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ISSUES IN RURAL AND SMALL DEVELOPMENT
CASE STUDY: WATSONVILLE, SANTA CRUZ COUNTY,
CALIFORNIA

Trish Ramos
Lakshmi Srinivas
Miriam Chion
Ana Lopez
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Chris Broughton
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Issues in Rural and Small Development :6

Case Study, Watsonville, Santa Cruz County, California

by

Students in City and Regional Planning 221
University of California, Berkeley

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May 1988

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Institute of Governmental Studies
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Berkeley, CA 94720

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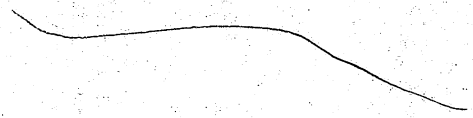
Introduction

These papers were presented by students in the City and Regional Planning Department course, Rural and Small Town Planning. Each student did the research on a topic of their choice involving the dynamics of growth in the Watsonville area of Santa Cruz County, some 100 miles south of Berkeley.

The purpose of the course was to introduce students to the issues and methodology of small town planning and policy development. Major efforts were directed toward helping students understand the unique character of rural problems, the danger of using inappropriate urban solutions, the processes of working with the community, and the formulation of policies that will meet local needs in a complex interdependent society. The students brought varying degrees of experience to these tasks, ranging from extensive planning experience in California to limited experience in third-world agencies. All made extensive use of their field-work in Watsonville as a laboratory to expand their capabilities.

At the same time, we expect that the analyses done in the course will provide background and insight to professionals in Watsonville who are working on these issues. We have made these papers available in appreciation of the help provided to us by dozens of people in Watsonville and Santa Cruz County, especially Bud Cannery and Terry Butler.

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AN INCLUSIONARY ORDINANCE FOR WATSONVILLE

**Suggestions for the modification of LULAC's
inclusionary ordinance proposal to increase
its political appeal without compromising its
effectiveness**

Trish Ramos

CP 221

**Rural and Small Town Planning
Prof. Ed Blakely and Ted Bradshaw**

I. Introduction:

This paper has been written for LULAC (The League of United Latin American Citizens), and others in the community who wish to increase the amount of "affordable" and "low income" housing stock within the city of Watsonville. LULAC has been lobbying the Watsonville city council to consider a housing inclusionary ordinance which would require developers to build affordable units as part of larger residential developments. This proposal is in response to escalating housing costs, an extremely low housing vacancy rate, and continued population pressures. LULAC's proposal to consider the ordinance has been rejected twice by the city council, on March 8 and April 12 of this year, although it won widespread community support. LULAC is expected to ask for a third vote on the proposal within the next few months.

If a re-vote on this proposal does take place before council elections in 1989, LULAC will be faced with the same council who have twice defeated the proposal. The challenge will be to present a measure which is both politically acceptable to this group, and ultimately effective. Therefore, changes to the original proposal will almost certainly have to be made, and care must be taken to craft a measure which balances the need for a political compromise against the need for an forceful measure.

Below, I have compiled material on inclusionary ordinances to give a broad look at what has happened in other communities. A

comparison of these ordinances is useful for several reasons: first, it allows us to see the variations of inclusionary ordinances, and what they are achieving; second, it allows us to see the level of concessions typically given to the real estate interests to undercut their opposition; third, it allows us to compare the results of these measures to recommend the variation most appropriate for Watsonville.

II. Background

A. Watsonville Housing Market:

A recent editorial by the Register-Pajaronian (April 27, 1988), judged the unattainability of housing in the Parajo Valley as "a single problem ...that overshadows all others". Due to economic pressures unforeseen and uncontrolled by the city council, the editors say the price of housing is quickly rising from the reach of those who provide labor for Watsonville's agricultural and service based economy.

According to the editorial, the average three-bedroom house in Watsonville today sells for \$150,000, up from \$135,000 only last year. Under typical home buying terms, a \$30,000 (20 percent) down payment would be needed, after which yearly payments of almost \$15,000 would be necessary to cover mortgage installments (on a 30-year fixed interest loan), taxes, and insurance.

However, few local people earn enough to afford payments of \$1,200 or \$1,500 each month.

Another editorial in the Register-Pajaronian (April 29, 1988), this one sent in by Todd McFarren of the Community Action Board, noted that it is not uncommon for a Watsonville family to spend up to 70 percent of their income on housing. He cited typical monthly take-home pay for a cannery worker or strawberry picker at \$800 a month; 70 percent of this amount is \$560, which is at the lower end of rental prices.

McFarren used the 1980 census to back his contention of a serious shortage of affordable units. Citing the census, he said that there were over 2,000 overcrowded households in Watsonville, 511 of which were one-room dwellings. One hundred and fifteen homes were not only overcrowded, he continued, but had inadequate plumbing. He noted that people are increasingly becoming homeless, or returning to relatives already living in cramped quarters.

B. Do We Need an Inclusionary Ordinance?

Those who are against an inclusionary ordinance for Watsonville, including 4 of 7 council members who have twice rejected the proposal, object to restrictions placed on developers that would cut into their profits. Watsonville councilmembers Rex Clark and Tony Campos, both in the real estate business, support a

voluntary (and relatively weak) inclusionary ordinance, instead of a mandatory one. They advocate reduced fees and relaxed density requirements for developers so they can offer the homes at lower prices. In the context of a voluntary program, Clark has encouraged deed restrictions prohibiting houses from being sold for profit. He would limit the resale prices to the original purchase price, plus improvements. However, both men, and others in real estate and construction community, vehemently oppose quotas which would require a certain percentage of homes to be "affordable", saying this is unnecessary and would reduce profits¹.

Supporters of the measure argue that few voluntary inclusionary ordinances have succeeded in actually producing "affordable" housing. Without "teeth" put into the measure, they say developers would go on building the more profitable higher priced units. They question the Watsonville developers who on the one hand insist they will build "affordable" units if they are given density bonuses and the like, but on the other hand, have refused to work with supporters to consider a measure which combines a quota with appropriate bonuses. A mandatory inclusionary housing ordinance, they say, is the only way to produce a dependable supply of low- and moderate income housing.

¹. According to the Santa Cruz Sentinel, Clark has likened the idea to "the Robin Hood approach to providing housing" and has said it's "socialist and not appropriate for Watsonville". April 13, 1988.

The following section gives examples of inclusionary ordinances adopted in six California jurisdictions. The programs are diverse; they offer different approaches to the task of promoting affordable housing, and to the challenge of finding the right degree of concessions to offer builders.

III. Description of Inclusionary Ordinances in California Communities

Inclusionary housing programs that force or encourage developers to build lower priced homes have proliferated in recent years. Several articles written within the past few years review inclusionary programs implemented in California communities. The section below discusses programs in six California jurisdictions: Orange County, Marin County, Santa Cruz County, Palo Alto, Santa Monica, and Petaluma.

Orange County:

Articles by Taylor (1981), Bauman (1983), and Schwartz and Johnson (1983) discuss the Orange County housing program. The inclusionary ordinance was adopted in January 1979² and required that each new development include 25 percent "affordable" housing. Ten percent of new homes in a development were designated for families earning less than 80 percent of the

². According to Bauman (1983), the Orange County Inclusionary Housing Program began a three-year phase-out on July 1983. Mandatory program was to be replaced by a voluntary policy, relying on development incentives.

county median income; 10 percent to families earning 80 to 100 percent; and five percent to families earning between 100 and 120 percent of the median income.

Exemptions were granted for projects of less than five units, and were also given to developers who located projects within "community analysis areas" and if that area already had the 25 percent affordable housing. Developers could opt to donate land, or pay fees, instead of building the units.

The county offered numerous incentives to developers to reduce their loss of profits and to make the policy politically acceptable. Density bonuses of 10 percent above the maximum density otherwise allowed were given to each project that met the inclusionary requirement. The county also granted waivers of various building regulations, e.g. reductions in required parking space, modified building setbacks, and reduced recreational space requirements, on a case by case basis.

Marin County:

An article on Marin County's inclusionary ordinance appeared in the April 1985 issue of Zoning News. The county adopted inclusionary zoning requirements in 1980, after attempting for several years to persuade developers to voluntarily include low and moderately priced housing in new developments. The 1980 ordinance requires that new development of 15 or more units

designate five percent of the units for affordable housing. Inclusionary rental units must be offered at rents not exceeding 30 percent of moderate income households (those earning 80 to 120 percent of the county's median income).

A builder may choose to pay an "in lieu" fee instead of building the units, if the county agrees with the developer that construction might not be profitable. Similar to Orange and Santa Cruz counties, density bonuses of 10 percent over the zoned limit are given to developers of affordable housing, in addition to other economic incentives offered on a case by case basis.

The resale price of the affordable units are controlled by the ordinance, apparently with no time restrictions, unlike other ordinances which control resale prices for the first 30 years, after which the house sells at market prices. The Marin ordinance limits the resale price at the purchase price, plus an increase to cover inflation, or a price adjusted to reflect increases in the county's median income, or market prices whichever is less.

Santa Cruz County:

Santa Cruz County's Measure J requires that 15% of units within a new residential development be affordable to moderate or low income persons. Projects of fewer than five units are excluded from the ordinance, although the Planning Department is considering adding fees to residential projects between 2 and 4 units. The inclusionary program includes a screening program so

that the housing units reach the intended population, and resale restrictions to prevent speculation. A "housing credit system" is used, whereby developers can earn credit for each affordable unit built which exceeds the minimum required; these credits can later be used by the developer instead of providing the units.

Palo Alto:

Articles by Bauman (1983) and Schwartz and Johnson (1983) discuss Palo Alto's program. In 1976 the city adopted a comprehensive plan requiring that at least 10 percent of units in multifamily developments be affordable to moderate income families. The builder can provide less than 10 percent affordable units, if instead he/she offers the units at prices affordable to families below 80 percent of the median income. The developer can give cash payments to the city in lieu of building the units only if the developer can demonstrate that he/she cannot make a profit from the project. Palo Alto does not offer density bonuses or any other incentives for compliance with the ordinance.

Potential buyers are screened for income and residency requirements³ by a nonprofit housing corporation which manages the inclusionary program. After screening, potential buyers are placed on a waiting list, on a "first-come, first-serve basis". The price of the houses are negotiated between the Palo Alto

³. A qualified household must have members who either live or work in Palo Alto. (Bauman, 1983)

Director of Planning and the developer, using HUD income guidelines. Resale controls have been added to the home deeds to guard against loss of the affordable units. A "right-of-first-refusal" clause gives the city a 60-day option to buy back homes at their original cost, adjusted for inflation and home improvements.

Santa Monica:

The April 1985 issue of Zoning News discusses Santa Monica's inclusionary program. The policy is described as "unique", "innovative", and "demanding", primarily for its policy which links new office development and the need for low-and moderate-income housing. The city requires new office developers to construct affordable housing (on-site or off-site) using estimates that reflect the housing needs of the new employees. The policy applies to new general or medical offices greater than 15,000 square feet and to additions of more than 10,000 square feet.

Affordable units are also required with new residential development. At least 25 percent of the units of projects of 3 or more must be affordable to persons with incomes at 120 percent or below the county's median income. The city has also established resale and rental controls for inclusionary housing units, and guidelines that encourage a mix of units of different sizes and features to meet the needs of differing personal and family needs.

Petaluma:

The Schwartz and Johnson article discusses this policy, which was adopted in 1972, in response to rapid population growth experienced during the 1960's. The housing policy established quotas for construction of single-family and multi-family housing, and established a citizens' board to review and make recommendations on all development proposals. The proposals are awarded points for meeting certain criteria, and a total of 130 points are needed for approval. The board had two criteria to judge the proposals: first, the availability of public services to accommodate the development, and second, the quality of the project, and its contribution to general public welfare. The second criterion includes a category for low and moderate income housing, is heavily weighted, according to the author.

IV. Important components of inclusionary housing programs

The strengths and weaknesses of the above policies were noted in the mentioned articles. In the section which follows, I have put together comments regarding issues surrounding and the relative merits of standard elements of inclusionary programs such as screening programs.

Voluntary vs. mandatory programs:

A critical decision involves whether an inclusionary program is to be mandatory or voluntary. Schwartz recommends that programs

be mandatory, and cited Petaluma as a case of a failed voluntary program. Bauman, on the other hand, concludes that an optional inclusionary policy offering substantial inducements to developers should be as effective as a mandatory one. (An article in a legal publication⁴ recommended voluntary ordinances, largely based on a concern that a mandatory program might be more vulnerable to court challenges.) Some jurisdictions, such as Orange County, have adopted mandatory policies for a set period, and then shifted to voluntary program.

Buyer screening programs:

Schwartz and Johnson conclude that screening programs that eliminate speculators and the temporarily poor, such as recent college graduates, are crucial if local jurisdictions are serious about affordable units reaching target groups. They note that county housing authorities could perform the screening function with little bureaucratic change. The authors cite Palo Alto as having a highly effective screening program. Other jurisdictions mentioned in this report have screening programs administered by a public agency, although some inclusionary programs have left the task of screening applicants to the developer.

Resale controls:

There is disagreement in the articles reviewed about the equity of resale controls. Taylor suggests that resale price controls

⁴. Zoning and Planning Law Report. April, 1985.

limit mobility of the buyers and place them at an unfair advantage. Her argument is that just as rent control freezes the renter in a controlled unit, so does owning a price-controlled unit under inclusionary zoning. The buyer neither enjoys the full meaning of home ownership, nor the real potential of the property value. Bauman notes that too-stringent resale controls can reduce buyer demand "by lessening a unit's appeal as an investment". Proponents of these controls assert that without such restrictions, the first buyers would resell the homes at market prices, removing the units from the lower price range. Schwartz also questions the assumption that resale controls are unfair to the first buyer: "under reasonable assumptions about future conditions, buyers of controlled units can make more than 20 percent per year on their housing investment...and will be better off than renters".

Density bonuses:

Most of the articles reviewed conclude that density bonuses and other incentives to developers are important determinants of political feasibility and program success, especially where inclusionary policies are mandatory, and developers are incurring losses. Density bonuses enable a developer to build more dwelling units on a given parcel than normally allowed by zoning regulations, and thus increase profits.

Bauman, however, suggests that density bonuses may be insufficient without other incentives, since developers often

cannot take advantage of them. Taylor notes concerns that concessions to developers, if given out lavishly, may compromise planning objectives and environmental concerns. And, she says that incentives given only to certain developers can create resentment.

Transfer of Affordable Housing Credits:

There is general agreement that "affordable housing credits" are important financial incentives for developers. Most of the ordinances considered here have this component, which gives developers the chance to obtain credits by building more than the required number of inclusionary units. Developers can save these credits for use later (in lieu of building the units), or sell them to other developers. Bauman notes that some communities have opposed this option because low cost units tend to be concentrated on less valuable sites, which contradicts many communities' goals of achieving a socioeconomic mix within housing developments.

V. Recommendations for a Watsonville Inclusionary Ordinance

After two rejections from the city council, it has become crucial to consider how to make the proposal more attractive to the Watsonville council. It is equally important to not lose the larger game by weakening the ordinance to a point beyond effectiveness. With this in mind, and based on the discussion above, I have identified components from the ordinances which seem most important to the success of the housing program, in

terms of construction of "affordable" units. I have identified a second set of conditions or modifications to the proposal which could be offered as concessions to developers and other opponents of the past proposals.

Recommendations: A. What to insist on.

First, the policy should be mandatory. Voluntary programs, as with the example of Petaluma, have not produced substantial levels of "affordable" housing. Even with substantial bonuses offered to builders of low cost units, the Petaluma case shows us that a mandatory program is needed to ensure that substantial levels of affordable housing are built. Second, a buyer screening program is necessary, (and happily, should get little opposition from developers) because without it, the houses will work their way into the hands of those with resources greater than the intended beneficiaries. Third, resale controls have proven to be indispensable, since they are the means by which the price of the homes are kept within the means of low and moderate income persons. There is the issue of the fairness of the resale controls, but it is my belief that the benefits of the controls to the community outweigh any purported loss of homeownership benefits.

Recommendations: B. What could be given away, or offered to developers, in the bargaining process.

It will be important for the key supporters and organizers of this measure to appear willing to make substantial compromises, despite a firm stand on the most important components. The examples above point to many incentives that can be offered to developers, without substantial compromises to effectiveness. First, it has become standard practice to offer density bonuses and other variances of zoning, code and/or building regulations. These will limit the loss of profits for developers. Substantial cooperation and support from the planning department will be needed to work out the details. Second, exemptions could be made for smaller housing projects, (for example, developments under 15 or 10 units). This might win the support of the small and medium sized developers. Third, the percentage of units which must be "affordable" or "low income" could be negotiated; in the examples above, there were successful programs with quotas from 5 to 20 percent. (Obviously, the higher the percentage the better, but some affordable housing is better than none.) Fourth, a policy employing housing credits, and allowing their transfer among projects and developers has proven to be attractive to builders.

Depending on the situation, it may be necessary to negotiate components I have considered to be most crucial, those listed above. For example, a voluntary inclusionary ordinance might be all that is politically feasible at this time. In this case,

organizers and the community have much to gain by the negotiation of other conditions, such as a possible grandfather clause. A grandfather clause would establish a specified future date when substantial changes would take place, perhaps the program becoming mandatory.

VI. Final Remarks:

The organizers can immediately take several important steps, which will strengthen the chances of a successful third attempt: first, a dialogue should be established with sympathetic persons in the real estate community in order to determine what concessions developers are looking for, and what is needed to undercut those opponents who are the most influential. LULAC members could identify these persons, and encourage them to attend the next meeting of LULAC. Second, greater dialogue should be established between the Watsonville Planning Department and LULAC. The Planning Department staff has openly expressed support for the measure, and their continued support will prove to be important, especially at the stage when the details of an ordinance are worked out. They also could be asked to attend a regular meeting, or perhaps a special meeting could be set up. Third, continued efforts should be made to put pressure on those council members who have opposed the measure. The grassroots support for this measure could be brought down on their heads, perhaps through a petition drive focused on the ordinance, or possibly in support of a motion calling for city council elections sooner than scheduled.

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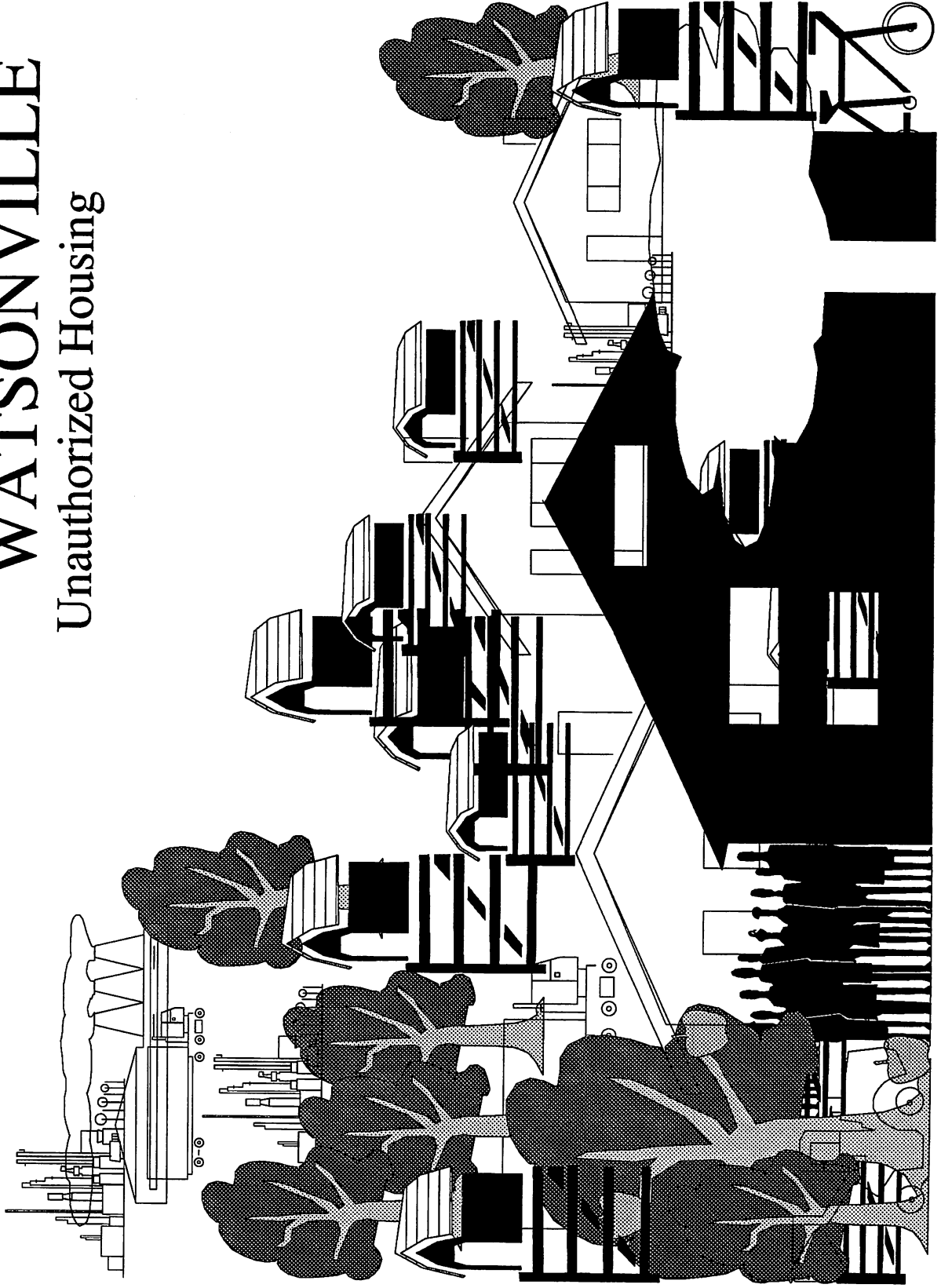
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WATSONVILLE

Unauthorized Housing



WATSONVILLE

Unauthorized Housing

CP 221
Rural Development

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May 16, 1988

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A COMMUNITY CHALLENGE**

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UNAUTHORIZED HOUSING
A COMMUNITY CHALLENGE

Abstract

This paper introduces Watsonville's current housing crisis, specifically the housing problem which the (undocumented) Mexican immigrant population faces. The paper argues that while Watsonville's housing crunch is symptomatic of a national malaise, local factors compound the problem and need special attention. The paper is addressed to local community organisations and its purpose is to initiate discussion on solving the housing problem for this low-income population and to provide a program which can be adapted to the city's needs.

HOUSING CONDITIONS FOR LOW INCOME PEOPLE

Watsonville is in the throes of a housing crisis which threatens to worsen in the future. To some extent this is an echo of a national problem. Statistics for the nation are alarming. For the low-income there is a shortage of nearly 2 million units, one out of 13 households live in dilapidated units which lack basic facilities; forced displacement affects nearly 2.7 million families every year; the number of homeless is now 2.3 million¹. Watsonville's statistics are equally depressing. The city is facing a shortage of affordable as well as low-income housing stock. The vacancy rate is less than 1%, 17% of all households are overcrowded and half the rental population is paying over 25% of their income in rent. This threshold is considered the

¹ Kirstein 1988

maximum desirable amount in terms of affordability. Since these are official figures they do not include a significant proportion of the city's low-income population who are Mexican immigrants, substantial numbers of whom are undocumented.

Considering the severity of the problem, the city appears to have relatively few homeless. This is because of the large numbers of unauthorized/substandard housing units in the city. A majority of those renting such housing are undocumented immigrants who have "solved" their housing problem by living in these make-shift sheds, garages and dilapidated structures in conditions of acute overcrowding², poor sanitary conditions, and lack of basic facilities like plumbing and cooking.

What is, in our opinion, a significant fact is the total lack of data anywhere on the undocumented population and unauthorized housing. In 1986, Watsonville's population was around 27,000 and more than 50% are immigrants from Mexico. Of these not less than 50% are undocumented according to people living in Watsonville. Since there is no data anywhere on this subpopulation the only information we were able to get is from local residents who put the total number of undocumented workers

² It is not unusual for two families to share a unit which may consist of just two rooms. We also heard of a family of six who were living in a garage and paying \$500 rent per month, and a woman with three children who was paying \$300 for the space under a staircase.

in the Pajaro Valley between 30,000 and 60,000³.

The city has adopted an attitude of "benign" neglect. By ignoring these units it has been able to avoid evicting the tenants and confronting the problem of housing the very poor . What is surprising is that the local community organizations are also ignoring the needs of this population.

UNAUTHORIZED HOUSING TRENDS

The housing needs of this subpopulation deserve immediate attention for several reasons. They are much worse off than other people and are unable to push their interests. Their "illegal" status makes them vulnerable in several ways. They suffer from a lack of political representation, bargaining power, organization and mobility. The group is characterized by low-income and poverty, low educational levels, inadequate schooling and all the additional problems of a socially segregated group. From various estimates it is clear that they form a significant proportion of the city's/county's population and their numbers, in spite of the new immigration law, are likely to increase.

Their income levels are not likely to improve for the

³ Conversations with Cruz Gomez and Celia Organista.

reasons mentioned and because of the kind of jobs they are eligible for which is working in the fields and canneries. New industries locating in Watsonville like Seagate pay wages too low (less than \$6/hour) for their workers to improve their living standards.

The city has been experiencing rapid growth. Over a 26 year period its population has increased by 115% with 33% of this growth occurring since 1980⁴. Density within the city is constantly increasing⁵. The city will not be able to continue with the present policy of no action much longer as increasing growth pressures will make these problems more visible.

From all this it appears as though the housing problem for this population is a crisis within a larger crisis which makes it all the more necessary for it to be addressed.

EXPERIENCES OF EXISTING PROGRAMS

A review of existing housing programs run by state and federal agencies convinced us that as they are inappropriate in

⁴ Watsonville General Plan

⁵ According to the Projections 2005 document the density in the city in 1987 was 4851 persons per square mile, for 2005 the projected density is 6375 persons per square mile. This does not include undocumented immigrants.

this case. The city which implements such programs has been evading the issue because it cannot acknowledge unauthorized units. The two self-help rehabilitation programs⁶ in progress in the city have been oriented to middle and high-income housing with very limited community participation.

Since the population is undocumented many organizations do not want to take on their problems because it becomes a political issue. The only approach which could have some measure of success is one which makes maximum use of local resources.

LOOKING FOR A SOLUTION

In theory there are two ways of dealing with the housing problem for residents of unauthorized units. One is to relocate them to housing specially built for low-income tenants which would involve a parallel process of gentrification. For this the city would have to provide land. The second option is to rehabilitate the existing housing to provide increasing densities. We reject the first option since not only is it economically unsound, it also creates segregation. The second option of rehabilitation is a complex issue. It relies heavily on community participation and in the long-run, on city-

⁶ Rental Rehabilitation Program based on federal funds and Housing Improvement Program based on State funds

community consensus. However it is economically and socially more acceptable.

We decided to narrow down available options to rehabilitation programs and self-help programs. These would make maximum use of the only abundant resource which is unskilled labor. We chose these two programs based on an evaluation of the costs and benefits of both.

Rehabilitation provides a cheaper alternative to building new units. It also enables preservation of the existing environment, existing buildings and social and cultural activities. In Watsonville's case it would preserve the Mexican culture, older buildings, and prevent changing the character of the city.

Based on an evaluation of self-help and rehabilitation programs we decided that a self-help rehab program would best suit Watsonville needs. Self-help rehab is considered the most successful alternative for lower-income housing in the United States as well as in developing countries. Unauthorized housing in Watsonville bears many resemblances to Third World informal housing.

The state of California is popularizing self-help programs by providing funding, information, training and technical

assistance to people involved in self-help. In California self-help housing is developed by both the public and the private sector with the private sector being involved in the production of pre-fabricated housing components.

SELF-HELP REHAB PROGRAM FOR WATSONVILLE

The program would be cost-effective, make use of available resources (CDBG funds, technical resources), and provide a good infrastructure for program implementation. It is possible to implement it on a small scale and in stages using available labor and small capital input. Local residents involved in the program will be able to contribute to shaping their environment. Overall the program would result in basic but necessary improvements, not the kind of upgrading that leads the displacement and gentrification.

Two alternatives proposals for the self-help rehab program:

A. Goals of Short-term proposal: Improvement of sanitary conditions and removal of health and safety hazards.

First Stage:

1. Painting: facade and interior
2. Repairs: doors, windows, and roof

Second Stage: Depending on the financial and technical resources available, the program might include:

3. Installation of pre-fabricated toilet units
4. Water facilities
5. Electrical repairs

The short-term program will start with work on unauthorised units. It will provide basic improvements, with minimum economic resources, legal constraints and a high degree of community participation. It will provide the groundwork for a long-term program with city participation.

B. General Goals for Long-term proposal:

1. Improvement of housing conditions of lower-income residents living in unauthorized units.
2. Rehabilitation of the blocks containing unauthorized units preserving the social and physical environment:
 - It will ensure that the same population will remain in these units
 - Original houses will be preserved, new units will be built in the interior of the block
3. Preserving the cultural identity of the city
4. Reinforce the cooperative relationship between the community and the city

DESIGN AND INTRODUCTION OF THE PROGRAM

Short-Term Proposal

It is necessary to mention here that the city cannot be involved in the short-term proposal. Local organizations are the only organizations which can take up and implemented these programs. LULAC and TECHO do not face the constraints the city does and they have more autonomy in their actions.

The first step is to asses the needs and identify available resources

What are the needs?

1. Community organizations and local non-profit organizations can provide management and leadership for the programs

2. Data on unauthorized units.- The collection of data-- number, location, type of rehab needed--will help to define the nature and size of the program. A survey would be useful since there is a lack of formal data. This has to be run by the local organizations and consider very carefully the issue of the undocumented people.

3. Finances can be got from private financing agencies; [The

Charles Stewart Mott Foundation has developed special projects focused on citizen involvement; the Beatrice Foundation gives grants to non-profit organizations that have social and economic impacts at the community level.] non-profit organizations and international organizations concerned with settlement upgrading and low-income housing. International agencies involved in upgrading squatter settlements in developing countries may be able to provide expertise and finance.

4. Technical resources are available in technical training programs run by the state or by the non-profit organizations. The community organizations can set up a tool library, provide paint and conduct a workshop to train residents to do basic repairs.

5. Legal support is an important factor in the success of this program. Tenants rights issues need to be taken up by individuals or groups who are familiar with the law and the local situation. A failure in this area would result in displacement. It is necessary to involve the landlord in the program from the beginning since his/her cooperation is necessary for the programs' success.

The short-term program is designed to attend basic repairs and provide quick results.

Who will participate?

The role of the various participants needs to be identified. The main actors are the community organizations and the residents of unauthorized units. In the short-term proposal the role of the city is marginal. The community's role is crucial to the success of the program. As we see it local groups should pool their resources and organize the affected population so that given financial support an implementation infrastructure is available. The city's role is more important in the long-term proposal since it will involve legalization of the units.

What will be required?

1. Participation of the residents of unauthorized units
 - a. Minimum technical skills: Some experience in construction, carpentry, or electrical work.
 - b. Minimum hours of work per week: Depending on the size of the program, each family need to put in some number of hours (8 to 20) on administrative and technical matters.
 - c. Provision of basic materials: The community and local organizations will be responsible for getting the basic materials (paint, wood) and providing or borrowing the basic tools.

2. Role of the community organization--providing leadership and management for the program. This includes transfer of technical skills and providing legal help.

a. Motivation for community work: Leadership to integrate the community

b. Managerial and technical resources: Organization and training of unskilled labor for community work.

c. Legal help: Resources to deal with matters that might arise with homeowners or the city.

d. Minimum finances: Funds from their own organization or non-profit institutions.

A MORE COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL

The long term program is a more comprehensive and complex program. It will involve legalizing the units and a more complete improvement of housing. Here the city plays a major role and has greater responsibility.

Requirements for a long-term proposal

-----> City responsibility for lower-income housing

- Legalization
- Re-zoning
- Control of displacement
- Agreement with homeowners

- > Financial support from state and federal institutions
 - Administrative and technical support
 - Provision of materials and training programs
- > Community participation in self-help construction
 - Commitment for part-time work
- > Support of the community organizations
 - Organization of the households for technical works -

LEGAL ISSUES

In addition the city will have to provide amnesty to homeowners who want to bring the property to code. The city could give amnesty for two years and could freeze taxes unless the property is sold. Another incentive to the homeowner to get involved in the rehab program is lowering of insurance risk. In the present situation homeowners are under high risk and currently uninsurable for the unauthorized units.

Another matter which needs to be addressed is preventing increase of rents which would cause displacement. Rents should increase by no more than cost of the improvement to the homeowner.

IMPROVING LIVING CONDITIONS

It is very easy for the technician or the professional to unconsciously transfer his or her attention from the primary goal to the secondary function. Like the hi-fi enthusiasts who no longer listen to the music because they are trying to detect imperfections in the sound, the technician may lose sight of the people who are, at the end of the line, the 'clients'. This was realized and expressed by Patrick Geddes sixty years ago when he wrote "planning is not mere place-planning nor even work-planning. If it is to be successful it must be folk-planning. The task is not to coerce people into new places against their associations, wishes and interests. Instead its task is to find the right places for each sort of people..."⁷

We expect these programs to result not only in better housing conditions but in overall better living conditions for lower income groups. Housing planning for the unauthorized units goes from the bottom to the top⁸. It has to start from the community organization and then involve the city. In spite of the legal constraints, this program will allow the community to shape its environment, and participate in the decision-making processes.

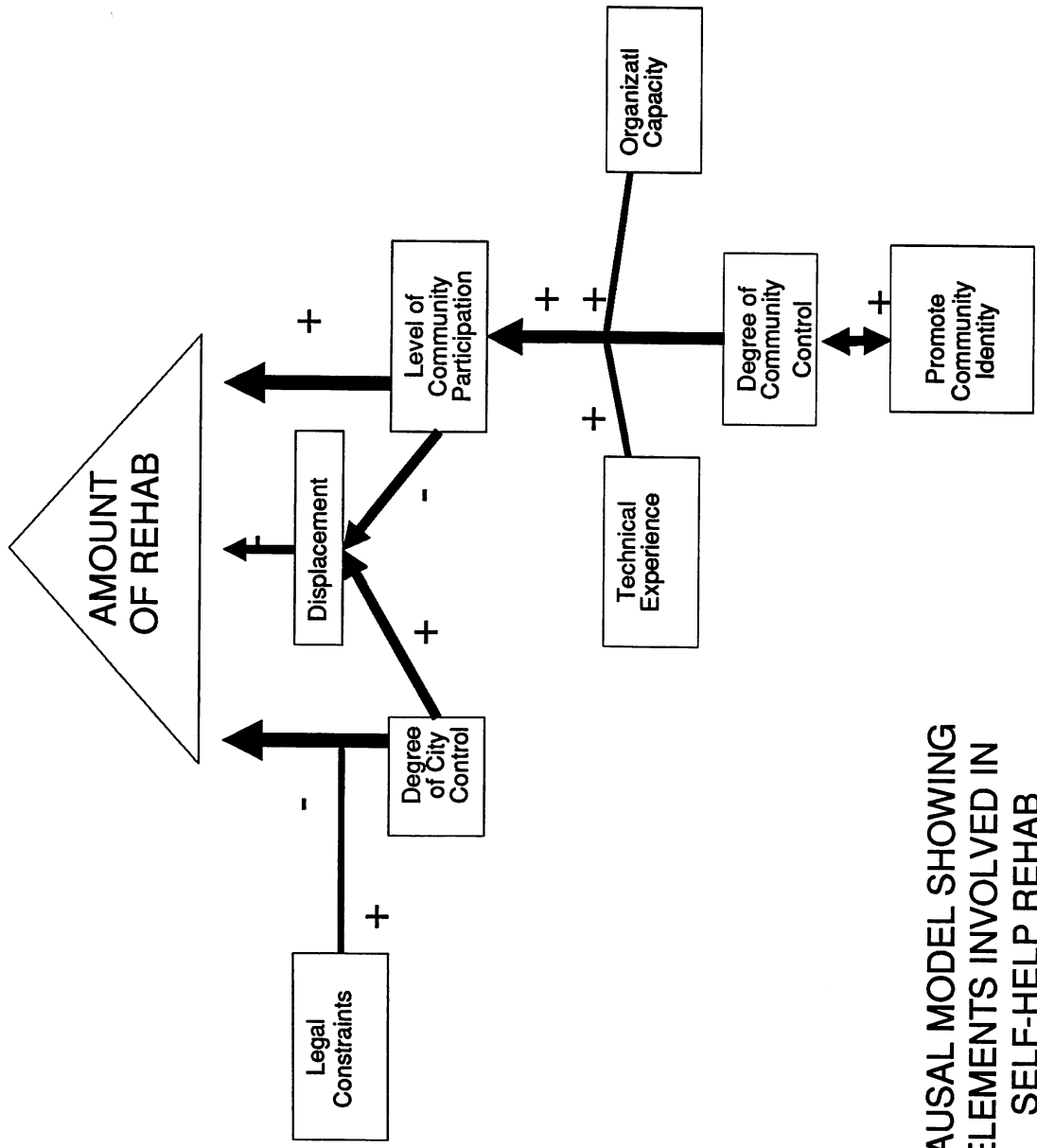
⁷ Patrick Geddes, "Report on the towns in the Madras Presidency 1915" in Jacqueline Tyrwhitt (ed.), Patrick Geddes in India, 1947.

⁸ Explanation of the relationship between the squatter settlements and the State by Hirschorn, 1981

It will also strengthen the relationship between the community and the city, organize neighborhoods and preserve the city's cultural identity. These benefits will preserve the small town atmosphere with more chances to define Watsonville's trends of economic development.

APPENDIX I

- A. Causal Model**
- B. Diagram of the Proposal**



CAUSAL MODEL SHOWING ELEMENTS INVOLVED IN SELF-HELP REHAB

WATSONVILLE: UNAUTHORIZED HOUSING

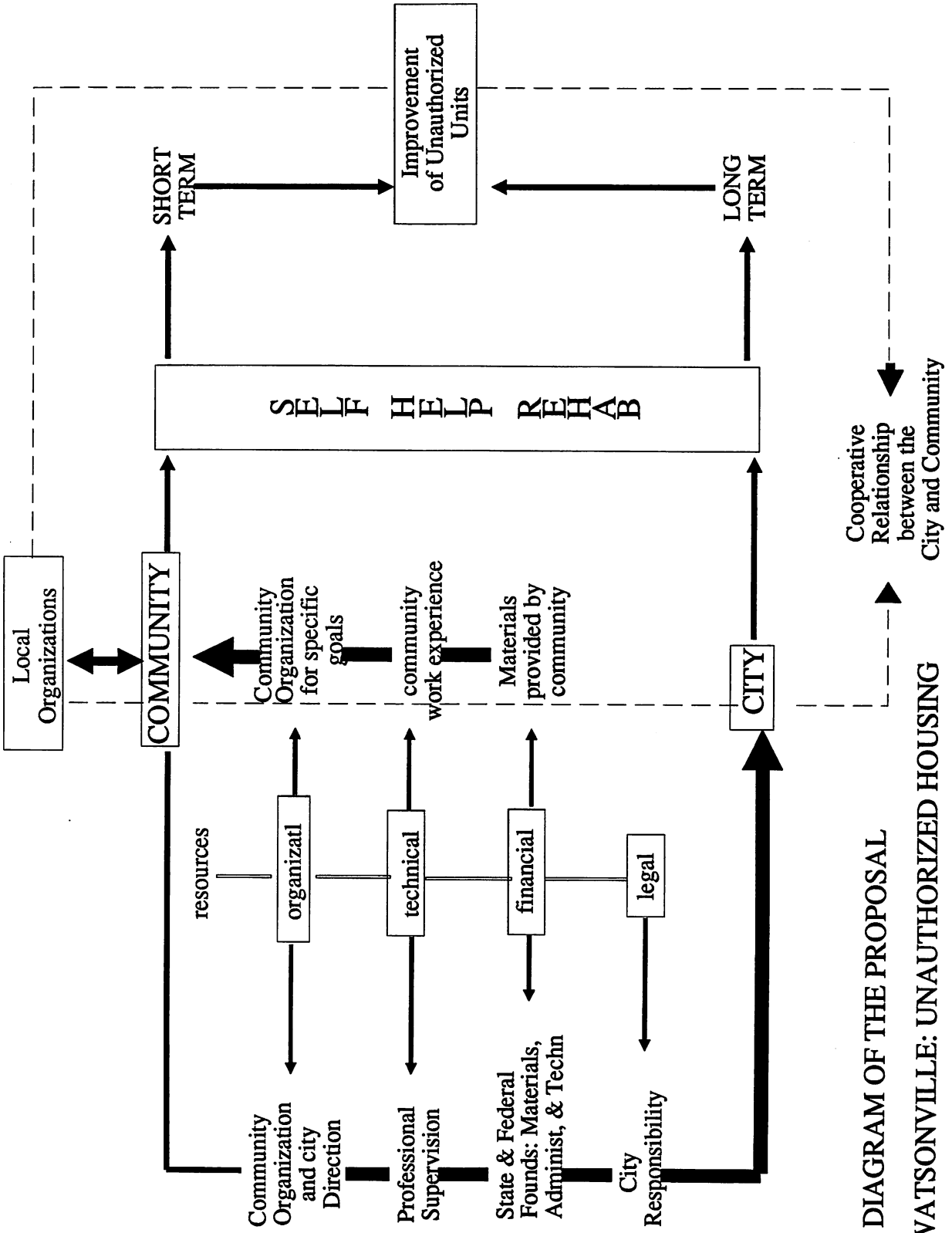


DIAGRAM OF THE PROPOSAL

WATSONVILLE: UNAUTHORIZED HOUSING

APPENDIX II

REFERENCES FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Watsonville's housing situation in many ways is closer to conditions found in Third World countries where most low-income housing is unauthorised and substandard. Programs in the United States are not designed to deal with this kind of problem. Here it is a relatively new phenomenon with increasing undocumented immigration and a worsening of overall housing conditions resulting from the present administration's housing policies. Therefore existing programs are ineffective in a Watsonville situation.

In Third World countries solutions are usually devised by the community groups and grass-roots organisations who often have to mobilise the affected population and force the government to address the issue.

Here too, if local community groups take up the cause and coordinate non-profit organisations and international agencies which deal with Third World issues, a successful program could be developed.

The Case of India

In India according to current estimates 35-40 million people now live in slum and squatter settlements and this number is expected to increase to 70 million by the end of the century. To improve the living conditions of some of the poorest people in the developing world it is essential to use limited resources in the most cost-effective way. Those who have learnt from the Indian experience have now adopted the stance that the poor almost all over the world can house themselves and housing agencies should work in accordance with this. Experience in trying to solve the housing problems of the very poor has shown that one of the most effective ways to approach this problem is through organised self-help housing schemes which are geared to upgrading existing settlements.

The World Bank has become involved in several such sites and services schemes with the Indian government in different cities in India. The most recent project was completed in Madras where 33% of the city's population of 3.3 million live in slums. A lack of piped water, sanitation, transportation or employment may have great similarities even in countries many thousands of miles away. Factors such as low per capita income; rapid population growth; low education standards; inadequate infrastructure; lack of technical and financial resources; a labour-intensive industry (in Watsonville's case, the agro-industries) which are to be

found in the Third World, are not unknown in Watsonville.

Therefore we feel that the solution to housing the undocumented workers of Watsonville can be drawn from housing disadvantaged groups in the Third World. This is a case where the Third World can offer a solution.

Latin American Experiences

Self-help housing in Latin America has become one of the most important urban policies. The lack of resources and the informal sector within the squatter settlements have contributed to the development of the self-help system. This practice of the self-help housing has provided a lot of experience on community and technical organizations which can be useful for the Watsonville self-help rehab program.

General references about self-help rehabilitation experiences in Latin America can be review based on the bibliography included. Recent material about specific cases can be found in the following institutions,

- National Housing Research Center
Rua Marques de Sao Vicente 225, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo
Division Tecnica de Estudios y Fomento Habitacional
Serrano 45, Piso 2, Santiago, Chile
- Centro de Investigaciones Institucionales para el Desarrollo Urbano
Carrera 30, No 45A42, Piso 2, Bogota, Colombia
- Division de Investigacion y Analisis Urbano
Ministerio de Vivienda
Avenida Petit Thouars 115, Piso 3, Lima, Peru

APPENDIX III

REVIEW OF REHABILITATION AND SELF-HELP PROGRAMS

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3. Housing rehabilitation manual : a step by step guide/ prepared by the State of California, Dept. of Housing and Community Development, 1978.
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15. Manuel on self-help housing. New York, United Nations, 1964. Series Title : United Nations document ST/SOA/53.

REHABILITATION

One way in which the city could legalise such units would be to buy the land, but the question is, what would prompt the city to do this when it is successfully ignoring the problem and in the process "providing" housing for these disadvantaged groups. If it weren't for this substandard housing all these people would be homeless.

No city/state/federal organisation can be involved in a rehabilitation program because of the (illegal) nature of the housing. For the same reason official funds cannot be used.

The units are located on private land. What incentive would the owner/renter have to rehabilitate the units if the rent could not be raised. Alternatively what disincentive could be imposed on the owner to repair these units. The city cannot impose any penalties on the owners because the units are unauthorised.

If these substandard units were rehabilitated how would it affect rent levels. The vacancy rate in Watsonville is less than 1% which suggests high after- rehabilitation rents and the need for artificial supports/restraints to create a supply of "affordable" housing.

Rehabilitation resulting in upgrading and displacement defeats the purpose.

The question is, could non-profit organisations and local community groups help. Again local groups have not focused on this population group and its needs. It is difficult to organise this low-income group to demand its rights because as undocumented workers they are aware of their vulnerability and lack of representative power in the city.

Rehabilitation Loans and Grants

A successful rehabilitation program must meet the financial capacity of the owners or rentees, in this case the rentees are the target group. Most state, federal and local rehabilitation funds are targeted to low and moderate income households. usually these programs lend money to building owners at below -market interest rates, and provide a variety of loan terms.

The Housing Rehabilitation and Small Cities Program is one such program. The CDBG Small Cities Program is targeted to the elimination of slums and blighted conditions especially in areas populated by low and moderate income people. This program is geared to city participation and is therefore unsuitable for the problem of illegal units. In order to apply for this grant the city has to first get data on the units, their number and location which it is unwilling to do.

Some sources of financing :

State policy encourages local governments to develop neighbourhood rehabilitation programs. State law authorises jurisdictions to issue tax-exempt mortgage bonds to finance concentrated rehabilitation under the Marks-Foran Program, and authorises redevelopment agencies to issue SB99 bonds for residential rehabilitation. Rehabilitation under SB99 is targeted to substandard residences located in or outside redevelopment areas.

Substandard is defined as properties determined by locality in its Housing Assistance Plan, to have significant violations of local housing codes, federal standards or other reasons which make it unfit for occupancy.

Direct grant. This is directed to the homeowner. For example a homeowner receives a grant of \$5000 with a three-year lien. the condition is that the owner remain in the repaired house for 3-5 years after the work is completed.

This does not address rehabilitation of rental units.

Deferred payment loan. This is a combination of a loan and a grant. The city performs rehabilitation work on a house without charge for labour or materials but places a permanent lien for the cost of the work performed. When the house is sold or placed into an estate after the owner's death, the total lien amount must be repaid to the city.

Again this is unsuitable because it involves the city and targets the owner not the rentee.

Direct loans. The city can use its CDBG funds to set up a revolving loan fund. The city or a contracting agency such as a bank must establish promissory notes, records or mortgage policies. The city is responsible for collection procedures and it determines the terms of the loan. This is inappropriate for the same reasons.

Leveraging combines CDBG funds with other public/private funds to create a pool of funds for rehabilitation loans at below-market interest rates. This program involves CDBG funds. If a leveraging program can be designed using private funds without involving the city, it could be used here.

When rental property is considered the financing programs are more complex. The questions involved are :

- 1) How can the interests of low income tenants be protected.
- 2) Should rents be controlled and if so for what period of time.
- 3) What level of subsidy is necessary to spur private investment.

SELF-HELP REHABILITATION

State policy recognizes the efforts of people who wish to rehabilitate their own homes, and provides limited funding for such efforts. The Department of Housing and Community Development's California Housing Advisory Service provides information, training and technical assistance to people involved in self-help rehabilitation.

We feel that local organisations could consider this program as a model they could follow in designing a program for Watsonville. The program as it is would be unable to help undocumented people and illegal units.

Manufactured Housing and Self-Help Housing

These are alternative solutions for housing development proposed by public, private and non-profit institutions and emphasise low cost. They can be especially useful for Watsonville which has acute overcrowding and a large number of substandard units. These alternatives have been considered the most successful for lower-income units. However, their success will

depend on community participation and institutional and technical support.

There is a special interest for the manufactured housing industry in California among local governments, developers and consumers. This is seen as one of the best alternatives to satisfying housing needs nationwide. It is represented by the California Manufactured Housing Association and Western Manufactured Housing Institute.

Three different systems have been defined.

- 1) Manufactured housing or mobile homes, which are built in the factory and transported over highways to a permanent site.
- 2) Factory-built housing or modular homes, which are built in factories in one or more sections and transported to sites where they are placed on a permanent foundation.
- 3) Panelized homes or kit homes—a system of wall panels made in a factory and connected during different stages of construction. The last one is a highly flexible system that allows construction by stages.

In general these systems are used for a group of houses rather than for single family lots, in order to decrease the cost of fabrication. It is estimated that manufactured housing can save \$7 per square foot, it partially uses unskilled labourers and a house can be completed within 30 days¹. The California Homeownership Assistance Program provides financial assistance for lower income families for purchasing manufactured homes, the California Housing Finance Agency provides loans and the State Housing Predevelopment Loan Fund, Urban Housing Development Loan Fund, and the Farmworkers Housing Grant Fund provide alternative financial assistance.

Self-help housing, as another effective alternative for low-cost housing, requires less skills and industrialization than the manufactured housing and more community participation. This is a very common way of providing housing in the Third World. It is based on community organisation. Self-help housing in the United States unlike that in the Third World, shows a greater degree of individual participation in the construction process. However in both cases, there is participation by the family and a low level of technical assistance or institutional organisation.

In the United States since the early 70s there have been non-profit organizations to assist self-help housing, such as : the Housing Advisory Service in California, Housing Development Corporation, Rural California Housing Corporation, Housing Advisory Service and Home Building Service². The self-help housing programs are found mainly in smaller cities and suburban communities, with very specific characteristics in each case. Self-help construction and rehabilitation depends basically on labour skills, community organisation and technical assistance.

According to local conditions, self-help housing can fit in

three general models of organisation: independent self-help, organized mutual self-help and employed self-help. Based on local skills and institutional support, self-help construction procedures can vary from very conventional techniques to a more sophisticated participation of manufactured components. However, besides the technical conditions, these programs have lower housing costs- some estimates determine savings to be 22 to 53 percent³.

The program seems to be very appropriate for housing improvements for lower-income housing in Watsonville based on intensive community participation. This will reduce the housing cost by using available labor and help control the displacement of the local population.

DATA SOURCES

Available data sources can be categorized into

A. Individuals and Organisations

B. Documents

The first category includes city and county officials and organisations as well as independent local community organisations.

Section A :

1. City officials in planning department-the planning director, Bud Carney and planning staff.
2. A representative from the county supervisor's office, Andy Schiffon.
3. The city supervisor, Sherry Mehl
4. North Monterey County Supervisor, Mark del Piero
5. Paul Nova, director for Education for Migrant Workers program.
6. Tony Calvo , High School Principal
7. Bill Freedland, Sociologist at USC
8. Paula , Anthropology student at UCB doing fieldwork in Watsonville.
9. Mary James at the Housing Task Force. A report put out by the Task Force is available at the Planning Dept.
10. Mark Frederickson at CDC (Community Development Corporation).
11. Mary Tsalis at CAB , Community Action Board of Santa Cruz County. An organisation concerned with low income workers.
12. Cruz Gomez , also of CAB.
13. TECHO- a non-profit housing operation involved with farm workers housing. Jose Ruis with this organisation is dealing with self-help housing.
14. CHISPA-located in Salinas. Deals with farm-workers cooperatives. Director-Ed Montcrief.
15. WHIP- Watsonville Housing Improvement Program.
16. CRLA-California Rural Legal Assistance
17. Farmers Home Administration-deals with qualified loans for farmers.
18. Maura Emmanuel of the Immigration Project.
19. Susan Szabo
20. Catholic Social Services
21. Sr. Susan Olsen of the Shelter Project on Bradford St.

HOUSING NEEDS IN THE PAJARO VALLEY
THE MURPHY CAMP CASE
SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

CP 221: Rural and Small Town Planning
Professors Ed Blakely and Ted Bradshaw
Submitted by Ana López

INTRODUCTION

The deplorable state of housing for farmworkers and migrant workers is a rural problem that persists despite the media exposure and the conservative attempts that some governmental institutions and private agencies do to try to alleviate the problem. The Murphy Camp in the Pajaro Valley, Ca., has been exposed to the media more than its residents would like. Nevertheless, Murphy Camp is just one more example of the hardships that poor farmworkers have to endure. In the Pajaro Valley there can be found other camps most of the time in worse conditions than those of Murphy's Camp, as the San Andres Camp, for example. I have chosen Murphy Camp as the unit of analysis and its residents as my "clients."

THE PROBLEM

Murphy Camp, located on Murphy Crossing Road off Riverside Dr., is under the jurisdiction of Santa Cruz County. The camp is part of a 40 acre "CA" zoned parcel of Type 1A agricultural land and is surrounded by other parcels with the same kind of prime

agricultural land¹. The location of the parcel is shown in Exhibit A.

In 1956 about 2.3 acres of this parcel were used to build the camp, which was originally designed for "braceros", therefore it was never intended to be used as family housing. Furthermore, it was legally built in accordance to the land use and zoning regulations of the time. The camp has its own sewage and water system.

The camp, as part of the 40 acre parcel, is located in a corner of the parcel boarding Murhpy Crossing Road. The camp is run by a private developer who originally built the camp and owns the parcel. In the mid 70's the camp status changed from single to family housing. The conversion of the dorm units to family housing was done under permit and supervision of Inspection Services. Since the camp was converted to family housing, another private developer rented the property from the

1. "CA" Commercial Agriculture. The purposes of the "CA" Commercial Agriculture Zone District are to preserve the commercial agricultural lands within Santa Cruz County which are a limited and irreplaceable natural resource, to maintain the economic integrity of the economic farm units comprising the commercial agricultural areas of the County, to implement the agricultural preservation policy of section 16.50.010 of the Santa Cruz County Code, and to maintain and enhance the general welfare of the county as whole by preserving and protecting agriculture, on the County's major industries.

"A" Agriculture. The purposes of "A" Agriculture Zone District are to encourage and provide for noncommercial agricultural uses, such as family farming and animal raising, and to allow limited commercial agricultural land remaining in the County which are not designated as commercially suitable, but which still constitute a productive natural resource; to provide for agricultural uses of a higher intensity in rural areas. From AG. USES, County of Santa Cruz. 13.10.315 "CA" and "AP" Zone District". (Rev. 1/84).

owner, Mr. Joe Gerber, and this developer ran the camp until two or three years ago.

Under the operation of the new developer, Mr. Jim Hicks, a Watsonville real estate agent, the camp became an almost constant legal controversy because of the innumerable health, housing and building-code violations. In the meantime, the Health Services Agency of the County of Santa Cruz and the State Department of Housing had been inspecting, and continue to inspect, the Camp. Both institutions have tried to enforce regulations without much success. Although the developer has made repairs in the facilities, these have never been enough or very well done. In fact, the controversies about the camp reached a peak after four apartments in one building were destroyed by a fire in July 18, 1982. The fire, which began with an explosion of propane gas from a stove, killed a 8-month-old child and her mother.

According to the San Jose Mercury "the County health officials did not visit Murphy's Camp from September 1980, when the repairs were being completed, to the 1982 fire because understaffing had led to a policy of responding only to complaints." A year after the fire, Hicks was charged of violating three building codes by the Santa Cruz County District Attorney's Office. Among the charges were providing unsafe water and rebuilding without permit part of the building damaged by the fire.²

2. Bob Johnson, "Health, safety hazards alleged at migrant camp." San Jose Mercury News. April 10, 1986, p. 1B.

At the beginning of 1984 it was believed that the housing conditions of the farm-laborers was going to improve, including those in Murphy Camp. A new state law was passed requiring "regular inspections of housing for agricultural workers, no matter who owns the housing units." Before the change of the law, farm-labor camps run by private developers were only inspected if the county received complaints from the tenants or other interest groups.³ Although the housing conditions of the camp have been improved, violations of different codes still persist. While the County tries to impose the housing code and health regulations, these are still violated. On July 1986 a Santa Cruz Superior Court judge gave Hicks 2 months to bring the camp up to code or it was going to be closed. Judge Chris Cottle said that "it was time for the cat and mouse game between the county and Hicks to stop ... As long as this cat and mouse game goes on there never will be a resolution. This place is a nuisance."⁴ In Cottle's opinion, the camp has been inadequate since it was built.

After all these legal problems, the owner was faced again with the responsibility of managing the camp himself. Mr. Gerber has been trying to sell the part of the parcel where the camp is, without much success. According to a member of the Agricultural Policy Advisory Commission (APAC), Mr. Gerber sees

³. Nancy Schachter, "Labor-camp inspections to increase." Register-Pajaronian. January 24, 1984, p. 11.

⁴. Guy Lasnier, "Ruling on Labor camp: 'Fix it or close it,'" Register-Pajaronian, July 19, 1986, p. 1.

the camp situation as unmanageable, and although he would not like to divide his parcel, he is willing to sell the part where the camp is just to get rid off this problem.

Nevertheless, the camp's owner has not been able to sell the camp because it is violating too many codes and laws. No buyer will put himself in such a difficult situation. First, the camp is located in prime agricultural land, which means that if the laws are enforced, this "real estate piece" could not be there because in order to sell the camp site by itself, a division of this "CA-1A" parcel has to be done. A division of any "AC" parcel has to be done according to the specifications of County Section 13.10.315.⁵ (One of the points of this section is that divided parcels, can not be less than 10 Acres). Second, the camp is violating building codes, health codes and fire codes among other regulations. Another major and dangerous health violation is that the camp located in a row crop field. In addition, the surrounding parcels are also engaged in agriculture production. Thus, the residents of the camp are exposed to be sprayed with insecticides, fungicides and other kind of chemicals that endanger their health, mainly because the camp is not surrounded by a buffer or green zone. In fact, the camp site ends where the row crop field begins.

Last but not least, about 1/3 of the camp is within the flood plain of the Pajaro River (see Exhibit B). According to

5. See footnote 1.

Santa Cruz County flood regulations, housing construction is not permitted in flood plains.

THE CAMP'S POPULATION AND SOME SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS

With the housing crisis of Watsonville and Pajaro Valley, the original purpose of the camp has changed. Once a camp for single male farm workers, today is meeting the needs for housing of poor farmworkers families that can not compete in the housing market of Santa Cruz County.

The camp population varies according to the agricultural activities through the year. From two of my sources of information I learned that the population varies from 200, in the period of low agricultural activities, to 500, specially when crops are being picked. When we visited the camp, we learned from the residents that the children population alone (under 14) was 83 in December 1987. When the children were counted, some families were out the camp. Right now, there are 36 families living in the camp.

According to the Housing Authority the camp has 37 living units, including dormitories. According to the Department of Housing and Community Development of the Santa Cruz County, the camp only has 18 units that are in accordance with county and state housing regulations. When we visited the camp we could confirm the overcrowding situation and the extreme conditions in which these people live. Half of the units consist of

dormitories, only. Most of these single dormitories are occupied by families of at least three or four members. The families living in one single room share the kitchen and bathroom facilities. The laundry has to be done in the bathroom facilities. On the other hand, the units that have kitchen and bathroom are very small. The kitchen, living room and dining room are together occupying a very small area; while the two bedrooms are also very small. We learned of a family of nine living in one of this "two bedrooms apartment." The monthly rent for the apartment is \$350.00 and \$200.00 for the room.

Many of the camp's residents, all of them Hispanic plus a Philippine family, told us that cost is the reason most people live at the camp. According to them, the owner does not charge deposit or first and last month rent like usually other places do. However, most of the people we talked to would like to move to Watsonville since they live far from the city not by choice but by need. Indeed, the camp is one of the very few affordable places that low income farmworkers can find. For example, we talked to a woman who has a part-time job and whose husband works in the strawberry field and who told us that the reason why they were living in the camp was because they could not afford the rent in the city. In the city, they were renting a garage which was shared with their three children plus two relatives that have arrived from Mexico. They were paying \$500.00 for this garage. Since it was too expensive and too crowded, they decided to move

to Murphy Camp "which is not the best but at least is cheaper so we can provide better for our children."

When the population is at its highest peak in the camp, the living quarters are extremely overcrowded. Farmworkers that have not been able to find accommodation in migrant camps managed by the state or county, tend to come to Murphy and make use of the common facilities in the camp while they park in the site using their vehicles to sleep.

Five miles from the city of Watsonville, the camp's residents are isolated in an area that does not provide the best environment for living because of the different hazards present in the site. The camp does not have playgrounds, playing fields or any special spaces for gatherings or special events. Nor does it have any green areas. The only common space the camp has, besides the common kitchen and bathroom areas, is a small room that the residents call "la escuelita". The Department of Education used to send a teacher to instruct the camp's children and he used this space as a classroom. This room does not have daily activities because the children are now bused to school. The "escuelita" now serves as a classroom on Wednesday nights when some volunteers working with a church come to the camp to teach English to the farmworkers.

SOCIO-CULTURAL PROBLEMS

The problems facing the residents are many. It is not only a problem of inadequate housing since the core of the problem is

poverty. The residents have to deal with other issues such as cultural adaptation, discrimination and unemployment. Although almost all of the adult residents work in the fields, these are seasonal jobs. Furthermore, since the majority of them do not speak English, it is harder for them to understand the bureaucratic problems around their housing situation. For example, the residents told us they do not like it when the Health Department inspectors visit the camp because these inspectors find the living quarters too crowded which is against the law. For these farmworkers overcrowding is a way of living. Nevertheless the residents are very clear in their desires and willingness to leave the camp.

INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED

The institutions involved with Murphy Camp are: the private developer, the Housing Authority of the County of Santa Cruz and the Agricultural Policy Advisory Commission (APAC) of the County of Santa Cruz.

APAC was called in by the Santa Cruz County with this problematic issue because of the actual illegal division of the parcel and because the camp is violating the 200 feet buffer required when housing is set in agricultural land. The Commission, which advises the county on agricultural issues, has recommended to move the residents to designated residential areas

in Watsonville. At the market prices, these farm workers can not afford to be clients of the real state speculators. Public housing is the only alternative for these farmworkers and their families.

The private developer wants to sell the camp and the Housing Authority has expressed interest in buying the site. In fact, the Housing Authority is the only institution that could buy the lot since the "County Counsel has determined this project does not constitute a land division because the applicant is a public agency and public agencies are exempt from the requirements of the State Subdivision Map Act. While this project will not be processed as a land division, County Counsel has advised that the 10 acre minimum parcel size is still applicable to this project."⁶

When the Housing Authority was called in by the county, it proceeded to apply for a federal grant from the HUD to upgrade the camp. The HA received \$700,000.00. This grant must be used by December 1988 and is restricted to be invested in Mr. Gerber's property. On June 1987, the Housing Authority and Mr. Gerber signed an Option to Purchase. The option is contingent upon approval of lot subdivision by the County of Santa Cruz and approval of the Housing Authority of the County of Santa Cruz board of Commissioners.

⁶. Agricultural Policy Advisory Commission, Staff Report. County of Santa Cruz, Planning Department. February 25, 1988.

On other the hand, APAC is very concern about keeping the camp in Mr. Gerber's property because the activities around agricultural production are not compatible with housing projects. These activities affect the residents' health, mainly the children's health since they tend to play near the fields. Although APAC is very concern about the lack of a buffer and the protection of the camp residents, the first and foremost interest of the commission is to preserve prime agricultural land for agricultural production.

Another important issue is that the County of Santa Cruz is engaged on a growth management approach which is aimed at maintaining the agricultural aspect of the county and conserving natural resources. Thus both institutions are interested in keeping agricultural land for agricultural production.

If the Housing Authority buys the camp with the proposed 10 acre division and subsequently builds a new one in the same site, it has to bring the new facilities to the required housing standards. However, the neighbors oppose the rebuilding of the camp because of the agriculture activities of the area.

WHAT TO DO WITH MURPHY

THE HOUSING AUTHORITY PROJECT

Mr. Gerber and the Housing Authority have agreed that a new farm labor housing should be constructed on a separate parcel. So far the H.A. has only applied to rebuilt the housing and for a

rezoning of the land. This implies a general plan amendment as well as an Environmental Impact Report which takes at least six months. Furthermore before any redevelopment or construction is approved, a percolation test is required which should be done during Winter time. Last Winter such test could not be done because it did not rain enough. Therefore, they have to wait for next Winter to conduct the test. In the meantime, the deadline to use the money granted by the HUD is December.

Upon approval of the parcel subdivision, the project proposed by the Housing Authority would replace the existing housing units where it is located right now, with a new multi-family complex covering 5.6 acres of land. The remaining 4.5 acres would be leased for crop production. The project would consist of 37 one-story two and three bedroom dwelling units, enough parking spaces in 6 separate parking areas scattered around the site and 3 small outdoor play areas in the interior of the project (see exhibit D). This project will be very close to four neighboring commercial agricultural parcels, which is against to the 200 foot agricultural buffer. A second alternative (exhibit C) would be built in a triangle portion of the parcel, right next to where the actual housing is. This alternative would make the project adjacent to two parcels only. It does not matter where the project is built since the negotiations between the H.A. and Mr. Berger are contingent upon the approval of the reduction of the 200 foot agricultural buffer setback and division of the parcel.

The HA has also proposed a third alternative where the project would be located in an upper elevated portion of the parcel, boarding Murphy Crossing Road. This proposal would allowed the conservation of 7 acres that could be leased and farmed in one block. According to APAC, all three alternatives create potential land use conflicts. A fourth alternative creating a 18 acres parcel with a 200 foot buffer has also been suggested. This alternative is not acceptable to Mr. Gerber.

While the Housing Authorities options are contingent upon different approvals, they are aimed at resolving the problem. Nevertheless, the HA has a time constrain if it going to use the money granted by HUD. As I have already mentioned, the paper work will take from four to six months while the percolation text will not be able to be conducted until next Winter. Furthermore, the County of Santa Cruz has to approve the parcel subdivision and the Board of Commissioners of the Housing Authority has to approve the project. Given the time constrain and these contingencies, the H. A. needs to act as quick as possible otherwise it will loose the grant. Unfortunately everything seems to indicate that the project is not going to take place mainly because of the time problem and paper work.

OPTIONS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM

In its 1985 Housing Element, the Santa Cruz County addresses the vital role farmworkers play in the multi-million dollar agricultural industry. It also points out at the common believe that farmworkers are mainly migrant and therefore not in need of permanent housing. Nevertheless according to the same document, more than two-thirds of the total annual labor force (5,725 people) of the county is composed of local residents. Because parts of the county have more than one crop per year and the growers tend to hire workers that have already worked for them, the tendency for this minority group is to make the county a more stable residence.⁷

The county counsels and the planning department are well aware of the difficulty farmworkers have in finding housing because of their limited English language skills, family size and low household income. "Statistics from a 1975 survey conducted by the state EDD found that 98% of all farmworkers can't afford market-rate housing, and 77% can't even afford subsidized housing."⁸

Given this situation, the Housing Authority move is the best approach to this problem. Nevertheless, when the county planning staff analyzed the Housing Authority project and its different alternatives, it did not have any recommendations for this proposal. However, the planning staff made in some recommendations to follow in case the 200 buffer is reduced.

7. Housing Element, County of Santa Cruz, Ca., 1985, p. 80.

8. Ibid. p. 80.

These recommendations are aimed to minimize potential land use conflicts, to protect the farm labor housing tenants from the inconvenience of farming operations and to ensure the agricultural use of the undeveloped part of the 10 acres parcel.

When talking to a planning staff member in Santa Cruz County it was clear to me that this project is not going to take place this year. According to this person the EIR and the percolation test will not be completed before the end of the year. I asked him if the county could provide the housing authority with some parcel in the Freedom area or in some other unincorporated area. According to him the county does not have land.

Given the time constrain, the possibility of loosing the grant and the difficulty of finding a lot in the city of Watsonville or some other place close to the city, I have come up with some suggestions:

I. Since it seems that the Housing Authority is not going to be able to use the grant because the possibility of not meeting the deadline and given the contingencies of the contract with Mr. Gerber, the first thing to do with the camp is to build a concrete wall around it. In this way its residents can have a provisional protection from spraying while their fate is resolved. Since health codes are obviously violated because of the lack of a buffer this action should be taken right away.

II. The county officials and the planning department as well as the Housing Authority are the institutions called to solve the problem with Murphy Camp.

Since this situation is not going to be solve before December, these institutions must get together and ask the HUD for an extension of the deadline until the contingencies and other regulations are solved. This grant must not be lost.

To leave Murphy Camp residents in the hands of the private developer would perpetuate an unnecessary situation. If the HA and the county do not come to an agreement, the camp could stay the way it is because of legal pre-existing non-conforming rules. This situation would only give space for inhuman living conditions, in which no one should live.

III. The third proposal would locate the entire Housing Authority project in a different location. There is an undeveloped lot in Pennsilvania Av. which belongs to both, the county and the city of Watsonville. This lot could be used to develop multi-family housing units. Since the county as well as the city want to maintain the agriculture industry and a growth control policy, they must address the needs of the farmworkers. The Murphy Camp situation has effects in both the county and the city. Therefore they can get together and offer this land to the Housing Authority to bring its project to realization. In fact, according to the Planning Department of Watsonville, the portion of the parcel belonging to the city was already donated to the

HA. Thus the Housing Authority only needs to get the rest of the parcel from the county.

Given the inflation rate as well as the housing market situation in the county, it would be easier for the farmworkers if they can become homeowners. In any community the hardest part of the population to house is the low-income segment. Since the county main economic industry is under pressure by other industries and by overall growth, there exist a high probability that low-income people will be the first to be pushed out of the county. Thus I propose to the Housing Authority to help them to become homeowners.

When tenants are renting and specially when the landlord is a government agency, they tend to be careless in taking care of their housing. Any housing stock is usually better maintained when the level of homeownership is high.

Since we are dealing with a special group of the population (low-income, large family and ethnic minorities) the best way to make them homeowners is through a housing cooperative. Members of the housing cooperative "must be in substantial agreement on the primary purposes the cooperative will serve, and they must agree that its structure and method of operation best meet the members' needs."⁹

⁹. David Kirkpatrick, "Rural Housing Cooperatives: How to Decide whether a Housing Cooperative is what you Really Want." Economic Development and Law Center Report. V. X, no. 4. Sep/Oct 1980. p. 1.

Why is a cooperative desirable?

A housing cooperative will meet low-income housing needs for the camp's residents as well as other needs that are reflected in their shared cultural backgrounds. The following issues are the most important:

1. The camp population is rather homogeneous: most of its residents come from Michuacan, speak the same language, tend to have larger families, face the same adaptation problems, do the same kind of work; in a word, they share many socio-cultural characteristics which give them a strong sense of group identity. This homogeneity is an asset in addressing the camp's population housing needs in a cooperative way.
2. When addressing the housing needs of low-income people we have to keep in mind their level of poverty. In Santa Cruz county, Hispanics continue to suffer, disproportionately, from the highest poverty rate. In 1985 the poverty rate for Hispanic was 34.3% compared to White persons at 13.9% and Black persons at 23.9%.¹⁰ Therefore a housing cooperative will provide the best possible housing at the lowest possible cost for this highest poverty rate group of the county.
3. Homeownership in a cooperative housing gives the tenants a greater control over their monthly housing costs. Assuming that their mortgage will not require refinancing, the monthly housing costs will only go up when maintenance and utility costs rise.

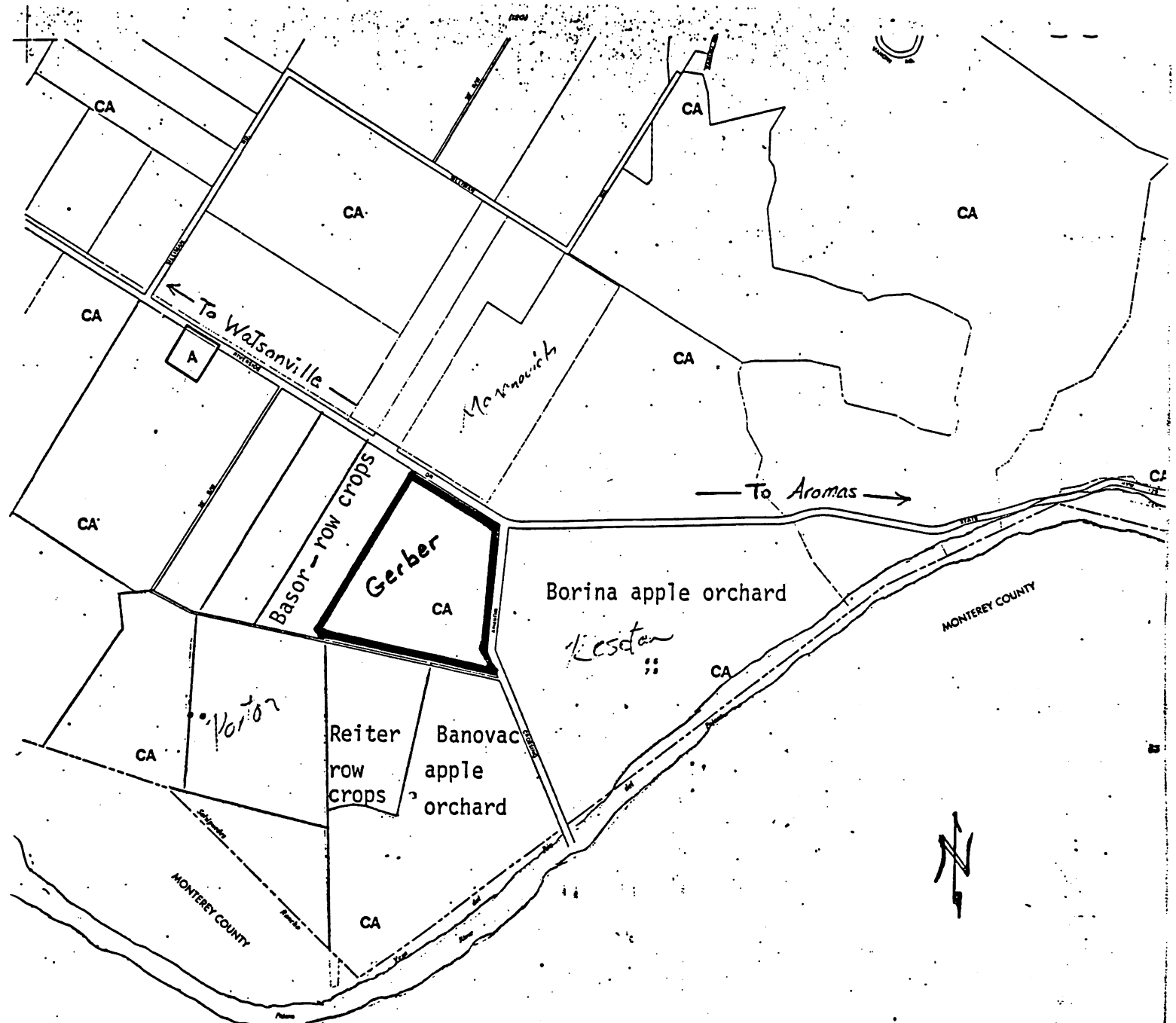
¹⁰. Community Action Board Inc. Poverty in Santa Cruz County. 1987 CAB Report (preliminary).

Furthermore, in a cooperative housing situation these low-income people will maximize their unstable income. We have to remember that Murphy's camp residents are farmworkers and income from field work varies. This income variation depends upon crop yield as well as weather conditions and market situation. Therefore homeownership in a cooperative housing will give them a certain degree of financial stability as well as income maximization.

4. In a cooperative housing more amenities and community oriented activities can take place. In this community oriented situation there exist greater possibilities for incorporating these minorities into the community at large. This also offers space for political awareness and possible political participation at least at the local electoral level.

5. Last but not least, a cooperative housing will be focussed in the community and on its members' needs rather than on the real estate market.

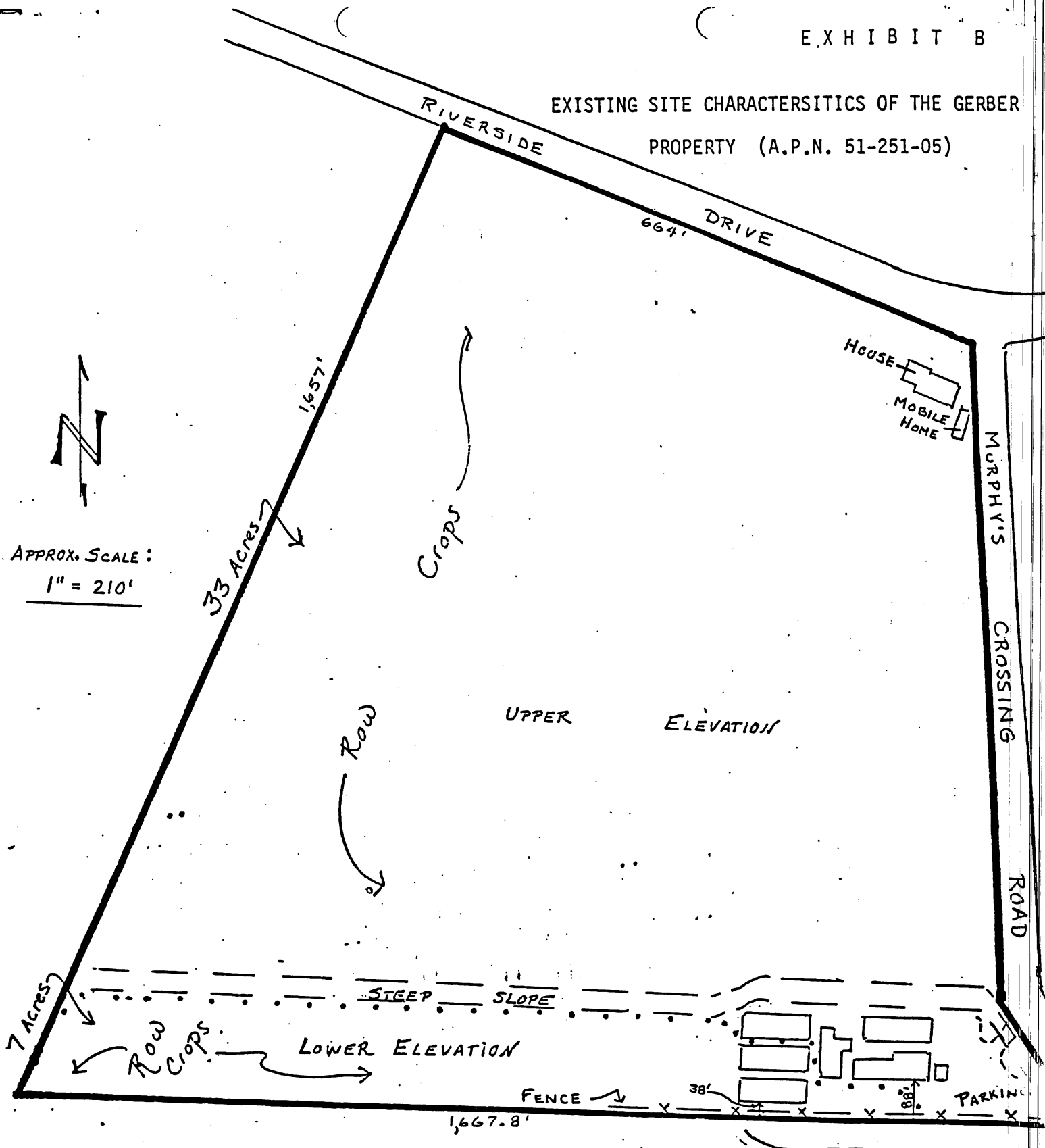
LOCATION AND VICINITY MAP OF THE GERBER PROPERTY WHERE MURPHY'S
CROSSING FARM LABOR CAMP IS LOCATED
A.P.N. 51-251-05



CA = Commercial Agriculture Zoning
(All "CA" zoned parcels in this area are Type 1A commercial agricultural land)



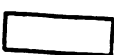
A = Agriculture Zoning

EXISTING SITE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GERBER PROPERTY (A.P.N. 51-251-05)



APPROX. SCALE:
1" = 210'

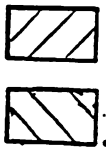
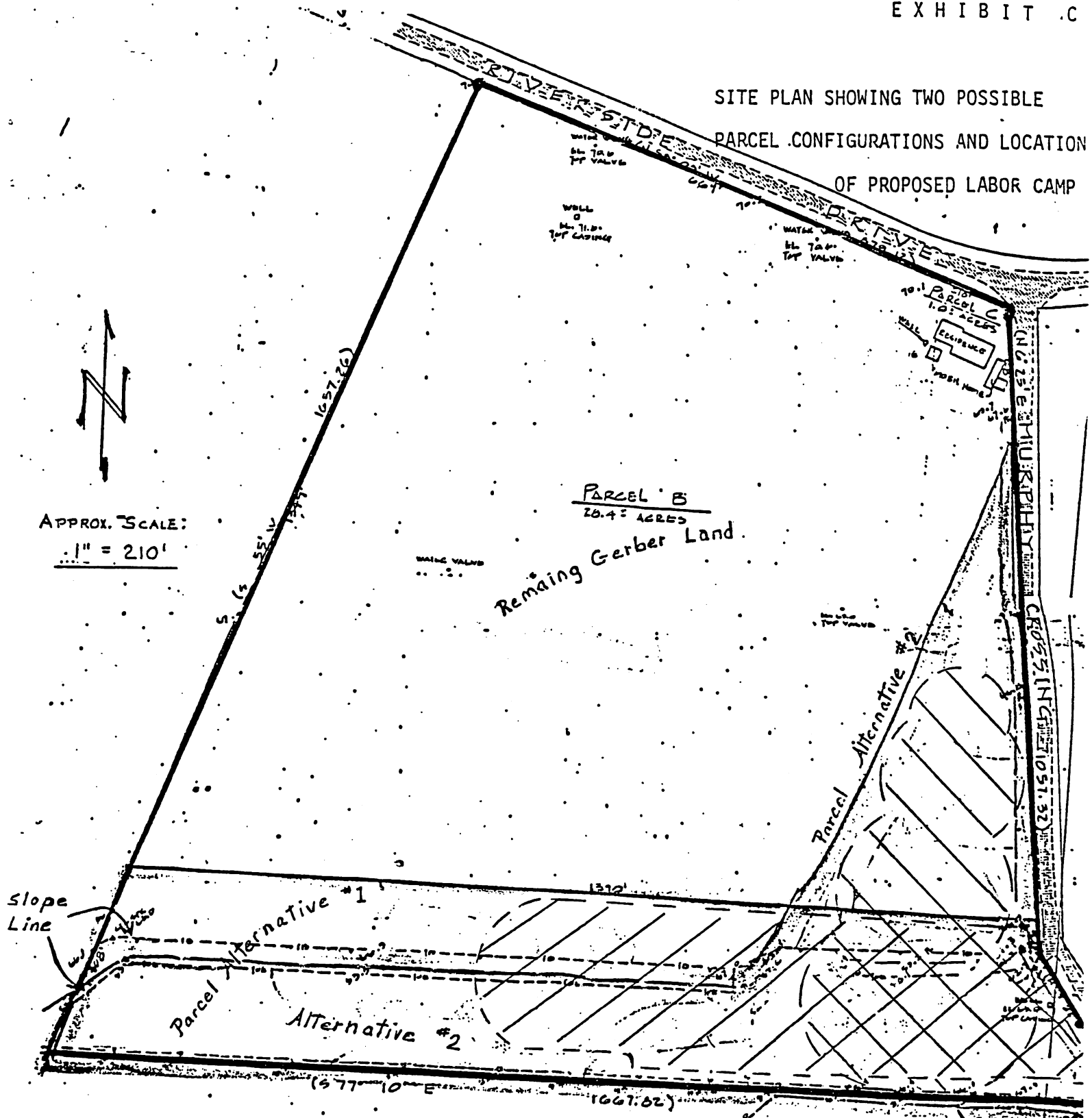


-  Edge (or toe) of steep slope
-  Limit of 100 year floodplain
-  A structure

FARM LABOR CAMP
2.3 Acres

SITE PLAN SHOWING TWO POSSIBLE
PARCEL CONFIGURATIONS AND LOCATION
OF PROPOSED LABOR CAMP

APPROX. SCALE:
1" = 210'

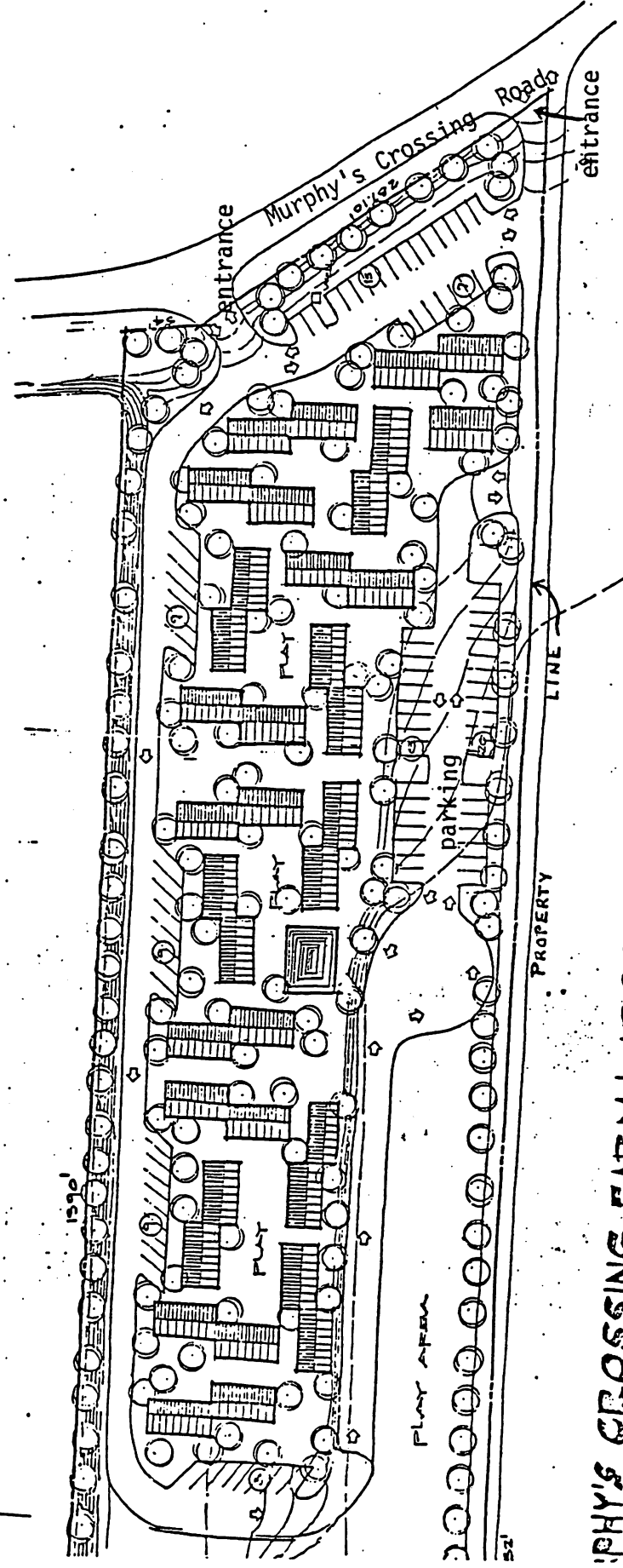


Probable location of development in Alternative #1

Probable location of development in Alternative #2

100 YEAR FLOOD PLAIN

POSSIBLE PROJECT SITE PLAN CORRESPONDING TO ALTERNATIVE #1



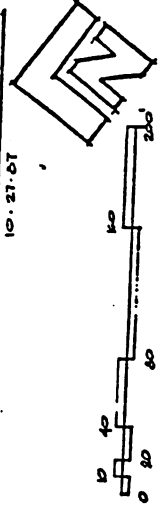
MURPHY'S CROSSING FARM LABOR CAMP
SONVILLE, CALIFORNIA

SCALE: 1" = 80'
 10-27-67

SITE AREA: 100 ACRES (APPROX.)
 PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT:
 UNUSED SITE
 TOTAL HOUSING UNITS: 37
 PARKING: 97 PARKING SPACES

Buivens Feddem & Lukes Architects

4-93901



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Jerry Tomas, Commissioner, Agricultural Policy Advisory Commission.

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SPRING 1988

PART NO. IV

POLICY DIRECTION

TRANSPORTATION DEVELOPMENT IN THE PAJARO VALLEY

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MAY 9, 1988

PART IV

POLICY DIRECTION

ASSESSMENT OF A RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM

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PART IV

POLICY DIRECTIONS

TRANSPORTATION DEVELOPMENT IN THE PAJARO VALLEY

TOPIC: The rural problem researched in this paper is Transportation Development in the Pajaro Valley.

The paper looks at present day planning for transportation in and around the city of Watsonville. There is concentration on a small number of major issues which are central to transportation development in the Pajaro Valley.

The paper will go on to identify the main actors and institutions in the development of transportation, it will identify the strategies currently being employed, and look at alternative outcomes for the valley transportation development. Local resources to help solve the problem will be considered along with the potential problems in the solution.

SIGNIFICANT ISSUES - TRANSPORTATION DEVELOPMENT

1. The most important issue deals with cooperative transportation planning of the area adjacent to the City of Watsonville. This area is now within Santa Cruz County, s jurisdiction but is proposed by the City of Watsonville to be annexed to the city to provide for the city, s future planned growth. The county is planning a transportation system to accommodate about 41,000 by the year 2005. The city's transportation planning will use a population figure of over 62,000 by the same year.

Close liaison needs to be maintained between the local and the more regional planning departments to ascertain land-use planning policy as they relate to the layout of future transportation facilities. Quality transportation development is dependent on the planned land-use becoming the actual land-use. The more deviation from the planned to the actual, the more likelihood exists to either overbuild or underbuild very costly road systems for automobiles, trucks, and transit.

a. Overbuilding will cause several problems. First, the governments will lose their limited funding on a unneed facilities. Second, overbuilding might cause pressure for land development different from each government's desires.

b. Underbuilding is also not in the public interest. If land is developed prior to adequate road facilities being constructed, overcrowding of the facilities will occur. Major road improvements under today's law take from 2 to 10 years to construct. In the interim, traffic congestion will

occur and goods and produce will move poorly. Another problem which could be more troublesome is that after a community is built there may not be room for a adequate road. This could require the taking of property including housing to serve that very housing. This is both expensive and very disruptive to the community.

2. Funding of transportation development will be another major problem in the Pajaro Valley.

The road systems in the Watsonville area are operated and maintained by three governments, the City of Watsonville, the County of Santa Cruz, and the State of California. All of these agencies have financial problems with the maintenance operation of their existing systems. The Santa Cruz County 1986 Regional Transportation Plan states on page x-4 the following: "Program and capital improvement project costs for the first 10 years alone are clearly beyond the capability of the existing state, federal and local funding sources." The report suggest the need for initiating actions to increase the funding of local street and road improvements.

The costs in a developing area for new roads are difficult for the city or the county to bear. Gas tax the traditional road funding source has not kept up with inflation to the extent California cities must use general funds to supplement the gas tax for maintenance and operations. They have no money for capacity improvements in developing areas. The counties in California use only gas tax for road improvements. These funds also have not kept pace with inflation.

The State of California has some funding for new roads but has many needs. The state will only construct

state roads. These routes are designated by law and have supposed interregional significance. This leaves the construction of new roads in developing areas like Watsonville to be borne by in a large part by the land developers.

Both the city of Watsonville and the County of Santa Cruz require a developer to pay for the road systems they develop onsite of their development. This is normally done by the developer contractor. They also require any developer to mitigate off site impacts for transportation. Because of the very difficulty in accessing the offsite impact, those impacts are can rarely be ascertained with high degree of accuracy. This is true in part due to the difficulty of dealing with an accumulation of impacts from many developments. Also since impacts are often very substantial, there is a tendency to undercharge the developer the true cost of the impacts. In addition to these problems the city does not require the developer to pay for transportation impacts in the county, and the county does not require the developers in the county to pay for impacts in the city.

The present system as can be seen leaves big funding gaps unable to be paid by either jurisdiction. To make the issue more difficult the backbone system the state highways are funded by priority statewide and countywide by highway planners in San Fransico. The states priorities often do not provide funding of non-urban facilities.

Federal funding has been available to a limited extent city and county for new roads. The present Federal Aid Urban and Federal Aid Secondary programs which have been available may not continue in the new federal funding bill in two

years. The federal government is trying to pass local road funding to local governments and use the federal gas tax for interstate roads and for reducing the federal deficit.

In conclusion, this second issue is that even if a good system can be cooperatively planned, there is a question of who can and will fund the plan and who can afford to operate and maintain the systems developed.

MAJOR ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED

1. Citizens - For the fifth year in a row, Bay Area residents have named Transportation (streets, highways, and transit) the area of highest concern facing the region. The poll sponsored in 1987 by the Bay Area Council was conducted by the nationally recognized Field Research Corporation.

Santa Cruz County residents picked "Transportation" as the most important problem facing the Bay Area by 39%. The next highest problem was pollution at 18%. Fifth on the list was housing which only 3% viewed as the most important problem. While this study does not break out Watsonville specifically, the results reinforce the Watsonville City Planning survey which shows that residents want corrective action to reduce city-wide congestion and confusion associated with circulation patterns in the central business district.

2. The City of Watsonville -

The city of Watsonville is going through a General Plan Revision called "WATSONVILLE 2005: GENERAL PLAN REVISION". This plan provides for what the city planners call "A guide for orderly Community Development". This plan projects population growth within the Planning Area to average just under 2% per year over the 20-year General Plan period. The present population is 45,960 within the planning area and the plan projects a population of 62,000.

The Land Use and Community Development Element of this plan looks at several alternatives in light of existing land use patterns, growth projections and resource conservation. These land use alternatives if adopted in the new general

plan will change transportation infrastructure needs in the Pajaro Valley. This will occur in both the existing city limits and in the 20 year planning area.

3. Santa Cruz County -

The county of Santa Cruz is updating their general plan in Pajaro Valley. This plan will not be completed until summer of 1988. The county's general plan will not include the growth projected by the city of Watsonville's plan. Both the population and the city boundary will be reflective of more moderate growth.

The county in the past has limited growth around the City of Watsonville by imposing a sewer moritorium and by zoning restrictions. The new general plan will not agree with the city's in the area surrounding Watsonville. It will show much of Watsonville's proposed residential land in an agricultural zoning.

The county in its infrastructure funding is severely limited by years of expanding needs and a relatively stationary funding source. Santa Cruz has a policy of requiring developers to construct and/or to upgrade the transportation systems impacted by their development. Since the county considers the area surrounding Watsonville to be predominately agricultural, the mitigation fees on any developer will tend to be less than that required for more dense development. The infrastructure constructed under this approach will not support Watsonville's new general plan.

The county has, at the present time, taken a postion against any annexation of county land to the City of Watsonville.

4. LAFCO -

In California the organization which decides the question of annexation of county land into a city must be approved by the Local Agency Formation Committee, (LAFCO). This committee is composed of two county Board of Supervisor members, two city councilpersons from the four cities of San Cruz county and one member appointed by the other four. This is a total of five members. The majority rules.

At the present time, with the county position against any annexations, this is the way decisions have gone. If this position by LAFCO is unchanged, then the City of Watsonville would not be able to expand their boundaries and their general plan would not be possible to implement to any meaningful degree.

5. Santa Cruz County Transportation Commission -

This is an independent local agency with membership appointed by the Transit District, county, and cities. The staff is provided by the County of Santa Cruz.

All expenditures of state and federal funds on transportation related projects must be consistent with the Regional Transportation Plan (RTP). The RTP is created by this commission. The county has, at this time, a political majority on this commission supporting the county's views.

6. Caltrans -

The California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) is responsible for the state highway system. This system is the backbone of road system in Watsonville. State Highway Route 1, 129, and 152 connect this city to the rest of the county, state, nation, and international regions. (See

attached maps showing the state systems.)

The planning and design of all improvements to the road networks are carried out by Caltrans in San Francisco. The traffic projections on which the road system is designed depends on the projected land use in the Pajaro Valley. Since Caltrans can not make land use decisions, they use local planning for as the basis for their future traffic demands. In Santa Cruz County the AMBAG (Association of Monterey Bay Area Governments) issues the population projections. These projections are a poor compromise between the local governments. In this case the city and county. If, as in this case, conflict occurs in land use decisions between the city and county, Caltrans has made a defacto decision not to mediate any conflict but to build to the present planning population projections used by AMBAG.

8. Federal Government -

The federal government is a major actor in transportation for the valley in that the funding of new improvements comes primarily from the federal government or developers. The state and local entities funding for transportation is used primarily for maintenance and operation of the existing systems. Funds for new systems, increased road capacity, transit expansion, today come primarily from federal sources. The federal government is recently trying to back away from local transportation funding but there is a tremendous local effort to keep this from happening. The federal funding comes with many requirements such as planning. Because of these requirements and the planning structure specified the

planning of transportation takes place more and more in the political arena.

9. Minor actors which influence the Pajaro Valley

Transportation Development -

There are a number of minor actors and institutions which certainly have an impact on transportation but not to the degree of the major actors and institutions. These include the adjacent County of Monterey which is undertaking a study with Santa Cruz County on corridors connecting State Routes 1 and State Route 101. (See attached maps for corridors.)

The transit operators are important to provide trips and offer alternatives to automobile transportation. Since rural transit provides less than 5% of the trips, transit is not an important actor in the land use conflict. Also, in the rural area this is an extremely difficult chore to perform in a cost effective way. Transit service must be heavily subsidized in the Pajaro Valley (80% to 90%). In spite of its importance to transportation disadvantaged it subject to a cutbacks because of these costs. (This is a statewide problem in rural and suburban areas.)

STRATEGIES CURRENTLY EMPLOYED

The strategies currently being employed by the various actors and institutions are not always aimed at transportation. The issues are more related to other goals with transportation the result of obtaining these alternative goals.

The City of Watsonville desires to plan for an expansion of its city to accommodate what it believes to be reasonable growth. This growth, they believe, should occur in a planned fashion. This planned expansion requires an update of its general plan. The result of this revision is an expanded road system to accommodate 62,000 persons by the year 2005. Watsonville is proceeding in spite of lack of concurrence by Santa Cruz County and a knowledge that annexation of its expanded area is a LAFCO decision that they are not likely to get at this time. They are proceeding in the hope that they can change the county and LAFCO's positions.

The County of Santa Cruz is most concerned about the area surrounding Watsonville. The county does not want the significant loss of agricultural land or leapfrogging development which it believes has occurred in the past. The county's new general plan for this area will not agree with the city on land use. (This is shown on the attached map of the Planning Boundary versus the city limits.) This general plan will result in the downsizing or non construction of the supporting transportation facilities in that plan. To an extent this downsizing and non construction will make future development, should it occur, more difficult and more costly. Should development occur it will also make the transportation

system poorly planned with inadequate widths and inadequate setbacks from the roads. The county's strategy will be to proceed with the updated general plan and resist annexation of the area surrounding Watsonville.

Caltrans will not get into this dispute. The state will leave the issue to the regional planning agency AMBAG to decide which land use to support with a road system. (AMBAG will make the decision through its population projections.) Caltrans has, statewide, backed away from this type of controversy. It feels it has larger problems to deal with. By not getting resolution of the land use issue it will construct an inappropriate state road system. (See the attached maps showing the state road system through Watsonville.)

All governments and developers are attempting to find a method of paying for new improvements needed if growth occurs. At the present time, the governments have little funding for capacity improvements. The developers are attempting to minimize the cost of improvements so as to maximize their profits or keep their housing costs viable for sale. The added price of road development to housing in larger developments can be enough to stop housing projects. Governments are sensitive to this issue and tend to undercharge the developments if costs are excessive. This leaves a funding gap unable to be filled. This produces a situation of not to fund improvements or a tendency to push the costs to someone else.

Local governments are searching for new funding for transportation statewide at the same time that the federal government is interested in making road development a local funding issue.

The above issues become complex for most citizens. The citizens from the Watsonville survey were more interested in the results of transportation development. The planning and developing of transportation is a long lead time activity. The facts are that today's transportation problems are not readily solvable in the near term. (The citizens must develop a feedback system so that land use decisions can be meaningful to them in terms of traffic congestion.) There is no group of citizens that are now involved in transportation development to advocate solving the upcoming transportation problems.

ALTERNATIVE OUTCOMES

First on the issue of developing a transportation system with conflicting land use planning.

Since there is two proposed land use plans for the area surrounding the present City of Watsonville, then there are two extremes cases and many combination scenarios for the outcome. The first extreme is that the transportation system would be sized for no growth. The second extreme is that growth would be allowed to the density of Watsonville's new general plan. This first extreme results in underbuilding the road system. This will result in traffic congestion which will be difficult to correct in the future, very disruptive, and expensive. In many past cases underbuilding has resulted in destroying existing housing to accommodate road systems. Many communities do not have the financial ability to correct this type of a problem once it occurs.

The second extreme, which is equally discouraging, is to build the road system and not have the area growth as planned. This could result from several actions. The adoption of the population forecasting of Watsonville's General Plan. The county's using those population and land use plans. And finally the expanded area experiencing no growth. The transportation development result would be to have a road system placed which is not needed, and will result in very scarce resources being spent in an wasteful way.

It is probable that neither extreme will occur. The result will be some over and some under building of the

road system. Even though neither extreme will occur it is evident, without land use agreement, that funds will be wasted, disruption, and congestion will result from the lack of agreement.

The outcome of who will fund the systems which are required to be built in the Pajaro Valley is difficult to predict. Despite the policy of both the city and the county, that the developers pay for their impacts on the transportation systems, this will not be the case as detailed earlier in this paper. The governments will eventually have to provide funding for the unmitigated transportation impacts from taxes on the city and county citizen or the systems will become more congested as growth occurs.

ALTERNATE SOLUTIONS FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEM

There are many alternate ways of solving this problem. It is possible that the city and county would in their general plan updating be willing to resolve their differences in the issue of land use. This is not likely given the conflicts past history of non movement by either party.

This paper therefore will suggest three approaches for the problem solution and will recommend from those a policy direction for the county and city.

The three alternates are as follows:

1. Do nothing pro active but bring the problem to the attention of both bodies and hope the results are not too wasteful or disruptive to citizens of the Pajaro Valley.
2. Form a citizens Task Force to look at land use and transportation decisions for the city and the county.
3. Form a Blue Ribbon Committee to resolve the major land use conflict as a one time effort.

DO NOTHING OR PROBLEM AWARENESS SOLUTION

The solution to the problem could be one of merely making the perceived problem known. The political bodies at that time would then move to solve the land use conflict.

This method of solution has some potential problems. First the dispute is already well known to the political bodies and to the staff of the city and county. In spite of this awareness there has been no movement toward solution of this problem. Part of the reason for this solution not working or not perceived as a viable option is that the public is not aware of the transportation problems which will happen as a result of the land use conflict. There may also not be knowledge at the political level of the costs and disruption from the land use conflict as it pertains to the transportation system.

USING LOCAL RESOURCES

The citizens of Watsonville are part of the resource needed to help solve the problem. From the survey taken by the City of Watsonville the citizens were concerned about the traffic congestion in some areas of the city. If there can be enough developed interest in traffic problems and transportation development, then it is possible that the citizens can help to create the political pressure necessary to help resolve the land use dispute between the city and the county and the resulting transportation problems that this conflict causes.

One of the ways of using this citizen interest is for the county to form a County Transportation Task Force. This Task Force would be made up of Watsonville citizens interested in transportation as well as citizens from other areas of the county and transportation experts. One of the chief roles of the transportation experts would be in the information to the citizens on the cause and effect of land use decisions on the transportation development of the Pajaro Valley.

As land use and development decisions were made by the city and county affecting the transportation of the area the Task Force could make recommendations which carry the weight of informed citizens to the City Council and to the County Board of Supervisors.

The high tech industries which are moving into the Watsonville area might supply a needed long term core of citizen expertise in the more complex areas of land use and its affect on transportation.

The County of Santa Cruz along with the City of Watsonville must be concerned enough about the potential problems their conflict produces, to form the Transportation Task Force. The two political bodies must be made to feel responsible to not cause waste and/or eventual disruption to their citizens. The political bodies must use staff resources toward problem solution and must be willing to listen to their citizens concerning these matters.

BLUE RIBBON TASK FORCE - SOLUTION

The difficulty with the problem facing the Pajaro Valley is that the issues are rather complex. The citizen, which will have to pay for the decisions or conflicts, is not in a position to have detailed knowledge of the effects of the land use conflict. There also is a long lag time between land use planning and the resultant transportation problem so that today's decisions are a price the citizen must pay many years hence. This leads to very poor accountability for land use conflicts which promote waste and community disruption.

Because of the difficult, complex ties of land use to transportation, a way in which to solve this problem is for Santa Cruz County staff to first report the problem in public in a Board of Supervisor Report. The county staff would recommend to their Board of Supervisors that a Blue Ribbon Committee be appointed by both the city and the county to study the conflict, evaluate the cost ramifications of the problem and to recommend full or partial strategy to lessen the problem and /or solve the problem.

This committee would have to deal with all the institutions and actors in this report and recommend a method of doing cooperative transportation development.

The Blue Ribbon Committee's report would be made public and would have input from the citizens on what they desire from their governments and what they want to spend to correct land use disputes.

The committees made up would include experts from other

areas with background in transportation planning, land use planning, transportation development, and private residential development.

The committee's power to solve these issues would be based on only problem solving with no vested interest in the underlying issues that have developed over the recent years. Public awareness to waste and disruption will help the citizens receive a more cooperative transportation planning effort. With proper background the citizens must demand this.

RECOMMENDATION FOR SOLUTION

The recommended solution to the transportation development is that the county staff recommend to the County Board of Supervisors that they approve the concept of the development of a Blue Ribbon Committee. That this Committee be charged with a report back to the board in four months recommending the changes necessary to adequately plan for the transportation development of the Pajaro Valley. This plan must address the waste of costs in providing the transportation infrastructure with no agreement on the land use around the city of Watsonville.

The Blue Ribbon Committee concept would be recommended to the city of Watsonville for their support and participation immediately. The members of the committee would be jointly picked by the city and county and would include experts from outside and within the valley area. The city of Watsonville if they choose not to participate would be granted a full opportunity for input if they so desired. The committee's report would be made public and could include an ongoing Citizen's Task Force to make recommendations on land use and transportation decisions.

REFERENCES

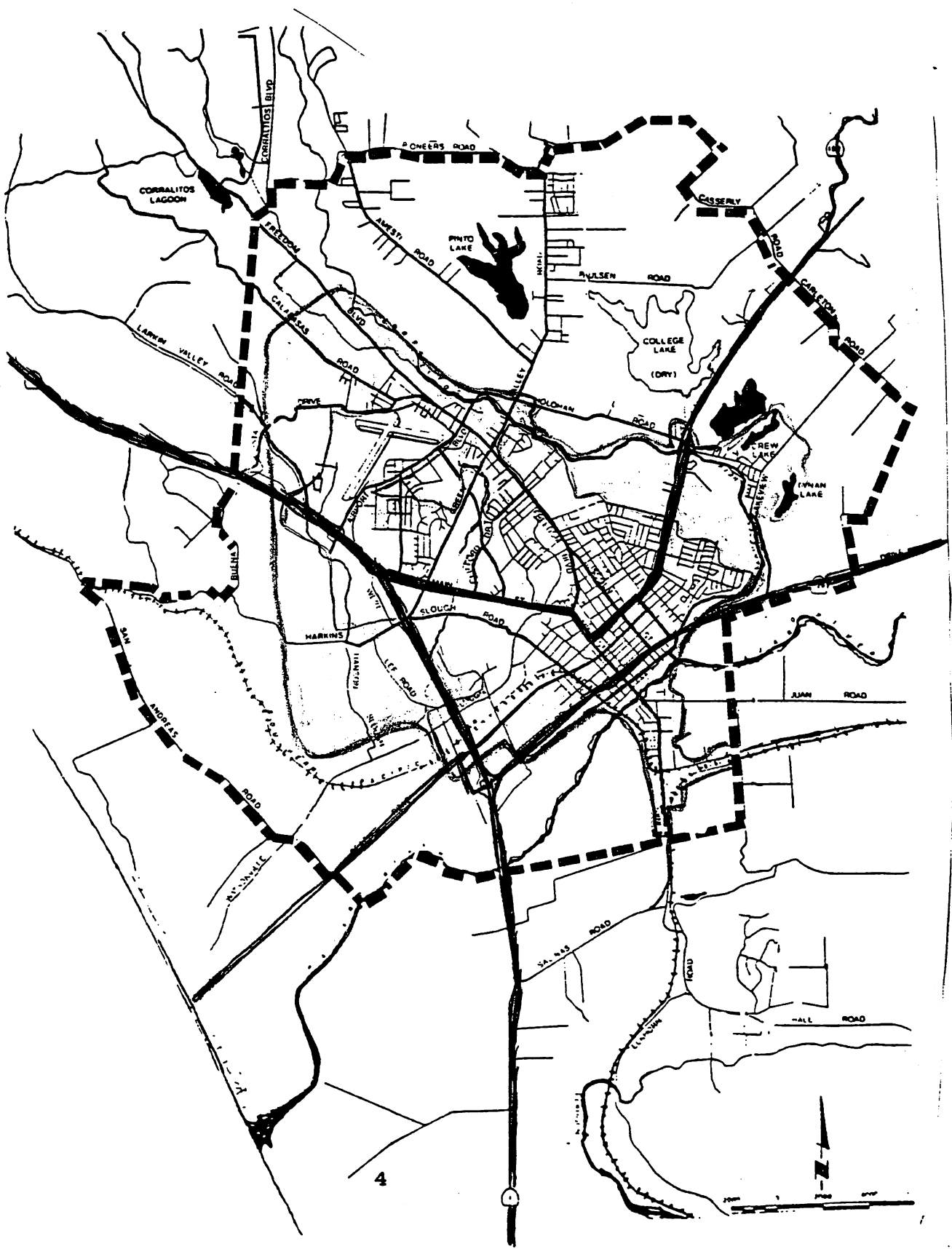
1. The Watsonville General Plan, Revised February 3, 1988. ATSONVILLE: 2005 A GUIDE FOR ORDERLY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT , Preliminary Draft. (Anthony J. "Bud" Carney, Planning Director.)
2. Santa Cruz County Transportation Commission, February 1987. 1986 Regional Transportation Plan. Prepared in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, the California Department of Transportation, and the Association of Monterey Bay Area Governments.
3. The Santa Cruz General Plan, January 1983. (This general plan is now being update.)
4. County Corridor Study 1988. Undertaken by Monterey and Santa Cruz Counties.
5. Santa Cruz County, April 1988. 1988 Regional Transportation Improvement Program, RTIP. Prepared by the Santa Cruz County Transportation Commission.
6. Creighton, James L. 1979. Community Involvement in Aviation Decisionmaking. Under the sponsorship of the Department of Transportation, the Office of Environment and Energy, and for the Federal Aviation Administration.
7. Georgia Institute of Technology and Georgia Department of Transportation, 1982. Georgia State Highway Network and Accessibility Analysis. M. John Moskaluk, Project Director.
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9. Texas Transportation Institute, 1981. Land Use Impact of Improving Pipeline Road in a Developing Area of Hurst, Texas. Texas State Department of Transportation.
10. Texas Transportation Institute, 1981. Land Use Impact of Improving West Vickey Boulevard in a Developing Area of Fort Worth, Texas. Texas State Department of Transportation.
11. Reid and Stam, "Regional Approaches to Rural Government: What role in the Eighties?" Rural Development Perspectives, Sept. 1981.
12. Anthony Brown, "Technical Assistance to Rural Communities: Stopgap or Capacity Building?" Public Administration Review, Jan/Feb 1980.
13. Healy and Rosenberg, Land Use and the States, A Variety of Discontents, Chapter 2.




14. Jan Dillard, State Land Use Policies and Rural America, in Browne and Hadwiger, eds. Rural Policy Problems: Changing Dimensions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the Planning Departments of the City of Watsonville and Santa Cruz County. Even though conflict has occurred the staffs of these organization are in my opinion professional, dedicated public servants deserving the hardiest thanks.

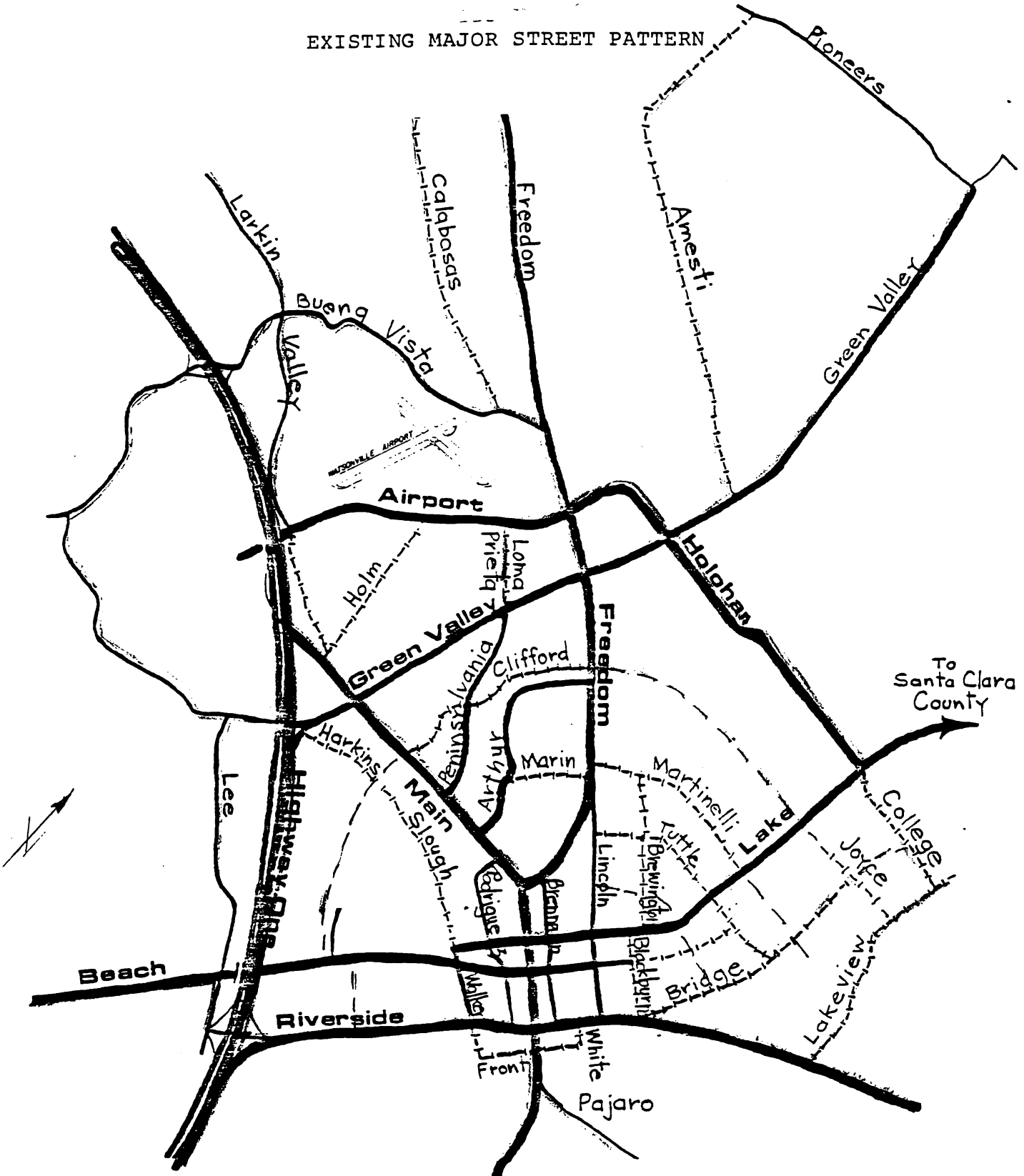
Planning Area Boundary



Urban Limit Line 
State Routes 
City Limits 

PRELIMINARY
DRAFT

EXISTING MAJOR STREET PATTERN



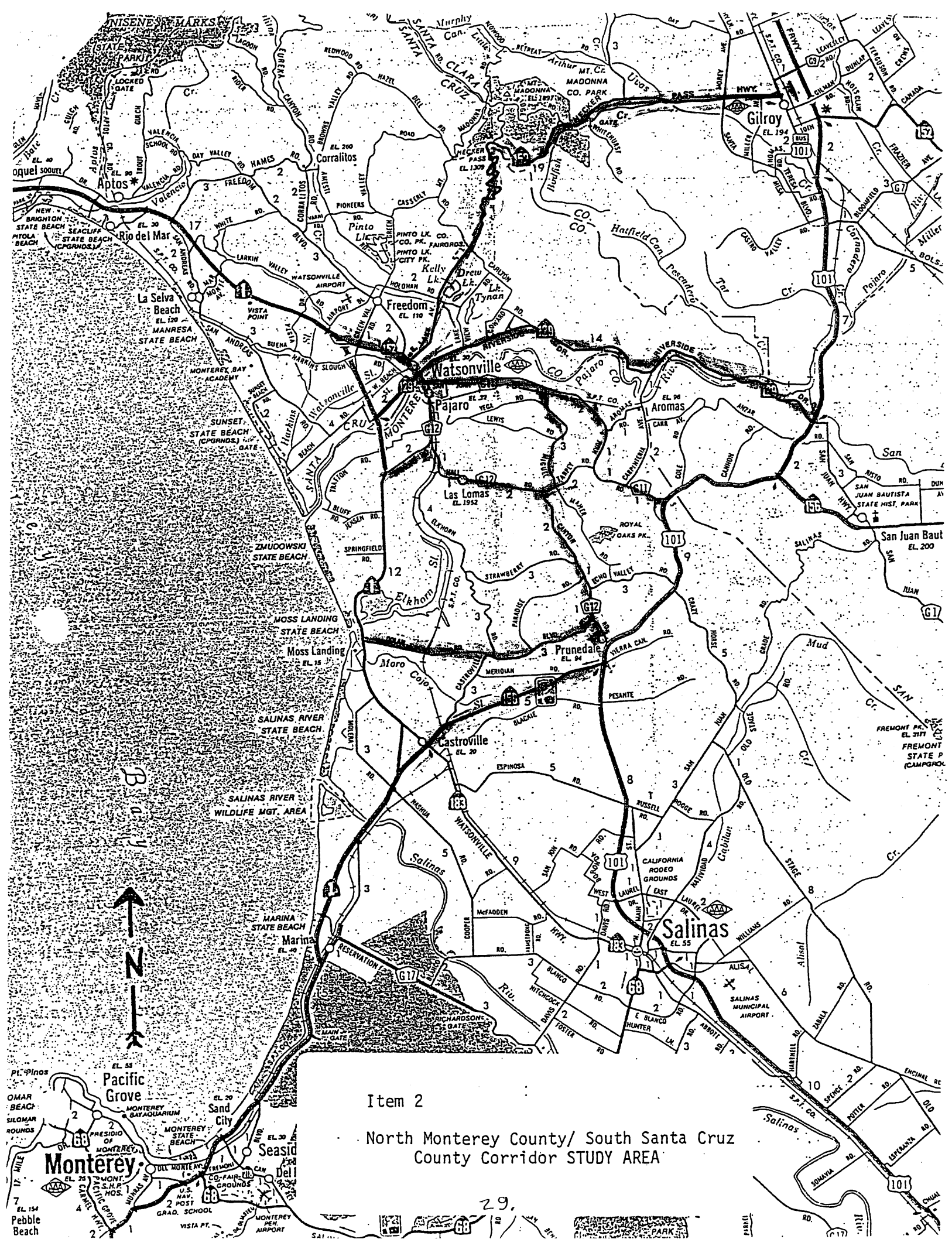
ARTERIALS

MAJOR STREETS

COLLECTOR STREETS



Collector being studied -
 Road controlled by County - or State



Item 2
North Monterey County/ South Santa Cruz
County Corridor STUDY AREA

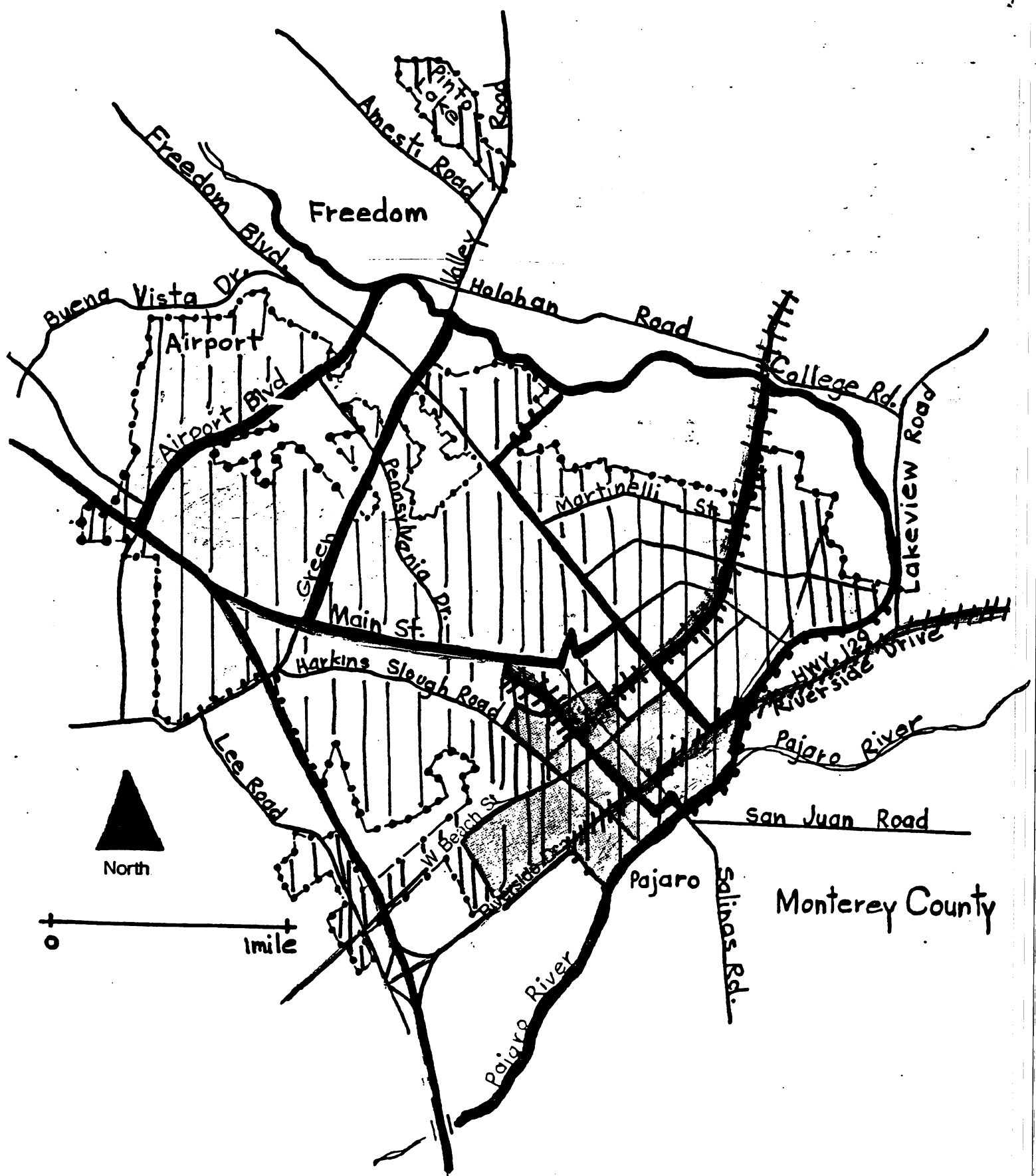


Figure --

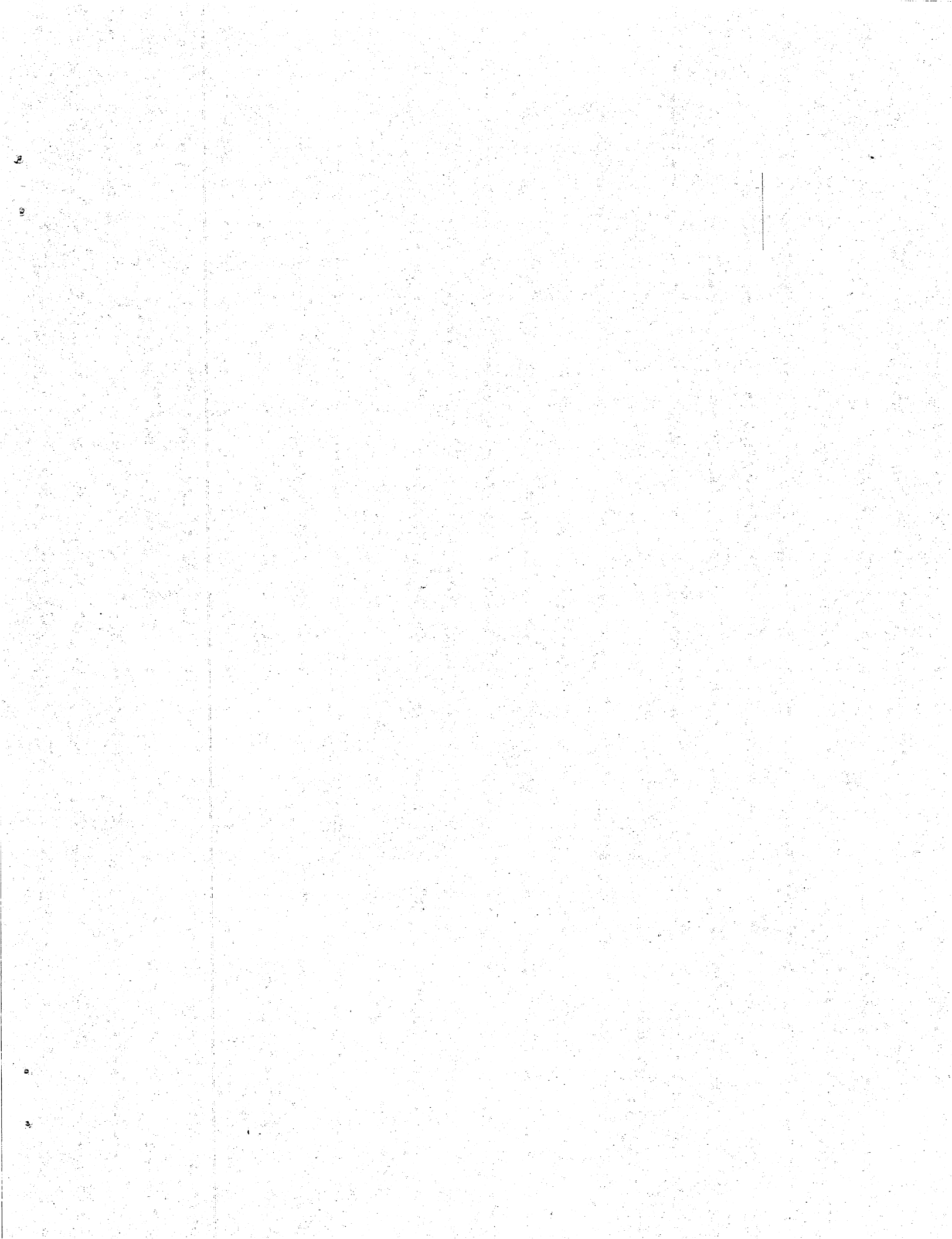
PRELIMINARY

- Existing City Limits - Shaded Area
 - State Highways
 - Proposed State Capacity Improve... ## (Unrestricted 2,005) (40,938 pop.)

TABLE
HOUSEHOLD DEMOGRAPHICS

<u>Persons Household</u>	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>Hispanic Households</u>	<u>Percent Hispanic</u>
1	1,968	291	14.8%
2	2,655	471	17.7%
3	1,251	529	42.3%
4	994	499	50.2%
5	1,304	1,011	77.5%
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	8,172	2,801	34.3%

Source: 1980 Census



W A T S O N V I L L E

WAYS TO MAINTAIN AND INCREASE PUBLIC OPEN SPACE HOLDINGS

Chris Broughton
Rural Area and Small Town Planning and Policy
U.C. Berkeley
1988

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an investigation into ways the Watsonville community might incorporate open space into their vigorously growing community. At the same time it is a catalogue of methods that may be used by any community looking for ways to achieve a more satisfactory balance between existing farmland, and increasing housing demand.

My intent has been to find techniques that approach land use conflicts from two directions: preserve the most valuable natural resource or farmland for their intrinsic and community enhancing value; in other words techniques that make long term economic sense: pay for at least a portion of preserving that land; thus dealing with the short term economic needs of citizens, local government and builders.

The paper is organized in the way members of a community, or government body might find useful while working through a land use conflict. It proceeds from general to specific; from problem clarification to possible solutions. It is in outline form so that it can serve as an easily referenced working guide.

AREA OF INVESTIGATION

What are the mechanisms by which open space can be planned into Watsonville's growth and development?

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

1. What is open space? Reason people are coming to Santa Cruz Co., unique/valuable wildlife habitats, water recharge area, steep slopes, fault zones, agricultural lands for viewing and habitat, historical sites, utility rights of way, buffer zones, greenbelts, schools, parks, community square or gathering place, medium and high density housing common areas, patios, balconies.

2. Why is open space important? Natural cycles, place to enjoy and study nature, modifies climate, food production, visual relief from built environment, muffles noise physically and psychologically, air purifier, beauty, attracts business to pleasant environment, sports.

3. What is at stake by not planning it into Watsonville's growth? Natural cycle disruption, urban sprawl, perpetuating patterns that caused people to leave where they are coming from, sense of community diminishes proportionately, social tension, profits for landowners and developers, way community identifies itself changes. What is not at stake is gross food production; it is the freshness of food, and missed opportunity for increased business diversity.

There is an interest of the community in greenbelts, open space and farmland that is beyond the immediate interest of the present property owner.

My viewpoint: growth does not mean you have to embrace solid urbanization.

4. Who is affected by the lack of open space? Everything, everybody. Especially low income whose ability to travel, or buy home with a large yard is restricted. Includes county residents who have access to visual but little recreation open space. There is also an aspect of the loss of a public good with the urbanization of Pajaro Valley farmlands.

5. When did the problem start? Between 5 and 10 years ago.

PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

6. Why did it emerge? Continuing popularity of California, changing macroeconomy leading to land use intensification, and shift to corporate farms. Free market using economics above other means of measuring value and costs of goods produced. Population spillover from San Jose , Santa Clara valley communities who experienced same problems 10 to 20 years ago. Measure J passed in Santa Cruz Co. It called for growth near existing urban centers instead of spreading it around the county in individual homes or scattered developments. Home and land buyers attracted by Watsonville's relatively low land prices, and city policy that encouraged a diversification of industry and expanding housing stock.

7. Why hasn't the problem been solved? The stakes are very high for landowners and developers .Planning strategies that regard unsightliness an unfortunate side effect of increased jobs and housing. (There is, however an increasing tendency to negotiate packages with developers that pay for open space set asides.). Single family home ideal. Harried citizens too tired to trace the complexities of development process, and don't know how to affect it. In the case of Watsonville, the city planner's citizen participation survey would benefit from fine tuning in order to find out precisely which lands and landmarks are so important to the citizens that they do not want them changed. (There is a large difference between Manteo's stable community of fairly similar backgrounds and common identity, and Watsonville with its hierarchy of landowners and resident workers.) While Manteo residents felt they could have an input in the preservation and reconstruction process, I feel it would take a social revolution to achieve the same coherent idea about how the community should approach the future in Watsonville. Blakely made the comment that community development has to be done before any of the end results the class focused on will have a chance of happening. (Organization is equally, if not more important than the program.)

OPTIONS

How open space can be acquired and used
to help retain Watsonville's rural character.

1. Zoning: Shape and constrain housing and commercial development by first setting aside sensitive and unique resources. Means historic-natural.
2. Incentives: Market the region's unique natural resources; thus underlining and capitalizing on Santa Cruz County's beauty, heritage and uniquely productive agricultural environment; rather than undermining it with economic development that discounts one of the central attraction of the place-there is more nature here than man.
3. Development packages: Incorporate small unit open space into areas zoned for medium and high density residences. Many options on form: patios, space between building units, recreation fields, trails, or natural areas left on site because of the small footprint of higher density land use. Negotiate with developer to contribute so much money per unit built that will be used toward securing open space. This can be the outright purchase of land, or the funding of a group such as Solano County's Farmland and Open Space Foundation who seek out and administer open space for the community. Sacramento's experience with open space in the Natoma area is that Planned Unit Development is the most satisfactory way to approach the interrelated needs of a growing area.
4. Buffer: Use greenbelts to connect residential areas to public property such as parks and schools: can be used to create buffer zones between agricultural and urban land. Refine citizen input process so that places that are important to residents are identified and preserved for their customary use. Ideally these places are connected with pedestrian and bike ways-connections may range from levee trails to bike lanes on the street. Green pedestrian ways would reinforce rural feeling.
5. Purchase: By government body, trust, non profit group, and by individual. This includes payment to property owner selling development rights to the property. Example of non profit purchase of land was deal Solano County, Coastal Conservancy and Solano Co. Farmland and Open Space Foundation made for purchase of the 2000 acre Rush Ranch near Fairfield. Coastal Conservancy used their funds to secure land when it came up for sale.

OPTIONS

5. Taxation: One strategy is tax reductions for land owners who choose to keep land in agriculture under the Williamson Act, or a Conservation Easement; or are mandated to do so by condemnation for park or wildlife habitat. Taxation has drawbacks; it reduces county tax rolls; the tax break is not equivalent to the amount of money developers are able to pay landowners.

Another taxation strategy is to create an assessment district so that citizens pay to acquire and maintain open space.

STRENGTHENING REGIONALITY

Resources and Constraints

<u>Regulation</u>	<u>Information Source</u>	<u>Constraint</u>
Excellent primer	<u>The Open Space Workbook</u> Proceeds from resource mapping to acquisition methods in 10 pages. Parks and Recreation 1981	Use to get feel for procedures.
Zoning	City of Fairfield Right To Farm Statement	Issue before sale
	<u>Defining and Protecting the Right to Farm.</u> Zoning and Planning Law Report Vol. 5, No. 8, 1982	
	<u>Planning and Zoning For Farmland Protection</u> Community Action in Michigan. Underlines natural resource, community participation, legal and economic methods. American Farmland Trust 1987	Citizen support, political enforcement
	<u>Density-Related Public Costs</u> Virginia survey showing costs of new residential development exceeds increased public revenues. American Farmland Trust 1986	

<u>Regulation</u>	<u>Information Source</u>	<u>Constraint</u>
	<u>Room Enough: Housing and Open Space In The Bay Area.</u> Why and how of compact land use. People for Open Space 1983	
<u>Incentive</u>	<u>Information Source</u>	<u>Constraint</u>
Coexistence	"Bio-Regional Farming" Urban-Farm partnership Landscape Architecture March, 1983	Reviving regional food supply-truck gardens.
	<u>Performance Zoning</u> New approach to zoning that involves measuring the effect or impact of a use on its proposed site, and on the community. Stresses use of bufferyards to differentiate uses and minimize negative impacts. Kendig, Lane 1980	Complex
Tourism	Private Industry Council 1040 Emeline Avenue, Santa Cruz	Team work, a plan of action
	<u>Rural Communities in Advanced Industrial Societies</u> Development Strategy Blakely and Bradshaw 1979	
	<u>Subconscious Landscapes of the Heart</u> Community Participation Randy Hester	Patience, persistence flexibility

<u>Incentive</u>	<u>Information Source</u>	<u>Constraint</u>
Farmers Market	Contra Costa CFM 415-933-1418	Needs city support, place of honor.
	<u>From Farm To City</u> Farmers Markets in NYC 1980	
	<u>The Real Thing</u> Calif. Farmer April 1988	
Profitable Small Plots	<u>Give 'Em an Inch</u> Calif. Farmer April 1988	Marketing network
<u>Developer Packages, Buffer, Purchase</u>	<u>Information Source</u>	<u>Constraint</u>
	<u>Tools For The Greenbelt</u> The most thorough catalog of open space preservation techniques Includes conditional conditional permits. People For Open Space 1985	Price increase for dwelling
<u>Taxation</u>	<u>Saving The Farm</u> Benefit comparison of Estate Tax, Conservation Easement, Williamson Act, Special Use Valuation 2032 A. American Farmland Trust 1987	
	<u>Williamson Act Taskforce</u> Primer and update Calif. Dept. Conservation 1986	

MAJOR STAKEHOLDERS IN WATSONVILLE'S FUTURE

<u>Interest</u>	<u>Stakes</u>	<u>Resources</u>
Established Business	Want assurance they can continue.	media, lawsuit
	It is in their economic interest Pleasant place to be.	lobby
New Business	Want assurance their product is needed	\$, desire, ability to go elsewhere
Established Neighborhoods	Pleasant place to be	political rep, local organization pride, sense of place
	Property value pleasing surrounds retained favorites mental rest minimal pollution	
New Neighborhoods	Want assurance there is room for them, at \$ can afford, exurban image environment better than last	developers industry \$, desire need
City	Want a sustainable unit no big pollut prob. viable econ mix long term good image Urban jurisdiction	land, repute precedent for beauty, hard workers
County	Rural administration resources and precedent Sustainable infras.	zoning LAFCO, Ag extension
Regional	Ecosystem Conservation groups Business groups	
State	Policy of rural and ag. advocacy	

SUMMARY

+Refine citizen participation questions so that existing residents have an opportunity to explicitly identify places that are important to them, and whose identity should be protected in the years of development ahead.

+At the same time enlist local farmers to identify where the best land is in the path of city expansion. If the units are large enough to farm, they should be farmed. The land that is second rate should be used for housing if it is not a unique or sensitive natural area.

+Based on 10 years of research, Blakeley and Bradshaw assert that in terms of long term sustainability, local and regional business efforts will yield stronger economic and community development returns (because they are the result of self determination) than branch offices of large corporation, or large scale farming. Large employers may contribute for an indeterminate length of time to employing labor, and to a certain extent raising skill levels, but does not alter real wealth, or aid community economic development because 1-workers often commute in to these jobs, and then take \$ back out. 2-Large percentage of profits go to head office located elsewhere
Additionally, and germane to agriculture, families not farming for a generation break skill link. {Class Notes 2/15/88}

+Self determination ideas: Farm trails, farmer's market held downtown in a prominent place so that downtown businesses can benefit from added customers, and produce has a high profile.

An agrarian education center could be the Watsonville equivalent of the Monterey Aquarium. It could be combined with the performing arts. It could be a stop on a tour that takes in selected spots throughout the county, and Bay Area.

+Santa Cruz County should continue to administer rural and agricultural lands not inside city limits. they have the resources to do this, and work with a regional perspective. Conversely, the city is better equipped to provide urban services.

SUMMARY

+ Techniques which might be used to conserve some of Watsonville's remarkably beautiful and productive natural resources in order to continue farming, or provide visual and recreational enjoyment for residents, include:
A variety of tax incentives; and the option of an assessment district.
Bond issues; linking bond issues to housing referendums so that open space can be more evenly distributed in the community.
Agreements with private individuals to deed their property to a trust.
Developer packages whereby the city promotes suburban density bonuses. Also medium and high density housing so that more land is left for open space enjoyment. Lastly, conditional permits may be used to levy a fee per house built. Accumulated funds are used to buy land, it's development rights, or pay for administering existing open space holdings.

RESOURCES

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

2/26/88 Class Talk:

Bradley, Terry	Santa Cruz Co. Planner
Carney, Bud	City of Watsonville Planner
Davis, Tom	Santa Cruz Co. Planner
Hawkins, Jerry	Job Training Partnership Assistant Manager
Mehl, Sherry	State Ag. Representative
Schiffron, Andy	Santa Cruz Co. Supervisor

2/28/88 Interview

Hester, Randy	UCB Landscape Chairman
---------------	------------------------

3/17/88 Visit

Bradley, Terry	
Andy Schiffron	
Maureen Owens	City of Watsonville Planner

4/5/88 Telephone Interview

Owens, Maureen	
Schiffron, Andy	

4/14/88 Watsonville Visit

Musler, W.	apple grower
Rider, C.	apple grower, packer

Telephone Interviews

<u>4/15</u>	
Carney, Bud	
Campus, Tony	Watsonville City Council, Realtor

RESOURCES

Telephone Interviews

4/17

Kraft, Leonard

Staff

Santa Cruz Co. Ag.

Commissioner

Swedish Information Service

San Francisco

4/20

Powell, Jay

Hope, Jim

Hawkins, Jerry

People For Open Space Staff

American Farmland Trust Staff

4/21

Clements, Larry

Rider, C.

Fairfield UC Extension Staff

apple grower

5/3

Martinez, D.

O'Farrel

Kaupic, D

Wallace, C.

City Manager, Sac.

Exec.Dir Sacramento Co. LAFCO

Coastal Conservancy

Orinda Realtor

LITERATURE (In addition to list reviewed in outline)

Boatwright, D.E. (1975), The Preferential Assessment of Agriculture and Open Space Lands. CA State Assembly.

CA Office of Planning and Research (1983), Room To Grow. CA Office of Planning and Research.

Heckscher, A. (1977), Open Spaces. San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Scott, R.W. et al (1975), Management and Control of Growth, Volumes 1, 3. Washington D.C.: The Urban Land Institute.

GREENHOUSE CONFLICT IN CORRALITOS VALLEY

CP 221

Profeseor Blakely

Professor Bradshaw

by Robert A. Murray

May 20, 1988

INTRODUCTION

This report will examine the conflicts and issues raised by a nursery grower's plans to build and operate greenhouses on a parcel of land next to the small town of Corralitos, in rural Santa Cruz County. The most significant issues in this case include: conflicts and contradictions between the roles of agriculture as business and as open space; the rights of citizens in coping with unwanted proximate development; and the regulation of agricultural uses in a county which has a policy of protecting and preserving agriculture.

BACKGROUND

The site of the proposed greenhouse operation is located one half mile south of Corralitos, a small town nestled in a picturesque valley about five miles northwest of Watsonville. The fifty-two acre parcel is bordered by Corralitos Road on the west, Corralitos Creek on the east, and by apple orchards to the north and south. A majority of the apple trees on the parcel are over fifty years old and need to be replaced with a younger dwarf variety if the orchard is to remain competitive. In 1985, the owner, Mr. Pecchenino, died and the property was inherited by his daughter and son-in-law. These

people decided not to continue operating the orchard as a business, but to sell it to pay estate taxes.

The orchard was put on the market at \$1,400,000, but after receiving no "serious " offers for eighteen months, the owners sold it for \$700,000 to DeVor Nurseries of Pleasanton. DeVor develops new strains of roses which they grow for two years under the controlled conditions of a greenhouse environment, and then transplant to several outdoor nursery farms it operates in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys. After growing the rose plants for seven to ten years, DeVor then sells the successful varieties to wholesale growers, many of whom are located in the Pajaro Valley, which encompasses Watsonville.

Immediately after buying the property, in July, 1987, DeVor cut down about twenty acres of the apple trees, cleared a site, and began pouring footings for the four greenhouses and associated buildings which would comprise the structural aspects of the operation. A neighboring homeowner, Betty Allen, became concerned when she observed the preparations for foundations. She had been unaware that greenhouses were going to be built on the property, assuming that either new apple trees would be planted or that the new owners would undertake some other type of open field agriculture.

Mrs. Allen notified the Santa Cruz County Planning Department, which had been looking over DeVor's proposed plans for its greenhouse operations, and the County subsequently issued a stop-work order. DeVor had not been proceeding illegally, but

the County felt that because the project had not been formally approved, everybody's interests would be best served if the construction was temporarily halted. Since that time, July, 1987, no new construction has taken place.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The proposed development plan calls for the erection of greenhouse and shadehouse structures covering over 420,000 square feet, accomplished in four phases over a ten year period. In addition, other facilities would be constructed, including a grading and packing shed, a maintenance shop, an office, paved parking and circulation areas, a drainage system, and a retention pond. The total impervious surface of the project would cover almost eleven acres. Eleven acres of the parcel would remain planted in apple trees.

The new rose plants that DeVor develops would be grown on raised benches during their first year, and then transplanted to the native soil on site for their remaining year(s) in the greenhouses. A drip irrigation system dispensing a mixture of water and fertilizer would water the young plants. A drainage system installed directly underneath the greenhouse beds would draw off any water not absorbed by the plants. This drainage water would be captured and used to water the small outdoor demonstration garden proposed for the site. Surface runoff water

would be collected by a separate drainage system and shunted to a retention pond located on the southeast side of the property.

The greenhouses would be heated in the cool winter months by a circulating hot water system. The design of the passive ventilation system would eliminate the need for circulation fans and night growing lights would not be used. DeVor estimates that about thirty workers would be employed at the site when all four phases of greenhouses construction are completed.

PROCEDURAL HISTORY

The ensuing debate over whether the greenhouse project should be built in Corralitos has involved many different actors, including the DeVor company, the protesting homeowners of the Corralitos Valley area, the Santa Cruz County planning department, the county planning commission, the county board of supervisors, and various interested growers and farmers in Santa Cruz County.

Briefly, here is the chronology of events that occurred as the controversy unfolded:

July, 1987: DeVor submitted plans to be reviewed by the county planning department. Foundation work began and Mrs. Allen notified county officials, which resulted in a stop-work order.

January, 1988: The planning department environmental

coordinator recommended a negative declaration EIR for the project.

February, March, 1988: Public hearings were held before the county planning commission, at which time the Corralitos Preservation Association presented their case for a focused EIR for the project. The planning commission voted 3-2 to accept the environmental coordinator's recommendation for a negative declaration, with mitigations, and conditioned the project further by allowing only the first two phases of greenhouse construction to proceed. Successful completion of the last two phases would depend on the environmental impacts of the the first two phases. The Corralitos Preservation Association appealed this decision and asked the board of supervisors to take jurisdiction in the matter.

April, 1988: At a public hearing, the board voted 3-2 to take jurisdiction and determine whether a focused EIR should be done.

COMPETING INTERESTS

The concerns of the Corralitos residents are of three basic types: ecological, quality-of-life, and land use planning. The ecological concerns focus on the water demands of the project, the potential for toxic pollution from pesticides used and stored on the site, and the potential problems associated

with drainage from plant irrigation and runoff from impervious surfaces.

The quality-of-life issues focus on the negative impacts of increased traffic resulting from construction, deliveries, and commuting workers; the visual impact of the large, "industrial-looking" structures, especially noticeable from viewsites above the valley; and the strong feeling that a project of this magnitude does not "belong" in the quiet, picturesque, and mainly residential Corralitos Valley.

The land use concerns deal with the wisdom of allowing greenhouse construction and operation on prime agricultural land, when it might be possible for the plants to be grown in lesser quality soil on another site. In addition, the Corralitos Preservation Association contends that this greenhouse project should be examined in the context of other greenhouse operations in the area, to determine their cumulative impacts, as opposed to ruling on individual proposals on a case-by-case basis. Finally, the Association warned that once structures are built upon farmland, open field agriculture almost never returns, but instead, residential development often becomes the next logical development.

In addition, whether or not their feelings have a substantive basis, the Corralitos residents have resented the manner in which the greenhouse proposal has been handled by both the DeVor company and the county planners. The residents share the feeling that this project is a major intrusion into their

familiar and beautiful valley. These people seem to identify very strongly with their valley; many of them have lived there for a long time or moved there specifically to enjoy the qualities which the greenhouse project may diminish. Many of the residents expressed a poignant sense of loss as well as anger that their way of life (as they see it) could be altered by the apparently impersonal actions of an outside force. Some of these feelings appeared to be subsequently transferred to the county planners, who were viewed by some as taking DeVor's side rather than impartially reviewing the proposal.

The other side of the coin is, of course, represented by the interests of DeVor Nurseries in going forward with its plans. DeVor wishes to pursue its legitimate business goals in reliance upon its ownership of the land and its conformance with county policies and regulations regarding greenhouses and agriculture. DeVor stresses the fact that it has a right (conditioned by the restrictions and plan modifications promulgated by the planning department and planning commission) to conduct agriculture on this property and that the environmental mitigations established by the authorities have adequately addressed the substantive concerns of the Corralitos Preservation Association.

DeVor also emphasizes the fact that county policy allows and encourages agricultural uses on prime farmland and does not distinguish "greenhouse agriculture" from agriculture in general, except that conditional permits are required for

projects larger than 20,000 square feet. Its position is really very simple: it bought the prime agricultural land for a fair price and it has conformed to mitigations and amendments mandated by county agencies. In addition, DeVor claims that the project will confer economic benefits upon Santa Cruz County in terms of employment, taxes, and a proximate supply of new and competitive plants for Pajaro Valley rosegrowers.

THE COUNTY: CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE

This greenhouse controversy has forced Santa Cruz County, as its interests are represented by general plan policy and the actions of the board of supervisors, into a very uncomfortable position. The county would like to please both of these competing parties. On the one hand, it is important to respect and preserve certain ways of life and the expectations that residents of particular places have evolved over the years. And it is also important to protect unique scenic resources which contribute value to all county residents who view them. The county's strong environmental policies weigh in favor of giving strong consideration to these types of concerns.

On the other hand, the county must look to its economic base and determine what kind of future it desires. The apple orchard lies on prime agricultural land in the unincorporated

county. According to county policies, strengthened by Measure J, a voter referendum passed in 1978, agriculture is to be protected and preserved to the extent that farming will be the only activity allowed on farmland such as the Corralitos Valley orchard. Therefore, when growers propose to conduct agricultural businesses on prime farmland, their plans further the county's policies of preserving and maintaining agriculture to fulfill land use and economic goals.

Agriculture in Santa Cruz County has been gradually changing over the past fifteen years. Apples and field crops no longer dominate the local farm economy. Strawberries and roses are now the big money makers. Cut flowers, roses, and nursery products, all grown within greenhouses in the Pajaro Valley area, generate a much higher dollar return per acre than any other crops. New markets have opened up, competition has become more intense in old ones, (e.g., the apple market is now dominated by Washington state growers), and crops and farming methods have been forced to change.

One of the new farming methods growers have introduced has been agriculture conducted in greenhouses. The climate and soil in and near the Pajaro Valley is ideal for most types of farming; the additional climatic and environmental control afforded by greenhouses produces some of the best growing conditions anywhere. At least ten greenhouse projects have been approved by the county since 1985, one of them over 400,000 square feet in area and another larger than 600,000 square feet.

In comparison, the Seagate plant built near the Watsonville airport in 1982 is a little over 200,000 square feet. An EIR was mandated for that project.

Greenhouses can now be seen on the Pajaro Valley floor from vista points on Hecker Pass, northeast of Watsonville. They are clearly visible and make an impact upon the landscape, but how one views them certainly depends upon one's values and point of reference. For some, the glasshouses detract from the sweeping panorama of the valley and impose an "industrial" feel and look to the scene. For others, the structures communicate evidence of a robust agricultural economy and even improve the aesthetics of flat, undifferentiated farm fields.

Sherry Mehl, one of the two supervisors to vote against assuming jurisdiction to resolve the dispute over the EIR, summed up her view of the controversy by cautioning that the next question in future disputes like this one may be, "Will it [farmland] be agriculture or will it be open space?" She was referring to Santa Cruz County's future. In her view, the county can plan for a future with an agriculturally-based economy or it can begin to implement an economy and lifestyle similar to the one in Marin County, where environmentalists have also been a strong force, but in preserving ecological and visual values, e.g., open space, as opposed to agriculture. Other local growers, open-field farmers as well as greenhouse operators, have raised similar concerns by wondering out loud, "Is this [possible

strict greenhouse regulation] the beginning of the end for agriculture in Santa Cruz County?"

In any case, no matter how one feels about greenhouses, nor which side one takes in the Corralitos controversy, that is, whether the board of supervisors should require a focused EIR, one returns to the fact that similar disputes are likely in the future, given current county policies on greenhouses. As a result, almost all of the principals in this case agree that it is time for the county to review its policies on greenhouses and decide whether more or different regulation is needed.

POLICY DIRECTIONS

The current policy of the county with respect to greenhouses states that they are an acceptable conditional form of agriculture on lands zoned for commercial agriculture (CA). The standards governing new greenhouse development require visual mitigations where greenhouses will be visible from designated scenic roads, beaches, or recreation areas; retention of storm water runoff; minimal use of flooring or impervious surfaces within greenhouses; minimal use of exhaust fans; and retention of all prime soil on the site. Any greenhouse proposal larger than 20,000 square feet must also be reviewed in a public hearing before the planning commission.

The issues that current regulations do not address and which are at the heart of the protests of the Corralitos

residents are ones concerning amount of water use, storage and application of pesticides, use of prime farm soil for ornamental crops. visual impact in "non-scenic" areas, and appropriateness, which seems to really be an amalgam of all of the other issues, along with sense-of-place expectations.

The first two issues are on-site problems that can be addressed by researching and defining appropriate standards for draughting the water table, as well as for applying and storing pesticides. Because these are serious concerns, particularly near residential areas or next to schools (as the DeVor property is), both operators and neighbors need the security of definite parameters.

The Corralitos residents also have suggested that greenhouse agriculture (i.e., ornamental crops) should not be grown in prime farm soil since that soil should be reserved for food crops. Alternatively, they have proposed that ornamental crops "prove" they require prime soils or else be relegated to lesser lands. The distinction appears to be a bit forced, given the food crop surplus in this country, and amounts of land currently lying fallow. In addition, strawberries are increasingly grown in the prime soils of the Pajaro Valley, while, in fact, they can grow as well, if not better, in lesser quality, more sandy soils. The county could not very well limit ornamental crops to more marginal soils without affecting strawberry crops as well.

This analysis leaves, then, the problems of visual impacts and appropriateness of project scale. As the maps of the site show, the DeVor project occupies a significant "chunk" of the Corralitos Valley floor. The visual effect of the area is somewhat magnified because the greenhouses will be able to be seen from residences and roads on both sides of the valley.

The county planning department has required fairly extensive landscaping from DeVor in order to hide and buffer the greenhouses from roadside view. Part of the plan involves an agreement to keep eleven acres of the property planted in apple trees, next to Corralitos Road and along the north side of the parcel. The landscaping design appears to ensure that the shrubbery and trees will effectively shield ground-level views of the complex.

However, as Sherry Mehl noted in the board of supervisors hearing, the visual mitigation plan, as good as it seems, would be unable to hide the buildings from points above the valley plain. If the greenhouses are built, their presence will interrupt the broad, panoramic, pastoral scene one currently gets from Browns Valley Road, for example.

It is at this point in the controversy that one gets a glimpse of the "bottom line". That is, when the values represented by open space and agriculture collide, which will dictate the ultimate use of the land? The effect of county policy till the present time has been that residential uses adjacent to agricultural uses have had to accomodate farming.

New homeowners next to farmlands must sign a statement acknowledging their awareness of and acquiescence to county policy allowing agricultural practices such as spraying, cultivating, and harvesting. Furthermore, buffer setbacks of two hundred feet are required of residential uses, while agricultural uses do not require a setback.

This county policy, which makes all other uses yield to farming, where agriculturally zoned land is involved, seems to have helped to maintain the valued economic and social influences of farming. Nevertheless, in light of the tremendous resistance generated in this particular case, the county may find it wise to consider locational factors as well when greenhouses are the proposed use. Local farmers fear that regulations dictating where greenhouses may be built could be "the beginning of the end" for Santa Cruz County agriculture, yet it will avail them little to rely in the future on the "legitimacy" of greenhouses if citizens vigorously protest their placement in certain areas.

In general, a consensus could probably be reached that greenhouses "fit" better in some locations than others. For example, they may actually add definition, character and interest to broad, flat, undifferentiated farm lands like those southeast of Watsonville. On the other hand, greenhouses may tend to overwhelm narrow creek or river valleys like those north of Watsonville, creating feelings of intrusiveness.

If the county chose to evaluate county farmlands with respect to "appropriateness" for greenhouse placement, this

procedure would require several types of information. First, the county planners would need to make an inventory of farmlands. Next, they would need to develop or adopt criteria with which to judge the suitability of these lands for greenhouses. Finally, they would apply the criteria to the lands and rate them according to suitability or appropriateness.

This type of analysis has been done on Martha's Vineyard, where the natural and social features of the island were evaluated with an eye to future development. The analysts divided the island into rationally discrete "landscape patches" and recommended the types and densities of development that each patch could accommodate. Their method involved evaluating each patch and the island itself by looking at natural features such as type and amount of vegetation, topography, and wildlife, and also by finding out (through interviews) which specific areas and features of the island were most valued by both residents and visitors (i.e., tourists).

If the county undertakes this type of analysis it can use the results to prioritize different lands for greenhouse development. The County Local Coastal Plan already has done this to some extent, recommending certain specific areas as "preferred areas for greenhouse location". In the context of the entire county, for example, the authorities could require more extensive environmental mitigations in the wooded foothills and creek valleys, and less on the alluvial plain of the Pajaro River or on the coastal terrace areas.

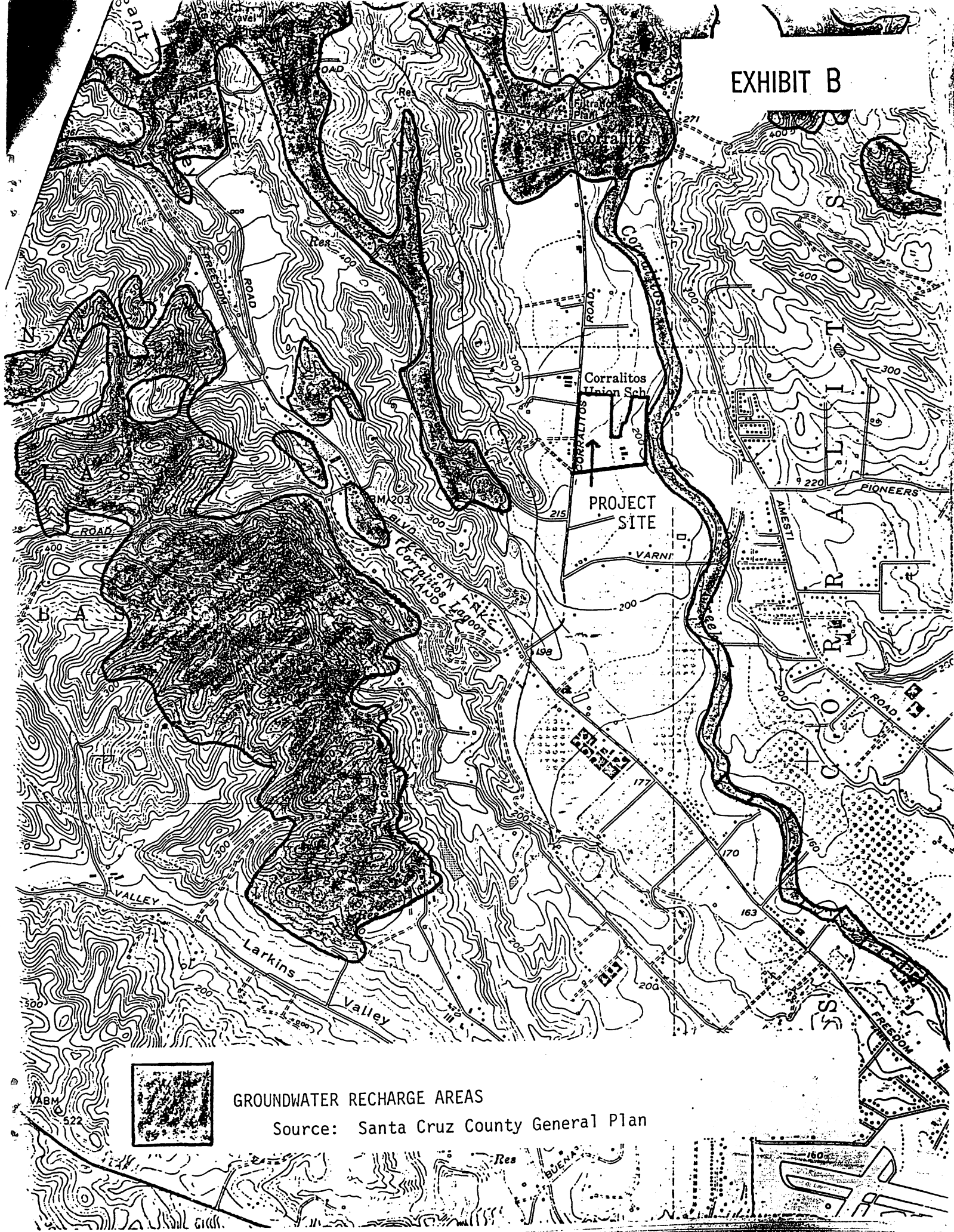
The county could also take a more formal regulatory approach. When a landscape analysis (like the Vineyard study) had been finished, the planners could designate certain areas as "preferred", "secondary", and "tertiary", respectively. Ordinances could require that growers would be required to search for available lands first within the "preferred" areas. "Secondary" and "tertiary" farmlands could be utilized only if "preferred" lands were not available. To ensure that landowners do not set prices too high, in light of the stipulations placed on growers in finding land, the county could establish and appeals board to determine whether the asking price was unreasonable. If the price was unreasonable, and if no other "preferred" lands were available, the grower could then search for "secondary" land. Finally, if "tertiary" land only was available, growers could build and operate greenhouses as long as appropriate mitigations were accomplished. The availability of these "lands of last resort" would be necessary in order to validate the county's strong committment to farming, when the choice is between agriculture and open space.

CONCLUSION

The conflicts in this case emerge from the context of the county's dual roles of agricultural and environmental protection. It appears likely that a satisfactory compromise can be reached with respect to "greenhouse agriculture" which can ensure the

continued vitality of agriculture in Santa Cruz County while respecting the sense of place that many residents of the county prize so highly.

EXHIBIT B



GROUNDWATER RECHARGE AREAS

Source: Santa Cruz County General Plan

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Santa Cruz County Planning Department: Tom Burns, Susan Williamson, Kim Tschantz

Others

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Sherry Mehl, supervisor, Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors

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