on what era the suburban wave reached them. It is also at this scale where you see the environmental politics of land use, urban growth boundaries, and transportation planning most clearly, and where a "grand bargain" emerged in the 1980s which attempted to reign in runaway growth – a bargain which made significant progress in terms of funding transportation in the neoliberal era at the moment, but contributed little to a more functional politics of land use and development needed to meet the profound population and equity challenges of the county, especially in the face of massive job growth in "edge cities". The result is what I call the Dougherty Valley Dilemma, a planning and land use politics where powerful actors fight to a draw over competing alternatives, neither of which would actually solve major issues.

Chapter 5 examines stagnation and change in the old industrial core of the region, the ways in which Babylon was reproduced. It first paints a more regional picture of the capital shifts evident in the previous two chapters, including the massive influx of venture capital that spurred economic growth regionally, and which helped transform certain industrial areas in the southern half of the region into a global

economic powerhouse. At the same time, the region failed to transform older industrial and military sites in San Francisco, Oakland, and Richmond into productive and healthy uses that would benefit local communities, part of a collective failure to deal with persistent racial inequality, a legacy from the dark days of Babylon. These failures, which helped reproduce inequality in the core, were a key missed opportunity which made the suburban move for many communities of color a necessity. It is a failure that one can blame both on the dysfunctional racial politics of inner core cities like Richmond and Oakland and on regional actors, who in the late 1980s and early 1990s once again embarked on the planners dream of stronger regional governance, and once again failed - in part because of their failure to come down from their modernist perch and truly engage with diverse communities and the realities of race, class and poverty. Part of the problem was that for most of this period, community groups in struggling core communities of color were faced with their own dilemma, *the gentrification dilemma*, and they chose to stay and fight for old neighborhoods rather than engage fully in the regional question, even as many members of their communities were slowly moving outwards.

From the core I go back out to the periphery, to the larger scale of the Northern California "megaregion", the scale in which many of the transformation can be examined in their fullest. Using commuting and migration data, focused on the *spaces of the megaregion* where change is most evident, Chapter 6 shows how the cities of San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties were gradually linked to the Bay Area through social and economic ties, even if census and political definitions of the Bay Area ignore the northern San Joaquin Valley. This coming together economically was never matched by a similar political effort, despite the fact that virtually all actors in the process knew what was happening. But unlike the ghosts that undermined planning at lesser scales, the failure to bridge the Altamont divide must be seen in light of the profound challenges – social, cultural, political – produced by the frontier status of these spaces.

Only the state of California would have been capable of overcoming the Altamont divide and meeting the challenges of the megaregion, but it, too, was hampered by ghosts and by a statewide version of the Dougherty Valley and gentrification dilemmas. This is the focus of the first half of the conclusion, as all roads lead back to Sacramento.

It is here that I reengage with the broader question of planning in the wake of crisis, with the lessons learned on the road from Babylon to Brentwood. How do we plan in an urbanized state that is always already fragmented, beset by ghosts and powerful dilemmas, by seemingly insurmountable frontiers and a new and disturbing geography of mobile segregation? How do we finally take advantage of the progressive majority, vast wealth and unparallel physical environment to overcome Babylon and create a region as just as it is beautiful, creative and innovative? Part of the answer is moving beyond state-centered conceptions of planning, ones that adhere to Huxley and Yiftachel's (2000) conception of planning as the *public*

production of space, instead defining planning as the *coordinated and intentional production of space by institutional actors across scale.* It is a view that is more reflective of the way that space is actually produced, and allows planning to focus on its primary task in American cities – not to revitalize the center, but to weave together the fragments, both physically and politically, into a more equitable and functional whole. It is a view that also demands a newly engaged and active metropolitan morality on behalf of all actors at all scales. The first public act of this moral engagement must involve coming to terms with the ghosts, in part so that we may move beyond them and build a paramodern planning capable of meeting the challenges and possibilities that define 21st century California.

Figure 2: Antioch's ghost in the machine. Rendering of proposed waterfront BART station, Antioch, CA. 1976 Pittsburg Antioch BART Extension Plan. Parsons Brinckerhoff-Tudor-Bechtel.

Antioch's Ghost

Every city and town and region in America has its ghosts in the machine. Some are memories of what got built, or how it got built or by whom. For others it is about what never happened, about the promises of a bygone era which never came to pass. This latter ghost is omnipresent in East County, none more spectacular than the downtown waterfront BART station (Figure 2) proposed for Antioch in the 1976 BART plan. No one can say what would have happened in Antioch had the era of modernist planning and federally-driven Keynesian urbanism not come crashing to a halt before BART could be extended to what was then a fairly sleepy industrial town on the far edge of the region, had BART not been deemed a failure early on and then succumbed to its own myopia and to regional powers which prioritized airport linkages over the suburban masses. It is anyone's guess what would have happened to the San Francisco Bay Area had it dealt differently with the map of metropolitan inequality inherited in the mid-1970s, or in California with the challenges of rising property values amidst a booming economy preparing to lead the world into the digital age. Even the greatest modelers in the world have a hard time figuring out just what the American metropolis would have looked like had the focus of the past three decades been making federal funding for urban development and infrastructure more just, sustainable and equitable, as opposed the steady diet of devolution, retrenchment and increasingly deregulated capital which so define the neoliberal era.

I do not know what Antioch, the Bay Area, California or the United States would look like had institutions at every scale and in every sector reacted differently to the landscape inherited in the late 1970s, had built and restructured geographies in more efficient, equitable, sustainable and just ways, learned from the sins of modernism and the failures of Keynesianism rather than abandoned them, ande recognized more fully just how deep lay the roots of a racialized metropolis.

But what I do know is that the way American society reacted to this 1970s world lies at the heart of this crisis, especially in the Bay Area. The way the region restructured, and continue to restructure, at every geographic scale and across every layer of government and in virtually every aspect of urbanism; the way in which people and capital and policies moved about the ever larger metropolis over the course of 35 years; what was built where for whom and what did not get built where and why, this is the all-important back story which set the stage for the foreclosure crisis, and which helped catapult a little unknown city like Antioch onto the cover of the New York Times (Moore 2008).

With all due respect to the Police, although this troubled evolution was not a bloody revolution, it was a series of political and politicized choices and solutions which constitute the current version of the metropolis. To look back with hindsight on the past three and a half decades of regional development in the San Francisco Bay Area is to see what true historic fragmentation means, to see opportunity lost and potential squandered. Growing up in California in the 1980s and 1990s meant learning the word "pink slip" in nursery school, a far cry from the heyday of infrastructure building and myth making which so defined earlier generations. Now the very sustainability of California as both a human and environmental project has reached the breaking point, especially for those of us poised to inherit this project from two generations of leaders and voters who have pushed us towards the edge through their inability to find "common purpose" and their unwillingness to admit the sins of the past.

Figure 1: The Road to Port Costa. 2008. Photo by Alex Schafran

CHAPTER 1: SEARCHING FOR THE BAY AREA

> ...in California the lights went on all at once, in a blaze, and they have never
> been dimmed. - Carey McWilliams (1999 [1949]), *California: The Great
> Exception, p. 25*

One wouldn't think it possible to have a virtual ghost town in the heart of a major
metropolis, at least not the type of old west style ghost town which actually
resembles the real thing, as opposed to the metaphorical ghost town being invoked
to describe the half-empty subdivisions of the region's outer fringe. But Port Costa is
just such a place, an old west strip of approximately 190 souls tucked along the
shores of the San Joaquin River across from California's long forgotten former
capital, Benicia. Port Costa has become cool of late, both for its old timey feel and its
epic biker bar cum semi-secret hipster destination. Founded in 1879 as a landing for
the new train ferry serving the transcontinental railroad, Post Costa was central to

the growing network of cities along the Carquinez Strait and San Joaquin River, a part of the Bay Area I like to call the Cities of Carquinez (Schafran 2012b).[1]

Even if San Francisco sits at the forefront of regional imaginations and most tellings of Northern California history – despite now having only one tenth of the region's residents - the Bay Area has always been a sprawling, regional metropolis. It was never foreordained that San Francisco would be its capital, and both Oakland and Vallejo made concerted runs at regional supremacy, "contestants", as Mel Scott (1959, p. 57) would put it, in a game of urban development in which the railroad magnates who so dominated California's early history held most of the cards.[2]

Beginning in the heady days of the Gold Rush, when, as Carey McWilliams so eloquently noted, "the lights went on all at once" and the rapid development of the state represented a "telescoping of events; a foreshortening of processes," the Golden State and its cities have been at the center of both global capitalism and American urbanism, and their myriad interlocking formations. No state in history became metropolitan so quickly. By 1910, it was the 6th most metropolitan state in the country; by 1950, only Rhode Island, Massachusetts were New Jersey are more "metro" than California. California went from the size of Ghana in 1900 to the size of Poland in 2000, with an economy the size of France (Hobbs and Stoops 2002). It was the western world's greatest 20th century's urban experiment, the foundations of which were laid in 19th century Northern California.

One look at early railroad maps in northern California shows a network of smaller cities and towns tied to the small and growing cities at the core of the region. Virtually all of the major "characters" in this story – East County's Antioch, Brentwood and Pittsburg, central Contra Costa's San Ramon and Walnut Creek, the core cities of Oakland and Richmond and the Central Valley cities of Modesto and Stockton – were on the regional map by 1900 (figure 2). The Bay Area did not sprawl into an uninhabited desert in the postwar era, but rather grew into a regional skeleton established by the end of the 19th century.[3]

The same can be said about the region's diversity. Even if San Francisco and Oakland were principle gateways, many of the region's small cities have boasted immigrant communities from their earliest days, were recipients of African American migration

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[1] Cities of the San Joaquin river might technically be more accurate, but since the river is quite long and San Joaquin generally associated with the Central Valley, I use Carquinez, even if the strait itself only touches on a few of the cities.

[2] Pittsburg, Antioch's neighbor to the west, was in fact originally called New York on the Pacific, as they too had delusions of grandeur. Alas, in perhaps a fitting story, they changed their name to Pittsburg, forgetting the H, once they chose the more humble path of iron and coal. When thinking of present day Pittsburg in comparison to San Francisco, one is reminded of the Chinitz's (1961) classic study of the differences between Pittsburgh and New York, and the dueling paths between global economic supremacy and post-industrial struggle.

[3] Only Patterson, settled by whites in 1855 but not named as such until 1909, does not appear on the maps, even if the footprint which would become Patterson already existed.

direct from the south or post-1965 immigration which never passed through the big centers. This is a critical fact often missing in accounts of American regional history and models of regional sociology, driven by adherence to Chicago school ideology *and geography* and the postwar historiography of suburbanization, a facet of the larger city/suburban dialectic which has dominated American urbanism in the 20th century (Schafran 2009b).

This is even true when it comes to Bay Area scholars. Early scholars tended to ignore the diversity question when looking at the Bay Area, while a later generation tended to ignore the Bay Area by focusing on San Francisco, or focused only on specific issues like suburban job growth without attempting to tie it all together. By examining Bay Area scholarship in the light of this regional and racial question, one can see some of the key components of the larger fragmentation of planning and planning politics in the post-Babylon era, as well as some of the ghosts which continue to haunt this most regional of machines.

Figure 2: Bay Area Section of Southern Pacific railroad Map of California, 1900. Source: California Digital Library.

San Francisco and the formation of the regional metropolis

Following the onset of the Gold Rush in 1849, it did not take long for San Francisco to morph from a tiny settlement on a windy outcrop into an "imperial" metropolis, torn between being the next Rome or the next Paris (Brechin 2006). Yet, as it grew it joined together with smaller cities established at roughly the same time, cities which themselves held dreams of regional superiority. Vallejo and Benicia were given a taste of importance during their brief reigns as state capitol in the early 1850s, only to lose out through slow building and a shift in the internal politics of the state. Stockton and Redwood City soon became important shipping points for agricultural products and lumber. As I discuss in more detail in Chapter 3, Antioch and Pittsburg each had initial designs on being the regional metropolis, especially Pittsburg, whose original naming as New York on the Pacific lends little doubt as to where its entrepreneurial founders thought they were headed.

As San Francisco grew, its power was not built on the abundance of placeless hinterlands or simply its own internal industrial and financial capital but rather the specific contributions of a network of cities and towns, places linked at first by waterways and eventually by a massive network of railroads and canals, moving people, goods, and water with equal fervor. Heavy and dirty industry started to leave San Francisco in the 1880s, driven out by an industrialist class annoyed that they had chased themselves off of Rincon Hill through the smoke of their own factories. Lesson learned, they avoided the easier path south towards the Peninsula and instead moved east to Oakland and Alameda County and up the Carquinez Strait into Contra Costa and Solano counties (Walker 2004). Never able to realize their earlier dreams of regional prominence, these cities accepted the factories and refineries, even though it would mark them in perpetuity as the unfavored quadrant of the region.

Oakland also saw significant industrial growth during the late 19th century, booming as a streetcar suburb after the 1906 earthquake devastated San Francisco. The post-disaster Oakland was a harbinger of things to come in the East Bay, and was followed by the steady growth during the 20th century of a blue collar, suburban "industrial garden" along the shores of the Bay from Richmond to Fremont, a banlieue redbelt for San Francisco's bourgeois Parisian dreams, albeit without the left-wing politics (Self 2003).[4] Centered around canneries and car factories, migrants from across the nation and across the world built small and medium sized cities in the East Bay, and Oakland grew into a central city in its own right, complete with mass transit systems, sports teams and machine politics. San Jose's growth was slower, but it, too, established an important prewar beachhead, before it looked south to Los Angeles and adopted an aggressive annexation and sprawl-based urbanization strategy in the postwar era, on its way to becoming the only major satellite city in America to surpass a central city in population size in modern US history.

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[4] I will return to the concept of the industrial garden in Chapter 3.

This growth was aided in no small part by the massive build up of defense and defense-related industries as old as the region itself. From San Francisco's Presidio to Vallejo's Mare Island, from Yerba Buena and the Oakland Army Base to Mountain View's Moffett Field and Pittsburg's Camp Stoneman, the regionality of the Bay Area was anchored and solidified by a network of bases and related industries stretching from one end of the bay to the other. By the time the postwar suburban boom emerged, with concerns about "the exploding metropolis (Whyte 1958)," urban sprawl and the larger suburbanization process, the San Francisco Bay Area was already a "fragmented" metropolis of 65 incorporated cities in nine counties, 44 of which predated the earthquake.

By the time of Proposition 13 and the tax revolt of 1978, as the Babylon era was ending and the major expansion on the region's fringe beginning, much of the formal, jurisdictional architecture of the region was in place. In the words of Paul Lewis (2000, p. 47), "local government structure has deep roots." Evidence of this early fragmentation can be seen in the 1900 railroad map (figure 2) from Southern Pacific, a map easily recognizable even in "sprawling" 21st century Northern California. Yet it is particularly evident when the region is mapped by incorporation dates (Figure 3). One can see how many of the East Contra Costa, Solano and Central Valley cities and towns were incorporated long before Silicon Valley grew into a suburban economic miracle (Chapter 5), and long before they became centers of foreclosure, rapid growth and diversity (Chapter 2).

One can also see evidence of Lewis' claims about the limited nature of post-Prop 13 fragmentation. There are relatively few incorporations after 1978, and those places that did incorporate have "deep roots." As can be seen in Table 1, every single one of the ten cities in the 11-county region to incorporate after 1978 was founded by 1900. Some, like Windsor and East Palo Alto, date from the Gold Rush.

There are only two significant communities in the entire region, Discovery Bay in East County and Mountain House in San Joaquin County, which are developer fantasies carved out of whole cloth in the middle of farmland.[5] Although one can not discount the importance of developers, promoters and speculators in the creation of Northern California, they most often worked within (and helped construct) the socio-political framework of a regional archipelago of cities, towns and communities largely established during the 19th century. As the Bay Area grew in the postwar era, it rarely invented a city out of whole cloth, instead incorporating old farm towns, railroad depots and small industrial cities into the expanding web of a regional metropolis.

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[5] Diablo Grande in Stanislaus County was planned to be a significant community, but the crash has stymied its development and as of 2012 it had less than 500 inhabitants. One could write an entire book on the folly that is Diablo Grande.
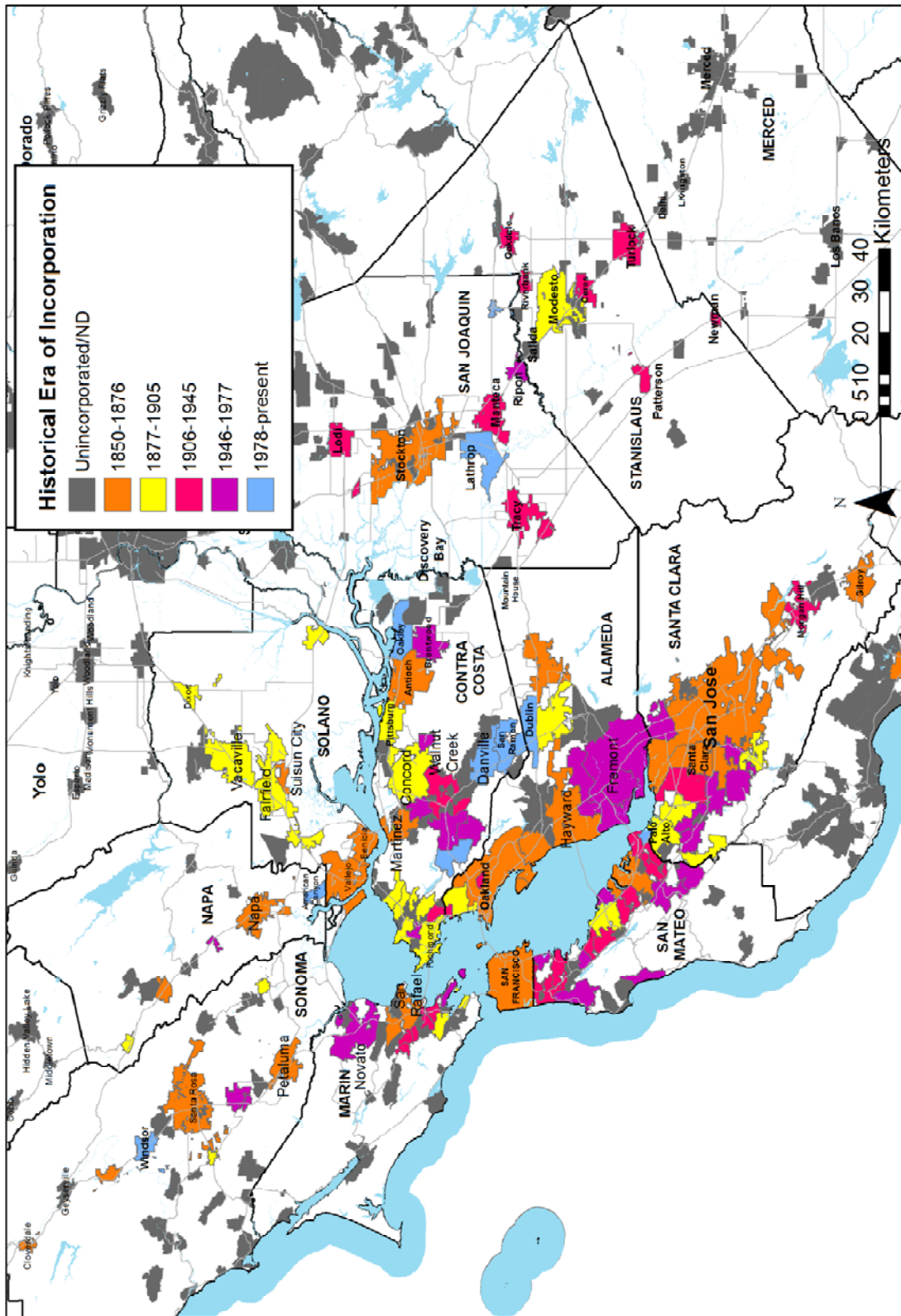
Figure 3: The always already fragmented Bay Area.

From the perspective of planning, this is a critical fact that is often forgotten. Although most of the *land* may not have been urbanized prior to the post-war suburban boom, the politics, political structure, subregional identities and local cultures were largely established to some degree or another, a group of "come from's" who made decisions about the "come to's." And much like fragmentation is as old as the Bay Area, so is diversity.

Table 1: Post-Prop 13 Incorporations			
City/Town	*County*	*Incorporation*	*Founding[6]*
Dublin	Alameda	1982	1860
Danville	Contra Costa	1982	1860
San Ramon	Contra Costa	1983	1873
Orinda	Contra Costa	1985	1888
Oakley	Contra Costa	1999	1898
American Canyon	Napa	1992	1900
Lathrop	San Joaquin	1989	1887
Escalon	San Joaquin	1957	1896
East Palo Alto	San Mateo	1983	1849
Windsor	Sonoma	1992	1851

The multi-racial metropole

The war and its massive federal investment in shipbuilding and war-related industrialization also brought an influx of African American workers to the region, mostly from Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas. Filipinos also came in numbers during the war, helping to cement what had long been a relatively small but important multiracial minority, with significant Chinese, Mexican and Native American populations. They too settled in the cities of the region, not simply in one center or another – Pittsburg, Vallejo and Richmond all had war work and hence black and Filipino communities; Latino communities began growing in historic centers like East San Jose, while Chinese Oakland grew in the shadow of Chinese San Francisco.

The "other" economic miracle undergirding the region's economy, agriculture, also benefitted from immigration and cultural diversity. Japanese, Portuguese, Italian, Swiss-French and Punjabi farmers formed the backbone of an agricultural economy stretching from the vineyards and egg farms of Napa and Sonoma down through Silicon Valley's orchards and into the industrialized food factory that was California's Central Valley (McWilliams 1999 (1949)). Even if San Francisco dominated in terms of the larger population of immigrants and nonwhites, the regionalization of diversity kept pace to a certain degree with the regionalization of the metropolis, at least up until the war, as nonwhites could be found all along the urban-rural transect.

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[6] The Anglo founding. This is generally taken to mean the establishment of a post office.

This fusion of regional economic development and human diversity was rife with tensions, despite a political climate where left-wing politics was always visible. Irish immigrants formed the backbone of virulent anti-Chinese sentiments during San Francisco's labor battles in the 1870s, part of a series of anti-chinese acts, including Modesto and San Francisco's famed anti-Chinese experiments with zoning and the various state and federal anti-chinese acts of the 1880s (Walker 2008; Craddock 2000). The Japanese brought in to replace excluded Chinese workers themselves became targets of "yellow peril" race-baiting and warmongering during the first two decades of the 20th century, only to see their neighborhood in San Francisco largely confiscated during World War II internment – only to be given to African Americans who were then pushed out in large numbers by postwar urban renewal programs.

The regionalization of diversity does not mean that the Bay Area was not segregated, simply that segregation took on a more regional form. The combination of war industry, foreign and domestic immigration, and exclusionary housing policy helped produce a segregated metropolis (figure 3) that by the 1970s saw the majority of African Americans confined to a handful of communities – Oakland, Richmond, East Palo Alto, Pittsburg, Vallejo, and parts of San Francisco. Latino and Asian geography was not as confined, but again regional diversity does not mean that racial barriers broke down. As the small railroad towns throughout the nine counties grew into incorporated industrial cities and suburban commuter towns, racial covenants, FHA loan provisions, steering by real estate agencies, and harassment by law enforcement and hostile neighbors were all brought to bear on non-white Bay Area residents, particularly African Americans (Self 2003; Rhomberg 2004. Although the Bay Area had always been diverse beyond its urban core, and by the 1960s already noted for its environmental progressivity, defense of free speech and initial social openness, the entire apparatus that was housing discrimination against nonwhites in postwar America was brought to bear on the region.

Unfortunately, the deep historic footprints of diversity and a fragmented, sprawling metropolis are hard to find in unison in scholarship on the Bay Area, in part because the broader regional question has largely been missing from Bay Area historiography for a generation, with one notable exception.

The questions of regionalism

> If I were king, I would declare a moratorium on the writing of individual city histories of San Francisco and other Bay Area municipalities. Instead, I would direct local scholars to concentrate on the region. – Charles Wollenberg, *Golden Gate Metropolis* (1985, p. 3)
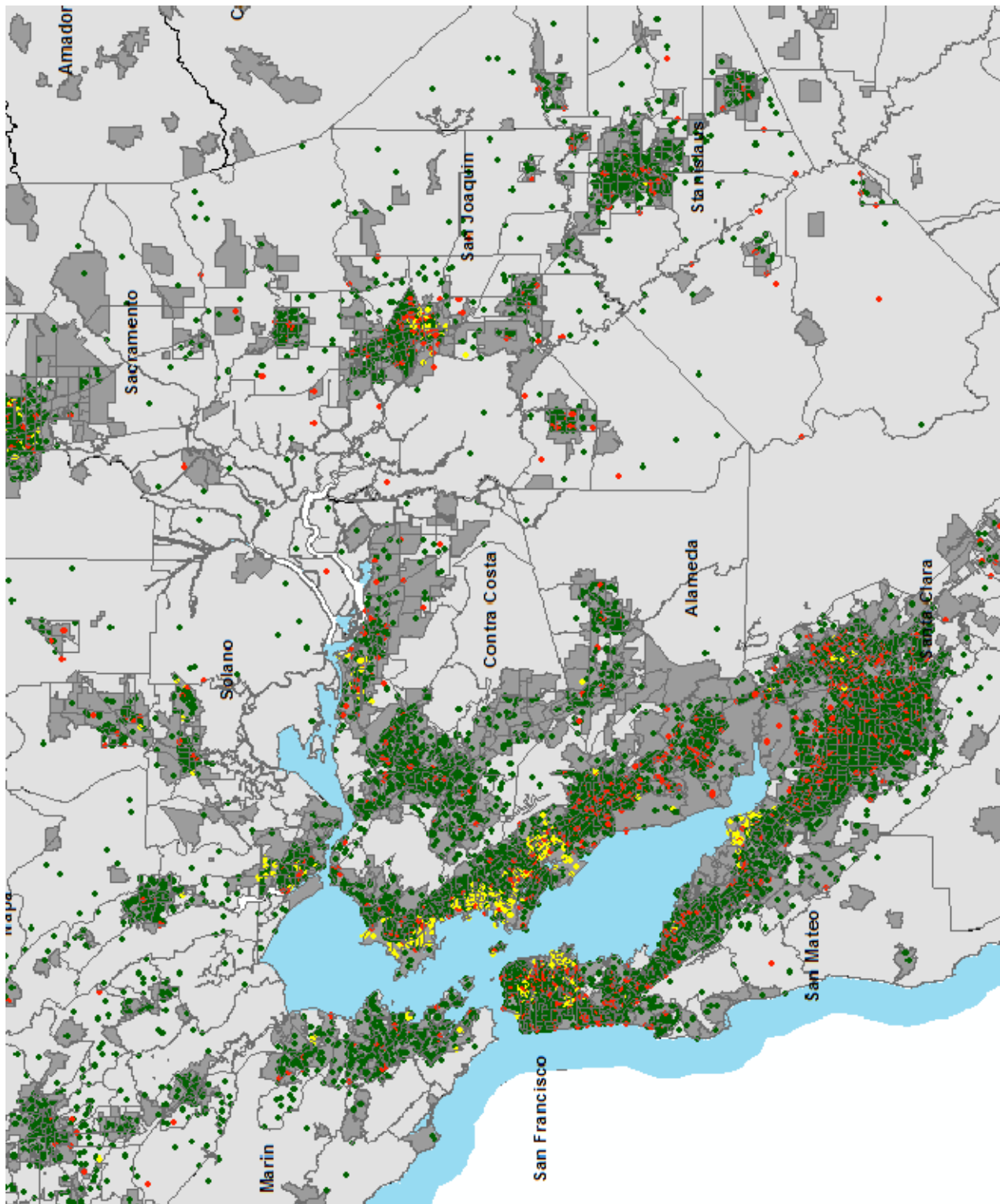
Figure 4: Blacks (yellow), Hispanics (Red) and Whites (Green), 1970 census. By Census tract, dot = 500 people. Source: Neighborhood Change Database at 2000 census tracts.

Unsurprisingly, an area of study as amorphous and contested as geography has as its original "principal subject matter" the study of an object that itself is amorphous and contested, a "troubled concept" as Pudup (2001, p. 12905) would have it, torn apart by "geography's hybrid status as, at once, a natural and social science." Early academic geography was partially defined by debates about the nature of regions – whether or not they were unique entities with some sort of ontological status – a debate which was dropped when regions themselves were cast aside in favor of "spatial science" enabled by the quantitative revolution. Regions would come back into form a few decades later in the 1980s, as geographers from many walks of life joined a wide range of social scientists in getting excited about regions again, partially in response to the growing recognition that regions were more than political or natural features but had a critical economic function, especially under conditions of a more globalized capitalism (ibid., Scott and Storper 2003).

If geographers have waxed and waned in their enthusiasm for the region as a concept, planners (and political scientists) have rarely lost sight of it, even if their hopes and dreams for planning and governing at this 'most natural' of scales has never been truly realized, especially not in the United States. The regional gaze prompted by Patrick Geddes and spurred on by Lewis Mumford has always lurked in the back of planners mind, from Ebeneezer Howard's Garden City network to the Regional Plan Association of New York's visions for a 20th century metropolis. The consolidation of New York City in 1898 spurred similar visions in the Bay Area following Oakland's emergence, and planners and political scientists have struggled for more than a century to articulate a vision for regional government and regional governance which have never quite come to pass, save in a few notable cases in Portland and Minneapolis (Scott 1959).

It is perhaps fitting that historians define regionalism quite differently than planners. For historians, regionalism is not the hope of a governance structure at the scale of the region or increased regional cooperation, but the unique qualities of individual regions, a concept closer to Carl Sauer's position in the early geographical debates about the ontology of regions. It is in this vein that Steiner and Wrobel and their collected historians search for the remnants of regionalism in the west, in the face of a constant stream of arguments that "regionalism is as dead as the carrier pigeon" and "regionalism is an anachronism …. An exercise in wishful thinking or nostalgia (Kenneth Hanson quoted in Steiner and Wrobel 1997, p. 6)." They argue instead that regionalism, especially in the American west, "far from being as dead as the passenger pigeon . . . may be as irrepressible as the phoenix."

These dueling conceptions of regionalism - one based on unfulfilled political hope and one based on geohistoric originality - are both omnipresent in the limited number of scholarly attempts to capture the Bay Area as a whole.[7] Like this text,

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[7] The Bay Area is a particularly difficult and complicated geography, one that belies any straightforward attempt to tell its story.

they almost exclusively emerge from one of two sides of the UC Berkeley campus, as geographers and planners competed to understand, explain and document the region's development and elucidate its problems.[8] One other point of general agreement, which would prove sadly prescient, is early concern about the future of communities at the fringe of the region.[9]

Mel Scott's (1959) treatise *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective* can be read as on ongoing question as to how and why the Bay Area, despite impressive instances of crossbay cooperation and numerous attempts to impose / create regionalism and regional government, instead would up remaining a fragmented agglomeration rather than a more unified entity. The "regional metropolis" as he calls it, comes together despite regional planning rather than because of it. Yet his complaint is not simply the dirge of a rational planner who sees disorder in his midst, but of a longtime observer of regional space who sees clouds on the horizon.

Long before Antioch and Pittsburg go at it (Chapter 3) or Central Contra Costa wins the subregional competition for wealth and jobs (Chapter 4), before Harvey (1989) argued that neoliberalism replaced the managerial city with an entrepreneurial one, or before Proposition 13 made this competition particularly cutthroat, Scott (p. 285)saw the basic structural flaw in the creation of a regional metropolis with hundreds of competing jurisdictions:

> Hard pressed to find the tax revenues to build schools and other community facilities and to employ teachers, school nurses, recreation directors, librarians, sanitarians, and engineers, they compete for industries, warehouses, research laboratories, publishing houses, and other establishments that would swell their lean tax rolls.

The proverbial writing on the wall is evident in a series of monographs published by the Institute for Governmental Studies in the early 60s, featuring key contributions from two of the most prominent urbanists on campus. James Vance's (1964) *Geography and Evolution of the San Francisco Bay Area* took a geographers eye to the same period Scott examines. His question is more structural, more sparse in his attempt to capture evolutionary detail, and more concerned with how transportation technology helped produce a multi-centered region than the inner political workings of power which so fascinated Scott.

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[8] Unlike virtually every other area of academic scholarship in the Bay Area, this was a one-sided adventure. Despite the fact that its benefactor became wealthy building a transportation monopoly, Stanford University has never had a planning department, abolished its geography department in the mid- 1950s, and has produced very little urban scholarship of any kind. Let the suburban jokes begin.

[9] Keep in mind that this is during the heyday of abandonment and urban renewal, where urbanism as a whole in the United States was generally preoccupied with the decline of the inner core, not the longterm future of the urban fringe.

Yet Vance (p. 77) captured a critical essence of the Bay Area, an observation which combined geographic theory and personal experience:

> ...the author is not a "San Franciscan," and could only become one by considerable reorientation of his life. This, in a personal but no less real way, serves to show that the "Bay Area" is a generic place rather more clearly than most modern urban areas. No doubt the Bay and the scale of the place make this collective life more obvious. But the mind of the "San Franciscan" also plays its part by carefully defining its geographic peers. In the meantime the Bay Area has grown to maturity as a collection of realms, only one of which is San Francisco.

This idea of a "collection of realms" is only partially captured by the idea of subregions, but even that simplistic and dry term helps us understand a region that from the beginning was too large to functionally plan for as a whole except for the largest systems. East County was the subject of numerous subregional plans during the modernist era – including the BART extension plan - and variations of Vance's idea would remain critical to cultural conceptions of the region: the Peninsula, the East Bay, East County, realms of different shapes and sizes, often overlapping. Yet their role in planning would fade in favor of standard political jurisdictions.

Despite their reflections on Bay Area identity, neither Vance nor Scott were overly preoccupied with the mass human experience of this rapidly expanding and now multi-centered metropolis. That would be left to the most important American urbanist to ever set foot on Berkeley's campus, Catherine Bauer Wurster. The architect of the earliest and most progressive version of the 1937 Housing Act - which was ultimately gutted by Congress under pressure from a newly organized real estate industry (Radford 2000) – Bauer Wurster produced a series of studies and texts during the late 1950s and early 1960s having to do with the Bay Area. In *Housing and the Future of Cities in the San Francisco Bay Area,* Bauer Wurster (1963) warns not of the problems of multi-centrality but that the competition-based system of independent municipalities is producing an *increasingly unequal* region.

Bauer Wurster shared the common progressive concern at the time about the ghettoization of inner core neighborhoods and the rampant housing discrimination facing minority residents, a problem reinforced by conceptions of home rule – or as Frug (1980, 1993, 2001) would argue a very incomplete home rule – and outright race and class discrimination:

> In ways the suburban zeal for "home rule" is less a reflection of high Jeffersonian principle than it is of a new kind of class warfare or isolationism which bodes ill for metropolitan unification on any voluntary basis. The great historic function of the city, as the essential means of integrating all kinds and levels of people and their activities, has been lost in the scattered one-class enclaves and the ghettoizing older communities (Bauer Wurster 1963, p. 20).

But she sees in this isolationism not only a production of inequality in place but the potential emergence of a new map of crisis down the road. Using 1960 data she charts the growing traffic problems, the difficulties in keeping up with a multi-polar region, the end of the downtown dominated era. She sees Antioch's problems a half-century before they truly manifest themselves, warning that "the immediate outlook for balanced, well-organized cities in the outlying fringe of the Bay Area is not very hopeful, despite the varied forces and arguments which push in this direction (ibid.)."

A new Bay Area history
Even before Bauer Wurster's untimely death in 1964, few truly regional treatments of the Bay Area were produced, and scholars and writers continued to produce books examining San Francisco in detail while either ignoring the rest of the region or telling the regional story at the end, as if the rest of the region became relevant only after San Francisco had reached the apex of its glory.[10] Wollenberg (1985, p. 6) attempts to fill the gap he so magnanimously decries, but even he would admit that G*olden Gate Metropolis* was more a "collection of short essays on selected aspects of Bay Area history" rather than a treatise attempting to argue about the region as a whole.

Beginning in the early 1980s, a new wave of critical scholarship concerned with more holistic views of San Francisco emerged, from Chester Hartman's (2002[1984]) *City for Sale* to Richard DeLeon's (1992) *Left Coast City* to Rebecca Solnit's (2000) *Hollow City*, but they too remained trapped within the confines of San Francisco's famed 49 square miles – as if the "selling" and "hollowing" of the "left coast city" did not have deeply regional roots. The exception to this rule was Grey Brechin's (2006) *Imperial San Francisco,* a masterful tome chronicling the rise of one of the world's great urban powers. If much of the "action" takes place in San Francisco amongst its powerful classes, he roots his story in the ways San Francisco used its neighbors near and far in an effort to establish itself as a neo-European city of wealth, power and grandeur to rival New York. His work is consciously a "different kind of history," (p. xxx) one that draws inspiration from Lewis Mumford's Geddesian regionalism, recognizing the importance of the linkage between city and hinterland, core and periphery.

The functional sequel to *Imperial San Francisco* would be written by a traditional historian, at roughly the same time, and with no perceptible communication between the two. Robert Self's (2003) *American Babylon* chronicles the transformation of Oakland into the regional metropolis of the East Bay through the

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[10] For classic examples, see Oscar Lewis' (1966) *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis*, or Lawrence Kinnaird's (1966) *History of the San Francisco Bay Region.* This San Francisco-centricity of Bay Area history is noted in fine style by Wollenberg (1985), although I would argue that he is too critical in this regard towards Vance and Scott, which though limited in serious ways are deeply regional – at least as regional as Wollenberg.

intersection of race, space and politics. He charts the gradual process of "suburban overdevelopment and urban underdevelopment" (p. 318) which by the late 1970s left Oakland as a struggling majority minority city with a newly elected African American leadership surrounded by a "white noose" of exclusionary working, middle and upper middle class suburbs determined to maintain a relatively new status quo. Self's book, which has become a critical contribution to the new generation of suburban scholarship, to critical understandings of the Proposition 13 tax revolt and to the underreported history of urban race relations in the west, is deeply spatial in its thinking, rooted in the urban political economy of David Harvey, Richard Walker, Sharon Zukin and John Mollenkopf. But though he may consider space far more than traditional urban history, Self is ultimately more interested in using Oakland and the East Bay to make an argument about a particular epoch in American history than in interpreting the larger arc of Bay Area urban development.[11] The first hundred years of regional history are largely absent, and he compensates for the collective fetishization of San Francisco by ignoring it almost completely.

With the publication of *American Babylon* and Chris Rhomberg's (2004) *No There There*, Oakland had achieved a step toward scholarly equality with its more illustrious neighbor, but the Bay Area as a whole remained a subject at large. Yet throughout this period of time, Berkeley's planners had been mining the region – which they recognized as something both special and unique and as a harbinger of things to come – for lessons on regional economics under the new tech economy, the importance and impact of growth control measures, the transportation impacts of edge city growth, and the role of cooperation and consensus building in planning.[12] Yet Berkeley planning never took the step to follow in Scott and Wurster's ample shoes and articulate a broader analysis of the region as a whole.

In many ways it makes sense that Richard Walker would be the first person to attempt a truly regional book in a generation, for ever since coming back home to the Bay Area in the late 1970s he has made a habit of taking on different aspects of the region's political economy and economic geography with a typical geographer's eye for region. Beginning with a 1979 article on the clash over Dow Chemical's plans to build a new factory in Southern Solano County – just across from my favorite Dow Wetland (chapter 3) – Walker has been wielding a critical eye and even more potent

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[11] Self's website at Brown does not even mention Oakland when discussing the book, which opens his bio thusly: "My first book, American Babylon, focuses on race, political culture, and the American city in the second half of the twentieth century."
http://www.brown.edu/Departments/History/people/facultypage.php?id=10100
[12]The work of AnnaLee Saxenian (1983, 1984), John Landis (1992, 2000, 2006, Sandoval and Landis 1992), and Robert Cervero (1986, 1989, 1994, Cervero and Landis 1992, Cervero and Wu 1997, Cervero, Rood and Appleyard 1995) stands out in this regard, and their work rooted in the Bay Area has been highly influential in planning, economic geography and transportation circles far beyond the Bay Area. See also David Dowall's (1984) early work on growth controls as well, which some could argue is a Bay Area book. Judith Innes' (Innes and Booher 1999) noted contributions to planning theory were in part built on various attempts at intergovernmental and broader collaborative planning efforts in Northern California, especially with regards to water.

pen in regards to the region's evolution. Like most social scientists, he often uses the Bay to make a broader argument about American urbanism – that globalization and intercity competition are nothing new, or that the suburbs like Richmond and Antioch have been sites of industry for a century (Walker 2004; Walker 1996; Walker and Lewis 2001). Never afraid of polemics and always ready to defend the Bay Area even as he criticized its capitalist class and rampant inequality, he took on the LA School in their own language on their own turf, and together with fellow neo-marxists urbanists argued passionately for both the importance of the Bay Area as a site of flexible speculation whose paradoxes raged aplenty amidst economic prosperity, racialized poverty, a weakened working class and an "upwardly tilted class structure, manifest in legions of yuppies, engorged real estate values and mass-gentrified landscapes (Walker 1994; Walker 1990, p. 8)."

Walker's collected work provides an unequalled platform upon which to build a more holistic portrait of a conflicted and paradoxical region in flux, for he has rarely lost sight of the broader urban question. The true contribution of the LA School of Urban Geography, and in particular Ed Soja, was not a postmodern urbanism or an understanding of the geography of post-fordist production, but rather the bold articulation of a holistic, descriptive urbanism which demanded that we attempt to understand how "it all comes together" in urban space, especially at the regional scale. Walker's work, began concurrently with the LA school and at times in conjunction with key contributors, has long attempted to weave together the political, spatial, economic and social strands of urbanism to show that "it all comes together" in the Bay Area - and in all urbanized regions of the world – and not just Los Angeles (Soja 1989).[13]

Famous to his students and colleagues for a cantankerous and unorthodox form of marxist urbanism, it came as a surprise to many that his first attempt to write a truly Bay Area book was not an evisceration of the region's celebrated capitalist class or a delineation of the deep and often unacknowledged role of the military-industrial complex in the miracle economy of this most anti-war of regions, but rather a fairly celebratory look at a something the region should truly be proud of – a network of publicly owned and publically accessible parks and open spaces unrivaled in the United States. *The Country in the City* follows the evolution of the Bay Area's natural spaces from John Muir to the environmental justice movement, and is often celebrated for its role in raising awareness of both the importance of the Bay Area to the national and global environmental movements and to local and often forgotten efforts to save the San Francisco Bay from a concretized urban doom.

Again, the dueling senses of regionalism – uniqueness and governance - are present in Walker's treatment of the Bay Area's environmental history. They are particularly notable in arguably the most difficult and controversial question in the book: the

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[13] This is urban studies' asymptote, an unreachable but ever important goal, one which too many urbanists in pursuit of social or economic theories often forget.

oft-debated relationship between growth control and exclusion. Walker is an unabashed defender of land use controls, and the book makes a critical set of arguments designed to counter a view promulgated by some planners, most famously MIT's Bernard Friedan and in a more limited form Berkeley's David Dowall (1984), John Landis and John Quigley. Friedan's (1979) polemic, *The Environmental Protection Hustle,* excoriated the rise in land use regulation, which he argued was providing little true environmental benefit and was rather an exclusionary tool designed to maximize the benefits of a limited few. Walker defends the environmental movement and the overall impact of land use regulation –which built parks, saved streams, prevented the paving of the bay – while the other side counters with statistical analysis which Walker disputes, claiming to show that regulation increased housing prices and pointing to both the proliferation of suburban housing in places like the Central Valley and the long and mutually acknowledged housing crisis in California as proof of the core's exclusion. Taken generally, anti-control advocates can claim the moral high ground by promoting housing for humans who need it, while pro-growth control advocates can counter with the fact that places like Antioch are more conservative and failed to regulate growth properly – hence sprawl – and that they, too, have been arguing for housing, albeit the higher density variety in the core.

Walker is nuanced in his discussion, acknowledging racism in the environmental movement, the general (but not exclusive) upper and middle class composition of the movement as a whole, and the fact that some environmental controls mask implicitly exclusionary goals, [14] while steadfastly remaining true to his overall argument that the achievements of this particularly Bay Area leftish, geographically focused social movement "has not been a grab bag of selfish defenses of local turf, but a collective project greater than the sum of its parts (Walker 2007, p. 158)." He also acknowledges that this "collective" project has not succeeded in preventing sprawl overall, as "for all the good work of the greenbelt movement, building has continued to squirt out into virgin territory."

One cannot critique Walker for not acknowledging issues of race or inequality, for throughout the book are recognitions that the wonder of the regions natural bounty is not shared equally. Unlike much of his previous work, his purpose here is different. *The Country in the City* works to explain a poorly understood social movement which helped define a region, not the development of the region as a whole or the production of inequality. In fact, the book serves as a critical reminder– especially for younger left writers like myself who at times can see only the inequality and take for granted the rest – to be wary of any depiction of growth control as merely exclusionary or simple evidence of a suburban majority uninterested in the fate of others.

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[14] Walker does argue that the worst offender is large-lot zoning, a growth control measure which predated the Petaluma revolution.

Nevertheless, the gnawing reality of a region which grew nicer and greener over a century while never eliminating its brutal geographies of racialized inequality, only moving them around, is acknowledged but rarely integrated into his arguments. He allows himself to be dragged into defending slow-growth as a whole rather than simply celebrating the amazing achievement of open space, parklands, water and air protection, etc.[15] The fact remains that the Bay Area is a region whose greenest parts slowly became its richest – it may have been exceptional when it came to preserving parkland and ridgelines, but when it came to failing to meet the challenges of a post-industrial, postsuburban, post Babylon landscape, it is just like everywhere else.[16]

Walker provides two clues to the larger problem in his chapter on regional planning in the Bay Area over the past 50 years. "Even as local citizens were coming to grips with rampant urbanization," Walker states, "the nature of California's great metropolitan areas was changing." He is talking in this section about edge cities, but one can and should take this to mean the larger social and cultural structure as well. Walker, who did much to chronicle and understand this change, knows this as well as anyone. Yet as a Bay Area native, he allows himself to get sucked in by the romance of the pre-Babylon Bay Area geography, and to a discourse rooted primarily in preservation, rather than a paramodern sensibility required by a post-Babylon map. He defends environmentalists against the anti-growth control critics, setting up the classic state v. market debate with their dueling populisms, when both are at fault for not recognizing the new map and making the tough decisions that it demanded. The result is an academic and policy debate that provides the intellectual underpinnings of what in Chapter 4 I explain as the Dougherty Valley dilemma, where the two choices – defend the status quo or create something worse – are not choices at all. From an environmental perspective, the green movement did wonders for the Bay Area, but they, like the development community and everyone else, must also answer for the broader failing of collective urban morality.

What makes this ironic is that the larger discussion of edge cities and growth control occurs in a chapter organized around the modernist push for regional planning. Walker chronicles the role that "metro-topian intellectuals" (and Berkeley planning legends) like TJ Kent had on the movement for open space, and how the push for growth control was tied to a larger effort to create true regional governance and cooperation. They were modernists, and Walker (p. 142), in a statement I support

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[15] For instance, he fails to acknowledge that most of the work around Mt. Diablo provided little benefit to struggling working class families in Richmond, accruing most of the benefit to central county. He also demonizes East County as sprawl land, never acknowledging their role in providing working class homes in an increasingly expensive region. Additionally, the organization Save Mount Diablo has done incredible things for Contra Costa County, but arguing that they are "the people's planner" is stretching the defense of environmentalists too far (p.146).

[16] Along a similar line, acknowledging that Dowall and Frieden's empirically valid description of exclusionary prices in more "environmentally protected" areas does not require caving in to the general anti-regulation stance which for many proponents is ideologically rooted in a distaste for regulation period.

wholeheartedly, believes "that one can still mourn the end of hard-edged idealism and the passing of the era of Modernist faith in large-scale social engineering and betterment." But this modernist vision was quickly abandoned. As I show in Chapter 5, the push for stronger regional governance would make another appearance in the late 1980s, but it would fail in part because it repeated the sins of old-fashioned modernism, remaining top down and elitist.

This regional effort, entitled Bay Vision 2020, also failed because it did not take adequate steps to acknowledge the questions of race and inclusion. Though foundational to regional history, and an acknowledged factor in most understandings of San Francisco and Oakland, regional understandings of the Bay Area as a whole rarely incorporated the question of racialized inequality. Race is not only critical to understanding the failures of regionalism, but to the broader question of regional restructuring. The question of segregation is central to this dissertation, a question not simply of how the new map of segregation was produced but specifically how and why it was produced from the old map. But, first, one must understand what I mean by segregation in 21st century America, and precisely what the new map looks like.

Figure 1: "Choices." Antioch, 2010. Photo by Alex Schafran

CHAPTER 2: MOBILE SEGREGATION AND THE NEW BAY AREA[1]

This chapter, which serves as an introduction to the contemporary human geography of the changing Bay Area, argues that the shifts in racial geography in the Bay Area over the past generation, while helping undo old forms of segregation, have helped produce a new map which one must also call segregation, and that this shift is integrally entwined with the production of the foreclosure crisis. Communities of color in the Bay Area did not move *en masse* from their Babylon geography into the bourgeois environs of wealthy suburbs or into the gentrifying neighborhoods in the core, but rather to communities on the outer fringe and a handful of older, former industrial suburbs close by. All of these cities, bar none, have experienced dramatically higher foreclosure rates and major losses of value relative to the region as a whole, even as they continue to represent the hopes and dreams of an entire generation of diverse migrants.

Coming to terms with this continued racialization of regional geographies and its connection to foreclosure means pushing past much of the myopic debate by social

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[1] Portion of this chapter, including the idea of mobile segregation, are part of a working paper co-authored with LeConte Dill and Yvonne Hung. Should that paper be published in some form before this manuscript, changes will be made to reflect this fact. Other portions are from Schafran and Wegmannn (2012).

scientists on segregation, in order to produce a more honest, open and historically-rooted conversation about race and geography. Simply because race is not what it was doesn't mean that race has left the American metropolis.

In what follows. I examine both the raw demographic shifts and the relationship between those shifts and key indicators of wealth and opportunity. Using a variety of descriptive statistics and modeling, I trace the relationship between growth, race, foreclosure and housing values, part of the larger change in the Bay Area that I am trying to understand. It is this restructuring of the geographies of race and value that set the stage for my exploration of the political economy of restructuring in later chapters, and ultimately drive its normative ambition. In the second part of the chapter, I use the results of an ethnographic project in East Oakland in which I have been involved over the years to make my argument about the changing nature of segregation more clear. Taken together, they point to an altered segregation, a set of lines more subtle but nevertheless real, a 21st century **mobile segregation** for a massive, wealthy and globalized regional metropolis, one marked less by the harsh red lines of Babylon but which nevertheless impact people and communities in an unequal and racialized way. These processes, driven by policy, by the "market", by developers and community groups, and by innumerable individual decisions, are all marked by the ghosts of Babylon past.

In order to understand this shift, one must have a better idea of what scholars mean when we talk about segregation, about some of the questions at the heart of a half century of debate, discussion and policy intervention. The segregation question lies at the heart of American social science, and part of the struggle to think flexibly about what segregation means today are the ghosts in this very erudite machine.

Mental Maps

In 1971, the City of Los Angeles published a study where it recreated a more regional version of Kevin Lynch's famed "mental maps". They asked residents of Boyle Heights, a poor, heavily Latino, east Los Angeles neighborhood with low levels of car ownership, and residents of Northridge, a commuter-heavy middle class suburb in the San Fernando Valley (north of Central Los Angeles), to draw their version of the metropolis. The composite maps (figure 2) have become famous, a perfect crystallization of an older form of segregation, a segregation where one was literally trapped in a very confined neighborhood. Not coincidentally, Boyle Heights is hard up against the factory belt extending east from downtown (but certainly not west), a receiving point for immigrants stretching back to the beginnings of the century.

Boyle Heights   Northridge
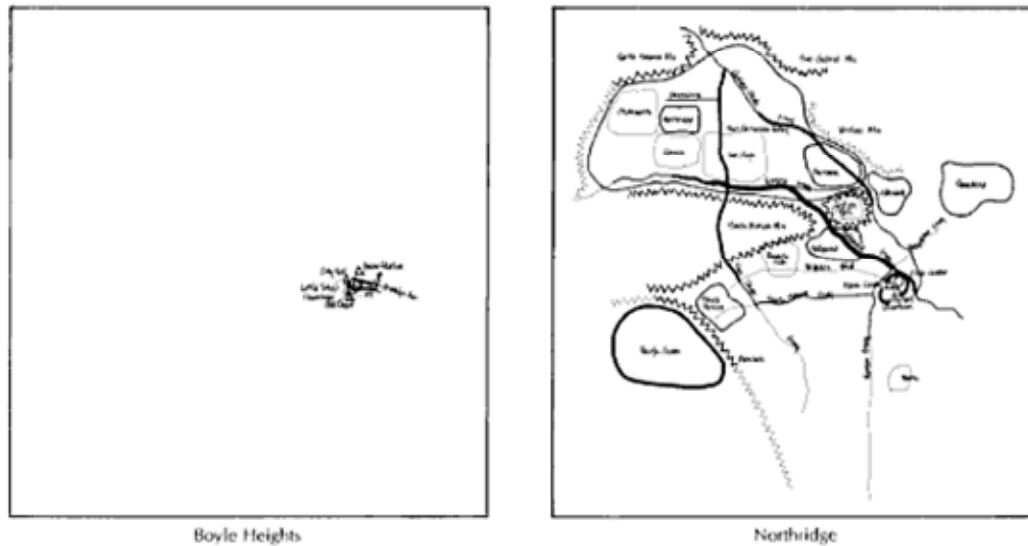
Figure 2: Composite maps from City of Los Angeles study of the mental maps of people from different socioeconomic classes. Source: Los Angeles Department of City Planning (1971).

In the Los Angeles of the early 1970s, as in the Bay Area of the same time period, being a person of color generally meant being trapped in a very limited space - a geography defined in many ways by overt discrimination, a Babylon-era racial map that was born in the violence and genocide of the 19th century, hardened through legal and quasi-legal doctrine and enforced through "gentler" forms of steering, "custom" and thinly-veiled hostility. Many of these places in Los Angeles are legendary, even on a now global scale thanks to riots and Hip Hop, but East LA, Watts, and Compton are surrounded by other
neighborhoods also hit hard by that mixture of industrial smoke, deindustrializing job bases, underinvested housing stock and an ever increasing number of diesel trucks whizzing by from the port of LA / Long Beach just down the 110.[2]

In the Bay Area, this segregation was worse for Blacks than for any other group, usually along the industrial shores of the Bay, in part because Asian and Latino geography reflects both a much longer tenure and the agriculture economy of the region, which persisted up through the development of Silicon Valley in the 1960s (figure 3). One can clearly see the pocket of East Palo Alto, one of the few places a black family could live (and certainly buy) south of the Hayward/San Mateo Bridge. The biggest bright spot on the map is the Oakland-Berkeley-Richmond corridor, historically the center of black life in the Bay Area. One will notice the harsh line between East Oakland and San Leandro, one of the most

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[2] As Alex Pappademas (2011, online) wrote in the New York Times, "People in Kyrgyzstan know about the city of Compton because of "The Chronic."
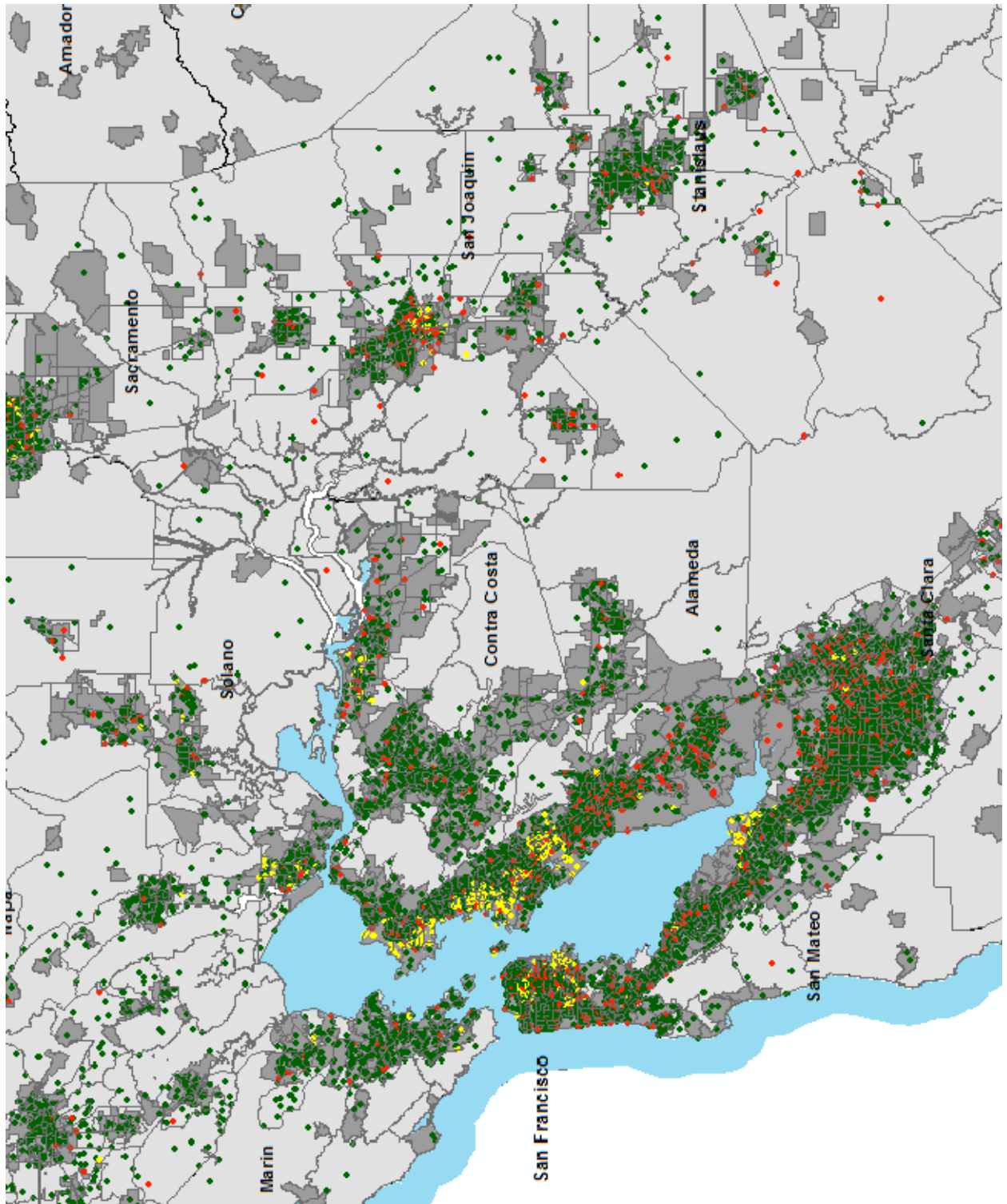
Figure 3: Blacks (yellow), Hispanics (Red) and Whites (Green), 1970 census, by Census tract, dot = 500 people. Source: Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB) at 2000 census tracts.

famous in America, the Bay Area's own little St. Bernard Parish sans Judge Perez. As Brian Copeland recounts in his brilliant memoir, black residents of East Oakland called the line between the two cities the "invisible wall (Copeland 2006, p. 12)." If you were black it was difficult enough to circulate, what with a policeman stationed under the archway of the border on E. 14th designated to follow any black motorist who dared enter, let alone buy a home with a real estate industry organized not to sell you one. *Newsweek* featured San Leandro in a 1969 article on Nixon's "forgotten white majority", and by 1971 CBS was back to make a documentary about discrimination and what it called the "Suburban Wall" (Copeland, 2006; CBS Films 1971).

Figure 4: Oakland, San Leandro, Piedmont. The white noose.

The city of Alameda was not much better, and Piedmont pulled the ultimate ruling class maneuver – while San Leandro, a truly blue collar suburb at the time, Becky Nicolaides' *My Blue Heaven* by the Bay, was held up to a national TV audience as an example of the cruelty of the white working masses, Piedmont was even whiter, had half the poverty and 60% higher median income.[3] Piedmont was also home to much of Oakland and the East Bay's historic ruling class, thanks to a some savvy little maneuvering in 1907. A year after the big earthquake and fire sent hundreds of thousands of refugees streaming to the East Bay, and two years before the city of Oakland would triple in size and take all of the land between downtown and San Leandro, the wealthier portion of the hills somehow incorporated into one of the few island cities in America, surrounded entirely by the City of Oakland, a la West Hollywood or Hamtramck.

San Leandro is now one of the most diverse places in the country, where no major racial group has a majority, and the diversity can be felt in every shopping center and public or quasi-public space, with signs in a half dozen languages and incredible food.[4] It is a classic inner-ring suburb, the type scholars now love to study, hyper diverse, ageing with slightly increased poverty and a host of questions about its

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[3] 1970 census. Piedmont had almost no Latino population, while San Leandro was over 10%.
[4] This is the suburbs after all, and shopping centers are *de facto* public space.

future.[5] At least San Leandro, along with most of its kind in the Bay Area, is still growing, more than 20% since 1970.

Piedmont, meanwhile, has approximately 250 fewer people than in 1970. It is less white than before, but still not black or brown. There are barely more black people in Piedmont today – approximately 144 - than there were in San Leandro when it was famous for not allowing black people to live there (~84 in the 1970 census). And now it has one quarter the people in poverty and 2.7 times the median income of San Leandro. This is the growing gap between rich and poor, not expressed as a city/suburban phenomenon as during the days of Babylon, but as inequality between suburbs - Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom's *Place Matters* (2001) and Orfield's *Metropolitics* (2002) at their clearest. For all that this dissertation seeks to emphasize the issues on the fringe, one must not forget that change has happened in the inner suburbs as well, a factor which again makes the Bay Area thoroughly American.

Table 1: Piedmont and San Leandro, 1970 and 2010				
	San Leandro 1970*	San Leandro 2010**	Piedmont 1970*	Piedmont 2010**
Total Population	68698	84950	10917	10667
% white	97.0%	27.1	96.3%	71.5
% Black	0.1%	11.8%	0.6%	1.3
% Asian	1.9%	29.3%	2.9%	18
% Latino	10.5%	27.4%	0.8%	3.9
Median Income	10537	62609	16553	169674
Poverty rate	6.0%	8.6%	3.0%	2.40%
1970 Data from US Census. Race and Hispanicity are not separated, so numbers are more than 100%. California has a very small Afro-Latino population, so these numbers can generally be subtracted from whites. 2010 Race data from Decennial Census, income and poverty from 5-year ACS.				

The integration of San Leandro from a racial perspective is a clue that the Boyle Heights map of segregation has changed. Racialized poverty still exists on the East Oakland side of the line, but San Leandro has been one of the most critical zones of African American, Latino and Asian population growth in the region, as the Babylon-era barriers are slowly chipped away.

But San Leandro and Hayward, though they are much more connected to transit, federal freeways, higher education and other critical infrastructure than East County, are not the major job centers of the 680 corridor or Silicon Valley. Their 2008 foreclosure rates (747.5 and 1113.9 respectively) were two to three times wealthier Fremont to the south (300.6), ten to fifteen times Berkeley (84.1) and Albany (68.9) to the north. The latter two cities were once critical zones in the black middle class belt which have grown steadily less black over the past two decades,

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[5] Inner ring suburbs are now the center of a burgeoning literature on suburban poverty. See (Murphy 2010, 541-569) for an excellent review.

while the former is part of the transformed blue collar zone which is now part of Silicon Valley (Chapter 5).

For many, these changes in racial geography suggest questions with regards to segregation that are functionally quantitative, asking whether what it happening means the region is "more" or "less" segregated, often based on the fixed geography of residence, which is the easiest factor to count and map. But the changes witnessed in the Bay Area, and their link to new geographies of foreclosure, demand a different approach to segregation, one that takes into account the bigger map, one that is more circulatory and mobile, one that takes into account a more holistic view of regional processes and roots them in time and space.

The Segregation Question

> Segregation Curtailed in U.S. Cities, Study Finds. – New York Times, January 30, 2012 (Roberts, 2012)

In early 2012, national news outlets eagerly picked up a press release from the conservative Manhattan Institute touting the release of a report unambiguously titled "The End of the Segregated Century". Written by Harvard economist (and now dedicated urbanist) Edward Glaeser and Harvard-trained Duke economist Jacob Vigdor, the report documented how American neighborhoods had become dramatically less segregated since 1890. All-white neighborhoods were largely a thing of the past, and primarily black communities were the exception rather than then norm.

The report and subsequent media attention elicited responses from some of the most prominent segregation researchers in America. Some pushed back against the broad implications of the report, or the report's overall message. The Brookings William H. Frey warned that "the report sends a potentially harmful message that black-white residential separation is no longer a priority issue in this country." John Logan stated that "we are far from the 'end of segregation.(Roberts 2012)'"

Others, including Douglass Massey, whose *American Apartheid* is fundamental to our understanding of segregation in post-civil rights America, pointed out that the erosion of all-white neighborhoods was more due to Asian and Latino inmigration than black integration, an argument echoed by Michigan's Reynolds Farley when he pointed out that despite gains blacks remain more segregated from whites than did Asians or Latinos.

With the steady release of new 2010 census data, other reports have emerged, arguing with similarly catchy headlines that segregation is ebbing ("the waning of american apartheid?") or still resilient ("New maps show segregation alive and well") (Farley 2011; Remapping Debate 2011). The study of segregation and its intertwined variants – ethnic clustering, housing discrimination, integration, geographies of opportunity, public policies designed to deal with said issues, the

"underclass" debates, etc. - is a massive constellation of research aimed at understanding the links between geography, membership in a social group and life outcomes, and it is at the very heart of the American urban social science tradition.

From the days of the Chicago school, the study of racialized difference across space has influenced not only sociology but the foundations of public policy and public health research. When geographers David Kaplan, Kathleen Woodhouse and Frederick Douzet attempted to review the literature on segregation (Kaplan and Woodhouse 2004; Kaplan and Woodhouse 2005, p. 737; Kaplan and Douzet 2011), their review spanned three articles in *Urban Geography*, one dealing with causes, another with outcomes, and a third solely devoted to "measurements, categories and meanings."

This latter category is arguably the most contested, for herein lie the links between segregation and particular outcomes or between specific structural forces and the patterns of spatial separation. When Loic Wacquant (1997) eviscerated "the study of the American Ghetto", one of his primary targets was the vast literature that starts with segregated neighborhoods and attempt to measure outcomes based on life in those places. In Wacquant's mind, this measures the cart instead of the horse, ignoring the historical social and economic forces which created the segregated environment in the first place, the systems of "ethno-racial closure and control" that made San Leandro San Leandro and East Oakland East Oakland.

Since most researchers acknowledge some link between segregation and outcomes, much of the truly foundational debate has occurred around the origins of a segregated environment, manifested in particular in inner-city city poverty. Massey & Denton's now famous argument that racial discrimination is at the root of segregation which is at the root of racialized poverty and inequality seeks to draw a more direct link between race relations and segregation than do other arguments that point at economic restructuring and the flight of the black middle class (Wilson 1987) or even generally right-wing arguments which point to the failures of the state and state policy, or individual/communal weakness endemic to "cultures" in poor communities (Massey and Denton 1990, 329; Wilson 1987).[6]

What has made this question so complex over the years is that the patterns are constantly changing, driven by innumerable forces, including decades of social policy aimed at either eliminated segregation or mitigating its impacts. This in many ways has become the newest academic debate, a fight between those who believe that the way to combat segregation is to reduce spatial separation between social groups through mobility and those who believe that the better solution is to solve problems in place, even if it means allowing gross imbalances in what the Europeans would call "social mix".

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[6] For an excellent review of these debates, see Teitz and Chapple (1998)

These debates have reached a crescendo of late with the publication of a Wacquant-esque attack by political scientist David Imbroscio on what he calls the "mobility paradigm" in American urban policy, a set of policies which have set out to deconcentrate poverty though public housing demolition, housing vouchers, attempts to build affordable housing in the suburbs, and other measures. His is a scathing critique that, like Wacquant's, specifically attacks legends in the field and offers arguments in favor of community development and other place-based measures. He considers "liberal urban policy" both the "dominant philosophical perspective underlying the development of urban public policy in the United States" and, in no uncertain terms, a failure (Imbroscio 2012a, p.1; Imbroscio 2012; Squires 2012; Deluca 2012).[7]

Imbroscio is very much correct to question the intense policy focus on poverty deconcentration, taking the lead from Ed Goetz's (2003) pioneering work on public housing redevelopment and the mobility issue to question a view that argues that agglomerations of poor people are inherently problematic.[8] But this intense focus on policy neglects that mobility has been a fact of life for communities of color, including those on the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum, especially over the past three decades, for reasons that go beyond policy. More problematically, Imbroscio is so obsessed with countering the idea that mobility is necessary for equality, and with picking apart the limited empirical research on formal mobility programs, that he neglects to examine the broader impact of a much more mobile set of race and class geographies.[9]

In debating the age-old question of who lives next to whom, or whether policy should help people move or help people stay, scholarship can again fail to examine the broad processes underway that are restructuring race and class geographies, processes that go beyond policy or a normative and deeply paternalistic evaluation of whether the state should or should not encourage poor people or people of color to move. The Glaeser and Vigdor report noted that integration of urban core neighborhoods was "assisted" by gentrification and immigration, while black, Latino and Asian suburbanization has helped integrate the suburbs, processes which are nothing new in the San Francisco Bay Area; they are a hallmark of the post-Babylon world. These are the broad processes – in which policy plays a role, but only a role – that need to be examined in order to understand how the overall shift has worked out for those communities denied access a generation ago.

Bad maps, not bad measurements

Part of the problem may be that grounded empirical research - the type of work that attempts to count who lives next to or near who - is either stuck in an old set of

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[7] To his credit, this is the 2nd knockdown debate for Imbroscio, following a similar argument in 2008.
[8] See also (Steinberg 2010)
[9] There is a tinge of what elsewhere I have called "the ecology of the proper place" – an unspoken assumption that certain groups of people belong in certain places

geographies or has adopted new geographies with little basis in regional reality. As a panel of sociologists noted in 2008, most segregation research has been conducted at the census tract level, a reflection of the foundational nature of the "invisible wall" to segregation research. Segregation research from an early day focused on "the extent to which African Americans and Whites occupied separate urban neighborhoods", a fact which "established a key methodological precedent: measuring segregation with decennial census data for readily available geographic units such as tracts or blocks (Lee et al. 2008, p. 2; Reardon et al. 2008)." Even research conducted at the regional scale often views the region as an agglomeration of tracts.[10]

To their credit, they do not suggest a new dominant set of lines, arguing instead for a multi-scalar approach to segregation research.[11] Yet the problem becomes when they move up in scale. The new regional scale – the metropolitan statistical area and its variants[12] – is, like the census tract, a construct of the Census Bureau, one that does not necessarily reflect regional patterns of economic, social, cultural or political relationships. In the case of the Bay Area, a much larger scale is needed to capture racialized migration patterns, one that ignores census geography and builds a map based on regional history and on-the-ground research. Yet virtually every major national study to include the Bay Area and all the interactive platforms - you can now get segregation indices online at the touch of a few buttons - uses census Metropolitan Statistical Area divisions which continue to split the Bay Area into different MSA's, with San Francisco, San Jose and Solano County being counted as different regions. A 9-county analysis becomes impossible, let alone the type of megaregional analysis needed to understand the questions at hand. Even researchers based in the Bay Area have worked only at the 9-county region or smaller, missing many of the important changes in regional race and class geography.[13]

Moreover, the question is not simply one of jumping up in scale, but of asking what truly constitutes a region. Census geography is apolitical – no one votes in a census tract, nor in an MSA. Policy and decisions are never made at these scales, unless the MSA also corresponds to a regional agency, which is not the case in the Bay Area. If the literature on fragmentation recognizes the importance of cities and towns, why does it continue to build pictures of the region based on tracts?

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[10] Orfield (2002), Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom (2001) and many of the key regionalists fall into this category as well.

[11] This does not seem to be a major issue in segregation research in the global south, where the core/periphery relations have long been different, leading to a necessarily more metropolitan outlook.

[12] The Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical area, Micropolitan areas for smaller regions.

[13] See for instance Lopez (2001). Some of the leading scholars of segregation have used the Bay Area to study segregation as well – see Bayer, McMillan and Reuben (2002), Massey (1990), Raphael (1998).

This scalar myopia, the vitriol evident in the Imbroscio debates about the proper set of public policies, and the intense reaction to Glaeser and Vigdor by other segregation scholars stem in part from how scarring the Babylon-era geographies have been not only on American cities but on those of us who engage with them. To argue that segregation has changed is seemingly to state that old-fashioned ghettoization is a thing of the past, even if that mental leap is not necessarily true. To move beyond the policy debates is seemingly to abandon the clear role of the State in both the production and alleviation of segregation, even if the State is only one of many actors and its many policies may be contradictory.

In efforts to remain vigilant in the face of segregation, or to challenge supposed orthodoxy within policy realms, scholars have often neglected to be open, creative and inductive when thinking about segregation.[14] In order to understand the relationship between foreclosure and segregation in the Bay Area, one has to zoom out to capture the relationship between exurban cities and the region as a whole. In the Bay Area, contemporary segregation is no longer exclusively about the "invisible wall" and the "white noose", but about a massive geography of cities and towns whose subdivisions were built after Babylon, in part in order to house those who were leaving it behind. Talking about a new form of segregation does not mean that old fashioned segregation does not still exists; as I will discuss in Chapter 5, part of the reason that this new geography exists is that Babylon was reproduced years after the Babylon era ended.

Segregation on a much bigger map

> We must, as a nation, as a state, as a region here in the Bay Area, take seriously the threat of becoming like so many european Cities - Paris is the one that often comes to my mind - where you have a precious thriving city core, which is where the tourists come, where the people of wealth live, and then you have the poor people, in Paris it is often the African immigrants - living all in the outskirts, unseen and not having any access to opportunity. It is not a sustainable model.
> Angela Glover Blackwell, KQED Forum, July 7, 2011
>
> San Francisco moves to stem African American exodus: Critics say effort to reverse longtime trend may be too late. San Francisco Chronicle, April 9, 2007

One of the few studies of segregation that truly captures the issue as one of change and process at a large scale is a 2002 study by the Public Policy Institute of California (Sandoval, Johnson, and Tafoya 2002). The study examined segregation across California, digging down to the city level and back up to major regions. There are two major finding relevant here, findings which correspond to the broader story of this dissertation:

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[14] The lack of openness and creativity in social science goes beyond the ghosts of modernism's past.

1. The most diverse and most segregated places in California tend to be suburban cities in large metropolitan areas.
2. Diverse cities with diverse neighborhoods tend to be fast growing cities with
plenty of new and relatively affordable housing (Sandoval, Johnson, and Tafoya 2002, p.11, 15).

It is a haunting study to read, in part because it is written during the boom years as the real estate market was exploding, before these fast-growing and hyper diverse cities became epicenters of the foreclosure crisis. "Plenty of new and relatively affordable housing" would be the center of foreclosure, impacting the diverse communities which would make these places their home. The links between this growing diversity and foreclosure are what matter here, as they are the linchpin of my argument that this new map also constitutes a form of segregation, even if the places involved may actually be the most diverse.

One way of capturing this change is through a crude categorization I call the "50/5000 club," a set of places which between 1990 and 2010 grew at least 50% and added at least 5000 people. [15] Figure 5 is a simple rendering of places in the San Francisco Bay Area, Sacramento and the northern San Joaquin Valley which grew rapidly and significantly in the past two decades. The places in red grew by more than 50% gained at least 5000 new residents between 1990 and 2010. They are mostly incorporated cities and towns, but include a handful of unincorporated areas recognized as "places" by the Census Bureau. The yellow outline is the "Sierra Pacific Megaregion", one of many versions of a Northern California "megaregion" which geographers argue has emerged through the economic (but not political) integration of existing urban regions (Nelson and Lang 2011).

Altogether, these 47 communities are home to more than 1.8 million people. More importantly, they have added a million people since 1990, more than doubling in size during that era. If you take away the suburbs of Sacramento and neighboring counties, the 32 places of the greater Bay Area added almost half a million people, and are now home to 933,179 people according to the US Census, almost 10% of the total population of this 15 county region.[16]

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[15] Incorporated cities and towns primarily but also "census-designated places (CDP's)", a category for unincorporated areas with some "place-like" feature – generally historical, often based on the location of a post office and an address. This metric was designed to develop place-based research as opposed to tract-based research, as tracts are created by census takers while places have politics, identity and history. If political fragmentation does anything, it gives us a decent n when researching places at them megaregional scale, and we should take advantage. This analysis was limited to incorporated cities and census-designated places with more than 10,000 residents in 2010.
[16] The 9-county Bay Area: Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Sonoma, Solano + Monterey, Santa Cruz, San Benito, Merced, Stanislaus and San Joaquin. Total 2010 population: 9,338,999.

Figure 5: The 50/5000 club. Map by author.

Table 2: 2008 Foreclosure rates per 100,000				
		n	Median	Mean*
12-county region	All	98	547.8	971.1
	50/5000	25	1849.8	2020.8
	Other	73	315.7	611.6
15-county region	All	109	594.4	961.8
	50/5000	30	1734.5	1912.7
	Other	79	300.6	600.7
* Difference of means significant at .001 level.				
Source: California Association of Realtors and DataQuick News, US Census, via RAND California. Calculations by author.				

If you spend time in many of these places, it feels as if everything is brand new: subdivisions, strip malls, parks and schools and miles and miles of fresh asphalt. These communities, especially in the banana-shaped arc (figure 5) stretching from eastern Contra Costa County to southwestern Merced County, have been the Bay Area's primary growth frontier over the past two decades. In the 12-county region that is the primary commute-shed for the Bay Area (not including smaller Santa Cruz, Monterrey and San Benito), the 24 "50/5000" places added more than 420,000 people, roughly doubling their collective population, compared to an additional million people in the remaining 74 places with a population greater than 10,000 people, places that include major cities such as San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose, the 10th largest city in the United States.

Being on the growth frontier also means being on the foreclosure frontier (table 2). For the full 15-county region, the median foreclosure rate per 100,000 people in 2008 was 1734.5 for the 30 50/5000 places, 300.6 for the 79 others. The numbers are just as extreme at the 12-county level – 1849.8 (n=25) and 315.7 (n=73) respectively. On average, the 50/5000 cities were three to four times more likely to have a home go through foreclosure in 2008, the height of the crisis in the Bay Area, an average which stands up to statistical testing at the .001 level.[17]

In the 12-county region, the 25 50/5000 places saw more than 16,400 foreclosures in 2008, 28% of the total for places in the region, despite having only 11% of the population. What also becomes clear when examined on a map is how much worse the story becomes the farther out from the core of the region one travels. Figure 6 shows just how intense the foreclosure rates are for the 12-county region.[18]

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[17] Keep in mind that some high growth, high foreclosures cities like Stockton and Modesto, whose numbers did not quite grow by 50% because they were already major cities, are counted in the non-50/5000 groups. Stockton for example grew by 38%, significant for a city so large. Had they been included the differences would be even more extreme.

[18] Research by my colleague Hugo Lefebvre on foreclosure in San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties alone shows similar strong correlations between growth and foreclosure. See Lefebvre (n.d.).
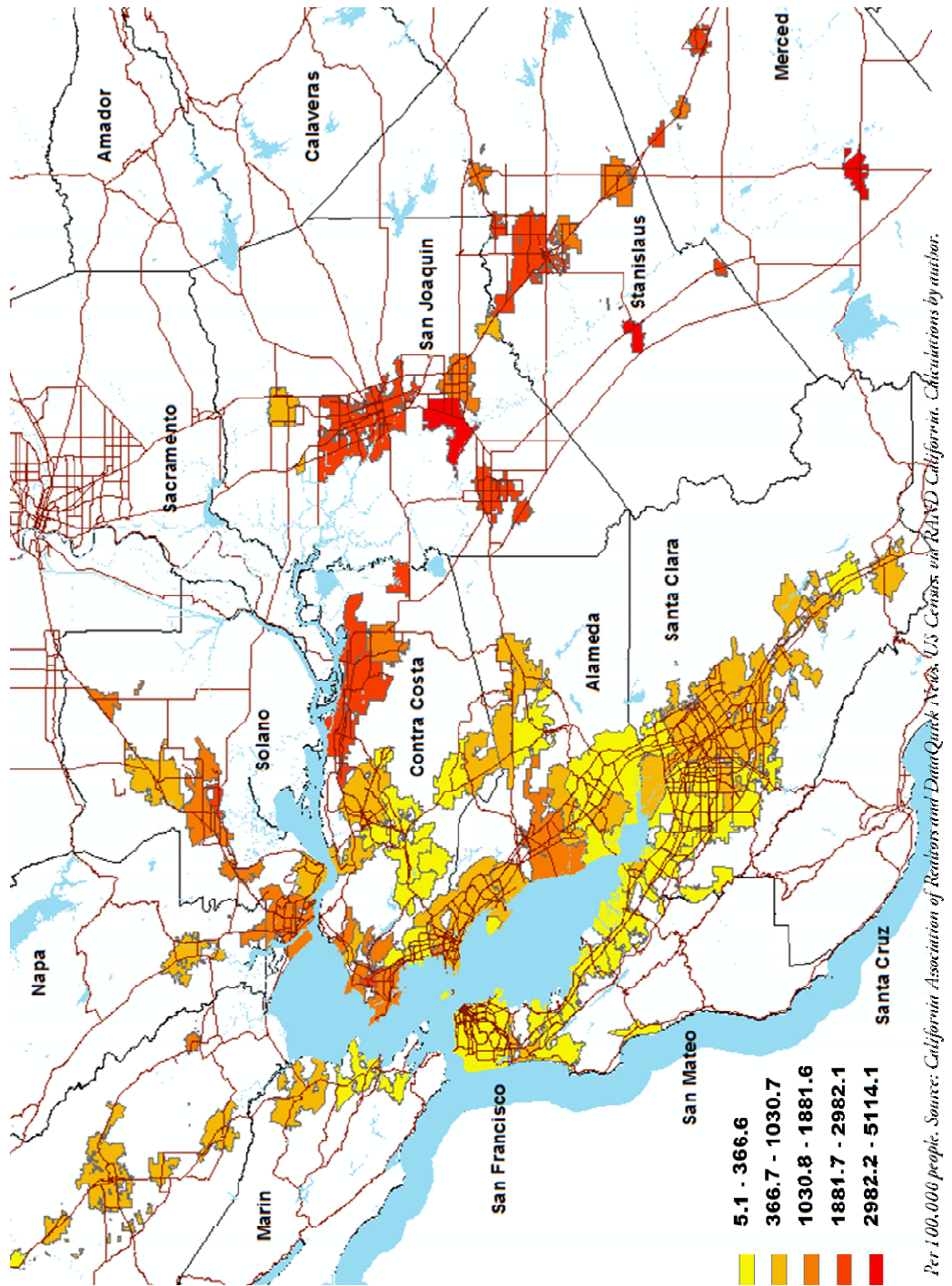
Figure 6: Foreclosure rates per 100,000 people. Source: California Association of Realtors and DataQuick News, US Census, via RAND California. Calculations by author.

Table 3: 2008 Foreclosure rates per 100,000, selected cities	
City	**Rate**
Patterson	5114.1
Lathrop	4295.8
Pittsburg	2748.5
Antioch	2446.6
Oakley	2405.2
Stockton	2262.1
Modesto	1987.9
Brentwood	1881.6
Richmond	1182.9
San Leandro	747.5
Oakland	579.4
San Jose	487.2
Pleasant Hill	366.6
Redwood City	192.9
Danville	185.3
Pleasanton	138.1
San Anselmo	100.2
Orinda	92.6
San Francisco	71.6
Palo Alto	5.1
Source: California Association of Realtors and DataQuick News, US Census, via RAND California. Calculations by author.	

The differences are even more stark when examined city by city and place by place. Table 3 is just a sample of the 2008 rates. The foreclosure rate in Antioch was almost 13 times that of Redwood City in San Mateo County and hundreds of times higher than most of Silicon Valley. Lathrop, population 17,063, had more foreclosures than San Francisco, population 808,976.

Yet even if most of the homes and streets and infrastructure in the 50/5000 club are brand new, as noted in Chapter 1, the places themselves are not. The median founding date for the 25 places in the 12-county region is 1873, the median incorporation date 1914. Only Discovery Bay, built as a real estate venture in the 1970s, can be considered a modern invention.[19] There is deep history in the 50/5000 places, history often ignored in talk about the exurban Bay Area, lumping these places together with the desert plains of greater Phoenix or the drained swampland of central Florida.

The race card

Where the question of racial segregation comes in is that of the 456,984 people added to these high growth, high foreclosure communities, only 15% of them were white.[20] More than half were Latino. About eight percent were African American – a seemingly small number, but then the overall region lost African American population, and in the 12-county region the 74 places that were *not* part of the 50/5000 club lost more than 90,000 African American residents.

Figure 7 shows the patterns of African American population change in the 12-county region. Again, like growth and foreclosure, it is a pattern that in general spreads outwards from the core, with notable exceptions in the inner ring suburbs of San Leandro and Hayward in southern Alameda County.

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[19] Mountain House, which does not yet have 10,000 residents but is planned for 40,000, would also qualify in this category. But these are the outliers, not the rule.

[20] This is based on calculation of before and after populations, not migration patterns. All race data for whites, blacks and Asians is Non Hispanic. I use the term Latino except when directly reporting census data, in order to reflect their terminology.

Figure 7: African American growth, 1990-2010, Source: 1990, 2010 US Census
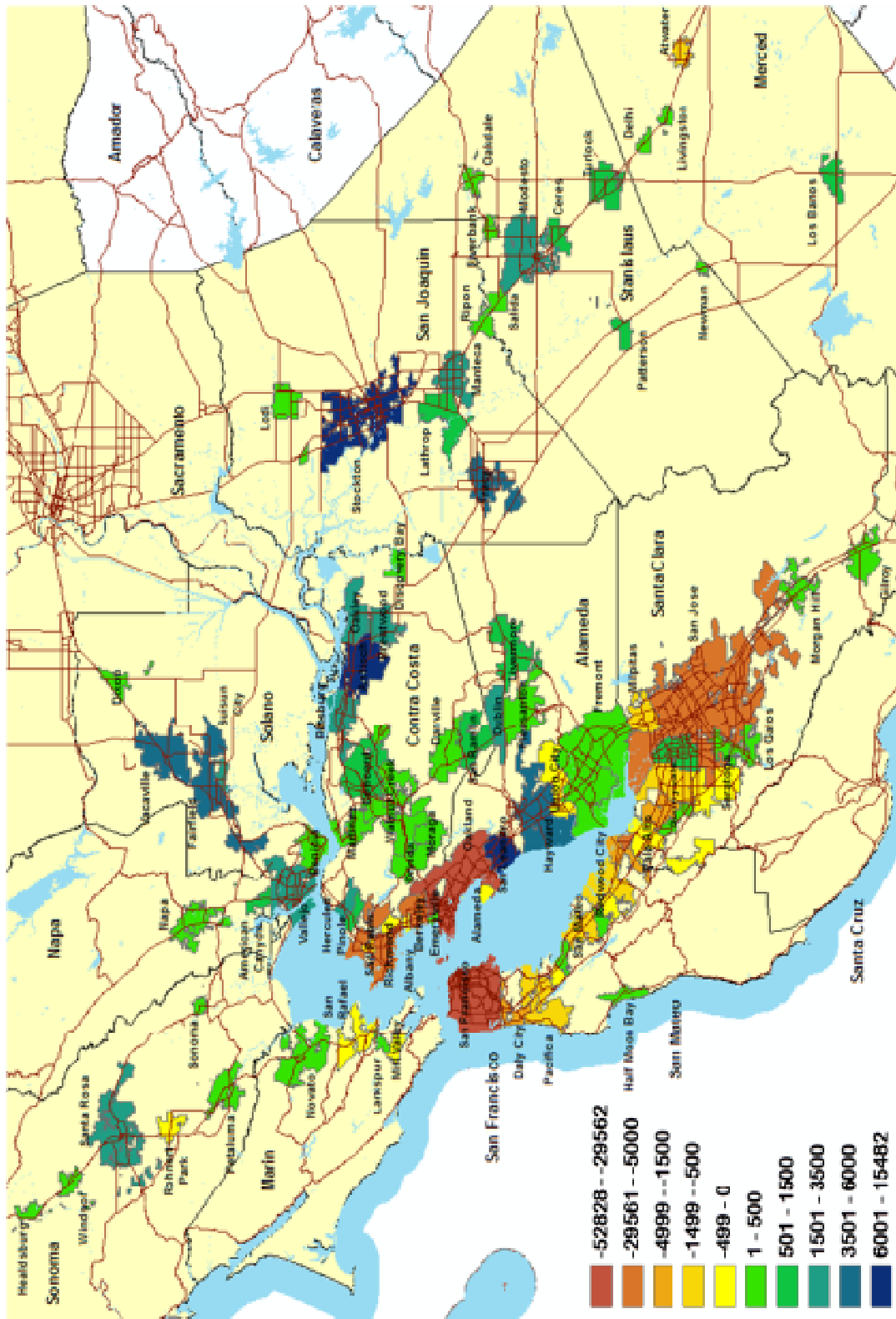
Redistricting data. Calculations by author.

Like the link between growth and foreclosure, there are stark and statistically significant differences between racial change in the 50/5000 places and everywhere else. The median African American growth rate for 50/5000 cities was 429% (table 4), while for all others it was 11%. For Latinos it was 227% and 90%, respectively. Of the roughly 840,000 people who now live in these 24 places, almost half a million of them, or 58%, are not white.

The Asian American story is much more complicated, given the incredible diversity of the Bay Area's Asian community and the geographic range of the term "Asian". Nevertheless, if one parses the Asian community into four main categories based on country of ethnic origin – East Asian (Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese and Korean), South Asian (Indian, Sri Lankan, Pakistani, Bangladeshi), Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Lao, Cambodian, Hmong, Thai, Indonesian, Malaysian) and Filipino - a stark pattern emerges. Figure 8 shows the 2010 Asian population by place for each group, mapped against 2008 foreclosure rates per 100,000 people. While South and East Asian communities are clustered in the wealthy and low foreclosure zones of San Francisco, Silicon Valley and the transformed industrial belt of Fremont and Milpitas (see Chapter 5), the outer foreclosure zones are heavily Southeast Asian and Filipino.

Table 4: Racial change in the 12-county region, 1990-2010				
		n	Median % growth*	Median Δ in % of population **
Non-Hispanic Black	All	98	44.3	.1
	50/5000	25	381.8	1.5
	Other	73	10.1	-0.0001
Hispanic	All	98	113.8	8.9
	50/5000	25	226.7	12.0
	Other	73	88.8	6.3
Source: 1990, 2010 US Census Redistricting data. Calculations by author.				
* Difference of means testing significant at .01, ** Difference of means testing significant at .05 for blacks, .1 for Hispanics				

In so many ways, this is not your grandfather's suburbanization. The new growth is much, much farther from the region's traditional central cities than was postwar growth, and much more diverse. The idea of a majority minority suburbanization would have been unthinkable a generation or two ago – after all, much of American suburbia was specifically built to exclude people of color, not include them. But traditional suburbanization was not supposed to collapse in a foreclosure crisis, not supposed to leave more than 700,000 homes at some stage in the foreclosure process by April 2010 (Center for Responsible Lending 2010), in places mostly considered suburbs.
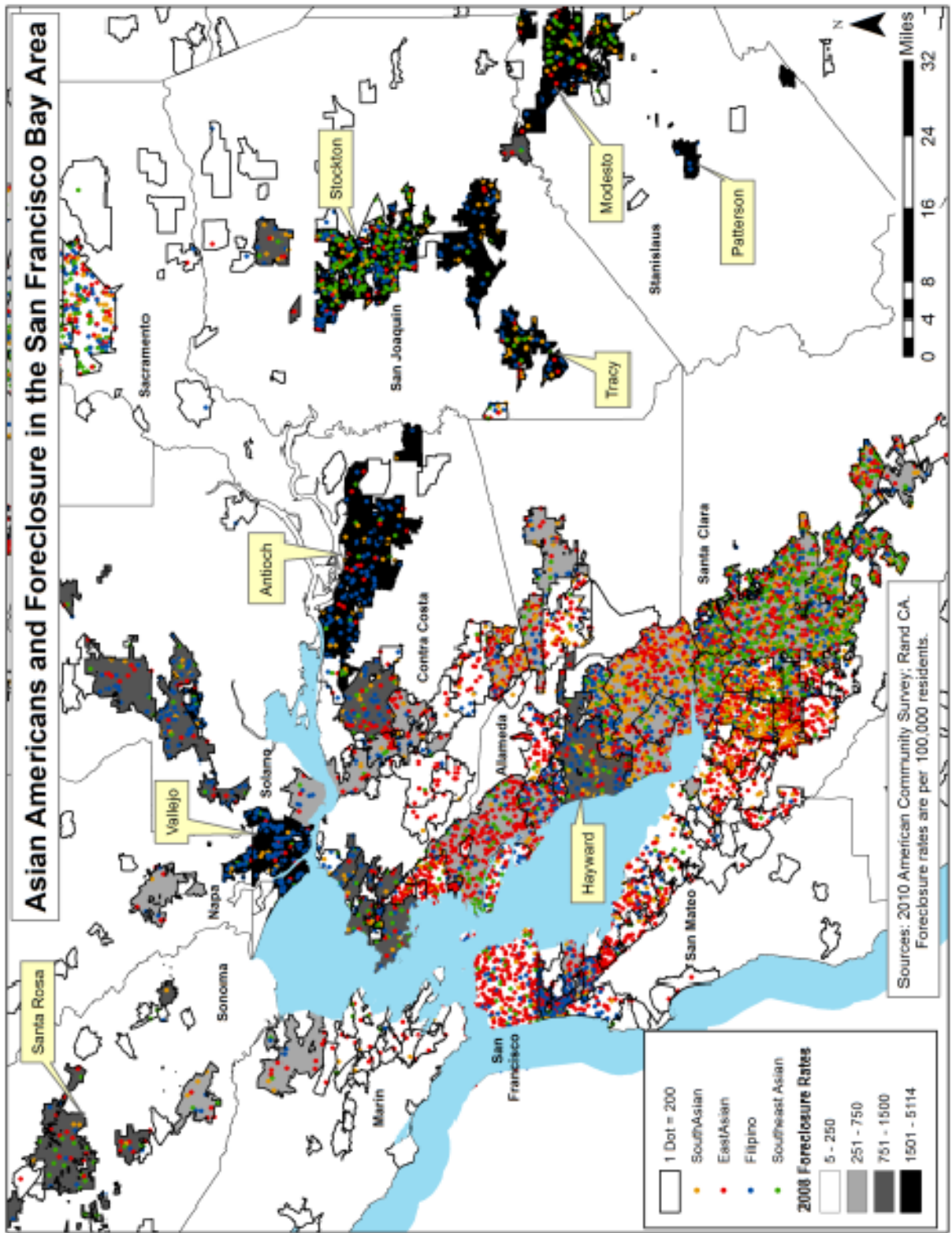
Figure 8: Asian Americans and foreclosure.

Value

The 50/5000 analysis paints the broad picture of migration, growth and foreclosure, and does it at the critical place-based level, i.e. a "real" geography where people live, vote and identify with. It also gets at some of the large, megaregional scale issues that are inherent to these transformations in the Bay Area, a scale not currently contained in census geography. Both of these understandings will be critical as a baseline for the following four chapters, as I unpack the political economic restructuring of the region to better understand how this growth was enabled and to see how it interacts with race and class-based migrations.

But the broad picture of inequality is only hinted at. We know communities of color grew in major numbers in places that experienced particularly high foreclosure rates, but what does this mean beyond foreclosure? Is this a longterm concern?

In a series of papers about the Inland Empire, Southern California's version of East County and the northern San Joaquin Valley, Dierdre Pfeiffer examines some of the same questions that drive my research (Pfeiffer 2012; Pfeiffer 2011). She is concerned that the African American, Latino and Asian communities that have been driving population growth in the outer fringe of Los Angeles may not be getting a fair shake of suburban life, facing questions of high foreclosure rates and a generally more unstable environment in what she calls "post-Civil Rights suburbs" – a term she uses for its historic meaning. Her work focuses on what she calls "neighborhood quality", a complicated metric which evaluates what people who have moved to the Inland Empire think about their new communities, especially in reference to where they came from.
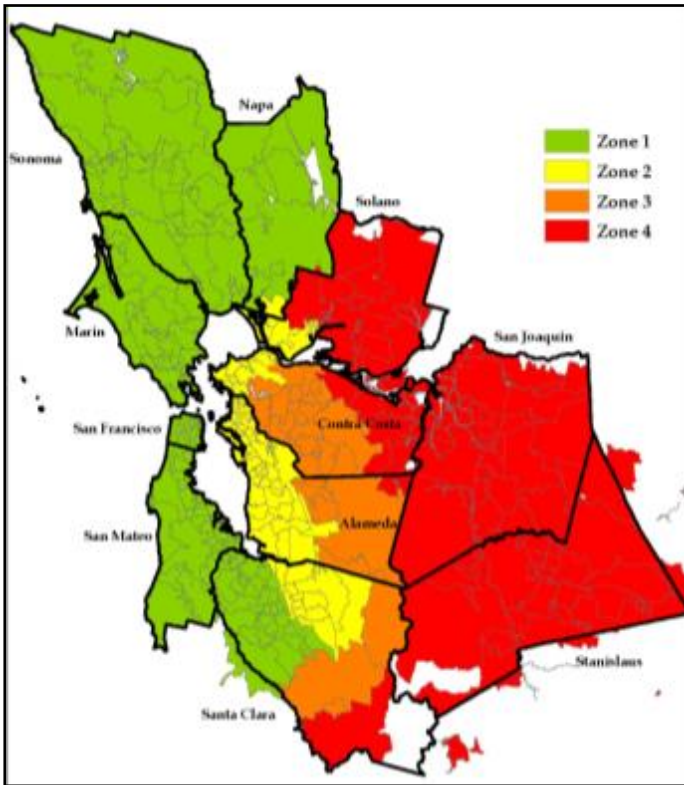
Figure 9: The four zones of the Bay Area. Source: Schafran and Wegmann 2012

I have taken a slightly different tack by focusing on the simpler question of real estate values. They are a crude measure of value, and are in some ways inherently problematic, given the implicit prioritization of exchange-value over use value. But

given the homeowner-driven nature of this growth and the crisis, and given the dependency of communities on property value and property taxes, it is an important marker for gauging the impact of the crisis on communities and the people who live there.

Again using a geography based on our own knowledge of the changing megaregion – this time excluded Merced county, which is relatively small and for which we did not have data - my colleague Jake Wegmann and I examined the segregation of the Bay Area using 20 years of real estate sales data gathered at the zip code level (Schafran and Wegmann 2012).[21] One analysis we did was based on a set of four zones that seemed to capture the restructuring of the region. Figure 9 shows the four zones of the region, built using zip codes, that take a page from Walker's (1995) use of Banham's (1971) "four ecologies" to show some of the major fault lines of the region.
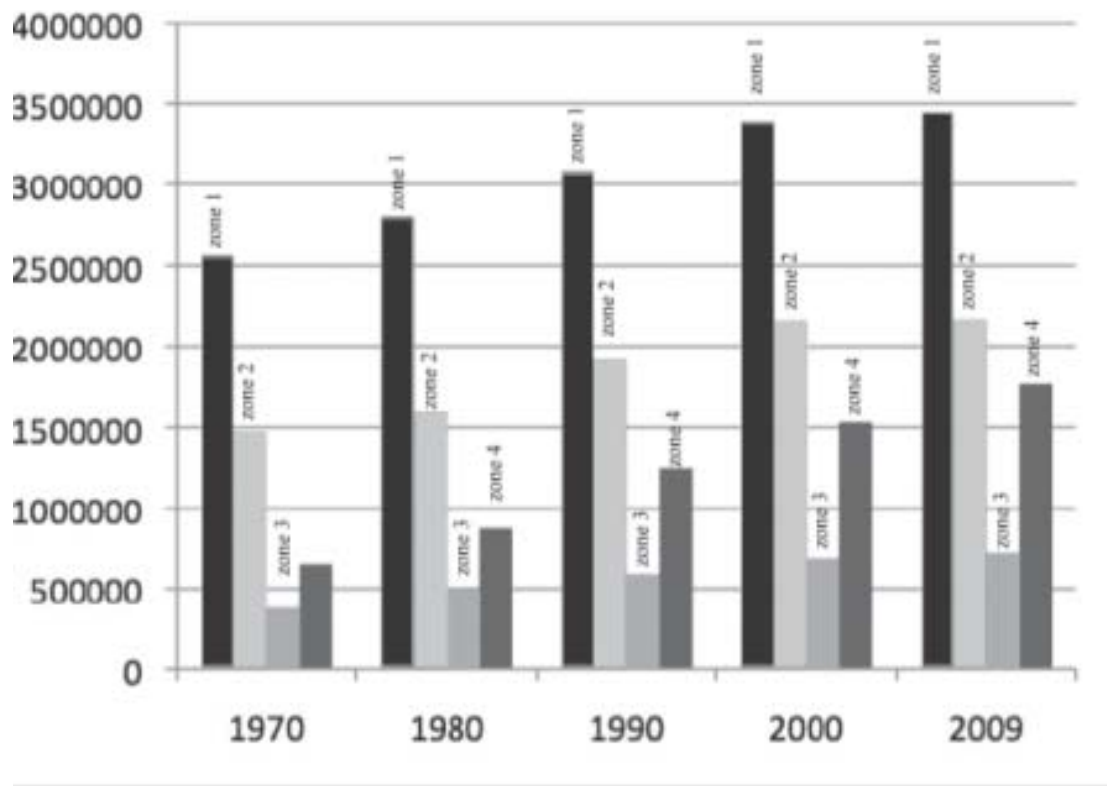
Figure 10: The Evolution of the Four Zones of the Bay Area. Total population by zone, 1970-2009. Source: US Census / ACS.

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[21] Far more information is included in Schafran and Wegmann (2012). That paper is more complex, using a regression model developed by Wegmann. What is presented here is primarily the result of difference of means tests I conducted, using a fused dataset developed primarily by Wegmann. This meshed real estate data from Data Quick (via UC Data lab) which was at the zip code scale with census data that Wegmann converted to zip code scale. The hypothesis of the four zones and the division of the zones was my own work, but again, it was a collaboration, and credit is shared equally.

Zone 1 is the increasingly bourgeois West Bay, stretching from Silicon Valley through San Francisco and into the generally wealthy suburban environs of Marin County and the wine country of Sonoma and Napa. Zone 2 is the industrial garden, the stretch of (in some cases former) working class industrial communities stretching from East San Jose up the 880 and 80 corridors to Vallejo. Zone 3 is the 680 corridor of edge cities that include the tri-Valley area of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties. Zone 4 is the periphery, the band of fast-growing communities at the heart of this dissertation.[22]

From the following four figures, you can see the broader story of the contemporary Bay Area – all four zones gained population, but none as dramatically as zone 4, where the majority of the 50/5000 cities are located (figure 10). Figures 11 through 14 show a breakdown of each major racial group based on the share of that community by zone, i.e., what percent of the overall regional population of that group lives in each zone. Whites and especially Asians remained generally stable in terms of their zonal share. The Asian community as a whole grew throughout the region, but grew relatively equally everywhere.[23] Whites continued a long process of leaving Zone 2 (the industrial garden) for zone 4 (the post-industrial garden), while maintaining strong presence in the wealthier zones 1 and 3. Unsurprisingly, it was black and Hispanic populations which saw the greatest shift. Zone 4 replaces Zone 1 as the second most important center of African American life, and Zone 4 will soon surpass all other zones as the center of Latino life.

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[22] This zonal breakdown is critical to my argument for the new geography of the region, and in many ways maps onto the following chapters – Zones 1 and 2 are discussed in chapter 5, Zone 3 in chapter 4, and zone 4 in both chapter 3 and chapter 6.

[23] The Asian story is more complicated when broken down into subgroups. This is discussed in more detail in the following section.
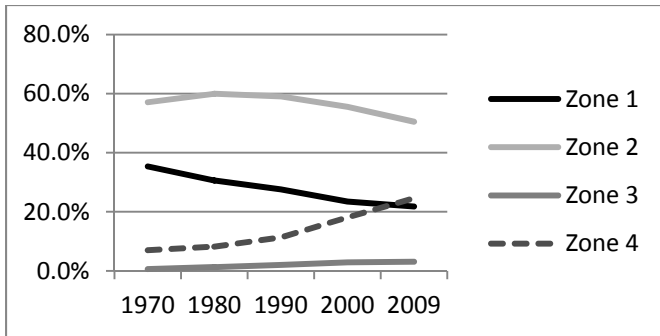
Figure 11 Percent of regional African American population by zone (figure 9), 1970-2009. (US Census 1970-2000, American Community Survey 2005-2009.)
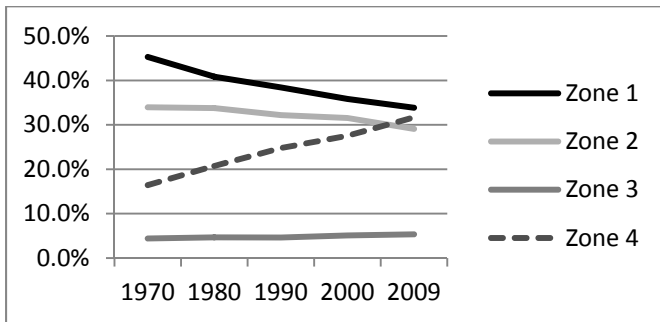
Figure 12: Percent of regional Hispanic population by zone (figure 9), 1970-2009. (US Census 1970-2000, American Community Survey 2005-2009.)
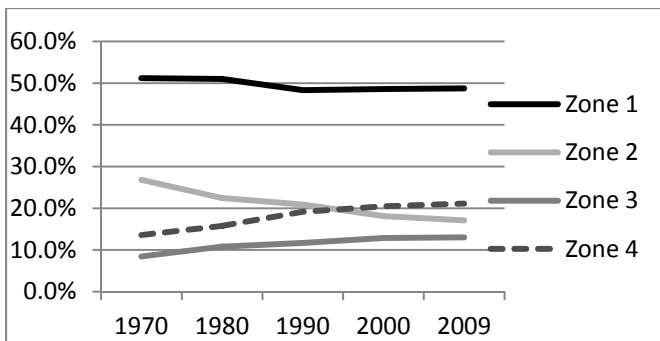
Figure 13: Percent of regional white population by zone(figure 9),1970-2009. (US Census 1970-2000, American Community Survey 2005-2009.)
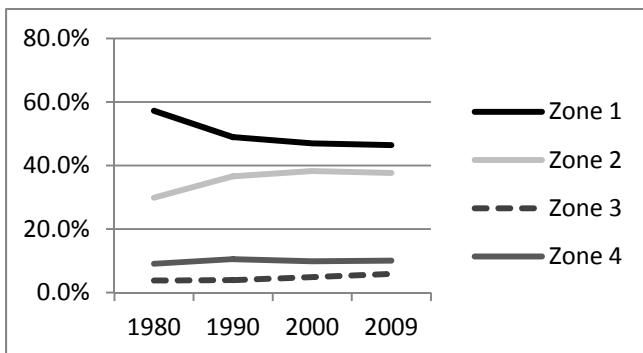
Figure 14: Percent of regional Asian population by zone(figure 9),1980-2009. (US Census 1970-2000, American Community Survey 2005-2009.)

The basic question of distance from the core of the region should be enough to at least raise concern about the disparity amongst groups, but as I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4, some of this is a response to the changing location of jobs. More jobs in Zone 3 certainly contributed to this migration. Lack of public transit options linking Zone 4 with all jobs centers in all three zones is also a concern, especially with rising gas prices. But the real equity concern, the issue that helps cement the segregationist aspect of this restructuring, is the massive drop off in value of the average home in zone 4.

Table 5a. Before the Great Recession: demographics by zip codes classed by Cole Valley Delta scores, 1989-2005						Table 5b. After the Great Recession: demographics by zip codes classed by Cole Valley Delta scores, 1989-2009					
	% Black	% Hispanic %	% White %	% API & %	Total pop., 2005*		% Black	% Hispanic	% White	% API &	Total pop. 2009 ACS
High Cole Valley Delta (-0.40 to +0.25) n=148	7.5%	22.2%	58.7%	9.5%	3,378,766	High Cole Valley Delta (-0.18 to +0.94) n=136	4.0%	15.6%	60.8%	16.1%	3,418,273
Low Cole Valley Delta (-0.70 to -0.18) n=149	4.3%	16.2%	53.3%	22.9%	4,486,212	Low Cole Valley Delta (-0.70 to -0.18) n=137	7.2%	28.3%	42.2%	19.0%	4,546,297
Statistically significant difference of means?	.01	.01	No	.01	-	Statistically significant difference of means?	.01	.01	.01	No	-
Some zip codes, with a total population of less than 200,000, were omitted from the analysis because of missing data. *2005 population figures are calculated via a weighted average of 2000 Census and 2009 ACS figures.											

By virtually every measure, from simple descriptive statistics to a regression model developed by Wegmann, the signs point both to a sharp devaluation of Zone 4 relative to the rest of the region following the crash. Consistent with the 50/5000 findings, there were also strong correlations with race, particularly African Americans. Zone 2 also suffers to a certain extent, which Zone 1 and Zone 3 continue to hold value. At virtually every scale, the geography of depressed values maps onto the geographies of non-white Bay Area, particularly blacks and Latinos.

Lest one make the all-too-common racial leap – that all these migrating communities of color brought down property values and caused the bubble to burst – we can demonstrate clearly that this is not the case. The core of the model is a metric we call the Cole Valley Delta (CVD), which measures the median per square foot sales price for each zip code in the 11-county region from 1989 to 2009 and then compares each zip code against the zip code for Cole Valley, a gentrifying area of San Francisco which has seen steadily rising property values over the past few decades (and ultimately few foreclosures). A high CVD means that the zip code gained relative to Cole Valley, low CVD the opposite.

As can clearly be seen from tables 5a and 5b, African Americans were overrepresented in zip codes that *gained* against Cole Valley up until the bubble burst, and subsequently overrepresented in low CVD areas afterwards. By 2005, just before the peak of the bubble, the migration had been under way for decades, with no major drag on property values, just the opposite. Communities of color were prime consumers of the American Dream on the fringe of the Bay Area. This was clearly not the case of a racialized devaluation based on the mere presence of diverse communities, which was the foundation for racist blockbusting in the post war era. Rather, communities of color were making a seemingly rational decision, a collective movement outwards towards places which were gaining in value, even against the expensive core.

The map of zip codes which gained dramatically until 2005 and then lost it all (and then some) is by now familiar, and most fall into Zone 4. The gap in value between the core and the periphery widened, with the outer ring counties of Stanislaus, San Joaquin and Solano all losing far more value against San Francisco than Marin, Sonoma or the Silicon Valley zones of San Mateo and Santa Clara. The average home in San Joaquin was worth about a third of a home in San Francisco before the crash; by 2009, it was worth about a fifth. It was also around this time that the size of the African American populations in the two counties converged (figure 15), a generation removed from the heyday of the Fillmore district and a period where San Francisco was a major center of African American culture on the west coast.
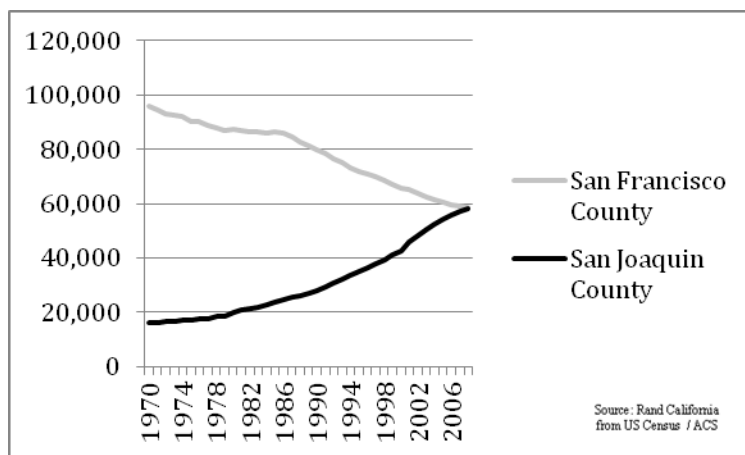
Figure 15: African Americans in San Francisco and San Joaquin Counties, 1970-2008

In a 2010 paper arguing the link between segregation and the foreclosure crisis, Jacob Pugh and Douglass

Massey (2010, p. 629) argue that residential segregation "created a unique niche of minority clients" for subprime lending, now known to be the fundamental economic driver of the crisis. This confirms earlier work by scholars like Elvin Wyly, Greg Squires, Dan Immergluck and Kathe Newman, who dig into the racialized nature of subprime lending, some of which sadly predates the crisis by a number of years (Wyly et al. 2009; Squires and Kubrin 2005; Squires 2003; Immergluck and Smith 2004; Immergluck and Smith 2005; Immergluck and Smith 2006; Newman and Wyly 2004).

But what this link between race and subprime misses is that this crisis is racialized far beyond people who took bad loans. Diverse migration to these foreclosure zones has been occurring for a generation now, and many people moved before things got too hot, with fixed rate mortgages on homes that were not inflated. But they too have been impacted, part of the "largest loss of wealth for community of color in US history (Rivera and United for a Fair Economy 2008, p. v)." The market that was created was not just for bad loans, but for an entire suburban dream which was profoundly unstable. This is the link between old patterns of segregation and new patterns of foreclosure. Middle and working class African Americans, Latinos and Asians - business owners and public servants, blue collar workers and union reps, bus drivers and accountants, nurses and store clerks – had been pushing outward for their first collective bite at the suburban apple, pushing away from the older neighborhoods they had been confined to a generation ago. Some, as Angela Glover Blackwell noted in the opening quote, were doing so under pressure from inner core communities which were still failing to provide a safe, healthy and opportunity-rich environment, especially for families with children. Some were doing so in the face of gentrification and rising real estate prices in the core, pricing out many first-time homeowners.

Some were doing so because they wanted to – a fact often forgotten by researchers, as if nonwhite Americans don't like suburban life at roughly the same rate as white Americans. Even if everything had been rosy back in Oakland and Richmond, some families would have made the move regardless. One can debate the "push" and "pull" factors of the most diverse suburbanization process in American history endlessly, but at the end of the day a certain amount of this suburbanization was bound to happen, set in motion neither by the inner city effects of Babylon-era segregation nor the appeal Bablyon-era suburbanization.

The question of inequality comes in when one consider that when it came time for communities of color to pursue the suburban dream - even if progressive bourgeois urbanites like myself had decided that this model of the production of space was no longer interesting or sustainable - their pursuit of the dream was built on such a structurally unsound foundation, and has had such a devastating impact economically, it must be considered a form of segregation for the neoliberal era. "Ethno-racial closure and control" it may not be, but any time there are strikingly different outcomes linked to a highly racialized map, I argue that we must call it

segregation, in part because it implies a deep historic link to the days of redlining and Jim Crow.

But the segregationist nature of the restructuring of the region goes beyond differentiated real estate values. These places in zone 2's industrial garden and zone 4's post-industrial garden are linked in a migratory cycle which sees people of color moving back and forth, while rarely settling down in either zone 1 or zone 3. This is the mobile nature of 21st century segregation, a segregation where you and your people move about regularly, often over long distances, but always to a select group of cities, while half of the regional map lies largely untouched.

Mental Maps, revisited

Over the past few years, I have been part of a group of researchers studying the impact of violence, policing and increasing racial and ethnic diversity on young people in Oakland's San Antonio District.[24] Born as a lumber town annexed to Oakland in 1852, development in the 1920s and 30s turned it into a typical Oakland residential neighborhood, streetcar suburb towards the hills and blue collar factory town down by the water (Bagwell 1982; Maly 2005). As was customary at the time – this is the Oakland that had two members of the Klan serve openly on the City Council in the 20s – the neighborhood was kept all-white through racial covenants.

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[24] The research on youth violence was done as part of the Youth Violence and Neighborhood Change project of the UC Berkeley Institute for the Study of Societal Institutions. The main dataset was collectively compiled by a team of researchers and ultimately included 38 interviews with young adults (20-24) who had been youth in the year 2000. An additional 37 interviews were done with a mix of adults active in the neighborhood, from teachers to real estate agents to parents. The youth roughly reflected the significant diversity of the young people in neighborhood in terms of race/ethnicity, gender and level of academic attainment. The interviewees included 18 women and 20 men and consisted of 13 Asian Americans (Cambodian, Vietnamese, Mien, and Chinese), 15 Latinos (all Mexican American except for two of Salvadoran and Guatemalan heritage), 8 African Americans, and 2 youth who identify as mixed race: African American/Asian American. Five interviewees are currently attend a four year college or university full-time; 26 finished high school (a majority of whom attend or have attended community college part time on an intermittent basis, though none had completed despite being an average of five years out from high school graduation); and six did not complete high school. Since 2000 some of the interviewees have not moved, while others moved both within and out of the neighborhood. Data was collected in recorded, semi-structured interviews which typically lasted between 45 and 120 minutes. Interviews addressed what was it like growing up in the neighborhood, how and why has the neighborhood changed, and whether the changes in the neighborhood have affected commonly mentioned issues, such as violence? Interviewees received a $25 gift card for participating in the study. Interviews were transcribed, and each sub team on the project did their own coding. A parallel project was built by LeConte Dill, Ph. D., in the Elmhurst neighborhood of East Oakland using similar methods and questions. The question of youth geography and the link between risk-avoidance strategies at the neighborhood level and similar strategies at the regional level produced a collaboration which would ultimately include Yvonne Hung, Ph.D, an expert on youth geography. I developed a coding system using Adobe Acrobat to identify place references upon which the data presented is based. This information will be combined with Dill's research on local strategies in an forthcoming paper. But the credit for the ideas about mobile segregation is shared.

The transition began in the 1960s, as the breakdown of internal segregation in East Oakland saw African Americans move in in significant numbers. They were soon followed by Latino and Asian immigrants, part of the post-1965 immigration from which Oakland drew so many new residents. By the first decade of the 20th century, neighboring Fruitvale to the south would be studied as one of the most ethnically diverse neighborhoods in the United States, as refugees from the wars in Bosnia joined Laotians, Vietnamese, Cambodians and other immigrants who had come to America for more than economic reasons (Maly 2005).

Crack cocaine and violence from the drug trade ravaged much of East Oakland during the 1980s and early 90s, and San Antonio was not immune, even if it was farther from the epicenters of "Deep" East Oakland and West Oakland (Ginwright 2011). Crime remains a significant issue, as does violence and poverty. The neighborhood is hyper diverse, primarily Asian and Latino now that African Americans have moved out, both as part of the migrations charted in this dissertation and ongoing shifts within the city of Oakland. It is poorer than Oakland on average, but not the most poor; unemployment is high, nearby jobs limited, and educational attainment low. And although it may not be the poorest neighborhood in Oakland, it is exactly the type of inner-city community where often discussed in terms of segregation, with questions about people being confined with limited opportunity. And it is exactly the type of neighborhood from which people go searching for better opportunities – safer streets, better schools, a bigger house, homeownership, or just more affordable housing. One thing one must keep in mind about struggling neighborhoods in Oakland and San Francisco – despite the challenges, they are not cheap. By 2004, the median per square foot price of a home in the San Antonio (94606) was 30-40% higher than either of Antioch's zip codes (94509 and 94531).[25]

Our study focused on interviews with 38 individuals who were roughly 13 in the year 2000, meaning that they spent their teenage years in Oakland during the height of the real estate boom, the outmigration, and the bust and foreclosure crisis. The major purpose of the study was to access the role of violence and community change in structuring their lives *within* the San Antonio. To supplement the interviews with young people (most are now in the early 20s) we interviewed an additional 40 adults, from leaders to social workers to real estate agents. A subsequent parallel study in Elmhurst, deeper into East Oakland, asked similar questions, giving us an amazing data set from which to learn about mobility in inner-city life.

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[25] Based on averaged values of monthly data over three years (2003-05). San Antonio $312.6, Antioch $241.4 (94509), 222.7 (94531)

Something fascinating emerged from the study, somewhat by accident. In response to questions about people moving out of the neighborhood, respondents were very specific about where people were moving. We began to notice that in the questions about work, they were specific about their geographies, even talking at times about
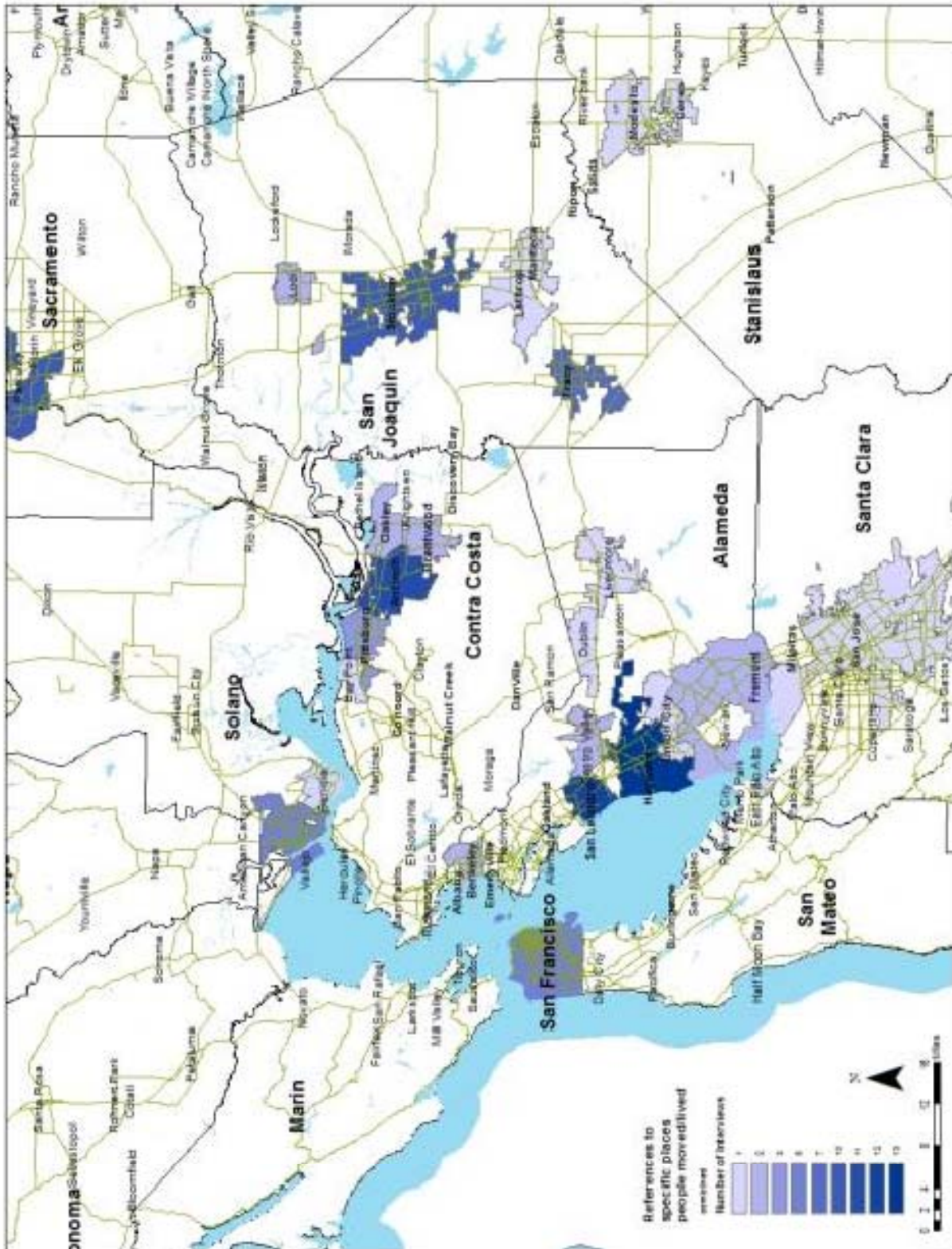
Figure 16: Combined references to moves / living in San antonio and Elmhurst studies.

Table 6: All references to places, combined studies							
City	Move/ Live	Work	Aspira-tion	School	Visit	Other	Total
Hayward	13	5	1	5	3	1	28
San Leandro	12	8	1		4	1	26
Antioch	11						11
Stockton	10						10
Sacramento	10						10
Tracy	7						7
San Francisco	5	4	1	11	4	1	26
Vallejo	5						5
Pittsburg	3						3
Fremont	2			1			3
Lodi	2						2
Castro Valley	2						2
Brentwood	2						2
Oakley	2						2
Berkeley	2	2		17	3	1	25
Benicia	1						1
Modesto	1						1
Manteca	1						1
Lathrop	1						1
Dublin	1						1
Union City	1						1
Bay Point	1						1
Livermore	1						1
Ceres	1						1
San Jose	1			3			4
East Palo Alto	1						1
Walnut Creek	0	1	1				2
Sunnyvale	0					1	1
Pleasant Hill	0		1				1
Concord	0	1		1			2
Combined place references for San Antonio (n=38) and Elmhurst (n=25) studies, youth interviews only.							

the work patterns of friends and relatives. We had done some Kevin Lynch style mental mapping with the respondents to help us understand their local patterns, but what was emerging was something similar to the maps done by the City of Los Angeles in 1971, a composite mental map of a community not too different from Boyle Heights, albeit almost forty years later.

Over and over again, we heard the same places – Tracy, Stockton, Antioch, Manteca in the outer core, San Leandro and Hayward next door. Together with my colleague from public health, LeConte Dill, the author of the Elmhurst study, and the youth geographer Yvonne Hung , we started searching for specific mentions of places and mapping them according to why they were mentioned – somebody moved there, lived there, they visited that place for work, fun or school, or it was a place they aspired to move to. With only 38 respondents, and another 25 from the Elmhurst study, it is a limited sample, but the results are stark. Figure 16 shows the places referenced as locations people lived or moved to – essentially San Leandro, Hayward, or the outer core – with almost no exceptions. One references was made to people moving to Dublin, one to Livermore, but otherwise the 680 job belt is missing entirely. Same with all of San Mateo and Marin County, and other than one reference to San Jose, all of massive and wealthy Santa Clara County.

When one expands the analysis to other references – jobs, school, visits, essentially any mention of place in their lives – the geography expands somewhat, but barely (table 6). One can see that San Leandro and Hayward become even more prominent, in part because they offer jobs – including low wage service jobs available to many young people and some of the remaining blue collar work in the region. San Francisco and Berkeley appear much more prominently, mostly in reference to schooling, especially Berkeley, but rarely as a destination to live (most of the references to living in San Francisco refer to family members who have been there a long time or to returning to family housing in the City).

Walnut Creek and Pleasant Hill now appear, the former as a job site, and both as aspirational places, places people would move if they could. But the high-tech job centers of San Ramon or Pleasanton, Palo Alto or Cupertino? Completely absent. Their geography, and the geography that they report from their friends and families, is no longer confined to East Oakland. The mental map of Boyle Heights is not the map of today's inner core Oakland, even for the people who remain.

This is what I mean where I speak of *mobile segregation*. While one appears to be moving freely about the region – for school, for work, for homeownership - in reality certain people from certain communities tend to be occupying only half of it. And the half they are occupying is not the wealthy part, not the part with low foreclosure rates but rather the places far more on the edge.

What is even more striking and disturbing is how this regional pattern resembles the stratified geography produced at the neighborhood level by "risk-avoidance strategies" (Cobbina, Miller and Brunson 2008) utilized by youth respondents in their East Oakland neighborhoods. The intense division of the San Antonio and Elmhurst into safe and unsafe zones based on gang or ethnic territory, or basic feelings of comfort and belonging, render certain areas as virual blank spots on the map, even if they are only a few blocks away. One can see these regional moves, and their blank spots, as a geography produced by the ultimate risk-avoidance strategy – moving out of the neighborhood all together.

When combined with the "four zones" analysis above, what emerges is a hazy sketch of a subtle set of lines, networks that weave together people and communities across a major metropolitan region. There are hives of relationship thicker between certain geographies than other, and those geographies have a tendency to be marked by similar race and class profiles and, as we have seen, similar experiences of foreclosure. Clearly this is not Engels Manchester, a class-defined city of a single "good" quadrant surrounded by the working masses, even if this geography still exists, especially in the Central Valley, where cities like Lodi are divided between different sides of the railroad tracks, as if from a novel from a century ago. It is not Self's Babylon anymore, where people of color are exclusively confined to a handful of neighborhoods around the Bay, an extension of earlier eras where the lines of ethnic and racial communities like Chinatown were hard and enforced through violence, law, and custom. These places still exist -as I will discuss in Chapter 5 – and while people may no longer be confined by the "white noose", other factors – environmental illness, high homicide rates, struggling schools – remind us that the reproduction of Babylon helped contribute to the production of this restructured geography.

How precisely to understand this human map of the megaregion is one of the fundamental questions of 21st century American urbanism. In every region across the country, *some* of the hard old lines are being broken down, while others remain as almost caricatures of inner-city racialized poverty. In every major city across the country, *some* old working class, black or ethnic neighborhoods are being integrated at the same time they are being gentrified, while their inner-ring suburban counterparts are becoming more integrated during an age of aging infrastructure and rising suburban poverty.

The questions of race, class and segregation in the metropolis are infinitely more complex than they were during the days of Babylon. In the Bay Area, the lines are both east/west and core/periphery, white and asian v. black and brown, Chinese/Korean v. Southeast Asian/Filipino, the globalized and educated upper middle class versus the regionalized and less educated working and slipping middle class, the bourgeois bohemian v. California-style middle America. In previous work I have talked about it in terms of "endopolis", the city within, versus "exopolis," the city without, arguing that one of the troubling aspects of the foreclosure crisis in the region is how those at the increasingly wealthy and generally whiter (and more Asian) center largely are unaware of the crisis on the fringe, in part because they inhabit a different circulatory pattern of metropolitan life, one marked by wealthy suburbs, office parks and gentrifying urban neighborhoods, connected more to global centers and similar up-market, tech-fueled "creative class" havens than the working and middle class masses who increasingly ring the region rather than inhabit it (Schafran 2009a). There is a mobility to the "segregation" of people all throughout the race, class and cultural spectrum, part of what makes this contemporary story so difficult to understand yet so important to those with a keen eye for change.

This chapter raises more questions than can possibly be answered in the text ahead. One could spend a lifetime trying to understand specific aspects of this change, from racialized race relations in these new spaces to motivations for migration and the lived experience of mobile segregation. The questions of lost value and its impacts on wealth, neighborhood quality, opportunity and so many other personal and communal assets is one that researchers will be picking apart for decades to come. But the challenge of this dissertation is to understand and explain to the best of my ability how this map was produced – how people, policy and capital moved about the metropolis, and how the politics of space fragmented at every scale and amongst an increasing number of powerful yet ultimately inadequate institutions, institutions which saw this new map as it was being formed yet could not come together to build a politics to alter its future.

The first stop in this journey is the post-industrial garden of East County, a place and a set of places which symbolize what happened more than anywhere else.

Figure 1: "Power and light." Antioch, 2011. Photo by Alex Schafran

CHAPTER 3: THE POSTINDUSTRIAL GARDEN

One of my favorite places in East County is a small and lightly used wetlands preserve on the old Pittsburg-Antioch highway, just west of Hazel's hamburgers and Antioch's downtown. The light is stunning, especially at sunset, and the delta breeze provides respite from the often brutal heat reminding you that technically one is in the Central Valley. Despite Contra Costa County's roughly 30-mile-long shoreline on the San Joaquin River, access can be hard to find, cut off by heavy industry, the military and a coastal marshland best suited for birds, making this respite even more precious.

The view of the surrounding landscape in the dying light is what I like most about the place. To the west are the remnants of East County's industrial life: a Calpine energy plant steaming ominously and just the faintest glimpse of USS Posco's massive steel facility. To the south, over the light industrial park and self storage units, the signs for Antioch's Auto Center and the various shopping centers of Sommersville Road seem to blend perfectly with the din of Highway 4, the area's overworked highway. In the not-too-distant hills, green green in the winter and spring and a burnt beige in summer and fall, East County's suburban subdivisions crawl unevenly up the hillsides. To the east are the baseball fields, historical society cum sports museum and the struggling downtown, all three testimonies to the Antioch's love for nostalgia and struggles with the contemporary moment. Across

BNSF's tracks and the San Joaquin river to the north is a sea of windmills in southern Solano County's vast delta wetlands, churning out green energy for one of the largest and wealthiest metropolitan regions in the country.

Seen from the hills or the air, East County's landscape begins to blend together into that mixture of Google Earth and land use map that is the contemporary urbanists version of Michel de Certeau's "panorama-city," a place reduced to chunks of "use" and urban form and development patterns (de Certeau 1984, p.93). In a place as socially diverse and physically dispersed as East County, it can be hard to find de Certeau's "migrational" city in any recognizable form, perhaps because people rarely walk. What you can see and smell and hear from the wetlands, whose formal name is not incidentally the Dow Wetlands Preserve, is the paradoxical city, that place which emerges from the long historical engagement between peoples and plans, between the various and often contradictory strategies of the powerful and just as varied and just as contradictory tactics of the less so.

Each aspect of the view from the wetlands holds a clue to the larger story of how East County was transformed into a "postindustrial garden," emerging as a center of the foreclosure crisis and a point of concern on the map of one of the wealthiest and most progressive regions in human history. The single family homes on the hillsides are testimony to the broader impact of the decision in the early 1980s by Antioch's leaders to bow to massive pressure from developers and dreams of local glory to approve a doubling of Antioch's population in one fell swoop. The decision paved the way for growth in other east county towns like Oakley and Brentwood, and bolstered an already strong Pittsburg growth machine to the west, whose homegrown local developer, Albert Seeno, Sr., was poised to become one of the largest single-family home builders in the United States. All this was done with the idea that jobs and transportation infrastructure would arrive in tow to support the rapidly growing region in the face of deindustrialization and the decline of the area's industrial base. This did not happen, and has still not happened. Moreover, the competition between local cities, which has always been fierce, would take on new meaning in the post-Proposition 13 era as sales tax revenue and shopping malls became even more critical, at the same time as intra-local cooperation would be required for things never demanded of cities before, like building regional highways.

This almost complete disconnect between mass housing for the working and middle classes and the economic, financial, fiscal, social and transportation infrastructure which underpins the production and reproduction of their communities is the fundamental difference between the "industrial garden" which arose in the postwar era in suburbs like Hayward, San Leandro and parts of Oakland and what came about in East County. For Robert Self (2003, p. 28), the industrial garden was "a coordinated middle landscape that joined economic progress and social stability," a model underscored (and ultimately undermined) by deep racism, a paternalist political structure and deep lines of power. When the model hit rough times in the 1970s, both in reaction to its racism and its economic, social and environmental limits, what replaced it was a new regime of urbanism with the same physical

structure, and the same dreams of homeownership and social stability through urban development, but in a more racially diverse environment with less economic progress and less coordination. There was less support from higher levels of government and much more unstable forms of capital, while at the same time old rivalries and old lines of power remained entrenched. And it was two degrees of regional separation farther away than the industrial garden, a geography which was much more intimately connected to the classic city center.

That was not, of course, the goal of the whole thing. Planners, politicians, developers and homeowners in East County all thought they were simply reproducing a model that seemed to work well; yet the new model was ultimately built on a shakier foundation than its more industrialized counterpart.

The doubling[1]

> Editorial: Prop 13 caused fiscal crisis.
> The lender is foreclosing - debt is on everyone's mind.
> Layoffs slated for two area plants.
> Reagan forecasts hard times. – *Antioch Daily Ledger headlines, November 10, 1981*

> House loans risky. – *Antioch Daily Ledger headline, November 15, 1981*
> The die is cast for a community with too many homes and too few jobs. – *Antioch Daily Ledger, February 5, 1982*
> Area's BART plans derailed. – *Antioch Daily Ledger, February 7, 1982*

There is an eeriness to the pages of the *Antioch Daily Ledger* from the early 80s. It has nothing to do with the slightly burnt feel of aging paper, but with the constant reminder that virtually every major issue haunting East County in 2011 existed in some form in 1981. The headlines and editorials November 10, 1981 about fiscal crisis, industrial layoffs, foreclosures and nationwide recession were the shot across the bow which announced the beginning of the neoliberal era in the United States, an era that ended spectacularly with more of the same. In the case of Antioch, they came one day before the first formal piece of a two-part decision by the city to leap out of
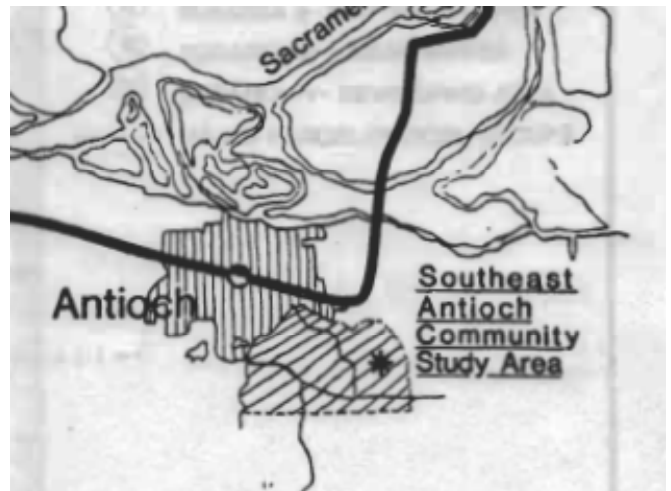
Figure 2: The doubling of Antioch. May 1981 study plan.

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[1] Antioch Daily Ledger (1981a, 1981b, 1981c,), Cunniff (1981), Crittenden (1981), Ginsberg (1982a), Cuff (1982)

its industrial past and into the suburban era. This is the first line of the fateful article the next day:

> With little discussion among themselves and no comment from the public, the Antioch Planning Commission members Wednesday endorsed a final plan for development that would nearly double the city's population (Ginsberg 1981).

The first part of the plan, 3433 homes on 854 acres in the Hillcrest corridor, had gone through the Planning Commission earlier in the year. When the City Council finally ratified the 11, 567 homes on roughly 3,000 acres in the Lone Tree portion of the plan, more than 40,000 residents were officially scheduled for Antioch's next three decades.

Unlike the largely silent Planning Commission meeting, the final city council meeting in February 1982 was positively boisterous, especially for Antioch. More than 100 people attended the council meeting, and after a session where 10 of the 13 speakers spoke in favor of the larger of the two specific plans, the council voted 4-1 to approve. Rejecting calls for another study, councilmember Walter Pierce avowed, "That's what's wrong with this city. There's too much studying and not enough action." Following the objections of the one councilmember, Wilhemina Andrade, who opposed the plans, a resident speaker retorted, "any organism has to change, or it dies (Ginsberg 1982b)."

Andrade's objections were rooted in the lack of jobs in the plan – the quote "too many homes and too few jobs" is hers. But if her objection proved prescient, it was technically incorrect. The plan (figure 3) very clearly stated that new employment centers would, "provide employment opportunities for up to sixty percent of the residents of the community." Even better, they would be developed concurrently with housing so that workers would be able to bike and walk to work.

If only it were so easy.

In the context of Antioch's history, the idea of local jobs serving local residents made sense. Founded as Smith's Landing in 1850, Antioch is one of the oldest towns in California and was the first incorporated town in Contra Costa County. From the discovery of coal a decade later, the city's economy revolved around industrial production in one form or another for more than a century. Coal fields in the Diablo foothills south of the town fed the brickworks and distilleries, which were gradually linked by railroad entrepreneurs to the larger statewide and regional networks that so dominated California's early

> **2.2.4 Employment Centers**
> Situated in each section of the community in a location selected for land suitability, maximum accessibility, and environmental protection will be park-like employment centers. These business/office centers will provide employment opportunities for up to sixty percent of the residents of the community. These employment centers should be developed, if the market permits, concurrently with housing so that workers will be able to walk or bicycle to work.

Figure 3: 1982 Southeast Antioch Specific Plan

political economy. In 1889, paper came to Antioch, and industry would grow to dominate Antioch's politics, economy and odor until the 1970s. In the 1950s, at a time when the town had less than 13,000 residents, 6,500 people worked at Fibreboard's plants and local subsidiaries in town (Bohakel et al. 2005).

The postwar boom stoked the development of power plants and building materials industries, including some of the biggest names in San Francisco and Oakland industry – Pacific Gas & Electric, Crown-Zellerbach, Kaiser. The presence of San Francisco industrial capital on the shores of the San Joaquin river is part of a historical wave of the suburbanization and exurbanization of heavy industry from San Francisco which began in the 1880s (Walker 2004). As the population of San Francisco grew in numbers and in wealth, the dirtiest and heaviest industries were no longer desirable. Cut off from any southward movement along the peninsula by the estates of the wealthy, the sparsely populated Contra Costa coast in particular became the favored site of glue factories, dynamite plants, power generating facilities and oil refineries.[2] To this day, all four of the region's oil refineries are along the San Joaquin river, part of a massive geography of energy production which produces 2/3's of the electricity produced in the region.[3]

Both the presence of major San Francisco capital and the development of building industry supply factories presaged the coming of the suburban wave. Kaiser's cement and gypsum factory, opened in 1956, fed the growing demand for sheetrock in the booming postwar suburbs just over the hill in Concord, Pleasant Hill and Walnut Creek. For the time being, Antioch was largely content with its historic role as part of the massive economic hinterland of the San Francisco Bay Area, feeding its demand for energy and material while remaining physically and culturally apart. Farming and ranching still dominated the lands south and east of town, including then-unincorporated Oakley and neighbor Brentwood, which in 1960 had fewer than 4000 residents between them.[4] They were part of the truck farming and

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[2] Walker also points to the critical role which labor played in the outmigration. By this time, San Francisco already had the beginnings of a powerful labor movement, and capital sought the friendlier confines of the company towns in isolated Contra Costa County. Also critical in this movement was the search for unincorporated space, impossible in the City/County of San Francisco. Most of Antioch's industrial waterfront remained outside of city limits for the first half of the 20th century, in order to keep taxes and fees low (Bohakel et al. 2005). Antioch's industry ran plant employees for city council positions to keep it this way, and much of northeast Antioch remains unincorporated and underdeveloped to this day, despite its waterfront location and the city's massive growth to the south and east. Isolated pockets of intentionally unincorporated industrial land remains an issue throughout the region, an issue that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.
[3] http://energyalmanac.ca.gov/powerplants/index.html. Calculations by author. This is not what is consumed, as the region imports electricity.
[4] For more on the concept of the economic hinterlands of the Bay area, see (Brechin 2006). The population estimate for Brentwood and Oakley comes from the US Census 1960 population for Brentwood (2186) and the 1970 California Department of Finance estimate for Oakley (1306). It is highly unlikely that Oakley lost 500 people in the decade of the 1960s. Likely, the combined population was closer to 3,000.

canning economy which was so integral to the region's economy for its first century.[5]

As early as the 1960s, the writing was on the wall that Antioch would eventually be sucked into the regional sphere as more than a node of industrial production. It had been included in the original 1956 BART master plan for the second phase, and was no doubt part of newspaper mogul Dean Lesher's famous airborne proclamation that this was where the growth would go (Leykam and Concord Chamber of Commerce (Calif.) 1989). Albert Seeno, Sr., a developer from neighboring Pittsburg, had already begun buying land in East County in anticipation of suburban growth, and what would soon be one of the region's most important and controversial development empires was already being built.

Tea leaves aside, things in Antioch were still relatively small scale and small town, with houses built by a quartet of locally owned and operated developers whose names evoke the influence of Italian immigrants in the area: Seeno, Garro and Vetrano, Vonccio and Sobrante, Catalini. Antioch didn't get its first professional city manager until 1958, and in the immediate aftermath of World War II the consulting engineer for the developer signed off on projects. Regardless of the Brown act and open meeting laws, the city council often met over dinner in the back of a restaurant to decide city business and approve development. In the words of one longtime city employee, the original developers "didn't pay for anything – we had few inspectors, they did what they wanted, and we even found water lines that were missing."[6] Things began to improve following the passage of subdivision regulation in 1962, part of the steady stream of regularization and professionalization of the planning and development process in the postwar era.[7] While the politics of development and the fiscal challenges of today are very different, the basic issue of the struggle between municipalities and developers over quality of work and financial responsibility for infrastructure are as old as suburbanization itself.

At the dawning of the 1970s, critical changes occurred in the political economy of development which set the stage for the 1982 Specific Plans. Congress passed the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) in 1969, followed almost immediately by California's "little NEPA" in 1970, the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). CEQA would play a fundamental role in altering the rules of the development game, giving opponents of both specific developments and large scale suburban development in general – a movement just beginning to coalesce in California – a potent legal means of delaying or stopping development. At virtually

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[5] Even today, most old timers you meet in East County either worked at some point in the canneries or factories or had a relative who did. Cannery work was particularly prevalent amongst women, many working seasonally to provide for extra income during harvest season.
[6] Interview 72.
[7] Fights between the city and developers over improvements continue to this day. Seeno and its partner Discovery Builders (owned by Albert Seeno III) and the city are embroiled in a dispute over road improvements to a subdivision which will now go to court.
http://www.ci.antioch.ca.us/Community/annoucements/Pressrelease-041111.pdf

the same time, a new developer arrived in town, not the son of an immigrant fisherman from Pittsburg but an already prominent and wealthy developer who had already built hundreds of homes just over the hill in Pleasant Hill and Concord and down the San Ramon Valley into Dublin. Perhaps as an indication that there was a cinematic quality to his role in the story, legend has it that Tom Gentry arrived in a helicopter.[8]

Gentry had actually purchased 500 acres just south of Highway 4 in 1966.[9] It was to be his first master planned community, and the first major development by a large Bay Area developer in Antioch. "Gentrytown" was a critical opening salvo in what would ultimately be a new wave of development both geographically and economically. It was one of the first major residential subdivisions south of Highway 4, setting the stage for the Southeast Area expansion a decade later, not to mention numerous other subdivisions which followed soon after.[10] Gentry "brought a flood in with him" – the flood being major regional developers, land speculators, brokers, and real estate investors. East County was set to be the new zone of growth, as real estate development capital sought out new greenfields in the booming Bay Area. By the time the bubble burst more than three decades later, to find out who was building in Antioch all you had to do was "look at the NAHB (National Association of Home Builders) roster – we had everyone who was on it."[11]

Figure 4: gentry's patent for the design of houses at Gentrytown.

The "flood" that followed Gentry was part of California's long tradition of merchant builders who helped pioneer land development and large scale suburbanization,

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[8] There is no doubt Gentry used a helicopter to get around to his developments. http://biahawaii.org/displaycommon.cfm?an=1&subarticlenbr=402.
[9] Ibid.
[10] When Gentry began building, Highway 4 was a four-lane freeway only as far east as A street, just past Gentrytown. The portion from A street to the Antioch Bridge would not be completed until 1971.
[11] Interview 72.

developers who were particularly adept at maximizing land yields (Landis 2000).[12] They had developed a model of house building that they had no interest in changing, even as the original postwar suburban belt in the Bay Area – central Contra Costa County, the Tri-Valley area of Alameda County, key parts of Marin, Sonoma, San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties – turned against the progrowth model which had dominated California up until the 1970s (Walker 2007).

When cities started turning against growth, emboldened by Petaluma's famed 1974 limit on growth and Livermore's attempt to cap population in 1975, the residential development industry simply looked over the hill to where Gentry had gone, and to where land speculators like Seeno had quietly been buying up land in anticipation of the next wave of suburbanization. Thus, the two Specific Plans of 1981 and 1982, which were originally rival plans for two separate corridors, but whose developer sponsors eventually agreed could coexist in the remaking of an entire subregion.[13]

The city they proposed to double was still a "gritty blue-collar 'old mill town'," with a strong union base and a deep concern about the obvious decline in industrial jobs. Moreover, Proposition 13 had raised a whole new level of issues in terms of the fiscal future of the area, which had a small, local serving commercial sector but certainly nothing able to compete with the sales tax generating machines beginning to pop up over the hill. Undoubtedly, many in Antioch stood to profit from land sales, legal and accounting fees, the new construction jobs, and other aspects of the suburban growth machine. But when combined with a promise of jobs and tax base from developers and with the expansion of the BART system on the books (being paid for by local property taxes), it is no wonder why these massive plans sailed through with little objection and almost no fanfare. It was "action" in the face of uncertainty, predicated on a handful of ideas at the central to planning – the jobs-housing balance, and infrastructure financed by the state and federal governments.

As I will show in Chapter 4, Antioch's jobs-housing balance fell victim to the push for the same balance in the wealthier former bedroom communities of central Contra Costa County, while its infrastructure needs were ignored by regional, state and federal actors. The end result of all of this – tens of thousands of new homes with few local jobs and terrible traffic on overworked arterials with no real regional transit – was the ultimate in neoliberal infrastructure planning. The cities of East County had to build their own freeway.

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[12]. Many had humble roots like the old East County developers, and cannibalization was common – Garro and Vetrano, for instance, sold out to Seeno, as did other local developers, and Seeno played the role of more sophisticated outside developer in cities and towns throughout the Central Valley in later years of the boom.

[13] To get a sense of just how connected developers were to the process, the City of Antioch was one of six of the formal sponsors of the plan – the other five - Broadmoor Development Company, Bren Company / Antioch Investors, D.L. Nelson Corporation, Gordon Gravelle, Dave Dobrich/Emerald Cove Mobile Home – were developers.

The Bypass

> Because the state wasn't stepping up, the locals had to be creative. – former County engineer[14]

> Antioch is a cul-de-sac. – former Antioch engineer[15].

> Brentwood is a cul-de-sac. – East County journalist[16]

If you drove east on Highway 4 from Martinez in 2010, it was generally smooth sailing over Willow Pass and down into Bay Point and Pittsburg. In tragically symbolic fashion, the freeway bottlenecks a few miles past BART's last station in Bay Point, as the highway drops from four lanes each way to two. This is the most brutal stretch, through Pittsburg and into Antioch. Starting at the end of 2010, the bulldozers and backhoes and men in fluorescent vests and orange trucks lining the road began to give you hope if you planned on hanging on and living out here through 2015, when this part of the freeway will finally be widened.[17]

An odd thing happened as you pass the Hillcrest exit in Antioch, one of the focal points of the Specific plans. The road widened to six lanes, and was clearly newer than what you just drove through. A flyover offers passage to Highway 160 and the Antioch bridge and the impossibly cute and funky towns of the Delta. A large green highway sign beckoned you the other way, down the smooth new road with the simple phrase – "Bypass". Up through 2012, the sign for 160 also claimed to be highway 4, even though the new road is going towards Brentwood and Oakley and the other 100,000 plus people who call east county home.

This is the Highway 4 Bypass, known locally as simply "the bypass." What it is bypassing are the historic downtowns of Oakley and Brentwood, which like virtually all farm country state highways goes right down Main Street. The original passage of Highway 4 was codified as such in 1934 when the state of California named and numbered its highways,[18] and it used to connect to downtown Pittsburg and Antioch, as well. Slowly but surely, as East County grew, Highway 4 was pulled off the main street and turned into a freeway. The section from Railroad Avenue in Pittsburg to A Street in Antioch was completed in 1953, and the section from A street to the Antioch bridge in 1971. And then it stopped.

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[14] Interview 11
[15] Interview 39
[16] Interview with 69
[17] The only point of contention at the celebratory ground breaking for the Highway 4 widening in 2010 was whether this project was three decades late or five.
[18] http://www.cahighways.org/001-008.html#004

Figure 5: The Bypass, segmented.
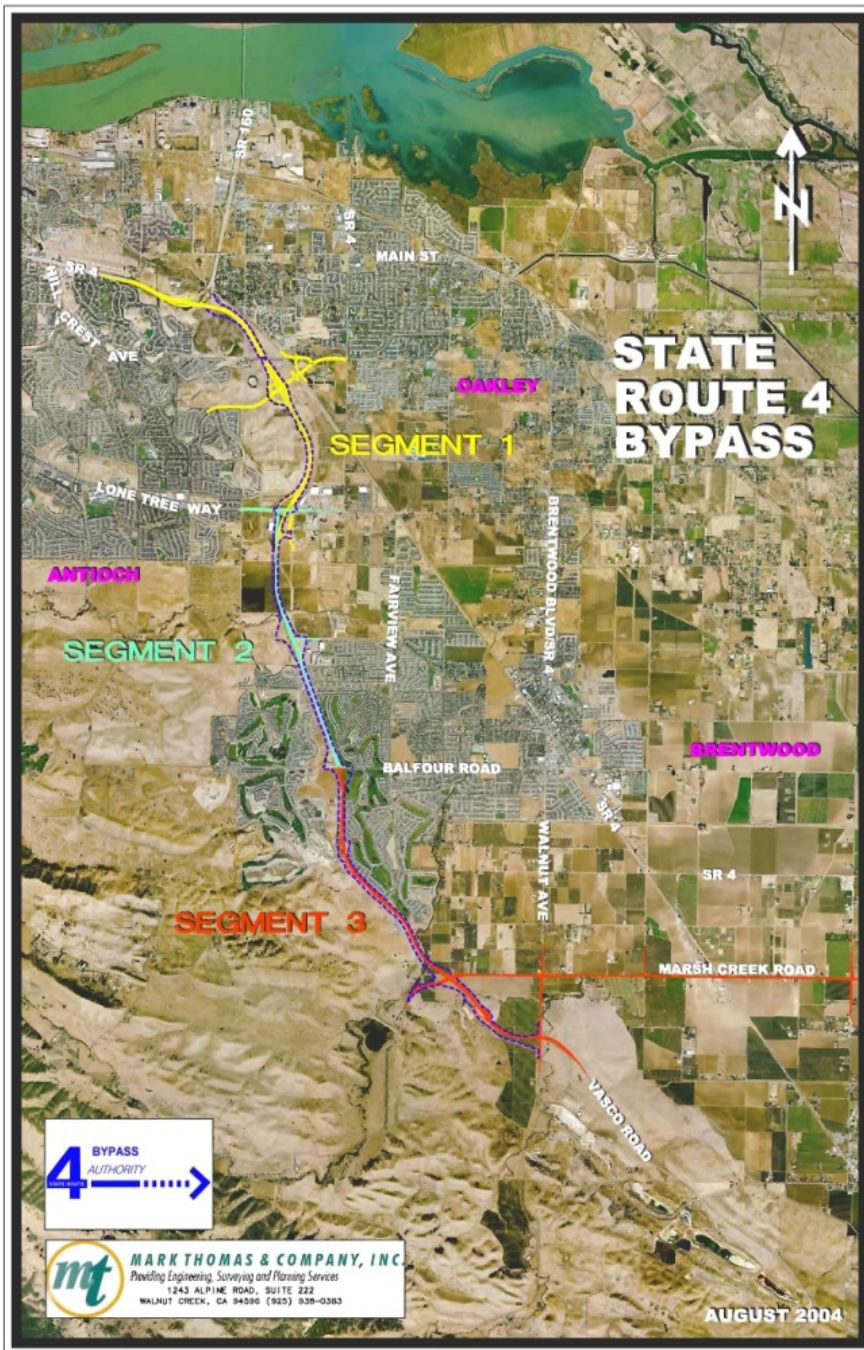
By the mid 1980s, local leaders in East County realized that the houses were coming but that the freeway was not. Highway 4 had never been made part of the vaunted Eisenhower system, never benefitting from the 90% federal funding which had paid for the rapid and sustained growth of the now wealthy 580 and 680 corridors (Chapter 4) and the destruction of low-income and African American neighborhoods throughout Oakland. The cities were dependent on the State of California alone, and when local officials went to CalTrans, the state highway and transportation agency which owns and operates all highways in the state (including ones paid for by the federal government), CalTrans refused. The locals were on their own.

CalTrans had been part of the late 1980s East County Corridor Study in which the idea for the Bypass emerged. The original goal of the study was, in part, to link the growing communities of far East County to the jobs centers sprouting up on the 580 corridor to the south in Alameda County. This would also have solved the cul-de-sac problem, as it would have given East County residents better access around Mount

Diablo, connecting the Highway 4 and Interstate 580 corridors. It would also have marked a continuation of highway building into less developed areas, which was increasingly politically infeasible given the increasing power of the environmental movement at every scale. With federal monies drying up and state monies impacted by Prop 13, Caltrans had an easy time saying no.

Nevertheless, the cities of East County felt that they had to do something in the face of rapid population expansion. By 1989, they had hammered together a Joint Powers Agreement involved the county and the cities of Antioch, Pittsburg and Brentwood.[19] By 1994, an EIR had been approved which would allow the authority - now known as the State Route 4 Bypass Authority - to design and build a four-lane limited access highway to connect Highway 4 from the 160 interchange to Vasco Road, the two-lane connection between Brentwood and Livermore. While the idea all along has been for the highway to be built to Caltrans standards and for the state to take over the road once it has been completed, it is the locals who have banded together to design, build and pay for the Bypass. And it is in the financing of the bypass where the true change is apparent; rather than being paid for by federal dollars via gas taxes or other tax-related financing mechanisms common in large scale transportation projects, the bypass is paid for by one-time development fees charged on each new home and office built in east county.[20]

The fees are collected by a separate authority with an name only a European bureaucrat could love: the East Contra Costa Regional Fee and Finance Authority (ECCRFFA), which was charged with raising the money for transportation improvements and doling it out to separate projects, including both the Bypass and the local matching funds for the long-delayed widening of Highway 4 and the extension of BART. The fees were structured differently based on geography. For Antioch, Oakley and Brentwood, fees began at $4,500 per single-family residential unit, growing quickly to $7,500 per single-family unit in 2002 and ultimately to $18,048 by 2009. Pittsburg, in deference to the power of local developer Albert Seeno, set its fees significantly lower: the 2002 fee was $1,364 per single-family residential unit, less than a fifth of the other cities.[21]

Between 1994 and 2002, with relatively low fees and solid development growth, ECCRFFA raised $73 million dollars, an average of more than $9 million annually. With the housing boom at the beginning of the decade and rapidly increasing fees, money poured into the Fund and construction began in earnest on the Bypass.

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[19] Oakley would join the agreement in 1999 following incorporation.

[20] http://sr4bypass.org/Information/Projectinfo_general.htm

[21] To make things even more complicated, disagreements between Pittsburg and the rest of the East County cities led the ECCRFFA board to create a new Joint Exercise of Powers Authority, the East County Transportation Improvement Authority (ECTIA) to raise additional fees for projects of interest to the three cities but not Pittsburg. Fees were lower for multi-family, and commercial, office and industrial uses paid per square foot. Again, Pittsburg's were a fraction of the other cities. Source: East Contra Costa Regional Fee & Financing Authority, and East County Transportation Improvement Authority reports, 2002 and 2008.

In theory, the logic of development fees is brilliantly simple and politically enticing – make development pay for itself. Why should I as a longtime resident bear the tax burden to pay for infrastructure demanded by growth? Shouldn't developers pay for more of the infrastructure they need? Given the experiences in Antioch in the 1950s and 1960s, where developers often left the city to foot the bill for basic things like sidewalks, it makes sense as a planning evolution. For small scale, highly localized things it continues to make sense, in order to pay for street lights, arterial improvements and the city-wide impacts of subdivisions. But the reliance on fees went beyond streetlights to become a major budgetary item for cities, at times even paying for the planning and development staff which oversaw project approvals, as was the case with the county and the local cities in East County.[22] This can skew the political calculus of development, as cities grew more and more dependent on new development to pay for basic services. Fees are also almost always restricted to capital costs, not to maintenance, creating an even greater long term burden and necessitating tax assessment districts for maintenance on top of already high fees.[23]

Yet beyond politics and the maintenance problem, what makes the development fee / regional transportation infrastructure linkage so problematic is that it ties the development of already needed infrastructure to continued high rates of growth. This is infrastructure designed to serve an already existing population and an already *planned* population, yet it required the continued approval of development above and beyond what had come before. Fees are collected once, and only once, and with such severe restrictions under Prop 13 in terms of future assessments and property tax rate increases, cities are locked into a veritable ponzi scheme – suck as much out of a development as possible, and then move on to approve the next one. East County became like a shark – it had to keep swimming or its sources of basic capital funds for infrastructure died.[24]

The end result is not only that the ECCRFFA fees dried up when the East County growth hit a wall in 2007, but the sad fact that the Bypass remains incomplete, 25 years after it was conceived and 15 years after the first fees were collected. This is not simply the result of poor engineering or bad project management, but of a financial and regulatory regime that in its fragmentation produced literal fragmentation. Each section of the Bypass had to be funded separately, from this highly insecure source of monies and limited outside support. Each piece had its own EIR, and was bid and built separately.

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[22] This point was made by multiple interviewees.

[23] These districts, known as Mello-Roos districts in California, became a critical tool for towns and developers.

[24] The sad irony is that a fee-based system has long been supported by opponents of growth. Some forms of fees are mandated by the County-wide sales tax funds which go to transportation projects. The idea is both that it will "make development pay for itself" and deter growth at the same time. Instead, it created dependence, because the new fee regime was implemented not on top of strong capital funding for infrastructure from higher up the governmental food chain but to replace it.

By 2012, after sailing through the beautiful three lanes after the bridge, you quickly merge down to two lanes by Laurel Avenue in Oakley and then a rough stretch tight against a soundwall with oncoming traffic just inches away from the infamous Lone Tree Way past Brentwood's immensely popular Streets of Brentwood mall and onto Balfour Way. Accidents are notorious in this stretch, with semi-regular news reports of bloody crashes and local fear and indignation over a road too needed to pass up and too dangerous or traffic clogged to depend on. It is now officially Highway 4, officially State property, but it in no way resembles other state freeways and the Eisenhower system undergirding so much of suburbia.

For the theoretically minded, the Bypass is the epitome of what one Contra Costa County transportation planner called "institutional structures being formed in absence of the state."[25] Peck, Brenner, Theodore and other theorists of neoliberalism could not have said it better (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002). Yet at the root of the Bypass story is a simpler and sadder story of American planning. The sins of both modernist planning and mass suburbanization in the postwar era soured the collective view of planning, but not of suburbanization. America in general and California in particular continued to let towns make decisions to grow, but stripped them of the needed institutional and physical infrastructure to make that growth liveable, sustainable and equitable. Now these newly suburbanized places are forced to band together to produce their own splintered simulacra of the Eisenhower era, backfilling service in a hopeless race with both legs tied behind their back.

Small Towns, Big Places

> Well I was born in a small town, and I live in a small town, prob'ly die in a small town, oh, those small communities. - John Mellencamp, Small Town (1985)

Figure 6: A red brick reminder of a short-lived union.

The rivalry between Pittsburg and Antioch is legendary in East County, and it would be a cute tale of small town America if the enmity were restricted to the football field. But it runs much deeper than the "Little Big Game", embroiling city leaders and government officials in a century's worth of petty bickering, foot-dragging and municipal petulance with ugly race and class undertones.

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[25] Interview 11

Antioch v. Pittsburg

I am not enough of a historian to document the first moment of East County dysfunctionality, although I would not doubt that it occurred during the first days of post gold-rush fever, when Pittsburg's founders named it "New York on the Pacific" and Antioch's leaders declared it "the metropolis of East County." But one early moment is easy enough to document, as it is etched on a plaque in front of what is now the Antioch Historical Society.

As San Francisco grew into the actual "New York on the Pacific" and the local towns settled into a relatively quiet life centered around railroads, ports, coal, industry and agriculture, Pittsburg and Antioch came together to build the first high school in the county. The charming red brick neo-Italianate school (figure 6) was built in 1911 on donated unincorporated land located on a crest between the two towns overlooking the San Joaquin River. The money to build the building came from the first bond passed jointly by Pittsburg, Antioch and three smaller towns that no longer exist – Nortonville, Somersville and Live Oak. The good will didn't last. By 1925, Pittsburg and Antioch dissolved the union, and the last class graduated in 1931, just twenty years after the building was constructed.[26]

World War II brought significant changes to East County, including Camp Stoneman, an army training and staging area set on more than 2800 acres south of what is now Highway 4. It was land whose transformation in the 1950s and 1960s into suburban tract homes would be one of the first acts in the suburbanization of East County, but the transformation wrought by Camp Stoneman, Port Chicago just west of the Willow Pass grade and Vallejo's Mare Island across the river was a human one – it brought racial diversity back to east county. As with other waterfront locations throughout the region, the wartime industry brought African American and Filipino laborers over the hill, and they settled in unincorporated West Pittsburg and in Pittsburg itself. By 1950, Pittsburg's African American population numbered more than 1800 persons, more than 14% of the total population. The community remained throughout the 1950s, and by 1960 more than 1 in 6 Pittsburg residents was non-white.[27]

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[26] This story is told on a plaque outside the building placed in commemoration of the building's placement on the National Register of Historic Places. It is now home to the Antioch Historical Society and the Antioch Sports Legends.

[27] Data from the 1950 and 1960 US Census via bayareacensus.gov. Keep in mind that although Spanish-surname data was collected in those days, it was not separated out as it is today. Any formal comparison between racial categories is rough at best, but then so is race as a general category. Perhaps it is fitting.

Figure 7: Camp Stoneman, with a view of the Diablo foothills in the background. Source: National Archives via Camp Stoneman, June 1942 (National Archives)

Antioch, meanwhile, counted 11 black residents in 1950 and 53 "others" out of a community of more than 10,000. By 1960, the census found two – yes, two – black residents in a community of almost 18,000 people. The color line between Antioch and Pittsburg, while not as famous or as stark as the line between Oakland and San Leandro (Chapter 2), was just as real.

Discrimination in Antioch went beyond who could live where, for that type of segregation was prevalent in Pittsburg as well – certain parts of the city, in particular the new sections sprouting up south of the highway off Buchanan, were off limits to blacks. But if you were black in East County in the 1950s, you simply weren't welcome in Antioch. As one African American Pittsburg native put it, "You wouldn't try to go to downtown Antioch. The Sears was down on 2nd street - the building is still there - that was the only place you could go. This was in the 1950s, but no theatre, nothing like that."[28] Even up through the 1970s, before she moved to Berkeley and Oakland, she wouldn't go to Antioch unless she had to. "They would

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[28] Interview 3. This wasn't Antioch's first foray into racial discrimination. A small Chinese community had developed in the low-lying neighborhood of Prosserville, just west of downtown in the 1850s and 1860s, but was driven out by residents in 1876 (http://sundown.afro.illinois.edu/sundowntownsshow.php?id=1038).

call me n----, like it was the south." One prominent local politician put it this way, "if you had a Pittsburg name, you wouldn't dare go to Antioch"[29]

The race line between the cities would not hold, but the racialized animosity between the cities remained. As Antioch began to diversify in earnest in the 1990s, and Pittsburg steadily transformed into a majority minority community, some longtime white residents moved eastward into the more recently suburbanized cities of Oakley and Brentwood.[30] As both cities grew rapidly in the 1990s and 2000s, development and diversity became issues. Especially for Brentwood, which shares a long and contested border with Antioch in the heart of the growth zones tight against the Diablo foothills, Antioch was transformed into the racialized other that Pittsburg had been a generation ago.[31]

Brenwtood v. Antioch

Tensions between the cities go back to the days of Antioch's Specific plans, when both cities jostled for control of Deer Valley, a picturesque swath of the Diablo foothills running south from Antioch and west of Brentwood (Lovejoy 1981).[32] In language that typifies the annexation quarrels between local jurisdictions, the *Antioch Daily Ledger* wrote that "Antioch's ultimate sphere overlaps the Brentwood sphere, and goes to the border of Brentwood's 10-year sphere."[33] In the heady days of the early 1980s, the arguments were about the control of annexable land with potential for growth.

By 2006, political tensions and underlying social distinctions came together in the controversial Brentwood City Council candidacy of Brandon Richey. Richey, a Concord police officer and former Antioch resident, ran on a very unambiguous platform. "If there is one reason I am running for Brentwood City Council," his campaign literature stated, "I would say that I am worried that without careful planning, Brentwood will turn into another suburban Antioch with massive housing,

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[29] Interview 29

[30] Precise data on specific intracity moves is very limited. This claim is based on multiple references to this fact by interviewees, from realtors to city officials. It is well known in local circles that whites moved east, in part because of diversity. Brentwood is also considered by some as higher in the class scale, and does consistently maintain higher property values. This "upward" move has been reported in non-white communities as well. No single or simple explanation holds, but the fact of internal migration and the establishment of an imagined hierarchy of value in East County is important.

[31] As one developer with local roots stated in an interview (interview 34), "I've watched Brentwood use Antioch as the antithesis, just like Antioch used Pittsburg."

[32] The cities had been meeting to attempt to band together to convince the county to pursue a different routing option for Highway 4 in Brentwood, but negotiations fell apart over Deer Valley.

[33] The sphere of influence (SOI) is the unincorporated area outside of the formal municipal boundaries which is considered under the control of a local jurisdiction, and a possible candidate for future annexation. Land inside one city's SOI cannot be annexed by another jurisdiction, unless LAFCO removes it from one city's sphere and places it in another. In the words of Contra Costa County LAFCO Director Lou Ann Texeira, "the sphere is the engagement, the annexation is the marriage."

mega-traffic, overcrowded schools and big-time drug dealers and gang-related crime (Norris 2006)." Richey won relatively easily in a wide-open race between ten candidates for two open seats, and reiterated his pledge to keep Brentwood from turning into "another Antioch" in statements after the election (Sherbert and Times 2006, F4).

Richey's election could perhaps be dismissed as the sole doing of one ambitious politician had the "Antioch issue" not come front and center four years later in a brutal internecine fight in Brentwood over an expansion of the urban growth boundary. Brentwood's political class – with the notable exception of Richey – were supporting a local ballot measure (Measure F) which would have established a new urban limit line for the city, changing the boundaries set at the county level as part of a series of negotiations following the passage the Measure J transportation tax in 2004.[34]

Not coincidentally, the parcels in question in Measure F were on the edge of the aforementioned Deer Valley, just east of Antioch city limits and sphere of influence. Early on, Antioch emerged as a critical point of reference – for both sides. In campaign literature, newspaper articles, one-on-one conversations and particularly in the vibrant discourse in the letters to the editor section of the *Brentwood Press*, Antioch got dragged into the fight as both a political entity and a symbol.[35] Pro-Measure F forces argued that if Brentwood didn't expand its growth boundary and annex and develop this land, then Antioch would do so, and it would literally become Antioch. This despite the fact that Antioch was at the time reeling from the foreclosure crisis, and a massive fiscal deficit and had neither the intention or ability to expand. Anti-measure-F forces, of whom Richey was a key part, used a variation of his campaign argument – if Brentwood kept expanding and developing, it would become "another Antioch."

It was a battle filled with endless conjecture about what Antioch would or would not do, what the developers would or would not do, and whether LAFCO would ever approve an Antioch annexation. In an extremely controversial move that garnered a series of public reproaches, two LAFCO members joined the fray by suggesting that the board would be amenable to an Antioch petition should the measure fail (Lemyre 2010). The measure did fail, and spectacularly, despite its opponents being outspent more than 30 to 1.[36] Depending on one's perspective, the defeat of Measure F was either a critical sign of resident backlash against rampant

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[34] The urban growth boundaries and its link to transportation funding is part of the "grand bargain" negotiated in Contra Costa county starting in the 1980s. It will be discussed in depth in Chapter 4.

[35] I was a resident of Brentwood for the month leading up to the election and the immediate aftermath.

[36] Initial reports in the press had a 46 to 1 ratio based on May 27, 2010 numbers (Vorderbrueggen 2010; Coetsee 2010). This figure is from Save Mount Diablo, one of the opponents. Ordinarilly it would be less trustworthy than a more independent source, but since it sites a lower ration at a later date, I would argue it is more reliable. There is little dispute that the Yes on F forces dramatically outspent the No forces. http://savemountdiablo.org/lands_landuse_measure_f_brentwood.html/

development or part of a process where middle class suburbanites lash out at the process that brought them there in order to protect what they have. Yet regardless of one's perspective on development, both sides of the fight marked a low point in the ongoing place wars in East County, where as one longtime planner and resident put it, "Brentwood is the 'good place', and Antioch is the 'bad place'."[37] Measure F was just a continuation of a long tradition in east county dating back before Richey made the move one town east. As one local journalist said in the aftermath of Measure F, "There was a lot of anti-Antioch feeling before Richey, but he put it on a sign, and it got him elected."[38]

Pittsburg v. everyone else

In the aftermath of the Measure F fight, one local elected official offered that they "really wished the Antioch issue hadn't happened." The cynic would argue that they was simply upset that their side had lost. The politically astute would observe that the Antioch v. Brentwood pissing match deferred attention from their common problem – Pittsburg.

If Pittsburg was the victim of outright racism on the part of Antioch for two generations, it has certainly worked diligently to make up for it by being the least cooperative member of the East County four over the past decade. Some of the anger from Antioch and others is mere jealousy – Pittsburg was incredibly aggressive in their use of redevelopment as a tool, remaking huge swaths of their downtown, including a condo complex, new streetscapes and a new home for the legendary New Mecca restaurant.[39]

But Pittsburg's actions on regional transportation issues, the lifeblood of the Bay Area's largest cul-de-sac, should not be seen as mere intra-East County sniping or a further edition of "who's whiter and who's classier," unless one wants to argue that this is Pittsburg's revenge, served cold. There have been long-running skirmishes over valuable fiscal territory on the border between Pittsburg and Antioch for years, driven by the prime location of border territory for tax-generating retail – land between the cities can capture commerce easily from both communities.

There are also questions of both physical and financial obstacles to improved transportation. For years, Pittsburg approved development, much of it by Albert Seeno, right against the existing two-lane Highway Four, even though plans had long existed to widen the freeway. This freeway edge development, some of it on

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[37] Interview 39
[38] Interview 69
[39] Whether this has been a "success" depends on how you view redevelopment in general, whether you benefitted, etc. Large areas of low income housing were bulldozed over the years, and the city had to take control of the Vidrio complex after the fall. Public monies have had to continuously be pumped in, and it is far from what one would call vibrant all of the time. But in east county, it is something, and it is certainly viewed as a success by many leaders in Antioch who wished they had done the same thing when it was possible.

disputed land, drove up both acquisition costs and overall costs, requiring an expensive sound wall and contributing to what has been a decades-long lag in the widening of Highway 4.

There were many who hoped that ECCRFFA, which included Pittsburg and was a historic moment of cooperation in East County, would mark the end of the era of constant bickering. Between ECCRFFA and TRANSPLAN, the subregional committee of the Contra Costa Transportation Authority that works to make collective east county decisions about transportation priorities under Measure J, the cities were more and more tied together institutionally in a way that at least somewhat mimicked their social, geographic, economic and historical relationships. And although much progress has been made and there is a good deal on the ground to show for improved cooperation, 2010 saw even those hardfought alliances begin to fracture. After a year of "saber-rattling," Pittsburg formally withdrew from ECCRFFA in July, 2010, citing a disagreement over funding priorities and the failure of the Authority to build an extension to James Donlon Boulevard, which runs east west between Antioch and Pittsburg and could help alleviate traffic on arterial roads at peak hours, especially when Highway 4 is backed up for miles (Radin 2010).[40]

Pittsburg's withdrawal, which is now being contested in court, is simply the latest and most onerous instance in decades of internecine fighting.[41] Pittsburg has a significant geographic advantage in East County, as it is closest to the core of the Bay Area, the first to get BART, and was first to get a widened freeway. Rather than use its advantage to press for a complete East County, it has pushed an isolationist agenda which has alienated its neighbors and delayed much needed improvements, in part by giving regional agencies an excuse to ignore them.

The pettiness one sees in East County and the lack of subregional solidarity is not a trait unique to the cities east of the Willow Pass. Much of the literature on "home rule", local autonomy and segregation is filled with stories of municipalities behaving badly, erecting every barrier possible, cooperating only reluctantly and often biting off their noses to spite their face. The tragedy in the case of East County is that because of where it stood historically and geographically in Bay Area space/time, it needed to cooperate far more than did suburbs during an earlier era when it could count on infrastructure from above and a fiscally sustainable and flexible tax structure. Few municipalities in the Bay Area seem to have truly pushed past the high school football mentality, but it is only in East County where the tragedy of small town thinking is evident every day on the streets and roads and in the ghosts of transit systems not yet built.

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[40] Antioch's portion of James Donlon was built by Seeno under an agreement with the city. One of Antioch's complaints is that Pittsburg is not willing to make Seeno build needed infrastructure, necessitating the use of limited ECCRFFA dollars.
[41] Transplan Committee and East Contra Costa Regional Fee and Financing Authority v. City of Pittsburg, Contra Costa County Superior Court Case No. N11-0395

Those people

> I don't envy you. In order to talk about Antioch you have to talk about uncomfortable things. – Antioch resident, 2009 (Interview 47)

Suburban diversity isn't nearly as easy to spot as the urban variety, but that is part of what makes it interesting.[42] At times in East County you have to dig a bit, but it doesn't take long. A Saturday afternoon of garage sales in the beige subdivisions will rarely net you two families of the same racial or ethnic group in a row. Spend five minutes at a high school football or basketball game, or at any of the local swimming pools when it hits 105 in the shade in August. Shop at Mi Pueblo market, Pittsburg's true mecca of all food Mexican and Central American. Brentwood's Orchard Park might not be Golden Gate Park, but I would bet the latter has never hosted a Tea Party rally and a large African American family reunion side by side on the same day.

If suburbia at times seems to lack in social diversity – at least for those over 18 – its role as the primary purveyor of middle class, family-oriented, child-friendly, (mostly) single family homeownership Californian life means that it is the space where diversity and integration are everyday lived questions, not simply subjects of academic debate. As the wealthier suburbs have managed to avoid the full spectrum of Californians via exclusionary methods and the market-based exclusion fostered by an increasingly unequal society, it is the working and middle-class places like East County where integration, with all of its challenges, happens on a daily basis.

This point is critical for anyone from outside East County who seeks to point out that part of what makes East County infighting "uncomfortable" are the underlying race and class tensions between and within the towns, neighborhoods and communities. Observers from the bourgeois core of the Bay Area who deride the area's infighting or struggles with the results of their rampant growth must recognize that to live in East County today means to grapple with profound challenges under conditions of racial, ethnic, cultural and political integration unheard of during an earlier era of suburbanization. One planner who has worked for the City of Antioch for decades put it most clearly:

> Communities like Antioch should get plaudits for what [they have] done over the past twenty years. Instead we are portrayed as tools of greedy developers. We have done our best to make a quality community with demographics that would challenge the UN, while places like Orinda (a wealthy, heavily restrictive suburb just over the hills from Berkeley) argue about what color the movie theatre should be (Interview 77).

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[42] Angelenos understand this, as everything in Los Angeles is buried in a strip mall, from the best Thai food to the newest Salvadoran pentacostal church.

The "melting pot happening"

While the UN General Assembly or famed polyglot neighborhoods like Queen's Jackson Heights are in no danger of being surpassed by East County in terms of global diversity, the 2000 census counts 39 languages spoken in East County homes by almost 58,000 people, more than a quarter of East County residents.[43] While the strains of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese have long been common along the San Joaquin river, they are now matched and exceeded by Vietnamese, Chinese and the languages of South Asia and the South Pacific. The ethnic amalgamation of East County now includes more than 1500 people of subsaharan African descent, far from the refugee resettlement zones and "little Nigerias" where we have come to expect them.[44]

But for all of the ethno-linguistic diversity, for all the ethnic-specific churches and cultural festivals and culinary offerings, diversity in East County is still talked about in the age-old American terms of race and class. The racial change in particular is stark, and involves virtually every major group in America's mythical yet all too real racial landscape. The Asian community in East County has grown significantly since 1980, and now numbers more than 28,000, roughly 10% of the total population. Pittsburg is more than 15% Asian.

More than 1/3 of East County residents identify as Hispanic or Latino, with no community being less than 13%. Bay Point, which though unincorporated has more than 20,000 residents, is now majority Latino, a relative anomaly in the Bay Area compared to the many majority Latino communities in southern California. Pittsburg is more than 40% Latino, and the Mi Pueblo market is one of the top sales tax generators in the city.

Yet, like so many times in American history, it is the growing presence of the African American community in East County which gets noticed, written about, and talked about. The numbers are certainly noteworthy – a community in Antioch which numbered 42 people in 1970 and 615 in 1980 now numbers more than 17,000. Brentwood had nine African American residents in 1980 and now counts more than 3,000, 6% of the population. All told, more than 36,000 African Americans call East County home, virtually the same numberas live in Richmond, San Pablo and the cities and towns of West County. Regardless of whether one takes a regional or local perspective, this is a dramatic shift.

This shift has not come without some tensions, particularly in the case in Antioch, which unlike Pittsburg and Bay Point, is relatively new to the struggles around integration. "Antioch," to quote one local minister active with social justice issues, "is the melting pot happening."[45] This newness to integration and diversity means

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[43] 2010 data not available as of press. Figure for residents over 5 years of age. Form QT-p16.
[44] US Census form QT-P13
[45] Interview 35

that, in the eyes of one local leader, Antioch hasn't built the "social infrastructure" necessary to cope with diversity. "Their leaders grew a community without engaging the citizens to help them understand that it isn't the small quaint town that it used to be."[46]

Part of this lack of "social infrastructure" comes from the "one foot in, one foot out" nature of many migrants and their formal communities. Even though the African American community has been building its presence in East County for some time, old churches from the core and new ministries are only now beginning to develop in numbers sizable to have an organized community and cultural presence. A common story I heard when chatting with African American residents was how they still went back to San Francisco and Oakland for church.[47]

It has also taken a long time for the political and cultural infrastructure to catch up. For many years, Mary Rocha was the only minority elected official from Antioch. Reggie Moore became the first African American elected councilmember in 2006, six years after former Pittsburg councilmember Federal Glover became the first African American member of the County Board of Supervisors. Even with a fairly active NAACP branch in East County, Antioch's first city-sponsored Martin Luther King Jr. Day celebration came in 2009.

Yet if there has been progress in terms of political and institutional integration in East County, the challenge of integration remains, especially when problems arise under conditions of uncertainty. Where things get "uncomfortable" in East County is that point where the problems and the perceived problems of the region – foreclosures, graffiti, crime, blight, loss of cultural identity - essentially everything but traffic – get conflated.

"Crime, blight, behavior and nothing else"[48]

In 2010, with Antioch teetering on the brink of insolvency and the real estate market still in shambles, a new citizens group came together to combat what it saw as a rise in graffiti and crime in Antioch.[49] Take Back Antioch (TBA) quickly drew a lot of attention on Facebook and in the local media, despite not having incorporated as an organization and managed to push the city council into accepting it as a voice in the city, allowing them to adopt a local park and partner with the local police on a graffiti abatement program.

TBA is only the most recent iteration of citizen's groups focusing on law and order and vandalism in Antioch. One version from the 1990s, *Not in our Neighborhood,*

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[46] Interview 77

[47] This is a phenomenon that has been confirmed by research done by Ehrlich (2010). One woman I met from Hercules (West County) who was looking to buy a new condo in Pittsburg reports that after moving to Virginia for work, she flew home *every weekend* to go to church.

[49] The Facebook link to the revolutions in the Arab world is not lost on local residents.

conducted letter writing campaigns focused on removing "problem" neighbors, either through campaigns with landlords, the housing authority or homeowner's associations using alleged Covenants, Conditions and Restrictions (CC&R) violations. A far more prominent effort began in early 2006, when United Citizens for Better Neighborhoods (UCBN) was formed around the same issues, but with a much more specific target: residents on Section 8.[50]

UCBN's birth coincided with the formation of a special unit of the Antioch Police, known as the Community Action Team (CAT), to respond to resident complaints about neighborhood crime and "persistent nuisance, health and safety issues (Costa 2009)." Within a few months, Antioch was embroiled in a dispute about race, class, behavior, crime and policing that would make the city the focus of lengthy articles in the *New York Times*, Associated Press and *Wall Street Journal*. UCBN began holding rallies and flyering homes of suspected Section 8 residents with threatening messages: "No More Renters. No More Section 8. Save Antioch NOW. We THE RESIDENTS are watching YOU (Public Advocates, Inc., and Bay Area Legal Aid 2007)." The CAT team was accused of racial discrimination and sued by a coalition of legal advocacy groups on behalf of Section 8 residents, a case that remains unresolved. The local newspapers covered the issue closely, the local NAACP and the Black Political Association held counter rallies, and hours upon hours of angry testimony from residents and leaders was heard by the City Council at formal meetings and at the new "quality of life" forums that began around the same time. Even though Section 8 had been around for years and the geographies of race and class undergoing transition for decades, it was the conflict in places like Antioch that people stood up and noticed.

Fear and crime and race

> This is not about racial profiling, it's about statistics. - White woman, Antioch resident, testifying in front of the Antioch City Council, 9.25.07

> People who say that it has nothing to do with race need to take off the blinders and get an education. – African American woman, Antioch resident and legal plaintiff, same meeting, 20 minutes later

In statement after statement at council meetings, in newspapers or quality of life forums, residents argued fervently that this was or was not about race. People concerned about racial profiling and the actions of the CAT team cited statistics from an ACLU study showing that referrals of African Americans by CAT team

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[50] Section 8 is the colloquial name for the Housing Choice Voucher program, a federally funded program designed to give low-income households and individuals choices in their housing, particularly in terms of location. It is the principle program in the attempt to move from place-based affordable housing, i.e. public housing projects, to people-based programs. It is also specifically imagined with the idea of breaking up concentrated poverty and enabling low-income people to live in the resources-rich suburbs. The theory of the program has been attacked by Imbroscio, Goetz and others who critique poverty deconcentration (Chapter 2).

members to HACCC were disproportionate to their representation in the city's section 8 program. Supporters of the CAT team and UCBN members argued that this was about crime rates, not race. Darnell Turner, a local leader in the African American community, argued that, 'This is about race, and this is about class, but honestly it is more about class than about race."

What often goes missing from these discussions is precisely what we mean when we say "about race." "About race" to those arguing against race is an attempt to diffuse the charge of racism, an attempt to say, "I am against these activities because of what is being done not who is doing it." Arguments that this is "about race" from communities of color, in particular African Americans, point either to specific acts of discrimination by the CAT team or to the broader experience of being black in Antioch. In testimony after testimony on the 25th, African American residents spoke not about the CAT team but about other forms of discrimination they had experienced. Two black homeowners came to testify in support of Section 8 renters, one because of repeated stops by the police, the spraying of the n-word on his vandalized car, and the burning of his lawn. While UCBN members regularly attempted to contain the issue to specific acts of "behavior", many black residents wanted to talk about the bigger picture, including the historical one.

This is an issue which came up at a 2010 quality of life meeting, a meeting generally marked by calmer rhetoric, which one resident told me was, "the best one I've been to." After the testimony of a few TBA members, one prominent African American leader, who works closely with the former police Chief (and founder of the CAT team) and who remains skeptical about the lawsuit, publically asked TBA to change their name. She praised their energy and enthusiasm, but she asked them to change the name "because what it means to people who look like me."[51] This was the same women who three years earlier had defended the chief of police and the CAT team. In that instance, she could separate the broader experience of being black in Antioch from the specific question, but she remained diligent in terms of the broader question of race. In an interview, she was clear that she was optimistic about TBA, hoping that they would not resort to the "vigilante" tactics she felt characterized UCBN.

TBA is clearly making some effort to watch its language, even if it has refused to change its name "until we take Antioch back."[52] Yet what is evident is that they, like many in Antioch, including some like Gary Gilbert who are black, refuse to acknowledge what Omi and Winant would deem the "racial project" of East County suburbanization. Omi and Winant (1994, p. 56) define a "racial project" as:

> simultaneously an interpretation, representation , or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines.

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[51] Antioch Quality of Life Forum #9 (February 26, 2011) , Deer Valley High School.
[52] Quote from QOL speaker in defense of the name.

For many African American in Antioch, or for a largely racialized group of section 8 recipients, the broader issue of crime, police and community response cannot be separated from the larger question of racial dynamics or the question of the distribution of resources, be it housing, security or peace of mind. Yet the same thing goes for many white and/or middle class residents of East County. In conversation after conversation, and throughout the in-depth coverage in the local media of the original section 8/CAT team uproar, local residents blame more powerful actors at higher scales – the cities of San Francisco and Oakland, the counties of Alameda and Contra Costa, and the federal government – for making them and their neighborhoods guinea pigs in a different strategy of reorganization and redistribution along race and class lines. One group is looking at local history, another at regional responsibility.

Yet the reason this matters to the broad question of the growth and decision-making in East County is that along with the internecine rivalries between towns, these race and class divides within communities made it all the more difficult to come together for a common purpose. East County is a microcosm of the deep fragmentation evident throughout the region, and one could continue add nauseum about the myriad divisions which have made the politics of urbanization and development difficult. In Chapter 6, I will return to Take Back Antioch and the question of the divide between red and blue, for that too is at play in the type of frontier spaces like Antioch. But the end result is that after years of talking past each other both in terms of space and in terms of time, and failing to focus on the broader questions of shared residence in an incomplete and structurally unsound subregion, residents and leaders were ill-prepared for the most unifying question of all – foreclosure.

Foreclosures on Lefebvre Way

There is a street in Southeast Antioch which I have been haunting since accidentally stumbling upon it on my first day of driving around town in 2007. It has a name only the urbanism gods could have come up with, one totally at odds with the Winterglen Ways and Country Hills Drives which it intersects: Lefebvre Way.[53] Arguably the most popular dead urban intellectual today, it is ironic to find his name on a quiet, unassuming street in Antioch's postindustrial garden, with relatively mature trees and the beige color scheme that is omnipresent throughout much of California exurbia. It is short, only two blocks long, and home to precisely 49 houses.[54] The houses north of Country Hills were built in 1990; those to the south in 1992.

Lefebvre Way, with its metaphoric power and accidental origins, illustrates in one brutal data snapshot the absurdity of the housing bubble, the diffuse nature of its geographic actors, and how severe the foreclosure crisis is for a place like Antioch. Lefebvre Way shows the transparency, the legibility, the powerful signification of

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[53] My educated guess is that the street was named for a former planning commissioner at the time, Rosemary Lefebvre.

[54] This is counting only homes with a Lefebvre Way address.

urban space that so enthralled Lefebvre himself – provided you have an internet connection (Lefebvre 2003).

Of the 49 houses on Lefebvre Way, 11 have been foreclosed upon since 2006 (table 1). One currently has a notice of default pending, while two others received a notice and either refinanced or survived another way, and a fourth went through a short sale. This means more than one in four houses went through some aspect of foreclosure during the past five years, a slightly higher rate than the roughly one in five in the city of Antioch during roughly the same time period.[56]

Table 1: The Houses of Lefebvre Way in 2011[55]		
Status	#	Notes
Original owner (1990-1992)	15	
Foreclosure 2006-2011	11	
Owned since 2000	6	Less likely to be underwater
Owned post 2001	9	Likely underwater, may have gotten refinance
Got notice, nothing further	2	Both post 2004 - likely refinance
Likely short sale	2	
Now has notice	1	Bought in 1997 - likely economy related
No data	3	
Total	49	Sources: Foreclosures.com, zillow.com, Contra Costa County Assessor

One look at the loan numbers for the 15 homes that experienced some part of the foreclosure process shows the obscenity of the real estate bubble and unsustainable mortgages. The median loan amount for the 15 was $412,000, more than twice the current estimated value of each home and 1.5 times the average sales price of the entire 94531 zip code in

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[55] I made 8 visits to Lefebvre Way over a 4 year period, primarily to observe and get a sense of the street and how it changed. I did not conduct any formal interviews, preferring instead to chat informally with people, although in every instance where we got beyond pleasantries I explained that I was writing a dissertation about Antioch and what was happening. Notes were recorded later that evening or that afternoon in my field notes. While these conversations gave me a good sense of the street, I rarely quote from them as my recollection of their exact words was rarely complete. The real estate information was gathered originally from Zillow, which primarily gathers its info from public records available online. This yielded 49 addresses on Lefebvre Way using the map function. For a random sample of zillow records, I cross checked them with the Contra Costa Assessors online database, and they all checked perfectly. Similarly, the tax map provided by the assessor matched the satellite map used by zillow. I then searched for foreclosures on Foreclosures.com, yielding 14 preforeclosure listings, 11 auctions and 11 REO's. Using the Legal # (as opposed to the parcel #), I was able to match foreclosures.com records with Zillow records, and match foreclosures to other available home data from zillow such as sales history. This also allowed me to line up the foreclosure hits, linking the preforeclosure notices to the auctions to the REO's, yielding 11 foreclosures, 1 pending notice, and two notices which never made it to foreclosure, and one likely additional short sale – 15 in total. This cross checking also allowed me to obtain relatively complete loan information, enabling the analysis of median and mean loan values. Inflation adjustments were made using http://www.westegg.com/inflation/, which obtains the CPI to $2010 from the Statistical Abstracts of the US.
[56] This is based on a total of 6308 foreclosures from July 2006 to December 2010 (source Rand California) in 34,459 housing units (ACS 2005-2009). Granted, some houses could have gone through foreclosure twice, resulting in double counting, but this has not been widely reported.

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2000. [57] One house which sold for $252,000 in 2000 sold for $550,000 in 2005. Another down the street went for $143,000 in 2000 and $530,000 in 2005, an increase of *370%.*

The latter sale was made possible by a $424,000 loan from Home Loan Services Corporation in Ft. Worth, TX, a company which shares a PO box with Fremont Investment and Loan, the owner of a defaulted loan down the street for $416,000 on a house that was "valued" at more than three times its 1994 price just ten years later. Small and unknown financial players from Ft. Worth, Addisson, Texas, San Diego, San Francisco and Burbank, were joined by virtually all of the major banks – Wells Fargo, Chase, Washington Mutual and Bank of America. And - surprise, surprise - one is owned by Fannie Mae.

Table 2: The crash on Lefebvre Way		
	raw	inflation adjusted*
negative equity	21	40
mean loss	-44176.1	-101365
median loss	0	-85378.9
average original	18957.14	-90085.2
average post 2000 noninflation	-109833	-159481
combined equity gain/loss	-2032100	-4662795
* From year of purchase. *Source: zillow.com, foreclosures.com, calculations by author*		

I spent a lot of time on Lefebvre Way thinking about how it all came undone, parsing the arguments that pointed fingers at Wall Street (the big banks), the small times sharks operating under multiple names like Home Loan Services, the Republican's favorite whipping boy Fannie Mae, and the Right's other favorite target, the individual homeowners who took these bad loans. My argument for adding another piece to this story –looking back on how and wher, with what infrastructure and for what people these homes were built in the first place – should not deflect from an equally critical argument about shared, multiple responsibility. Much as positivist social science and ideological theorizing loves to prejudice one explanation over the other – it is the fault of the "market" or the "state" or the "economy" or some sort of fictitious ideal type, the collective moral compass seems to have a hard time admitting that the responsibility for what happened on Lefebvre Way in Antioch, California at the end of the first decade of the new millennium was so diffuse that society must accept collective responsibility for what happens.[58] This is even more critical in the racially charged class politics of Antioch, for you can see both on Lefebvre Way and in the city as a whole that this crisis took everyone down with it, regardless of responsibility.

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[57] The 94531 zip code is the wealthier part of Southeast Antioch, where few neighborhoods are much poorer than Lefebvre Way, but many are wealthier. This figure, calculated from an averages of monthly sales averages from DataQuick, is like conservative, given that comps from Lefebvre Way in 2000 are closer to 175,000.

[58] This does not mean that our greatest moral shame as a nation is not that nobody from the lending side of the operation has gone to jail.

The crash

Academic research has shown convincingly that foreclosures impact the value of neighboring houses (Immergluck and Smith 2005), but as discussed in the previous chapter, it is the larger question of the housing market crash which is relevant in the case of Antioch. Nestled in amongst the foreclosures are 15 houses owned by the original owners, and another six who have owned their homes more than 10 years, before the prices went skyhigh. Nine are owned by people unfortunate to have purchased after 2001, when the prices began to climb rapidly.

The critical thing to keep in mind in Antioch is that everyone is impacted, regardless of when you bought or who you are. Without adjusting for inflation, 21 of the 46 homes with available data showed negative equity, an average loss of almost $45,000. But if you adjust for inflation for the year of purchase, the numbers are staggering. Forty of 46 houses show negative equity, an average of over $100,000 per house and a median of more than $85,000. Even if you bought in 1990 or 1992, when the houses were new and affordable, even if you bought with a fixed rate loan that you could afford and have paid the house off, you have lost an average of $90,000 in adjusted dollars on what is for most families the largest source of equity they have. Houses purchased afterwards fared even worse, losing an average of almost $160,000 more than the earlier homes. But the real brutality can be seen when added together – the two little blocks of Lefebvre way lost a combined $4.6 million dollars in equity. Two blocks.

Lefebvre's conception of the 'Right to the City", so popular today in many activists circles because of its sloganeering power as much as its theoretical underpinnings, is rooted in the right of urban denizens to "use value" over "exchange value".[59] What makes the crash on his eponymous street the most bitter of pills is that it represents the abject destruction of both – foreclosures have removed both the use value and transfer value of those who lived in foreclosed homes, and the exchange value of everyone else around.[60]

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[59] Unlike many of my purist colleagues, I love the "misuse" of academic ideas by activists, provided we share a politics and a goal.
[60] What makes this particularly tragic is the link we saw in the last chapter between race and real estate values – for many residents of the Lefebvre Way's of East County, this was their shot to escape the use value/transfer value bind of the gentrifying but still unequal core (expensive homes but unsafe streets and bad schools), only to be left with neither.

Overlapping and divergent lines

The broader story of lost equity is just as striking at the city level. Compare Antioch's two zip codes, 94509 and 94531, or Brentwood and Oakley's zip codes, with their wealthy contra Costa neighbor of Danville, just over Mount Diablo from East County (figure 8). The East County towns blur together, making it almost impossible to separate them, even if Brentwood and Oakley would insist that they are different and the 94531 would resist comparison to the 94509. Everyone gained during the boom, but East County gained a much higher percentage, almost quintupling its value between 1988 and the peak in 2004/5. Following the crash, East County has lost everything, trading at roughly 2001 prices, while Danville has lost only the peak of the boom. If you compare it to a gentrifying neighborhood in San Francisco's Mission

Figure 8: Real estate sales price per square foot, 1988-2009. The lines for the four East County zip codes blend together. Source: DataQuick

District, the differences are off the chart. This gap, and the growing inequality between East County and the rest of the region, is yet another reason why this crisis must be considered both geographically and historically, beyond Wall Street booms and deregulation. It represents a new form of periphery for the American city, a sad convergence of the literal and the figurative. Again following Lefebvre (2003), this new peripheralization of East County can only truly be understood in the context of new centralities, centralities which will become clearer in subsequent chapters as this dissertation moves up the scalar ladder.

When I first set foot on Lefebvre Way in 2007, the first wave of foreclosures had begun to hit, and lawns were littered with yellow Bank-Owned signs and other homeowners desperate to get out.[61] One African American homeowner I spoke to on what is a very diverse street told me one of the classic stories you heard in news reports and in conversation alike, about watering the lawn and digging out the dead

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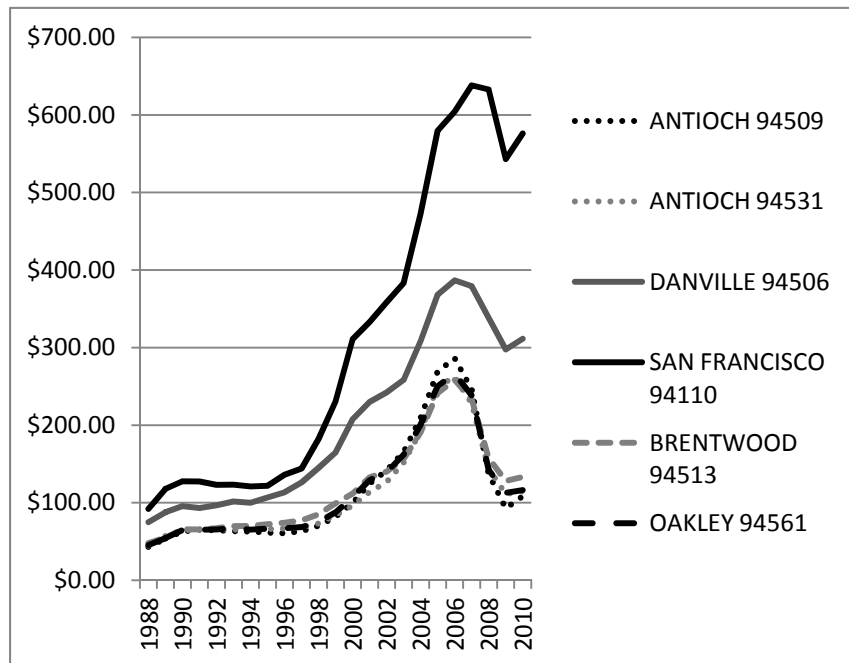[61] Zillow can even show you the tragedy of those who tried to bail but were too late – the house that went from $252,000 in 2000 to $550,000 in 2005 was listed in 2007 for $365,000, only to be ratcheted down slowly until being sold at auction for $199,000 in 2009.

tree on the neighbor's yard in order to keep up appearances. A photo of a boarded up Antioch house which I often use in lectures to discuss both the crisis and the emerging discourses of suburban decline comes from this time period and was taken just around the corner from Lefebvre Way.

Things are calmer now, as the first wave of foreclosures did not give way to widespread abandonment. So far, Lefebvre Way has only seen one foreclosure notice for what appears to be a "2nd wave" foreclosure, i.e. one caused by the declining economy and job loss as opposed to bad debt,[62] even as it appears that the block has slowly transited from majority homeowners to a mix of renters and homeowners. But the larger structural problem of stagnant real estate prices is deeply troubling for any hopes of East County moving forward. The fiscal challenges for Antioch are significant, a brutal interaction between state-level policy and house-by-house losses in tax base. Sadly, the shared economic reality of East County has done little to create major new bonds or overcome old barriers, merely ratcheting up the level of tension as integration and infrastructure are managed under conditions of extreme tension and uncertainty.

Postcards from Downtown

> I know it meant a lot at the time, now I can barely remember ….. it's been a long time. - Dayna Kurtz (2004), Postcards from Downtown

If you walk into the back entrance of the Antioch Historical Society, located in the former high school, you are greeted by a series of photo collages done by students at the local community college. One of the collages contains a worn photocopy of a 19th century photograph showing a handful of men in downtown Antioch crowded around a massive sign. The sign proclaims "Antioch, Metropolis of Eastern Contra Costa County," part of the boosterism common at the time and a reminder that the entrepreneurial city was not a neoliberal invention.[63]

One can also read this bold proclamation as a statement of fact: Antioch was the oldest city in the county, and when the photo was taken its downtown and its industry the most developed. In 1880, its population of 626 people was the largest in the county. By 1910 it had been surpassed only by the fellow waterfront industrial cities of Richmond, Martinez and Pittsburg, remaining larger and more economically vital than Concord, Walnut Creek and the now wealthy suburbs of central county (Chapter 4).[64] The shift in population and wealth was not cemented

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[62] The house currently on notice was purchased in 1997 for an affordable price, leading to the assumption that this is about job loss or lack of income rather than debt load.

[63] Although the current wave of *global* competition is clearly unprecedented, we tend to ignore the pre-keynesian roots of Harvey's (1989) managerial-entrepreneurial city shift. See for instance Cronon (1991), McWilliams (1946), Brechin (1999) on the entrepreneurialism responsible for the establishment of Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco, respectively, as major metropoles.

[64] Source: US Census via California department of Finance.

until postwar suburbanization, a story which will be told in more detail in the next chapter.

This history is evident in the bones of downtown Antioch, a stretch of classic American grid running from the old high school eastward, up the slopes of Prosserville and through the remaining historic commercial buildings of 2nd and 3rd street and the Victorian mansions a few blocks south. At first glance, downtown seems almost completely empty, possessing an almost surreal quietness on the blocks near City Hall or on 2nd street down by the waterfront, a quietness only broken by the regular train traffic and the semi-regular passing young men driving sound systems on wheels. If you dig for a bit, you come to realize that there is more life to downtown than you think, more businesses open than it seems, even if they are spread out and mostly silent. But that only makes it more bitter – one should not have to dig for signs of life downtown.

The moribund state of downtown is not for want of "planning" or, perhaps more accurately, plans. A 1955 county plan examined downtown Antioch in its context as part of a generally inaccessible shoreline, a problem that remains today. The 1963 Antioch Waterfront and Vicinity Plan acknowledged the prominent role of the train and private industrial uses in blocking access, and proposed to remediate the problem. A decade later, in a 1973 supplement to the general plan, the city acknowledged that "none of these proposed improvements had materialized," and that some form of decline in the downtown had already begun in earnest (City of Antioch 1976). The bicentennial year (1976) saw an inspired plan by two interns from UC Berkeley's planning program under the supervision of city planning staff, a plan that examined the possibilities of utilizing air rights downtown to overcome the train problem and revitalize downtown through its waterfront. The plan specifically references and reprints Antioch's ghost in the machine, the renderings of the downtown Antioch BART station that never was.

By 1978, a new plan by a local consultant emphasized transit and environmentalism albeit with an explicitly anti-downtown BART stance. "Revitalization plans of this study will severely reduce the desireability and practicality of a BART station and related parking facilities," the plan states, referring to a set of renderings and ideas rooted in a new "theming" of downtown and a series of assumptions: that Antioch would be the beneficiary of significant spillover in the 1980s in terms of commercial development from Central County, that 500 units of housing would be built downtown, and that the new city hall would be a catalyst for development.

Just six years later (and a year after the Specific Plans), the city paid for another downtown plan, a simple urban design plan which pushed even more away from the real economic and infrastructural challenges towards the hope that new facades and sidewalks would make a change. The general plan of 1987 and an economic development plan of 1995 all mention the state of downtown, leading to a final downtown plan in 2006, just before the crash, a 178-page behemoth by the same consultants, ARCADIS, responsible for Baltimore's in/famous Inner Harbor

redevelopment (ARCADIS and City of Antioch 2006).[65] The ARCADIS plan, which is now a ghost in and of itself, is the ultimate in high-end planning fantasy, a $585 million dream (figure 9) based almost exclusively on private investment where the plan itself admits "the financial feasibility of private development in downtown Antioch could be characterized as indefinite at best given prevailing market conditions (Ibid., p. VI-14)." Although this plan, like all downtown plans, recognized the problem with the train, the lack of public transportation access, and the challenge of competing growth absolutely everywhere in Antioch *except downtown*, it offered nothing but renderings, pro formas, SWOT analysis[66] and platitudes. When the plan was delivered in August 2006, Antioch had suffered only three foreclosures the month before. By August 2007, Antioch had three foreclosures per day.
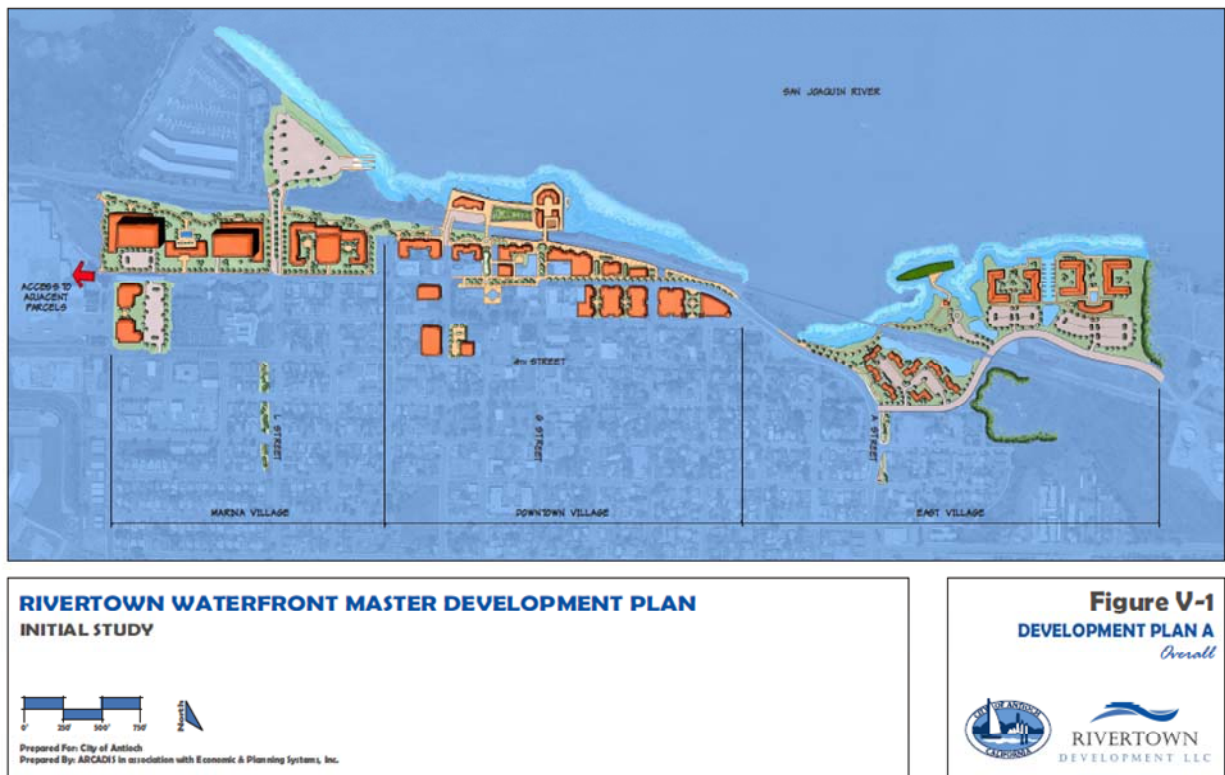
Figure 9: A scene from ARCADIS's plan for Downtown Antioch (ARCADIS and City of Antioch 2006)

This accumulation of plans is a deeply Western variation on the multiplicity or absence of spatial plans and property documents Ananya Roy (2002) found in Calcutta. Rather than use the "ambiguity" of the unmapped as a strategy for the production of space, local governments merely buy plans (with their now mandatory if thin public processes) to put on the shelf to create the appearance of planning and action (in the case of downtown), or to satisfy mandates from higher levels of government (in the case of general plans). At least the plans of the 1970s

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[65] See Harvey (2000) regarding inner harbor in Baltimore.
[66] Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats, a common analysis done by planning firms.

have the courage to mention politics, to recognize the interconnectedness of Antioch to the region's decisionmakers, and to make arguments that recognize that building a downtown is not simply a question of market share, financing and urban design – creating a center during an era of peripheralization is an inherently political act, one that Antioch's leadership and populace never truly embraced.

Urbanists like myself are often accused of fetishizing the quaint downtowns of yesteryear, a continuation of Jane Jacob's (1961) Hudson Street imagination.[67] The failure of downtown planning efforts should not be examined because they failed to create a neo-Greenwich Village on the San Joaquin, but because they failed to recreate a center at the precise moment when they were being sucked into the periphery of a hungry metropole, during the beginning of an urban revolution in which "there can be no city or urban reality without a center. (Lefebvre 2003, p. 96) " This lack of a central point – one rich in jobs, tax base, public space, transit, local history – worsened the fiscal and economic impact of foreclosure, and made recovery all the more difficult. Antioch could never come together around a common purpose, riven as it was by so many seemingly insurmountable lines. Its physical spaces epitomize that fragmentation, and depending on the degree to which one adheres to various forms of environmental determinism, help reinforce and coproduce its fragmented nature.

It is not a coincidence that the last plan with a strong emphasis on regional transportation infrastructure, the last plan made by the city for the city and not bought from consultants, and the last with any reasonable chance of forming a central node in the city, was written in 1976. Nothing epitomizes the change in eras like the gap between that plan and the ARCADIS plan, a grounded infrastructure-focused effort versus a market-driven fiction. Even had the goal not always been a postindustrial garden rather than the metropolis of East County, the modernist planning era was over.

In the stories of East County, the great doubling of Antioch, the building of the bypass, the small town mentalities and race/class tensions, the foreclosures and the unbuilding of downtown, you can see traces of some of the deeper structural issues inherent to the production of East County, questions about planning itself, about centrality and peripherality in the contemporary moment, and about what critical legal scholars like Gerald Frug and David Barron discuss as the inherent fallacies in our conceptions of "home rule" – the very American idea that towns are powerful (Frug 1980; Frug 1984; Frug 1993; Frug 1996; Frug 2001; Barron 2003; Barron 1999). The cities of East County were never truly powerful, not powerful enough to control their own destiny, but powerful enough to be affected by their constant reiteration of the fragmented politics of development in California, riven by lines between neighbors, between forces internal to the cities and between the cities themselves.

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[67] See Berman (1983) for one of many critiques.

But as much as East County must acknowledge its profound role in determining its fate, what one must not do is consider the structural instability of the postindustrial garden on its own, and particularly not only in its own geography. For all that the current map was built either by actors in East County or by other actors acting, or failing to act, on East County, the "post-industrial garden" was no more the sole production of its physical home than the industrial garden a production in and on San Leandro. To understand how it all came together in East County one must continue up the scalar ladder to a geography often ignored by urbanists toggling between cities and regions – the county. For East County is nothing if not a production of Contra Costa County, and it is in the development politics of Contra Costa County that one can truly see fragmentation, both in terms of the division of the county into different zones of living, and the development of the classic impasse of neoliberal era development politics, an impasse I call the Dougherty Valley dilemma.

Figure 1: Dougherty Valley in Spring. 2011. Photo by Alex Schafran

CHAPTER 4: THE DOUGHERTY VALLEY DILEMMA

> And in fact, over that ridge – the Contra Costa County Line – and through that
> tunnel, one does enter into the economy and mindset of a different world. -
> Joel Garreau (1991), *Edge Cities,* p. 312

Contra Costa County lived up to its name for approximately three years. One of
California's original 27 counties, its naming was a critical symbolic defeat for the
New York on the Pacific boosters and other early denizens who hoped that the
metropolis of the Bay would border the San Joaquin River rather than the Golden
Gate. On February 18, 1850, Contra Costa County was formed as arguably the only
county in the nation to be exclusively named in relation to another place – it was the
"other coast" to San Francisco's Roman ascendancy. Barely three years later, it
undoubtedly became the only county in the nation named after a relational
geography it no longer possessed, as Alameda County was formed from pieces of
Santa Clara County to the south and the entirety of Contra Costa's San Francisco-
facing waterfront, leaving Contra Costa as the gateway to the delta rather than the
center of the East Bay.

A more accurate and suitable name would have been Diablo County, after the sprawling peak which anchors the center of the county like a Neolithic citadel. To most Bay Area residents, Mt. Diablo is memorable for its intense wildflower blooms, its close-in camping and occasionally snow-capped peaks, or for the once in a blue moon chance at the Shangri-la of views, a glimpse of both the Farallon Islands and Yosemite's Half Dome from the same point, one of the longest views on earth. If you look down on your visit to the view point, you will notice another factoid with greater historical and metaphoric importance – Mount Diablo was one of three survey points for the establishments of property boundaries in California and Nevada. This "initial point" was designated by the United States Public Land Survey System in 1851 to carve up the spoils from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the 9 million acres of ranchos that would arguably be the most profitable war bounty in the history of the United States.[1] Fitting that Contra Costa would be the central point for the creation of northern California's real estate grid, for real estate has long been at the center of Contra Costa County.

Diablo's summit is simultaneously an unparalleled vantage point for a panoramic view of the living paradox that is the Bay Area. On clear days after a rain, the green hillsides and rolling hills seem to blend effortlessly with the waters of the Bay and the vast yet seemingly content metropolis lining valleys and waterfronts for miles around. The Great Central Valley agroeconomic miracle stretches behind you to the waterlogged and formerly golden peaks of the Sierras, California's true primitive accumulation. Kerouac's "fabulous white city of San Francisco on her eleven mystic hills" looks magical in the distance (Michaels et al. 1989, p. 145), and you can feel for just a minute the hyperbolic love people have for the place, the sense as Julián Mariás would have it of "entering into the land of Paradise (ibid, p. 13)."

Come on an infernally hot summer day and the smog from the 150 million miles of daily driving and the four massive oil refineries that make this sprawling life possible dims the color of the water and makes the hills look even more burnt than usual.[2] The Central Valley is a blur of tract homes stretching out into a sky more brown than blue, and both the Sierras and the City are visible only in the mind's eye. You have to look down rather than out, and the questions about the mansions and subdivisions and gated communities and office parks ringing the mountain start multiplying.

These are the moments when the Bay Area paradox is most visible. If the Bay Area were as honest as it was innovative, it would rename itself the Mount Diablo metropolitan region. It is far more accurate geographically, uniting the Central

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[1] http://www.mdshs.org/article.html. The gold in them thar hills was thick enough to help the north win the civil war and seed an economic engine that would one day produce a GDP the size of France.
[2] The Metropolian Transportation Authority estimates that in 2007 the nine-county region saw 154,172,000 miles of vehicular travel, projected to grow to more than 200 million miles by 2030. http://www.mtc.ca.gov/maps_and_data/datamart/stats/vmt.htm

Valley and the Bay region in name as they have been united economically, woven together by traffic patterns, long-distance commuters and outmigrants from east to west (chapter 6), the true center of a "megaregion". Yet one does not even need to think megaregionally to see the centrality of Diablo, for it is also the focal point of Contra Costa County, a massive, fragmented and diverse set of political, cultural and physical lines which is a microcosm of regional fragmentation.

The past 35 years of county history include important decisions and developments which helped produce East County and its colleagues in the Central Valley. The house-rich and job-poor spaces of the postindustrial garden were only made possible by the development of job-rich and housing-poor "edge cities" in the heart of the county. This furthered the evolution of the county into distinctly different zones of privilege, politics and poverty, and exacerbated tensions over traffic, growth and rapid change throughout the County. In response, leaders of the development and increasingly powerful environmental communities worked with local and county officials to establish a historic "grand bargain" which paved the way for new investment in transportation and seemingly united the different geographies of the physical county and the different geographies of its planning and development politics.

Though this bargain developed new planning institutions, helped implement new planning policies and helped stir much-belated infrastructure investment in what had become a much bigger county seemingly overnight, it failed to weave together the increasingly contentious development politics of the county. Contra Costa County instead became one of the great battlegrounds in the planning wars of late century California, a war which ended in a deadlocked dilemma where two increasingly wealthy and powerful sides battled to an expensive draw, and in the end little progress was made in the deeper struggle against the unsustainable and unequal new map. This is what I call the Dougherty Valley Dilemma.

El Condado

City governments cannot always assume the sole responsibility for the solution of these pressing urban problems. I repeat, they cannot—our state governments will not—the federal government should not—and therefore you on the county level must. – John F. Kennedy, address to first National Association of Counties (NACO) Urban County Congress, 1959[3]

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[3] http://www.naco.org/Counties/Pages/HistoryofCountyGovernmentPartII.aspx?PF=1

The county as a political entity in America is notable for both its ubiquity and for its status as the "forgotten government" in our complex and variegated set of federalist hierarchies (Benton 2005, p. 462).[4] Descended from the shire system of pre-Norman England – from which county-level offices like sheriff, coroner and justice of the peace emerged - counties were readily adopted in the colonial United States, although with a key geographic variation. The more rural south adopted a relatively strong county system (mimicking the English), while the more urban north vested little power. Pennsylvania was a hybrid, vesting power at the county level while maintaining at-large elections. As the country expanded westward, southern states tended to maintain the strong county system pioneered by Virginia, while western stated generally followed Pennsylvania's lead.

Despite its status as the "forgotten government", counties are often only present in scholarly discussion of government and governance. Counties were targets for professionalization and political reform during the progressive era alongside cities and states, and there exists a robust if wonkish literature amongst public administration scholars in regards to virtually every aspect of county governments.[5] But counties in America, I would argue, are much more than political entities, and often have meaning regardless of variations in political power. The iconic status of Selma and Birmingham and Montgomery in the history of civil rights can obscure the fact that the south has traditionally been ruled at the county level, with the county sheriff and the all-white juries constituted at that level. The historic and generally fixed nature of county boundaries – California, which in 1911 became the first state in the nation to grant counties extensive home rule, has not had any major changes to county geographies in more than a century – have reified political lines in a way that the more fluid lines of cities and town are less likely to have done, especially in the newer cities of the west.

Urbanism and identity are often also constituted at the county level, both in rural and nonrural contexts. In much of rural America, people live in unincorporated space, receive services from county agencies, and go to school with people from their county but not their town. While suburban scholars may talk of Levittown, New Yorkers talk of Nassau and Suffolk and Westchester, and Southern Californians of the famous OC; both are shorthand for broad swaths of suburbia and recognition that identity is constructed as much at this larger scale than in the innumerable small towns, many of which are actually unincorporated. If you ask anyone from my hometown of San Anselmo, or any of the nearby towns and cities, where they are from if you meet them in other parts of the Bay Area, they will likely tell you the same thing – Marin County. The construction and defense of suburban life may festishize the small town, but it is often constructed politically, culturally, socially

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[4] Only Alaska and Louisiana do not call their county-like jurisdictions counties, but they function similarly enough. The overwhelming majority of Americans live in a county, save the residents of St. Louis, Baltimore, Carson City, Nevada and the 39 independent cities of Virginia.
[5] See Benton (2005) and Menzel et al. (1992) for excellent summaries of this literature at two points in time.

and economically on the generally artificial but deeply historically rooted geography of the county.

In urban studies, we are so often in a hurry to rush from the local to the regional that we forget that these in-between spaces – both legal jurisdictions like counties and sub-county areas like East County - are places in their own right, with particular histories, identities and sets of relations which create a unique sociopolitical economy which prevents any easy transition between the neighborhood and regional level scales which so many urban scholars seem to fixate on. The production of East County is not only impossible to understand without an analysis of the role of Contra Costa County's Board of Supervisors and county government in the production of growth, it is impossible to understand without some conception of Contra Costa County as a place – its socioeconomic divisions, its stark multi-polar geography defined by a pronounced physiography and a fragmented transportation infrastructure, its spider-web of ever-changing agencies, authorities, districts and municipalities, its powerful and outsized real estate industry, or its cultural and environmental politics where green has racial undertones.

In a period of 35 years Contra Costa County transformed itself into the 37th largest county in the country and the 10th largest truly suburban county, home to more than a million people yet whose largest city has 125,000 people. It built "edge cities" - massive complexes of office and commercial development in existing towns and on old ranches in unincorporated territory - transforming the Bay Area's human and economic geography far beyond the county lines. How it did this and why it did it is just as important to understanding the story of East County as are the actions of East County itself or the changes wrought at higher scales. Contra Costa County was and is a pro-growth space in a more reluctant region, a place with an attachment to the rural ideal largely lost in the rest of the urbanized metropolis, one of the few places in the most famously liberal region in the nation where Republicans live in numbers and where right-wing politics is not exclusively a pejorative. Contra Costa County is northern California's "postsuburbia", its "exopolis", its slice of Orange County wedged into the Bay Area (Kling, Olin, and Poster 1995; Soja 1992). In this respect, perhaps the original name is accurate, for it can often feel like "the other coast." On the other hand, the problems of East County can partially be traced not to the creation of postsuburbia but to the inability to fully embrace it, leaving Contra Costa's new centrality woefully incomplete as well.

The Counties of Contra Costa County

> There is not really a sense of being part of a whole in any of the places - because the distances are so significant, the physiographic dividers are pronounced, and the socioeconomics so different. – longtime County planner[6]

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[6] Interview 38

A common aside in Contra Costa political circles is that the county is actually three counties, or four, or five, depending on who is doing the counting or what gets counted. The physical county is the most starkly defined: sprawling west to east from the San Francisco Bay to the Central Valley, Contra Costa spans two sets of hills and miles of shoreline on either side of the Carquinez strait. The county's almost 720 square miles are inhabited in three broadly-defined zones – the western coastal zone along the Bay, the San Ramon and Diablo Valleys at the center of the county, and East County's arm of the Central Valley. The hills in between are noted not for how many people live there but how wealthy they are.

These physical boundaries help define the rough edges of the overlapping layers of the county's economic history. From Richmond in the west to Antioch in the east, the northern shoreline of the County has been home to the Bay Area's heaviest and dirtiest industry, a tradition going back to the late 1880s. Agriculture is still prominent in far East County, while ranching hold on in isolated spots throughout the central portion of the county, often integrated with an increasingly important network of preserved open space and a complex public/private regime of open space preservation. The 1980s office boom went not to the post-industrial landscape along the waterfront but to the tony suburbs of the Diablo and San Ramon Valleys, places whose only smokestacks are those extending from fire places in large mansions.

The physical and the economic intersect at distinct historical moments with the county's transportation networks. Water and rail serviced the burgeoning industries on the coast for the first century of Contra Costa's economic history, only to take a back seat to the auto-oriented dominance of the 20th century. Had you told a county resident in 1900 that Walnut Creek and San Ramon would one day dominate the county's wealth generation and anchor one of the wealthiest suburban clusters in the country, they would likely have looked at you with disbelief. But starting with the late 1937 opening of the Caldecott Tunnel - little more than six months after the Golden Gate Bridge and barely a year after the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge – central county was linked by federally-funded and state-built freeways to the burgeoning metropolis of the Bay Area. Growth came slowly – when Catherine Bauer Wurster studied the largest thirteen cities in the Bay Area in 1960, not a single one was in Contra Costa County (Wurster 1963). The 1960s and early 1970s saw the construction of interstate 680 from San Jose up the spine of the San Ramon and Diablo Valley's, linking central county with Silicon Valley and providing an express connection to the Alameda County's Livermore and Amador Valleys, paving the way for the San Ramon Valley to redefine itself as part of the wealthier "Tri Valley" area. When BART came at the end of the 1970s, it did not follow the old waterfront rail corridors through Richmond and Martinez, but rather the new suburban pathway through the Caldecott and down the center of interstate system – a system that never went over the Willow Pass into East County.

To add to the complexity, Contra Costa County boasts one of the more unfathomably complex political geographies in the state, a maze of incorporated and unincorporated space, epitomized by Richmond's boundaries which owe more to a Rorschach test than good governance (figure 2). One of the poorest parts of the Bay Area – North Richmond – is actually an unincorporated spot on the map surrounded entirely by Richmond. On the flip side are Alamo and Diablo, two of the wealthiest zones around, which along with the business center of "Contra Costa Center", the working class community of Pacheco and the East County farm towns of Byron and Knightsen, remain unincorporated spaces under control of the county.

The historical layers of political, economic, transportation and physical geographies map onto a socioeconomic map which leaves people in each part of the county separated by far more than mountains and freeways. The industrial flats of West County – much of the cities of Richmond and San Pablo, the unincorporated pockets of North Richmond and parts of Rodeo and Crockett – feature struggling communities dealing with the combined legacies of an industrial past and largely post-industrial present. Unemployment, poverty, environmental health impacts, and high levels of violence coexist on a human map which is highly racialized, with African Americans, Latinos and Southeast Asians bearing the brunt of some of the most unhealthy living situations in California.[7]

The flats of West County lead up to the Berkeley/Oakland Hills, a space which oscillates between middle class tranquility and upper class gilt, and which extends through the limousine liberal spaces of Lamorinda[8] – yes to Obama, no to local density and affordable housing – and into the Diablo Valley. From Walnut Creek, the geographic, commercial and some would argue cultural and "emotional" heart of the county, you hit a demographic crossroads (Garreau 1991, p.315). To the south, the San Ramon Valley is one of the wealthiest portions of the *country,* boasting four of the top 101 zip codes in Forbes' List of the most expensive in the nation, including the aforementioned unincorporated spaces of Diablo and Alamo.[9] To the north, the Diablo Valley is decidedly more mixed and middle class, as the old Air Force town cum "boomburb" of Concord more closely resembles East County than either West County or the San Ramon Valley.

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[7] There is a growing amount of research, much of it conducted in cooperation between local organizations, public officials and academics to document the health and environmental inequalities in the region. See (Bay Area Regional Health Inequities Initiative 2008), (Brody et al. 2009, S600) and other work by Rachel Morello-Frosch, Laura Pulido and many community-based environmental justice organizations.

[8] Lafayette, Moraga, Orinda

[9] http://www.forbes.com/2010/09/27/most-expensive-zip-codes-2010-lifestyle-real-estate-zip-codes-10-rank.html. 2010 list based on median home price.
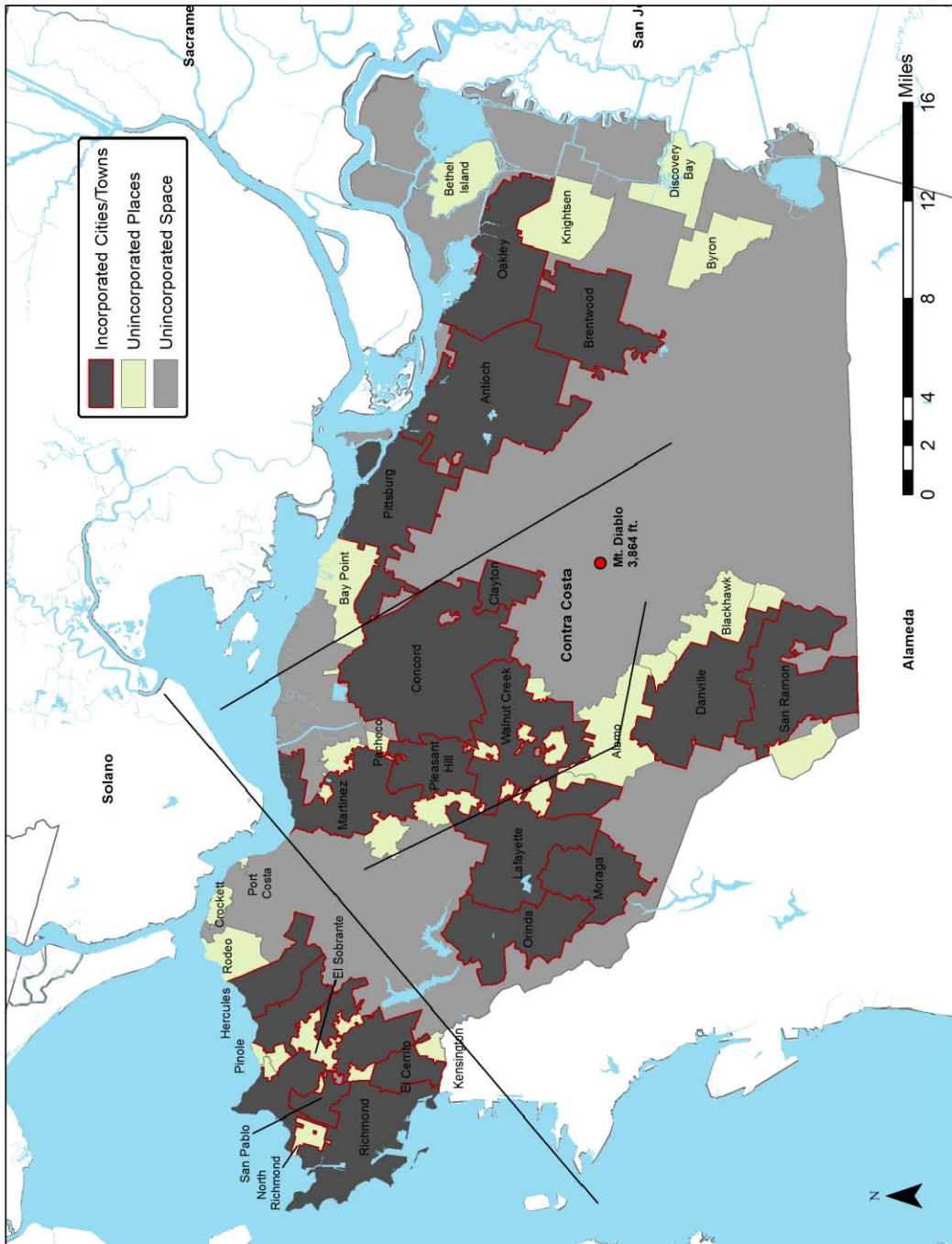
Figure 2: Contra Costa Political Geography. Lines indicate division between five áreas of the county – West, North, East, South and Lamorinda (southwest)

Table 1: The five counties of Contra Costa

Place	Total Population	% NH White	% NH Black	%NH Asian	% NH 2+ races	%Hispanic
Contra Costa County*	1,049,025	47.8%	8.9%	14.2%	3.8%	24.4%
East County	292232	38.1%	12.5%	9.8%	4.0%	34.4%
West County	248270	25.0%	18.5%	18.8%	3.6%	33.0%
North County	207827	57.3%	3.1%	10.7%	4.0%	23.9%
South County	224959	67.0%	1.7%	19.4%	3.6%	7.8%
Lamorinda	65855	77.7%	1.0%	10.9%	3.8%	6.0%

Source: California Department of Finance Public Law 94-171 Redistricting Data, via US Census Bureau. Generated 3/8/2011.. * The totals in the DOF's data for the county exceed the combined totals of each Census Designated Place by approximately 10,000 total.

The divisions in terms of class parallel stark divides in terms of race. Table 1 shows the result of the 2010 Census in five areas – West County, East County, North Central, South Central and Lamorinda. Only when it comes to the Asian American community (and mixed-race individuals) are the communities somewhat evenly divided. East and West Counties are majority minority, while Lamorinda and South County – which are grouped together for transportation planning purposes[10] – are more than 2/3 white, less than 2% African American and collectively have roughly half of the number of Hispanic residents as the city of Richmond, with almost three times the population.

The divides in terms of income and poverty are even more stark. Figures 3 and 4 show the divided nature of the county, with clear difference between south and west, and some variation in North and East County. This is in part what makes East County a true frontier, part of the complex grid of interactions and migrations across race and class lines, but nevertheless it is united to some degree more with Richmond in the west than with San Ramon in the South.

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[10] The Southwest Area Transportation Committee.
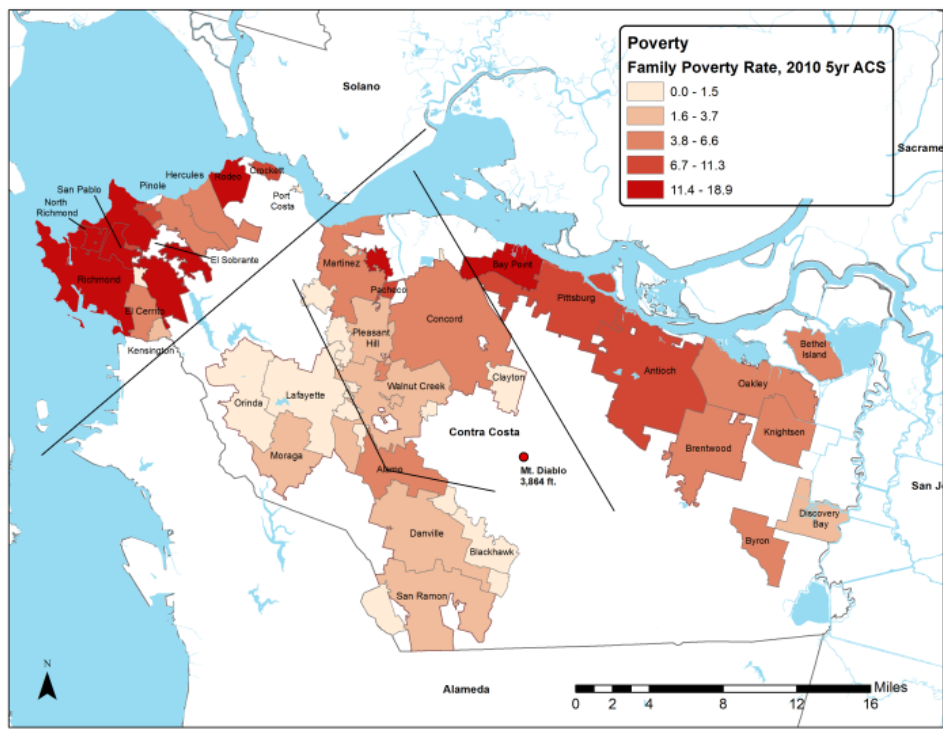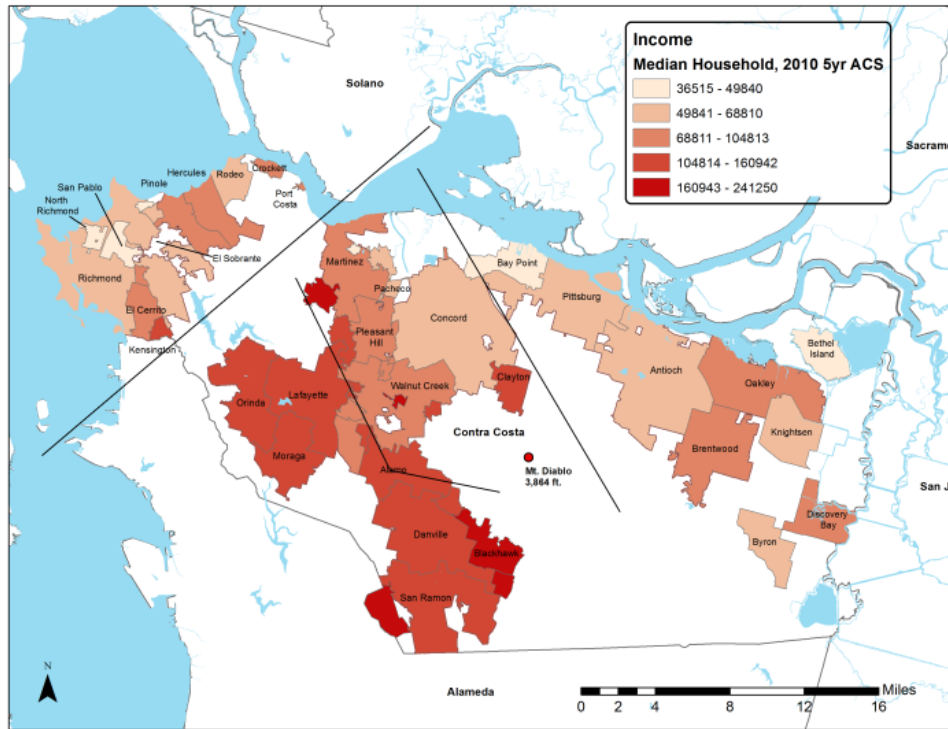
Figures 3 and 4: Income and Poverty in the Five Counties.

This racialized socioeconomic geography, when viewed alongside a co-produced historical geography of political lines, economic functions, physical barriers and transportation networks, evokes a second imagery beyond the archipelagos of the four or five counties. Viewed from above, the panorama of Contra Costa shows two distinct axes – the old east/west central line of the highway four corridor, which stretches anonymously from Richmond to Byron through the industrial and maritime history of the first county, and the newer, federally produced 680 corridor, a north south torrent of capital and wealth at the forefront of edge city suburban office development and exclusionary suburbanism of the type that makes Forbes proud. It is a geography which reminds me of an inverted variation of Lucio Costa's early renditions of Brasilia's famed Plano Piloto, its arms weighed down by the weight, not of modernist expectations but the reality of working class suburban life in a post-industrial and post-Keynesian world.

From Edge Cities to an Axis of Exclusion

> Perhaps the quickest way to learn about the hottest issue in Contra Costa County is to drive its length north to south on Highway 680. From Martinez to San Ramon, it's easy to see why this area's reputation as a suburban oasis has now changed to office construction mecca. – Thomas Sweeney, *San Francisco Business*, September 1986

> If you look at the underlying land use plans for those (the highway 4 corridor) communities, they desire to see that (office development) - the market has never manifested itself." – longtime County planner[11]

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[11] Interview 38

In Joel Garreau's classic *Edge City*, his section on the San Francisco Bay Area opens with lunch at the aptly named Chardonnay, a newly opened "gourmet" restaurant in Bishop Ranch. Garreau is there to investigate this "edge city", the term he popularized for suburban office nodes, islands of new office and commercial development in newly built locations which function as downtowns for the postmodern era – there are more jobs than bedrooms, even though this is the "suburbs".

Garreau's book made quite a splash, for a number of reasons. He was part of a litany of urbanists struggling to articulate the profound transformation of the American metropolis in the 1980s – it was clear that the old city/suburb dichotomy was breaking down, the transformation from an industrial to a service and post-industrial economy was well underway, white collar work was suburbanizing along with manufacturing, immigration and the breakdown of some pieces of the complex web of housing discrimination were opening up some suburbs to communities of color, the metropolis was sprawling into unheard of distances, and the first signs of gentrification were appearing in central cities. Like his more polemical counterpart James Howard Kunstler, Garreau was a bit too in love with New Urbanism and Christopher Alexander for most critical urbanism types, but his erudition and writing seemingly earned him enough grudging respect and repeated citations from a who's who of academic urbanism.[12]

More importantly, he has a good name for a phenomenon, one that even came with a technical definition and some maps, and it fit in nicely with other attempts to coin terms which would update our urban argot from its postwar doldrums – "edge cities" became "edgeless cities" and "boomburbs" for Robert Lang (2003, 2006), "exopolis" for Ed Soja (1992), "technoburb" for Robert Fishman (1990), eight or ten neologisms for Flusty and Dear (1999), all part of what historian Greg Hise (1999, p.12) wittily calls the "name game". It was clear that this was not simply the physical expansion of the American metropolis but rather a significant shift in the geography of wealth, employment, and production, in the fundamental structure(s) of the urban region, with critical consequences.

Even if Garreau gives short shrift to the Bay Area, devoting much of the chapter to musings at the feet/feat of former Berkeley Architecture professor Christopher Alexander, he does briefly capture why edge cities matter for the region – the movement of corporate headquarters from San Francisco and Oakland's downtown, and the subsequent explosion of more affordable homeownership developments in the broad swath of exurban Bay area from East County to Patterson. But what Garreau misses in between lunch with Bishop Ranch developer Alex Mehran and his ode to Alexander is a more micro understanding of the production of edge cities in Contra Costa County, and what they truly meant for the new geographies of race and class in the region as a whole. Kling, Olin and Poster (1995) note in their critique of Garreau's Southern California perspective that he wants to see the edge cities as

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[12] Including many of the people I cite in this text.

distinctive entities, easily definable by his five criteria, and while a product of the region not integrated in its political, social or ethnoracial economies. As Paul Lewis (1996, p. 45) wisely points out about Garreau, his inability to see that the "patchwork" of governments as anything other than a "swirling of gnats" made irrelevant by the "historical force of commerce" leads him to miss out on the fact that, in Lewis' words, the swarm of gnats "is itself the 'historical force of governance' that Garreau cannot detect." Furthermore:

> In a politically fragmented region, the social, geographic, and power inequalities that mark a region inhere in governing institutions and serve to perpetuate disparities in development.

Yet here Garreau gets his revenge. Like many political scientists, Lewis prioritizes institutions over all other aspects of urbanism. But the inequalities of a fragmented Contra Costa County – a fragmented county in a fragmented region – did not just inhere in governing institutions but in the built form of a geographically constrained space. This is where Garreau's eye for the boxy glass and steel forms by the highway matters, for they were not just a spatial fix for capital or a fiscal and economic fix for government but a historical fix around which a certain path dependency would form.

As critical as they are, a view limited to institutions or the built environment of office parks on their own is not sufficient, for inequality inheres as well in the ideas that Contra Costans from one part of the county have about people from the other, in the networks of transportation infrastructure linking and not linking people and places together, in the coalition politics which underlies both governance and infrastructure. This is the complexity that defines postsuburbia, and in this we owe a debt to Kling, Olin and Poster (p. 8), even if their conception of postsuburbia as a place with "origins in the suburban periphery of another urban core . . . from which they have broken away" is likely wishful thinking in Orange County and undoubtedly so in the Bay Area. One is right to think of Contra Costa County and the postsuburbs as different, but they have in no way broken away, either from the region as a whole or from the grand traditions of American urbanism. History is always present in contemporary urbanism.
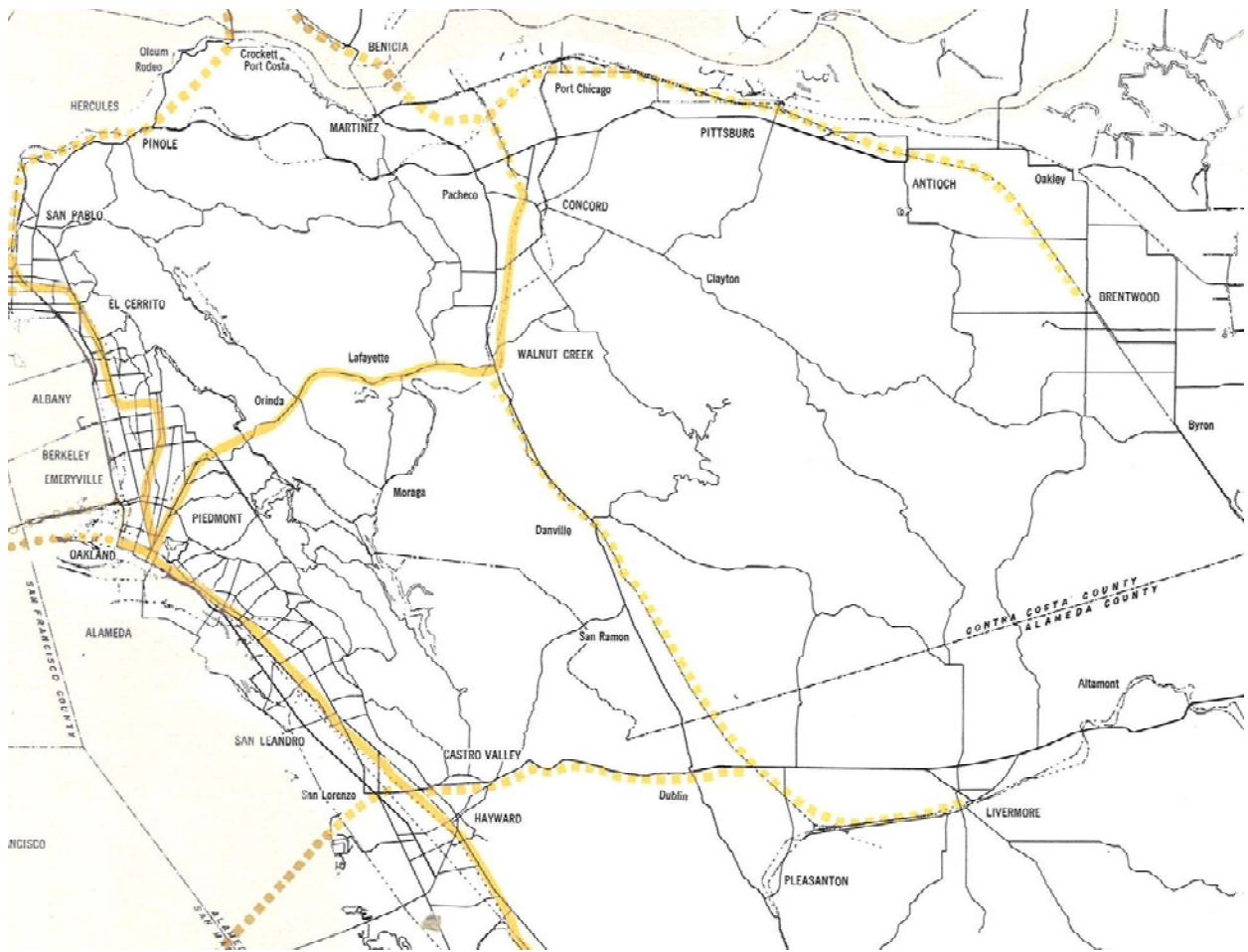
Figure 5: BART's original vision for Contra Costa, 1956.

680 Transformed

Through the post-war era, much of the San Ramon and southern Diablo Valleys remained sleepy bedroom communities and small towns, with just smatterings of the growth seen in San Leandro and Alameda's "industrial garden" corridor from Oakland to Milpitas. Walnut Creek had fewer than 10,000 people in 1960, and most of the area to the south in the San Ramon Valley was unincorporated. But the writing was on the wall – small areas of suburban growth in Concord and Pleasant Hill would soon be connected to Alameda County and San Jose via interstate 680, which was completed in 1971. Although BART would eventually bypass the San Ramon Valley and take an extra generation to reach Pleasanton and Dublin to the south, the 1977 opening of BART in Walnut Creek and Concord was presaged by a more than two-decades long planning process which saw the rendering of the San Ramon Valley as part of the BART system in 1956 (figure 5).

One look at the pattern of urbanization over time shows that in the immediate postwar period, East County possessed almost as large an urban footprint as the Diablo Valley and Lamorinda area, let alone the San Ramon Valley farther to the

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south (figure 6). There was nothing foreordained about urbanization, wealth or economic growth following what would become the 680 corridor. That would require intervention.
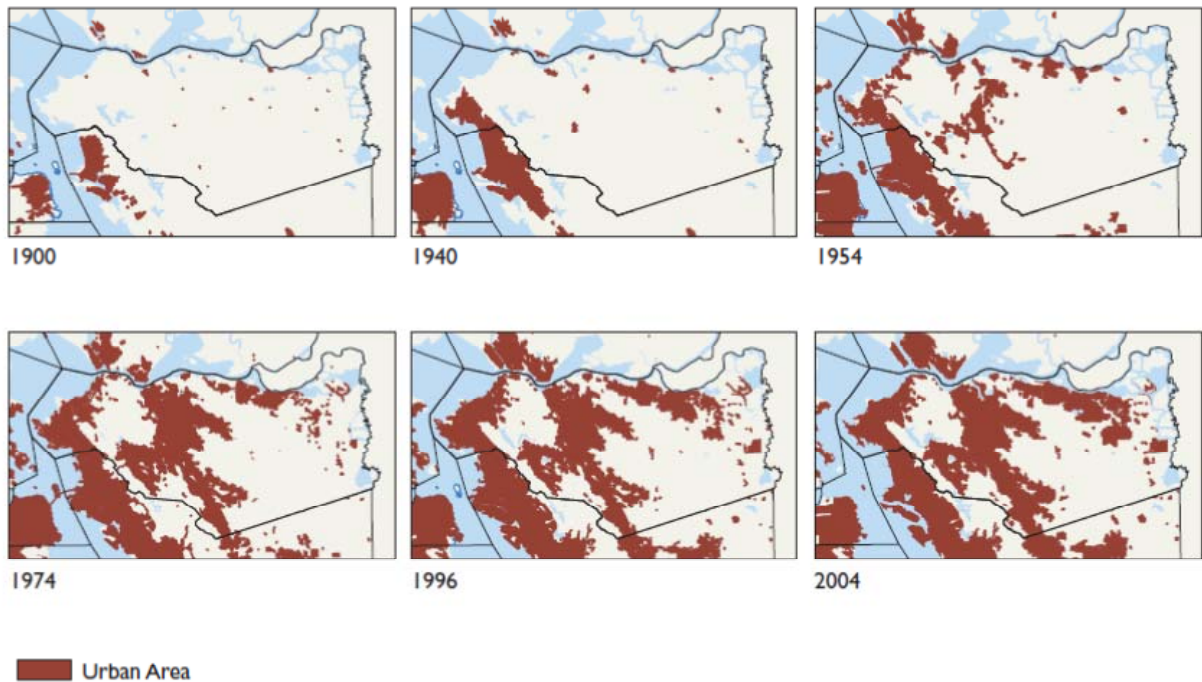
Figure 6: Contra Costa urban areas over time.
Source: ABAG, Smart Growth Briefing Book, Dyett & Bhattia 2001, 2008 via CCTA CTP DEIR 2009

Planning for the famed Bishop Ranch began in the 1950s, as county planners designated the ranch at the heart of the San Ramon Valley for economic uses. The language of the 1958 San Ramon Area General Plan proposes a light manufacturing center and the transformation of the area into a variation on the "industrial garden" communities – mostly middle class industrial workers in a "well-balanced" community (San Ramon Planning Area General Plan quoted in McGovern 1998, p. 251). It was planners and not the market which held the torch for economic/industrial uses on Bishop Ranch for more than two decades, despite a development community which angled for suburban housing. After a deal fell through for Western Electric Company to build a telephone factory on the site, planners rejected an initial proposal for a huge residential subdivision on the site from new owners and eventual Bishop Ranch Developers Masud and Alex Mehran.

The county's concern with tax base – an issue in pre-Prop 13 California as well – was joined by the same planning principal that guided development in East County – jobs-housing balance. With concerns about traffic, sprawl, and congestion joining issues of economic and fiscal sustainability, the magical balance was seen as a means of mitigating the effects of growth and creating a "well-balanced community," fixing the one-dimensionality of the post war suburb (although without integrating land uses). As Patrick McGovern (1998) points out in his study of edge cities in

Contra Costa County, this planning-driven belief was enabled by state legislation which mandated general plans for all jurisdictions – cities and counties – but no regional planning or regional coordination:

> The general plan legitimized the idea that each local community was on its own in seeking development and tax revenue. General plans became documents of booster ism and visions of urban centers for even the smallest communities, exacerbating the fragmentation of land use regulation, which had already led to metropolitan sprawl. (p. 250)

Merely hinted at in McGovern and in other studies of edge cities – including Garreau – is that white collar office development helped solve a class problem as well. The limited suburbanization of central county to that point had been fairly genteel, "big homes in bosky glens" as Garreau would have it, and the San Leandro in the San Ramon Valley vision of the 1958 plan didn't fit with the residents view of the area ("their mismatch with an upscale housing stock" as McGovern puts it).

The people that did work in the area largely fit the dual profiles of the labor force that would constitute a big portion of the initial wave of white-collar employees – corporate executives, who had already begun transforming the ravines of largely unincorporated Lamorinda, Danville and Alamo into an upscale suburban escape, and their underemployed but college educated wives.[13] This availability of labor and proximity to the new homes of the executive class – combined with clear support from the planning staff at the county (and from the city of Walnut Creek), newly minted transportation infrastructure and a handful of eager property developers - helped convince skeptical capital to invest in what was essentially a suburban downtown.

And build they did. Bishop Ranch grew from two initial buildings in 1981 to more than 10 million square feet of office space housing 33,000 workers and 550 companies in 14 complexes.[14] The initial commitment of Toyota to house a small operation in 1981 led quickly to the massive corporate office relocations of Chevron and Pacific Bell, and the "city" now boasts its own transit center, restaurants and a hotel. Walnut Creek took a different approach – a city driven redevelopment plan centered around the new downtown BART station produced the "Golden Triangle," six million square feet of commercial space between the late 1970s and the mid 1980s (Walnut Creek General Plan 2025 (1979) in McGovern 1998).[15] The Contra Costa Center, an unincorporated hole in the political fabric between Walnut Creek and Pleasant hill, is now 2.4 million square feet of office and commercial space.

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[13] Nelson (1986) brilliant study of the gendered nature of the new suburban workforce and its role in attracting new corporations shows

[14] Bishopranch.com

[15] Including 1.1 million square feet in 1984 alone.

When combined with the Hacienda Business Park node at the 580/680 interchange to the south, and the smaller cluster of office development around Concord's BART station, you have not a series of isolated edge cities but a new corridor of work and consumption which radically altered not only the county's geography but that of an entire region. Overall jobs-housing balance was achieved in central county – it has hovered at roughly nine jobs for every ten units over the past two decades, with Walnut Creek and San Ramon exceeding 2:1 – but in a manner that impacted everywhere else.[16]

By the time the foreclosure crisis hit, more than 28,000 East County residents commuted to the 680 corridor (including Pleasanton), along with roughly 10,000 residents of Solano County – Contra Costa's neighbor to the north. More people commuted to Central County from San Joaquin County (~3000) – over the Altamont pass in the Central Valley and outside the formal Bay Area - than from BART connected San Francisco (~2500).[17] When Bishop Ranch opened, transit use for workers relocated from San Francisco fell from 58% to less than 3 percent (Cervero and Landis 1992). The edge cities blew apart a regional economic geography that was never terribly dense to begin with – the Bay Area is now the 9th most-sprawling metropolitan region in terms of job-sprawl (Kneebone 2009). Like virtually every other "problem" in the region, the more powerful and more geographically blessed locales are able to "solve" their issues by merely pushing them elsewhere.
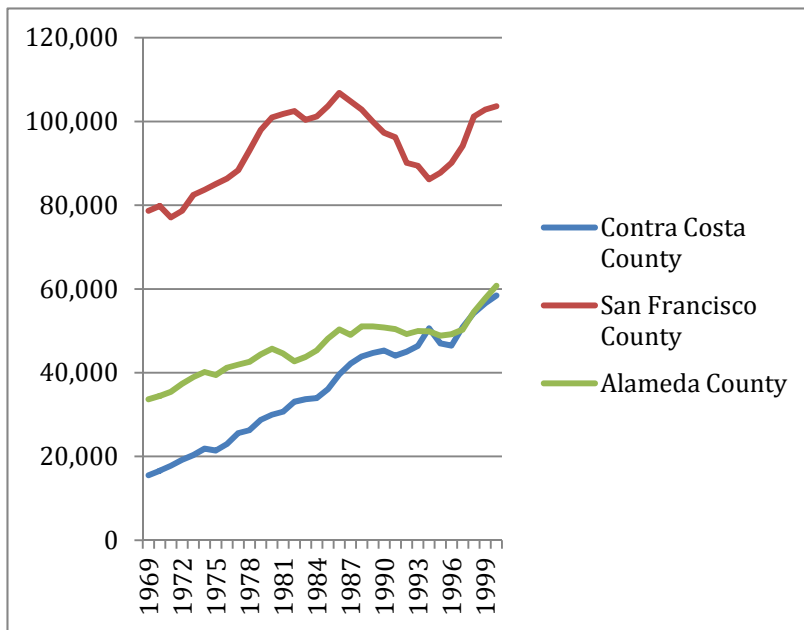
Figure 7: FIRE jobs. *Source: RAND California.*

Not just any jobs
The location of the new workers and the transit unfriendly commutes of this new regional economic geography anchored in central Contra Costa tells only part of the story of the edge city influence on geographies of race, class and real estate. Many of the jobs were high income, white collar jobs in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate (FIRE). Between 1969 and 2000, San

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[16] Contra costa general plan from Abag '02 projections., http://www.abag.ca.gov/planning/interregional/pdf/projections/IRP_Projections.pdf
[17] Source: US Census Bureau, ACS 2006-2008 3yr est., Special Tabs for CTPP, calculated using CTPP interactive software http://gis.ctpp.transportation.org/ctpp/ctpp.aspx

Francisco saw sporadic and up and down growth in the FIRE sector, while Contra Costa more than tripled the number of jobs in this lucrative sector, roughly equaling that of Alameda County (figure 7).[18] By the height of the boom, Contra Costa had outstripped Alameda County by more than 4000 jobs in this most lucrative of sectors.

The good paying jobs were a boon to real estate prices in the southern portion of the ounty, as values throughout Lamorinda and the San Ramon Valley skyrocketed. If you were an executive at an insurance company, this was fine, but not if you were the secretary, the janitor, the mid-level account executive, or the many other back office workers who made up the numerical bulk of the new workforce. It was a double-edged sword for a new suburban working majority, for the job growth in central county was not matched in any way by housing to meet the needs of these workers.
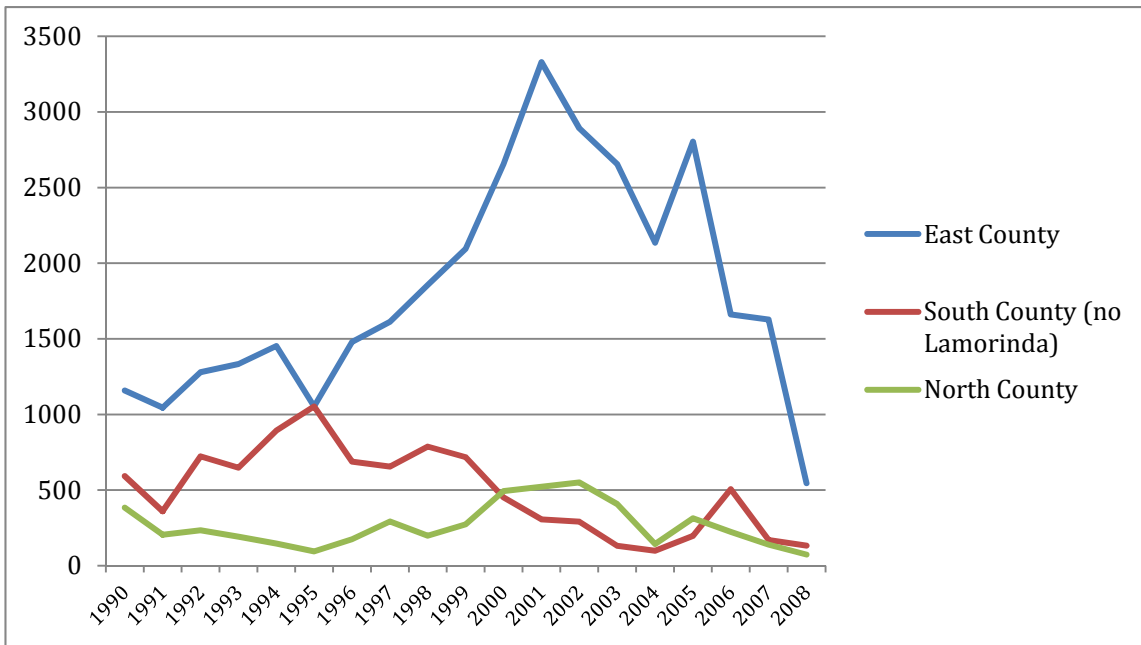
Figure 8: Residential Units by zone, 1990-2008. Source Rand CA via CIRB

Between 1980 and 1985, Walnut Creek added $250 million in nonresidential construction but less than 5,000 residents, and saw its median housing value jump almost 17% against the rest of Alameda and Contra Costa County (Kroll 1986). San Ramon's massive gains in office development would come in the second half of the decade, and although it made a better effort to build housing than its neighbors, the larger story for the subregion remained the same – especially now that the now exceptionally wealthy cities of Lamorinda and Danville had now incorporated and were fiscally secure enough to build virtually nothing. Figure 8 tells the story more starkly: for most of the past two decades, East County built more homes than the

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[18] Data from rand via BEA. 2100 split is because of SIC to NAICS conversion.

larger, more job- and transit/transport-rich 680 corridor. It is this simultaneous development of tax revenue and jobs producing commercial development in one place and workforce housing in another that is so critical to understanding the physical sprawl which engulfed East County and beyond.

In the evolution of southern Contra Costa into both job rich edge city and exclusive suburb, one can see some of the historical roots of East County's plight, as well as the futility of the classic regulation v. inequality, state v. market, one-dimensional arguments for explaining urban change. Was this a case of a market skewed by state intervention? Absolutely – Bishop Ranch would never have been built without the efforts of planners to hold back suburban housing developers keen on cashing in on a booming postwar market. More housing in the corridor would also have been built had those cities been more amenable to density and more residents; but many incorporated just so they could prevent such an occurrence. Yet is that not an argument for suburban exclusionism by mostly white and middle to upper middle class residents at the expense of the much more diverse majority? Undoubtedly. Is it also the case that this new geography is reacting to a shifting means of production and the growing inequality that has marked the service-sector/urban economy? Sure. What about the primitive accumulative of these areas – a brand new, externally funded freeway and BART system - that was then never truly extended to the bigger metropolis that this new geography created? That too. Fiscal stress under a new regime of federal/state/local relations? Yes.

The transformation of the 680 corridor, like all complex urban spaces, can never be reduced to a single explanation, regardless of one's politics. State and market are internally linked and equally guilty, and one would do better to understand the linked nuances of history and geography than rehashing tired ideological and methodological battles. Central Contra Costa had the perfect geography at the perfect (and perfectly deadly) moment in history for edge cities – while the paint was still drying on the Keynesian infrastructure, and before a concerted anti-growth effort could arise to reign in growth, the transition to a more austere regime spurred an already willing planning apparatus to continue its push for jobs-housing balance, even if it meant negative externalities beyond the narrow confines of the 680 corridor. Initial resistance from a real estate development community accustomed to subdivisions and a capitalist class used to downtowns quickly gave way to a suburban office boom repeated all over the nation – in certain suburbs, but not all.

The question which must then be asked is how the creation of the edge city in one part of the county interacted with the broader political economy of Contra Costa County. Partly in reaction to the edge city boom and to a pro-growth county political machine, Contra Costa's development politics shifted while the edge cities were being constructed. Contra Costa's fights over incorporation, housing growth and the growing environmental movement may have largely been born in the foothills of Mount Diablo, but they quickly spread – all while state and federal investment in infrastructure was significantly reduced. The growth wars had come to Contra Costa

County, and they played a key role in making sure that the new geographies of Contra Costa County – four or five counties on two axes – hardened in place.

A Player in the Development Game

> There was a feeling about the 1970s and 1980s Board of Supervisor that they would approve development in the next valley over on any given Tuesday. – county Planner[19]

When Bishop Ranch landed Chevron and Pacific Bell in one fell swoop in 1982, the popular conception of Contra Costa's economy began to shift. The focus on the FIRE sector and the growth of management and back office positions for virtually every type of corporation in the region gave parts of the county a generic corporate feel, and with such a physically divided county, one had to dig into the data to get a proper sense of what was happening. Often lost in the fervor over new office parks was the industry which built them in the first place.

Table 2: Location Quotients, 2005					
Industry	Calif.	Alam.	Contra Costa	SF	Santa Clara
Construction	1.06	1.16	**1.53**	0.57	0.85
Building material and garden supply stores	0.9	0.93	**1.26**	0.29	0.75
Real estate credit	1.53	0.73	**2.34**	0.21	0.54
Mortgage and nonmortgage loan brokers	1.9	1.81	**2.55**	0.63	1.03
Real estate investment trusts	2.02	3.07	**1.68**	11.72	0.43
Real estate and rental and leasing	1.15	1.01	**1.35**	1.37	1.04

Location Quotient: Ratio of analysis-industry employment in the analysis area to base-industry employment in the analysis area divided by the ratio of analysis-industry employment in the base area to base-industry employment in the base area.

Source: *Bureau of Labor Statistics*

From the early days of the post-Caldecott boom, real estate and real estate development were a prominent component of the county's economic backbone. In virtually every aspect of the real estate industry, from construction to finance to sales to leasing, Contra Costa slowly built itself on the building of Contra Costa. These were generally small firms – around ten people on average for construction and real estate finance firms, smaller for REIT's and mortgage brokers. But they were numerous – the county averaged around 3,500 firms involved in all aspects of real estate and real estate development from 1990-2010, an economy that generated 40,000 jobs by the height of the boom in 2005 and $3.3 billion in wages.[20]

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[19] Interview 38

[20] California Regional Economies Employment (CREE) Series from QCEW data. Calculation by author from NAICS codes 522292 (Real Estate Credit), 522231 (Mortgage and Nonmortgage Loan Brokers), 52593 (Real Estate Investment Trusts), 23 (Construction), 53 (Real Estate and Rental and Leasing). This is a low estimate that does not include industrial sectors dependent on the real estate industry and integral to the political economy such as utility companies, transportation and logistics,

Table 2 shows the location quotient, a measure of relative over- and under-representation of certain industries relative to a base geography and industry (in this case all jobs in the United States). What is most striking are not the construction jobs, nor the day to day work of renting and leasing real estate – as a growing suburban region, one would expect slightly higher than average levels for those sectors – but rather mortgages and real estate credit, two sectors which we now know lie at the root of the foreclosure cum financial crisis. In both areas, Contra Costa County had more than twice its share of the national average, far more than neighboring counties, including wealthy San Francisco and booming Santa Clara.

As a former developer turned real estate and planning consultant told me, "You saw a massive increase in 1990s and 2000s in new financial institutions, just here in Contra Costa County. There was a flood of capital into various real estate markets."[21] This "flood" can be seen in dividend, income and rent (DIR) data (figure 9) collected by the US Bureau of Economic Analysis – essentially income derived from property. From a point of relative parity with surrounding counties, the state and the nation in 1970, Contra Costa County's per capita DIR grew steadily, to the point where by the height of the boom it was almost 50% higher than the national average and 33% higher than neighboring Alameda County. Only Santa Clara County, with its Silicon Valley tech boom, fared better on a relative scale.

East County was not simply a victim of Wall Street brokers, some form of anonymous "accumulation by dispossession" from afar but by a real estate credit industry nestled between its hilltops and anchored in the new glass and steel office complexes of its new economy (Harvey 2005). This was not just wealth created in Contra Costa but *on* Contra Costa, and it was part of a larger political economy of real estate that vested particular power in some interesting places – including the "forgotten government" in Martinez, the quaint historic home of John Muir.[22]

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wholesalers of construction materials, consulting services (planning, environmental, architecture) and local manufacturing of building products.

[21] Interview 32

[22] The "real estate credit" subsector generated roughly $200 million in total wages per year from 2003-2007, more than San Francisco and Santa Clara combined.
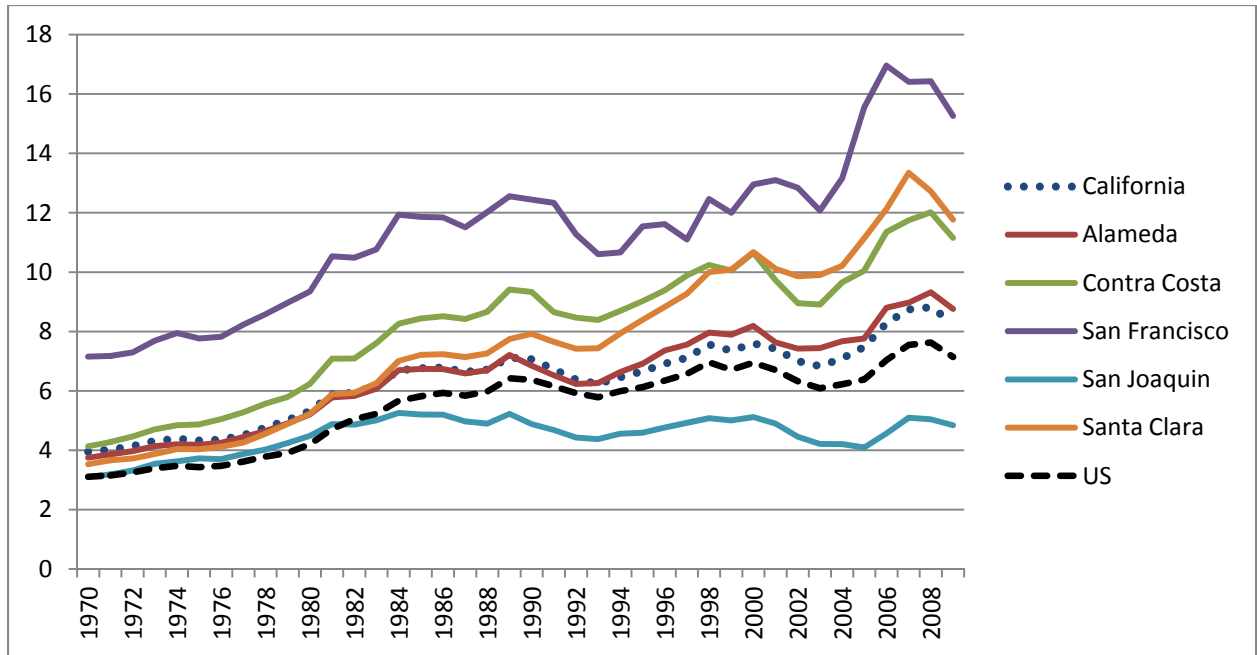
Figure 9: Per Capita Dividends, Income & Rents, 1970-2009. Source: BEA, adjusted to 2009 dollars

The forgotten government

Contra Costa County was unique in the Bay Area in that the county regime was not only progrowth but an active player in the development game. The planning of Bishop Ranch was done by the county, for the City of San Ramon would not exist until 1983, part of an early 1980s wave of incorporation (Danville 1982, Orinda 1985) in South County largely in reaction to the progrowth stances of the county government. Local residents, although they would benefit fiscally from the new office development, wanted more control over their land use. County activity was not limited to the 680 corridor – West County is riven with populous unincorporated areas from North Richmond to El Sobrante, while East County's Oakley had almost 25,000 residents by the time it incorporated in 1999.
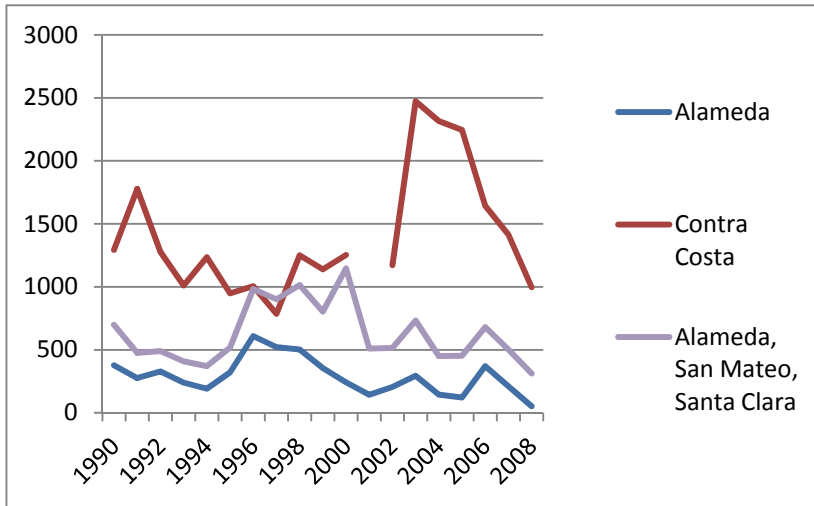
Figure 10: unincorporated units. Source: RAND CA

Over the course of the past two decades, a time period which included some political shifts at the county level which actually made it less progrowth than in the 1970s and early 1980s, Contra Costa County still permitted 25,000 residential units in unincorporated space. Within the context of the 9-county Bay Area, this set Contra Costa dramatically apart from the rest of the region. Whether you examine total valuation or total numbers of units, the numbers tell the same story. Not only did Contra Costa County permit from two to ten times more housing in unincorporated space than neighboring Alameda County, but for almost the entire 1990-2008 period allowed more unincorporated units than Alameda, San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties combined (figure 10).

The county's active role in urbanization was a result of an intense politics of development at the county level. The county's growth machine had been active since the post war era, when local newspaper magnate Dean Lesher made a famous airborne proclamation that Contra Costa County was going to be a primary site of the region's growth. He did everything he could to make it possible – his *Contra Costa Times* empire grew to be the only daily newspaper in the county, slowly buying up the local dailies, including Antioch's Daily Ledger. Lesher may never have achieved the power of the Chandlers and the De Youngs, but he steadfastly used his influence to push and prod growth, even if it brought controversy (Steidtmann 1985).[23]

As Dan Walters put it, "ContraCostopolis," his name for the edge cities of the 680 corridor, "… occurred because the local power structure has been dominated by pro-development forces – developers, bankers newspaper publishers and politicians – hoping to cash in on the surge (Walters 1989, p. 75)." In 1984, Lesher was elected head of the Contra Costa Development Association, an organization which to this point had been a publically-financed organization promoting economic development in the county since before World War II. Supported by Bishop Ranch developer Alex Mehran, Lesher quickly turned the organization private, selling not-

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[23] A friend of Albert Seeno, Lesher was accused of turning a blind eye to Seeno's shoddy workmanship, squashing a follow-up story about a lawsuit filed by East County homeowners against the developers following an angry visit by his Seeno.

inexpensive memberships to local business leaders and establishing what would eventually become the Contra Costa Council as the primary business voice in the county (Steidtman 1985; Goldman 2003).

Lesher's transformation of the CCDA was partially in response to the first appearance of an organized anti-growth backlash in Contra Costa County, part of a wave of anti- and slow-growth movements which had transformed local planning politics since Petaluma's famous decision in 1975 (Dowall 1984; Levine 1999). If the county political apparatus was firmly in support of and actively producing growth, the populace had been "decidedly ambivalent" for some time (Goldman and Wachs 2003, p, 97). A cross-county freeway system which would have linked Moraga and Antioch through Walnut Creek had been rejected decades earlier, and the preservation of the area's rural character was important for many residents (ibid.). Starting in early 1985, local initiatives in Walnut Creek and Pleasant Hill began to restrict the very same edge city development that had transformed the corridor and provided Walnut Creek with a tax base that remains significant today. Building heights were restricted, growth management activists began winning seats on city councils, and a movement began to make developers pay a larger share of the costs of development, including roads and other infrastructure (Haeseler 1985; Diringer 1985a). The combined era of development fees and growth management had begun.

Linked to the growth issue, and ultimately more important in the long term, was the establishment of environmental organizations, both locally and linked to major regional actors. Save Mount Diablo was begun in 1971 originally to focus on expanding the eponymous state park, but by the 1980s it had begun to focus on the broader issue of development as a whole, in part due to their broader geographic focus on the East Bay Regional Park system and on open space in general. Opposition in the 1970s to the high end Blackhawk development led to support for downzoning the Tassajara Valley in 1980.[24] Save Mount Diablo has have steadily grown to be the most powerful local environmental organization in the county. Regional groups like People for Open Space, which in 1987 became Greenbelt Alliance, and local chapters of national organizations the Sierra Club grew in membership and stature, and began weighing in on growth issues, not just on open space preservation or conservation.

Unlike more urban areas, where progrowth politics are often contested by powerful community organizations focused on affordable housing, the rights of the homeless or low income groups, or racial or ethnic based politics, growth politics at the county level in Contra Costa began primarily as a matter green v. growth, with critical consequences. A primarily white, middle class, populist movement, it focused mainly on questions of preservation – preserving quality of life, the environment, the old ways for oldtimers and the new suburban paradise for those who just got here. Much like the tax revolt of Prop 13 just seven years earlier, the Walnut Creek and Pleasant Hill fights, which were paralleled in jurisdictions

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[24] http://www.savemountdiablo.org/about_history.html

throughout the region, were, in the oft-quoted words of then-Concord mayor Steve Weir, who narrowly held on to his seat in a challenge by a slow growth candidate, "an absolute signal to every middle-class suburban community in the Bay Area that if these issues are not resolved by the elected officials, the public will step in and do it (Diringer 1985b)."

From the very beginning of the "growth wars" as they were called locally and throughout the state, one senses the basic truth of Bruegmann's (2005, p. 163) argument for the strange ideological bedfellows produced by the anti-growth or anti-sprawl movements:

> `One of the oddest aspects of the anti-sprawl campaign is the way it has altered the relationship between progressive and conservative ideas. ...The anti-sprawl movement is a powerful compound of this new progressivism and a traditional conservatism.'[25]

Too late to stop the 680 corridor growth, activists instead fought to contain it, tamp it down, and prevent it from spreading, even if the regional die had been cast, even if this new orientation did little to address issues of equity and inclusion, which in the 1980s were for the most part missing from the environmentalist map. Growth in East County was seen as a repeat of the errors of 680, rather than as a reaction to these new jobs centers and the failure to build anywhere near enough workforce housing around them. Despite the fact that concerns about housing affordability had been percolating in the Bay Area for some time now, and regardless of connections between environmental preservation and higher density development around transit, the initial wave of slow-growth populism was aimed at restricting density around BART stations in Central County. Fearing the continued rise of anti-growth sentiment would threaten growth at a more fundamental level – Walnut Creek had already gorged itself on office development, and the Contra Costa Center was in unincorporated Pleasant Hill – the growth machine took to the ballot box to propose an innovative measure aimed at the one problem everyone could agree had come from growth – traffic.

The Grand Bargain

> State and Federal funding for local roads and transit has been permanently reduced. This loss must be replaced locally. - Yes on Measure C Ballot argument, 1986 (Contra Costa County Elections Department [1986] in Goldman 2003, p. 103)

In 1984, as the Reagan-era program of devolution and retrenchment matched forward and California began sixteen years of Republican governorship under the then six year old regime of Proposition 13, local demands for infrastructure improvement continued to pile up. California may have gutted its system for paying

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[25] Thanks to Phelps, Wood, and Valler (2010) for reminding me of this passage.

for roads, highways, transit systems and even sidewalks, but that didn't mean that California either a) stopped growing or b) changed its collective expectations to accept worse conditions. The State of California needed to step in, but its legislators lacked the political fortitude to pass a gas tax in the face of an anti-tax lobby that was stronger than ever after 1978. Instead, it passed the buck, crafting enabling legislation which would enable counties to pass voter-approved sales tax increases with the additional monies earmarked for transportation projects.[26]

Santa Clara County acted almost immediately, passing a measure that year to expand three highways to serve the county's booming tech industry. The plan, "sketched out on a napkin" by an elected official and a business leader, pushed through in classic growth machine fashion with near unanimous support from public officials and the backing of a tech industry just beginning to find its ground politically(Goldman 2007, p.11). Alameda County followed in 1986, as counties around the state began to look into following the Santa Clara model, even if the politics were growing more complex.

Growth interests and growth managers in Contra Costa County were similarly interested in a sales tax measure, not simply because of the dollars it would provide to alleviate clogged freeways but because of the growing backlash against growth. Mehran and Lesher had begun rallying the business and development community around the idea even before Santa Clara passed its measure, for the backlash threatened the interests of developers and business leaders in two separate ways: especially in Central County, the heart of the county's new economic engine. First, the Walnut Creek style backlash and mounting incorporation fights meant that local residents could clamp down on all growth, including the burgeoning edge cities. For developers, less tied to specific lands and happy to build in the politically and geographhically wide open spaces of East County, the fear was of a new financing method being cooked up to meet the post-Proposition 13, post Keynesianism infrastructure problem: development fees, just like those which would eventually be used to build the Bypass.

The first step was the formation of a Transportation Advisory Committee (TAC), chaired by a county supervisor who was also a member of MTC, and including five city representatives, two developers, a major East County employer (Dow Chemical), a second supervisor and the League of Women's Voters. The TAC first took on the task of reorganizing planning efforts at the county level in order to create a more streamlined process for transportation planning and construction. This new and more powerful agency, which would eventually become the Contra Costa Transportation Authority, required an act of the legislature. As forces

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[26] The extensive research of Todd Goldman (2003, 2007, Goldmand and Wachs 2003) into Contra Costa's Measure C and other local-option transportation taxes has been critical in both filling in the gaps of my knowledge about the county's decisions and providing critical context within the broader literature and history of transportation finance. I am grateful to him for sharing his data and his ideas many years after the fact. He also provides a much more detailed history that I have worked to summarize, one which is fascinating in its small details.

gathered around a bill sponsored by a Concord-based assemblyman, the first real divisions began to appear. MTC feared ceding its limited authority – over money – to this new agency "below" it, and cities feared a new powerful agency "above" it. After lengthy negotiations and a slight reorganization of the TAC, MTC and county officials worked out a deal that would functionally mimic the Santa Clara system: counties could authorize a tax provided it had an expenditure plan approved ahead of time by local governments, the board of supervisors and a majority of voters, and just as importantly, they could administer these new funds themselves if they chose to do so.

Hoping that expertise would seem more appealing than increasingly unpopular developers, the TAC and its political and corporate backers asked public works engineers to draft a plan for the ballot. Ranking 158 candidate projects on congestion, traffic accidents and traffic volumes, the engineering experts were politically savvy – they consulted public opinion polls to determine what types of projects would be popular, and chose high-profile projects they felt would generate county support. In the end, 18 projects would be financed by a half percent sales tax over 15 years, for a total of $590 million. It included almost all the major projects in the county, including a BART extension to Pittsburg and highway 4 widening. Only one major project failed to make the list, scuttled by objections from nearby homeowners, the light rail line in the San Ramon Valley along the now burgeoning job centers of the 680 corridor, a line which would have connected Pleasanton and Walnut Creek through the increasingly wealthy and now incorporated Valley. Central County now had its own ghost in an increasingly exclusive machine.

From failure to unholy alliance

The remainder of the story is well known in County planning and development circles, always popping up in interviews with political actors of the time, for it signaled a new era of development politics and a new set of political relations and a new group of institutional structures. Backed by virtually the entire growth machine - most major elected officials, business groups, major employers like Chevron and Pacific Bell, civic associations, labor unions and the newspapers - and confident in the polling data, backers of what was now known as Measure C were confident going into the campaign. They raised more than their $600,000 goal, had four full-time campaign workers, and a campaign they felt acknowledged some of the criticisms of the plan as a developer bailout. Iit was touted as part of an "integrated program" including development fees that would ensure that "future growth pays its own way (Contra Costa County Elections Department [1986] in Goldman 2003, p. 103)."

The opposition was smaller, less known and much less flush, raising only $1400 for their campaign. Led by Concord Citizens for Responsible Growth director Byron Campbell, the volunteer driven effort, which included the still-separate People for Open Space and Greenbelt Congress and local chapters of the Sierra Club, launched an attack against the measure as "developer relief, not traffic relief" (ibid.). It

simultaneously raised concerns about the inherent regressivity of a sales tax with its unfair impact on seniors, the poor and the non-commuters.

But there was a geographic component to their objections. Too much money, too many projects, and too much power on the new CCTA, which would be funded as part of this measure, went to East County, as opposed to "most needed" projects in Central County. East County projects should be financed with development fees, argued the measure's opponents, rather than the tax dollars of the county as a whole.

Despite polling numbers that showed support for the projects themselves, the measure lost. As one longtime transportation planner explained it, the only true sense of urgency came from developers and opponents – there was no real popular base for support. Moreover, people didn't completely understand what was now part of California's tradition of voting on complicated infrastructure financing bills that would confuse even an expert.[27] Yet there is an easier explanation for why the 1986 bill failed: East County (54%) and West County (55%) both supported it, but it got crushed in Central County, getting less than 43% of the vote in Pleasant Hill, Walnut Creek, Lafayette, Clayton and Moraga.

Supporters quickly regrouped, and this time they reached out to the environmentalist coalition which helped defeat them. In what the San Francisco Chronicle called an "unusual coalition", what many locals refer to as the "grand bargain" and one the prominent player in the new coalition called an "unholy alliance", Campbell and many key opponents agreed to come on board in exchange for two things: a seat at the bargaining table, one they would keep until today, and an innovative growth management plan, which would establish the first urban growth boundary in the county and require that each municipality have an approved growth management plan in order to receive funds under the measure.

Despite continued objections from some environmental, slow-growth advocates and the region's most legendary active conservative politician, Assemblyman Bill Baker , the measure passed easily with 57.5% of the vote, ten percent higher than 1986. One look at the vote totals by county shows that the environmental coalition brought on board was not county-wide, but represented a very specific group of people – Central County supporters. The percentage of yes votes in Danville, Lafayette, Moraga and Walnut Creek jumped more than 15 percentage points, and a majority of voters in every municipality were now on board, despite the fact that the list of projects, supposedly a developer sell-out that too heavily benefitted East County, barely changed at all.[28] With power to draw up growth management plans largely in the hands of local jurisdictions, East County municipalities largely remained free to do what they please. Essentially, central county growth opponents

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[27] Interview 8

[28] There was some shifting of monies from capital projects to maintenance, which benefitted central county, as it already had capital investment made during the Keynesian era.

secured their own power to further clamp down on growth in their backyards. At the same time, they made themselves a force to be reckoned with in county development politics for years to come.

Ghosts in the unholy machine

While the innovativeness of the growth management program, which established mechanisms for CCTA to require municipalities to submit growth management plans to receive Measure C funds, received national attention, and much has been made of the unholy alliance and the grand bargain, lost in the story are the "equity" concerns and the geographic politics of East County v. Central County. East County was constantly portrayed as a tool of developers, its residents newcomers who should pay their own way. But the residents of Central County had never paid their own way – the region built them a BART system, the nation and the state built them a freeway, all during a time when developers ran their politics just as much as they did in East County in the 1980s. The logic of development and developers paying their "fair share" or their "own way" makes inherent ahistorical sense, but it becomes problematic when seen against a historic geography of wealth created under different conditions. The demands for reform from relatively wealthy central county residents on the newly developing east are reminiscent of the debate between the developing world and the developed world over greenhouse gas emissions. The developed world wants the developing world to limits its impact because the impact on climate change by two centuries of northern industrialization has taught us that this is bad, while the global south says no – you got yours, now we need ours.

Ultimately, Measure C provided millions of dollars in transportation financing that made a BART extension and highway 4 widening for East County possible, and both Measure C and its renewal Measure J cannot be seen as anything less than "fair" in terms of their geographic distribution.[29] As I showed in East County, it was still too little, too late. The self-help efforts of local jurisdictions, the locals being "creative" to replace funds locally wasn't enough to offset the absence of major top-down funding and the geohistoric advantage of central county. Moreover, the ghost of the missing rail line, sacrificed in an effort to appease Central County voters, is a bitter reminder of Bruegmann's argument about the conservativism inherent in much of the growth backlash. Just like northern countries, the wealthy residents of Central County were not willing to make "sacrifices" to their quality of life – in this case a mass transit line to potentially connect thousands of workers to the new job centers in their backyards - in the name of the environment they supposedly cared for. Those sacrifices needed to be made over the hill, for, after all, that was where the sprawl was, and they were the problem.

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[29] Despite grumblings in East County that they never get a fair shake, and analysis by Sean Dasey of both C and J showed a relatively fair and balanced geographic distribution of funds, with the majority of monies in Measure C actually going to East County because of the high cost of BART and Highway 4.

The rail line, which was designed to run down the old San Ramon Branch Line of Southern Pacific, is still owned by the public, which purchased it for a transit right of way following the end of train service in the 1970s. Today it is the Iron Horse trail, an incredibly pleasant biking and walking trail which bisects the wealth of the 680 corridor, primarily carrying residents fortunate to live there on their evening strolls and weekend bike rides. During the summer I lived in Walnut Creek, I would ride the ~~train~~ trail almost every day, whether to the BART station in Pleasant Hill or on a mansion tour of Alamo and Danville. But it was hard to escape the historical weight of the trail, one whose history is celebrated as a victory for conscientious locals rather than old-time upper class selfishness. In a recent piece for the *San Ramon Patch*, local resident and writer Camille Thompson sums up the local attitude perfectly. Chronicling the "brief history" of the Iron Horse trail, Thompson recounts how "concerned citizens" spoke out against using the corridor for mass transit in the early 1980s, "citing the potential hazard for area children, given the fact that seven schools bordered the strip of land." This was the first step in obtaining votes by the San Ramon, Danville and Pleasanton city councils to oppose transit and favor a biking/walking trail, decisions soon imitated at the county levels in both Contra Costa and Alameda County. With classic nostalgia and absolutely no sense of irony, she concludes by inviting readers to stop and "listen closely" the next time they are on the trail, for "with a little imagination, you might be able to hear a train whistle off in the distance."[30]

Infill as a matter of perspective

> Dougherty Valley offers an alternative way of life. Instead of contributing to the distant sprawl of suburbia, Dougherty Valley is a proposal for an infill development - a residential community planned as a cluster of neighborhoods. – 1992 Dougherty Valley Specific Plan, p. 1-1

One should not mistake the "grand bargain" for peace accords – it was more a like a cease-fire. Less than four years later, the county was embroiled in a development controversy which whose impacts would be felt all the way to Sacramento. The fight is famous in planning and development circles for spurring both questions and legislation regarding the link between water, water agencies and urban development. What gets less attention is how the Dougherty Valley debate fundamentally raised, and never came close to answering, a second geopolitical question: what is infill development? It is in this question where one sees just how dysfunctional the politics of development can be, and how any true "solution" to workforce housing and sprawl issues was never really on the table.

The Dougherty Valley was a fairly desolate stretch of unincorporated grazing land when Measure C passed in 1988, literally the next valley over from the San Ramon Valley and Bishop Ranch. Rob Haeseler's (1995, p. A1) imagery of "burned-out and bullet- riddled cars [as] the only sign of human passage," are an excellent reminder

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[30] http://sanramon.patch.com/articles/iron-horse-trail-a-brief-history

of just how far out Contra Costa's undeveloped valleys can feel. Recognizing that the Valley was the next big battleground for development, slow-growth advocates attempted to restrict growth in the Valley in the 1988 general plan, only to be rebuffed.

Emboldened by their new political position and growing base, the slow-growth community came back with a proposed ballot measure in 1990, which would have effectively pushed the county out of the development business by severely restricting unincorporated development. The county countered with its own proposal that was much more prodevelopment, one that maintained the possibility of unincorporated development but created an urban limit line to map and define the county's urban future. The proposal called for a 65/35 split, with 65% of the county's land mass reserved for open space, agriculture and other non-intensive, non-urban uses (although permitting 5-acre ranchettes). In a very strategic move, the county, backed by development interests, named their measure Measure C, after the landmark transportation bill of the great compromise. It won, and the environmentalist bill, Measure F, lost.

At the same time, two major developers, Shapell Industries and Windemere Ranch Partners, working together with the county's planning department, unveiled plans for an 11,000 unit, 30,000 resident development on almost 6,000 acres. The Dougherty Valley plan, as it became known, would generate multiple lawsuits and a steady stream of controversy long after the lawsuits were settled in 1995. All told, eleven groups – four cities, five environmental groups (including Greenbelt and the Sierra Club), an Alamo community group and the East Bay Municipal Utilities District (EBMUD), one of the old guard water districts providing Sierra water to much of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties – sued the county in two occasions different following the 1992 approval. The developers sued EBMUD for failing to provide water. The developers also raised money to defeat environmentalist directors at EBMUD. Meanwhile, an anti-Dougherty Valley candidate won the November 1992 election on virtually this item alone – but the development still passed.

When one reads the earnest language of the 1992 Dougherty Valley Specific Plan, it is written in the language of infill and sprawl-busting, specifically aiming at providing workforce housing for the new edge city workers. "Dougherty Valley represents one of the few remaining large sites close to existing and expanding job centers and major transportation corridors," (p. 2-3) it states, arguing as well that the constant grazing over the years means it is not a particularly environmentally sensitive site, capable of development with limited impacts. It is two miles from Bishop Ranch, approximately five miles from the new West Dublin BART station. The plans called for 25% affordable housing, some townhome and apartment buildings in addition to single family homes, and biking and walking trails linked to nearby shopping.

In many ways, it reads a lot like Antioch's Southeast Specific Plans, full of ambitious language about transit, jobs/housing balance, pedestrian and bike paths, anything but typical suburbia. There will be mixed use in higher density nodes around a light rail line running up from 680 and a future BART station. It repeatedly emphasizes its contribution to providing homes for local workers priced out of the increasingly unaffordable housing in the Tri-Valley area, even if it had a somewhat ambiguous relationship with the scale of the project, in size alone a new town albeit one that would be part of the City of San Ramon once developed. The authors argue that the plan is consistent with Measure C, falling inside the voter-approved urban limit line and "consistent and supportive" of the ideas at the heart of the measure. Moreover, "this plan appears to be in keeping with the policy recommendations of various organizations, such as the Greenbelt Alliance, Bay Vision 2020, Sierra Club and Bay Area Council, in creating a jobs/housing balance in the region (p 3-8)."

The rhetoric of supporters mixed classic disdain for the new geographies of sprawl that Dougherty Valley was meant to contain with righteous concern. Here is Tom Koch, who made his name in the county as the spokesman for this development before moving on to the Measure F fight in Brentwood:

> `People might be able to find a job in San Ramon but they have to live in Manteca or some other God forsaken place,'' Koch said. ``Rather than throwing our hands up, we're trying to address it foursquare and proactively. . . . We'll probably provide housing to people who make as little as $30,000 a year (quoted in Haeseler 1995).

In approving the project, Board of Supervisor chair Sunne McPeak, whose tenure on the Board was part and parcel of the progrowth 1980s, argued that the project was necessary to provide housing for the estimated 100,000 people forecast to work in Trivalley office buildings in coming years. ``If the housing is not in the Dougherty Valley for those jobs, it will be in Modesto or Tracy,'' McPeak said. ``We need to have housing for jobs (quoted in Hallissy 1992, p. A19).''

Nevertheless, environmental groups protested virulently, including groups like Greenbelt Alliance that were specifically founded with an urbanist bent, recognizing that density in the core was critical to open space preservation on the fringe. Their argument was not against affordable housing, but that this was not really "infill". [31] As they made clear in a 2003 policy memo, infill in their eyes would be on the 680 corridor itself, not a valley away (Greenbelt Alliance 2003). Their argument about the 1990 Measure C – not to be confused with the 1988 Measure C -that it used "environmental rhetoric to gloss over a business-as-usual approach" could easily be applied to key objections to Dougherty Valley. The gist of their argument was that

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[31] A huge aspect of the environmental objections was around water, but this was part of a larger state-wide controversy about water and development, in which the Dougherty Valley project was as much a pawn as anything else. This aspect of the case will come back at the regional/state scales, where it is more appropriate.

the development claimed to be affordable infill development for the masses, but it was just sprawl with better bike paths.

Pro-business groups like the Bay Area Council countered with the accusations of NIMBYism, and Dougherty Valley slowly chewed up headlines and hearing time as it

Proposed Facilities

Underground
At-grade/Elevated

Stations

1. Walnut Creek BART (new LRT station)
2. California Blvd and Mt. Diablo in Downtown Walnut Creek (Platform)
3. South Main, at Newell Avenue, in Walnut Creek (Platform)
4. Sycamore Valley at I-680 (Station)
5. Camino Ramon at Norris Canyon Road (Platform with Parking)
6. Camino Ramon at the Civic Center in San Ramon (Platform)
7. Bollinger Canyon Road at Dougherty Road (Platform with Parking)
8. Bollinger Canyon Road at Dougherty Village Center (Platform with parking)
9. Dougherty Road at Amador Valley Road (Platform)
10. Dougherty Road at Dublin Boulevard (Platform)
11. Dublin/Pleasanton BART (new LRT station)

Existing Facilities

▪▪▪▪▪ BART Line
◯ BART Station
0000 BART Station Parking Spaces
△ Transit Center (with number of spaces)
00 Park-N-Ride Lot (with number of spaces)
— — — Iron Horse Trail

**Figure 5-3
Option Package 'C'
Light Rail Transit (I-680/Dougherty Valley)**

Figure 10: Light Rail as studied for the 2004 Measure J. Two BART options were considered as well. Note that the plan for the Danville and Alamo sections calls for undergrounding the system, as it does in the BART options, even though this is not an urban area, and the train would be on an already esyablish right of way that is now the Iron Horse Trail. Undergrounding is much more expensive- this and other transit routes for 680 were never meant to be feasible.

became a lightning rod for the growth and development wars of the early 1990s. When the last of the lawsuits was settled in 1995, the development was allowed to proceed largely as it was designed, with some additional open space and money for an environmental fund, not to mention promises of affordable housing and the tantalizing potential of mixed use and transit.

Now, almost two decades later, Dougherty Valley is a place, part of the city of San Ramon, somewhat finished and seemingly incomplete. One can sense why the residents of the newer part of Brentwood look to San Ramon for inspiration, for the two places feel similar – everything new, lots of golf courses, cul-de-sacs, schools and streets named after wildlife, the bright green lawns made brighter by fairly barren hillside generally burnt beige by the arid California summer. It doesn't in any way feel like a new city or a new town, a center of anything but almond blossoms and school plays, but then that is the center of many people's lives and they are perhaps quite happy about it.

The main drag of Bollinger Canyon Road has an landscaped median, a three dimensional space of drainage and foliage which at times feels like part of one of the golf courses it bisects. This is the space for the light rail that was never built, which was never going to be built and which, in the words of the developer who sold the project to citizens in part based on the promise of something different, is never going to be built, "…. not in your or my lifetime (quoted in Farooq 2005)." The idea keeps percolating, and along with plans for various formulations of BART and light rail for the 680 corridor, is occasionally studied, including a detailed analysis in preparation for the renewal of the transportation sales tax, now named Measure J, in 2004. Like its predecessor in 1988, the rail never made it into the plan. Not only would it cost billions now, but many anticipate that the new residents of Dougherty Valley, who moved into a development offering "an alternative way of life", would oppose it (ibid., Dougherty Valley Specific Plan, p. 1-1).

The only thing that can be argued that is truly "alternative" about Dougherty Valley from previous iterations of suburbia is that it is roughly half Asian. Demographics in Dougherty can be tough to calculate, as it is bisected by multiple census tracts, as if the Census department had no real interest in new developments. Only the smallest wedge of census territory west of Bollinger Canyon is more than 20% Black and Latino, with the remaining tracts evenly split between slightly more white and slightly more Asian.

The failure of planning politics

Twenty years in the making, few would argue that Dougherty Valley did much of anything to stop the overflow into the Valley or set an example for the rest of suburbia. The developer-driven Specific Plan was never a true plan, not one backed by the full force of both state and capital like the earlier plan to build Bishop Ranch. Bishop Ranch is at least an example of a plan which did everything it was intended to do: it provided an ongoing economic and employment pole in what had

previously been a bedroom county. It transformed Contra Costa County, which was its purpose. Dougherty Valley may have transformed local development politics and helped spur legislation at the state level regarding water and planning, but as a development it is just another upper middle class node in an ever more exclusive and expensive suburban valley.

The true tragedy of Dougherty Valley is not the lost hilltops, or that the developers failed to live up to their rhetoric, or that politicians bought into it or were bought by it.[32] The tragedy is that Dougherty Valley defined the planning discourse in the post-Measure C era, a "debate" which was a colossal waste of time and resources on both side. Rather than emerge from the "grand bargain" with a new sense of the possible in the face of mounting evidence that both the postwar and neoliberal forms of suburbanization were not working, Contra Costa settled into a vicious and petty set of expensive, internecine and completely unproductive wars. Developers were emboldened by Dougherty Valley and kept up the pressure – next came the Tassajara Valley one ridge over, followed by New Farm in 2010, while East County went from Cowell Ranch to Measure F. Surely, significant gains were made to parks and open space, but the basic issue of core affordability, reducing the massive outpouring of people outside the transportation grid and the traditional Bay Area, shoring up the growing communities of East County which were increasingly relying on unsustainable development fees and more and more predatory debt – these did not get serious attention. The "possible" in Contra Costa County was reduced to minor extractions from developers, a bit of parkland there and a better water and sewage plan there, not anything that was ever going to alter the increasingly unequal status quo – a status quo which benefitted both developers and the wealthy Central County suburbs whose residents made up the base of the environmental activism but almost never deigned to alter their own land use and housing plan in a way that would make a difference.

Jim Blickenstaff, a leader with Sierra Club and Save Our Hills during the fights over Dougherty Valley, argued in the face of the final settlement of the lawsuits that the very limited gains from years of fighting, thousands of hours of work and untold economic and political resources represented "a pragmatic solution to an imperfect world (quoted in Ambruster 1995)." With apologies to John Dewey and Charles Pierce, developers won the battle for the heart of Contra Costa County in part because they dictated precisely what was possible and therefore "pragmatic." The only power base in the county strong enough to oppose them – the environmental community – went along with the mediocre, as they were not impelled by questions of want or need but rather of preservation and conservation of a lifestyle granted them by a previous generation's racialized creation.

Contra Costa's notable Republican presence will often get blamed for its generally staunch pro-development stance, and that surely matters to some degree. The Republican Party remains strong in parts of the county, and both East County and

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[32] Developer contributions to elected officials were a major source of controversy in this era.

the Tri-Valley area have noticeable and at times notable Tea Party presences.[33] Yet the 1992 vote to approve Dougherty Valley came on the heels of a Democratic sweep of the Board of Supervisors, whose stable Democratic majority of Sunne McPeak, Tom Powers and Tom Torlakson presided over most of the 1980s growth, supported by labor unions and Democratic politicians up and down the political food chain. The "redness" of Contra Costa County surely matters in local development fights and in questions of race, poverty and crime in places like Antioch. But the developed future of the core of the county was decided by green v. white, with brown and black largely not part of the conversation.

The end result is a politics of planning, and therefore a planning itself, which is sclerotic at best and a travesty at worst. Two well-armed sides, each with seemingly noble ambitions – building housing for the masses versus preserving the environment and way of life – and a bevy of lawyers, studies, and ideological frameworks battle it out from ridgeline to ridgeline as the larger problems of society mount just beyond the sightlines of the Diablo Valley. One side can point to the market, another to the state, and both can mount populist attacks, but at the end of the day victory for either side would not solve colective problems. This is what I call the Dougherty Valley dilemma, the rock and the hard place of contemporary regional planning.

When the building of the edge cities began, Contra Costa's communities of color were largely confined to the deindustrializing spaces of Richmond and West County, and its multi-racial working class base stretched along the Highway 4 corridor facing a future which everyone knew was uncertain. The combination of a new interstate, a state-of the art rapid transit system and a booming regional tech economy made gave Central County an unprecedented opportunity to use its geography to solve the county's problems, not just its own. Almost forty years later, the four counties remain, more entrenched in the political, cultural and racial fabric of the county, but now with regional implications.

So is it infill?

If Dougherty Valley exposed and solidified the mediocrity of "pragmatic" planning politics in the county – a mediocrity which in many ways defines planning at every scale in this tale – it did raise the important question of infill. The question of how to promote "infill development" has concerned planners and urbanists ever since the "exploding metropolis (White 1958) " began to leave significant chunks of abandoned or underutilized space in urban cores. As Alice Coleman (1978, p.48 in reference to Ash 1976) wisely points out, the push to reuse and build inwards was not universally embraced, with calls to abandon an inner core that was "dying and should be allowed to die" coming as late as the mid 1970s.

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[33] See Chapter 6 for a more thorough discussion of left/right divides in the greater Bay Area.

By the 1980s, especially in a California beginning to come to terms with a permanent fiscal and housing crisis and with the sheen of suburbanization beginning to wear off, more and more studies have examined and called for infill development. The state's Office of Planning and Research commission a study in 1981 which examined some of the obstacles to infill development, including issues with inadequate facilities, difficulties with land assemblage, and the fact that many parcels were in low-income neighborhoods unattractive to developers. A report by Greenbelt's predecessor, People for Open Space, argued in 1983 that the Bay Area could accommodate one and a half times it projected 20 year population within the existing urban footprint if it so desired. A steady stream of research by both academics and policy groups followed over the past three decades, grappling with and documenting the difficulty of doing infill, even though it made sense and became the cornerstone of important discourses in planning and development. Smart Growth, Sustainable Development, and New Urbanism all promote infill heavily (Wheeler 2001).

One hallmark of this work is a rather vague definition of infill, and particularly the geography of infill. Wheeler (2001, p. 2) defines it as the "construction of new housing, workplaces, stores, and other facilities within existing urban areas," a definition similar to one in a 1997 report which adds the addition of "urban areas that are already largely developed."[34] Academic definitions can be somewhat more precise: Steinacker defines infill "as residential development occurring within the city limits of the major city(s) in the MSA," a definition which involves both political lines and the question of centrality. In an important 2000 paper funded by state and regional actors which was part of the growing dialogue about infill in the Bay Area, Juan Onésimo Sandoval and John Landis define it even more precisely, based on location within the Bay Area's *urban footprint,* a technical definition generated by the California Farmland Mapping and Monitoring Project (CFMMP). The CFMMP definition is parcel-based, calculated not based on political lines but rather on building density (Sandoval and Landis 2000).

Under all of these definitions, Dougherty Valley is not considered infill, despite the claims of its developers. Yet it is within two miles of the most important job center built in the region in half a century, two miles from a major federally funded freeway which was part of a half-century old mass transit plan, and only five miles from one of the few new BART stations built in the past two decades. If viewed from the regional scale, the Valley is central to a major economic node, even if it was undeveloped at the time. It was not *urban infill* as commonly thought of, but it was certainly *regional infill*.

Unfortunately, our conception of what is sprawl and what is infill are determined not just by questions of form – again, Dougherty Valley is just another version of upscale single-family housing, with a sprinkling of alternate forms mixed in – but by often outdated conceptions of urban and regional geography. Once the decision was

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[34] This is Greenbelt's definition as well. See also MSRC 1997.

made to transform the 680 corridor and the Tri-Valley area into a massive economic cluster, the Bay Area had created a new centrality in a place which was previously peripheral. Yet the region did not shift its politics, policies and collective imagination to embrace this new centrality and either fully connect this new center to the new peripheries which sprung up as a result –places like East County – or transform this new center into a true and complete center. If East County's problem is that it remains incomplete, East County's problem is also that Central County remained incomplete. The problem with Dougherty Valley is not that it was developed, but that it wasn't developed enough.

This failure to change conceptions of what was central and what was peripheral, and to act boldly and accordingly, is not only the fault of Contra Costa's divided, entitled and sclerotic politics of development. Dougherty Valley's centrality, its "infillness", is something that can only be seen at the regional scale, not the county or the local scale. To someone from Walnut Creek or Lafayette, perhaps it is the undeveloped fringe. But from the regional perspective, the Bay Area as a whole failed to adjust to the new centrality of the edge cities, to a postsuburban reality which meant thinking differently not simply about the *form of suburban sprawl but about the location.* The pieces were there to turn this intersection of Contra Costa and Alameda County into a true new center, but the Bay Area continued, and largely continues, to view anything built there as sprawl and as suburbia, a view which constantly reinforces the ample and powerful local inertia for limited and unequal development and leaves the region trapped in a planning and political paradigm which forecloses the possibility of meaningful change.

This regional view is critical not only to understanding why Dougherty Valley could have been infill, but for the larger goal of analyzing the collective responsibility for the journey from Babylon to Brentwood. Dougherty Valley was not the only symbol of fragmented planning politics, and Contra Costa County was not the only place where inequality was reinforced while new lines were being drawn. As East County was taking shape and Contra Costa County was toggling between dilemmas and grand bargains, between edge cities and lost opportunities, the leaders of the region's core cities and its regional agencies were participating in the reproduction of a Babylon most had hoped would become a thing of the past.

Figure 1: Brownfield. Richmond, CA. Photo by Alex Schafran

CHAPTER 5: THE REPRODUCTION OF BABYLON

> Load up the Uhaul and go back to Richmond or Oakland…. – Hate letter sent
> to Antioch resident, read aloud by recipient at Quality of Life Meeting, July 14,
> 2007

> Black people have been the canary in the mine. - Angela Glover Blackwell,
> KQED Forum, July 7, 2011

At the end of the Ford Peninsula in Richmond, just past the old Ford Factory, is a
small park named after Lucretia Edwards, a longtime environmental activist
credited with helping add a string of parks along Richmond's shoreline to the East
Bay Regional Parks district. On clear days it has one of the most stunning views you
can find, from the edge of Angel Island past Kerouac's White City and down the San
Mateo coast, over to Oakland's skyline and sea of container cranes, forever ingrained
in local lore as the inspiration for the AT-AT walker in Star Wars.[1] The Bay Trail

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[1] Sadly, this appears to be urban legend.

crosses in front of you, a 500-mile odyssey around the San Francisco Bay which is the result of decades of struggle.

This is not the Richmond that most Bay Area residents know, although I would hazard an educated guess that most Bay Area residents don't actually know Richmond. It has too much of a reputation – for crime, poverty, violence, environmental illness – that many folks either avoid it, or when they do visit its shoreline parks or the city's small Cape Cod-esque neighborhood of Point Richmond, they say, "Oh, that's not *really* Richmond."

We have a terrible habit in America of denying places their complexity, of finding perverse comfort in one-dimensional views of communities, be they tony suburbs or impoverished urban neighborhoods or entire cities like Detroit. Richmond is as complex as they come – hyper diverse with a cutthroat politics of race, class and environmentalism, a middle class suburb and post-industrial city in one place, a place where the collective urban future will be made but where the past hangs as heavily as anywhere in the Bay Area.

Sadly, when it comes to understanding the restructuring of the Bay Area and its role in the production of crisis, it is this past which defines Richmond's role in this tale. For all that I would paint a complex picture of Richmond and places like it, one cannot deny that there is truth to the often racist allegation that many of the people in East County and places like it at the edge of the region came from Richmond, West and East Oakland, East Palo Alto and a handful of neighborhoods in San Francisco. These communities are the core of the region's African American history, part of the military-industrial legacy of World War II and the west coast's version of the Great Migration. Hundreds of thousands of non-black residents made similar moves – Filipinos from Daly City and San Francisco's Excelsior, Latinos from East San Jose and East Oakland, whites from all over. As Angela Glover Blackwell has noted, African American's are often the canary in the mine which is regional restructuring and redevelopment.

Standing at Edwards Park, the temptation is to focus on what has changed, on the sailboats behind you in a cove that Henry Kaiser used to build the most productive World War II shipyard in the country. Richmond is a cornerstone in one of the region's oldest industrial geographies, and these spaces and places have witnessed innumerable changes only talked about and never realized, incremental difference that was never enough to overcome the inertia of the Babylon geography. Despite a recent and hope-inducing multi-racial green 'revolution" in city politics (Schafran and Feldstein 2013), Richmond in contemporary history is also a case of stasis, of a community still struggling with racialized poverty, a homicide rate consistently at the top of the national charts, and the seemingly paradoxical plague of stagnant industrial employment amidst continuing pollution and environmental illness. For all the changes witnessed on the fringe of the region, important parts of the older industrial core faltered on their way to the new economy, on their way to better education, better jobs, healthier neighborhoods and safer streets. Sadly and not

coincidentally, in places like Richmond, San Francisco's Bayview/Hunter Point, East and West Oakland, this is where the racial map of the region and the economic and land use map line up. The racialized historical geography evident in Richmond is a view not of a changing region, but of one that didn't change enough.

Racial ghosts in a regional machine

On the long road from Babylon to Brentwood, some of Babylon – its unequal spaces and its divisive politics - remained. To truly understand the production of East County, one must better understand why places like Richmond struggled while the rest of the core boomed.

As I have stated many times in this dissertation, the major challenges facing the Bay Area at the end of the Keynesian era were well known at the time: rampant, environmentally destructive growth in the suburban realm; the need to transform the military industrial complex of the waterfront, with its steady deindustrialization and the beginnings of demilitarization already on the horizon and its clear links to struggling, racialized communities; the challenge of creating a better system of regional governance in an increasingly fragmented region. Part of the reason why so much demographic and capital pressure was applied on the fringes of the region was that the region largely failed at the latter two efforts. It was unable to create enough meaningful change in a handful of important core struggling communities of the region and combat racialized urban poverty. Simultaneously, it was unable to transform regional governance, instead settling on a divided group of agencies and failing in the one major (yet still inadequate) bid for a stronger regionalism.

The central argument of this chapter is that these two failures are linked. The Bay Area reproduced core urban inequality in part because it put primary responsibility for coping with local and county governments unable or unwilling to do so, partly as a result of being hamstrung by the legacy of Babylon's racial inequality and the unique set of dilemmas presented by life in the unequal neighborhoods of the Bay Area's urban core. And it failed yet again to make meaningful reform in regional governance in part because regional leadership remained unwilling to step beyond its comfort zone of elite dialogue, a dialogue which had become a regional version of the Dougherty Valley dilemma. Communities of color, for all of their gains in local politics in key locales, were not made integral to the broader conversation about the region. Most critically, regionalism was never made to account for the region's profound and deep historical legacy of racialized inequality.

For all of its liberalism, for all of its progressive politics and widespread environmental ethos, the Bay Area has never truly come to terms with race – with a racialized history and still segregated present, a deeply racialized local politics and quiet prejudice, a casual racism for the bobo generation on the left coast.[2] This inability and unwillingness to deal with race as both a historical and contemporary

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[2] I owe the observation of the Bay's causal racism to Mike Teitz.

reality in Bay Area geography and geopolitics is the critical and often missing ingredient in why the region's black population became the biggest canary – out of many - in the restructuring mine, why so many residents of a core which had built a region felt the need to seek greener pastures many, many miles away. In this way, the region is sadly not unique, but rather all too American, for race has long been the ghost in the collective American machine.

What makes this story particularly Bay Area is the strong linkage between race, redevelopment and the military-industrial history of the region, the Bay Area's original Faustian bargain. In few other regions is the history of diversity so tied to specifically military-related industry. The presence of African Americans and Filipinos in Pittsburg and Vallejo is not tied to general industrialization but to jobs related to World War II and the military complex which evolved from it. The early history of African Americans in Richmond cannot be told without the history of Kasier's shipyards, San Francisco without Hunter's Point. Why it matters now is that the racialized economy and the racialized spaces created by this industry never recovered from the severing of that relationship, in part because of the dysfunctional politics of redevelopment. The Bay Area had an opportunity a generation ago to recognize how critical this link was, and to intervene in a way that could have helped offset the need for mass suburbanization of communities living through disinvestment and environmental pollution. This was the region's one shot at remaking the map, and it missed it.

This failure, the reproduction of Babylon amidst the production of Brentwood under the knowing but ineffective gaze of the region's leadership, is the regional ghost in the machine, for many of the ideas to make changes and to solve problems have long been on the drawing board, long been planned and been on plans, often talked about it and never implemented. The region did not successfully combat the inequality of the Babylon map, the racialized communities hemmed against an increasingly polluted and decreasingly economically viable heavy industrial grid, with a concerted collective campaign to repair what was broken. The Bay Area not only pushed out and away as capital continued its suburban expansion in terms of both jobs and housing, it saw a massive tide of venture capital aimed primarily at the core which drove up housing prices and the cost of office space in Silicon Valley and San Francisco. But this renewed economic growth and investment did not reinvigorate core economic zones equally. The postwar factory-based industrial belt of southern Alameda County and northern Santa Clara County was largely reconfigured into Silicon Valley, along with the South of Market area of San Francisco, long a redevelopment target of city leaders and developers. Meanwhile, the older, pre-war and wartime military and petrochemical belt stretching in an arc running from southeastern San Francisco through West Oakland and Richmond and on up to the often ignored areas of Vallejo, Pittsburg and Antioch struggled, as the brownfields of an older industrial map which had built the region and attracted so many diverse workers to the region saw much planning but little action. This northeastern stretch of cities, which I have called the "Cities of Carquinez," (figure 2) faced the double ignomy of being integral to the first century of regional industrial development, and

then being treated as sprawl when the economic power shifted to the south (Schafran 2012a).
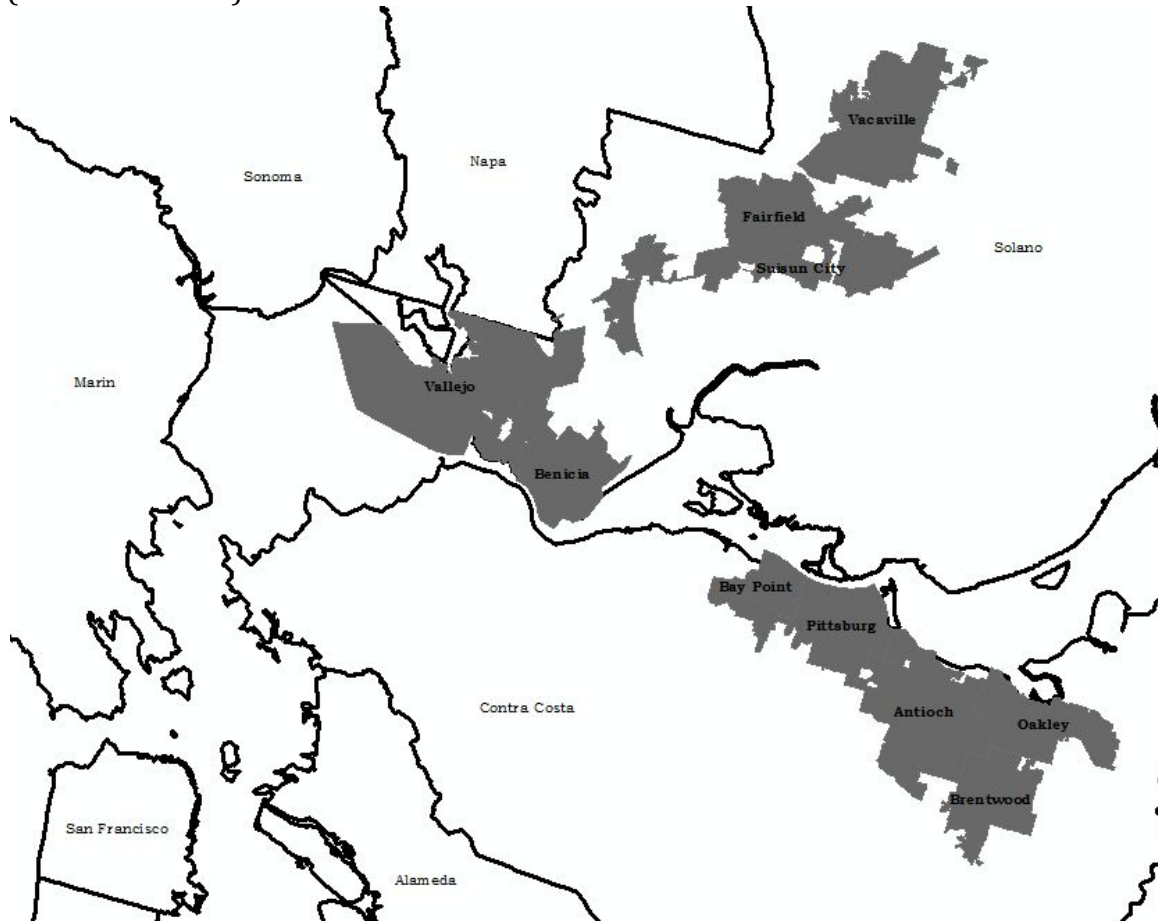
Figure 2: The "cities of Carquinez" (Schafran 2012b), Pop. 658,736 (2010)

Part of the struggle of these northern industrial communities was with the legacy of the Babylon era. These communities had come of age politically during the brutal racist politics of urban renewal and redlining, of abandonment mixed with exclusion. In many ways one can mark the end of the Babylon era with the political ascendancy of communities of color and neighborhood activists, who emerged as a force in the politics of core cities in a similar way that slow-growth activists and environmentalists emerged in the suburbs. But the neighborhoods and the cities they gained control of faced huge obstacles and dilemmas unique to struggling, racialized inner core communities. In the cities of Oakland and Richmond, this meant elected power for African Americans, but like in the cities of East County, the leaders of Oakland and Richmond made critical mistakes, missing the limited and narrow window of opportunity to make structural changes early enough to change the map unfolding in front of them.

One obstacle these communities faced was that local power did not translate into a regional voice. Regionalists saw what was happening on the fringe, recognized the struggles in the core and the need for concerted collective action and a significant change in governance, but just like their modernist predecessors they thought they

could get everyone together while ignoring both racial history and racialized communities, that they could build a movement to combat the new map while forgetting their responsibility for the old map and ignoring those communities still living there. Their repetition of history helped spark a growing attempt by progressive groups to work at the regional scale, but it was too little, too late, in part because progressive neighborhood and community activists have long been trapped in their own version of Dougherty Valley - the gentrification dilemma.

Capital and the construction of the new map[3]

As we saw in Chapters 3 and 4, capital investment in both jobs and housing moved outwards from the core during the neoliberal era, a contemporary and more complete version of what the suburban "spatial fix" of the postwar era.[4] But unlike the more coordinated capital flows of the postwar era, where residential, commercial and transportation capital all moved to the same places at the same time, the neoliberal era saw a much more fragmented pattern. Residential developers and commercial developers emerged from this period operating in very separate and distinct worlds, driven in part by an unbelievable torrent of venture capital which helped transform the Bay Area into a truly regional economy, albeit without the investment in transportation infrastructure to weave it all together.

Residential developers go over the hill

The presence of large scale developers like Gentry in East County came only after the heyday of building in the inner ring suburbs along the Bay and the classic postwar suburbs of Walnut Creek, Pleasanton and Livermore. Their tried and true business model of single family detached homes in new subdivisions was not set up from a business perspective for the demands of an older city and mature suburbs, places that demanded infill development of multifamily, attached or mixed-use housing. As the flatter, more easily developed land along existing suburban corridors began to physically disappear, they looked eastward to the old grazing lands, truck farms and orchards on the other side of the hill.

If open space was a pull factor, so were the risk factors. With the growth of the slow-growth and anti-growth movements throughout California in the 1970s and 1980s, epitomized by Central Contra Costa county, and the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, large scale subdivisions of resource consuming and low-tax generating subdivisions became politically unpopular in the second ring suburban areas which had room to grow. If building was tough in Walnut Creek, it was even tougher in Marin and Sonoma Counties and in the Tri-Valley areas of Alameda County. East County, and the Central Valley, provided a more welcome political environment for the now tried and true model of low density suburban tract housing.

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[3] This section is a revised version of portions of Schafran (2012a).
[4] This is Richard Walker's (1981) oft-cited but underacknowledged extension of Harvey's argument about spatial fixes and urban capitalism to the history of suburbanization.

Political risk meshed with economic risk in the core, where the only major sites involved reuse, often of industrial land with significant environmental costs (and potential challenges under CEQA). Although density seems to be the logical choice in these matters, large-scale residential builders do not simply switch models from stick-built detached housing to skyscrapers. Their network of lenders, subcontractors, investors, and sales staff is set up to manufacture a specific type of product, and they will move their operations more readily than change them to suit new constraints, especially if it means only going over a few hills.[5]

This does not mean that there was no risk involved in these new exurban markets, simply that they were trading political and economic risk for market risk. Just because you build it, does not mean that they will come. That is, unless high housing prices in the core, cheap gas and even cheaper debt make your product 60 miles and 2 hours in traffic away from the core more marketable. It is worth noting that the first true clouds on the horizon came not from default notices, but from the spike in gas prices in 2005, when a key lubricant that allowed this exurban shift (both of capital and demographics) to occur began disappear.

Venture in the West Bay
In the meantime, a different type of capital was pouring into the core – venture and stock market capital in immense proportions. In 1999, at the top of the dot-com boom, the Bay Area received twice as much venture capital (5.5%) as the next largest metro area, and almost 10 times the U.S. Metro average (Atkinson and Gottlieb 2001). This approximately $1.65 billion did not spread evenly throughout the Bay, concentrating in Santa Clara, San Francisco and northern Alameda counties. While this upsurge in investment initially impacted commercial rents in Silicon Valley and San Francisco, the profits and salaries earned from the growing tech "miracle" quickly multiplied in the local real estate economy as a new generation of dot-com millionaires and digital economy success stories bought and rented Silicon Valley and San Francisco real estate to new heights (Walker 2006).

This venture money was soon followed by a wave of investment in the heart of San Francisco. As rents for both commercial and residential property skyrocketed – from 1996 to 2000, residential rents went up 225% in San Francisco, making it the most expensive rental market in the nation – capital investment in new and renewed real estate soon followed (ibid.). The region south of Market Street was transformed by billions of dollars in capital, both to build high end residential buildings – lofts in the 1990s, towers in the 2000s – and new corporate and research facilities surrounding the new campus of the University of California San Francisco at Mission Bay. Sale prices for housing (figure 3), even when not measured by square foot, shot up in San Francisco, making it consistently amongst the top three

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[5] See Allison Arieff's (2011) interesting column on changing the suburban paradigm for an anecdote on just how tenaciously suburban developers are holding onto the model.

most expensive counties in the region, outpaced only by tony and tiny Marin to the north and at times by San Mateo to the south.
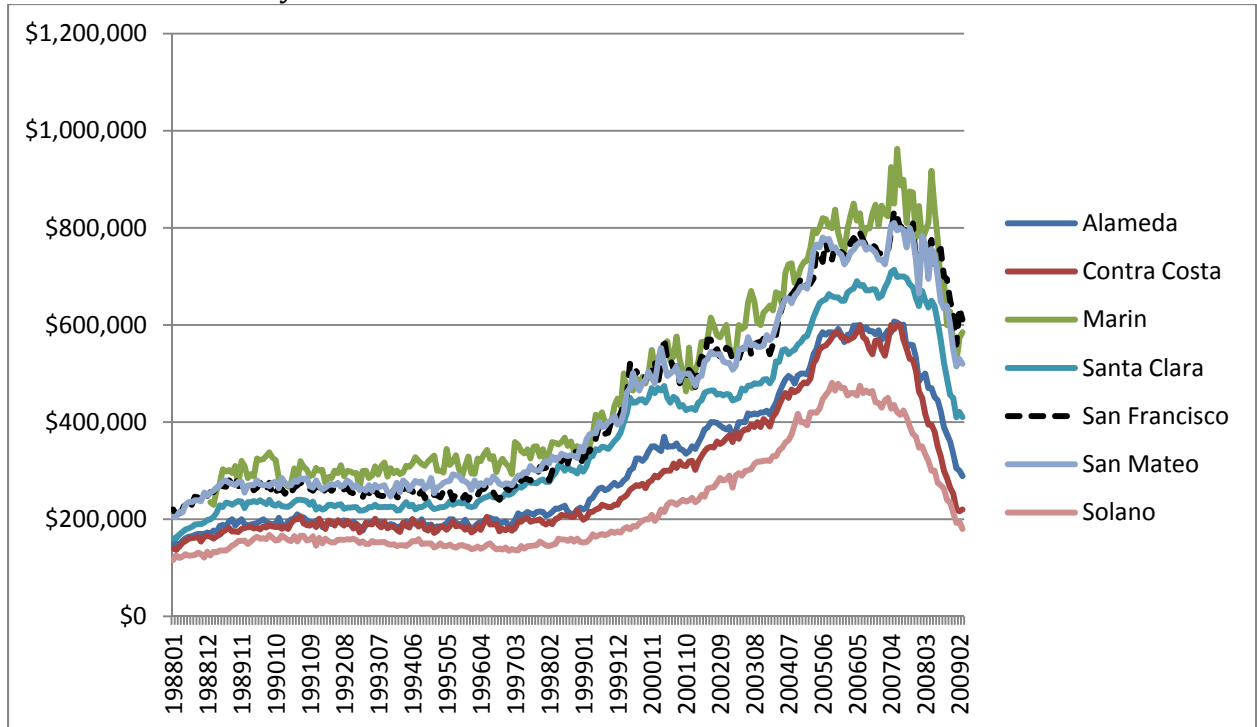
Figure 3: median sales price, 1990-2010 by county. Source: Dataquick

These capital flows functioned in tandem with the flows of subdivision investment on the outer fringes – as the core became increasingly unaffordable, the market for market-rate affordable suburban houses for working and middle class populations on the outer fringes only increased, especially younger households who had not managed to buy during the earlier era. But the gap between the core and the periphery was widening – while the average house in San Francisco sold for one and a half time the average housing Contra Costa County in 1988, by 2009 that figure was two and a half.[6]

Commercial capital all over

This was not a two party dance. At the same time, commercial/office capital and jobs were moving into those already established second ring suburbs, creating the edge cities of Contra Costa and their twin in the Tri-Valley region of Alameda County, and cementing the status of the Silicon Valley Corridor in western San Mateo and northern Santa Clara counties as one of the foremost economic centers on the planet.

Whereas there was a significant gap between residential and nonresidential construction between places like Antioch on the fringe and new centers like Walnut Creek, when seen at the regional level (figure 4) it is a very different story. Santa

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[6] Source: Dataquick, calculation by author.

Clara County in particular far outstripped San Francisco, and Alameda County – on the strength of Fremont's San Jose spillover and the Tri-Valley area - managed to keep pace or exceed San Francisco in terms of capital investment in nonresidential development. This perspective also shows another side of Contra Costa County-although Bishop Ranch remains critical to the region in terms of both numbers and symbolism, and there is significant investment in the northern stretches of the 680 corridor, Contra Costa, and neighboring Solano county to the north, remain more important as residential communities than as sources of jobs and economic activity.
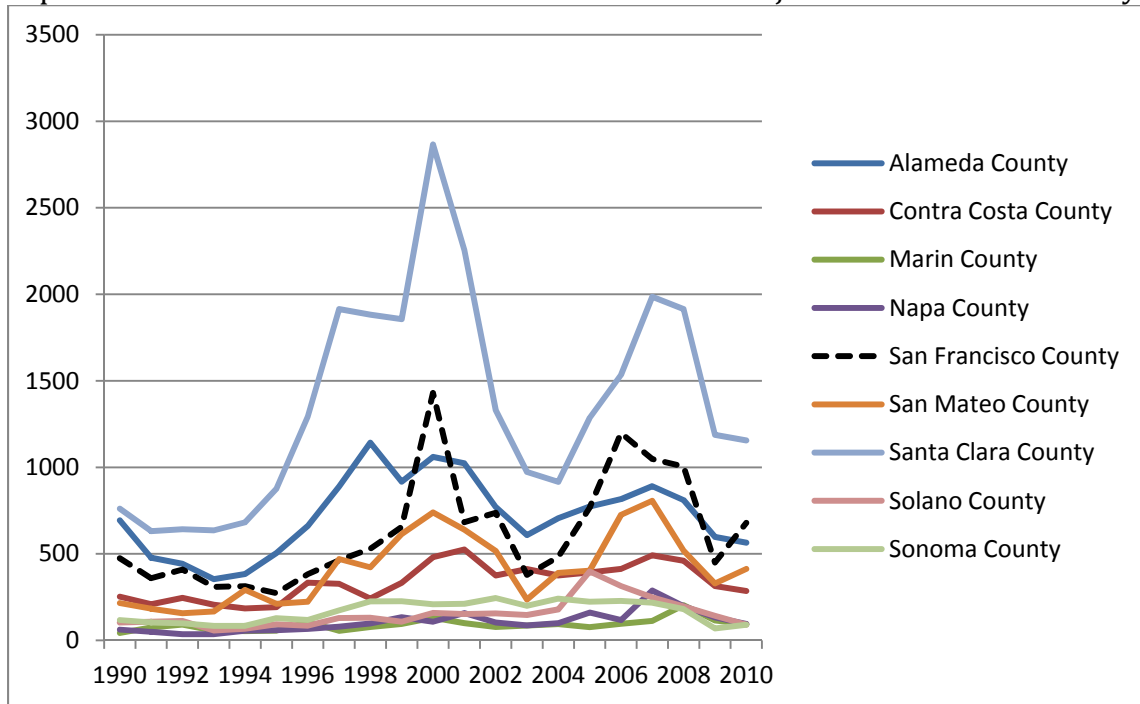
Figure 4: Nonresidential construction valuation, in millions: source: RAND Ca

The result of this two part jump – commercial in one place, residential in another – is a new regional map of employment far different from the San Francisco-centric map of the post-war era. By the mid-1970s, Santa Clara surpassed San Francisco, followed by Alameda county n the mid 1980s (figure 5). Whereas Contra Costa and San Mateo had roughly a third the number of jobs as San Francisco in 1970, by 2010 it was closer to two-thirds.
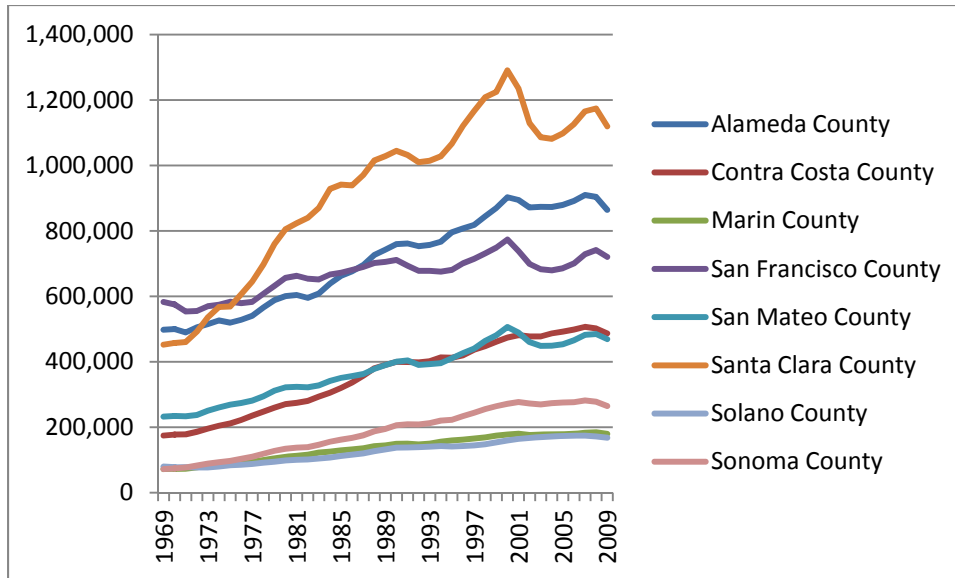
Figure 5: Total employment by county, 1969-2010

The result is not an elimination of jobs/housing imbalance, but merely a pushing outward. The west bay power of the San Mateo, San Francisco and Santa Clara jobs centers is not quite matched in the East Bay, and Solano County is typical of the outer fringe areas (table 1). As I show in Chapter 6, the true imbalance is farther east in the central valley.

Table 1: Jobs: Housing Ratio by County.					
County	1970	1980	1990	2000	2009
Alameda	1.32	1.35	1.51	1.67	1.48
Contra Costa	1.00	1.07	1.26	1.34	1.22
Marin	1.02	1.19	1.50	1.69	1.61
San Francisco	1.85	2.07	2.17	2.23	1.91
San Mateo	1.23	1.38	1.59	1.94	1.73
Santa Clara	1.36	1.70	1.93	2.23	1.77
Solano	1.45	1.17	1.15	1.19	1.10
Sonoma	0.95	1.08	1.28	1.48	1.29
Source: US Census, Calculations by author					

Unfortunately, this new map of jobs, housing and capital investment had two key blind spots. The first was the steady strangulation of public investment in infrastructure, see in much detail in the previous two chapters, which left the new suburban zones increasingly unequal and often unconnected. Surely the re-creation of a jobs-housing imbalance farther out from the core had significant fiscal impacts, as revenue starved places like Antioch were forced to look anywhere for additional incomes without the revenue generating capacity and low service demand of jobs-producing real estate. And as I discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the new exurban communities, and many of the new jobs centers, were off the major transit grid – BART – and in East County's case off of the federal highway system. Not only have BART extensions to East County been slow in coming, but BART only arrived in Pleasanton and Dublin in 1997, and the extension to Livermore (but not over the hill into Tracy) remains bogged down. San

Francisco is served only by Cal Train, a slow and limited commuter rail only recently integrated into the BART system, BART to San Jose remains a work in progress, and the one effort to move people en masse from the Central Valley is exceptionally limited (Chapter 6). As Robert Cervero (1989, 1996; Cervero and Landis 1992; Cervero and UC ITS 1986; Cervero and Wu 1997) has shown for decades, the Bay Area's new economic map and old transportation map do not compute.

If the neoliberal era can in some ways be characterized by the speed and quantity of major capital flows in the built environment, the simple fact in the Bay Area is that real estate and venture capital – producing jobs and housing and commercial space - moved with much faster centrifugal speed than transportation infrastructure during this era, and the result is a disconnected and disjointed regional commute-shed. In places like Antioch, it means coping with an incomplete suburbanization, as new centers were created all over the region without either the housing or transportation to properly serve them. If during an earlier era, one could afford to be peripheral, a low-tax quite bedroom community dependent on the automobile, that has become increasingly difficult under the current economic and fiscal regime. Exurban towns and cities which suburbanized under the neoliberal regime hit the point of crisis before they were fully "citizens" of the region, as this restructuring of the region occurred without the federal and state largesse that built an earlier set of suburbs.

This new map was also built while largely ignoring portions of the older map which shaped the region's economic and racial history, a map which centered as much on the shores of the San Joaquin as in the waters of the Bay. It is this map of limited reinvestment, investment made in plans and not in reality, a ghost in the regional capital machine, which helped reproduce the new map of inequality on the ashes of the old one. It is also where the map of capital investment and the map of race and racial politics – maps which bring their own ghosts to the table – intersect.

Industry and the failures of the old map

The distinct capital flows of the neoliberal era Bay Area largely occurred despite an earlier map of capital investment in heavy industry, not because of it. The map of the Babylon Bay Area was not created solely by postwar investment in new suburbs and new industry, but by the legacy of an earlier wave of industrial expansion and suburbanization which saw much of southeast San Francisco, west Oakland, Richmond and the Solano and Contra Costa shores of San Joaquin River – the "Cities of Carquinez" - transformed starting in the late 19th century (Walker 2004).

The massive reinvestment spurred by the Silicon Valley miracle largely missed these regions.[7] The postwar corridor along Highway 880 from San Leandro to San Jose fared much better than did these earlier industrial zones, which were more polluted, much poorer, and saddled with an aging military infrastructure whose

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[7] The major exception in this case is Emeryville, which will be discussed in the next section.

transformation into jobs, affordable housing and clean open space for local communities – many low income and majority minority - has still not been realized. This partial economic transformation, which raised housing prices regionally while only producing jobs in certain locations and leaving former economic anchors moribund in communities with massive environmental health issues, contributed to the high poverty rates which helped spur outmigration from these communities.

The partial industrial transformation

Over the course of the past three decades, the 880 corridor – the heart of Self's 'industrial garden' stretching from San Leandro south to San Jose - fared much better than the older prewar heavy industrial locations farther north.[8] Oriented more towards freeways than rail, better situated in regards to the Silicon Valley job machine, and already the recipient of industrial relocation from the older, more northern industrial sites, reinvestment in cities like Fremont and Milpitas was much quicker in coming than in places like Richmond or Vallejo.
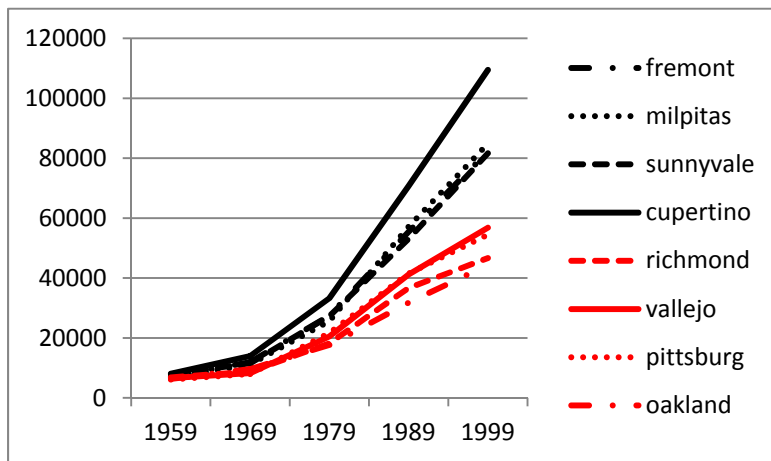
Figure 6: median family income, 1959-1999. source Bay Area Census from US Census

The Bay Area's two major auto factories, Ford and GM, each moved during the Babylon era – Ford from Richmond south to Milpitas, GM from East Oakland south to Fremont. By the time the Ford plant closed down in Milpitas as was turned into the Great Mall of the Bay Area, the still standing former Ford plant remained largely quiet on a still dormant south Richmond waterfront. When the GM plant faltered in its new location, it was reconstructed as the NUMMI plant, a collaboration with Toyota which lasted until 2010. When this too faltered, Tesla, a maker of electric cars, was brought in to occupy the massive plant.

Fremont as a city is a perfect example of the transformation of south bay industrial space. A collection of small, unincorporated towns during the war, it was unified and incorporated in 1956. Although you can still feel its blue collar roots formed by the auto industry, its industrial district now boasts dozens of tech companies, the three largest of which employ more than 5,000 workers (City of Fremont 2010). The city

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[8] The major exception in the north is the former dynamite factory town of Hercules, north of Richmond, which was almost entirely redeveloped during this period. On the flip side, the City of Newark, hemmed in on all sides by the wealthier city of Fremont, remains a pocket of poverty.

has been able to channel some of the tax windfalls from its continued economic success into an education system that ranks as one of the most competitive in the Bay Area. By 2006, the Mission San Jose district boasted a median home value of $831,000, ranking it 237th on Forbes' list. Median family income for the 94539 zip code exceeded $110,000.[9]

This is a story that holds true through much of Sunnyvale, Cupertino, Milpitas and northern Santa Clara County. They were transformed, growing from blue collar towns into tech industry dynamos. Whereas there was very little income gap between Fremont/Milpitas and Richmond/Vallejo in 1959, by 1999 those two cities had almost twice the median family income.

Table 2 : Poverty rates, 1970-2000				
	1970	1980	1990	2000
Fremont	4.9	4.8	4.2	5.4
Milpitas	5.9	6.4	4.6	5
Sunnyvale	4.7	4.8	4.7	5.4
Cupertino	4.4	3.7	3.1	4.8
Richmond	12.9	16.5	15.9	16.2
Vallejo	11.3	10.7	8.2	10.1
Pittsburg	17.1	12.9	10.7	11.5
Oakland	16.6	18.5	18.5	19.4
Source: US Census				

Part of the story is that the South Bay cities never had to deal with significant poverty, having skipped earlier eras of urbanization and the wholeheartedly embracing Babylon era restrictions. Table 2 shows how rates in the South Bay almost never exceeded 5%, while rates in the northern industrial cities often exceed 15%. The racial geography reminds us that the south bay was an integral part of the creation of Babylon. Fremont, Sunnyvale and Cupertino never had more than 5% African Americans, and Milpitas has declined from roughly 7% black at its peak in 1980 to less than 3% in 2010. Small, underinvested and often physically disconnected communities like East Palo Alto, Newark, parts of what is now Union City and East San Jose were created to house communities of color barred from the all-white developments of the "white noose *(Self 2003)." By 2010, Vallejo, population 115,942, had twice as many African Americans (~25,000) as the combined totals for Fremont, Milpitas, Sunnyvale and Cupertino, population ~480,000 people.

But this is not a white and black story, but rather one with an important Asian component as well. Some of the demographic changes in the South Bay have been driven by post-1965 immigration from Asia, where an educated workforce came to take advantage of opportunity in Silicon Valley and help build it to what it is today. South Asians, Chinese and Koreans in particular have helped make Milpitas and Cupertino almost two-thirds Asian by 2010, part of the new racial geography discussed in Chapter 2 that sees certain Asian communities – less Filipinos and Southeast Asians – as part of the wealthier and whiter geographies of redeveloped tech industry and exclusive suburbia. San Ramon, the heart of Contra Costa edge city wealth, is itself more than one third Asian American, primarily households of Chinese or Korean descent.

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[9] http://www.forbes.com/lists/2007/7/forbeslife-cx_07zip_94539_ZIP94539.html

Figure 7: Bay Area bases, current and past. Map by Jerry Goldberg and Jay Clairbourne.

A military-industrial legacy untapped

As the South Bay soared, some of the region's most important and beautiful historic spaces stagnated. For a region so identified with its waterfront, and with efforts to save the water from development, efforts to transform the major waterfront industrial locations which built the region have dramatically lagged behind other flows of investment. Brownfields and abandoned or underutilized factory spaces line the waterfronts of Richmond, West Oakland, southeastern San Francisco, and the San Joaquin River.

Nowhere is this lost capital more evident than in the massive grey spaces of the regions numerous former military bases. Urban development throughout the state was incredibly intertwined with defense-related industries from the very beginning (Lotchin 2002). If Southern California is more known for its 20th century military economy, it is northern California where the armed forces made their most spectacular physical imprint, in more than a dozen bases and supply depots strung like a necklace along the shores of the Bay.

These bases did more than define a shoreline – they helped usher in the largest wave of diversity in the region's history. African Americans moved en masse during the war years, populating not only San Francisco's wartime waterfront but the shores of Contra Costa and Solano Counties – Richmond, Vallejo, Pittsburg (Archibald 1977; Moore 1989). By the end of the war, more African Americans worked at Hunter's Point Naval Shipyard than had lived in the city prior to the war (Broussard 1993; Broussard 1981). Richmond's African American population went from 270 in 1940 to 13,780 in 1947(Wenkert et al. 1967). Filipino migration, which had begun in the aftermath of the Spanish American War, shared a similar military geography with African Americans, especially after the war, when restrictions on Filipino immigration were eased and communities developed around naval bases, including Vallejo's Mare Island, which had a small Filipino community even before the war (Bonus 2000).

The impact these bases had on the surrounding landscape was physical as well as human. Mare Island employed 50,000 workers at its peak, Hunter's Point close to 20,000. This meant massive needs both during and after the war for housing, schools, roads, and community facilities, let along the significant physical impact of the bases themselves. Huge parts of southern Richmond in particular were physically reconfigured to make room for Kaiser's Shipyards and the new workers, who would quadruple the city's population seemingly overnight.[10]

The economic boom was short-lived. Although one tend to think of base closure and base reuse as a contemporary phenomenon in the post-cold war era, Kaiser's Richmond shipyard, which produced more ships during the war than any other facility in the country, closed at the end of the war. Hunter's Point, the heart of the city's wartime jobs machine, shut down in 1974. Mare Island, the navy's first base on the Pacific Ocean, also built the first nuclear submarine in 1954 – only to build its last less than two decades later in 1970. Even though Mare Island remained an important source of jobs through its closure in 1996, it never came close to approaching earlier levels of economic activity.[11]

By the time the cold war ended and base reuse was formally part of the agenda, the communities surrounding the bases were already struggling to one degree or another. Vallejo followed an unsuccessful downtown redevelopment – its attempt to attract white collar business – with a headfirst dive into suburbanization, cashing in on its land reserves north of the waterfront core and ensuring that it, like Antioch and Pittsburg, would participate in both deindustrialization and suburban foreclosure (Freire-Gibb 2012). Richmond managed to redevelop the shipyard, but the new neighborhood that was produced was largely a gated residential community, contributing little to the city's job base and further sealing off the

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[10] Richmond went from a prewar population of 24,000 to almost 100,000 – roughly its current population – after the war. http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/wwIIbayarea/ric.htm
[11] http://www.visitvallejo.com/about-vallejo/mare-island-history.php

central Iron Triangle neighborhood from what had been the geographic source of its livelihood.

Hunter's Point faced a similar story. Poverty and joblessness were already issues in the surrounding Bayview neighborhood in the 1960s before the shipyard's closure. Although long part of San Francisco's material and political culture, city leaders reacted to the growing problems in the vicinity of Hunter's Point by casting it aside, distancing itself from this deeply historic industrial corner of San Francisco and painting it as "a container of social and cultural difference (Dillon 2011, p. 21)."[12]

The end result is a racialized poverty in relative proximity to the military and industrial complexes which helped produce this diversity in the first place. In the four well-populated census tracts wedged between Richmond's Point Molate Naval Fuel Depot and the former Kaiser Shipyards,[13] the overall poverty rate toggled between 25% and 31% from 1970-2000 for a community which grew from 20,000 to 25,000 residents during that time. This was a community which in 1980 was 76% black, with a black poverty rate of 31%. By the year 2000, the black population was only 46%, but the poverty rates for the more than 8500 Hispanic residents and almost 2000 Asian residents were still high – 24% and 15% respectively. As Richmond's post-military neighborhoods grew more diverse, its poverty remained entrenched.

The same numbers are evident in the areas surrounding the Oakland Army Base/Alameda Naval Air Station and the Hunter's Point Naval Shipyard in San Francisco. The eighteen tracts in West Oakland and Alameda closest to the military agglomeration actually lost people from 1970, even as its poverty rate jumped from 23% to 31%. By 1980, more than half the residents were black, more than a third of them were poor, and more than 70% of the people living in poverty were black. By 2000, the poverty rate had only gotten worse, black poverty was now at 41% in a community still roughly half black, but the Asian and Hispanic communities had roughly doubled, and they too had poverty rates above 20%.

Around Hunter's Point, the overall poverty rate fluctuated between 24% in 1970 and 21% in 2000 amidst black poverty which reach a high of 29% in 1990 and was 27% in 2000. By that time, the community had already lost 20% of its black residents, part of a citywide trend which would see San Francisco's overall black

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[12] Dillon also points to a study done by community members in the aftermath of the 1966 Bayview riots – sparked by the killing of a young black man by a white police officer – which points to growing economic instability and the lack of jobs as key sources of frustration, rather than the "sub-culture" argument being promoted in the media and the academy at the time.

[13] Richmond tracts: Tracts 3760, 3770, 3790, 3800. Poverty rate of 31% is cumulative for all four tracts. In tract 3770, it was as high as 41%. All data via Neighborhood Change Database, Census data normalize to 2000 census tract boundaries. Courtesy UC Data Lab. Oakland Army Base / Alameda NAS tracts: Tracts 4013, 4014, 4015, 4017, 4018, 4019, 4020, 4021, 4022, 4023, 4024, 4025, 4026, 4028, 4031, 4275, 4276, 4277. Hunter's Point Tracts: 0230.01, 0230.02, 0230.03, 0231.01, 0231.02, 0231.03, 0232, 0233, 0234, 0606, 0609, 0610

population cut in half by the arrival of the foreclosure crisis. In the meantime, the shipyard remained a shell of its former self.

BRAC and the glacial pace of redevelopment

The physical proximity of racialized poverty to wartime industry meant the end of the cold war was a golden opportunity, not just for the local impoverished community but for the rapidly sprawling Bay Area. It was no guaranteed panacea, as the remaining industry on Richmond's waterfront had produced almost 20,000 jobs by 2000, yet only 3500 were held by Richmond residents (Schafran 2008). Only 5% of Chevron's employees lived in the city (East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy 2007). Local industry did not mean living wage jobs for local residents, but it was certainly better than a mostly empty military base cum brownfield.

The federal government began the process for unloading excess military land, Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) in 1988, before the cold war was officially over. Hunter's Point was closed formally in 1991 and turned over to the City in 1993, the Presidio in 1994. The Oakland Army Base was closed in 1995, Mare Island in 1996, the Alameda Naval Air Station and Treasure Island in 1997, and Richmond's Point Molate in 1998. The biggest piece would come last – Concord's 12,800 acre Naval Weapons Station, half of which was conveyed in 2005.

But progress has been achingly slow, and to date, despite more than two decades of planning time and more than a decade of local ownership, the number of jobs, housing units, new schools or parks or community facilities on the bases remains negligible. A 2007 report commissioned by the City of San Francisco estimated that the inability to redevelop Hunters Point and the Alameda Naval Air Station meant more than 1000 units of affordable housing and close to 16,000 jobs – more than were employed when the bases close – existed in plans but not in reality (Economic and Planning Systems 2007).[14] When added together, the nine bases conveyed to local governments in the Bay Area, which employed more than 17,000 civilians when they closed, today remain largely plans. Hunter's Point has removed the artist colony which took up residence soon after the closure, and the first houses are only now under construction. Oakland's Oak Knoll Naval Hospital redevelopment crashed during the downturn due to shaky debt from Lehman brothers, debt which brought down the SunCal corporation which was the developer for the Alameda Naval Air Station as well. The Oakland Army base has seen multiple plans come and go, including a Wayans brothers movie studio, and Treasure Island remains a high-end planning fantasy with a multi-billion dollar price tag.

But two bases have been redeveloped, the two bases which not coincidentally fall outside of the Hunter's Point – Mare Island industrial arc. Hamilton Field in the

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[14] The combined opportunity cost to the state is staggering – more than 100,000 jobs, 23,000 housing units, 6,600 affordable units and almost $400 million in state and local government revenue on $21 billion in real estate value.

northern stretches of suburban Marin County is now a community of 1,000 homes. And San Francisco's Presidio, the historic landmark, half-park, half-base, has been redeveloped under a unique public-private partnership, attracting hundreds of millions of dollars in private capital to rebuild its airfield into a world class park, to construct a digital arts campus anchored by Lucasfilm, all on the edges of some of the wealthiest zip codes in the world. The cleanest, nicest, whitest base at the base of the Golden Gate Bridge, a perfect outpost for Silicon Valley by the Bay, is now a gem for all the world to see.

Wandering in the desert

> The political clout they (African Americans) have had has not translated into real advantage. – Angela Glover Blackwell, KQED Forum, July 7, 2011

Like in East County, many of the challenges facing leaders in Oakland and Richmond were not of their making. Surely they had more resources than their small-town counterparts, but then they had more challenges. By the time Lionel Wilson was elected as the first African American mayor of Oakland in 1977, capital was already headed towards Bishop Ranch, the federal government was already cutting back, Prop 13 was on the horizon, poverty was already entrenched and racialized, and the political economy of development has already developed the racial, environmental and neighborhood lines which would only grow more complex as the neoliberal era coalesced. Add in a dying but still polluting industrial base and an impending trucking deregulation which would push diesel exhaust and non-point pollution from Oakland and Richmond's port-trafficked freeways to the top of the already long list of environmental injustices and you have a recipe for difficult times.

One must avoid forgetting just how daunting a challenge African American leaders faced when they were finally able to achieve formal electoral power. They took over struggling industrial cities with entrenched urban poverty long after the bloom on the industrial rose was gone and the checks were coming due. In the Bay Area is was a double Faustian bargain, as the military occupied huge portions of the industrial waterfront, making conversion both difficult, expensive and delayed, as the land would be held decades past its local utility as global geopolitics plodded along. In both cases, capital was able to hold them hostage. Oakland was an in-between place with neither the investment and history of San Francisco nor the wide open possibilities of 1970s era Contra Costa County, with an entrepreneurial and parasitic municipality tucked between its downtown and its more bourgeois north side. Richmond was held hostage by a different source of capital and power, Chevron, which had run the city from behind the scenes since long before Kaiser built ships. Unfortunately, both sets of leaderships made critical errors which contributed to many of their citizens having to look elsewhere for the American dream, errors rooted in outdated politics. The urban revolution had arrived alongside the neoliberal vanguard and a truly multi-racial Bay Area, and they stuck to the Babylon era's black-and-white industrial urban politics.

Oakland's Loss
In 1977, following a half-century of African American struggle for power in a city they had long participated in building, Lionel Wilson was elected as mayor. He would serve twelve years, becoming one of Oakland's longest serving mayors and the beginning of two decades of African American presences in the mayor's office. In many ways, the Wilson administration understood the fundamental importance of urban land and development, and sought to tackle the profound need for racialized wealth redistribution by targeting black developers. But rather than recognize that decades of discrimination had left Oakland without a large enough and capable enough black development community to handle the full development needs of a mid-size deindustrializing city, they hunkered down, preferring to let projects stagnate rather than push forward.[15]

Capital was already skittish and fickle about Oakland, which in its profit-driven way cared little about their historic responsibility for Oakland's woes and saw only crime and "bad demographics". With powerful unions hunkered down amidst a declining industrial base and rampant stories of cronyism, seemingly arbitrary permit denials and corruption, Oakland quickly developed a reputation in the 1980s as a bad place to develop.

This was not solely about alienating the existing growth machine but about the attempt to replace it with a black-run growth machine at a time when Oakland was becoming very multi-racial. By the early 1980s, Latinos and Asian had begun to clamor for a political voice and a more multi-racial form of coalition government, a push that the African American leadership, frozen out of power for so long by a white conservative establishment, resisted (Douzet 2008; Douzet 2007; Douzet 2009). Racialized controversy even raged about plans to redevelop the old University High / Merritt College site into a shopping mall, a project already dogged by allegations of corruption. When the sole viable bid on the second attempt at development was from Asian investors, some activists balked.[16]

This stagnation was critical in Oakland not because development is a panacea or that new offices and shopping centers would necessarily have put its struggling communities back to work – although it might have helped – but because under the new fiscal rules of neoliberal America in post-Prop 13 California, the development was critical to staying fiscally viable to pay for the social agenda needed in Oakland – better schools, workforce development programs, crime prevention and after schools programs. There was also a question of when they dragged their feet. As one longtime participant in Oakland's development wars during the 1980s attested, "It was a tremendous squandering of resources in a crucial time,"[17] for two threats
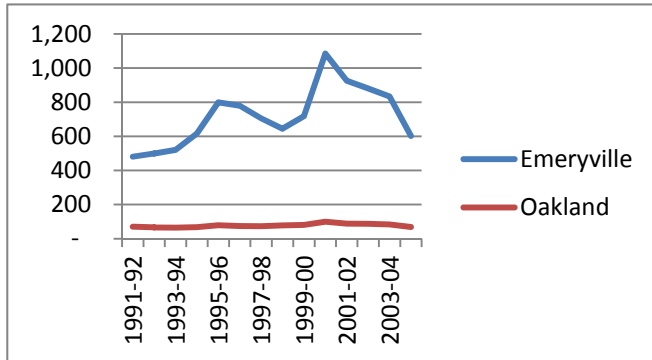
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[15] Interviews 21, 30, 40, 78
[16] This project was in many ways emblematic of Oakland's difficulty. The historic site of the Black Panthers meeting and manifesto, it was twelve years before a development agreement could be reached. (DelVelcchio 1995)
[17] Interview 30

were brewing, one which they should have seen coming and one over which they had no control: the rise of Emeryville, and the Loma Prieta earthquake.

The 1989 earthquake, made instantaneously famous nationwide as it hit on national television just before a World Series game between the Oakland's A's and San Francisco's Giants, punished downtown Oakland much worse than San Francisco, fracturing many of the older buildings. This kicked an already down city months before the 1990 recession would make it worse, hitting an already undercapitalized downtown core in a city struggling with suburban flight and a homicide rate that with the crack epidemic of the late 1980s was more than three times the state average. As deep and longterm as the earthquakes impact was – three entire blocks of valuable city-owned land downtown was given to the federal government to build zero-tax-revenue producing buildings as part of the post-earthquake recovery – it does not compare with the parasitic growth of Emeryville just outside Oakland's border.

Figure 8: Sales and Use Tax Revenue per capita, 1991-2005. Source: http://www.californiacityfinance.com from State DOF and Controller Data.

Emeryville's Gain

Incorporated at the end of the 19th century as an industrial and gambling haven barely two miles from downtown Oakland, Emeryville's claim to fame as "the rottenest city on the Pacific Coast" during the first half of the century morphed into inner suburban anonymity as deindustrialization left ample brownfields in a city with less than 3,000 residents in 1970.[18] But the city had something Oakland and Richmond did not as it faced the prospect of redevelopment – politics. There were few citizens in Emeryville let alone citizens groups. They were not hamstrung by a legacy of urban renewal, racialized struggles for power, unusable military bases or cutthroat neighborhood politics.

The leaders of Emeryville had two things in their favor as they began a redevelopment process which would see them universally lauded in by redevelopment professional and hailed as a success story for brownfield redevelopment (Dayrit, Arulanantham, and Feldman 2002, East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy 2003). They had a prime location wedged between Berkeley and Oakland at the base of the Bay Bridge to San Francisco, with multiple freeway offramps on two different interstates. And unlike Oakland, where projects could get

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[18] The immortal words of former California governor and Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren during his days as Alameda County District Attorney.
http://www.ci.emeryville.ca.us/index.aspx?NID=660

help up for decades, they could approve a $50 million dollar project in an hour. To quote one former practitioner who worked for the city during the 1990s, "it was like working for a corporate board of directors. You had three or four people at a city council meeting, not like 300 in Oakland."[19]

Meetings with development staff were "like Sim City," as anything seemed possible. When Steve Jobs wanted to relocate Pixar from Richmond, Emeryville's City Manager went down immediately and cut a deal. Chiron was able to locate two million square feet of a biotech plant in a project that was controversial by Emeryville standards – it took 6 months to approve because of a union labor question.

But the coup-de-grace for Oakland was the emergence of Emeryville as a retail monster. What began with the Public Market, a cinema and a few shopping plazas in the 1980s grew into a redeveloped behemoth featuring the area's sole Ikea, Best Buy, Home Depot and high end "lifestyle center." With a perfect location close to increasingly upscale Berkeley and the some of the wealthiest portions of Oakland (Rockridge, the gentrifying Temescal), Emeryville has massively outstripped Oakland in terms of both non-residential investment and sales tax revenue. By the year 2000, Emeryville had almost ten times the per capita sales and use tax revenue as Oakland (figure 8), generating roughly a third of its municipal budget from sales taxes compared to less than a sixth in Oakland during the same time period. From 1990-2008, Emeryville built eighteen times the per capita value of non-residential real estate as Oakland during an era where Oakland was more than twice as dependent than Emeryville on property tax income as a source of general revenue.[20]

There is a labor side to Emeryville's free-trade-zone-esque presence. The addition of high –tech companies like Chiron and Pixar was outpaced from a labor market perspective by the more than 7500 service sector jobs added between 1984 and 2001. Many of these jobs are low wage, often with limited or no health insurance, and many did not pay enough to cover the basic household expenses of living in the expensive Bay Area. More critically, only 9% of low wage workers surveyed in a 2003 studied lived in Emeryville – more than half lived in Oakland. In a municipal version of Elisabeth Warren's now famous 2011 campaign speech, Emeryville earned the profit (taxes) off of the labor which other cities like Oakland housed, educated, and kept safe (or tried to), a municipal WalMart dependent on outside public entities to bear the burden of reproducing its low-wage workforce (East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy 2003).[21]

How one evaluates Oakland's performance in the face of Emeryville's ascendance is in many ways an ideological question. The right would argue that this is an example

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[19] Interview 21

[20] CA Rand data, www.californiacityfinance.com from State DOF and Controller Data.

[21] Emeryville did build more than its formal regional share of affordable housing, but that was based on its prior population, not based on the workforce it employed.

of Oakland's blind failure in the face of legitimate and healthy competition, while the left would see it as a case of structural inequality reconstituted at the subregional level by a corporation-controlled municipal fiefdom taking advantage of its lack of real politics, unearned geography and historical moment to effectively steal from a much bigger neighbor bearing the burden of educating and housing its workforce and customers amidst growing inequality. My sympathy for the latter explanation does not temper my sense that Oakland's leadership and community actors bear responsibility for not being able to craft an urban development politics capable of putting the city in a better place. But the challenges were great, and they were faced with a fickle and mobile capital regime all too happy to look elsewhere, content to choose the market and financial risk of Emeryville's toxic physical landscape over what they saw as the toxic political landscape of Oakland. At the very least Oakland's leadership did not remain as closely tied to the corporate bosses who helped build the landscape of inequality in the first place, unlike their neighbors to the north.

Richmond's Chevron problem[22]

Unlike Oakland, where African American leadership was forced to wait until the end of the 1970s to assume power, Richmond was a pioneer in black electoral representation. Housing segregation, poor living conditions and "urban renewal" evictions in the immediate aftermath of World War II led to both community organizing , two African American city council candidates in 1947 and the construction of Parkchester Village, one of the regions' first suburban style single family home developments for blacks in 1949. In 1959, George Carroll became the first African American candidate to run for council with both black and white support, and when he won on his second try in 1961, he became only the second African American elected city councilmember in the Bay Area. In 1964, he was chosen as mayor by his colleagues on the council, three years before Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana or Carl Stokes in Cleveland, making him one of the first African American mayors of a city in America.[23] He was joined on the council in 1965 by George Livingston, and by 1969 African Americans held three council seats, the mayorship and the vice-mayorship.

Although it ebbed and flowed over the intervening years, African American political power remained consistently strong - only once between 1965 and 2006 did representation on the city council dip below two members, and that window lasted only for a year. An African American was mayor for 26 out of those 42 years. But again unlike Oakland, the larger relationship with the power structure that had existed before black ascendancy was a good one. African Americans became an

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[22] Portions of this section appear in Schafran and Feldstein (2013).

[23] In the game of "firsts", much depends on how you define city and whether direct election matters. Stokes and Hatcher are widely considered the first because Gary and Cleveland are larger cities and they were directly elected, unlike Carroll, who was elected as a councilmember and appointed by the council under the system employed at the time. Richmond now elects the mayor directly, although it remains a weak mayor system with the mayor functionally the president of the council rather than a true executive.

integral part of the growth machine's pro-business coalition anchored by the Chamber of Commerce, the Council of Industries (COI, representing industrial companies like Chevron) and local unions, including the powerful firefighters union. Strong African American political action committees like Black Men and Women (BMW) grew to be a West County force, part of a larger, and generally conservative, African American political establishment.[24]

Nowhere is the relationship between African American political power and corporate Richmond more prevalent and more controversial than with Chevron. Chevron, the Bay Area's member of the 'seven sister's' which dominated global oil production in the 20th century, has been in Richmond since before the city incorporated in 1905. Its role in the city's politics is legendary, its century-old "refinery towers over the city both literally and figuratively (McCarthy 2006, onine)." Chevron largesse supported political candidates, civic functions, and for generations it has been the city's largest single tax payer. [25] This also meant support for the African American political establishment, including longtime mayor Irma Anderson, in exchange for two things – keep the taxes on Chevron low, and allow them to keep refining as they saw fit, even if it meant increased pollution (Geluardi 2006). It was a calculation which helped the conservative African American establishment remain in power long after the demographics had begun to shift like Oakland's to an almost evenly divided multi-racial community, and long after environmentalists and environmental justice advocates – including many progressive African Americans long silenced by the conservative majority - began to point to the harm that the heavy-industry friendly policies of the city were having on its residents, particularly its poorest.[26] It would take until 2006 before a multiracial coalition on the left would unseat Anderson and Chevron, but that was far too late to make a difference for the many Richmonders who had left (Schafran and Feldstein 2013). The leadership had made too many decisions which left places like the Iron Triangle even more isolated than in Babylon days, none more important than Hilltop and Marina Bay.

Development mistakes

If its political incorporation was the antithesis of Oakland, the situation on the ground bore striking similarities. Local private industrial employment was never strong for African Americans following the war, as discrimination made good paying industrial jobs hard to come by, meaning that the remaining military-based jobs, especially at Vallejo's Mare Island, and public sector jobs in the now African

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[24] Although Browning, Marshall and Tabb (1984) characterized Richmond's African American incorporation as one of cooptation – it did coincide with a white Democratic takeover from a previous Republican majority and whites maintained an outsized presence in the powerful bureaucracy at the time – it was never tokenism, as black Richmond was well organized and asserted its influence in and on the all-important bureaucracy much as it did elected office.

[25] One local newspaper, Richmond Confidential, runs a section, Company Town, only about Chevron related news.

[26] Interviews R1, R2, R3, R4

American controlled bureaucracy were critical.[27] Industry was critical to its tax base, and the city struggled to attract capital investment and new employment amidst neoliberal restructuring and rising social struggles. The environmental legacy of Richmond's almost century-long relationship to the heaviest of industry – oil refining and petrochemicals – and the new menace of a diesel-fueled trucking boom was beginning to take its toll, even if the environmental movement had not yet begun to focus on environmental injustice and community health.

Richmond's development errors were less about stagnation and more about bad decisions – decisions which were simply following development trends at the time. The first was a decision to develop a large mall outside of town to generate tax revenue in the face of a struggling downtown. Hilltop Mall, opened in 1976 on a Chevron-owned land four miles up the interstate from Downtown, the Mall was a controversial attempt to increase city revenue when downtown was struggling. The city's quasi-suburban status and 1961 annexation of even more suburban land up the freeway helped make the land deal make sense. The developer, Alfred Taubman, had already built many successful suburban malls in the East Bay, including ones in Concord and Pleasanton. Richmond could cash in on the suburban wave even if it was nominally a city.

The problem was that the mall devastated what remained of downtown, and downtown was part of and adjacent to the Iron Triangle, the poorest and most African American of Richmond's neighborhoods, while the Mall was closer to the more middle class hills. The impacts of the shift on the fragile economy and urban fabric of one of the Bay Area's most vulnerable communities was enormous. Almost immediately after opening, what remained in downtown began a quick migration to Hilltop, and by the 1980s, downtown Richmond, physically central to many low-income residential communities, was a virtual ghost town, despite the presence of both BART and an Amtrak stop.[28]

A similar, if more contestable,[29] argument can be made about the major redevelopment effort of the 1980s, the transformation of Kaiser's old shipyards just east of the Ford Peninsula into the Marina Bay Community. Like Emeryville, it is an impressive case of brownfield redevelopment, as the shipyards left a toxic legacy which lasted long after the last Liberty ship rolled down the gangway. With

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[27] Katz and Stern (2006), in a brilliant study of a century of census data, show that the link between African American poverty and deindustrialization is not as strong as argued by scholars like Wilson (1987). Rather, it was neoliberalism and the decline of the cold war which saw the military and public sector jobs which impacted the black middle class more than anything. The integration of the bureaucracy in Richmond was one of the first major impacts of black political power.

[28] Like Oakland, Richmond' s leaders sought government buildings to stem the hemmoraging, allowing the Social Security Administration to build the a regional office in the heart of downtown. It is a virtual fortress, barely generating lunchtime traffic for the strip mall across the street.

[29] The city remains formally proud of Marina Bay – the Marina Bay Neighborhood Council refers to it as "Richmond's redevelopment gem", while most Richmonders recognize what Hilltop did to downtown. http://www.marinabaycouncil.org/about/

approximately 2500 housing units, a 750 boat Marina and numerous small businesses, it certainly helped keep and attract some middle-class residents at a time when Richmond was facing the type of postindustrial struggle more common to Gary and Detroit than much of the Bay Area.

Unfortunately, Marina Bay exacerbated the physical and social fragmentation of Richmond begun by the 1961 annexations and the building of Hilltop. Marina Bay is a mix of gated and semi-gated communities completely cut off from the rest of the city,[30] a development which chops up its industrial waterfront and further isolates the iron triangle neighborhood north of the newly constructed Interstate 580. If you live in the Iron Triangle, struggling with the poverty seen earlier, you are trapped between a downtown that is only now beginning to come back, a pollution-rich and job-poor Chevron complex, and a southern waterfront that has been redeveloped to keep you out not help you up.

This is a situation not uncommon in West Oakland, in unincorporated North Richmond or "deep" East Oakland, a sliver of industrial garden which has long struggled with poverty and violence. These communities are actually poorer than when Babylon ended, at least compared to the rest of the region, leaving little choice for many families in search of the American dream. The Dream was not available in a renewed, more inclusive industrial garden, so they went looking for it in the postindustrial garden.

But to focus blame on black leadership alone is ludicrous, for not only were they working to make lemonade from some pretty sour lemons, they were doing so with one hand tied behind their back. Regional leaders saw what was happening, saw the problems in both the core and the periphery, in the new centers and the new edges, but could not manage to build a better system – in part because they refused to change the page from the elitist and racist days of the modernist era.

The Unique Failings of Bay Area Regionalism

> I foresee—and I advocate—the gradual development of a two-level system of local and metropolitan government for the Bay Area. Twenty or thirty years from now, the local municipal governments will have become more numerous as a result of the formation of new cities in the outlying areas. These governments will also have become more powerful. Like the Swiss, the people of the Bay Area will have decided in favor of all-purpose, home rule cities. Also like the Swiss, they will have created a unified, limited-function federation of local governments, largely controlled by the cities, to handle

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[30] The only thing connecting Marina Bay to Richmond is politics – in 2007 three of the nine city councilmembers and the head of the planning commission lived there – and the lack of either schools or a full service grocery stores. Residents have been pushing for a school for some time, and for enough development to get them to 5,000 residents, in order to meet the population standards for a major supermarket, and thereby obviate the need to go downtown to shop. Needless to say, the downtown grocery store was for many years the one surviving commercial anchor downtown.

area-wide problems. –TJ Kent, *City & Metropolitan Planning for the Metropolian San Francisco Bay Area, 1963, p.3*

Every 20 years or so in the Bay Area, regionalists link arms, find the biggest brick wall they can find, and then run straight into it. - longtime Bay Area planning researcher [31]

Regionalism - in the sense of regional-scale governance - has been planners' and political scientists' pipe dream for a century, in the United States in general and in California in particular.[32] Regions in many ways are the antithesis of counties – where the county is politically real yet often unstudied, the region is the object of much political and scholarly fascination and little institutional reality. Name a sociospatial ill prevelant in the American metropolis over the past century - fiscal inequality or instability, transportation planning problems, environmental degradation, sprawl, water, urban poverty, suburban poverty - and chances are someone has recommended to cure it through some form of regional-scale governance, or studied it to conclude that the problem is fragmentation and lack of regional coordination.

The early 1960s collection which included Vance and Bauer Wurster's and respective visions of Bay Area past and present also included an impassioned argument for regionalism in the Bay Area by TJ Kent, one of the foundational voices in contemporary city planning and an anchor of the influential Telesis group.[33] This was the heyday for "old regionalism", the dream of modernist, "rational" planners raised long before neoliberal postsuburbia, a dream of a new form of government operating at the regional level which would help solve "the metropolitan problem".[34] Regions were growing incredibly rapidly, more people covering more territory on more transportation networks in more and more municipalities and counties. The environmental effects were enormous, and the social costs were mounting. Segregation at the urban scale, a la Engels' Manchester, a city of "good"

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[31] Interview 56

[32] One could write a book reviewing the reviews of regionalism. For excellent reviews of this history from the broad perspective of American political science see (Weir 2004) and from the broad intellectual perspective of planning see (Wheeler 2002). For California regionalism from a planners perspective see (Barbour 2002) and from the political geography/scalar theory perspective see (Jonas and Pincetl 2006).

[33] Telesis, which included Bauer Wurster, epitomized the best and the worst of modernist planning – visionary, bold, interdisciplinary with blurry lines between academy, practitioner and policymaker, it was also elitist, exclusive and a key intellectual anchor of the downtown urban renewal machine.

[34] Contrary to Wheeler (2002), there was a strong strain of very locally-oriented, normative regionalism in the Bay Area during the "spatial science" era of disembodied maps and number crunching. It was modernist, very top-down and more policy-oriented than scholarly, but it provides a critical bridge between the Geddes-Mumford school and the "new regionalists".

and "bad" neighborhoods was one thing, but rich and poor in separate municipalities or quadrants of an entire region was something else entirely.[35]

Suffice it to say that Kent was wrong – at least in terms of his predictive powers. Kent favored a limited but still formal regional government with responsibility for five areas which would be ceded to it by local and county governments and enabled by the state government– regional-level rapid transit, air quality control, parks and open space provision, bridge and freeways construction and maintenance and the development of a regional land use plan (Kent 1963). His vision was but one of many interlocking waves of regionalism during the postwar era, efforts which, as the quote above notes, seem to have popped up in the Bay Area every few decades since the Progressive era.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as Babylon remained entrenched while Brentwood emerged with breathtaking speed despite growth control and anti-sprawl efforts, regionalists in the Bay Area started pushing for a neo-Kentian vision of regional governance. Bay Vision 2020, as the broader effort would be called, sought to combine three separate regional agencies which had evolved since Kent's day to carry out some of the five regional functions that Kent identified – the Metropolitan Transportation Commission, which functionally controlled regional transit, bridges and highways through its power as a Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) to channel federal transportation dollars regional transit and its own monies through bridge tolls; the Bay Area Air Quality Management District (BAAQMD); and the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG), a largely powerless Council of Governments (COG) which Kent had envisioned as a separate watchdog for his version of regional government. All three agencies opposed the proposal, and despite campaigning from the powerful Bay Area Council and local environmentalists who had been part of the commission, the bill to merge the agencies fell two votes shy in the state legislature (Walker 2007; Lydon 1993).[36]

Bay Vision 2020 was just one of many planning efforts at the regional scale, but its failure is informative because it illustrates more than just the age-old story of home rule advocates defeating regionalists. Surely, as Elisa Barbour would have it, Bay Vision 2020s regional reform "met with the same fate in the 1990s as it had in the 1970s… because of continuing resistance to reforms calling for institutional change (Barbour 2002, p. 128)." But it also failed because it repeated the top-down, elitist form of modernist planning born in the early days of planning and continuing through TJ Kent and beyond.

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[35] Weiher's (1991) analysis of segregation in Los Angeles for instance found that municipal boundaries increasingly explained the segregation that neighborhood boundaries previously enforced.
[36] Interview 49

A conversation between two or three groups (with one group missing)

Ever since the days of the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco's efforts to build regional government in the 1920s, powerful civil society actors have been at the heart of all regional government efforts in the Bay Area (ibid., Dyble 2009). [37] Few have been more involved than the Bay Area Council (BAC), the regions longest standing and most powerful regional business group. The BAC was a major force behind BART, behind numerous regional reform efforts in the 1960s and 1970s, and one of the three primary co-conveners of the Bay Vision committee, which drafted the Bay Vision Plan.

The other major non-governmental partner in the "blue-ribbon commission" – alongside local politicians - was the Greenbelt Alliance, fresh from its transformation from People for Open Space and its critical battles in Contra Costa County (Barbour 2002, p. 128; Lydon 1993; Innes et al. 1994). In forming the commission, chaired by UC Berkeley Chancellor Ira Michael Heyman, organizers involved elected officials, especially from increasingly powerful and historically anti-regionalist Santa Clara County. But little effort was made, especially at the beginning, to include communities of color in a discussion being had partly in their name.

As Greenbelt Founder Larry Orman put it, Bay Vision 2020 was largely "a private conversation between two groups."[38] With the progressive Hellman out in front and the region's long history of liberal ideals, their vision:

> echoed all the classic themes of the planning visionaries: The greenbelt, housing justice, regional governance, city-centered development, higher density housing, and better transit. But Heyman and [former BCDC Director Joe] Bodovitz did most of the work themselves, and the commission failed to mobilize broad support (Walker 2007, p. 141).

As the vision moved from plan to legislative proposal, the commission grew to include a handful of representatives from communities of color, including East Bay Asian Local Development head Lynette Lee. Yet despite the mandate to "adopt a general vision for the Bay Area in the year 2020," issues of stratification, inequality, segregation and exclusion were treated as "social issues" outside the primary purview of the commission. In the words of Peter Lydon, the commission gave "steady if somewhat mechanical respect to regional social issues," but when the few commissioners who recognized their importance "tried to raise the intensity of economic stratification and the needs of the inner city poor as ills central to a metropolitan agenda, they did not get far (Lydon 1993, p. 33-4)."

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[37] It is interesting to note that in light of the failure to achieve metropolitan government, the efforts of some of these groups to work regionally is now considered by scholars as a form of regionalism in itself (Jonas and Pincetl 2006; Wegener 2001; Pastor, Benner, and Matsuoka 2009).
[38] Interview 49

While there may have been token representation of minority groups, there was no true representation of their broader concerns. There was certainly no representation by low-income communities – in almost a caricature of post-civil rights tokenism, esteemed professors from UC Berkeley – one black, one Asian and one Latino – were invited to give papers about the state of "their communities." With that box officially checked, commissioners were free to continue planning for land use and transportation governance as if they were completely detached from the social reality of the region. In theory, the plans of Bay Vision were inclusive, but like classic modernist, top-down expert driven efforts, in practice and formation they were not.[39] In the words of consultant Scott McCreary, "How could you expect major social proposals from a group created by stakeholders from the environmental, business and local-politician communities (quoted in Quoted in Ldon 1993, p. 34?"

Long-time African American urbanist and environmental justice advocate Carl Anthony put it much more bluntly. For Anthony, Bay Vision 2020 was just the most regional version of a broader problem within the environmental movement, a movement he argues "reinvented racism," in part by subverting the social justice gains of the 1960s by "allowing for militancy without justice or race."[40]

In this respect, Bay Vision 2020 was simply a continuation of a longtime regional planning tradition, from the Commonwealth club through Kent and Telesis to ABAG's 1970 regional plan. That plan, known as the *1970-1990 Regional Plan*, helped define the goal of a "city-centered" development pattern which never materialized, and also called for a limited form of regional government. So did the *California Tomorrow Plan*, a statewide vision produced in 1971 by an influential environmental organization which cobbled the best ideas it could find from scholars and practitioners. Not only did the California Tomorrow and ABAG plans call for regional governance in some form, but both recognized the issue of providing economic opportunity to all, of better connecting communities to the expanding job centers, and of issues of affordable housing and regional inequality more generally.[41] Good ideas, but without the political will and vision to carry them out.

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[39] This exclusiveness is not unique to the Bay Area, nor is my argument that racial blindness helped undermine regional efforts. See Pastor (2001) and Rast (2006) for examples of similar failings in Los Angeles and Milwaukee respectively.

[40] PL, CA interview. Anthony had founded Urban Habitat, one of the first progressive communities of color organizations in the Bay Area to work specifically at a more regional level, in part out of frustration with what he saw as hypocritical racial blindness in "progressive" urban development and planning organizations.

[41] The ABAG plan is admittedly vague about problems, never discussing Babylon issues head on or issues of poverty and racial segregation. ABAG's plan also explicitly recognizes that growth in Pittsburg and Antioch is part of the city-centered vision, partly in response to expanding tech jobs in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties. They see the new map coming.

A part of this inertia was that Bay Vision 2020 was also a functional extension of the new political economy of development in the Bay Area, a regional version of Dougherty Valley. Two powerful actors, one in favor of environmental restraint and one pushing development in the name of affordability, both of which claimed to plan for the disadvantaged communities of the region but were not willing to make the efforts to plan with them. When this tag team ran up against the age old opposition of the home rulers, they were powerful and economically well-off enough to fold, abandoning the regionalist vision to fight battle after battle in town after town, or push the newly formed and often rival regional agencies on their own specific issues, waiting perhaps for another two decades when they could try again.

They never sought to build real and effective bridges with community of color organizations or base building groups capable of moving local elected officials, even though Greenbelt and its allies had seen just how effective this was when the issue was saving the bay or defeating the original measure C in Contra Costa County. In the wake of the Bay Vision failure, more and more attention got paid to inclusiveness on the part of regionalists and regionalism on the part of social and racial justice advocates. Urban Habitat, Greenbelt and the Bay Area Council helped found the Bay Area Alliance for Sustainable Development in 1997, part of an intellectual wave at the time looking to "sustainability", with its theoretically equal fusing of environmental, economic and equity goals, as a way to overcome the longstanding charge of racism and blindness to issues of social justice leveled at the environmental movement. The Great Communities Collaborative emerged out of the San Francisco Foundation, also with Urban Habitat and Greenbelt, this time to push specific campaigns around affordability and inclusivity in transit-oriented development at specific locations around the region. But this outreach to social and racial justice organizations was well after the fact, too late to impact regional restructuring, and largely a top-down effort which engaged intermediary groups like Urban Habitat but rarely build the type of lasting effective relationships with grassroots groups which could possibly have helped move intransigent regional and local actors. Part of the issue is that many of these groups were dealing with their own dilemma, gentrification, a challenge which kept them looking inwards when half the battle was moving in the other direction.

Defending "endopolis"

The true tragedy of the inner core of the Bay Area is not simply that it failed to adequately address inner core poverty amidst continued prosperity and physical expansion, but that it did so during a steady wave of gentrification which saw San Francisco in particular emerge as one of the paradigmatic spaces of what is now a global phenomenon (Solnit 2002; Smith 2002; Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Castells 1983; Walters 1989; Godfrey 1988). As progressive urban scholars, we have been obsessed with gentrification, charting it in minute detail, obsessing over its every

aspect, debating fiercely whether it is about culture or capital, race or class, local actors or global forces (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2007).[42]

Gentrification in the Bay Area has now been a critical force for enough time that one can think about it in historical terms (Castells 1983; Godfrey 1988). One must also think about it regionally, a mesoscale analysis which got lost in the past decade as scholars moved from the neighborhood phenomenon which it appeared to be at the onset to an examination of the importance of global forces – whether ideas about creative classes or hyper-mobile capital – in the restructuring of our cities.[43] This geohistorical gaze lets us see how one of the core problems of gentrification is that it posed a critical dilemma for local organizers in poor neighborhoods and the way it impacted of regional politics of race.

For both capital and cultural reasons, gentrification targeted core inner city neighborhoods with deep historical meaning for communities of color in close proximity to downtown San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley – San Francisco's Tenderloin, Mission District, Panhandle/Fillmore, and SOMA, the North Oakland and South Berkeley corridor so critical to the formation of the Black Panthers and the black left, and eventually West Berkeley, West Oakland and Bayview/Hunter's point. These were the communities where blacks and Latinos first got a foothold in the region, first developed collective cultural and political institutions, creating more than just a physical or laboring presence.

The tragedy of gentrification in these spaces is that it forced these communities to adopt a defensive stance once again. Rather than be able to turn the hard-won political gains made for neighborhood politics during Babylon-era into broader regional power for the truly regional metropolis being built, they were forced to defend territory. If African American leaders can be criticized for being overly defensive of their newfound power in Oakland and Richmond – especially against the clams of other previously disenfranchised minority groups –community leaders in gentrifying spaces deserve more sympathy. Their dilemma was three-fold: either 1) face the onslaught of new capital and transformation brought by gentrification and try to make it work for their communities and maintain a strong presence in the core, 2) cope with the ongoing hardships of abandonment and exclusion, or 3) fully embrace the road to suburbia.[44] Not that this was a choice which was offered – whether or not gentrification came to your community was generally a question of geography and timing, whether or not certain parts of suburbia were open to you depended on politics and policies over which you had little control.

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[42] The gentrification literature, like the regionalism literature, is also now massive and one can write reviews of reviews. See Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2007) and Brown-Saracino (2010).

[43] See for example Atkinson and Bridge (2005)

[44] One can think of this as a modification of Hirschmann's famous theory about the choices given to companies and places in decline – exit, voice or loyalty – but where questions of voice and loyalty get conflated, while exit is perfectly clear. (Hirschman 1970)

For the most part in the Bay Area, activists fought to stay in the core– fought to preserve and build affordable housing, to prevent demolitions and unneeded redevelopment, to maintain cultural and political institutions and to grapple with the complex and messy politics where the race and class and generational lines were not always so clear. Nowhere is this fight more famous than the Mission District in San Francisco, where it has been ongoing since the 1970s. In our rush to sneer at a bourgeois transformation of which many who write about urban issues are certainly a part, urbanists tend to overlook the successes in the Mission. Unlike ethnic and minority neighborhoods in gentrifying Portland or Chicago, the Latino presence in the Mission remains strong.

In fact, there were almost the exact same number of Latino residents in the greater Mission in 2000 (31,370) as there were in 1970 (31,067).[45] Bayview / Hunters Point remained and remains a strongly African American neighborhood, despite losses and years of hardship. Strong activism and a vibrant network of supportive and affordable housing developers and rent control advocates meant that the truly poor largely maintained their foothold in core cities. In 1970, 28% of the Bay Area population living below the federal poverty line lived in San Francisco and Oakland - by 2010, after two generations of gentrification, massive ethnic change and a major restructuring, the number stood at 24%. There was undoubtedly a shift to Oakland, as San Francisco has almost to a person the same number of people living in poverty in 2010 as it did in 1970, despite gaining almost 90,000 residents. But the overall effort to maintain some foothold in the core for the very poor – or on the flipside the failure to deal with deeply entrenched poverty and provide a pathway out of it, depending on how you read this – and the effort to keep certain places like the Mission and the Tenderloin with a base ethno-cultural identity in the face of huge demographic and capital pressure from a global phenomenon was nothing short of miraculous.[46]

What has shifted dramatically is the relationship of these core communities to the rest of the region. In 1970, the roughly 30,000 Latinos in the Mission alone were more than 8% of the region's total, part of a citywide population which was 18% of the region; by 2000 it was 2% and 7% respectively. An even starker relational shift can be seen in African American communities in the central core. In 1970, the black populations of San Francisco, Oakland and Richmond constituted two-thirds of the regional community. By 2010, it was barely a third.

Unfortunately, racial and social justice-oriented politics rarely made the same regional move as communities of color. Again, there were some key counter examples. Some groups continued to fight to build affordability in the edge city regions, including a critical and now famous victory in Pleasanton, whose

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[45] Source: US Census.
[46] This is actually only the second most miraculous hanging on in San Francisco history. The Chinese community was attacked so many times by both human and natural forces that their continued presence from 1849 to after World War II is frankly amazing. See City of plagues (Craddock 2000)

longstanding cap on housing units was one of the most egregious examples of the suburban exchange of housing for white-collar commercial space and one of the grossest abuses of regional infrastructure in the history of the Bay Area. But that victory only came in 2010, decades after the process began. Efforts at a more inclusive regional voice gained traction after the Bay Vision 2020 failure, and more and more advocacy was targeted towards regional organizations like BART and MTC. Yet the strength of the region's social justice movement remained focused in the core, focused on the right to stay in the city,[47] ignoring the fact that there was an inevitability, and a vulnerability, to black, Latino and Asian suburbanization.

One cannot blame organizations for fighting to preserve a place in the core, especially when planning dogma and cultural capital have been shifting inwards. To be a progressive urbanist during the neoliberal era meant to love the city and not the suburbs. But the problem is that not only did this fly in the face of the desires of many communities of color– for innumerable reasons, not just continued problems in the core or the unevenness of gentrification – or the fact that it was running counter to the development of edge cities and a new geography of employment, but it flew in the face of state and federal policy. As noted in Chapter 2, for more than a generation a cornerstone of anti-segregation policy has been to enable the poor and middle class communities of color to move into suburbs previously denied them. Suburbia was seen as the "geography of opportunity" in the postwar era, and the key to solving inner city poverty was overcoming the "spatial mismatch" (Briggs 2005; Kain 1992). America sought to redevelop public housing, move to a voucher-oriented system which enabled the poor to move to the suburbs, and pushed affordable housing mandates at the state level requiring municipalities to at least plan for more inclusivity. Part of the justification for turning a blind eye to the mounting pestilence of sub-prime was that it would enable minority homeownership – homeownership that would often take place in the suburbs. During an era when social and racial-justice oriented political forces in the Bay Area were focused intently on maintaining justice, health and possibility in the city, the broader policy frameworks, especially at the national and state levels, are focused more on Anthony Downs' (1973) plea to "open up the suburbs."

This core-oriented focus, understandable as it was, did little to help undo the ecology of the proper place which has plagued people of color for generations, an idea that they belong in one type of place or another, never giving them the true right to mobility, even if they were moving en masse already. When community of color organizations sued MTC following clear evidence that AC transit riders in poorer core Oakland received a much lower subsidy from the region than higher income BART and Caltrain (the peninsula commuter rail), they were undoubtedly correct (Mayer and Marcantonio 2005). But by the time this lawsuit is filed, the demographics of race had already shifted, and rather than focus on making BART

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[47] See for instance the Right to the City Coalition groups in the Bay Area, all of whom are in the core.

work for the poor,[48] or work for the exurban black and brown middle classes by forcing them to bring true BART to East County, this stance reinforced the city v. suburb dynamic, forgetting that in the current era of "mobile segregation" (Chapter 2) that this new generation's right to a fiscally-sound, transportation-enabled and viable suburb must be considered alongside the right to the city. This is the right to the metropolis, a right which has never been truly represented by either attempts to preserve, defend or enhance the right to the city or efforts to "open up the suburbs".

Nowhere does this tension between the right to the city and the right to the suburb come together more intensely than Richmond, for Richmond has long been both city and suburb, a city where Parkchester Village and the Kaiser shipyards sit on either side of a small ridgeline. Richmond's struggles in the wake of deindustrialization and complex physical geography give it a touch of post-industrial garden feel, and its divisive politics have at various times in recent history embodied all of the dilemmas and fragmentation represented by Dougherty Valley and gentrification.

In Richmond one can see the northern edge of the Silicon Dream, now perhaps coming to fruition with the decision of the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory to base its expansion on prime industrial shoreline territory not far from Kaiser's yards and Edwards park. Richmond remains a critical site of contestation in the core, but perhaps its new multiracial green coalition will finally be able to overcome the ghosts of Babylon past and overcome the gentrification dilemma, delivering investment and innovation in way that benefits those who have suffered through the reproduction of Babylon.

Richmond is also the western gateway to the Cities of Carquinez further north and east, a zone which includes East County and which is part of the broad arc of exurban growth, diversity and foreclosure which is at the heart of the new megaregional geography. This is the final step in the scalar exploration of the production of East County, a trip to a part of the Bay Area regional leaders would prefer didn't exist.

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[48] By for instance forcing them to adopt monthly cards which can be subsidized and which are common on most transit systems throughout the country.

Figure 1: Manteca. Photo by Alex Schafran

CHAPTER 6: FRONTIER SPACES OF THE MEGAREGION

> From Oakland to Sactown, the Bay Area and back down. - 2Pac (1995), "California Love"

Long before green energy became a buzzword and alternative energy solutions became familiar sights in global cities, the wind turbines that populate the hills east of Livermore have marked the most heavily used of the Bay Area's gateways. The almost 5000 windmills of the Altamont Wind Farm, one of the largest in the world, sit starkly on the barren and generally beige hills of the Diablo range, sprawling in quasi-psychedelic patterns up and down the hillsides, spilling down the range and into the Central Valley. Just underneath them, along Interstate 580, 135,000 cars travel each way every day, mostly carrying workers from the cities and towns of the Valley into the workspaces of the nine-county region.

Growing up in the Bay Area,[1] if you were fortunate or unfortunate enough to make the pilgrimage to Southern California, you knew you had left the Bay when you passed over the Altamont Pass, as stark a line between metropolis and hinterland as you will find in the United States. Or so we thought at the time. The Altamont, with its unreal windmills, is still striking and stark, but the question of whether or not it is a border of the metropolis is now much more difficult to answer.

Over the past three decades, as homes sprouted in Central Valley fields to provide the American Dream to Bay Area workers, safer neighborhoods to Bay Area refugees, continued profits to developers and landowners, and the opportunity for amenities to former small farm towns, the question of whether or not one can argue that the region begins or ends at the Altamont has lurked underneath the regional conception of self. The limited regional political structure would say that the line still holds; commute patterns would say that it does not. Questions of identity, religiosity, politics and local culture make the picture even murkier. But few would argue with the fact that whatever the relationship between the two sides of the pass once was, it is now both quantifiably larger and qualitatively more complex.

In the breaking down of the once clearly imagined line between Bay and Valley one can see the *physical* location of sprawling growth and ultimately foreclosure, East County's post-industrial garden written on a much larger scale and incorporating whole cities – Modesto and Stockton – that are central cities in their own right, and dozens of small towns like Patterson, Manteca, Tracy and Manteca which are now simultaneously small city and suburb. In a roughly 100 mile arc running from East County down to Merced,[2] the challenges of rapid growth, lost homes, and fiscal uncertainty are enormous and extensive, impacting not only individual towns and subdivisions but the overall economic future of a territory the size of Rhode Island. This is the scale at which the 50/5000 club is most clearly seen, the scale at which the major migrations of the core of the Bay Area's diverse outmigration most evident, the scale in which where broader questions about 21st century segregation and changing geographies of opportunity and distress most pertinent.

This massive scale of development is challenging in virtually every way. Thousands of square miles in size, home to more than ten million people, hundreds of separate jurisdictions and authorities, it is not only hard to plan for and plan in, it has been a challenge to describe, analyze and critique.[3] Geographers have pushed two seemingly ancient terms – region and suburb – into this broad territory, renamed

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[1] Apologies to folks from Santa Clara County, who likely missed out on this ritual by taking 101 south to 152.

[2] The broader question of Sacramento and its massive urban growth can also be tied to this larger process, but for the sake of analytical clarity, this chapter deals primarily with this "inner" ring of the northern San Joaquin Valley and not with the Sacramento Valley and its sprawling foothill suburbs.

[3] This is perhaps the ultimate postmodern dilemma for urbanist – as human settlement reaches new geographic scales of size and complexity and historic layering, demanding more and more thinking and critical response, our words seem less and less adequate. So we increasingly typologize, or in my case, make lists.

them megaregion and exurb, and attempted to make them analytically useful, even as the phenomenon and spaces they are attempting to describe grow more difficult to envelop in any conceptual artifice by the day.

This search for a language of the fast growing metropolis is the subject of the first section of this chapter, and it argues that urban studies can react to the complexity of the megaregion and exurbia by describing more specifically what I will call *spaces of the megaregion*, those areas of the outer fringe where this bigger and newer metropolitan reality is being constructed, without resorting to typologizing and trying to resist what Ackbar Abbas calls the "urge to misunderstand" when working in "overcomplex spaces" (Abbas 2000, p. 773). Working from within the spaces of the megaregion one can reconstruct in somewhat simplistic terms some of the ways in which the megaregion was built, and how it is being constituted in these specific spaces at this specific time, rather than everywhere at once. For though a megaregion is formed by the coming together of multiple regions, the dynamics of this formation are not evenly distributed across space - both San Francisco and Stockton are part of the megaregion, but the production of the megaregion is happening in Stockton much more than in San Francisco.[4] In the words of one longtime Valley leader, "the Valley has always been the poor cousins" of the Bay Area, a familial inequality which meant that the formation of a megaregion is in part the expansion of one region into the spaces of another.[5]

The dynamics which helped produce growth throughout these spaces are similar to the story of East County, at least at the most basic level – demand for land from developers, local officials facing economic need and seeing the balm of urbanization as a way to solve it, an entrenched set of political relations which always recognized that land (and water) were the central means of production, incessant demand from a diverse generation of Bay Area outmigrants for affordable housing and quiet, safe communities, problems and questions of infrastructure, the dependence on Silicon Valley and 580/680 edge cities as core job bases. Yet unlike East County, which has always been part of the formal Bay Area politically and as such was part of many unrealized grand plans to better integrate it, the Valley and its fast growing cities have always been seen as fundamentally different.[6] The Altamont is a major psychogeographic border, and few citizens or leaders on either side of the pass have truly come to terms with how the two regions have fused. This is in part because the fusion is incomplete, a "layering" in the sense of Doreen Massey rather than simple growth (Massey 1984).

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[4] San Franciscans read about it in the newspaper or in the occasional report, but it is daily life in the Valley. That is, unless you are one of the San Franciscans making that move.

[5] Interview 17

[6] In a 2012 article on population loss in the Bay Area (Glantz 2012), a local newspaper treated the fact that people were moving to San Joaquin County the same as people moving to Henderson, Nevada – even if they were likely to keep their Bay Area job in one case but not in the other, even if San Joaquin County is connected to the Bay Area by 150 years of history.

The remainder of this chapter examines this incomplete fusion of Bay and Valley, focusing in on San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties, counties whose central and western portions are the heart of the spaces of the northern California megaregion. Documenting how and why they came together is relatively easy, for the numbers are clear and overwhelming, even if the US census remains largely ignorant of the true geography of Northern California. I briefly sketch how the region was put together in numbers, how the San Joaquin Valley became a bedroom community for Bay Area workers, and why local leaders consistently approved development which further tied them to their richer neighbors in an unequal way. The cities and counties of the northern San Joaquin Valley were very much players with agency in this massive spatial barndance, even if as in East County they were making decisions in the face of massive pressure and with a highly stacked deck.[7] Valley cities did not all take the same path – some opted for limited or more expensive growth, decisions which have helped limit foreclosure, even as they raise profound questions about exclusion.

Understanding the divisions between Valley and Bay, or between different cities in the Valley, is far more complex, and is where ideas of fragmentation, sprawl and regionalism break down. This was already a deeply fragmented space that was much more than a "region" and where the form and pattern of urbanization is only a piece of the larger complexity. These spaces of the megaregion are fundamentally frontiers, places of great social, cultural and economic change, where multiple worlds collide to produce an only partially fused whole. This was not simply about Valley cities which see themselves as fundamentally different than the Bay Area (and vice versa), even if many of their residents originated there and identify more as NorCal than Valley, even if they are dependent on the Bay Area to employ their residents. Some of the new Valley residents were those seeking a modernized version of the old Valley, while it was longtime Valley residents who voted consistently to allow growth and change.

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[7] This is clearly evident if one spends any time on the ground in these spaces and places, another general weakness of the megaregional research. Big scales appeal to the modernist in all of us, especially when the 'data clearly shows' that this "new" scale matters, but this is no excuse to exclusively zoom in from on high. With time, patience and a fuel-efficient car, one can easily see both.
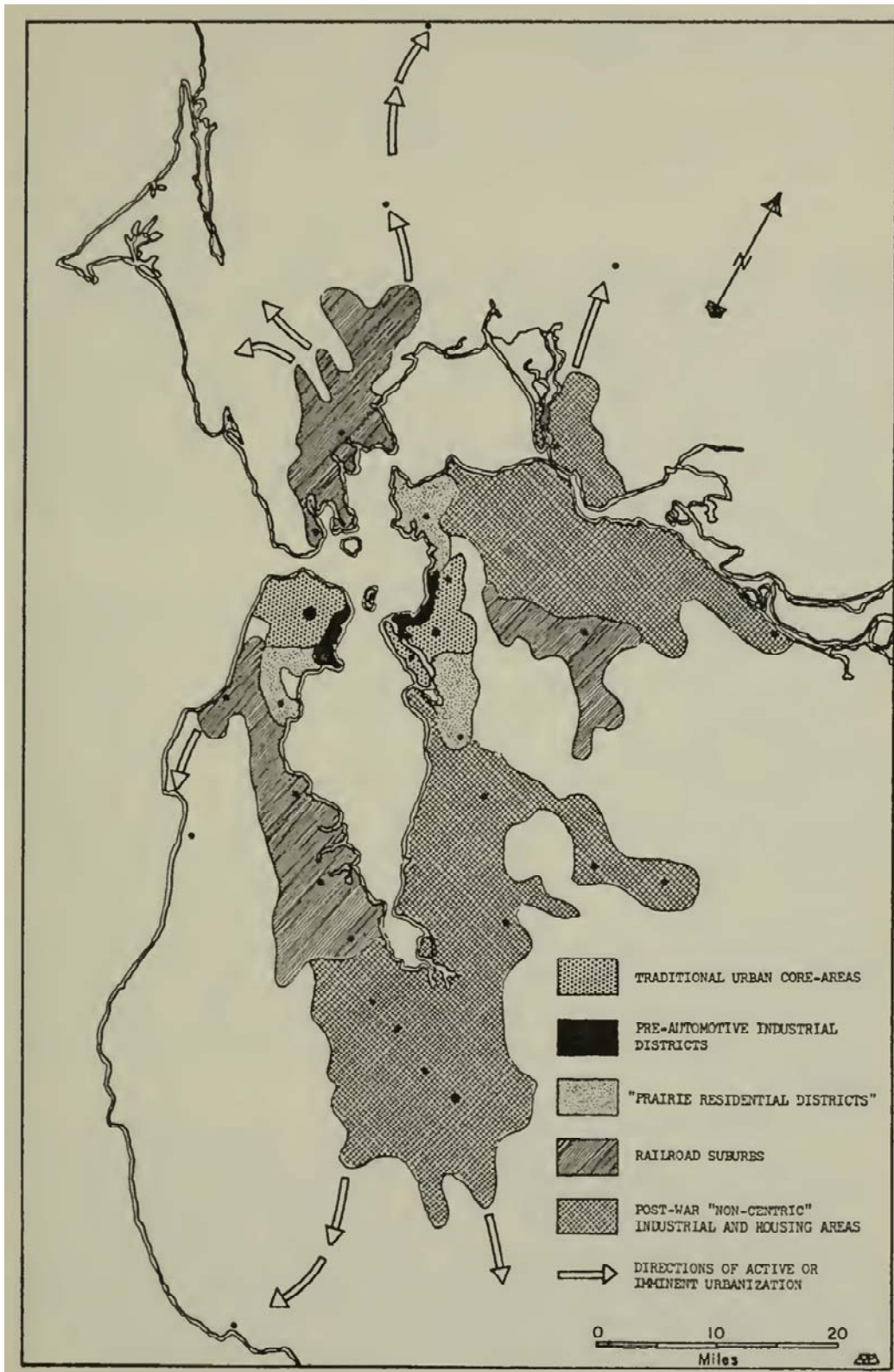
Figure 2: James Vance's (1964) "Non-Centric" Bay Area, "The realms of the Bay Area Metropolis in 1964: The Non-Centric City."

This lens of frontiers, one which differs from Neil Smith's famous use with regards to gentrification while maintaining the question of power inherent to his usage, helps me make sense of the ongoing production of this complex new map of Northern California. One of the central problems of the production of the Northern California megaregion is that as the geography of social and economic relations – i.e. the "region" - grew, the politics to make this weaving together sustainable or equitable did not similarly adhere.[8] The "problem" with megaregionality is not that it wove together these massive geographies but that it was done in unsustainable and unequal fashion. Many other industrialized nations have integrated large regions and woven together the economies and commutesheds of previously separate cities without courting economic or environmental disaster or endangering the middle class status of an entire generation.

This inability to weave together an already fragmented social and political geography is not a question of ghosts, as I have argued in previous chapters for smaller scales. There is so little to report in terms of concerted efforts at making the megaregion work politically or infrastructurally that the one on the ground effort is reduced to a small section at the end of this chapter. There has never been a concrete plan or proposal for the larger problem 40 years after people began to notice what was happening, and the few "solutions" offered were always inadequate. Unlike East County, the Valley counties had their own COG's and MPO's, influential members of the Assembly and Senate and a freeway system that was either part of the Eisenhower system or in the case of Highway 99 integral to the states powerful agricultural economy. There is nothing like the story of the Highway 4 widening or the bypass, fewer ghosts of a regional machine that had planned to expand eastward and never did. In the Valley, unlike Brentwood and East County, development was done without the promise of a regionalism that never came – they were always on their own, they knew this from the beginning, and they wanted it this way. These were two regions coming together along a frontier in uncomfortable fashion, one that exposed the colorful lines of red and blue alongside black, brown, white and green. The cultural and political lines at play are certainly not the whole story, but to ignore it is impossible.

The Language of Large Areas Far Away

The language of the outer edge of the metropolis has been subject to the same "name game" the produced "edge cities", and the debates and discussion overlap. There are two terms which seem to have settled into regular use – the megaregion, and exurb, or exurbia.

"Exurbia" was coined by Spectorsky (1955) to refer to a certain type of suburbanite who were moving farther and farther out to escape an urbanizing suburbia. Academics have worked to define "this amorphous concept and its land use in a way

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[8] Again, to talk in terms of fragmentation is pointless – there was nothing resembling a whole to fragment.

that can be quantified and mapped," but like with every urban concept there is little consensus (Travis 2007, p. 114; Berube et al. 2006). A common working definition is one that has touches of Louis Wirth's urbanism—economic relation to a metropolitan region, low population density, and population growth. Ecological connotations aside, it is a definition that recognizes exurbia as a luminal space, one that can only be such as long as it is both low-density and growing. If it stops growing, it can return to rural; if it continues, it becomes suburban. Many contemporary geographers emphasize the low-density aspect of exurbia, or define it in very Spectorskian terms, focusing on a particular class of "amenity-seeking" former city-dwellers "who have deliberately chosen the rural landscape as a setting for their homes (Taylor 2011, p. 324)."[9]

This liminality is palpable in places like Patterson or Manteca (or Brentwood), old farm towns making the transition from hinterland to suburb in less than a generation. Yet, as much as exurbia defines a process, one must not lose sight of the fact that it implies distance. Physical geography still matters, especially in a realm where transportation infrastructure has never kept up with growth and cross-jurisdictional planning is difficult.

There is also the question of time. Exurbia implies newness, a frontier of growth in a way that suburb once did but no longer can. Perhaps in the days of Levittown the term suburb invoked ideas of greenfield development and the edge of the metropolis, but the idea of suburb is now so old and ingrained, and the attention to suburbia now focused far more on its ageing, rebuilding and diversification, that urbanists looked elsewhere for a term to capture the development on the metropolitan fringe in a way that still links to the past, especially since America in general and California have obviously not moved far from the low-density, single-family home model of edge development. "Exurban" and "exurbia" have grown in relevance and use in recent decades in part because they assumed a needed position between suburban and rural in the lexicon of both metropolitan space *and* time.

Yet like suburb, exurb and its variants are merely vague markers, ideas many would love to jettison in the postmodern metropolis but which are stubbornly useful. They do little to tell us about how it is all coming together, anything about how the process of the production of exurbia many differ from the production of suburbia, or how the metropolis around which it has developed may be different from the metropolis of a generation ago. The idea of megaregion is more helpful in this regard.

Megaregional Space v. Spaces of the Megaregion

In 1961, Jean Gottman published a famous study of the eastern seabord of the United States in which he suggested that the large metropoles were fusing together

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[9] Although I push back against the gentrification meets sprawl definition used by Taylor, her review of the exurban literature is excellent.

economically to form something larger, a space which he called megalopolis. Gottman's study was foundational to a modern geography which would constantly push the boundaries of neologism, mining Latin and Greek dictionaries for new ways to describe the growing and changing scale of human settlement. Unlike
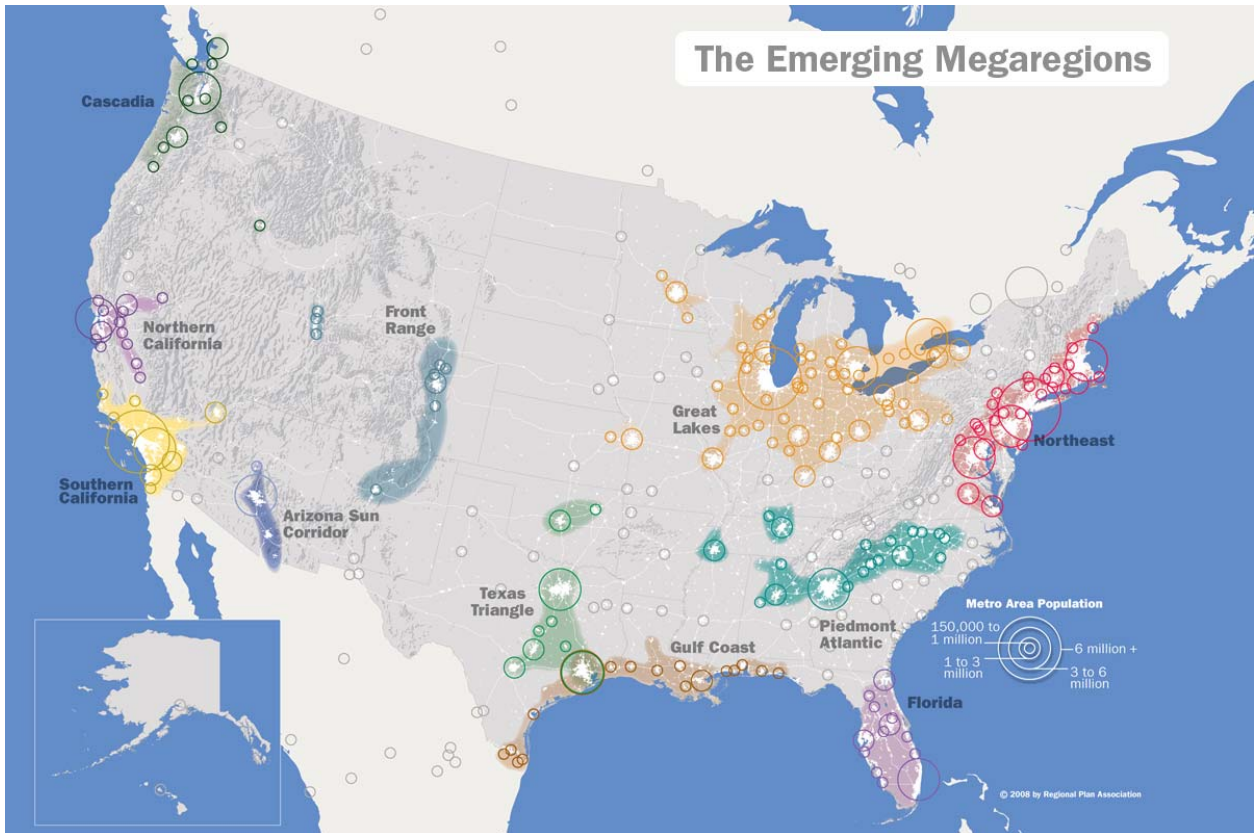
Figure 3: Megaregions of the United States. From American 2050, map by Regional Plan Association. http://www.rpa.org/america2050/sync/elements/america2050map.png

regional, city and neighborhood scales, megalopolis never became a major scale of scholarly investigation, perhaps because it sounded like an *anime* monster more than the physical integration of the Interstate 95 corridor. Scholars like James Vance continued to push at the edges of the metropolis linguistically, but as one can see from his map of the "post-metropolis" Bay Area in 1964 (figure 2), it is something we would simply call a region in today's more jaded scalar terms.

The past few years has witnessed a rebirth of *megalopolis*, now under the decidedly less monstrous term megaregion, this time complete with dedicated empiricism and conceptual analysis from some of the most noted urban scholars in the country.[10] If

[10] Much of this scholarship is driven by America 2050, an effort to pay attention to large-scale infrastructure and planning issues that has been led by the Regional Plan Association, one of the original "megapolitan" organizations" and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. To date, the majority of scholarship under the heading "megaregion" emanates from a series of conferences and publications organized by the organization or from scholars associated with the effort. See for

Gottman's scalar leap was perhaps premature from the perspective of the rest of the country, this is no longer the case – massive regions of interconnected cities and previously "independent" regions have emerged throughout the country, from the growing linkage between Tucson and Phoenix to the interconnected urban zones of south Florida, from the cities rust belt to the Portland – Seattle – Vancouver corridor of the Pacific northwest (Dewar and Epstein 2007). This parallels the growing and older recognition in Europe of interconnected cities forming conurbations that defy traditional conceptions of the metropolis – the Randstad in Holland or Germany's Rhein-Ruhr region, part of an even larger and more absurdly named urban space stretching from Liverpool and Manchester to Genoa and Milan referred to by some geographers as "the blue banana (Faludi 2005; Brunet 1989)."[11]

At the heart of the megaregional literature is an almost dialectical relationship between attempts to define and understand this massive space –the Minneapolis to Pittsburgh "megaregion" is what the rest of us would just call the Midwest or the Rust Belt– and the struggle of what to do with this information. The former has been pursued by scholars armed with the most sophisticated analytical technology possessed by social science, mapping complex networks of goods movement, light emission, trade and commerce and commuting patterns in an attempt to define this newest of urban scales using the economically-centered relationships long employed by human geographers to define large-scale urban relationships [1] (Sassen 2007; Florida, Gulden, and Mellander 2008; Myers and Dunning 2011).

At the same time, planners have worked to think through what this means for politics and action, questions that are at the heart of the definitional research in the first place. With a few notable exceptions (Innes, Booher, and Di Vittorio 2010), much of this work has been more theoretical (and somewhat skeptical), as the megaregion is even more politically unreal than the region, with few institutions or organizations operating at this scale, let alone governments or authorities (Dewar and Epstein 2007; Wheeler 2009). There is strong recognition that "megaregional thinking" is perhaps most necessary and effective on large-scale issues like transportation, energy and water (Ross 2009, p. 1; Teitz and Barbour 2007). Thanks to Manuel Pastor, Chris Benner and others, there is a also a strong equity component to the megaregional focus, as scholars ask both what megaregional thinking can do to promote equity and warn how this massive geography can serve to mask inequality as much as ferret it out (Benner and Pastor 2011; Jones 2007; Benner and Pastor 2008; Blackwell and Duval-Diop 2008).

It is this latter concern about masking inequality which leads me to back to the question of definition. From an equity perspective, one of the reasons which "regionalism" is favored by equity advocates is that if used as a critical tool to

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example Sassen (2007), Jones (2007), Ross (2009), Glaeser and Harvard Institute of Economic Research (2007), Teitz and Barbour (2007), Lang and Dhavale (2005), Lang and Knox (2008), Dewar and Epstein (2007)
[11] It sounds only slightly less ridiculous in its native French.

examine difference, change and inequality *within* a region, it can elucidate truths missed by looking at inequality *between* regions. The *between* and *within* questions are both important to studying regions, and one would not conceive of regional thinking as excluding either.

Unfortunately, megaregional thinking has not taken this critical step to the same degree, preferring big envelope conceptions which allow between comparisons but not nuanced studies of the formation of megaregions which would show the *within* conflicts. What predominates are variations of Dewar and Epstein's (2007, p. 116) "models of regional definition", which look at three ways to define megaregions – via linkages (connections between points), gradients (fluctuations of a phenomenon) and a bounded definition (contiguous extent) –an endoskeleton, and exoskeleton and a hybrid, all ways of defining the whole enchilada. This is what I would call *megaregional space*, the broad envelope created by the fusion of existing regions. This does allow mega comparisons, giving geographers free rein to push Gottman's gonzo language into the space of "metroplex", "megaplex", and "galactic megapolitans", but leaves the megaregional question as exclusively one of bigness (Lang and Knox 2008, p. 10).

The focus on big envelope definitions obscures one of the most interesting, critical and useful aspects of the megaregional idea, and perhaps the only aspect of the definition upon which all scholars agree – what makes a megaregion different from any other large region is that it is created by the fusion of two or more previously independent (or perhaps less dependent) metropoles. This is what allowed Gottman to pronounce megaregionalilty so early in and around the eastern seabord, and why the Regional Plan Association (RPA) has been so involved in the megaregion concept – the 31-county New York Metropolitan region is America's original megaregion, a fact that the Lewis Mumford-driven RPA has known since the 1920s (Meyers 1998). Greater New York was not formed by the outward expansion of a single city a la Chicago or Los Angeles (the two cities that somehow have formed our conceptions of regional geography more than any other) but by the fusion of Manhattan with the smaller industrial cities of the Hudson, Hackensack and Passaic Rivers and southwestern Connecticut.

Focusing on megaregionality as fusion rather than envelope reminds us that this process does not occur everywhere in the megaregion at once. This is not wholesale integration – in the absence of any real political structures or necessary cultural or social relations, the megaregion is actually created in very specific places; in core areas better connected to other cores, or most dramatically in the peripheral spaces in between existing regions where the massive growth and change occurs. In the words of Lang and Knox (2008, p.4):

> The 'mid'-exurban realms that emerge between two proximate metropolitan areas lie in the crosshairs of regional growth. It is in these places where commuters go in both directions and provide the linkages – based on a shared economy – that join metropolitan areas.
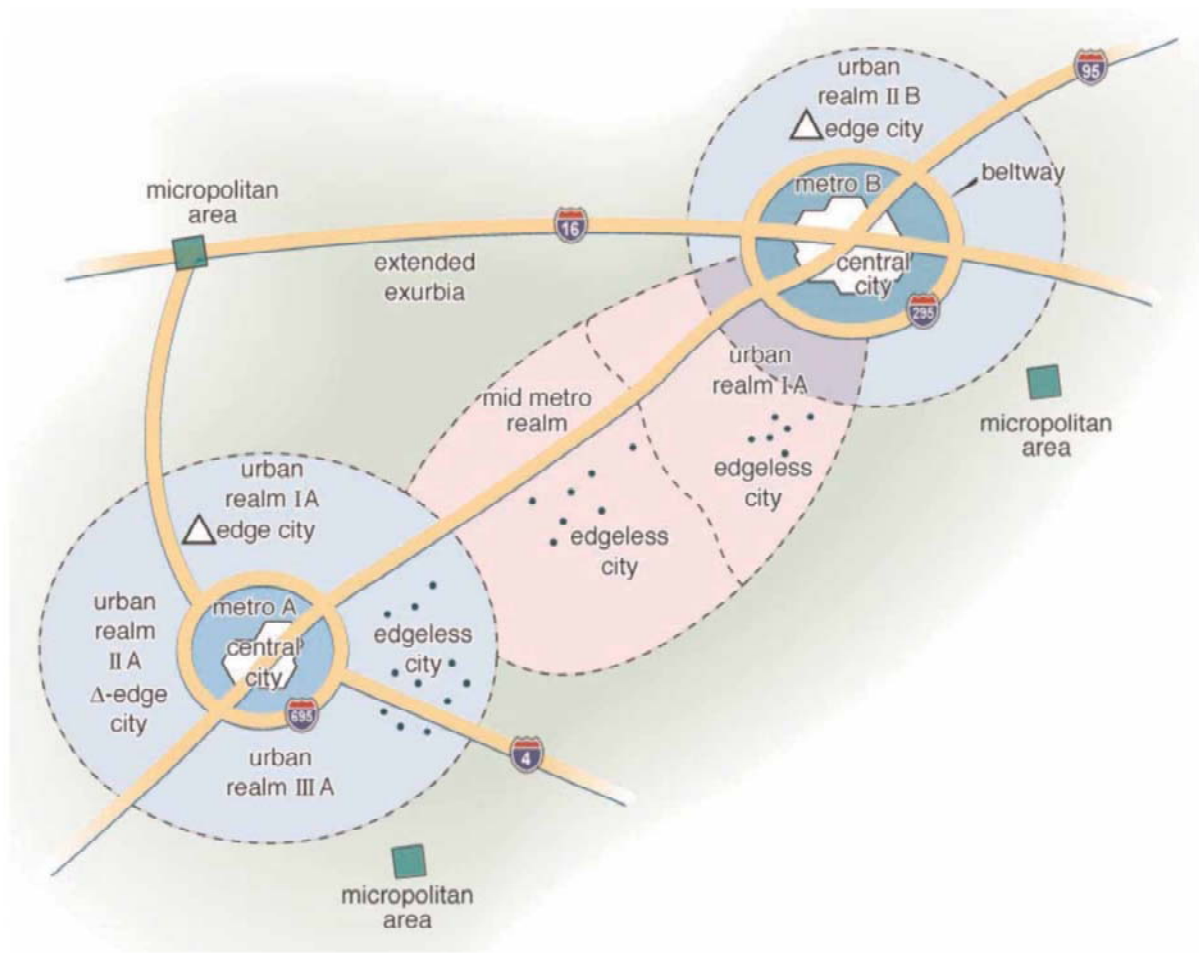
Figure 4: Lang and Knox's (2008) mid-exurban realms

These are what I call *spaces of the megaregion,* the actual places where this fusion is evident. Generally, this means those spaces actually in between, places which saw massive development as multiple regions merged, "weaving together their outer fringes, much as two bushes grow together to form a hedge (Schafran 2009a, p. 16)." Space at the core of merging regions is also produced as part of this process, from subdivisions in central cities to new infrastructure designed to accommodate growing megaregional trade, goods movement and personal mobility.

Especially when considering the spaces in between older regions, one cannot simply view them as "spillover" between metro regions, but rather as the physical and social glue which binds places together, even if they remain politically apart (Teitz and Barbour, p. 15). These "spillovers" in many ways are the megaregion, as this is where the fusion of previously "separate" regions matters, or at least matters far more than in the more stable spaces in the core or in outer peripheries on the far side of the connecting zones. By seeing spaces of the megaregion as equally important to the development of megaregional space, we can be attuned to both

macro and micro shifts, to inequality produced between and within, and we can envision a more manageable scale of planning and analysis. To "think megaregionally" does not need to mean thinking about millions and millions of people spread out over more than a thousand square miles, but can be focused on the very specific phenomena and places in which this process is manifest, avoiding the temptation to reduce megaregions to a variation on traditional ideas of regional development and expansion growing out from a center, where the smaller regions in the megaregion are reduced to peripheries being eaten up by a more powerful core (Benner and Pastor 2011).[12]

This place-based regionalism and the more specific approach it entails is critical for understanding both what happened in Northern California and what can and should happen in the future. All this growth, all these houses and all these people did not just spread out amorphously on the wide open plains of the Central Valley, even if it may seem that way when you drive over the Altamont or gaze down on the Valley from the Diablo range or the Sierra Foothills.[13] They "sprawled" into specific places, as part of plans and zoning maps and generally legal if at times dubiously conceived and executed land use decisions. There are subtle difference in these places, it is worth pushing down in scale rather than up for a moment, to see the actual places and spaces of the megaregional growth corridor– the Interstate 205 / 5 / 99 triangle of Lathrop and Manteca, Patterson on Stanislaus county's west side and Los Banos further down highway 33 in Merced County, Modesto's north side and Stockton's Weston Ranch, Tracy's growth at the foot of the Altamont or Mountain House's appearance right next door.

The Production of the Northern California Megaregion

The northern San Joaquin Valley has long been central to the story of the transformation of Northern California. The original point of centrality was economic, as capital from the Sierra gold and silver rushes in the mid-19th century was plowed by San Francisco-centric capitalists into the large scale agriculture which would bring such fame, wealth and poverty to the whole of the "Great Central Valley." If commodity chain analysis is one's criteria for determining megaregional status, northern California was essentially founded as a megaregion (Walker 2004; Brechin 2006).

The Valley's main cities, Stockton and Modesto, have never been massive, but they are very much cities in their own right, with all the trappings of modern American and Californian civic life – downtowns and class politics, urban boosterism and

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[12] This type of analysis holds somewhat in Southern California, where much of the exurban Inland Empire and Antelope valley is outward expansion from Los Angeles. But the 405 corridor in particular is classic megaregion – one cannot reduce the San Diego/Tijuana region to purely peripheral status even if it is an unequal partner in Southern California expansion.
[13] The cultural prejudice and general ignorance of the material and human reality of the Valley tends to render description of the arc running from East County and the fast growing cities of Solano County and down into the Central Valley as a "beige banana" for the neoliberal age.

symphonies and sports teams, posh neighborhoods of stately Victorians for the gentry, skid rows and Chinatowns and blue collars belts of single family homes and small apartments for most everyone else. The cities have their own dynamics of suburbanization and sprawl independent of the Bay Area. Race, immigration, urban renewal, freeway building, decline and abandonment and deindustrialization are part of their stories as well, even if their economy is far more agriculture- and land-based than their more metropolitan cousins on the other side of the Altamont. Even if their role in the larger restructuring of northern California was primarily to provide suburban-style homes to Bay Area commuters and outmigrants, we make a critical error if we ignore and deny the urbanness of the cities at the center of economic and political life in the Valley.

Table 1: Poverty Rates in Northern California Counties, 1970	
Alameda	7.5%
Contra Costa	6.0%
Marin	4.0%
Merced	14.2%
Napa	6.3%
Sacramento	8.1%
San Francisco	8.0%
San Joaquin	10.8%
San Mateo	3.8%
Santa Clara	5.2%
Solano	8.7%
Sonoma	9.0%
Stanislaus	11.8%
Source: US Census NT83 and Population data, calculations by author	

Stockton and San Jose were founded in the same year, 1850, and remained roughly the same size until 1960, when the postwar boom came to the Bay Area much more intensely than it did to the Central Valley. Stockton's 2010 population of 291,707 people still makes it the 65th largest city in the United States, sandwiched between Anchorage and Toledo, and larger than Salt Lake, Baton Rouge and Buffalo. It has much in common with cities like Toledo, small cities which struggle with poverty and an image problem, losing both its brightest products to the bigger and more vibrant economic zones nearby and its public relations battle to be seen as more than a one-dimensional place. Freeway signs heading east out of the Bay Area generally point to Stockton, but few people seem to make it there – that is unless you or your family are part of the migration.

Modesto is not far behind Stockton in either size or history past and present. Legend has it that the city was to be named in honor of the legendary San Francisco capitalist Billy Ralston, he of the Palace Hotel and Comstock lode riches, but he declined the honor of having it named Ralston, and thus they named it after his modesty. Modesto is the 107th largest city in America, a few thousand souls shy of Des Moines, and it too has long toiled in the shadow of its larger, wealthier and more famous trading partner by the Bay. Long before Modesto talked about BATS (Bay Area Transplants), "ghost neighborhoods" where people making long distance commutes left before daylight and came home after dark, and a sprawling northside that seemingly could continue forever, it grappled with the bitter irony that its most famous native son, George Lucas, not only found fame and fortune in the Bay Area but became a lynchpin of a multi billion-dollar special effects and animation economy which

helped the region dominate the Valley and helped spur the outmigration in the first place.[14]

There is no lack of nostalgia in the Valley for the postwar era that Lucas made famous in *American Graffiti*, the small-town feel in what was still a small city[15] when Lucas was growing up. Agriculture and ag-related industries dominated the Stanislaus county economy, and though San Joaquin's economy was more industrial and had the benefit of a port – again, primarily for agricultural goods and breakbulk – poverty was always a significant factor, as it has been in the Central Valley since before the Grapes of Wrath (Walker 2004. McWilliams 2000 [1937], Mitchell 1996). Table 1 shows the poverty rates of Northern California counties in 1970 – the only counties above 10% are San Joaquin, Stanislaus and Merced.
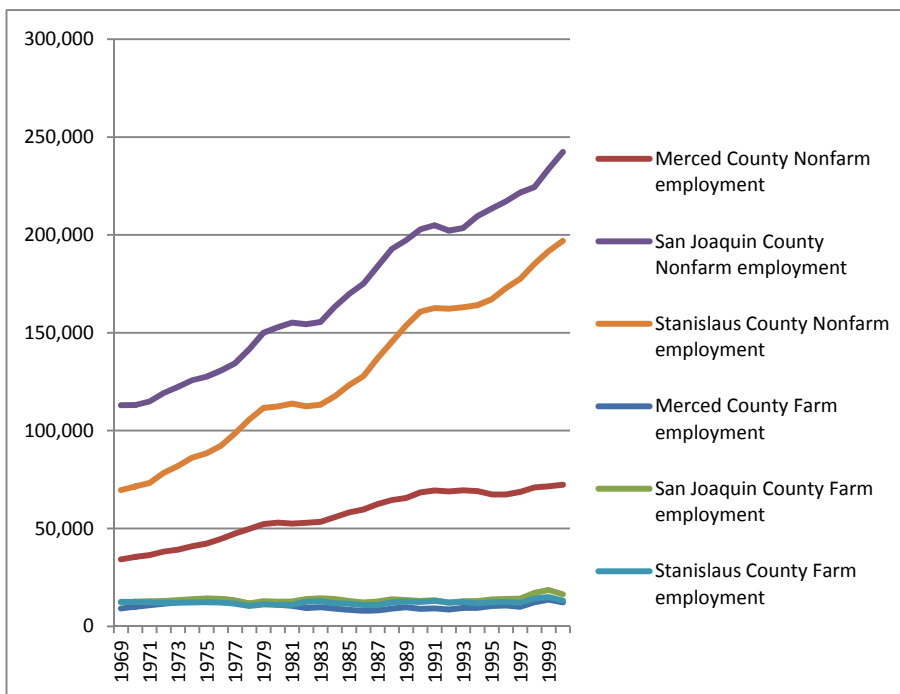
Figure 5: Farm v. Non-farm jobs, 1969-2000. Source RAND Ca. Note how farm employment for all three counties overlaps.

But the acceptance by the Valley's capitalist and middle / working classes of a high level of poverty – often hidden in unincorporated zones near factories or in labor camps tucked behind almond orchards and along dusty farm roads far off the beaten path – did not mean that they would stand by as the overall economy stagnated. By the time *American Graffiti* debuted in 1973 – shot not in Modesto but in Petaluma (Sonoma County) – the farm economy is in an employment holding pattern. It is not only during the past twenty years that farm jobs have stayed flat, but for decades (figure 5). Part of what would drive that new

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[14] Lucas was also instrumental in the Presidio transformation mentioned in Chapter 5, as his Letterman Arts center is the key financial piece in the public-private partnership, and peripherally in the transformation of Emeryville – Pixar, one of the keys to Emeryville's success, began as a Lucasfilm project.

[15] <50,000 through them mid '60s.

employment growth was construction jobs, which tripled in Merced, San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties between 1969 and 2000.

This did not necessarily mean that farming was not profitable – mechanization helped remove the need for certain types of labor, water remained artificially cheap for many farmers (depending on innumerable factors), and rising commodity prices of late have meant boons for some growers. But the number of humans involved shrunk, and there was strong impetus for local leaders and local landowners – mostly farmers and ranchers – to diversify the economy. Regardless of whether your impetus was to protect the employment base (i.e. labor unions, some electeds), the tax base (city officials) or land values (owners, county officials), urbanization could produce like no other economic balm available.

Table 2: San Joaquin County Commuting, 1970-2000				
	1970	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**
Total Out of County Commuters	4637	9364	31192	49329
% Bay Area	40.7%	45.4%	65.1%	68.8%
% Sacramento	21.8%	19.9%	12.7%	14.4%
% Stanislaus	27.5%	27.1%	16.5%	13.5%
Total population	292,085	350,186	484,131	568,023
% Bay Area commuters	1.6%	2.7%	6.4%	8.7%
In labor force (census)	96792	131295	214969	244516
% Bay Area commuters	4.8%	7.1%	14.5%	20.2%
Internal commuters	85604	123118	159413	163450
Total Commuters	90241	132482	190605	212779
Out of County as % of Total	**5.1%**	**7.1%**	**16.4%**	**23.2%**
Bay Area as % of Total	**2.1%**	**3.2%**	**10.7%**	**15.9%**
Commuters to SJ County	5617	10067	21182	31612
From Bay Area	899	1132	2656	3772
Source: US Census journey to work data. Compilation by census bureau, calculations by author.				

This lack of true options was partly driven by a structural factor in the political economy of the Central Valley. Unlike the Bay Area, which is "united" by regional agencies, there exists a different Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO) and/or Council of Government (COG) for each county in the Central Valley, eight in all. Modesto, Merced and Stockton are all separate MSA's, despite their proximity and similarities. But similarity does not equal integration – they have parallel economies, each producing agricultural goods for markets elsewhere, rather than more codependent urban economies. The Bay Area did not join with a unified agro-metropolis, but with three different ones operating under similar conditions.[16]

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[16] Interview 17

The end result economically was the growing domination of a construction and building industry which took hold of an increasing portion of each county's political economy. What began as a few subdivisions here and a few strip malls there saw the total annual construction wages in San Joaquin County alone go from $270 million in 1990 ($400 million adjusted for inflation) to over $700 million by the height of the boom in 2005.[17]And like Contra Costa County, San Joaquin's businesspeople got into the real estate credit game – 17 establishments in 1990 became 52 in 2005 and generated almost ten times the revenue, even when adjusted for inflation.[18] Stanislaus County was much the same on a slightly smaller scale. It is no wonder one former elected official in Stanislaus County commented, "I cannot overstate just how much influence the development community has over local elected officials."[19] It was as if the economy and opportunity of East County met the full force of Contra Costa's real estate industry head on, without the distraction of edge city building, the anti-growth politics of a strong environmental movement, or even the physical challenges of hillside development. It was, at least initially, a much simpler equation focused on transforming fields into subdivisions, and it did far more than transform the political economy of the Valley – it made it part of the Bay Area. That would not have been possible without the human dimension, not just the demand for housing but for a new type of economic actor from the perspective of the Valley – the commuter.

Commuters

No other relationship defines out formal conceptions of region as much as commuting, that truly modern form of movement which sees people travel long distances back and forth on a daily basis for employment. In San Joaquin County, it fused with an older form of movement – migration. Yet unlike in earlier eras, people moved not for employment but for housing - the jobs largely remained behind in the Bay Area.

Table 2 captures much of the critical detail in the transformation of San Joaquin County from an urbanized agricultural region into a key space in a larger megaregion. In 1970, only 5% of the people who commuted to work left the county to do so – by 2000 it was almost 25%. Of that 5% in 1970, less than half went over the Altamont to the Bay Area – by 2000, more than 2/3's of the out –of-county commuters went to the Bay Area.

And we are talking serious numbers here – the number of out-of-county commuters grew more than tenfold during an area where the population essentially doubled. Almost 50,000 people commuted out of the county by 2000 while only 31,612 commuted to the county, making it deeply "suburban" in the sense that it was a

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[17] California Regional Economies Employment Data, San Joaquin County, section 23.
[18] Ibid. sector 522292
[19] Interview 17

major bedroom community for somewhere else's economy. This was twenty percent of its entire labor force, four times the rate from 1970.

As much as the farm economy was stagnant, this growth in megacommutes for a megaregion was not driven by locals looking for jobs, but by people with jobs coming over the hill to live. In the 2000 census, more than 40,000 San Joaquin residents reported living in the Bay Area in 1995, almost 30,000 from Alameda and Santa Clara alone, almost five times the number that made the reverse migration, despite the vastly superior economy. Stanislaus County's numbers were closer – 22,000 in-migrants and 13,000 outmigrants – but still imbalanced. Merced County took in more than 10,000 – more than 8,000 from Santa Clara alone - and sent back 3,300.[20] The gap in Sacramento County was 20,000.

This data only captures a fraction of the incessant churning which saw ample moves back and forth – we tend to overly conceptualize this as a one way migration like refugees from a flood, but people moved both ways, just like immigrants often go back to their home countries – but with a constant net gain of Bay Area residents in the Central Valley over the course of decades. Merced, Stanislaus, San Joaquin, Sacramento and Solano Counties all more than doubled in size between 1970 and 2010, far outstripping the growth rates of San Francisco (12.5%), San Mateo (29.2%) and even Santa Clara (67.3%). It is not just a question of percentages – the combined growth of Merced, Stanislaus and San Joaquin counties, an area that only partially includes outer-ring growth, added more actual humans (862,614) than San Francisco and Santa Clara Counties combined (806,489) during this period.

All these people with all these homes driving long distances to work brought profound challenges to local and regional infrastructure, to local social and political culture, and the identity of Valley towns. But one of the most important challenges came from a need which would feed the growth machine itself, a self-perpetuating logic of growth even more complicated than the development fee paradigm – they had to shop somewhere.

Rooftops, the logic of corporate retail math, and the question of amenities

Academic discussion of both exurban development and amenities often focuses on resort locations, small towns being gentrified by second homeowners or plowed under by "a complex nexus of global processes." Critical scholarship aims at understanding "the consequences of the residential side of the amenity-seeking behaviour of exurbanites colonizing the countryside," whereby amenities are golf-courses or other luxury development, and big-box stores are somehow alien to the "natural" landscape of small communities (Taylor 2011, p. 326).[21] Northern

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[20] US Census 2000 county to county migration data.
[21] See also Cadieux and Hurley (2011) and the special issue of *GeoForum* (2007, 39(2)) on exurbia. One reason for this is a divide is the myriad definitions of exurbia that Taylor points to, ones which

California certainly has examples of this type, from the Diablo Grande development outside Patterson to increasingly bourgeois towns in the Sierra Foothills.

But there is a decidedly more middle-class, suburban, American and small town Californian question of "amenities" which cannot be reduced to "global processes" or "colonization". New homes and new residents bring needs and desires for more basic amenities like supermarkets and public swimming pools, and they feed into a self-perpetuating logic of growth, one driven by the intersection of three different logics, all of which demanded more rooftops. This is the amenities question, a decidedly unsexy and mundane aspect of everyday life in consumerist America, but one which helps drive growth enormously.

In talking with people who relocated to the Valley, many refer to the "small town atmosphere", to the sense of community, safety and quiet, an idea that this "is how it used to be", even if many came from places where it was never quite like this. But few seemed nostalgic for old-time retail, small local stores with limited selections and often higher prices. They wanted their Target's, their large-scale supermarkets, their Home Depots or Lowe's, and they did not want to have to drive miles and miles to find them. After all, they drove enough every day on their way to work.

Local government also looked favorably upon this retail growth, for it meant tax dollars – money not only to pay for basic infrastructure but new non-retail amenities also demanded by new and old residents alike – public swimming pools, a new field for the high school, a new city hall – pieces of generally public infrastructure which provided both services and community pride to small towns where pride and local identity are critical currency.

This push for amenities – consistently cited in interview after interview with local officials, planners and citizens – was subject to an increasingly quantitative corporate retail math. The decision to open a specific store of a specific type is determined more and more in the US not by the hunch of an entrepreneur but because the demographic equation calculated by someone sitting in corporate headquarters at times thousands of miles away adds up. Race, income, education levels, ethnicity and a host of other data points factor in, but nothing matters more than rooftops. If you want a full service supermarket, you need a minimum of 5,000 houses. Patterson in 1990 had only 2703 housing units, and no major supermarket. As the population began to grow, people wanted a large market – there was only so much small-town they could take, despite the fact that there were two old-style markets downtown, one generally serving the Latino community and one the white

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both include suburbanized fast growing small towns at a previous metropolitan edge and ones which do not.

community.[22] Once you have a supermarket, the next step is something like a Target, a Lowe's or undoubtedly the most controversial – a WalMart.

To see the growth of major retail chains as colonization - the trappings of metropolitan life brought with or demanded by newcomers - not only strips local towns of agency and responsibility but misreads how this all came about in the first place. Again, old-time Valley residents continue to dominate politics in virtually every city, town and county in the Valley, despite rapid growth and change. Some farmers are fighting to preserve the old ways of life and farming, while others can't wait to sell out. Some old–time residents bemoan the cultural habits of the newcomers, the noise or traffic or all of the above, yet they voted in favor of growth by consistently electing pro-growth politicians. And many wanted the new stores themselves – either to shop in, to profit on as developers or landowners or accountants or lawyers, to work in as employees in an economy starved of living wage employment.

It can also not be reduced to corporations forcing themselves on small towns through real estate intermediaries and developers, or fiscally-starved towns selling off development rights to the highest "rateable" available masks the underlying desire that many residents who relocated to the Valley have for certain types of commerce and convenience, even if these structuring forces are powerful.

This trajectory of "progress" is better conceived of as a small-town Americana example of Gramscian hegemony. Unlike the development fee paradigm discussed in chapter 3, where growth becomes a Faustian bargain, the amenities question reaches deeper into the American model of suburban lifestyle and consumption. We buy lifestyles when we buy homes, even if that lifestyle is not formally built into the community. We will then support, or at least not object to, further political decisions to allow growth, as long as it brings amenities which we see as convenient. For all that some people warned of its unsustainability, for all that there was local dissent, handwringing over lost culture, buyer's remorse from former urbanites and continued economic, fiscal and political struggles, the unreal growth of the spaces of the Northern California megaregion was not possible without wholesale buy-in from virtually every major segment of political and social economy. The only time major *local* opposition to development has grown in the spaces of the megaregion is after there has been enough growth to attract amenities – in Tracy in the 1990s, or more recently in Brentwood. Then it becomes more of a question of whether *further growth* will overtax those amenities, making traffic worse or the swimming pool more crowded.

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[22] As Susan Strasser (2006) makes clear in a brilliant history of American consumption, we have a tendency towards nostalgia for small business relationships which ignores that they are just as capable of exploitation. With captive audiences, small-town merchants were often able to artificially inflate prices and use their money and influence to control small town politics.

This does not mean that the commercial development industry and their corporate retail partners don't exploit the consumption desires of new residents and the fiscal desires of fast growing towns, or bear greater responsibility in a moral hierarchy of responsible urbanism. For every story of amenities-driven growth you hear in the Valley, you also hear stories of crass corporate exploitation – Wal Mart insisting on a 50% sales tax rebate in Modesto, Home Depot pitting three cities against each other in a bid for services, corporate site plans and locational desires which reflect internal company policies designed in Minneapolis or Bentonville rather than the traffic, consumption and community needs of Patterson or Manteca.[23] As one longtime Valley planner put it, "it fundamentally changed the nature of the power relationship" between cities, citizens and corporations.

Differentiation

In the face of this restructured power relationship, not all cities reacted precisely the same way. Though many of them are members of the 50/5000 club, and all have struggled to some extent with growth and foreclosure, the places of the northern San Joaquin are not all the same. The differences between them can be massive, i.e. between the large cities of Stockton and Modesto and the smaller former farm communities, or quite subtle – a matter of a few miles difference in commute difference, a cultural variation in the approach to development established years before, a few decisions of major landowners or city councils. In the grand calculus of development, these may seem minor differences, but they are worth considering for a brief moment, especially considering the wide range of experience these places have had when it comes to foreclosure.

Unlike Contra Costa County, where significant growth occurred in unincorporated areas and where the county was a major player in development, much of the growth in the Northern San Joaquin Valley took place in incorporated cities, or at times on the edge of cities in anticipation of annexation – with a few noteworthy exceptions.[24] The smaller cities and towns share much in common with East County, and even more with Brentwood, which unlike the industrial towns of Pittsburg and Antioch is an old Central Valley railroad town not too different from Ripon, Patterson, or Manteca. In the conversion of old farm towns into post-industrial garden one sees a slightly different dynamic, a shift from an agricultural to an urban economy without passing through a major industrial era.

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[23] Interviews 33, 58, 5

[24] Mountain House, wedged into a corner of San Joaquin County at the intersection of the Alameda and Contra Costa borders, is the only major "new town" to be built in Northern California since Discovery Bay in the 1970s. It now has just under 10,000 residents, severely stalled development, and high rates of foreclosure and underwater borrowers. Delhi (Merced) and Salida (Stanislaus) are both towns in the cultural-identity sense but are officially unincorporated. Diablo Grande is a combination resort-residential community high in the Diablo Range west of Patterson, but despite grand plans and major water infrastructure has only a few hundred permanent residents.

Their politics were firmly connected to the seemingly ancient political dynamics of the valley, where land and water and those who control it rule, where the "come from's" decided to invite the "come to's" in one big push. They didn't all take the same approach, and one of the key questions emerging in the Valley post-crash was why some places like Ripon and Lodi emerged *relatively* unscathed, especially compared to their neighbors like Manteca and Lathrop which garnered national attention as part of the crisis.

In Lodi's case, it largely resisted the siren call of rampant growth, building more slowly and avoiding the 50/5000 club. It "benefitted" from a location just beyond the primary commute-sheds, too far north of Silicon Valley to "compete" for commuters – Stanislaus and Merced county towns would always win out for the Silicon Valley folks, while Tracy, Lathrop, Manteca, Mountain House and Stockton were all closer to the 580/680 corridor. But Lodi, its fellow San Joaquin County town on the other end of Highway 99, Ripon, and the Stanislaus county city of Oakdale specifically tried to aim for a wealthier class of new resident, using planning controls to push prices just a bit higher than surrounding communities. Both had the advantage of strong internal identities, especially in Ripon, where the longstanding Central Valley Dutch community is exceptionally strong and closeknit, and the private Ripon Christian schools stands

Figure 6: Median sales price per square foot (annualized and adjusted for inflation), 1989-2010. Source: Dataquick, calculations by author and Jake Wegmann

monolithically on the edge of town, a reminder of the centrality of a specific community.

This was not gross exclusion as practiced in the San Ramon Valley, nor anything that would remotely make the historical record of suburban exclusionism, not with the myriad examples throughout Californian and American history. One could also argue that this was "good planning" – they would simply demand that developers build more amenities for residents, better quality streets, park and lighting design, that developers conform to locally produced plans rather than accepting stock subdivision design from corporate headquarters. Brentwood planners make similar arguments, and believe that some of their relative success vis-à-vis Antioch in terms of foreclosure rates has to do with the higher planning standards. If it chased away

some developers – for instance KB Homes, one of the major national corporate builders pulled out of Ripon because it found the costs and standards too exacting - there were always other developers willing to build. And Ripon certainly grew, almost doubling in size in two decades.

Other than the difference in foreclosure rates between these cities and the rest in the valley, none of the other major indicators are radically different. If you chart median sales price per square foot for the smaller cities, there is small gap between Lodi/Ripon and the higher foreclosure zones, but nothing major (Figure 6). The gaps only appears post-crash, with Ripon homes selling for almost twice the price of Patterson homes by 2009 and 2010, despite being similarly located and similarly new.

If you chart median sales price without accounting for size, the gap grows bigger – just like the houses in Ripon. Bigger houses on bigger lots equals higher prices, and towns have known this for generations – you can actually sense the difference when you drive through Ripon. Yet if you look at core demographic data (table 3), Ripon is at the higher end of median income, but not by a major amount. Poverty in all the smaller Valley cities is lower than Merced, Modesto and Stockton. Lodi's class structure is evident in the low median income and high poverty rate, a division evident geographically

Table 3: The Faces of the Megaregion

City	Fore-closure Rate 2008 (per 100k)	50/5000	Popul 2010	Growth 1900-2010 (#)	Growth 1990-2010 (%)	Non-Hispanic White 2010 (%)	Mean Travel Time to work (min)	Median House-hold Income ($)	Families in Poverty 2010 (%)	High Cost loans 2004-2006 (%)	High cost investor loans 2004-2006 (per 1000 units)
Ripon	836.5	y	14297	6842	91.8%	68.9%	30.3	74598	8.4	15.3	5.89
Lodi	969.6	n	62134	10260	19.8%	53.4%	23.4	48695	11.4	26.9	2.97
Turlock	1193.7	y	68549	26351	62.4%	52.8%	22.4	50573	10.7	23.4	5.39
Oakdale	1203.7	y	20675	8714	72.9%	68.1%	27	59842	9.4	20.3	5.40
Livingston	1602.8	y	13058	5741	78.5%	8.0%	21.2	46198	13.6	32.6	9.63
Manteca	1820.9	y	67096	26323	64.6%	46.9%	33.6	60944	6.9	30.1	9.09
Ceres	1849.8	y	45417	19103	72.6%	31.4%	26.5	50124	14.2	30.4	5.22
Modesto	1987.9	n	201165	36435	22.1%	49.4%	25.4	50550	13.5	29.3	10.92
Riverbank	2036.7	y	22678	14131	165.3%	39.5%	28.9	58308	11.1	22.0	3.35
Merced	2039.9	n	78958	22742	40.5%	30.0%	20.4	36269	22.4	24.0	3.88
Stockton	2262.1	n	291707	80764	38.3%	22.9%	27	47946	15.9	33.7	7.79
Atwater	2407.4	n	28168	5886	26.4%	35.8%	21.2	42226	20	28.0	6.41
Delhi	2654.7	y	10755	7475	227.9%	21.7%	25.1	50656	10.6	35.2	7.77
Salida	2661.3	y	13722	9223	205.0%	42.0%	34.5	72229	7.9	30.4	2.94
Tracy	2910.9	y	82922	49364	147.1%	36.2%	41.4	76753	7.4	23.6	3.36
Newman	2982.1	y	10224	6073	146.3%	32.5%	38.1	47416	15.4	27.4	6.01
Los Banos	4246.0	y	35972	21453	147.8%	26.5%	42.7	54375	16	36.6	3.42
Lathrop	4295.8	y	18023	11182	163.5%	24.6%	40	68226	6.4	34.3	3.84
Patterson	5114.1	y	20413	11787	136.6%	26.2%	41.9	54187	8.9	28.3	5.84

in the gap between the two zip codes. You can see the evidence of the middle-class Bay Area commuters in Tracy, Manteca and Lathrop, with higher than average median incomes and long commute times. Ripon had fewer high-cost loans overall, and Lodi a smaller number of high-cost investor loans, more and more seen a key source of trouble (Haughwout et al. 2011).

The strategies pursued by towns like Ripon and Lodi are just part of a long tradition of American planning where the line between good planning – sound fiscal judgment, good design, maximizing benefits from a development community dedicated to minimizing cost – and exclusion runs deep. All the towns in the Valley eventually adopted some form of more controlled and better regulated planning, especially after having gotten burned in initial rounds. But one of the many tragedies of this crisis is that it is seen to vindicate those who advocate exclusion as sound planning practice at the local level – chances are that the more your housing stock remained open to "the masses" during the boom years, the more your town is now struggling.

Surely every town in the Valley could have done something more to avoid crisis, but it is not clear that they could have done so without excluding people. The demand was there, and it was not created simply by the existence of the American Dream in this location, but by how hard it was to find that dream elsewhere, how hard it was to find a dream and a job in the same area code, and the price one had to pay at the bank to afford the dream in the first place (Figure 7).[25]

But the most troubling story evident in the question of Ripon and Lodi is that the clearest correlations between foreclosure and other variables, as discussed throughout this dissertation and evident again in table_ above, are growth, and sadly, race. Ripon and Oakdale remained heavily white at a time when the rest of the Valley's fast growing cities and towns became majority minority.

This connection is part of the larger pattern of "mobile segregation" discussed in Chapter 2, and it is clear that Valley towns were aware of what was happening while it was happening. But the political responses to growth and change are also part of a much larger set of divides, one best seen through the lens of frontiers – particularly the line between red and blue.

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[25] For all that this dissertation makes an argument that planning and development must take greater responsibility for what happened, the link between the high-cost poisons being sold by seemingly every financial "institution" on the planet is just as clear as any other map.
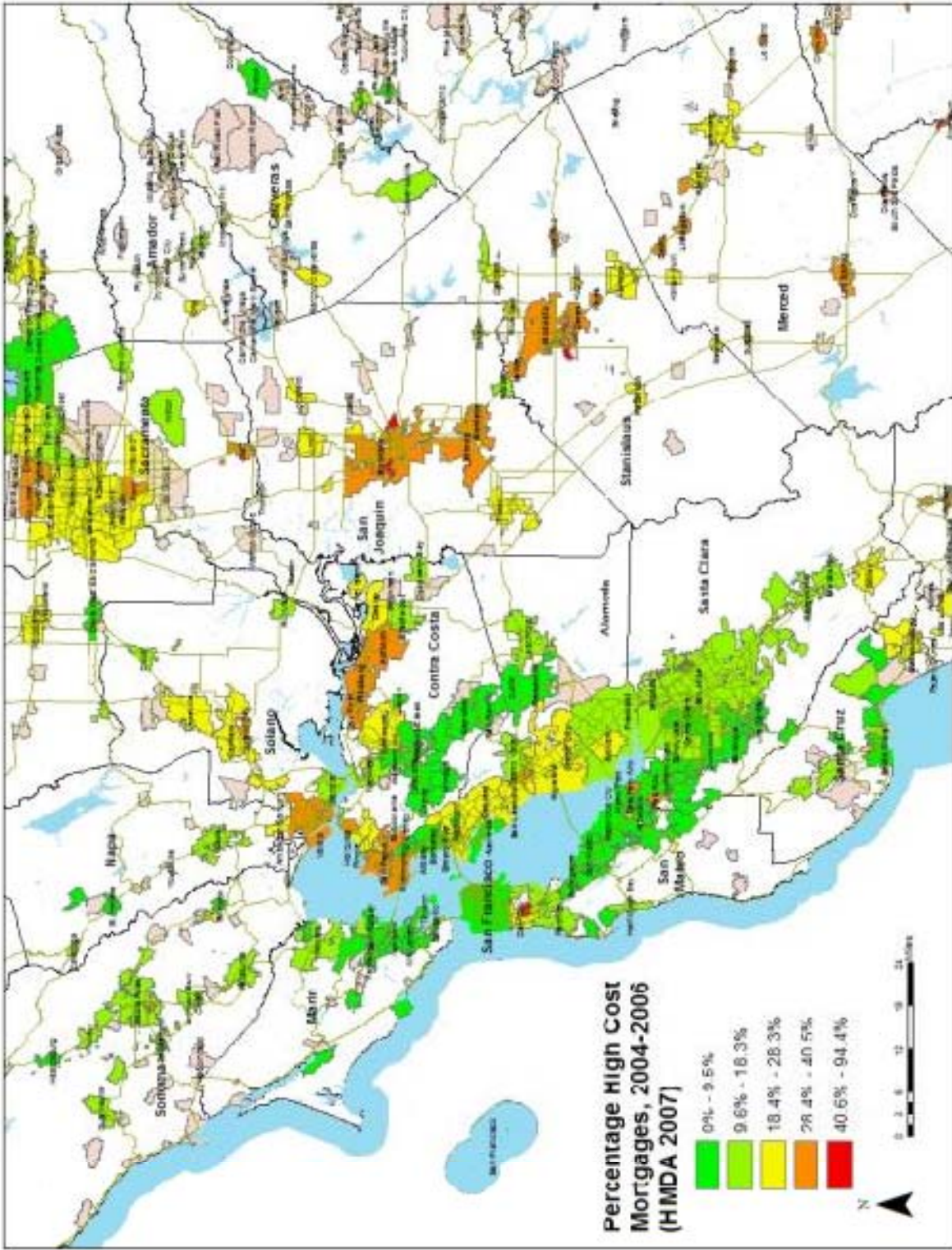
Figure 7: High Cost Loans.

Figure 8: Norcal. Photo by Alex Schafran

Northern California Frontiers

Driving past the Altamont Wind Farm, one can see the roots of both the Bay Area's paradox and Northern California's frontiers in real and symbolic form. Conceived in the late 1970s in response to the oil shocks, the wind farm straddles an overcrowded highway next to an underutilized railroad right of way which only in the last decade began bringing a trickle of the daily flood of commuters over the pass. As I have noted throughout this dissertation, progressive thinking in household energy consumption – and open space preservation upon which it stood - were never matched by the more politically and socially difficult decisions about transportation, land use, housing affordability and education which could have made a far greater difference in both energy consumption *and* human lives, and in the ultimate sustainability of the Bay Area as a whole. Instead we pushed the edges of the already fragmented map outward until the fingers of the Bay Area merged

with the edges of the Sacramento and Northern San Joaquin Valley metropoles, a merging of the urbanized zones of northern California.

Etched into the grasslands at the base of the windmills is another symbol visible from 580, a large cross cut into the brown hill which says "Jesus Saves", seemingly out of place in the socially liberal Bay Area, until you realize that it is greeting you as you leave the Bay and head into the Central Valley. As you head down the eastern side of the Altamont, Christian radio outnumbers NPR in roughly the reverse ratio as on the western side of the pass. Spanish-language radio is omnipresent, as is country music and the classic rock of 104.1 the Hawk, the sound of Modesto streaming across the irrigated grid of the Valley.

No matter how much one marshals economic and demographic data to argue for the formation of a megaregion, the feeling that one is crossing a line when going over the Altamont is powerful, a psychogeographic sense which is more than myth or outdated perception. One gets a muted version of the same feeling crossing over Kirker Pass, the line between the 680 corridor and East County, a physical extension of the massive Diablo Range which separates the Bay and the Valley and a baby cousin to the mighty Altamont. East County is part of the Valley geographically, connected to its vast farm and land-based economy, and very much part of the frontiers which I would argue help us define and understand these spaces where the megaregion is being formed in fits and starts.

A different type of frontier

The idea of *the* frontier is one of America's oldest, most important and most controversial ideas, an idea codified by famed historian Frederick Jackson Turner during an 1893 speech at one of the most important urban events in American history – the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. For Turner, the frontier symbolized the "march" of civilization, and it was fundamentally a space of encounter between the civilized and the uncivilized, or simply the civilized and emptiness. He bemoaned the announcement of the "closing" or breaking up of the frontier by the Census Bureau in 1890, for he felt the frontier as space of exploration was critical to the formation of American character.[26]

The "frontier thesis" would prove lasting and powerful in American thought and politics. Teddy Roosevelt had his own theory of the impact of the frontier. John F. Kennedy spoke in terms of the "new frontier", especially with regards to issues of space exploration and technology, channeling the modernist impulse in Turner. Kennedy, like many who came before him, largely ignored the bloodshed and racism inherent in frontierism, the raw erasure of native Americans as both civilized and human, such that their wholesale extermination could be countenanced or ignored (Mathiopoulos 1989; White, Limerick, and Grossman 1994, p. 81).

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26 The literature on Turner is long and almost as old as the thesis. See for example Coleman (1966) and Slotkin (1973)

The mix of modernism and historical blindness to genocide undergirded the scholarly reaction to Turner in the 1980s and 90s (almost a century late), as historians like Richard Slotkin began pulling apart the frontier thesis and exposing it as myth, a powerful and destructive myth which helped to justify the "spectacular violence" which so defined western America.

Slotkin's work was critical to Neil Smith, whose landmark work on gentrification identified the way the frontier myth was being deployed in urban settings, the poor and the racialized substituting for Native Americans, gentrifiers for settlers and the real estate industry and local bourgeois media for Turner, Roosevelt and those that would celebrate the "civilizing" of neighborhoods like the Lower East Side. The brilliance of Smith's work is not in his invention of a new terminology, but in how he noticed, and then used as a gateway for a broad critique, the "old wine in new bottles" nature of frontier mythology in an urban settings – how participants in the transformation of lower Manhattan likened their crossing Houston Street to the crossing of the Rockies, or referred to themselves as trailblazers, as if nobody lived there before. "The frontier myth of the new city is here so clichéd, the geographical and historical quality of things so lost," Smith argues, "that we may not even see the blend of myth in the landscape (Smith 1996, p. 12)."

What has been lost in the continued reappropriation of the frontier as myth, or as a singular entity – the frontier – is that in the United States the concept of frontier has become difficult to use, even if it is useful. In its native France, the idea of *frontiér*e is foundational to historical geography. It doesn't carry the same mythological baggage, and thus scholars are free to think more deeply about frontiers. Europeans define the frontier as a border, a space between two entities, or perhaps a grey zone where transition is in process or sovereignty, culture, politics, etc. is in dispute. It is not by definition the line between something and nothing, as it has consistently been used in America.[27]

This freedom has allowed French urban scholars to apply the concept of frontier in an exploratory way, using it as a means to explore social-spatial segregation. The frontier is both physical, administrative and symbolic – consider Paris's famed *peripherique*, the ring road which is both a physical and symbolic line between Paris and the *banlieue*, but which in fact is not the administrative space. The frontier can be a stark separation, but it is more often a zone of mixing and transition, a place where rights, belonging, political power, culture and ownership are often being contested. We would perhaps translate it as boundary, but frontier makes much more sense if one can temporarily step back from the American meaning. For urban scholars like Moulin, the frontier is not only critical to understanding urban space,

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[27] The deuling definitions in the Oxford English dictionary, with their literary references, is especially enlightening on this subject.

but there are no frontiers without the social. The very notion of urban frontiers is "inseparable from that of lived space (Moulin 2001, p. 56)."[28]

Where the American meaning comes back in is through the question of power. Few frontiers are constituted on relations between equals, or via transitions or processes which are moving in both directions at the same pace. The frontier is inherently a space of power relations, and it is this sense from the American experience that should remain, lest the idea of frontier be simply reduced to a border or boundary. If the frontier is inseparable from lived space, lived space in inseparable from the power relations which produced it, so power must remain a constant question.

Red and blue

It is this sense of frontier, as a transition space where divisions are evident yet fluid and where relations of power are generally unequal yet contested, which helps us understand why the formation of the Northern California megaregion is so complex. It was both a merging of separate regions and an expansion of a more powerful region into another, and it was forming not only on top of 150 years of history.

It was also being build astride some of the most profound divisions in American history. What makes this frontier complex is that it is not one frontier but several. The arc formed by the Diablo range was both the growth frontier and a demographic frontier, a line between high foreclosure and low foreclosure. It was the periurban frontier, where the metropolis met the rural lands, where the transition was from an agricultural to an urban economy. When you cross the Diablo range, the climate changes, the air changes, the smells and horizons and points of reference all undergo a transition. But no change is more important than the political shift that takes place, one which was not inborn but which was produced over the past half century.

It is hard to imagine that Berkeley was once a Republican stronghold, but in the 1950s it had a Republican city council majority. This soon changed, and by the 1970s San Francisco and Berkeley were at the heart of a growing progressive empire. Yet Republicans and conservatives existed in relative numbers, even in San Francisco. Almost a third (32%) of San Francisco's registered voters in 1964, the year Barry Goldwater ran for president and the contemporary conservative movement in America began to crystallize, were Republicans (McGirr 2001). Contra Costa, San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties were only a few percentage points higher. During that era, the line between red and blue was not constituted at the Altamont, but between neighborhoods in San Francisco, between the wealthy and republican towns of central Contra Costa like Danville and the blue-collar and Democratic cities like Pittsburg.

But over the past forty years, this core of the Bay Area has grown more blue, while

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[28] "La notion de frontière urbaine est donc inséparable de celle d'espace vécu." Translated by author.

Table 4: Ratio of Registered Democrats to Republicans (D2R)				
	1964	1984	2000	2008
SF	1.98	3.49	4.14	5.25
San Joaquin				
Escalon	1.41	1.39	0.81	0.73
Lodi	0.79	0.85	0.69	0.62
Manteca	2.13	1.75	1.01	0.98
Ripon	0.78	0.62	0.47	0.44
Stockton	1.83	1.90	1.39	1.48
Tracy	1.94	1.63	1.13	1.17
Cities	1.53	1.58	1.14	1.15
Unincorporated	1.80	1.42	0.91	0.83
County	1.64	1.53	1.08	1.07
Stanislaus				
Ceres	2.58	1.91	1.30	1.26
Modesto	1.40	1.43	1.06	1.03
Newman	2.63	3.10	1.76	1.31
Oakdale	1.68	1.55	1.00	0.75
Patterson	1.43	2.04	1.71	1.61
Riverbank	3.99	3.04	1.31	1.08
Turlock	1.08	1.13	1.04	0.88
Cities	1.48	1.47	1.11	1.02
Unincorporated	1.89	1.65	1.04	0.84
County	1.68	1.52	1.09	0.98
Contra Costa				
Antioch	3.31	2.54	2.04	2.31
Brentwood	2.20	2.26	1.11	1.10
Clayton	1.06	0.94	0.81	0.87
Concord	1.75	1.42	1.53	1.64
Danville		0.56	0.61	0.71
El Cerrito	1.44	2.35	3.68	5.10
Hercules	1.54	2.10	2.98	3.48
Lafayette		0.69	0.95	1.21
Martinez	1.97	1.72	1.63	1.83
Moraga		0.56	0.78	1.01
Pinole	2.19	2.14	2.45	2.82
Pittsburg	5.17	3.72	3.60	3.68
Pleasant Hill	1.26	1.31	1.40	1.67
Richmond	3.05	6.13	6.76	7.80
San Pablo	3.77	4.54	6.06	6.44
San Ramon		0.85	0.76	1.01
Walnut Creek	0.76	0.66	0.98	1.22
Cities	2.13	1.54	1.56	1.74
Unincorporated Area	1.11	1.37	1.37	1.44
County	1.63	1.50	1.53	1.69
Source: *California Secretary of State, Calculations by author*				

the Valley and its extensions in East County have grown increasingly red, despite, or perhaps because of, the increasing migrations from the Bay Area. San Francisco in 2008 was 10% Republican, and Democrats outnumbered Republicans 5 to 1 (table 4) . In San Joaquin and Stanislaus, the percentage of Republicans has actually grown during an era when California as a whole shifted from Red to Blue, and the ratio of Democrats to Republicans (D2R) is roughly 1 to 1.

Taken as a whole, the creation of the Altamont the line between Red and Blue is part of the wholesale separation of California politically along east/west lines, as opposed to the historical north/south division. This is what Douzet, Kousser and Miller (2008) call the "new political geography of California", and it is a phenomenon one can see up and down the Valley and into the foothills. Like the rest of the California, before the New Deal, the Valley was a Republican stronghold, famous for brutal labor conditions and violent confrontations of workers rights (Walker 2004; McWilliams 2000; Mitchell 1996). The New Deal changed this, and by 1940, only a third of the registered voters across the entire Valley were Republican. Yet as the coast became more liberal, the valley became more conservative (Miller and Levitt 2008).

This overall picture, often constructed by political scientists working at the county level, obscures the churning and differentiation in the specific towns. Table4 shows the D2R for most incorporated towns along the frontier, as well as the total of incorporated cities versus unincorporated space and for select cities in Contra Costa County. Virtually all of the Valley towns grew more Republican, but not at the same rate. Patterson stayed fairly blue, as did Stockton. The unincorporated areas, which were more Democratic than the cities, became more Republican.

Some places saw fairly major shifts. In Oakdale, the ratio went from 1.68 to .75, Riverbank from almost 4 to 1 Democrats to virtually 1 to 1, Manteca from more than 2:1 to 1:1. This parallels similar shifts in East County – both Pittsburg and Antioch, longtime union strongholds, grew more purple. So did Brentwood, which saw the

largest pro-Republican shift in the County. Meanwhile, the core grew more blue – Richmond was almost 8:1 Democrat in 2008, and even the old Republican stronghold of Lamorinda[29] became a blue zone, with Democrats now outnumbering republicans in all three cities.

There is now not a single member of the 9-county Bay Area congressional, state assembly or state senate delegations from the Republican Party, while the Valley has seen its Republican representation solidify. The only major contests are along the frontier, where Democrat Jerry McNerney defeated incumbent Republican Richard Pombo in a 2008 congressional contest for a seat which stretches on both sides of the Altamont.

Red, blue, black, white, brown and green

There is one other fact worth mentioning – the three cities with the lowest D2R are Lodi, Ripon and Oakdale, the three cities which worked to keep their prices just a bit higher, cities which are the whitest and have the lowest foreclosure rates around. This is where the frontiers collide. As the Valley grew more diverse, parts of it also grew more conservative, and it is impossible to ignore the racialized nature of the subtle lines between towns.

The Valley towns have always had a strong conservative presence, but the increase in Republican registration points to the relationship between the redness (or purpleness) of the Valley and the larger restructuring of the region. Some of those new Valley Republicans are former Bay Area residents who are part of a Brentwood-era version of white flight, or perhaps just as accurately a version of red flight – conservatives fleeing the hegemonic blue-statism if the core of the Bay Area.

This argument that people have moved because of their political beliefs, seeking to live amongst others of a similar ilk, has been famously made by Bill Bishop in his 2008 book *The Big Sort.* Bishop argues that the polarization of America is geographic – we are increasingly opting to live in communities with people who are similar to us politically, a fact he argues explains the more extremist views possible by politicians representing geographies that are more like San Francisco (i.e overwhelming majority of one party) rather than frontier spaces like San Joaquin County. *The Big Sort* was immediately attacked by the political science establishment, both for the inadequacy of his statistical methods, and for what they called "pop sociology" (Bishop and Cushing 2009; Abrams and Fiorina 2012, p. 203).

Much of the debate that was not about the propriety of certain measurements centered around the "neighborhood effects" debate in sociology, the extent to which the isolationism Bishop claims exists impacts political discourse, tolerance of other issues, etc., or around whether a red/blue dualism for America was really a valid description of polarization in the first place. Yet lost in these debates is any

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[29] Lafayette, Moraga, Orinda

consideration of whether some type of sorting along political lines is happening, or whether or not there are purple places, frontiers where an uncomfortable mixing is happening and where new lines are being drawn, question about whether where people move has anything to do with regional restructuring and the politics of the local. Critics attacked the foundation and the totality of Bishop's arguments, rather than go out to the town and cities of the Valley to see if there is any validity to his arguments.[30]

I spent most of my Saturdays in the summer of 2010 working at the Brentwood farmers market, a familiar scene to the blue-state masses in the core of the Bay Area. The major thing that made this farmer's market different than one in Oakland or San Francisco – aside from the fact that one could bike to some of the farms – was that the groups tabling for various causes were not all from the same side of the political spectrum. Like clockwork, the East County T.E.A. Party would be camped out on Oak Street in front of the Bank of America, waving its flags and handing out literature to anyone who would take it.

Like much of America, but unlike much of the core of the Bay Area, the various Tea Parties were active throughout the frontiers of the Diablo range. Although the East County T.E.A. Party, since disbanded, drew members from throughout East County, the rallies and meetings were always in Brentwood, the city which had seen the greatest Republican surge. Many Brentwood residents were former Antioch and Pittsburg residents, and some moved because of the "changes."

Tea Party events were a mix of ideas and ideologies, from first time political activists to longtime ideologues. The John Birch Society had a presence, as did the Open Carry movement, which advocates that people carry unloaded firearms openly, which is legal under California law. Much of the literature at Tea Party events dated from the Goldwater days, and one could see the clear linkages to traditional conservativism, even with the new leaders and contemporary methods.

But the Tea Partiers and Open Carry were also linked to groups like Take Back Antioch (Chapter 3) and their predecessors at UCBN, to fights over the Antiochization of Brentwood. There was an overt skepticism of "San Francisco Liberals", embodied in California's two Senators, Barbara Boxer and Diane Feinstein, who to residents of the Valley epitomize Bay Area Democrats.[31] The Bay Area was both a place apart, a place some had fled for political/cultural reasons, yet also a place that was invading – in the form of the colorful masses – and a place upon which the frontier depended economically. When the East County T.E.A. party held its weekly events at the farmer's market, Greenbelt Alliance was also often present.

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[30] They also seemed bent on ignoring the fact that the new political geography of California is real, and that the Bay Area as a blue island is something produced over the past generation, not inherited from our ancestors.

[31] This of course makes any San Francisco leftist laugh if you are talking about former Mayor Feinstein, who is functionally a Republican in the current politics of San Francisco.

When it held its Fourth of July rally at a local park, it shared space with a massive African American family BBQ.

Added into the mix is an increasingly uncomfortable relationship to growth, epitomized by the debates in Brentwood around Measure F (Chapter 3). Measure F was opposed by Brentwood citizens using implicitly or explicitly racialized language to argue against growth, others who made environmental or economic arguments, as well as regional environmental groups. It was the ultimate space of messy contestation, and throughout this frontier space one is hard pressed to imagine a more complicated set of political circumstances.

Unlike in the core of the Bay Area, where there is overwhelming political similarity along major lines, the frontier spaces of the megaregion, including places like Brentwood and to a certain extent Antioch, were places of incredible political/cultural complexity, where all the lines of red, blue, black, brown, green and white collided. In the case of the San Joaquin Valley cities, when the constant change is added to a Valley political structure bent on maintaining political and cultural independence – as it became even more economically subservient – it is no wonder why connections were hard to forge across the Altamont divide.[32] This was not about ghosts, about the inability of a wealthy, progressive region to overcome its past, but about the very real cultural and political divides of contemporary America. It was a divide that could never have been overcome at the scale of the megaregion, a divide which would have taken intervention from higher scales of government, an intervention which never came.

Why it never came requires a deeper examination one scale up, the subject of the conclusion. California's leaders never intervened in part because the vicious politics of race and partisianship which dominated the neoliberal era in California rendered us unable to attend to the foundations of the largest metropolitan project of the 20th century. Californians foreclosed on the possible long before foreclosure became a fact of daily life in the spaces of both the Northern and Southern California megaregions. The type of planning needed to make the spaces of the megaregion economically, fiscally and environmentally sustainable or socially equitable was never politically feasible, a fact best described by the two efforts at formal linkages, one political, one physical.

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[32] Its economy was tied to its larger neighbor through capital investment and markets, or in later years through distribution facilities for major retail outlets which were cheaper to operate in San Joaquin county than in the Bay Area, even if the products came through Oakland's port and were purchased in Walnut Creek. This issue of goods movement has been one of the major reasons why some serious attention is now being paid to planning at this scale. All that truck traffic on Bay Area freeways is costly to both government, the environment and business.

The best Northern California could do?

Legend has it that in the mid-1980s, during a period of growing concern in Modesto about the impact that this Bay Area migration was having on the city, then-Mayor Carol Whiteside stormed into ABAG and demanded that Modesto be admitted to the regional body. It makes for a beautifully theatrical image, but alas, the story is not true.

Figure 9: ACE route
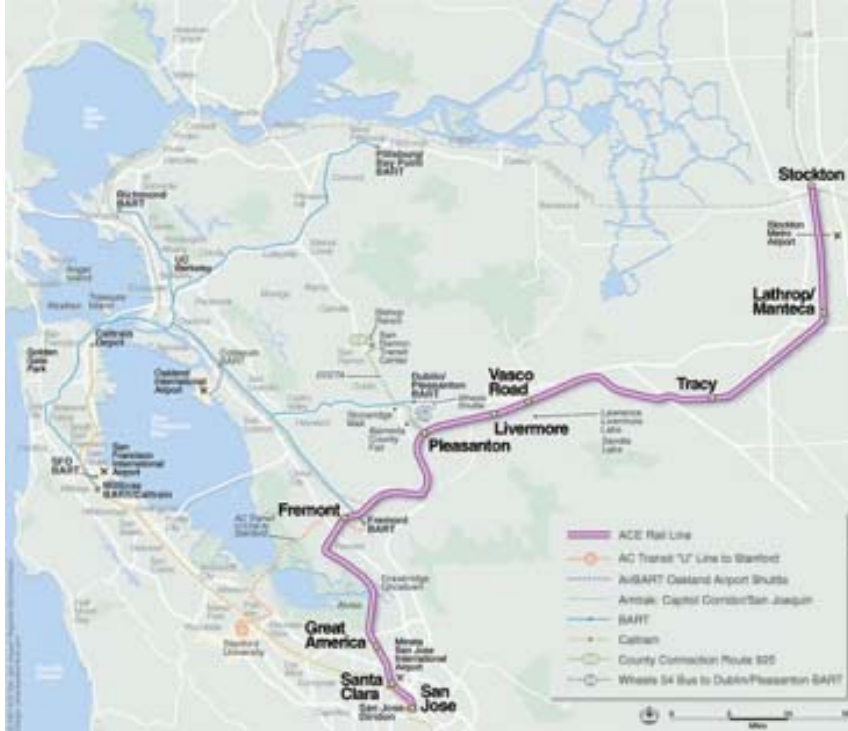
What is true is that Whiteside and other Valley leaders had long been aware of the restructuring underway, as subdivision that began sprouting in Tracy in the 1970s and early 80s started mushrooming throughout San Joaquin, Stanislaus and Merced.

It took until the 1990s for any large-scale formal cooperation to emerge. Buoyed by a state planning grant, planners from ABAG, the Valley COG's and Alameda, Contra Costa, Santa Clara, San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties helped set up the Interregional Partnership in 1998 to address the clear and present challenges of growth. Begun with much enthusiasm, it produced some interesting reports but little tangible change, fading into obscurity by 2004.

Perhaps most emblematic of the situation is that the clearest "success" story in the midst of four decades of economic and social integration is the development of a single train line, the Altamont Commuter Express (ACE). The ACE train is the product of a political-business coalition which in 1990 was able to pass a similar transportation sales tax measure to Contra Costa's measure C. Opened in 1998, the service has gone through multiple iterations of governance, from an initial Joint Powers Agreement which required deeper cooperation between Santa Clara, Alameda and San Joaquin transit agencies to the current agreement whereby Santa Clara county largely pulled out of the agreement and Alameda County played a limited role. ACE is now essentially operated and paid for by San Joaquin County,

even if it serves business in Alameda and Santa Clara County whose workers live over the pass. [33]

To call it express is almost a sick joke. The train runs three times each day in each direction, leaving Stockton at 4:20, 5:35 and 6:40 am each day, and taking two hours to reach its final destination in San Jose, and an hour to reach the first major job center on Vasco Road in Livermore. There are three similar trips back in the afternoon, 3:35, 4:35 and 5:35 PM. There is no weekend service, no holiday service, no reverse commutes. The distances are significant – it is roughly 80 miles between San Jose and Stockton, with a 1000 foot pass in between – but nothing that planning and transportation agencies in dozens of countries around the world have not been able to handle.

ACE for the most part is not a ghost like BART, a potential solution to a larger problem that was undone by ghosts. ACE is a classic example of the diminished expectations that permeate planning in a post-Babylon world, where such a limited service is all one can hope for despite decades of need and clear examples from around the world as to how to integrate regional space larger than the "traditional" metropolis. It was never even a remote possibility, and there is no Dougherty Valley paradigm to blame here. What makes it even more egregious is that these broader failings have only helped exacerbate some of the problems of segregation – both mobile and traditional - that helped spur growth in the first place.

Yet there is one ghost that hangs over ACE, one of the true original sins of Californian urbanization, a Golden State version of primitive accumulation. ACE's limited service is driven in large part because it is dependent on tracks that it doesn't own, but merely uses under an agreement with Union Pacific (Monger 2008).[34] This severely limits capacity, especially with regards to expansion and timetables. It is a similar story in Antioch, which is blessed with an Amtrak station but cursed with the fact that the San Joaquin branch line is also leased from the freight operators who were one of California's original power brokers. BART's original eBART for East County was originally planned to use the moribund Mococo right-of-way, which had not been operational since the 1970s, a path which would have brought trains much closer to the downtowns and would not have taken up valuable median space in Highway 4. But the train operators cut off negotiations after initial plans had been released, and now the region is stuck with less than ideal route.

This is the deepest and saddest irony of the structure of urbanization in megaregional space. Virtually every one of these towns exists alongside a railroad track, a reminder that the original fragmentation of the megaregion was made possible by the fact that the state urbanized largely through the use of rail. But the

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[33] http://www.acerail.com/AboutUs/HistoryofACE.aspx

[34] Union Pacific now controls Southern Pacific, the Octopus of California fame and the reason why we have an initiative system – itself a disaster.

power of the train operators to ignore the changing needs of a growing population for more diverse forms of connectivity remained a major impediment, even if they possess the needed infrastructure that could weave together the sprawling region which it helped build. Frank Norris once famously called the Southern Pacific "The Octopus", for the way its tentacles reached down to every level of government. The initiative system in 1911 was passed in order to counter this power, but the octopus never truly went away - its tracks remained, but no longer served the late 20th and early 21stc century transportation needs of Californians.

Moreover, the medicine California took to kill the Octopus would prove just as dangerous as the original disease, especially to the urban fabric. The initiative system would prove to be a critical venue for the divisive politics of neoliberal era California. Rather than push towards the "common purpose" which was California's shared metropolitan heritage, a common purpose made more critical by the deep historic fragmentation and the legacy of Babylon, the initiative system was used to drive a wedge deeper between the communities of California. And much like every other scale in which this story unfolds, race would remain central.

Figure 1: "Planning." Antioch, CA. 2010. Photo by Alex Schafran

CONCLUSION: CALIFORNIA'S URBAN CRISIS
AND THE FUTURE OF PLANNING

Times change - California growth issues don't.
- San Francisco Chronicle headline, March 9, 2009 (King 2009)

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference. - Robert Frost (1920)

The passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 was one of the foundation moments in contemporary California history, a moment whose reverberations in both American history and the built environment of California are profound. Proposition 13 ushered in similar "tax revolts" throughout the United States, presaging the Reagan revolution and the true beginnings of the neoliberal era. Robert Self, in what is functionally a coda to *American Babylon,* argues that we must see Proposition 13 is the broad historical light of the postwar era. The passage of Proposition 13 was not simply a question of tax policy or even the ascendency of the New Right, but a white,

suburban middle class populist revolt against the "breakdown of a decades-old 'compact' between homeowners, industry and city governments that dated back to the 1940s (Self 2006, p. 147)." The property tax was central to the fiscal system which undergirded this political compromise surrounding the production of space, and as the entire model began to fall apart – ushering in "a return in suburban California to a classic growth machine politics that postwar liberalism had temporarily displaced," people revolted (ibid.).

There was another important "event" in 1978 which has largely been reduced to the dustbin of history, but which in many ways represents the well-trodden path that Californians did not take, preferring instead the great unknown of Proposition 13. In February of that year, the State Office of Planning and Research (OPR), issued a 44-page report entitled "An Urban Strategy for California". In the cover letter to the document, Governor Jerry Brown, then nearing the end of his first term in office, noted that 94 out of 100 California residents lived in cities and suburbs, that its population was going to continue to grow dramatically, and that the state faced a challenge of how to meet its needs given both environmental and fiscal constraints. The plan was a series of ideas and strategies to meet that challenge, to give "focus" to "thousands of individual decisions which will affect California' s cities and suburbs by directing state and local governments toward a *common purpose*: the revitalization of existing cities and the sound management of new urban development (California Office of Planning and Research 1978, p. iii)."

The fourth of 45 ideas in the "urban action program", ideas which included everything from reducing intrajurisdictional conflicts to renting out houses owned by Caltrans, from waterfront development to building codes, local general plan reform to urban forestry, stated the following (p. 24):

> 4. Property Tax Relief. As one means of reducing the cost of housing, the Administration and the Legislature will continue their efforts to provide property tax relief for homeowners and renters.

The efforts referred to were the 22 different reform plans discussed by the legislature in 1977, as rising home prices and subsequent property tax increases had become a major problem over the course of the 1970s. But when the legislature adjourned in the fall of 1977, they hadn't passed anything. Instead, Proposition 13, then known as the Jarvis-Gann proposition, hastily gathered enough signatures for the June ballot. A counter-reform by the legislature also qualified for the ballot, but in June 1978, four months after the release of the Urban Strategy, Proposition 13 passed and the legislature's reform did not.

Few pieces of law making – after all, Proposition 13 is not legislation, but rather populist constitution rewriting – have had as widespread effects and as robust a debate as Proposition 13. Yet as important as Proposition 13 was, it does not answer the question which must be asked about the State of California given the irrefutable fact that California did not rise to the challenge Brown alluded to in his

1978 letter. The "common purpose" of revitalization and sound urban development was somehow lost, and Proposition 13 was only a thick nail in a coffin that had already been built.

California's urban crisis

Understanding how and why California never came to the rescue of a restructuring and growing megaregion like Northern California, why it did not intervene more effectively in the internecine battles in the Bay Area, why it did not provide a more functional infrastructural base upon which neoliberal era suburbs could be built, or why it did not take seriously the challenge of the most diverse wave of suburbanization in American history means taking a step back from the Proposition 13 centered interpretations and asking more fundamental questions about the politics of planning and development in California. What happened at the scale of the State that saw us – with the exception of prisons and schools – largely get "out of the infrastructure construction business (Landis 2000, p. 39)"?[1] Why did California, the greatest urban project of the first ¾ of the 20th century, decide that it no longer needed to collectively invest in its urban future, or for that matter have a more functional system of urban and regional politics which could have dealt with the sins of Babylon without constructing an entirely new map of inequality?

The answers to these questions are in some ways nested in the previous chapters. The State of California can no more be seen as an independent political or geographic scale than any of the other scales discussed here. Politicians move up (and down) the political food chain; developers donate to political campaigns at every level; environmental, anti-tax, social justice, labor and business organizations have local chapters and representatives in Sacramento – whether or not local government is a "creature of the state" as we have been taught by Dillon's rule and countless planning textbooks, or the state is simply an amalgamation of local interests is an open question, but they are undoubtedly linked together.

During the critical years between 1978 and 2006, years in which the state missed many opportunities to build a different politics, to take the lead in weaving together an always already fragmented urban project, California was unable to build anything remotely resembling the type of collective will needed to plan for "the revitalization of existing cities and the sound management of new urban development". The internecine intrajurisdictional competition ushered in by Proposition 13 certainly did not help, nor did an empowered right, a right which grew more and more antigovernment over the years and which helped elect and embolden a Reagan administration bent on slashing the federal assistance upon which California and other states had depended for urban development. California was undoubtedly heavily impacted by the end of the cold war, whether in terms of

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[1]. See also Bradshaw (1993) and Gilmore (2007) on how California got out of the planning business. Also interview 63

the defense industry economy or the large number of base closings, which must be seen both as burden and opportunity.

If one is looking for excuses, they abound in a state of almost 40 million people with a long track-record of creative fiction and non-fiction alike. There are always reasons why bad things happen to good states, which is how California likes to see itself. The state suffered through three major natural disasters in short order – the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake, 1991 Oakland Hills Fires and the 1994 Northridge quake, the first two of which particularly hammered Oakland and help explain its difficult transition to a post-Babylon world. Los Angeles became the center piece in the first true post-civil rights urban riot and uprising, arguably the most symbolic moment of the ongoing reproduction of Babylon, a moment Ed Soja (1996) reminds us we must also see in terms of restructuring and the changing metropolis.

But this dissertation is not about excuses, especially from those that should know better, those people who are either chosen by the public to think about urban development or who of their own accord become involved – the development industry, planners , policy makers and elected officials, environmental groups and local activists, planning academics and intellectuals. The responsibility for the inability of Californians as a whole and California's leaders in particular to forge the "common purpose" of building and rebuilding a metropolitan future must be taken by those of us who dedicate our lives to this work – it is not simply the fault of others who failed to heed our wise messages, it is the fact that we failed to build this common purpose.

One explanation for this failure comes from statewide variations on three of the key dilemmas traced in previous chapters. California had its own version of the Dougherty Valley dilemma, a pitched battle over sprawl which was crystallized in the controversy surrounding a 1995 report entitled "Beyond Sprawl" (Fulton 1995), a well-meaning document which sparked a debate that symbolizes the lack of common purpose. Beyond Sprawl was also in many ways a repeat of Bay Vision 2020 – its small coalition of elite financial, environmental and state actors who saw the need to eventually "forge a constituency to build sustainable communities" which included "inner-city community activists", yet did not work to include them in the creation of the report. They went at it alone, ended up in a massive fight with developers who paid for their own report, and the state as a whole went nowhere.

Communities of color as a whole faced a statewide version of the gentrification dilemma – a generalized existential attack from all sides. Whether coming from an upsurge in anti-immigrant sentiment or a globally unprecedented wave of prison building, the very right of many communities of color to exist in California was under constant threat. Their collective focus turned to building power, to education and prisons, immigration and integration, leaving little space for a broad coalition on metropolis building.

Beyond Sprawl

Other than one major fact, it was a fairly standard report from the smart growth community. Greenbelt Alliance and the California Resources Agency were two organizations long involved in the sprawl question; the Low Income Housing Fund (now the Low Income Investment Fund) was a national organization based in San Francisco which was a major Community Development Finance player. The report was essentially authored by Bill Fulton, a widely respected planner and author who can hardly be considered a radical. What made it unusual was that the sponsor and lead author was none other than Bank of America.

Bank of America's presence at the front of the report helped produce significant press coverage, high level meetings with the governor and state officials, and in general caused a stir during a time when Dougherty Valley and other skirmishes in the development wars were raging. Unfortunately, what got covered was the debate over the report, not the ideas within it. The development community struck back with its own barrage of letters to the editor, oped pieces and eventually a report of its own, this one with even more academic backing than Beyond Sprawl. Authored by USC planning academics Peter Gordon and Harry Richardson (1996), two authors whose strident and consistent articulation of conservative principles has functionally enshrined them in the planning theory course reader for would-be planning academics, "the Case for Suburban Development" summarily attacked Beyond Sprawl piece by piece, arguing that suburban development does not impinge on agricultural land, does not make traffic worse, can accommodate transit, is more efficient, is better economically, and people like it. And while they were at it, Gordon and Richardson channeled David Harvey reminded everyone that cities were corrupted by rent-seeking corporations living off the public dime.

The California Building Industry Association, which paid for Gordon and Richardson's report, did everything in its power to paint Beyond Sprawl as an extreme text, when it is only extreme in its vagueness and its attempts to please all sides. One development industry representative called the controversy "the low water mark"[2] in planning politics, one which "caused a lot of damage", damage which would not be repaired for close to a decade. He undoubtedly sought to cast blame on the Beyond Sprawl side, but the validity of the "low water mark" holds true – this was California at its most dysfunctional.[3]

Yet like in Dougherty Valley, real issues get lost in the hysteria as two well-armed sides battled it out for a "solution" which will not solve problems. The report epitomizes many of the problems with the sprawl discourse – "distant suburbs" become the enemy, with little or no recognition of the sprawling, fragmented

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[2] Interview 61

[3] In a postmordem of the controversy, the California Planning Roundtable (1995) noted that few reports had caused such rises in blood pressure and so many accusations of hidden agendas

geography virtually inborn in this state. They talk of California as a place which has emerged as one of the most urbanized states in the union, when it has held that status for a century. It talks of cities and suburbs in a generic sense which may work in Chicago but which has never held true in California. This core-centered mentality plays into the hands of those who would accuse the anti-sprawl of being obsessed with city-centers (as Gordon and Richardson do), when a close reading of the report indicates that what they really want is densification around already urbanized areas. By propping up sprawl as a boogey-man and refusing to deal with true California geography, they play into the hands of those who would misuse the report to maintain the status quo.

The report also recognizes that the "edge cities" have been build, but doesn't work to figure out ways to work with this new geography. It knows that these are radical interventions in regional geography, but does not argue for a radical change in approach to growth and development to deal with decentralized job bases. It merely argues that this is another indication that what California is doing does not work, and it should stop.

But what is most troubling about the report is the way that it deals with demographic change and the politics it knows needs to come together. The emergence of California as a majority-minority state is well acknowledged, but what the authors seem to have misunderstood is that the suburbanization of communities of color is already well underway by the time this report is issued. The frontier spaces of the megaregion are already diverse by this time – Antioch, Tracy, Manteca, Southern California's Lancaster and Palmdale, Fontana and Rancho Cucamunga – and already being built on shaky fiscal and economic foundations. There was certainly much that could have been done to prevent problems from getting worse - starting with lead author Bank of America not jumping into the subprime fiasco with both feet in an incredible display of hypocrisy – but by 1995 the restructuring of the region is already underway. The report, focused as it is on the sins of sprawl, ignores the reproduction of Babylon (or implies that it is caused exclusively by sprawl-induced abandonment) or the beginnings of gentrification en masse. The fact that many suburban areas are safer, cheaper and have better schools is treated as a "perception", when in fact it is a reality.

The lack of participation of "inner–city community advocates" in the drafting rings through in every way, yet another example of planning powers planning for the "changing demographics" but not with them. While developers are consciously – and of course unrealistically – excluded from the "broad-based constituency" that the report envisions, communities of color are included in name but not in the production of the ideas. It was a literal microcosm of Bay Vision 2020 extended to the statewide level, minus the actual legal proposal.

Part of the problem is the very question of sprawl and growth management, a myopic view of urban and regional development, one that is ontologically rooted in opposition as opposed to real solutions for communities struggling with poverty,

fiscal crisis, changing economics and the constant challenges of building and maintaining a healthy urban world. The ghosts of Babylon are clear – the whole report is about reversing the development of the 1950s and 1960s, not coming to terms with solutions for what is already a very different map.

Despite the constant attempts by environmental organizations to convince communities of color that sprawl was their issue too – based on the idea that it drains resources from inner cities, the nominal geography of the nonwhite – it never caught on as a discourse beyond the opposition of specific proposals which would have drained resources from things like urban transit in favor of suburban expansion. Some of this relates to lack of inclusion, to the general tone deafness of middle and upper middle class white urbanists of all stripes as to the challenges, realities and opportunities confronting communities of color. Much like suburban geography, race in California is all too often talked of as a process underway, as if some magic point when people of color are a majority is when their present matters. But as I have argued all along, communities of color in California are as old as the state itself, as are attempts to undermine their very right to the live here. Perhaps no single fact helped undermine the "broad-based constituency" needed to push forward a "common purpose" than the fact that rather than exorcise the ghosts of a racialized past, Californians in the 1980s and 1990s decided to rip the wounds back open.

California's ghosts revisited

In 1991, Pulitzer-prize winning journalism Dale Maharidge (1996) began doing interview sacross racial lines for a book about the various reactions to the growing diversity of California. As he notes sadly at the end of the book, which was published in 1996, between the time he started and the time he finished, California's racial ghosts exploded. The 1992 LA riots highlighted the deep anger and inequality which still affected Babylon, represented now by questions of policing and justice more than old fashioned segregation. The populist, ballot-box driven anger of 1994's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and "anti-crime" Three Strikes law and 1996's anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 were a cavalcade of revanchism that drew global attention to California. It was a series of events that moved at such a "stunning pace" that they were "comparable in some ways to the anti-Chinese tumult in the 1870s and the anti-Japanese eruptions early in the century, when the state's racial outbursts affected the nation (p. 280)."
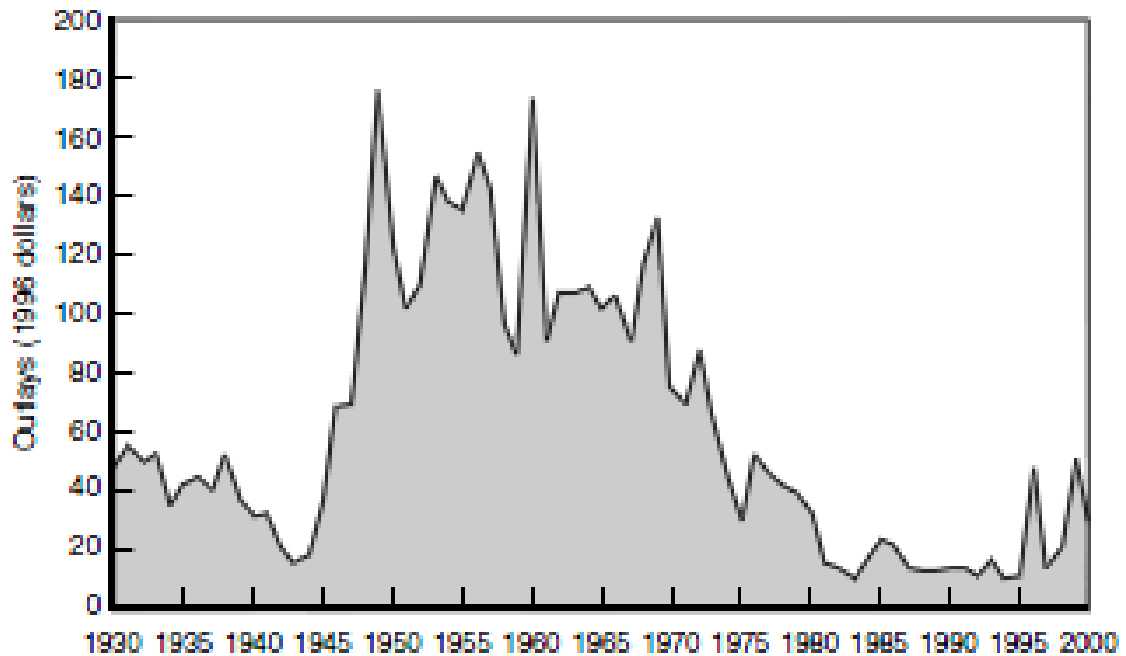
Figure 2: Real Per capita State Capital Outlay, 1930-2000. Source: Dowall 2003.

The Three Strikes law, which would disproportionally affect Blacks and Latinos,[4] was itself part of an unprecedented prison building boom, both for California and the industrialized western world. Between 1982 and 2000, the California prisoner population grew nearly 500%, and the 162,000 prisoners by that point were 2/3 African American and Latino. To house them, California built 23 major prisons, costing $280-$350 million dollars apiece, almost twice the number (12) of prisons built between 1852 and 1964. General fund expenditures for quadrupled from 2 to 8 percent of the budget; the department of corrections became the largest state agency (Gilmore 2007, p. 7).

This massive increase in capital expenditures from Sacramento came during an era when the overall trend of state-building had been reversed. In analysis after analysis done during the 1990s and 2000s by academics and researchers, one can see the steady decline in capital spending since the 1960s (figure _ is just one of many). As Dowall and Whitington make clear, it is a trend which did not start with Proposition 13. The 1966 election of Ronald Reagan as governor replaced the state-building of Pat Brown with the most important skeptic of public spending in the nation's history. Jerry Brown's election in 1974 was aided by a newly empowered environmental movement also skeptical about the physical impacts of state

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[4] According to a 2004 study, African Americans and Latinos were imprisoned under the three stikes law at a higher rate than whites. Blacks made up 6.5% of the satte population but 45% of those convicted of a 3rd strike. (Ehlers, Schiraldi, and Lotke 2004)

spending, especially on infrastructure. When Proposition 13 came along, it merely reinforced and codified a general trend already more than a decade underway.

This three-headed analysis – Reagan, environmentalism and Proposition 13 – exposes some basic truths about the bipartisan undoing of State-led planning. This was not simply the right-wing, suburban populism that led from Reagan to Proposition 13. There was a conservativism to the conservation movement as well, one which has been discussed throughout this text. Yet what this type of analysis often misses, as do many of the less political analysis if infrastructure, is the critical importance of race.

The election of Reagan in California was preceded by an earlier version of the Proposition 187 and 209 battles – the 1964 debate over Proposition 14, a ballot measure aimed at overturning the state's historic 1963 Rumford Fair Housing Act. The 1963 act, named after its sponsor Byron Rumford, who in 1948 became the first black elected official from northern California, was specifically designed to undo the housing discrimination which so defined Babylon. The only thing more bruising than the political fight to pass the act was battle over its repeal. The California Real Estate Association sponsored Proposition 14 – which codified in the state constitution the right of property owners to discriminate on racial (or any other) grounds – and it quickly gained the support of the rising John Birch Society and growing conservative movement, who trip to the polls that November was buoyed by the presidential campaign of arch-conservative Barry Goldwater. Proposition 14 passed overwhelmingly, gaining 65% of the vote throughout the state and close to 75% in the "white noose" of Southern Alameda county and similar suburbs throughout the state (Self 2003).

Both the Johnson and Brown administrations were irate about Proposition 14 – Washington responded by cutting off funding to California, and Governor Brown supported the lawsuit which would eventually result in the laws nullification by the United States Supreme court. But the damage was done. Brown lost to Reagan in 1966, and as Lisa McGirr (2001) shows so clearly, the Proposition 14 battle helped galvanize the California right and send Reagan, and his distaste for state-building and public investment in urban development, to the white house.

Yet the legacy of Proposition 14 goes deeper. This was the bridge between the anti-Chinese legislation of the 19th century and Proposition's 187 and 209, and more critically it specifically targeted efforts to undo Babylon. A major coalition was built around the Rumford Act which was damaged by the repeal. This was the one and only time when the state of California explicitly attempted to undo the racialized legacy of Babylon era metropolis-building, and it was then attacked by the white and the suburban and the conservative. It was Proposition 14, not Proposition 13, which was the critical shot across the bow from a suburban white majority that they would not open up the California metropolis to those that were not white, even if they had been there for generations, and even if their labor had been integral to the production of California's wealth.

When the outright racist became less and less possible, the majority began to show their distaste for those who were different by rolling up the urban carpet. Proposition 13 is simply a fiscal version of Proposition 14 – if you cannot codify discrimination in housing, then stop paying for it.

This is the argument put forth by Peter Schrag (2004) and others when it comes to the divides in California. An older generation of Californians, raised during the heyday of the "white republic", simply refused to pay for the schools, roads, sewer systems, transit agencies and other aspects which make metropolis building work.[5] This is an integral part of the undoing of the common purpose – a fact made even more pertinent by the opening of US immigration policy in 1965, barely a year after the passage of Proposition 14. Just as the United States was turning a brave new corner when it came to immigration and multiculturalism, California's voters were attempting to undo the metropolitan foundations upon which it would have to be built.

This is in essence the purpose of Propositions 187 and 209 – to cut off access by people of color and the undocumented to core state institutions, facilities and services. The response to these measures, and to the general sense of insecurity, was to build power along racial and ethnic lines, and to focus on what was directly at the time under attack – education, public services like welfare benefits and public health – or ways in which the state was directly targeting minority communities, as through policing and the criminal justice system.[6] Latino and Asian communities in particular also worked to build new coalitions and greater electoral power, building on their growing demographic strength. Los Angeles saw a historic shift when Antonio Villaraigosa was elected mayor in 2005, followed by Oakland and San Francisco's first Asian American mayors in 2010.[7]

Yet this rise in power was largely done without concerted attention to the broad issues of metropolis building. The environmental justice movement, which is the most critical movement with regards to racialized space since the fight over fair housing in the 1960s, slowly built power during this time, but was never incorporated into the broader politics of urban development at scale. As Manuel Pastor , Chris Benner, Martha Matsuoka (2009) and others have worked to document, and as I have noted in Chapter 5, communities of color gradually began operating and organizing at more regional scales and focusing on issues like transportation equity.

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[5] Pastor and Reed (2005) provide clear evidence for Schrag's hypothesis, showing that there is a statistical relationship between the ethnic gap between older and younger residents in a state and the state's willingness to pay for infrastructure.

[6] It is not a coincidence that the two policy oriented papers in Bass and Cain's (2008) edited volume "Racial and Ethnic Politics in California," are on education and criminal-justice reform.

[7] Amazingly for a state made famous for anti-immigrant sentiments in the 1990s, it would be hard to imagine that typ e of politics in contemporary California. Arizona is now the center of the right-wing vortex, as California grows bluer by the year.

California has also recently witnessed some of the visionary state-led planning that has been missing for so long. The passage of AB32 and SB375 marked a distinct change from the dark days of Beyond Sprawl, and the negotiating table for SB375 was a lot more complex than during the drafting Beyond Sprawl, Bay Vision 2020 or much previous legislation.[8] Yet this newfound focus on California's role in the urban development and new attempts to be more inclusive were not enough to overcome a lost generation. Babylon was never buried, never exorcised, and the fact that in the past decade planners, activists, developers, environmentalists, policymakers and thinkers have slowly begun to find more common purpose in some ways makes the lost decades of the 1980s and 1990s particularly bitter. Yet herein also lies hope, hope for common purpose in a reinvigorated California planning.

Planning Metropolitan California

In her brilliant exegesis on the construction of California's prison complex during the same era as this story, Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007, p. 178) discusses the active involvement of local activists in the small Central Valley towns which became major site of incarceration as engaging in "the tarnished practice of planning." These were not government officials, but activists and NGO's, developing their own alternative plans in the hopes of building their communities on something other than one of the great human rights disasters of late 20th century America.[9]

Further on in the same section she refers to the planning practice of yet another non-governmental institution, namely the corporate and banking forces' she sees as integral to the construction of land and property markets (and deconstruction of industrial labor markets) which form an underlying pillar in her explanation of prison building. The way these entities determine "the movement of capital across the land feature[s] central planning as a fundamental activity of their institutions and organizations (p. 179)."

Her purpose in discussing planning in this context is to elicit the ways in which prison building was a form of antidevelopment, to use the language of James Ferguson (1990), a way that plans are sold to or forced upon poorer regions in the name of development but where the end result is the opposite. But in doing so, she defines planning in a way that renders the state as but one of many powerful and less powerful actors involved in the production of space. It is a portrait which I would argue is correct both descriptively and normatively, and forms one of the three main conclusions one can draw from the long road between Babylon and Brentwood: the need to redefine planning more broadly and more honestly, so that the pursuit of a common purpose centered around the equitable and sustainable

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[8] Interview 61

[9] *Golden Gulag* is in many ways a parallel sequel to *American Babylon*, as it follows a related race and class based restructuring and migration tied to land and labor – in this case, the movement of primarily men of color from inner core neighborhoods to prisons in the Central Valley.

production of space becomes possible (1). A redefined planning will only be able to work towards this purpose if (2) it pauses to rethink its geography, the questions of core and periphery, scalar fetishism and sprawl, city and suburb and megaregion, basing its assumptions on the lived reality of individual regions at specific moments in history, not on models and concepts which were false the moment they were conceived. It will also require (3) a broad coming to terms with history, led by institutions whose role in the production of space has littered our collective conscience with ghosts, ghosts which cannot be buried but which must be exorcised if planning is to be rebuilt from the inside.

1. Planning as the intentional institutional production of space

If my argument about the broad fragmentation of the politics of urbanization and development in California lends itself to one single conclusion, it is the need for a new understanding of the ontology of city and regional planning. In a 2011 special issue of the journal *Planning Theory,* Ananya Roy (2011, p. 12-13) draws attention to the traditional conception of planning as what Huxley and Yiftachel (2000) refer to as the "public production of space". She argues, not unlike Gilmore, that "private interests, regimes and associations often undertake the project of planning." She goes on to state that these "cannot be understood only as the privatization of planning, for such forms of planning are often initiated and implemented on behalf of the public interest, in alliance with the state and in defense of the urban commons."

This privatization point is critical, as the act of privatization of public goods and services is a hallmark of neoliberalism, and hence looking for privatization is a hallmark of the critique of neioliberalism. In the case of the Bay Area and California, I would argue that Roy doesn't go far enough. Private interests are *always* involved in planning and the production of space, and have always been. In every case presented here, private actors, both for-profit and non-profit, are just as critical to the production of East County, of the different counties of Contra Costa, of edge cities and a reproduced Babylon and the frontier spaces of the megaregion as any state actor. And as Marc Weiss (1987) shows so clearly in his seminal *Rise of the Community Builders,* it has always been so. One cannot conceive of the current structure of city and regional planning in California without considering the influence of developers, real estate agents, and community associations, long before environmentalists and social justice organizations joined the fray.

It even becomes problematic to differentiate the state from non-state actors. Professionals from both the for-profit and not-for-profit sectors with an established stake in processes of urbanization and development are heavily represented on City Councils, planning commissions, authority boards, LAFCO's, advisory councils, etc. Professional planners move back and forth with regularity between public and private positions, and few if any public plans in the state are written exclusively by public agencies – most are contracted out to private consulting forms in full or in part. The very idea of the "state" is also somewhat useless in California. With four

different layers of government often at odds or in competition – arguments often settled in court – it is better to think of each government entity as simply one of many institutions, each with particular powers, desires, constituencies, etc.

Non-state actors are also heavily involved in the production of space beyond the formal confines of regulation and state process. Surely one can find some remnant of the state everywhere, but it is hard to argue that the state is in anyway central to major realms of space production, from urban design and architecture to development finance and capital accumulation, from public art to the use of public space. For better or for worse, the state in America has always be a secondary actor in the provision of housing, even if it is more important than many on the right would have you believe.

In some ways, one of the reason why progressive or left-leaning American urbanists tend to adhere to a state-centered vision of planning is the political divide between left and right. [10] Since the right in America has increasingly, irrationally and utterly unempirically declared war on the state (except for the state that declares war), the left is left to defend the state. Since neoliberalism seems to be about pushing the state out, we fight to keep the state in, even if it does not accurately reflect what happens on the ground or what the left normatively desires, i.e. equity and sustainability.[11]

This state-centered view is driven in part by a tinge of regret, the ghost of Catherine Bauer's (1934) *Modern Housing,* the possibility of a state, and in particular a federal state, whose active and effective involvement in the production of space produces a more equitable metropolis, and in particular asserts the right to housing that so many of us believe in fundamental but yet remains beyond the pale in an ideologically divided America. *Modern Housing* is one of many influential texts from the foundational era of city planning in America which introduced European ideas about planning and housing to this country, and this influence as well has helped produce a state-centered conception. British planning journals often attempt to rethink planning, but it invariably centers around the state.[12] Perhaps in Britain and

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[10] There is of course wide variation in this. In terms of foundational work, it should not be a surprise that someone like Krumholz (Krumholz and Forester 1990), the former Cleveland planning director, sees planning through state eyes. Davidoff (1965) on the other hand defines advocacy planning in such a way that non-state actors are just as critical. I would argue that Sandercock (2003), whose work is amongst the most interesting reconsiderations of planning, falls somewhere in the middle.
[11] I would argue that this is why, in Roy's (2011, p. 13) words, suggesting that the state is not the center of planning is a "controversial claim," even if the empirical evidence in her special issue – and in this book – back up this argument.
[12] Healey (2009, p. 277) for instance defines planning as "a governance practice that has evolved to address the difficulties created by the complex collocations of activities and their relations and the impacts these colocations generate across space–time." Like most planning theorists, non-state actors feature prominently, but the state and the act of governance remains the center. See also Adams and Tiesdell (2010) and McClymont (2011), both of whom make important arguments about planning – with regards to planners as market actors and the importance of agonism, but who adhere to an implicit state-centered vision.

many other countries it should (including Yiftachel's Israel), for it is a more accurate description of what goes on, but in America in general and California in particular, this concept has never held water.

A state-centered conception of planning also stems in part from decades of confusion surrounding the object. This takes two forms. One is the messiness between the concept of "Planning" as used by Polanyi, Wildavsky and others to specifically refer to more state-centered activity not necessarily connected to the urban. When Wildavsky (1973) famously asked "if planning is everything then maybe it is nothing," he was not referring specifically to land use or transportation or the production of space, but rather the broader question of public policy, which included macroeconomics, industrial policy and budgeting.[13] Even Rittel and Webber's (1973) famed essay on the "wicked problems" of planning, so influential to spatial thinkers and written by two deep urbanists, is fundamentally about "Planning" rather than the metropolis.

The other is the more contemporary divide evident within the planning academy between avowed urbanists – whose object of study is fundamentally the metropolis – and those who study systems, aspatial politics, decision-making, policy studies, i.e. forms of social and political science which may use the urban and urban actors as data but who are more fundamentally interested in generating social theory than urban theory (Beauregard 2003; Fainstein 2005). This divide has been brought to the surface of late by questions regarding communicative rationality and its application to city planning, but the divide goes back much farther, to the postwar "science" of systems analysis. Those who study decision-making independent of the urban tend to study public officials and public processes, never stopping to question the implicit definition of planning that they are adhering to.

There are also many definitions of planning native to California which promote this state-centered conception. When noted urban designer and former San Francisco Planning Director Allen Jacobs (1978, p. 23) describes city planning, he argues that "the purposes, responsibilities, and constraints of city planning are stipulated by local governments acting as agents of the state." Even though Jacobs' influence on planning and the Bay Area extends far beyond his work with the state, he still sees planning through this state-centered lens.

Another California definition illustrates both the dueling conceptions of city planning and some of the schizophrenia regarding our collective understanding of it. In what is undoubtedly the most widely read textbook on planning in California, Bill Fulton and Paul Shigley's (2005) *Guide to California Planning*, now in its third edition, argue for the centrality of the urban, and specifically land use, in our

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[13]See also Goonewardena (2003). Some theorists, including Roy, go back and forth between the Polanyian and the urban varieties. See Roy (2008). British theorist E.R. Alexander (1981, 1987) is similar in this regard.

conception of planning. The "working definition" of land use planning that they use is

> The process by which public agencies – mostly local governments – determine the intensity and geographical arrangements of various land uses in a community. Put more simply, planning is the process by which our society decides what gets built where.

Yet when they put it more simply, they alter the definition completely. One is almost technical, about local governments and decision making, while the other is about society at large and what gets build where, not simply about the decisions to build it but the what and the where.

It is this latter half of Fulton and Shigley which I would argue is central to a contemporary definition of planning in the state of California. It is a definition of planning which retains the primacy of the urban and the spatial, yet with the state rendered as one of many critical actors. It emphasizes the productions of space as fundamentally a societal obligation, as opposed to simply a matter of governance or policy. Planning becomes instead the intentional production of space, a definition which includes all institutional actors who through their actions promote, defend, counter, or ignore any form of intervention in space.[14]

The public and the state do not disappear. In the words of a much earlier Roy (2001, p. 110), this time channeling Raymond Williams, the public remains a "keyword", but the seemingly unquestioned idea of a planner as necessarily a public employee or public servant is eroded. This definition also helps chip away at any institutional fetishization, be it public or private. Privatization is certainly a major concern in some areas, but it is just one of many trajectories of change between sectoral actors, and alone is neither inherently good or bad.[15]

This broader definition is critical for a series of reasons. Following Lefebvre (2003), we must consider the primacy of the urban as the central means of production in the 21st century. Urbanization and development can no longer be considered merely as a byproduct of industrialization, but must be seen as central to both our economic and social future. This is an argument with many different adherents on various sides of the political spectrum, and we need a conception of planning which has been updated for a post-urban revolution world.[16]

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[14] This definition can be read to include individual actions as well, and ultimately I would argue that it should, especially in a liberal society like the United States. There is not space to devote to this question here, so for the sake of this conclusion I will limit my discussion to institutional actors.
[15] As Eric Charmes (2007, 2011) points out with regards to small French villages, entities which are supposed to be public can at times feel like private clubs.
[16] This of course is a key point of the neo-schumpeterian regional development writers from Jane Jacobs (1984) to Richard Florida (2002) and Ed Glaeser (2008).

Just as importantly, a broad definition of planning allows us to demand a greater sense of collective responsibility for what gets build where. In the current moment in California, it also allows us to insist that all institutions involved in the production of space consider the necessity of a pursuit of a common purpose, a grand bargain of sorts where the deeply fragmented sociopolitical environment responsible for the production of new maps of inequality and the reproduction of old ones is slowly and methodically sutured back together. We must recenter planning around this pursuit, seeking a broad détente between warring sides in the space and place wars of the 20th century. Doing so will require two things – coming to terms with history, and rethinking our approach to geography.

2. The geography of planning

As I have argued throughout this dissertation, both scholars and policymakers have long neglected to fully embrace the deeply historic multipolarity of the Bay Area. Any existing or proposed development in places like Antioch was regarded as sprawl, regardless of form, and the region failed to implement a series of early BART plans which could have altered the form of development in East County. ABAG's 1970 'city-centered' plan was gradually misinterpreted as a core-centered plan, rather than thinking of ways to grow, rebuild and connect historic centers throughout the Bay Area and northern California.

This core-centered philosophy permeates much of the anti-sprawl literature, and is part of the broader rebellion against the suburban model. As I discussed briefly in Chapter 1, this stems from the city-suburb dialectic which has so dominated American urbanism for the past century, replacing the urban/rural dichotomy which undergirded much of urban thought historically. In some ways, I am sympathetic to the anger from many progressives towards suburbanization, for its sins are legendary, even if the reaction to the suburbs initially was exceptionally elitist (Archer 2005).

What is most critical to moving forward, to stitching together the fragmented metropolitan body politic, is to come to terms with actual existing geography, not the geography that we wished we had been able to produce. Part of this involves understanding that conceptions of the city and suburb were never quite accurate, a fact that a new generation of suburban historians are beginning to make clear. At the same moment when American urbanists and policymakers are discovering diversity and poverty in suburbia,[17] historians are discovering that it was there in some fashion all along (Nicolaides and Wiese 2006; Kruse and Sugrue 2006).

To be "pro-city" or "pro-suburb" means arguing ahistorically, as neither form is going anywhere and the question needs to become how cores and peripheries, job centers and population center, strong tax bases and weak tax bases can be better

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[17] See Murphy (2010) for an excellent review of the suburban poverty literature. The work of William Frey (eg 2003) is central to understanding basic demographic changes of the past two decades.

connected as part of a more equitable and sustainable system of cities. For too long, normative urbanism has focused on arguing for or against certain geographies, rather than recognizing that these geographies exist. [18] Certainly one can push for change, but to imagine a metropolis without suburbs, even far flung suburbs, is simply fantasy in the American and Californian context.

New Urbanism has come under withering criticism in progressive circles, much of it well-deserved, as in practice it has largely been "new suburbanism," a change in the design of subdivisions which does not address any of the major challenges of transportation, sustainability, equity, fiscal crisis or housing finance currently plaguing the suburbs.[19] Yet one of their great contributions is an appreciation of the transect, a geometric concept which they apply to the understanding of the line between the dense urban core and far flung rural edges.[20] Weaving together a common purpose around the building and rebuilding of the metropolis means making peace with the existence, and value, of communities throughout the transect. All play a role, or can play a role, in the production of a healthy metropolis. There is no one size fits all form of urbanism, especially not in the 21st century, and we will fail at our goals of equity and sustainability if we assume we can dictate lifestyle choice broadly.

Rather, the question planning needs to ask is how every jurisdiction, every type of space in the transect, every community in the region, can do its part to build a better region. A much more interesting and effective idea than new urbanism is the growing discourse around the "suburban retrofit" (Dunham-Jones and Williamson 2011).[21] The idea has originated as a design concept, focusing on both major and minor interventions which can be made in the suburban form – accessory dwelling units behind suburban houses with large back yards, bike lanes on previously car-dominated streets, new forms of transit, more walkable spaces. One of the best aspects of the "retrofit" is that it is positive – one only retrofits a building or a piece of infrastructure worth saving. It implies that the structure is valuable, it simply has some flaws that if left untreated will eventually cause catastrophic failure – a perfect metaphor for a diverse American suburbia.

The challenge for the retrofit is to extend the concept beyond the physical. The political, fiscal and at times sociocultural foundations of suburbia also need interventions, at times minor, at times major, and the broad success and feasibility of design interventions will only be possible if the retrofit is done holistically. We must also do a better job of connecting the "suburban retrofit" to the various "do-it-yourself" (DIY) urbanism ideas which have so captured the attention of city dwellers

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[18] This is not an ideological argument in the marxist sense, i.e. assuming that these geographies are "natural."

[19] See Pyatok (2000) for a brilliant critique of new urbanism's progressive claims.

[20] http://www.newurbannews.com/transect.html

[21] If suburbanism is American informality, the suburban retrofit is our version of slum upgrading, a recognition that what faces us is a generation of urban acupuncture and arthroscopic surgery, not demolition and blank-slate redevelopment.

(Zeiger 2011, Lydon 2010, SPUR 2010). At their core they are similar – generally small-scale interventions to make the urban or suburban fabric more livable, more interesting, more sustainable, more green. They reflect a growing emphasis on local life and local intervention, an emphasis which can be quite powerful.

But as Mark Purcell (2006) warns, there is a "local trap." The scalar fetishism that many in planning have for the region has a parallel – common amongst community-development planners like myself – when it comes to love of the local and the micro. I would argue that this scalar geography is in some ways also a product of ghosts – the community development movement was born in the ashes of urban renewal, and has always been the left's most localized urban component, inherently distrustful of intervention from on high.

But the micro and the local alone is not enough to weave together the massive geographies of the megaregion, to overcome the urban/suburban dichotomy or undo the maps of inequality. Solid work at the micro scale does not add up to regional equity or sustainability – it must be fed by stronger activity as well at higher scales. We need to be able to develop the type of politics that will make major transportation investments possible, will enable tax-base sharing, subregional planning, interjurisdictional cooperation, service shating and yes, a certain amount of formal political defragmentation, i.e. the merger/dissolution of authorities, agencies and even towns. This type of meso and macro planning is integral to restoring confidence in the broader urban system, not simply in the rising property values of the wealthier half of the region.

These two scalar shifts must function in tandem, part of an overall scalar politics capable of *reinvigorating the macro and meso scales while simultaneously deregulating aspects of the micro* to enable and encourage DIY urbanism and the smaller scales pieces of the suburban retrofit. We need both regionalism and localism, and we need to find creative ways for them to work together.

This multi scalar and more metropolitan approach to planning geography is critical to building any sort of common purpose, for fights between scales, between cities and suburbs, or between institutional actors ideas and ideologies of what is the proper scale or what is the proper urban form underlie so much of our fragmentation. Whether or not we should have built the American metropolis in the way we did is now moot; we must accept the communities we have as facts on the ground, to steal a phrase from a much more difficult conflict than Californian urbanism. Accepting this means reconciling ourselves to what has happened and why. This is the final piece in the project, a coming to terms with history, and in particular to the role of institutions. If we don't restore trust in the very process of urban development, any common purpose surround the collective future of the metropolis is impossible.

3. Restoring trust

> Nimbyism was the lack of faith that anyone would follow through with what they were promising. – longtime Contra Costa environmental advocate[22]

Much attention has been paid over the past few decades to the issue of trust in planning and urban development. It has been argued that planning, and governance in general, faces a "crisis of trust" which undermines planning practice, process and outcomes (Swain and Tait 2007). The discussion of trust in planning is most often linked to questions of process, for as Lucie Laurian (2009, p. 370) argues, "Planning relies on participatory and deliberative processes to restore trust in the profession."[23]

This process-oriented focus is in large part a reaction to the top-down, elitist nature of modernist rational planning. Planning has undoubtedly become more participatory over the past generation, and various forms of organized public input are both *de rigueur* and *de jure*. Many analysis of trust in planning focus on specific processes, specific projects or events, rooted in social theory and case study methodology, they tend to break down trust into varying components, often with conclusions which focus on "a careful and coherent theorization of the relationship of individual to collective interests," or on how a planning team can build trust in specific situations (Tait 2011, p. 157; Talvitie 2011).

The question of history, unfortunately, is somewhat secondary to many approaches, but I would argue that it is fundamental in the case of the Bay Area and California.[24] When considered historically, rather than procedurally, one realizes that the issue of trust is not necessarily with one planning process or another but with the broader urbanization process, with planning in general. This goes beyond individual institutions – people may have trust in one particular entity (an environmental group, a business association, a specific builder or community group or local government) – but I would argue that the overall trust, or perhaps more accurately *faith*, in the longterm outcome of urban change has been lost.

This loss of faith comes from every side of the political and geographic spectrum. As communities of color experience a suburban crisis on top of historical memories of an urban crisis, it is hard to have faith in any version of metropolis building. The constant threat of gentrification and rising rents has undermined faith for even middle class residents of San Francisco; the constant threat of crime and bad schools has undermined faith of virtually every Oakland resident regardless of race and class.

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[22] Interview 26

[23] Unsurprisingly, the issue of trust has played a role in the ongoing war between communicative rationality and power in planning theory (Stein and Harper 2003).

[24] Swain and Tait (2007) being one major exception.

As a longtime Contra Costa environmental advocate noted above, NIMBYism is in some ways about a loss of faith. Surely it has its deeply exclusionary components, but aspects of the resistance to development and change stems from the fact that people don't trust the larger process.[25] It is not necessarily about that one development, but about the slippery slope, the Pandora's box nature of change.

This fear of change as a Pandora box, or lack of trust that anyone will do as they promise, is not raw paranoia but a seemingly rational decision, if history is any guide. As Jasper de Vries (2009, p. 3) illustrates, based on the pioneering work on trust by Niklas Luhmann (1979), our "positive expectation towards the future [is] based on our image of the past."

The fundamental challenge for all institutions involved in the production of space in the Bay Area, and in the State of California, is to build (or in some cases restore) faith in the broad process of urbanization, in the intentional production of space, a.k.a. planning. One way to do this is a broad campaign from leading institutions to better acknowledge history and past mistakes. The failures of megaprojects in the postwar era are brought up as reasons not to build high-speed rail in 2012, much as the sins of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency in the 1960s hamper their ability to redevelop Hunter's Point. Institutions and agencies may think they have moved on, they may have developed procedures and processes and whole sections devoted to participation, but there has never been broad acknowledgement from the planning and development community that we have not delivered on the collective benefits of development and change.

This admission of historical culpability and responsibility – from institutions at every scale, in every sector, from developers to environmentalists to public agencies – is a critical first step in exorcising, rather than attempting to bury, the ghosts of modernism past. If planners want the public to have faith in planning, they must first acknowledge past errors. Otherwise we cannot expect people to believe things will change.

Nowhere is this more important than in communities of color, communities which have now born the brunt of two urban crises, one build on the ghost of another. In a 1968 essay entitled "the Post-City Age," Berkeley's Mel Webber (1968, p. 1109) argued that:

> The next generation of middle-class Americans is destined to enjoy the unprecedently rich life that the post-industrial, national urban society will offer. Our central domestic task now is deliberately to invent ways of extending those opportunities to those groups that future history threatens to exclude.

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[25] For a very interesting rethink of NIMBYism, currently the subject of some revisionism and debate, see Devine-Wright (2009) and Mcclymont and O'hare (2008)

The true tragedy of this crisis is that the process of urbanization and development in California seemingly extended those opportunities for a time, only to have them snatched away suddenly. This is the metaphor of the slide photo shown in the introduction (figure 3). This is the history which must be acknowledged, along with a full reckoning of post Proposition *14* racialized failures, before any common purpose in a state that will soon be majority minority is possible.

Figure 3:" A Metaphor." 2011, outside Patterson, CA. Photo by Alex Schafran

Taking advantage of the urban moment

To the battle-hardened planner in the California, my argument for pursuing "common purpose" may seem just as naïve as some of the early ideas of the man who coined it, Governor Moonbeam.[26] The politics of planning and development can seem so hopeless at times, or so ridiculously broken. Simply the consolidation of the major regional agencies in one building – let alone one agency – has become a major controversy and pitted one of the legislature's main advocates for regionalism against the powerful chief of the Metropolitan Transportation Commission.[27] NIMBYism shows no sign of abating, wealthy areas like Marin are hunkering down, politics in places like Antioch are business as usual, and nobody seems truly humbled by what has transpired since the crash. Fiscal crises continuously loom, state-level reform is a chimera, the federal government is paralyzed by a seemingly insurmountable partisan gulf and the increasingly vicious politics of the right, and it is hard to see much light at the end of any tunnel, at least above the scale of the local and the micro.

But I would argue that this is actually an auspicious moment, in part because of the success of the micro. There is growing interest in the urban, in cities and urbanism and urban studies, in space and place and urban history. During my time on the red/blue frontier in Brentwood and Antioch, the only spaces of potential compromise or agreement had to do with basic urban issues like transportation, infrastructure or the need for economic development. Finding common ground on social issues, or on ideological issues like regulation or the role of government writ large may be increasingly difficult, but common purpose on the basic issues of urbanization and development remains possible. I would even argue that urban and the metropolitan are key points where broad coalitions are possible, even across red and blue lines.

It should be even more possible with an unshakable Obama majority in the Bay Area. The time has come for leaders of every aspect of the production of space to begin rebuilding the politics of planning, to suture together the deeply fragmented politics which have helped produce stunning maps of inequality which leaders have seen coming for half a century. The Bay Area must finally learn to accept the complex multi-polar regional geography which makes it diverse and unique, accept the fact that it has always been fragmented, always been sprawling, always been both urban and suburban with a brutal history of racialized inequality and consistent institutional failure across all sectors and all scales which as a region the Bay Area has never fully acknowledged. Making peace with history and geography will go a long way towards creating this new politics, a politics which recognizes that in California, virtually every major institution is an actor in the production of space, and everyone needs to be held accountable.

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[26] Jerry Brown's nickname coined by Mike Royko in 1976.
[27] http://oaklandliving.wordpress.com/2011/09/29/mtc-approves-move-to-san-francisco-triggering-senator-desaulnier-to-commit-to-drastically-overhaul-the-agency/

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List of Interviews

Interviews have been anonymized to protect the identity of the informants. Description indicates subjects of expertise discussed, not complete expertise. Central Valley in this case is Merced, San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties.

Only formal interviews are listed.

Code	Description	Geography	Year
1.	Real Estate Professional, planner	Contra Costa	2010
2.	Social Services	East County	2011
3.	Resident	East County	2010
4.	Real Estate professional, resident	Central Valley	2011
5.	Government/Planning	Central Valley	2010
6.	Resident, Social Worker	East County	2010
7.	Resident, Union Worker	East County	2010
8.	Transportation planner, government	Contra Costa	2011
9.	Transportation planner, government	Contra Costa	2011
10.	Academic, policy	Bay Area/ Megaregion	2011
11.	Transportation planner, government	Contra Costa	2010
12.	Academic, planner, government	California	2009
13.	Elected Official	East County	2011
14.	Appointed official, transportation	East County	2011
15.	Activist, academic, policy	Bay Area	2009
16.	Appointed official, planner, longtime resident	East County	2010
17.	Former elected official, longtime resident, policy	Central Valley	2010
18.	Government planner, real estate	East County, Solano	2010

	professional		
19.	Nonprofit Planner, activist, policy	East County	2010
20.	Government planner	Central Valley	2010
21.	Government planner	Oakland/Emeryville	2010
22.	Government transportation planner	East County	2010
23.	Elected official, resident, nonprofit planner	Central valley	2010
24.	Nonprofit planner, policy	Bay Area/ Megaregion	2009
25.	Policy, academic, transportation	California	2012
26.	Elected official, nonprofit planner, policy	Solano, Contra Costa	2011
27.	Appointed official, resident, journalist	Central Valley	2011
28.	Real estate professional	Contra Costa	2010
29.	Elected official, resident	East county	2010
30.	Real estate professional	Oakland/Emeryville	2009
31.	Academic, government planner, policy	Bay Area/ Megaregion	2009
32.	Planner, real estate professional	Contra Costa	2009
33.	Government planner, planning consultant	Central Valley	2010
34.	Real estate professional	East county	2010
35.	Real estate professional, activist	East county	2010
36.	Elected official	East county	2010
37.	Government, business	Eastc ounty / contra costa	2010
38.	Government planner	Contra costa	2010
39.	Government planner / transportation	East county	2010
40.	Real estate professional	Oakland/Emeryville	2010

41.	Activist	East County / Contra Costa	2009, 2011
42.	Transportation planner	East county	2010
43.	Transportation planner	Contra Costa	2011
44.	Transportation academic, researcher	Bay Area	2011
45.	Government official, housing	Contra costa	2010
46.	Journalist	Contra costa	2011
47.	Resident, activist	East county	2009, 2011
48.	Researcher, activist	Bay Area	2010
49.	Nonprofit planner, activist	Bay area	2009
50.	Academic, housing	Bay area	2010
51.	Journalist	Contra costa	2011
52.	Government official	Contra costa	2010
53.	Academic	Bay Area/ Megaregion	2010
54.	Elected official, resident	East county	2010
55.	Activist, nonprofit planner	East County	2011
56.	Academic, nonprofit planner, policy	Bay Area/ Megaregion	2009
57.	Government planner, academic	Bay Area	2010
58.	Government planner	Central Valley	2010
59.	Nonprofit planner, policy	East County	2010
60.	Government planner	Contra Costa	2011
61.	Real estate professional, policy	Bay Area / California	2010
62.	Academic, policy	California, Bay Area	2012
63.	Government planner, policy	California	2010
64.	Academic, policy	Bay Area	2012
65.	Government planner, resident	Central Valley	2011
66.	Government planner	East County	2010
67.	Elected official, unions, resident	East County	2010
68.	Policy, real estate	Bay Area	2010

	professional, nonprofit planner		
69.	Journalist, resident	East County	2011
70.	Former elected official, transportation planner	Contra Costa / East County	2010
71.	Academic, activist	Bay Area	2010
72.	Resident, transportation planner	East County	2011
73.	Nonprofit planner, policy	Bay Area	2010
74.	Real Estate Professional	Bay Area	2010
75.	Government planner, academic	Bay Area	2009
76.	Real estate professional	Central Valley	2011
77.	Government planner	East County	2010
78.	Nonprofit planner, policy, academic	Oakland/Emeryville	2010
79.	Government planner, planning consultant	Bay Area / Megaregion	2010
Interviews conducted for Schafran and Feldstein (2013)			
Code	Description	Geography	Year
R1	Elected official, longtime activist	Richmond	2010
R2	Elected official, social services	Richmond	2010
R3	Elected official, social services	Richmond	2010
R4	Activist, organizer	Richmond	2010