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Publication Date

1996-08-01

Peer reviewed



Working Paper 96-09

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**Victor Rubin
Amy Sananman**

August 1996

**University of California at Berkeley
\$10.00**

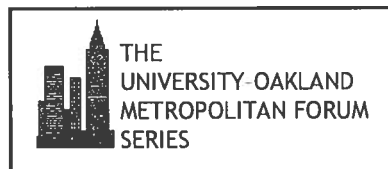
Working Paper 96-09

(formerly WP 032)

Oakland HOPE VI Baseline Case Study

Victor Rubin

Amy Sananman



The University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum is a partnership of the University of California at Berkeley; California State University, Hayward; Mills College; Holy Names College; the Peralta Community College District; and the Oakland community.

University of California at Berkeley
Institute of Urban and Regional Development

The contents of this report are the views of the contractor and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development or the U.S. Government.

FOREWORD

HOPE VI, also known as the Urban Revitalization Demonstration, is a bold effort to revitalize the Nation's most distressed public housing developments. It provides local communities with up to \$50 million, as well as unprecedented regulatory flexibility, to accomplish the comprehensive revitalization of severely distressed developments, through simultaneous investment in both buildings and community services. In HOPE VI, Congress and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) have shown that they are willing to lift 60 years of accumulated regulations, and allow local communities to decide how best to address the housing and social service needs of their poorest residents.

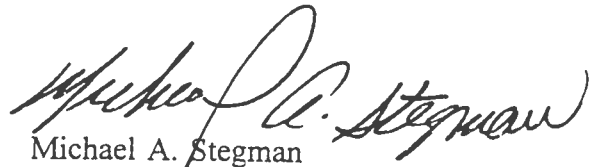
The challenges facing severely distressed public housing developments are daunting, and success cannot be expected overnight. Past experience has too often demonstrated what *does not work* to address the economic isolation, joblessness, welfare dependency, crime, poor management, and physical deterioration of large, inner-city public housing. As Doug Rae cautions in his case study of the Elm Haven (New Haven, CT) HOPE VI effort, "A great deal is to be expected of HOPE VI, but we should not expect even the wisest use of HOPE VI funding to quickly reverse problems which have been given two generations' head start."

In order to realistically assess the long-term effectiveness of HOPE VI, HUD is implementing an innovative evaluation strategy. For each of fifteen sites, local research affiliates will track interventions and outcomes over a ten-year period. These local researchers can understand and appreciate the unique community context that shapes each HOPE VI strategy and influences its outcomes. At approximately five-year intervals, the findings of the local research affiliates will be assembled and synthesized to provide cross-cutting national results.

This report, *An Historical and Baseline Assessment of HOPE VI*, presents findings from the first phase of our long-term evaluation effort. It describes the 15 study sites at the start of the HOPE VI program, and documents local plans for revitalizing each development. Volume I provides a synthesis of findings across the 15 study communities, and discusses their national implications. The individual case studies, authored by the local research affiliates, are presented in Volume II. And Volume III provides methodological details.

The developments described in this report span the history of public housing in America; they include some of the oldest in the Nation, as well as several that are not even thirty years old. Most suffer from serious design flaws, including very high densities, high-rise buildings for families, and construction on "superblocks," which isolate public housing developments from the surrounding community. Residents are profoundly poor, with the majority dependent upon public assistance. Typically, the neighborhoods within which these distressed developments are located are almost as poor as the projects themselves. Many have been devastated by the loss of manufacturing employment from the central city, and by the transition to a knowledge-based, services economy.

As local HOPE VI strategies are implemented, future research reports will document the impacts for the targeted public housing developments, the families who live in them, and the communities in which they are located. These findings will provide essential insights for other HOPE VI communities, as well as for national policy makers seeking to correct the errors of the past and create public housing that is an asset for its residents and for the communities in which it is located.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Michael A. Stegman". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Michael" and last name "Stegman" clearly legible.

Michael A. Stegman
Assistant Secretary for Policy
Development and Research

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors of Volumes I and III of this report—**Linda B. Fosburg, Susan J. Popkin, and Gretchen P. Locke**—acknowledge with thanks the valuable assistance of many others in performing the Historical and Baseline Assessment of the HOPE VI Program. First, we recognize the important contributions of the fifteen Local Research Affiliate (LRA) teams who contributed the Baseline Case Studies for this report (Volume II). The LRA teams included:

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		SAN FRANCISCO	Michael Reisch, Ph.D. Felix Rivera, Ph.D.

Next, the team recognizes the invaluable contributions to the assessment provided by the PHAs and their staff. We sincerely thank them for the contributions of their time and information about their implementation of the HOPE VI program.

At Abt Associates Inc., **Judith D. Feins**, provided the thoughtful and constructive technical review of the assessment materials and reports. **Carissa Climaco** developed the methodology for reading the survey data bases and producing the Exhibits in Volume III. **Stefanie Falzone** provided collaborative support to the assessment team in all aspects of project administration and report production.

The Historical and Baseline Assessment of HOPE VI was prepared by Abt Associates Inc. under Contract DU-5889 with the Office of Policy Development and Research, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The authors acknowledge the enthusiasm, guidance, and contributions to the report offered by **Todd M. Richardson**, the Government Technical Monitor. We also thank and greatly appreciate the assistance to the assessment provided by the members of HUD's Office of Public Housing Investments (formerly the Office of Distressed and Troubled Housing Recovery).

OVERVIEW

For each of the 15 HOPE VI study sites, a Local Research Affiliate (LRA) prepared a Baseline Case Study Report. The LRAs were asked to develop the case studies within a general outline developed by Abt Associates. The LRAs were encouraged to expand beyond the outline and focus on the issues considered most central to the HOPE VI site they were studying. As a result, the case studies in Volume II are similar in format but quite different in focus. Each of the case studies begins with a table of contents followed by an Executive Summary.

In general, these case studies should be seen as a baseline through May 1995. While some later events have been noted, most activities at the sites since May 1995 are not included. A future report will capture changes and events that have occurred since that time.

The opinions expressed in the following executive summaries are those of each Local Research Affiliate. They do not necessarily reflect the views or policy of the Department of Housing and Urban Development or the U.S. Government.

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HOPE VI BASELINE CASE STUDY

**LOCKWOOD GARDENS AND
FOOTHILL BOULEVARD
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) is implementing the HOPE VI program by modernizing one large development and four small, scattered-site developments, adding a training center to another large development, and by conducting an ambitious strategy of resident empowerment, supportive services and community services in partnership with more than a dozen nonprofit organizations and units of local government. HOPE VI in Oakland represents a continuation of the collaborative approach to neighborhood revitalization, crime prevention and integrated human services which has characterized community action in the Fruitvale and Central East Oakland areas for the past five years. Although residents still face serious problems at these sites, the actions taken in recent years appear to have reduced crime rates in some places and increased resident involvement from low points in the early 1990s.

Lockwood Gardens and Coliseum Gardens, two adjoining large, low-rise developments in Central East Oakland, are home to the majority of HOPE VI residents. Lockwood, which was constructed in the late 1930s, will receive extensive rehabilitation of its apartment units and redesign of its public spaces and facilities. Coliseum Gardens, which underwent extensive rehabilitation recently, will receive a new community center and other smaller improvements. Four scattered site apartment complexes will be remodeled to increase security and will have their units extensively renovated.

The HOPE VI program calls for OHA residents to take a major role in decision-making about the future of their development, and to engage in community service not only on their own site but in the surrounding neighborhoods. Physical improvement of the commercial districts of Fruitvale and Central East Oakland is one of the high priorities of the program. In the process of these rehabilitation activities on and off site, OHA residents will gain valuable job training and entrepreneurial skills.

Providers of social and educational services to OHA residents will be supported by HOPE VI, and will extend their drug abuse recovery, youth development, remedial education, and other programs to more residents. Community organizers hired through HOPE VI will conduct outreach not only to OHA residents but also to residents of surrounding neighborhoods.

The complex array of activities, the large numbers of sites, and the diversity and number of service providers will create a managerial challenge for the Oakland HOPE VI effort. It appears to have the greatest number of sites, partners, and strategies of any HOPE VI program in the country. Also, since some of the activities were designed with the expectation that other federal funds would be available to complement HOPE VI expenditures, the absence of those funds means that certain activities will not be able to move forward as planned. The wait of nearly two years from the time at which the partners were assembled and the proposal written, until the start of activities in the Fall of 1995 has also presented a challenge, as several organizations have dropped out or asked that their roles be changed, and several new ones have been added.

As this report is being completed, work plans are being finalized for the community-based organizations and the physical rehabilitation is proceeding largely on schedule. Resident councils have been elected in the two large developments and members are being trained and oriented for a major role in oversight and community service.

Editor's Note: In general, this case study should be seen as a baseline through May 1995. A number of events have occurred at the site since that time, some of which are included as footnotes. A future report will capture changes and events that have occurred since that time.

1.0 OAKLAND HOUSING AUTHORITY OVERVIEW

1.1 Public Housing Authority Characteristics

Established in 1938, the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) is governed by a seven-member Board of Commissioners appointed by the Mayor with the approval of the City Council. Appointed in 1972, Harold Davis has served as Executive Director of OHA for 23 years, one of the longest such tenures in the nation. The OHA maintains a staff of 276 people—including a professional security force with peace officer status—and has an operating budget of nearly \$83 million (FY 1993-94).¹

The OHA has a total of 11,341 units in the developments it manages and its Section 8 certificate programs, with a waiting list of up to six years. Public housing in Oakland includes both large, low-rise developments, such as Lockwood Gardens and Coliseum Gardens, and small scattered-site apartment buildings, such as the Seminary, Elizabeth, and Foothill sites included for renovation through HOPE VI.² Of its 3,306 conventional public housing units, about half are in large developments (1,667) and the other half in scattered-site developments (1,619). Several of the large developments were originally constructed during World War II, and most of the scattered site buildings were constructed as so-called "turn-key" projects in the 1960s. Other large OHA developments have recently undergone modernizations or are in the midst of it at this time. In addition, OHA oversees 8,035 Section 8 leased housing units, which constitute a mix of certificates (4,836), aftercare certificates for the disabled (98), vouchers (2,125), moderate rehabilitation units (494), and moderate rehabilitation units under development (482). In 1993-94, OHA paid \$56,221,892 to Section 8 landlords for 8,035 units, a major component of the Authority's \$83 million budget.³

1.2 Management History

The OHA operates largely independently of City government, with some notable exceptions in recent years. In 1993 the City Council considered but rejected a proposal by one Council member for the City to take over direct management of the Authority, a move prompted by his constituents' complaints about slow responses of the Commission and staff to maintenance, security, and hiring problems. The OHA has been the object of intensive community organizing and some lawsuits over the last decade. In the late 1980s there were serious, well documented problems with assaults, false arrests, and other abuses of authority by the OHA security force. As a result, a unique arrangement was made in 1991 with the City for an Oakland Police Department lieutenant to direct the OHA security force. The lieutenant

¹ "Fact Sheet." *The Housing Authority of the City of Oakland*, revised January 1995.

² The evaluators decided to focus the case studies on Lockwood Gardens and 3634 Foothill Boulevard. This choice allows the evaluators to describe the breadth of HOPE VI public housing in Oakland; Lockwood Gardens is an example of a large, Central East Oakland development, and 3634 Foothill is an example of a small, Fruitvale scattered-site development.

³ "Fact Sheet." *OHA*, 1995.

reports to the OHA Executive Director. Over the past four years, marked improvements in police practices have been noted in a number of independent accounts, cited below.

In the last several years, the OHA has been on a course of gradually making innovations in management, being more open to partnerships with community-based organizations and units of local government, and involving residents, as symbolized by a recent round of resident council elections. The HOPE VI program started up in a climate marked by extensive organizing and experimentation with community-based services and self-help projects. Projects intended to bring change and resident empowerment to Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens, through community gardening, peer support recovery programs, efforts to build inter-racial understanding, and new community policing practices were in place by mid-1994 and were receiving wide-spread positive attention from the press and visiting federal officials.⁴

Tensions between residents and management over maintenance and hiring for construction work, and competition among rival resident groups, were also prominent during the past year.⁵ The most serious disputes were not in the HOPE VI developments but in West Oakland, the other end of the city, but some of the issues raised there could have implications in the long term for the role of resident councils and "outside" organizers.

1.3 Current Challenges

The Oakland HOPE VI project presents a number of challenges, some of which are specific to the Oakland context and some of which are general to the nature of public housing revitalization nationwide.

Challenges Specific to Oakland

The distinctive qualities of the Oakland HOPE VI project, and many of its site-specific research issues, arise from the presence of numerous partners and housing developments in the Oakland HOPE VI package. Thirteen community-based organizations are scheduled to have contracts with the Housing Authority. Supportive and community services and physical rehabilitation will take place at six OHA sites: two large developments and four smaller scattered-site buildings. The diversity of sites leads to the likelihood that HOPE VI will look very different at the various locations. Different tenant groups, racial composition, community-based agencies, architecture and remodeling issues, surrounding neighborhood, and other factors will influence the objectives and the outcomes. Three main challenges thus arise from the Oakland context:

- the challenge of managing many sites and multiple modernization projects, each with different plans;
- the challenge of coordinating many agencies, most of whom have either not previously worked together or with the Housing Authority; and

⁴ These efforts were documented most extensively in a weekly newspaper, *The East Bay Express*. See "Miracle on 66th Avenue" (vol. 17, no. 2, October 21, 1994). The subhead reads: "Three years ago Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens were among the nation's deadliest neighborhoods. Today they are quite literally beginning to bloom."

⁵ See *East Bay Express*, November 11, 1994 article titled "Oakland Housing Authority is the Landlord from Hell" on tenant suits, which reports that problems go back at least to 1977, and November 18, 1994, "Do Public Housing Tenants Really Deserve Democracy?" on the arguments over control of a TOP/TAG grant and more generally, the election and conduct of resident councils.

- the challenge of working with diverse populations, with special reference to the relationships between African American and Southeast Asian refugee residents.

In addition, it is possible, but by no means inevitable or even probable, that previous sources of political tension could flare up specifically over HOPE VI issues. These could include the aforementioned City Council member who had proposed the City takeover; challenges by resident councils or other groups to OHA management practices, particularly concerning maintenance; and differences among the resident groups and their outside supporters.

General Challenges

Oakland's HOPE VI may also face challenges that will probably arise in other HOPE VI sites across the country. Issues such as: resistance of the residents to buy into the project based on prior distrust of or lack of faith in the housing authority and the impending possibility of the program being defunded. Concerns about relocation are especially likely to trigger this lack of faith. Another challenge to the success of the program is the cut-back of other existing support services; in such a case, HOPE VI would be in the awkward position of partially replacing existing services rather than expanding upon them. The cutbacks will also mean that HOPE VI components which were designed to be combined with other federal resources will be reduced because those other funds are no longer available.

2.0 DESCRIPTION OF THE DEVELOPMENTS: FOCUS ON LOCKWOOD GARDENS AND FOOTHILL BLVD.

There are 6 public-housing developments participating in the Oakland HOPE VI project: Lockwood Gardens, Coliseum Gardens, 1905 and 2139 Seminary Avenue, 5726 Elizabeth Street and 3634 Foothill Boulevard. Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens are large developments located across the street from one another in Central East Oakland. The Seminary and Elizabeth developments are small, scattered-site style units located in East Oakland 4 to 6 blocks from the Lockwood/Coliseum and almost 2 miles from the Foothill Boulevard site. The evaluators decided to focus the case study report on Lockwood Gardens and 3634 Foothill Boulevard. This choice allows the evaluators to describe the breadth of HOPE VI public housing in Oakland; Lockwood Gardens is an example of a large, Central East Oakland development, and 3634 Foothill is an example of a small, Fruitvale scattered-site building.

2.1 Development Background

Lockwood Gardens was originally available for occupancy in 1939 but reconstituted in 1942 as housing for war-related shipyard and production workers. In this capacity it housed a segregated, all-white population. From its inception the housing was accompanied by a strong emphasis on community services and support for families. Historian Marilyn S. Johnson writes:

Local officials were . . . enthusiastic about these projects. *The Oakland Tribune* called Lockwood Gardens "an answer to government housing officials' prayers," hailing it as a place where the "theories of experts in the national capital are actually working out in practice . . ."

As the child care director at Oakland's Lockwood Gardens explained: "When the parents first move to this area . . . it is our place to do all we can to help the parents and children adjust."

This acculturative mission had a long history in social reform movements among immigrants—now it was regeared toward domestic migrants under the rubric of winning the war.⁶

In the post-war demobilization, the development was returned to regular public housing use and, along with other OHA developments, formally desegregated, to the point where it became predominantly African-American by the early 1960s.⁷ As one of Oakland's larger sites, the project covers 22 acres and contains 372 units, most of which are one- to three-bedroom apartments. The 53 low-rise and semi-detached buildings are constructed of wood and reinforced concrete. There are parking lots, public streets and wide sidewalks throughout the development. There are no parks; however, there is a school with playing fields within a block of the project.

The site is located in Central East Oakland amidst 3 major boundaries: East 14th Street, the Oakland Coliseum and Coliseum Gardens. East 14th Street, which borders Lockwood Gardens, is a commercial strip where one finds home furnishing and apparel stores, eating and drinking establishments, personal services, bars and a number of empty storefronts. The Oakland Coliseum, a large professional sports arena, is also located nearby, adjacent to the BART (rapid transit) station and its elevated tracks. Right across the street from Lockwood is Coliseum Gardens, the other "large" Oakland housing project that is participating in the HOPE VI program. There is also a public school located across the street from the sites and a junior high school nearby.

The **Foothill Blvd.** site was first available for occupancy in 1969. This scattered-site style 16 unit development covers only 0.6 acres. Ten units are three-bedroom apartments and the remaining 6 units are four-bedrooms. There are 4 wood-constructed buildings: 2 "low-rises" and 2 "row houses." The site also has 16 parking spaces, a concrete courtyard with a basketball court and wide sidewalks. There are no public streets running through the development.

The site is located several blocks from East 14th Street in the (Lower) Fruitvale neighborhood, 2.6 miles west of the Lockwood and Coliseum sites. Residents of Foothill Blvd. find cars racing around the curve on their street toward the main thoroughfare of East 14th St. to be very dangerous and are actually working with the help of the Fruitvale Community Collaborative to install a traffic light on the corner. The immediate area surrounding Foothill Blvd. is primarily residential. Right next door to the Foothill site is a Pacific Gas & Electric Company (PG&E) abandoned, garbage-strewn lot where residents are concerned about the presence of toxic polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs).

There are a number of positive physical features of the Foothill Boulevard neighborhood. Within walking distance, residents can find a tot park and a collection of new restaurants and shops along Foothill Boulevard.

⁶ Johnson, Marilyn S., *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II*. University of California Press, 1993, p. 123.

⁷ Hayes (1972) citing a 1958 OHA Annual Report, wrote "Of the 4 permanent public housing projects, four were totally segregated—three totally white, one totally nonwhite—by 1950. Three other projects had a total of 21 whites and 607 nonwhites. The remaining two projects had ratios of 15 white to 529 nonwhite, and 475 white to 9 nonwhite." Hayes, Edward C., *Power Structure and Urban Policy: Who Rules in Oakland?*, McGraw-Hill, 1972, p. 87. Hayes' broader points about the first two post-war decades are that Oakland did not build as much new public housing as it could have, due to local real estate interests' opposition, and that what was built was located in predominantly black neighborhoods and did thus little to desegregate the city. His writing predates the construction of most of Oakland's "turn-key" projects, built by private developers and turned over to the OHA. Many of these were built in relatively higher-income, racially mixed neighborhoods.

2.2 Resident Characteristics

Lockwood Gardens is home to 826 residents. Forty-six percent of those residents are children under the age of 12; 4 percent are between the ages of 13 and 17; 18 percent between 18 and 30; and 25 percent are between 31 and 61. The majority of households (79 percent) are headed by women. Lockwood's heads of households are primarily black (80 percent), with most of the remaining portion comprised of Asians (18 percent) and whites (2 percent).⁸ Only 3 of the heads of household identify themselves as Hispanic.⁹

Sixty percent of residents receive public assistance. The income per capita in Lockwood averages \$2,738 per year. Just over 10 percent of working age tenants are employed.¹⁰

Foothill Blvd.'s 16 units house a total of 87 residents. Almost 70 percent of Foothill's residents are children under the age of 18. With the exception of 2 residents, the rest of Foothill's population are between the ages of 19 and 61. Like Lockwood Gardens, the majority of Foothill's heads of household are women (69 percent). Foothill residents represent a broad ethnic spectrum; 8 heads of household are black, 6 are Asian, 1 is white and 1 is Native American. One of the 16 heads of household identify themselves as Hispanic.¹¹ Seventy-five percent of Foothill families receive AFDC. The per family income among residents is \$2,811 per year.¹²

2.3 Baseline Physical Condition

Common to all Oakland's HOPE VI sites are design flaws which make them especially vulnerable to criminal activity such as vandalism and theft. In addition, each site lacks any facilities for common areas, public space, recreational space or equipment, or other features which would promote community cohesion. Many of the HOPE VI renovation strategies are based on reducing this vulnerability and improving social interaction.¹³

Lockwood Gardens

The survey of Lockwood residents conducted for this study showed moderate levels of problems with the physical condition of apartments and common areas. For most items in a checklist of maintenance and sanitation problems, the proportion of respondents defining them as "no problem" ranged from 52 percent to 89 percent. The issue with the highest proportion of respondents citing a "big problem" was the lack of storage space: 16 percent. (See the Tables in Appendix 1 for survey responses regarding potential problems at the site.)

⁸ OHA Database, 6/6/95.

⁹ The category "hispanic" is asked separately from ethnicity as the two often overlap; for example, a person could be black and hispanic or white and hispanic.

¹⁰ "Economic Indicators—Target vs. Non-Target Sites," ORE/HOPE VI Proposal.

¹¹ OHA Database, 6/6/95.

¹² "Economic Indicators—Target vs. Non-Target Sites," ORE/HOPE VI Proposal.

¹³ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 86.

Foothill Blvd

Residents of Foothill Blvd. did not receive the Resident Satisfaction Survey. Only 1 resident was interviewed on a tour of the development, and she recounted a number of complaints regarding the physical condition of the public areas of their home. This resident, a community organizer with the Fruitvale Community Collaborative, pointed out the development's "tagged" and water damaged walls, messy, smelly garbage area, and torn chain-link fence that separates the site's play area (where she said one can find 40 to 50 children playing on a given day) from the aforementioned abandoned PG&E lot where people leave junk. This resident has been instrumental in organizing residents—especially the youth—to paint over the graffiti on the walls. She pointed out a blank wall facing the parking lot with the trace of a horizontal gray mark 2 feet off the ground. "That whole wall used to be absolutely black with the scuff marks of the shoes of dozens of kids who leaned against the wall all day long. We [the residents, including some of the young people] finally painted it over and worked with them, and they don't hang out there anymore."

2.4 Baseline Management Issues

According to the OHA's HOPE VI application (page 86-87) submitted in May 1993,

In both the Foothill and Coliseum sites, it is very common for maintenance personnel to request police escorts while performing routine maintenance. In most cases, residents reported that maintenance work was performed hastily and not always carefully due to the maintenance personnel's desire to complete work and to leave these projects as quickly as possible.¹⁴

In August 1995, in the process of reviewing our current report, the OHA staff questioned the validity and generalizability of that statement, writing that "With the exception of an isolated incident, to our knowledge it is not common practice to request police escorts to either of the aforementioned sites."¹⁵

The OHA receives about 100 requests per day for maintenance. Housing Authority staff contend that they do the best they can with a clearly inadequate budget, and that some of the problems needing repair are caused by residents.

Similarly, the 1993 application's language about tenants who depart without paying all their rent appears to have been overly broad, given that there are many long-term, fully paid-up tenants in these developments. The HOPE VI application states:

Both the public safety problems and the family economic problems contribute to the management difficulty of these developments. Many families fall into trouble while in residence and depart suddenly, leaving behind vandalized apartments and unpaid rent. The targeted HOPE VI sites had an average rental debt per unit of \$1,030, nearly double that for the OHA as a whole. Among the 21 largest developments operated by the OHA, Lockwood, Coliseum, Foothill, and

¹⁴ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, pages 86-87

¹⁵ Letter from Harold Davis, OHA Executive Director, August 23, 1995 to Victor Rubin. We can envision some reasons why the OHA is taking issue with several descriptive passages from its original HOPE VI proposal. First, two-and-a half years have passed since it was written, and the circumstances may have changed. Also, the grant proposal, like most such documents, was written quickly and was intended to dramatize problems, perhaps to the point of generalizing too broadly. At any rate, our objective in this report is simply to document the original HOPE VI plan and the current circumstances.

the remaining 3 Fruitvale Sites rank 12th, 13th, 1st and 2nd respectively in resident debt per unit.¹⁶

In its latest review the OHA reports that this \$1,030 figure is incorrect and may include maintenance charges and legal fees due to eviction.¹⁷

Lockwood Gardens is considered by the Oakland Housing Authority to be one of OHA's most difficult properties to manage.¹⁸ However, over the past five years, the management of Lockwood has begun to improve. This is, in part, a result of increased resident involvement in site improvements such as increased security. Vacancies in Lockwood Gardens have decreased over the past five years from 5.2 percent in 1990 down to 1 percent in 1995. Seventy-eight percent of surveyed Lockwood residents were very satisfied (32 percent) or somewhat satisfied (46 percent) with their building as a place to live, and satisfaction levels with the individual apartments were almost identical. These are relatively optimistic findings for a project with as many past problems as Lockwood.

Foothill Blvd., like Lockwood, is considered by OHA to be one of OHA's most difficult developments. In 1990, the vacancy rate at Foothill was 6.25 percent; in 1994 all units were filled. In the past 5 years, 2 evictions have occurred due to problem tenants. OHA considers the overall maintenance of the site to be "good" and the condition of the facilities to be "fair."¹⁹

2.5 Crime and Disorder In and Around the Development

Lockwood Gardens is located in East Oakland across the street from Coliseum Gardens, another HOPE VI targeted housing project. In 1991, 4 murders, 80 assaults, 45 drug possessions, and 361 loiterings on or about OHA property were reported at Lockwood/Coliseum projects.²⁰ In Lockwood Gardens, the 1991 murder rate (1 for every 208 residents) was 11 times higher than the City as a whole. In the 1980s, Coliseum Gardens, then known as San Antonio Villa, was the infamous former headquarters site of Felix Mitchell's drug empire. As the HOPE VI proposal states,

For years Mitchell's organization effectively controlled the development, operating an extensive drug ring. Mitchell's organization also operated a quasi-social service agency for the development, providing funds to take children to ball games, paying rent for those who were in trouble, and addressing other individual and collective needs; however, the cost of these services was absolute allegiance to him and his lieutenants that essentially gave him total rule over the development.²¹

¹⁶ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 86.

¹⁷ H. Davis letter, August 23, 1995.

¹⁸ Baseline Data Form, 12.

¹⁹ Baseline Data Form, 6.

²⁰ "Loitering on or about OHA Property" was a specially enacted law to provide the Authority with a means to proactively attack drug dealing on Authority property. Offenses of this nature usually indicate the presence of drug dealing.

²¹ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 4.

Mitchell was eventually arrested, convicted, imprisoned and then murdered in prison. His lavish public funeral, including a horse-drawn cortege through the streets of the city, provoked an outraged reaction from law-abiding residents which was channeled into many positive actions to increase safety and youth alternatives. His gang and most of the other large crack cocaine distribution networks in Oakland were brought down over a period of several years in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the dealing today, though still a significant problem throughout the lower income parts of the city, is lower profile and decentralized.

Conditions around Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens have historically caused residents to decrease normal outside activity. According to the City's Empowerment Zone Application, admittedly a source where problems will be emphasized, the threat of stray bullets often prevents children from playing outdoors or adults from attending community meetings or other events after dark.²² Some residents have told stories of sleeping on hallway floors in order to be away from windows when they hear gunfire. Safety is also a major factor in the success of other programs presently available to Lockwood and Coliseum Garden residents. In March of 1992, for example, drug dealers in Oakland were suspected of committing a triple murder in retaliation for an individual who filed a criminal complaint against them and who had sought refuge at a relative's home at an OHA site in North Oakland (not one of the HOPE VI developments.) Such threats can severely impact residents' willingness to participate in crime abatement efforts.

In 1994, there were 342 index one crimes reported to the Oakland Police Department within an approximate one mile radius of the Coliseum/Lockwood Gardens development. Most of these reportings were either burglary or theft; however, it is important to remember that insurance regulations provide an incentive to report such crimes, whereas there is less incentive to report domestic abuse or neighborhood assaults. (See Exhibit 1, on the following page, for breakdown of index one crimes around HOPE VI sites.)

Although no level of violence and criminal activity should be considered acceptable, the 1995 resident survey shows a considerably less chilling environment at the present time, as well as a fair degree of faith in community revitalization efforts. When asked "If residents work together, how much can they help to solve the problems of crime and drugs in this building?" 63 percent of Lockwood residents said "A lot" and another 26 percent said "Some." As for "People selling drugs" and "People using drugs," they were identified as a big problem by just 3 percent and 6 percent of the surveyed residents, with another 19 and 14 percent respectively calling it "some problem." Responses were similar for other categories of crime and disorder. The problem with the highest level of concern in the survey was accumulating trash and junk in hallways. (See Appendix A for tables of survey results.)

In recent years Lockwood Gardens has been the site of a number of interrelated crime prevention strategies, ranging from a new fence to additional youth programs and drug recovery counseling. These have been combined with the significant improvements and community policing perspective of the OHA security force, which even its harshest critics have acknowledged.²³ Given better training and supervision, and closer liaison with the City's police department, the OHA security force is able to do more pro-active community policing activities. It is much easier to notice a collective positive impact

²² Draft of the Oakland Empowerment Zone Application, 5/5/94, 5.

²³ *East Bay Express* (vol. 17, no. 42, July 28, 1995). "The Oakland Housing Authority's Unlikely Success Story: Its Cops." The subhead reads: "Four years ago the OHA security force was legendary for its corruption and violence; today it has become a model of community policing."

of these prevention and enforcement efforts than it is to isolate their individual contributions, but the positive changes of the past three to five years are tangible enough.

Exhibit 1 Incidence of Reported "Index One" Crimes Within a 1 Mile Radius of Oakland, CA HOPE VI Sites^a								
Crime	Coliseum/ Lockwood		Foothill		Seminary		Elizabeth/ Seminary	
	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994	1992	1994
Murder	6	2	1	0	0	3	2	2
Robbery	83	23	14	12	40	32	43	40
Aggravated assault/battery	0	0	3	1	6	7	2	2
Rape	3	3	0	0	3	2	1	3
Arson	8	2	0	1	4	2	2	4
Burglary	154	152	54	31	56	90	90	125
Theft/larceny	78	67	38	33	66	62	71	86
Other sexual/family offenses	33	41	6	5	12	22	20	22
Vehicle theft	66	52	38	45	58	55	61	83
Total	431	342	154	128	245	275	292	367

^a The system the Oakland Police Department uses to produce this data does not correspond with conventional census tracts or blocks. This introduces the added problem of not being able to calculate the crime *rate* because we cannot determine the populations of the areas OPD used.

Foothill Blvd., as a small site, has had less of a dramatic history than Lockwood or Coliseum. One resident mentioned that there was a tenant that seemed to attract drug-related activity to the development. She claims that since the tenant's eviction about a year ago, there seems to be no "drug" problems.

In 1994, there were 128 index one crimes reported to the Oakland Police Department within an approximate one mile radius of the Foothill site. The majority of those reported were theft or burglary; however, like the Lockwood case, one must remember that these statistics represent crimes reported and that theft is probably more likely to be reported than assaults or domestic violence.

2.6 On-Site Social Services and Resident Organizations

On-site activities at **Lockwood Gardens** include activities run by the Boys and Girls Club, the East Bay Community Recovery Project, Victory Outreach (an evangelical theatrical company that provides outdoor

presentations regarding substance abuse and crime), and Moving On Up (an employment training referral and job placement service/entrepreneurship program).²⁴

Aside from a Head Start program, a substance abuse prevention program, and some recreational activities, most social and community services for Lockwood residents are located off the site. Recently, an important new partnership has emerged in the East Oakland community: community policing. Over the past year or so, despite extreme fiscal pressures, the City of Oakland has committed considerable resources to establish a comprehensive community policing program. HOPE VI plans to build on this partnership by providing space for a Community Policing Substation in Coliseum/Lockwood Gardens and by offering Oakland policemen and OHA security officers free rent if they reside within the targeted developments.²⁵ There are also local citizen/police committees and police assigned to work at the development.

Planned Services On-site²⁶

HOPE VI will not be the first assemblage of community-based service providers on-site at either Lockwood or Coliseum Gardens. The pre-existing services (offered by agencies which will also be part of HOPE VI) include the following:

- Asian Mental Health Services, offering counseling programs, particularly for the Southeast Asian refugee families.
- Boys and Girls Club, expanding from a small clubhouse to an integrated on-site and off-site social, recreational, and educational program which will be supplemented by sports leagues and activities. The Club's Smart Moves anti-drug and alcohol and sexual postponement program will also be offered on-site.
- East Bay Community Recovery Project, providing the comprehensive "health realization approach" to substance abuse treatment services referenced earlier in this report, for residents of Coliseum Gardens.

Foothill Blvd. has no community services on the site. Foothill Blvd. residents currently receive community and supportive services through the Authority's Resident and Community Services Department, and additional needs have been and will be addressed by surrounding community organizations. (See Community Context: 3.3 Neighborhood Resources). There are also some small self-initiated improvement efforts at the site. Examples include the addition of an activities bulletin board on one of the outside walls of the development and the organization of Foothill youth to paint over graffiti on their walls.

²⁴ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 36-37.

²⁵ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 30.

²⁶ ORE Community/Supportive Services Implementation Plan, 1/10/95.

3.0 COMMUNITY CONTEXT

3.1 Overall Description

Lockwood Gardens and Coliseum Gardens are directly across the street from each other, so any definitions of their surrounding neighborhoods are largely overlapping, if not the same, for both developments. Of the four scattered-site projects designated in the HOPE VI application as being in Lower Fruitvale, only one actually fits that description. The other three sites are more than a mile away from the generally accepted boundaries for Fruitvale. They are in Central East Oakland and are clustered several blocks from Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens. In many respects these three buildings share the same surrounding neighborhood as the two large developments. Exhibit 2 shows the population unemployment rate, and vacancy rate for the Census tracts where the six HOPE VI developments are located.

The grant application equated the scattered sites with Fruitvale and the two large developments with Central East Oakland, thereby matching up neighborhood conditions and community-based organizations into two divisions. This presents an interesting challenge for the project and the evaluation, since some of the service providers do not yet work in the neighborhoods to which they are assigned in the proposal. Two organizations have subsequently declined to take the proposed roles in those new neighborhoods, at least partly because of this unfamiliarity.

Exhibit 2 Comparing Basic Empowerment Zone Neighborhood Data^a (1990)			
	Fruitvale/ San Antonio	East Oakland/ Coliseum	Oakland
Population	16,494	7,775	368,320
Unemployment rate	14.9	15.2	9.5
Vacancy rate	7.6	7.1	6.6

Note: These figures are for a small number of census tracts—the lowest income—rather than for the entire districts which bear their name.

^a U.S. Census (1990), cited in the Oakland Empowerment Zone Application.

Central East Oakland, the district surrounding Lockwood Gardens (and Coliseum Gardens) can be loosely defined as the area bounded by High Street to the north, 73rd Avenue to the south, MacArthur Freeway to the east and the estuary to the west. This case study primarily focuses on the smaller triangular section bounded by East 14th Street, Foothill Boulevard and San Leandro Streets.²⁷ Since neighborhood boundaries vary slightly according to data source, statistics do not always correspond perfectly.

²⁷ Area identified by "Community Development Plan for Central East Oakland." University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum, 1991.

Residential Central East Oakland is comprised of 22,933 units—most of which are single-family detached homes. As of 1991, 887 of the units were publicly owned. More than 32.4 percent of all homes are owner-occupied, one-half the citywide average. The neighborhood structures are primarily two-story bungalows. About 95 percent of the neighborhood is residential. The Oakland Housing Authority considers the physical condition of the neighborhood housing stock to be "fair."²⁸

Once a solid middle-class neighborhood, Central East Oakland is now among the city's poorest areas. Central East Oakland is a neighborhood on one hand fraught with poverty and crime and on the other, marked with strong cultural and community organizations. Central East Oakland's 58,309 residents represent a diverse range of ethnicities. According to the 1990 Census, Central East Oakland specifically is approximately 80.6 percent African American, 14.2 percent Caucasian, 12.2 percent Latino, and 3.2 percent Asian/Pacific Islander.²⁹ Family income distribution is fairly diverse in Central East Oakland. Approximately one quarter of the population has an income of between \$5,000-\$14,999, one quarter has an income between \$15,000-\$29,999 and approximately one quarter has an income of \$30,000-\$49,999. Twenty-one percent of the population has an income over \$50,000 while 6.6 percent of the population has incomes below \$5,000 per year. At Castlemont High School, the District estimates that 98 percent of the 1,344 students receive AFDC compared with an average of 63 percent of all Oakland high school students.³⁰ The average math and verbal scores of the 93 students who took the SATs in 1989 were 353 and 301 respectively.

East Oakland is also a neighborhood victimized by prejudice, regressive economic and social policies, poverty, high rates of unemployment, crime, violence, and inevitably drug and alcohol abuse. The poverty rate of the census tract which includes Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens (tract 4088) is 38.7 percent—more than twice that of Oakland as a whole; 46.8 percent of youth are poor; 45.1 percent of families with children fall below the poverty level and 62.4 percent of female-headed households are poor. Crime-related problems are perhaps of the most noted by residents.

Central East Oakland is a community with a history of organization, with dozens of active neighborhood organizations and churches which provide both community and political leadership. Many opportunities exist to change and improve Central East Oakland's social organization. Major community resources include: newspapers, libraries, youth services, education, child care, programs for the elderly, recreation facilities, and social services. East Oakland community efforts in the 1990s can be characterized by its active commitment to reclaiming its streets from drug-related activities and identifying and beginning to address economic development needs. However, many residents do not use the facilities that are available or know what the community has to offer.³¹

The Foothill Blvd. is located in the Lower Fruitvale section of Oakland. The neighborhood's boundaries can be loosely defined by the area contained by High Street, 28th Avenue, Foothill Blvd. and San Leandro Blvd.

²⁸ Baseline Data Form, 12.

²⁹ "Community Development Plan for East Oakland," p. 10. (Totals exceed 100 percent because Latino residents can be of any Census racial category.)

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³¹ *Ibid.* Partial list of social services available, p. 55.

Fruitvale's population is diverse and growing. Although Fruitvale has traditionally been the center of Latino businesses and residents in the city, it is becoming increasingly ethnically diverse, with large increases in both Asian and Latino residents. The 1990 Census also indicates Fruitvale's population increased from 41,685 in 1980 to 50,745 persons in 1990—representing a population increase 10 percent greater than the citywide average.

The neighborhood around the Foothill site is mainly a residential one, with pre-1945, stucco and wood frame single and small multi-family units. With its concrete, spartan appearance, the Foothill development noticeably stands out in this neighborhood. While the surrounding housing units, streets and lighting, are in relatively good condition, the increasing cost of a fairly fixed pool of housing (less than a 3 percent increase since 1980) may account for the incidence of overcrowding (19.1 percent among rental units in 1990) and the decrease in owner-occupied housing in the area over the past decade (down to 32 percent in 1990).³²

3.2 Economic Development

Overall, Oakland has not seen the dramatic growth in housing, business and employment that other Bay Area cities have experienced over the past twenty years. In fact, Oakland has suffered from a large decline in manufacturing jobs—over 20,000 from 1960-1980, and an additional 3,200 in other employment sectors. Analysis conducted for the recent Oakland Empowerment Zone application suggests that transportation/communication/public utilities, retail and wholesale trade businesses have relocated away from Oakland to other cities in the region. In addition to blue collar job loss, Oakland has seen significant decline in employment in larger firms, which tend to provide employees with access to valuable resources such as training, counseling, and health care.³³ The most significant negative economic impact Oakland anticipates will be due to the numerous military base closure both in and around Oakland. Although the absolute number of blue collar jobs lost has been roughly replaced by new employment over the last ten years citywide, the new jobs tend to be at the extremes of the wage and security spectrum: either low paid, often temporary service sector jobs, or high skill, high wage business and technical positions, leaving the traditional working class, often unionized jobs, harder and harder to find.

Oakland does have a number of economic assets, including its central location and transportation facilities. The Port of Oakland is the city's "largest economic engine." Port maritime activities in 1992 generated direct employment for 7,300 workers and 3,200 induced jobs through the ripple effect. Businesses that ship or receive goods through the Port are estimated to employ an additional 19,300 people and the economic impact of business revenue is estimated at \$825 million.³⁴ The airport, located near to Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens, is also growing rapidly in both passenger and freight volume.

Another one of East Oakland's economic assets is the solidarity of businesses represented by the Coliseum Commerce Center, a non-profit organization working toward increased economic vitality in East Oakland. To prevent the displacement of jobs from Oakland, the Coliseum Commerce Center developed a

³² Based on Census data cited in the ORE Grant Proposal, 12.

³³ "Economic Development Categorical Report: Oakland Empowerment Zone Application," City of Oakland Office of Economic Development and Employment, April 22, 1995, 3.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-5.

"retention response team" of Coliseum area business leaders and local government leaders.³⁵ More than 2,000 jobs have been retained in the East Oakland area as a result of their efforts. Since the HOPE VI neighborhoods are physically close to much of Oakland's employment, there is always an expectation that job creation projects will assist the adjacent communities, but seldom is the expectation fulfilled. A proposed redevelopment area for the Coliseum district, which includes the Lockwood and Coliseum developments, will be another opportunity to make this connection if and when new businesses are created.

Many commercial businesses have left **Central East Oakland**, and those that have remained do not satisfy local consumer needs.³⁶ There are few banks or large grocery stores in the area. For example, several check cashing businesses are available for service, but they charge high transaction fees and do not give local residents opportunity to invest in local banks or to borrow money toward home ownership and business development. Of the businesses located in Central East Oakland, the majority are auto related businesses along East 14th Street. There are also beauty salons, nail shops, liquor stores, and fast food and regular restaurants.

Due to the lack of local banks, needed businesses and other pedestrian amenities (such as benches, litter cans, or street landscaping), economic leakage is a concern in the Central East Oakland neighborhood. Based on analysis done by the City of Oakland Office of Economic Development and Employment, 93 percent of total expected sales are spent outside of Central East Oakland.³⁷

While Central East Oakland contains much of the city's manufacturing areas, most residents who work in the area, work in service-provision jobs. Interestingly, over half (56 percent) of the people who are employed in Central East Oakland do not live in Oakland.³⁸ Moreover, 44 percent of Central East Oakland residents work outside of Oakland.

Although the city's unemployment rate has been declining, the rate for Central East Oakland is higher than the overall average (5.6 percent as compared to 4.5 percent).³⁹ Unemployment rates are defined in terms of seeking work; adding in those not considered in the labor force, this rate would undoubtedly be higher. Unemployment is high for young adults in Oakland, particularly for young African American males. Dialogue at community meetings indicates that some young people drop out of high school to sell drugs. Others drop out to enter the job market but they often feel they do not have the skills to be as competitive for other jobs so they turn to the appeal of profitable drug dealing. Crime and violence are among some of the problems drug-related activity brings to the community.

Like Central East Oakland, the physical impression of many of **Fruitvale's** commercial strips is one of shabbiness. Nearly 10 percent of all commercial properties in the key 14th St. commercial area are vacant, and Foothill Boulevard near the HOPE VI project is much worse. The neighborhood's inconsistent maintenance services such as street cleaning, upkeep of bus shelters and trash receptacles, and sidewalk repair contribute to the commercial strip's run down appearance. A 1991 Consumer

³⁵ Empowerment Zone Application, 5/5/94, 6.

³⁶ Much of this section is based on "Community Development Plan for Central East Oakland," University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum, 1991, 35.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

³⁹ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal.

Demand Survey revealed interesting information regarding local resident's shopping habits and their assessment of the district's shopping districts.⁴⁰ Among the Survey's findings were: local residents spend most of their money outside of the neighborhood; accessibility and parking were secondary to the concern of safety in the commercial areas; residents were dissatisfied with the high prices and low quality of goods in the Fruitvale neighborhood; and local shopping was generally inconvenient.⁴¹ The conclusion of the survey indicated that "if the goal of attracting new consumers is to be successful, something needs to be done about the safety of the neighborhood, the quality of the products, and the attractiveness of the area. All other concerns would help if improved, but they are secondary."⁴²

However, Fruitvale is not without its own economic resources. For instance, the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system bisects the area and there is a BART station in Fruitvale. This station is being targeted for economic development projects by local community and economic development organizations such as the Spanish Speaking Unity Council, a community development corporation (and also a HOPE VI partner.) There have been two new health and social service agencies that have located or will rebuild soon near the Fruitvale BART station. The critical questions for Fruitvale residents include whether there will be more nonprofit service agencies locating in the area, whether the transit village mixed use development will spur greater retailing activity, and if jobs are created, will they be accessible for community residents?

3.3 Neighborhood Resources

East Oakland has a number of strong community-based organizations and coalitions. One such organization is Project Emerge, formerly known as East Oakland Fighting Back (EOFB). The organization's origins can be traced back to November 23, 1986, when the community rose up through a "March of Righteousness" against the influence of illegal drug on the lives of residents (12,000 people marched). These efforts manifested into the Castlemont Corridor, a multi-agency service collaborative focused on reducing drug-related crime and delinquency, and then into EOFB, an umbrella consortium which oversaw 20 local agencies. After a rocky initial period of several years, which provided ample evidence of how challenging this type of collaboration can be, Project Emerge is about to begin working with local residents, public and non-profit agencies toward the objective of mitigating the harm drug-related activities have on the East Oakland community, including the HOPE VI developments.

Another community anchor is the Allen Temple Baptist Church, the largest and most service-oriented African American church in the East Bay. Located a few blocks from Coliseum and Lockwood Gardens, Allen Temple provides child care, AIDS ministry, a food pantry, a Head Start center, a Mobile Health van, affordable housing assistance and a wide variety of educational and recreational programs for youth. In collaboration with the Haight-Ashbury Recovery Project in San Francisco, the Allen Temple is also the site of a federally-funded comprehensive Healthy Start Family Life Resource Center, providing services to over 1,000 East Oakland residents. Recent Alameda County statistics announced by Healthy Start staff in July show that Oakland recently achieved a 50 percent drop in its infant mortality rate in the 4 years since the project started.

While there are services present, there are also a number of services that are either absent from the area or need expanding due to excessive demand such as: job training and placement, English as a Second

⁴⁰ This "Consumer Demand Study" was conducted by the University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum in 1991.

⁴¹ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 14.

⁴² Cited in ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 14.

Language and GED classes, women and children's health services, and day care and recreational activities.⁴³

One of **Fruitvale** residents' primary resources is the Fruitvale Community Collaborative (FCC). FCC was established in 1991 by the joining of more than a dozen community-based organizations, including the Spanish Speaking Unity Council, La Clinica de la Raza, and other service providers, nonprofit developers, and merchant associations. FCC is now a collaborative with 20 member organizations which seeks to address Fruitvale's community, safety, employment, health and youth development needs through block and neighborhood-level organizing, educational campaigns and advocacy, and strategic planning. FCC also acts as a conduit for change by encouraging community leadership. The 3634 Foothill site especially benefits from the resources and attention of the FCC, as one of its active residents is a staff person there. (This person is also slated to become a HOPE VI staff organizer for the FCC.)

3.4 Crime and Disorder in the Neighborhood

Because of the nature of the geographic areas covered by crime statistics and the fact that the Oakland HOPE VI sites are embedded in larger neighborhoods, much of the information presented earlier on crime rates and conditions applies equally to this subheading of the report.

According to the Empowerment Zone application, the average number of crimes per beat per year in **East Oakland** exceeds averages for Oakland overall by as much as 160 percent—with East Oakland recording higher than average numbers for drug offenses, weapons possession, assault with a deadly weapon, and murder.

3.5 Relationship between the Development and the Surrounding Community

Lockwood Gardens and **Coliseum Gardens** are large enough to define their immediate neighborhoods to a large extent, especially for children. Commonly referred to as "the villages" by residents, Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens are also inward facing—further setting themselves off from the neighborhood, and Lockwood now has a fence and entrance gate. One of the goals of HOPE VI service providers and staff will be to break down some of the psychological barriers between the two projects, so that people, especially children, feel comfortable moving to programs and facilities in either place. Elements of HOPE VI which would provide youth teams to make physical improvements for the East 14th Street neighborhood would also be intended to reduce the perception held by nearby homeowners and renters of the two Gardens as separate, problem-filled domains.

Foothill Blvd., as a small building, makes less of an impact on the surrounding neighborhood than Lockwood Gardens. Physically, however, the concrete Foothill Blvd. site clearly stands out in a neighborhood of small bungalows with front lawns. Foothill, like the other scattered-sites, is also inward-facing. The proposed rebuilding should make it less of an eyesore and more consistent with the neighborhood.

4.0 HOPE VI PLANNING PROCESS

The HOPE VI plan for Oakland was developed as a result of collaboration of the OHA and the City of Oakland. A consulting firm, Resource Development Associates, was retained to do much of the original recruitment and negotiation with community-based organizations and proposal-writing, in accordance with

⁴³ Baseline Data Form, 19.

the guidelines laid out by the OHA and Mayor's office. The wide-ranging outreach to so many organizations reflected a style of operating common to other initiatives of the City and County government for whom RDA had recently worked. Similarly, the emphasis on scattered sites, while not common in HOPE VI, reflected their relatively greater numbers in Oakland. More basically, though, this approach ensured that HOPE VI was definitely concerned with whole neighborhoods and with social services and community economic development, and not only with the physical renovation of housing developments.

The plan was funded under the second round of grants in December of 1993. Twenty and one-half million dollars was allocated for physical changes and \$5.1 million for social and community services. Concurrent to creating the proposal for HOPE VI, the Oakland Housing Authority was also starting several modernization projects in other large developments, mostly without the same level of community-based services.

Although there were no officially elected and certified resident councils at the time the HOPE VI grant proposal was written, a large number of active residents were involved in discussions about the physical modernization plans and, to a lesser extent, the human service strategies. Many of these same activists were involved in council elections during February 1995 and are now poised to play a significant role in HOPE VI, as in the other modernization projects around Oakland.

The community-based service providers cover a wide range of activities, including youth employment training and recreation, substance abuse prevention and recovery, mental health services, community economic development, neighborhood organizing, remedial education, environmental improvements, and other areas. They can be divided into a small set of agencies which were already working with OHA contracts in one or more of the same developments, and a larger group for which this would be a new working relationship and at least partly a new client base. For the ones not already engaged with OHA tenants and projects, there was a gap of almost two years between when they first committed to be part of HOPE VI and when they began actually negotiating contracts to begin work in the Summer of 1995. In that interim, they were convened for several local briefings and "dog and pony shows" for visiting federal officials, but were not able to have any sustained involvement with the program.

The HOPE VI plan has been undergoing a series of modifications since the original application, and while the fundamental features remain the same, both the architectural plans and the roster and activities of organizations have shifted in some important ways. The changes were instigated by both local and national factors: the withdrawal of two community-based agencies, a reduction in the availability of matching funds, recommendations from HUD or the Corporation for National and Community Service, or an internal policy decision by the OHA. These changes will be discussed below.

4.1 Overview of the HOPE VI Plan

The basic premise of the plan is that while there is a critical need to rehabilitate and initiate long-deferred repairs, it takes more than bricks and mortar to create sustainable improvement. It requires a commitment to developing and implementing a comprehensive array of services and policy changes that build upon existing strengths and provide tools with which to build those strengths. The HOPE VI plan also stresses the importance of building a partnership in which both those providing services and those being served jointly defining the needs and methodologies for addressing those needs. Thus, the HOPE VI effort is aimed at effecting change at the individual level as well as at the institutional level. These themes of assets-based development, collaboration and community determination of physical and service needs run throughout the HOPE VI tasks.

4.2 Major Goals: The First Five Years

The Oakland HOPE VI project has six main objectives set over the next five years. They focus on cultural and community strengthening through support and community services as well as physical changes to the site. The following statement of HOPE VI objectives was formulated in early 1995 by the evaluators and reviewed by OHA staff, and is based on the original HOPE VI application as interpreted in late 1994. The six objectives are described below with the main components of each objective summarized in bullets.

(1) Bring About Cultural Change

- Management innovations
- Resident empowerment
- Creation of community centers and recreation facilities
- Multi-cultural awareness

The HOPE VI project should contribute to a fundamental change in the manner in which the Housing Authority works with its residents to design and implement community improvements. The new approach should empower residents to make many more decisions and take responsibility for more aspects of their community. Service providers should incorporate more of a "community service" orientation to their everyday operations, as well as to special grants.

Residents of OHA development will have a greater understanding of other cultures. In particular, problems between newcomer groups, such as Southeast Asians immigrants, and long-standing groups, such as African-Americans, will have been lessened and the degree of positive interaction among residents greatly increased.

(2) Support and Facilitate Neighborhood Organizing

- Community-building within developments
- Public safety/neighborhood watch groups
- Monitoring (and improving) delivery of public services

The organizing efforts supported by HOPE VI should have left ongoing groups of residents better equipped to handle needs, after the paid outreach workers have ended their jobs and many of the original residents may have departed. For the scattered-sites, the organizing among nearby neighbors should have created groups which combine OHA residents and their neighbors. These groups should support but not be limited to community crime prevention.

The community facilities built with HOPE VI support will still be in continual use for a wide spectrum of neighborhood organizations.

(3) Expand and Enhance Public Safety and Social Services (concerned with substance abuse, violence prevention and other safety-related factors of family and community life)

- Community policing
- Alcohol/drug treatment
- Case management/counseling
- Improved public services

HOPE VI activities should have contributed to a reduction in crime and violence in and around OHA properties, including both street crime and domestic violence. The HOPE VI activities should have contributed to a measurable reduction in gang activity and the involvement of OHA resident youth in gangs and in substance abuse.

(4) Provide New Education and Employment Training

- Establishment of learning centers
- Young adult work crews (training for construction and landscaping)
- Youth services and community activities

The Learning Center established through HOPE VI should still be in operation with other funding, providing a facility for cooperation among educational institutions, business organizations, and labor unions. The Center should be a site for apprenticeships, skills training, and entrepreneurship support. The community work crews for youth started by HOPE VI should have found other sources of support to continue improving the physical environment of the housing developments and surrounding neighborhoods.

(5) Support Local Economic Development

- Job training
- Small business/self-employment incubation
- Capital for business expansion
- Technical assistance and training
- Facade improvement for neighborhood shopping districts

HOPE VI programs will have contributed to the start-up of a number of small neighborhood businesses which are still in operation. HOPE VI will have had a measurable impact on the physical conditions of neighboring private sector housing, through rehabilitation and ownership programs. A measurable amount of new small business activity, especially in construction, maintenance and rehabilitation, will be conducted by OHA residents as a result of incentives and training provided by HOPE VI.

Neighborhood shopping districts in Fruitvale and Central East Oakland will have more viable businesses and a more aesthetically pleasing and functional design, due in part to the facade improvement work and other physical renovations carried out by HOPE VI work crews.

(6) Make Physical Improvements

Each of the six housing developments has a different modernization work plan which generally aims at improving safety, increasing the sense of security in and around the developments, create more functional indoor and outdoor community spaces, and improve infrastructure, utilities, and general living conditions in the units. The physical changes planned vary for each development. The Lockwood Gardens and Foothill Boulevard descriptions below offer examples of these planned physical changes to apartments and public spaces in five of the six HOPE VI developments. Coliseum Gardens, having been renovated in the 1980s, is not slated for apartment improvements.

Lockwood Gardens has substantial physical improvement planned throughout the development. These changes include: additional parking spaces, tot lots, community gardens, private yards and a recreational building. Residents will have input in the architectural design of the changes. The physical changes will be financed through HOPE VI (\$8,000,000) and the Comprehensive Grant Program (\$14,000,000).

Physical changes will require the temporary relocation of some residents. Tenants who must be relocated off-site will have the option to return contingent on the assumption that they still qualify.

Foothill Blvd. also has physical improvements planned. Through HOPE VI, OHA will add: an eight foot high perimeter fence, a card access security system with voice intercom, site lighting, green open space, and landscaping. The OHA also plans to reconfigure the building for visual access to the site. There are three important reasons behind these changes: (1) the new design will enhance privacy and supervision of children; (2) the elimination of spaces for loitering, particularly spaces unobservable from the street, will improve safety; and (3) the new design's more "market rate" appearance will benefit both tenants and neighborhood residents. The OHA applied to HUD in 1995 for an amendment to their plan to proceed with demolition and reconstruction rather than moving of several of the buildings which were to be reconfigured on the sites, including Foothill Blvd. The total number of units and the eventual outcome would remain the same, only the construction techniques would change from the proposal.

Specific improvements for each of the sites as described in Exhibit 3:

Exhibit 3 Planned Physical Improvements	
Lockwood Gardens:	Renovations to all units Renovations to common areas Fire safety Disability access Repainting Improved lighting Rebuilt parking lots, sidewalks Security doors and windows Improved drainage, irrigation and landscaping
Coliseum Gardens:^a	Construction of Training Center Resident designed improvements
Scattered sites:	Restructuring and redesign for increased security Renovations and improvements to individual units

^a Site recently underwent major renovations.

4.3 Major Goals: Ten Years Out

Ten-year objectives are important but more problematic for evaluation given the long period of time and intervening factors. Given that the grant period is three years, the influence of certain grant-funded specific activities cannot be expected to continue for seven years after. The key to ten-year outcomes is whether activities started under HOPE VI have become an integral part of the OHA culture and operations and the surrounding neighborhoods, in which case it would be more possible to attribute ten-year neighborhood changes partly to them. Again, the following formulations were drafted by the evaluation team and reviewed by OHA staff in early 1995.

(1) Bring About Cultural Change

The Five-Year Objectives still pertain, only more aspects of empowerment should be institutionalized, rather than dependent upon outside grants. Community service organized and managed largely by residents should be fully institutionalized in OHA developments. Southeast Asians should have their own community-based organization to assist residents. New immigrant groups should have fewer problems than the Southeast Asians had in the early 1990s. Intergroup relations should be measurably improved and this improvement should be sustained through education programs from elementary school upward.

(2) Support and Facilitate Neighborhood Organizing

OHA scattered sites should not be measurably different from their surrounding neighborhoods in terms of public safety, cleanliness, or other community problems, and neighbors from OHA and private sector housing should be well integrated in community organizations.

(3) Expand and Enhance Public Safety and Social Services (concerned with substance abuse, violence prevention and other safety-related factors of family and community life)

Incidence rates of substance abuse problems for OHA residents should be lower than before HOPE VI. Access to treatment should be measurably higher. Crime rates should be measurably lower, and long-time residents should be queried as to the reasons for these changes.

(4) Provide New Education and Employment Training

The key issue here is also institutionalization of new programs, leading to greater educational attainment and employment. A measurably greater proportion of young people resident in the OHA developments will be enrolled in education or training programs. These programs, started by HOPE VI or funded by them for a considerable time, should be continuing to serve OHA residents and have acceptable levels of graduation, placement and retention.

(5) Support Local Economic Development

Residents should be hired and be running businesses concerned with the physical upkeep of OHA properties, in larger numbers each year. The number of small businesses operated by OHA residents should have grown every year.

Conditions in the neighborhood shopping districts adjacent to the HOPE VI districts should have continued to improve. However, if there is no direct connection between HOPE VI and these shopping districts after the third year, it would be unrealistic to think of their condition after ten years being directly affected by HOPE VI.

4.4, 4.6, 4.7 Details of Resident/Community Services/Economic Development Plan⁴⁴

The heavy emphasis on resident and community services and economic development components is perhaps what most distinguishes Oakland's approach to HOPE VI. These services are clearly interrelated

⁴⁴ Based on the description in *Oakland Renewal and Empowerment Project: A HOPE VI Program*, "Community and Supportive Services: Program Implementation Plan," Oakland Housing Authority, January 10, 1995. This document also contains more detailed descriptions of the projects.

but can be broken down into four major categories: mobilizing and organizing tenants; developing a program focusing on youth-driven community services; linking resident organizing with planning physical changes; and linking community service to the physical improvements. \$5.1 million dollars is budgeted for this plan over three years. Below is a more detailed description of each of these major strategies and their time table for implementation, drawn largely from the plan approved by the Corporation for National and Community Service in February 1995. The dates listed here will have to be extended several months into the future due to the later than scheduled start, but the new calendar has not yet been set. Work plans with new schedules are expected to be complete by early September 1995.

(1) Create a coordinating infrastructure mobilizing the residents of the target sites in pursuit of a broad range of community development objectives defined by the residents themselves.

- Every three months, East Bay Community Recovery Program and Asian Community Mental Health (ACMH) community organizers will conduct door-to-door outreach to every unit in the Coliseum and Lockwood Gardens resulting in the enrollment of a minimum of 20 percent of the residents as voting and participant Resident Members.
- Fruitvale Community Collaborative, in collaboration with ACMH, will conduct door-to-door outreach first to every home within a two block radius of each targeted site; next, as the Fruitvale sites are re-tenanted, each resident will be contacted within one week of moving into the development, and every three months thereafter, resulting in the enrollment of a minimum of 20 percent of the residents as voting and participant Resident Members.
- Coliseum Gardens will have a recognized Resident Council by June 1995; Lockwood Gardens will have a recognized Resident Council by September 1995; the Fruitvale sites will have joint Resident Councils within three months after the completion of the re-tenanting of the last site. Each of these Councils will have an associated Youth Council. [NOTE: Council elections took place in February 1995, with very high turnout, and residents have been involved in training for their roles in project design and review.]
- By June 1995, a Resident Task Force will be established to meet monthly to develop and monitor the HOPE VI project. [NOTE: Residents attended a HOPE VI training conference put on by the Corporation in June in San Francisco. This included a workshop on evaluation. According to an Oakland HOPE VI staff member, the residents appreciated getting a sense of comparison from across the Bay and across the country, and expressed relief that their problems of communication with the Authority were not as serious as those in San Francisco or some other cities.]

(2) The second broad program component was to develop *It Starts Now* as an integrated continuum of youth-driven community service programs that cultivate a tradition of community volunteerism while providing valuable educational, vocational, cultural and social lessons. As of August 1995 this component has been greatly reduced and must be reformulated to respond to the loss of expected matching job training funds and the lack of capacity in some of the community-based organizations. The community service plan as approved by the Corporation included *It Starts Now*, and it is not yet clear the extent to which changes in the formal plan might be necessary. A description of the new activities has not yet been written, and the HOPE VI staff are consulting with each of the participating agencies as of this writing, to redesign their work.

Even if the funds for paying young people's salaries or stipends will not be available as expected, the HOPE VI staff is committed to keeping as much youth involvement in community-building activities on

and off OHA sites as possible. The young people might conduct door-to-door canvassing, or educational projects which include environmental clean-up tasks, or short-term, unpaid job shadowing with local employers, for example. Also, there are possibilities that training funds will be secured from other federal or foundation sources to replace the lost JTPA funding. (A grant to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention for exactly this purpose was submitted in August 1995 by the City.)

(3) Utilize both the proposed physical improvements and the community service component to stimulate a comprehensive, resident-driven community development plan.

- By December 31, 1995, Resident Councils and Youth Resident Councils will begin planning the expenditure of their Resident Designated Funds set-aside in the ORE. Projects to be identified and planned during the second project year and implemented by the end of the third project year.
- By December 31, 1995, a Resident Council Task Force for Housing and Business Development will be established. The Task Force will be responsible for conducting a Community Needs Assessment to obtain resident perspectives on the development needs of the community.
- By June 30, 1996, a Business and Housing Development Committee of the ORE will be established with representatives from both the Resident Task Force and members of the ORE Advisory Council. The Task Force will develop a written plan for collaboration and cooperation among representatives of labor, business, and the Resident Councils to develop the surrounding community.
- By the end of the third project year, the Task Force will utilize Technical Assistance for the East Bay Small Business Development Corporation and the Women's Initiative in Self Employment and funding from the Revolving Loan Fund to develop business plans for the expansion and/or creation of a minimum of 25 small businesses or self-employment businesses resulting in the employment of 50 residents of the Target Areas.
- By June 30, 1996, a Learning Center and adult education classes will be established in the Coliseum Gardens Vocation Training Center that will serve a minimum of 100 OHA residents annually.

(4) Link the various components of the Community Service-Supportive Service continuum to both the proposed physical improvements and the fundamental changes in management practices within the Target Areas.

- By September 1995, 24 residents from the Target Areas will be enrolled in East Bay Conservation Corps work crews to work on ORE renovations, OHA maintenance and improvement projects, and the Spanish Speaking Unity Council's Facade Renovation Projects.
- By December 31, 1995, OHA will hire a Resident Manager for the Coliseum-Lockwood Gardens to serve as both an on-site Manager and a Resident Manager Trainer.
- Annually, four Coliseum-Lockwood Gardens residents will be trained to become Resident Managers of other OHA housing developments.

- By June 30, 1996, construction will be completed of both a Community Center in Lockwood Gardens and Community Training Center on Coliseum Gardens in which a wide range of training and social service programs can operate and from which community service and Resident Council initiatives can be coordinated.
- By June 30, 1996, incorporation will be completed of Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens Resident Councils as independent 501(c)(3) non-profit organizations, capable of employing residents and developing micro-businesses operated with residents as employees.
- By December 31, 1996, utilizing East Bay Conservation Corps and East Bay Small Business Development Corporation technical assistance, establish a minimum of four resident-staffed micro-businesses performing contracts with the OHA.
- By the end of the second project year, utilizing technical assistance from the Women's Initiative in Self-Employment and East Bay Small Business Development Corporation, a minimum of four resident-staffed micro-businesses will be established.

4.5 Management Plan

The management plan for addressing the distress in these developments is to provide tools, incentives, and a clear path for change and relies on three key changes: (1) screening; (2) vacancies; and (3) evictions. The OHA procedures for screening potential HOPE VI tenants is described by the Authority as follows:

Critical to the success of the HOPE VI program is a tenant selection policy which will include a selection priority for applicants who have family characteristics that would be conducive to the enhancement of the overall community. Currently applicants are selected for placement according to their position and preference on the Eligibility waiting list. Applicants from this group are screened via a process that requires them to provide the Authority with documentation regarding residency and character. In an effort to address complex housing and social issues that impact lower income families in the target areas outlined in the HOPE VI grant, the OHA tenant selection plan will be flexible and incorporate techniques to identify potential residents who have the best opportunity to succeed within the structure of the new communities. Specific characteristics may include but are not limited to family composition, ethnicity, economic status and/or suitability.

Resident participation will be solicited and considered to determine tenant selection and placement at certain sites. This will establish a foundation of ownership and responsibility among the tenant population and afford the Authority with the opportunity to build communities that are managed via mutual cooperation between the Authority and the residents it serves. Each site will have nuances that may require individual and detailed selection to meet the goal of a cohesive viable community. This will be evaluated on a site by site basis.⁴⁵

Management changes also aim at reducing vacancies in Lockwood and Coliseum. To prevent vandalism and illegal activities often associated with vacant units, the OHA has a two-pronged approach. First Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens' vacant units will have high priority for rehabilitation to reduce the

⁴⁵ Harold Davis, Executive Director, letter to Victor Rubin, August 23, 1995.

amount of time of vacancies. Second, the Site Manager for Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens will have "rental of vacant units" at the top of her list of priorities.⁴⁶

A third management-related change pertains to eviction interception. The OHA's previous policy was to be aggressive with residents involved in the use of distribution of illegal substances. Under HOPE VI, management will encourage residents to avoid eviction by seeking treatment through the East Bay Community Recovery Project.⁴⁷

In addition to the above management-related plans, **Foothill Blvd.** expects to provide an apartment for an on-site manager with the intention that maintenance and repair problems are solved more efficiently.

5.0 PROGRESS ON PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

As noted above, there was a two-year period of inactivity for the community-based service providers between the time they were signed up and when they were scheduled to begin work. Periodically, alerts of impending contract negotiations would be sent out, only to be delayed by the slowness of the federal approval process. One executive director of a participating agency came to jokingly refer to the program as "Nope Six" due to the drawn-out time frame and false alarms. Many agency leaders said that this wreaked havoc with their internal personnel planning and budgeting, since their HOPE VI contracts were scheduled to pay for portions of various personnel, and needed to carefully mesh with other funding sources. Those that had planned on it for the last two fiscal years had to scramble to fill those gaps.

Another consequence of the delay was that some agencies hesitated to use HOPE VI as match or leverage for other grant and contract funds. Two agencies which had been identified as likely recipients of JTPA Summer Youth funds were supposed to apply those funds to the wages of *It Starts Now* participants, with HOPE VI paying all the other program costs. When they made their 1995 applications to the Oakland Private Industry Council, however, they did not mention HOPE VI, and were not awarded slots specifically for it. One of the two agencies received no job slots for any purpose because their application was rated very low—another unforeseen barrier to full implementation of HOPE VI. The unavailability of 1995 JTPA funds has necessitated a scaling back of the employment possibilities for young people performing community service through *It Starts Now*.

There was also a certain amount of uncertainty and confusion as to the precise meaning of "community service" and "supportive service" in the context of HOPE VI and the mandate of the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS). It was difficult for some providers to reach a shared understanding with the CNCS as to its definitions of volunteerism, activism, and paid work. The community groups wanted to be sensitive to the interests of many residents in obtaining paid employment on project-related activities, a position consistent with their own usual practices. As it turns out, most of the "community services" are being carried out in the context of broader economic development and supportive services HOPE VI contracts, rather than as a separate component. For example, a youth may work on a neighborhood graffiti-busters or commercial facade improvement team, but will also receive remedial education and career counseling.

In the Spring and Summer of 1995, the HOPE VI staff stepped up the level of discussion and negotiation with each agency, redesigning the work from what had been in the February 1995 Community and Supportive Service Plan as necessary. As of the writing of this report in September, most of the contracts

⁴⁶ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 37-39.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

are signed, and the drafting of final work plans is nearly complete. Despite the delay and reduction of the biggest interagency collaboration (*It Starts Now*), the agencies are still being strongly encouraged to cooperate with each other, with most of the specific mechanisms for this yet to be determined.

Of the original set of organizations in the proposal, two (the Narcotics Education League and the East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation) have dropped out, and one other, the Fruitvale Community Collaborative, has asked to restrict its work to the area around just one site—the Foothill Boulevard building—rather than all four of the scattered-sites as proposed. The Boys and Girls Club, which already works in Lockwood and Coliseum, was added to the partnership, and the role of the East Oakland Youth Development Center—the agency which did not get the expected JTPA funding—is being changed.

Changes such as these during the baseline period suggest that implementation will be a critical and complex process during the first year. In October 1994 we proposed a number of aspects of implementation to be measured during the next ten months:

- Formation and effective functioning of a management team.
- Establishment of clear lines of communication among all participants in the project, including feedback from residents and service providers to management and the use of local evaluation.
- Timely drafting and execution of all HOPE VI contracts with community-based organizations, architects, construction companies, etc. Contracts should include performance standards, and other items as discussed below.
- Timely well-documented execution of billing and payments.
- Formation and program start-up for the *It Starts Now* youth development consortium among six organizations, as specified in the proposal.
- Design and implementation of a community service plan with resident council and other tenant organization and individuals.
- Establish effective linkages with pre-existing supportive services in the developments.
- Timely submission of all initial plan components to HUD and the Corporation for National Service.

These still stand as good measurements of implementation during the program year which started in the Summer of 1995. They will be the starting points for the documentation of progress under the local evaluation to be conducted by the University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum under contract to the OHA.

Resident and Community Involvement in Implementation

As is evident from the description of the Community and Resident Services section above, resident and community involvement is integral to the implementation of the service and some of the physical components of the HOPE VI project.

In 1991 the OHA invited Lockwood, Coliseum and community residents to a series of meetings to discuss the needs and possible solutions for the elimination drugs in preparation for the 1991 Public Housing Drug Elimination Program grant proposal. Although the grant proposal was not funded, the information

from these meetings has been used to shape the development of subsequent programs as well as the HOPE VI process itself.

According to the HOPE VI Grant Proposal, resident involvement in the implementation of the renovations will be coordinated by the Resident Coordinator who will meet weekly with both the OHA Renovation Project Managers and the City of Oakland's Community Service Project Coordinators. In recent site meetings with architects and OHA staff, residents at Lockwood and Coliseum have recommended changes which have been adopted for the design of public spaces in Lockwood, especially concerning storage and garbage collection areas.

The scope of the Council's purview will be steadily expanded over the three years of the ORE. Resident input will include: resident membership on the ORE Advisory Council and the Revolving Loan Fund; Resident Council Authority to allocate Resident Designated Improvement Funds; and the eventual development of the Resident Council into an independent non-profit organization.⁴⁸

The completion of the Resident Satisfaction Survey for this report was another extension of resident voices. The evaluators contracted with the Oakland Community Partnership, a local nonprofit organization which was involved with the recent extensive Empowerment Zone strategic planning process. Six community residents who had worked on the Empowerment Zone application administered the Resident Satisfaction Survey in Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens. (The survey methodology is described in the final section of this report: "Methodological Notes and Acknowledgements" followed by several tables of findings.)

5.1 Progress on Physical Plan

Architectural work is underway for all projects, and relocation has begun at two of the sites as of mid-September. According to the OHA project director, this component is basically on schedule. Final approval for the change in demolition and construction at the several of the sites, described above, has not yet been given.

5.2 Progress on Management/Security Plan

No evidence on this point specific to HOPE VI is known to us yet, but the Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens developments are already involved in a complex array of related security enhancement projects. These were described in Section 2.5. In this case, and at this very early stage of HOPE VI implementation, it is not always feasible to sort out the contributions of a number of interconnected grants and management or resident initiatives serving Lockwood and Coliseum Gardens.

5.3 Progress on Resident Services

[This topic was discussed thoroughly in Sections 5.0 above.]

5.4 Progress on Community Services

[This topic was discussed thoroughly in Sections 5.0 above.]

⁴⁸ ORE/HOPE VI Proposal, 73-74.

6.0 LONG TERM IMPACT MEASURES

In our research design we summarized the sources from which data could be collected during the baseline year, many of which would be continued in the following three years as we embarked on a local evaluation. Even though neither the implementation nor the local evaluation started as soon as had been anticipated, the sources remain just as relevant to the assessment of long term change. Therefore, we have modified that section of our research design below to reflect the events of the last eight months.

6.1 Physical and Management

Information with which to measure physical and management changes will come from reviewing the routine documentation of OHA rehabilitation activities; site visits and contact with HOPE VI management teams and resident participants; and local press coverage. The specifications for the physical rehabilitation are very detailed and have not changed substantially over the last year, it should be easy for observers to determine whether the work was done as proposed and on schedule.

Measuring the impact of the physical and changes is more complex of course. Residents will be surveyed periodically, and the resident meetings will include opportunities for feedback on physical and design changes. The staff of OHA will be available for interviews as necessary and will provide access to documents concerning the physical conditions of the developments and the rehabilitation plans.⁴⁹

6.2 & 6.3 Resident and Community Changes

Measurement of long-term resident and community changes is difficult. Special attention will have to be paid to the fact that other organizations that will affect housing residents already exist and do work in Central East Oakland and Fruitvale. It is also important to be aware of whether HOPE VI funded efforts are complementing, expanding or substituting existing efforts toward community, resident and economic development. Evaluators must also recognize that HOPE VI plans to effect change with respect to both people and place. This means that merely collecting data on people who remain living in HOPE VI sites tells an incomplete story. Where possible, evaluators will try to also track residents who have left the public housing system.

The local evaluation team will work closely with the OHA HOPE VI management team to create an information system based partly on the regular reporting by the contracting agencies.⁵⁰ Evaluators will also attend meetings of the participating community-based agencies with residents, and will conduct semi-structured interviews with their key staff and leaders concerning consortium processes, their specific grant activities, and the changes in the neighborhoods. We anticipate providing periodic feedback to the entire team of organizations, including resident groups.

⁴⁹ They have collaborated in the completion of the Abt Associates Baseline Data Form items concerning the housing developments, and might be persuaded to update the forms after several years for a point of comparison.

⁵⁰ The HOPE VI project coordinator is Ralph Carey, Director of Housing Management for the OHA. Colin Lacon, deputy director of the Mayor's Office of Drugs and Crime, is under contract to the OHA to administer the community and supportive services and resident empowerment components on a day-to-day basis, reporting to Sharon Brown, OHA Director of Community Services. Lacon (and when necessary Carey) will review the performance reports and invoices of the contractors, and will meet regularly with the Forum evaluation team to review implementation of the project. RDA staff will also stay involved beyond the start-up phase.

Reporting System with Contracted Agencies

In late 1994 the RDA consultants started to develop a detailed "implementation manual" for the community-based organizations but the OHA staff stopped this in mid-production in favor of a simpler approach. The HOPE VI services coordinator is currently meeting with staff of each organization to develop specific objectives, units of service, and measurements of outcomes for monthly and quarterly reports. The activities of the contracting agencies include both community services and supportive services. This process of meetings with contractors is intended to create a common, shared understanding of OHA procedures for billing, payment, and monitoring. Each contractor will work with OHA and the evaluators to create several documents which will provide benchmarks and measurements of progress useful to the local evaluation as well as to OHA management.

In late 1994 we wrote:

The evaluators and the HOPE VI Community Services representative are approaching the reporting procedures for the participating agencies carefully for a number of reasons: to convey to all parties the seriousness with which OHA, HUD and Corporation for National Service view the successful completion of the project; to establish the processes for time-critical flows of information in return for timely payment to contractors; to engage the individual contractors to think through the implications of their proposed work, particularly the relationships among their agencies and the OHA; and to create a solid and consistent information base for management and evaluation.

The high degree of structure appears to be necessary given that the HOPE VI grant proposal was written 18 months ago, did not contain this kind of rigor and specificity, and involved many individuals at the agencies who are different from the ones now responsible.

This hopeful tone regarding the value of good information and clear objectives is still in evidence in the local project. In January, OHA staff members reviewed and approved a set of five and ten year outcomes statements which the Forum compiled as part of the Research Design for this case study. The slow pace of implementation has meant that the OHA staff, residents, and RDA consultants have not yet had the opportunity to update or alter these preliminary statements of five- and ten-year outcomes. Nor have OHA staff, residents or agency staff been available to work with us to make the measurements of these outcomes more operational. This review process will take place after our National Baseline case study report has been completed. These descriptions of five and ten year outcomes, and the measures by which they could be assessed, were printed in their entirety in Section 4.2 and 4.3.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Potential for Successful Implementation

HOPE VI in Oakland is getting underway in earnest just as this report is being completed. It is a complex and multi-faceted partnership, including many groups who will be working together for the first time. An unintended consequence of the delay in start-up has been that the managers have had more time to develop a strategy for coordinating the diverse partners, to go beyond the rudimentary level of detail worked out for the original proposal. As the implementation period begins, several dynamics of the projects are emerging:

(1) Management and Decision-making Processes

The Housing Authority was strongly encouraged by the Mayor's Office to apply for HOPE VI funds using an approach that reflected the kinds of inter-agency collaboration and grass-roots strategies for community safety increasingly common in Oakland. Many of the steps taken at Lockwood Gardens to improve safety or provide on-site services were the building blocks for this approach, and had also been joint OHA/Mayor's Office efforts.

The Housing Authority is responsible for policy direction and overall management for HOPE VI. The Mayor's Office contributes a staff member, under contract to the OHA, for day-to-day coordination of the project. This is an interesting change from the usual role of the Mayor's Office found in Oakland's system of government. Typically, the Mayor provides the policy direction and/or mobilizes the community, and the staff in City departments or contracting agencies are then the day-to-day implementors and coordinators. (Since the OHA is independent, it does not come under the purview of the Mayor or the City Manager.) The uncommon arrangement appears to be working smoothly, and it has the benefit of tying HOPE VI more closely to the other safety and neighborhood revitalization strategies of the City.

So far, HOPE VI does not appear to be as much a working collaborative of organizations as was proposed in the application. It could be currently described as a collection of agencies which have contracts with a central lead organization, and which will develop task-specific working relationships as the need arises. Interestingly, many of these organizations are working in other, more collaborative arrangements at the same time in the same neighborhoods.

(2) Priority to OHA Residents Contrasted with the Goal of Broader Neighborhood Organizing and Improvement

The OHA is placing great emphasis on service to its residents through HOPE VI. Contracting agencies will be required to give highest priority for services to legal residents of HOPE VI developments; second priority to other OHA residents; and third priority to other qualified neighborhood residents. There are no services officially intended for "ghost" family members not on the leases. Contractors are being encouraged, whenever possible, to find ways to serve persons who do not qualify strictly under HOPE VI by using their other, less targeted funds. Contractors are also asked to abide by the same federal rules which call for priority to qualified residents of the target development in hiring for positions funded through HOPE VI.

These guidelines are an outgrowth of federal laws regarding public housing, as well as the local OHA concern for ensuring that OHA residents are targeted for attention. A question remains, however, as to whether this may at times diverge from the broader objectives of HOPE VI to organize in the neighborhoods surrounding the OHA buildings. It is too early to determine, for example, which HOPE VI-funded community and supportive services the contracted "neighborhood organizers" will promote to private sector residents, for example, or the extent to which HOPE VI funds will be spent on the physical improvement of non-OHA property. *It Starts Now* was fundamentally concerned with using youth to improve the physical conditions of the surrounding neighborhood, and the project coordinator hopes to maintain at least some of that focus, even with diminished resources. Also, the East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation (EBALDC), whose HOPE VI role was entirely off-site, has withdrawn from the grant. EBALDC was to have made a community meeting room available in a housing development located between Lockwood and three of the scattered sites. The relationship of HOPE VI to surrounding neighborhoods will be discussed by the OHA staff with the each of the contractors as their final work plans are produced.

(3) Multi-agency Projects vs. Individual Agency Services

The reduction in scope of *It Starts Now* reduces the amount of HOPE VI activity which will be conducted via a complex network of agencies, as had been suggested in the original proposal and community service plan. More of the work will likely be done separately by each agency, or in smaller combinations. It is too soon to tell what the new configuration of services or inter-agency relationships will be. The collaborations which emerge might actually be stronger and more organic than the prescribed partnerships that would have been mandated for *It Starts Now*.

In conclusion, as a result of HOPE VI the Oakland Housing Authority has begun to develop new partnerships with many community-based agencies and to create new avenues for resident involvement in decision-making. While the operational reality is somewhat less revolutionary than the most ambitious elements of the original HOPE VI proposal, it still represents a major advance for the Authority, and is consistent with the general enthusiasm in Oakland for collaborative approaches to neighborhood revitalization and family services. The next several years should yield many insights into the effectiveness of this approach.

Appendix A
Selected Findings From Baseline Resident Satisfaction Survey
Lockwood Gardens and Coliseum Gardens (Oakland, CA)*

How safe do you feel *being alone at night* in the area right outside your building—that is, in the parking lots, the lawns, the streets or sidewalks *right outside your building*? Do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?

Lockwood (N = 106)					Coliseum (N = 62)				
Percent									
Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe		
37	50	6	7	50	19	26	5		

How safe do you feel *being alone at night* inside your apartment? Do you feel very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?

Lockwood (N = 104)					Coliseum (N = 62)				
Percent									
Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe		Very safe	Somewhat safe	Somewhat unsafe	Very unsafe	
47	47	3	3		68	21	11	--	

* Total number of surveys administered in Lockwood Gardens was 107; in Coliseum Gardens, 63. Total responses to individual questions, N, varied somewhat.

HOPE VI: Oakland, California

Now please think about the stairwells, hallways, elevators, and lobby of your building. Tell me whether you think the following things are a big problem, some problem, or no problem in those areas *inside your building*:

Now please think about the stairwells, hallways, elevators, and lobby of your building. Tell me whether you think the following things are a big problem, some problem, or no problem in those areas <i>inside your building</i> :	Lockwood (avg N=101)		Coliseum (avg N=59)			
	Percent					
	Big problem	Some problem	No problem	Big problem	Some problem	No problem
People being attacked or robbed in the stairwells, hallways, elevators or lobby of your building. Is that a big problem, some problem, or no problem?	7	49	44	--	4	96
People selling drugs?	3	19	78	--	11	89
People using drugs?	6	14	80	1	10	89
Young people controlling the building?	1	21	78	--	5	95
Groups of people just hanging out?	3	16	81	3	12	85
Graffiti--that is, writing or painting on the walls?	8	29	63	--	33	67
Shootings and violence?	4	26	70	--	15	85
People breaking in or sneaking around into homes and stealing things?	3	15	82	--	3	97
Broken lightbulbs that are not replaced for at least 24 hours?	4	19	77	3	10	87
Trash and junk in the halls and stairwells?	13	18	69	3	26	71

Now let's go over those questions again, but this time please think about the area ***right outside your building***--the parking lots, the lawns, the street of sidewalks right outside your building. Please tell me whether you think the following things are a big problem, some problem, or no problem in those areas ***right outside your building***:

	Lockwood (avg N=101)				Coliseum (avg N=59)			
	Percent				Percent			
	Big problem	Some problem	No problem		Big problem	Some problem	No problem	
People being attacked or robbed right outside your building. Is that a big problem, some problem, or no problem?	4	13	83		--	--	100	
People selling drugs?	2	19	79		--	12	88	
People using drugs?	4	20	76		--	5	95	
Groups of people just hanging out?	3	21	76		--	12	88	
Graffiti--that is, writing or painting on the walls?	7	29	64		2	17	81	
Shootings and violence?	4	27	69		--	7	93	
Trash and junk in the parking lots and lawns?	14	23	63		5	26	69	

On the whole, how do you feel about ***your building*** as a place to live? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?

Lockwood (N=102)				Coliseum (N=60)			
Percent				Percent			
Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
32	46	18	4	48	27	20	5

How would you rate your overall satisfaction with your **apartment**? Would you say you are:

Lockwood (N = 101)				Coliseum (N = 61)			
Percent							
Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
34	43	18	5	53	26	18	3

If residents work together, how much can they help solve the problems of crime and drugs in this building? Would you say that residents can help a lot, some, a little, or not at all?

Lockwood (N = 105)				Coliseum (N = 62)			
Percent							
A lot	Some	A little	Not at all	A lot	Some	A little	Not at all
63	26	4	7	66	19	8	7

Do people in your building generally help each other out, or do they go their own way?

Lockwood (N = 105)		Coliseum (N = 62)			
Percent					
Help each other out	Go their own way	Both	Help each other out	Go their own way	Both
32	40	28	51	18	31

HOPE VI: Oakland, California

Who should be more responsible for stopping crime and drugs in your development, the tenants or the Housing Authority management?

Lockwood (N = 105)		Coliseum (N = 62)	
Percent			
Tenants	Housing Authority Management	Both	Tenants
			Housing Authority Management
			Both
7	11	82	5
			2
			93

APPENDIX B

Methodological Notes and Acknowledgements

This case study was researched and written by the staff of the University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum, a multi-campus partnership based at the Institute of Urban and Regional Development of the University of California at Berkeley. Victor Rubin, Ph.D. is the project director. Amy Sananman, who completed a Masters in Public Policy at UC Berkeley in May 1995, was the principal researcher and co-author of the first draft of the report. James Tharp was the data manager. Professor Judith Innes, director of IURD, is the Principal Investigator for this and other projects of the Forum.

The report was written according to the specifications of the Abt Associates research design for the National Baseline Study of HOPE VI, being conducted for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The design for the local research was reviewed by OHA staff as well as by Abt and HUD staff. Other related products from this project include a Baseline Data Form on each of the six developments, a Windshield Survey of developments and surrounding neighborhoods, and a Resident Survey.

The evaluators would like to thank the staff members of the Oakland Housing Authority, under the direction of Executive Director Harold Davis, for their extensive and very helpful assistance in gathering information for the Baseline Data Form, their careful review of the second draft, and other aspects of this project. In particular, Ralph Carey, Colin Lacon, Sharon Brown, Lee Ann Farner, and Sr. Marie de Porres Taylor were extremely generous with their time, advice and records. Similarly, staff members of City of Oakland agencies including Police, Housing and Neighborhood Development, Planning and Building, and the Offices of the Mayor and the City Manager were all very helpful in compiling the neighborhood contextual data.

The Resident Survey designed by Abt Associates for use in all case study cities was administered by the Oakland Community Partnership under the direction of Charles Martin, Ph.D., the Partnership's director of research and evaluation. Six persons who had experience with a recent peer interviewing process for Oakland's Empowerment Zone Strategic Planning Process were trained in the administration of this instrument. They conducted interviews at Lockwood Gardens and Coliseum Gardens, contacting every unit and completing 107 and 63 cases respectively, response rates of 29 and 35 percent. Interviewees were contacted at their apartments door-to-door, using a canvassing strategy which covered all parts of each development. The questionnaire was administered by the interviewers, with family members translating for heads of households in some cases. Ninety percent of the interviews took place in the late afternoon or early evening, and most took about one hour to complete.

In general, interviewers reported back a mostly positive interest in completing the survey on the part of residents. However, they also reported the residents' concern that the results really be used to make a difference in their housing conditions. Many respondents told interviewers informally about other issues, or discussed them in other ways than those called for by the structured questionnaire. Housing Authority staff expressed some concern that residents of Coliseum and Lockwood Gardens were being surveyed for a large number of different projects over a small period of time, and that some residents may not have been aware of the different purposes of this and other surveys. The evaluation team will present the complete findings to resident groups in the Fall of 1995.

The ethnic distribution of the survey respondents was very similar to official data, with Lockwood Gardens respondents being 83 percent African-American, 15 percent Asian and two percent white, while Coliseum Gardens respondents were 68 percent African-American, 24 percent Asian and 7 percent white. It should be noted that the Asian population includes persons from a wide number of countries of origin and languages, including not only Southeast Asia but a number of Pacific islands, and no claim is made for statistical representativeness at that level of specificity. Although there may have been some lesser participation among residents who spoke little English, the overall numbers confirm that Asian families were proportionally represented.

The use of professional translators was one of a number of detailed steps in survey administration that were precluded by budget and schedule limitations. We appreciate the efforts of Dr. Martin and the interviewers (James Lockett, Jesse Mills, Carolyn Wideman, Reginald Smith, Thadeus Washington, and Edward Bennett) in conducting a complex survey quickly and effectively under challenging circumstances.