

Roadblocks to Community Building:
A Case Study of
the Stockton Filipino
Community Center Project

by

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PREFACE

The kind of information gathered and the use to which it is put depends on the kinds of questions that are asked, and to whom they are asked. In a case study involving the Stockton Filipino Center Project, the Asian-American Research Project assumed from the beginning that it would do the research for, rather than on, the community and the information generated would be shared with the community.

Information generated with the communities concerned can play a significant role in that community's ability to move together. Research can make people aware of the external forces effecting their lives, and what actions might be taken. For example, at one of the meetings, a researcher summarized the impact that a proposed freeway would have on the Filipino Community. A succinct summary showing the map of the freeway superimposed on a map of the Filipino Community showed that the latter would be completely wiped out -- physically and socially. Any questions concerning the connections between displacement of people, shortage of low cost housing, and the vital role envisioned by the proposed Filipino Community Center were answered very dramatically to all those in attendance.

However information itself is not enough. The surveys done by the Filipinos in Stockton were in response to the demands that the Filipino Community prove it existed. After this was done, the minority group immediately called attention to the problems faced by its people. The only significant response was a call for more information. Frustrations that come with such delays have various implications -- on the moral of the community, the credibility of the agency, and the possible working relations between the two. A similar response has been observed in the efforts of the Sacramento Asian-American community to obtain city support for an Asian Community Service Center. In the face of such experiences, that neighborhood groups and minority communities are taking much more aggressive stands, should come as no surprise.

The research approach in the Stockton Filipino study operated on the assumption that questions asked from the view of the community would be quite different from those asked by a researcher identified with an agency outside the community. Who asks the questions, from what perspective, and of whom the questions are asked determines who gets the information and how it can be used. The biases recognized in community oriented researches are made clear by the researchers.

This report and research benefitted from the help of various people in the Stockton Filipino community, particularly those involved in the Filipino Center project. Various people connected with the Asian-American research project at the University of California, Davis, contributed their ideas and efforts including Professor George Kagiwada and Ken Murase. The main work can be credited to Brian Tom, Joyce Sakai, Lillian Galedo, Laurena Cabanero. These four designed the study, Lillian and Laurena carried out the major tasks involved in the field work and in preparing this manuscript.

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This report focuses on the Filipino Community of Stockton, California and the efforts of this groups to strive for recognition within its own city. It is written from the perspective of the Filipino people in that city by two individuals of that same community who with two other student members of the Asian American Research Project at UCD chronicled the events of the last two years involving a proposal for a Filipino Community Center.

The first section of this report includes a brief description of Stockton, which will "set the scene" for those who are not familiar with the city. This will be followed by a history of Filipinos in the Stockton area. A description of the Filipino Community of Stockton as it is seen today concludes the first section.

The second and major part of this report will examine the efforts of the Stockton Filipino community to secure federal financial support for the creation of a Filipino Community Center. This study will present a chronological analysis of events starting with the concept of a federally funded Filipino Center that dates back to March, 1968.

This account of the proposed project in the Stockton Filipino Community covers a period of two and half years--beginning in March 1968 and carrying it as far as August 1970. Two of the researchers began their study in August of 1969 participating, to an extent, in the activities of the group while conducting their study. The information contained in this report stems from a chronology of correspondence between the interacting groups both community and bureaucratic; interviews with members of these agencies and community people; source material from various city agencies and local newspapers; and observations of two community meetings with agency officials.

Other than the community wide meetings mentioned much of the information on the progress of the proposed project was obtained in interviews with active participants in the project. These sessions proved very fruitful in terms of gauging the feelings of the community during the different phases of the project. The bulk of the work on this study was done by four people, two of us from the community. Returning to the community from time to time and seeing it closeup as well as from a distance was advantageous in that it gave to the researchers the opportunity to be somewhat more objective about their community. Nevertheless this report contains a number of biases. It is written from the perspective of individuals, who being concerned about the welfare of their community, admit an emotional bias in interpreting the events as seen from inside the community.

It is hoped that this report will be useful in increasing the awareness within the Filipino Community of Stockton: specifically, that community members be able to derive from it some sort of understanding of the events of the past two years and its effects upon the Filipino community as well as provide an insight into the

bureaucratic agencies which dealt with the Filipino community.

During the course of our study, it was made quite evident that the proposed project did not have the full support of the Filipino community. Many felt that it was a particular Filipino group's fight. However, as one studies the "struggle" of the past two years, it is hoped he will see that the "fight" indirectly involved, included, and affected every Filipino in the city of Stockton and, as the more aware community people see it, it affects every Filipino community in the United States. For here is the first undertaking of its kind by a Filipino community in the United States and here is the reaction of governmental agencies to this undertaking.

INTRODUCING STOCKTON

The Stockton area which produces a wide variety of crops is an important agricultural center of the San Joaquin Valley. As well as being the county seat, Stockton is the commercial, business, and trade center of San Joaquin county.

The city of Stockton itself has a physical form influenced by three main factors: 1) the original gridiron schemes laid out by Major R.P. Hammond, who was commissioned by Charles Weber, the founder of Stockton, to come up with a plan; 2) the waterways: the Stockton Channel and sloughs bisect the western and southern portions of the city, and the Calaveras River separates the upper north suburban section of Stockton from the rest of the city; and 3) the railroad lines which run both north-south and east-west through the city.

Divisions created by the sloughs and the railroads towards the south redirected residential development towards the north of the city. However, small irregular piecemeal expansion continues to the south and east areas already plagued by aging structures and high residential densities. These are adjacent to the central business district. To the immediate west: the central business district, urban renewal has destroyed an old shopping and residential section in hopes of creating a new image for Stockton. This area which encompasses Webers Point and nine city blocks bounded by Weber Avenue on the north, Washington Street on the south, Commerce on the west, and Hunter Street on the east, is known as the West End Redevelopment Area. In 1966 all the buildings of this area were demolished. The effects were greatly felt. It was estimated that in this project area alone, 1,445 single men were displaced.¹ (see map 1 in Appendix)

In addition, the blocks running east-west immediately beneath the West End Project between Washington Street on the north and Lafayette Street on the south, are being demolished to make way for the Crosstown Freeway. The proposed freeway runs through the West End, Central Business, Fibreboard, Lafayette, Union, Stribley, and Fair Oaks neighborhoods. It was estimated that construction on this freeway would cause the destruction of approximately 850 units and the displacement of approximately 1,720 people. A substantial number of these families and individuals earn less than \$3,000 a year. The demand for low cost or low rent housing continually increases as these people are displaced, adding to the housing shortage Stockton already faces.

The creation of this freeway will further divide the city and make more clear the differences between the bisected areas. Specifically, one will see more acutely the racial and economic separation that exists throughout the city.

The booklet, Stockton Community Renewal Policies and Program, in its description of Stockton's socio-economic problems, goes on to describe these differences:

1. Stockton has not grown as fast as the rest of the State. Where it has gained population is in the very young and the very old age brackets; it has lost population in the 25-19 age bracket.
2. Unemployment is highest in the southern and eastern areas of the City and labor force participation fluctuates because of the large seasonal component of total employment.
3. The income of a substantial number of Stockton residents is very low. Almost 20% of Stockton's families earn less than \$3,000 per year. The majority of these families live in southern and eastern Stockton. In California the poverty line has been set at \$4,000.
4. The areas of low income and employment are the areas where a majority of non-whites in Stockton reside.
5. Welfare cases are most predominant in the three public housing areas and are distributed throughout the area south and east of the business district.
6. Crime is centered in the southwest portion of the central district but more major offenses are committed south and east of the central core. The residences of juvenile offenders are concentrated in the three public housing projects.
7. The education environment in southern parts of the City is not equal to that provided in the rest of the City.
8. Some of the families occupying housing units in the central core and south and east of the central core have available incomes of less than \$2,000 per year and many have incomes of barely over \$3,000 per year.

South of Main Street, the business district is old and ready to be torn down for renewal. Many establishments have gone out of business due to the economic drain caused by the exodus of business from all other parts of town into north Stockton.

The housing condition becomes worse the further south one travels. The aforementioned booklet on Stockton cites:

"The poorest housing is south and east of the Central Business District in areas where the slough, the railroads, and other physical barriers combined with vacant, commercial, and industrial uses surround and inhibit development." 3

In many areas of the south, the racial composition is predominantly non-white. Sidewalks, gutters, and lighting are either inadequate or absent.

The public schools located in the south and east are also much older than schools located in other sections of the city and also have a high proportion of minority students. These neighborhoods will be further discussed in the next section.

In looking over the total situation of Stockton, one sees a city spread out over an area of twenty-four square miles with a population of approximately 102,000 people.⁴ The economic and social conditions of the city are clearly defined by geographic boundaries. The racial makeup of the city also abides by these boundaries. These are well-known facts among the residents of Stockton who know the distinction between "Southside" and "Northside." However, little has been done to alleviate many of the socio-economic problems which arise from these conditions.

HISTORY OF FILIPINOS IN STOCKTON

The delta region surrounding Stockton makes the area a rich agricultural haven that requires much care and attention. In order to make it most profitable, cheap labor is utilized by bringing in immigrants to work the fields for low wages. The first to come were the Chinese, then the Japanese, both of whom suffered from discrimination, hatred by the white public and eventual exclusion. When this labor supply was closed off, California began to look to other sources of cheap labor. After World War I Filipinos and Mexicans began to trickle into the valleys looking for employment. By 1923 and up until 1929 Filipino laborers were arriving in California at the rate of 4,177 a year.⁵ Because the Philippines was a protectorate of the U.S., Filipinos were not classed as aliens and were allowed to move freely between the two countries. There continued to be a high number of arrivals until the Tidings-McDuffie Act of 1934. This act promised independence to the Philippines in ten years but also cut the number of immigrants to a mere 50 person quota.

Those coming to the U.S. in the period before 1934 came primarily to work as laborers, although many hoped to continue their education while they were here.

Since Stockton was the heart of an agricultural expanse, Filipino laborers working in the San Joaquin County naturally began to congregate here. The influx began in 1927 and the population of Filipinos in Stockton kept growing until it came to be known as "Little Manila".⁶ Stockton is still considered by some to be the largest concentration of Filipinos in the U.S., but more recent statistics reveal that during the 1950's the population shifted from the more rural towns like Stockton to the larger metropolitan areas of San Francisco and Los Angeles.⁷

In its earliest days--around the 1920's, '30's, and '40's--"Little Manila" was concentrated in the blocks between Market and Lafayette Streets on El Dorado which was the main throughfare. Because they could only afford low rent rooming houses and cheap hotels the Filipinos were at first forced into this little three blocks by three blocks colony. El Dorado, which ironically means "land of gold", came to be the distinguishing landmark for Filipinos. On some occasions like the fourth of July (which coincided with the end of the asparagus season), Christmas, and New Years, every Filipino around came into town. As one Filipino remembered it, Filipinos would line the streets and fill the clubs, "all dressed up like hell" in magnificent zoot suits ready to spend money, have a good time or just visit friends.⁸

Prompted by money sent back to the homeland, letters telling of automobiles bought on the installment plan, photographs of girls, and the added temptation of gambling halls in Stockton, it was no wonder that many a young Filipino arrived on El Dorado Street expecting to strike his own eldorado.

But while waiting for one's fortune to find him, one must work, and for the Filipino this was most often on the farms as a laborer. Most Filipinos were employed in asparagus, either cutting or washing and packing it. In 1930 one man could make "\$600 for a season in a good place". Even during the depression he could still make at least \$300 for a season in a "good" place "for 12-14 hours of working like hell."⁹ Another "oldtimer" remembers the wages slowly rising from 10¢ an hour to 20¢ 25¢, 30¢, 40¢ and eventually to 75¢ around 1940. He estimates the average yearly income in the decade from 1930 - 1940 as approximately \$400 - \$500 a year -- "two or three months they are out of work."¹⁰ Filipinos in general received the lowest wages paid any migratory labor group. "During the 1925 - 1935 period they received 30¢ - 50¢ per hour or \$2.50 - \$5.00 daily. The lower figures were nearer those at which Filipinos were commonly employed."¹¹

The importance of the asparagus season to the Filipino is evident by the seasonal variations between the summer and winter population of Filipinos in Stockton. In his study of Filipino Immigration, Bruno Lasker estimated this ranged from a 1,000 minimum to 6,000 at the height of asparagus season.¹² Although most Filipinos migrated as the seasons dictated, others chose to stay in Stockton since its central location in the county offered a good base for some type of work during all four seasons of the year. In the winter one could prune while in other seasons there was work in the tomatoes and grapes in nearby communities.

Much of the job finding was done through contractors. Opinions about Filipino contractors conflict. There were reports that most of them were crooked and yet there were reports that it was "rare for a Filipino contractor to break his word." Most men who worked during that time probably have stories to tell of the contractors who disappeared after going to the bank or the bosses' home to get the money to pay the men. Nevertheless, contractors played an important role in Filipino labor. Lasker cites one grower who commented that:

"Where Filipinos are taken on individually without a contractor, they are more transient. In some areas, notably San Joaquin Valley, Filipinos ably led, have gone on strike for better conditions at times when crops had to be picked and no emergency labor supplies were in sight."¹³

One such strike was in 1948 against asparagus growers. A striker recalls that it: "didn't work out, but wages went up. The little farmers couldn't handle union wages."¹⁴

There were other attempts at organizing the laborers in the Stockton area. The Filipino Labor Association tried to get something going in 1936.¹⁵ In 1939, perhaps the most effective Filipino labor organization was formed, the Filipino Agricultural Laborers Association.¹⁶ This organization later succeeded in raising wages for labor and improving working and living conditions. Publications such as the Philippine

Journal, a magazine published in English and Tagalog by the Filipino Agricultural Laborers Association, and the Philippine-American Observer, also based in Stockton, were short-lived and sporadic. The Journal was only published from 1939 to 1941; while the Observer operated only about one year.¹⁷

Contractors did most of their recruiting among the gambling halls, restaurants, and hotels of "Little Manila". One agency, the Filipino Employment Agency which was located at 352 So. El Dorado Street,¹⁸ would round up workers from the area in its own bus and transport them to the work site. This method of recruiting became a daily event on an even greater scale and operated in this area for many years.

Aside from field labor, Filipinos in Stockton were also employed as domestic workers in hotels, restaurants, and private homes. A Filipino domestic worker in the 1920's received approximately \$1.50 a day or 15¢ an hour with 50¢ deducted for board, leaving him with a net of \$1.00 a day.¹⁹ In most occupations the Filipinos received lower wages. To quote from Lasker's study:

"In 1927 a box factory in Stockton employed a large group of Filipinos at 35¢ an hour when the previous wage for common labor had been 40¢ an hour. As soon as they learned of this discrimination, the workers went on strike. But under the constitution of the International, the local union was unable to grant the Filipinos' desire to be organized."²⁰

In their early history few Filipinos were allowed in any of the professions. One woman remembers that: "They would give you the alibi that they had accepted another application; they would give you a good alibi, but they wouldn't give you the job."²¹ A Stockton Filipino was refused a teacher's license in 1930 because he was neither an alien nor a citizen.²²

After World War II, Filipinos were able to obtain employment as longshoremen, warehousemen, and other jobs in the local army depots around Stockton and at the naval annex.

Housing

Housing was inadequate and meager. While most Filipinos did not reside in the city proper until after the second world war, those who did were renting rooms in cheap hotels in the central core of the city around El Dorado Street. Their meals were eaten in the numerous down town restaurants, operated by Japanese and Filipinos who sold meal tickets. Meal tickets were used mostly during the depression years. They could be purchased for almost any amount, usually about two, three or five dollars and were enough to pay for the 15¢ and 25¢ meals.

Filipinos were not allowed to rent on the north side of town. Apartments that were available to non-citizens rented for 15, 20, 25 or 30 dollars a month. These were almost always located in south Stockton.²³ Often, more than one family would share a dwelling if they could find one. They usually took whatever they could find.

Since non-citizens were not allowed to own property, homes could only be purchased, in most cases, by Caucasian or Mexican wives who had citizenship. Until after 1945, the labor camp was a common home for most Filipinos, both single men and families. With few exceptions, the camps were usually unsanitary, overcrowded, drafty, and poorly accommodated in general. One of the men who had lived there describes the accommodations as:

"...not so good. Not all had toilets. There were black (widow) spiders in the toilets. No heaters. We had to chop wood for the stove. Sometimes there were 30-40 living in one (barrack-like building)."²⁴

There were usually no mattresses on the beds.²⁵ Polluted water, especially in the Delta region, was sometimes the cause of sickness and of deaths from typhoid and other contagious diseases.²⁶

Life Style

Life for Filipinos in Stockton was arduous and at times seemed almost intolerable. It seemed evident from the very beginning that Stockton was not going to allow Filipinos into the mainstream of community life. Although there were no ordinances pertaining to it, Filipinos knew that they should not cross Main Street to the north side. As one elderly man remember it:

"Filipinos couldn't cross Main (street) or else there would be big trouble. The cops would warn you. The cops then were really mean. Before, when we were standing on the sidewalks -- there were so many Filipinos standing on the sidewalk like that -- nobody could pass by, so the cops would get mad cause they (Filipinos) were blocking the sidewalk and they (cops) would pick you up.....Police would beat them up. Filipinos who didn't work would get picked up for stealing. Detect ves would beat you up if you were with a white woman, 'cause they thought you were doing something bad."²⁷

This exemplified the general feeling that Filipinos were evil and if they were not contained somehow they would spread their immoral ways to the "good citizens" of the city.

The Filipinos were judged by their association with clubs in the El Dorado Street area -- clubs which were oftentimes operated by white citizens. One of these was the Savoy Club on the corner of Market and El Dorado. Another club one mile south of the heart of the city was also managed and controlled by Caucasians. It was for Filipinos. Anyone who wanted to get a free ride back and forth to the club could catch a ride with hired automobiles owned and operated by other Filipinos.²⁸ Still other clubs were controlled by Chinese, who, for a short while, were referred to as the "gambling lords of Stockton."²⁹

Filipinos had few recreational and social outlets other than those offered by the gambling houses and clubs on El Dorado Street. Because they frequented these places, they were condemned by the public at large and subjected to police harassment.

Some efforts were made by Filipinos themselves to provide recreation in the camps. They set up their own games such as volleyball. Later, in the late 30's and

40's, social dances and benefit dances were held to give them some sort of diversion from the daily grind, but these were mostly geared for the few families who lived in Stockton. The Filipino-American Recreation Center, Inc., on East Lafayette and South Hunter streets, was formed to provide recreation for Filipinos, but little is known of the success of the establishment.

Since most of the men were lonely bachelors, they sought social contact at the local taxi dance halls. In Stockton there was one at the A.F. of L. Building and another club called the Rizal Social Club operated by a Filipino. These dancing places were the source of much tension between whites and Filipinos. Because of the shortage of Filipino women, women employed by the taxi dance halls were mostly Caucasian. A few were Mexican. This was a sensitive situation for the white population who found it repulsive that the young Filipinos and white girls might be attracted to each other. Women hired as entertainers usually lived on the premises of the club. But the authorities in Stockton would not allow it. The girls were threatened by charges of vagrancy if they were found in such places.³¹

While the dance halls were under constant surveillance, prostitution was brought to the doorstep of Filipino camps. Manuel Buaken, a Filipino author, who chanced to be at a camp when this type of activity was prevalent, recounts the following incident:

".....I had the privilege of witnessing this deliberate and wanton destruction of us (Filipinos) in the United States. When I was working in Stockton at Terminal Landing, 1933, a beautiful Cadillac sedan, driven by a man, stopped one night at our camp. The man brought three beautiful blonds there that night, took the girls into the quarters of the boys and the boys had a good look at them...the man made fat collections that night. When he got all the available business, he went to see the head man of the farm and asked him if he could recommend other places where Filipinos worked in that section of Stockton. Within a week he was back again, this time with different girls...the frequency of such visits by these men who capitalize on the sexual desires of Filipinos occurred twice a month, going from place to place, making the rounds of the camps at Stockton, Salinas, Bakersfield, Imperial Valley, Fresno and the San Joaquin Valley."³²

The Filipino-white heterosexual relationship only heightened the resentment that many whites already felt due to the loss of employment for Caucasians. Articles objecting to Filipino labor were frequently printed in the Stockton Record.³³ These were submitted by such groups as the California Joint Immigration Committee, Native Sons of the Golden West, San Francisco Labor Council and the State Federation of Labor.

Repeatedly subjected to this anti-Filipino attitude, one Stockton man when interviewed expressed his feeling this way: "They consider us nothing....they looked at you as if you are dirt." At the same time he sensed a closer feeling with whites from out of state rather than those from California.

"You could tell the difference. . . a lot of them came from Oklahoma and those who came were farm workers and they were farm workers and they were just poor like Filipinos looking for jobs. . . (the whites from California) had a feeling of superiority. It was even hard to ask to even eat in the restaurants. . . sometimes we aren't even served. When they serve, it takes longer time, we have to wait. They look at us funny, you know?"³⁴

Filipinos were often also insultingly referred to as "goo goos" or "monkeys". This alienation between the two groups was evident throughout the state. In 1930, riots and disturbances broke out between whites and Filipinos in Watsonville and San Jose. In Stockton, a bomb was tossed from a passing car at the Filipino Federation of America building at 2049 South San Joaquin Street.³⁵ The local police chief who was known to have an extremely unfavorable opinion of the local Filipinos surmised that the explosion was the result of animosities between rival Filipino factions. No evidence of this could be found. But there were some reports of whites angered by their own lack of jobs while at the same time Filipinos were finding work. There were also false rumors circulating that more Filipinos were congregating in Stockton because of the ill-feeling in other parts of the state. The circumstances seemed to point to a small hostile group rather than wide-spread animosity.

Not only were Filipinos plagued by persecution from the white population, they were also infested with rivalries from within their own group. The tribal and provincial rivalries that were strong in the Philippines accompanied these men as they crossed the Pacific, making them, in many instances, their own enemy. Just as there were street fights with whites, there were, for a time, as many street fights among Filipinos.

Some Filipinos began to realize that what was needed was social and recreational contact among Filipinos. In 1924, the Daguho Lodge of the Legionarios Del Trabajo was founded in Stockton. The Caballeros Dimas Alang had already been organized some time earlier. By 1930 the Filipino Federation of America was established in Stockton. These are the three principal fraternal organizations which still exist today with much the same membership that it had in its childhood. Through their teachings of brotherhood and oneness among men, the organizations helped Filipinos to contain some of their ill-feelings and re-evaluate their attitudes about each other.

Even though there is no longer the overt hostility among groups, the identity with a province or town of the Philippines is still vital. This loyalty to those from the same area in the Philippines became especially acute as the first immigrants began to get sick and die. Inasmuch as most men had not married, there were no relatives to care for them in these times of crisis. As a consequence, provincial groups began to organize around the late 1930's and 40's. Filipinos coming from the same town or locality banded together and contributed to a central fund that would be utilized for hospital expenses and funerals.

Today there are at least thirteen such organizations in Stockton alone, each looking out for the welfare of its members. Altogether there are more than forty-seven Filipino groups. This number includes fraternal, cultural, provincial, professional, and athletic groups. Most Filipinos belong to at least one provincial organization; many belong to both a provincial and a fraternal organization. A few belong to as many as four. (See list of organizations in Appendix.)

But strangely enough, regardless of this criss-crossing in memberships, and regardless of the declarations of being Filipino first and Illocano or Tagalog or Bisayan second, there still exists up to the present time, a basic disunity or lack of concern for the survival of the Filipinos as a whole community.

One would expect that a body of people who had shared similar backgrounds and grievances, and who lived in relative proximity of one another, and who had for the most part similar economic standing, could have identified as a united group and act together for its own benefit.

Instead, preoccupation with ones' clubs and organizations had preempted involvement with the total community. As the bylaws of the organizations pre-determined, each organization had strict and unyielding objectives by which it must abide. Fraternal organizations felt that responsibility to its membership came first, and to the general Filipino population, second. It was believed that any community politics or social movements effecting the general Filipino population were outside its jurisdiction, and that these matters should be the responsibility of the Filipino Community, Inc., an organization that was supposed to be representative of the entire Filipino population, all dialects inclusive, and the spokesman for the whole community.

The provincial organizations expressed feelings along similar channels. Their main purpose was to look after the health and security of people from their province and other issues were left to other groups.

Neither type of organization dared to alter past precedents by becoming involved with an issue that might prove to have political connotations. In the past, when these groups were originally formed, it was vital that they shelter and protect one another from abuse that constantly threatened them. Although these strongholds had buffered Filipinos somewhat from the blows of white prejudice, they had proven also to be strong enough to act as barriers between fellow countrymen.

The Filipino Community, Inc., which had been given the responsibility for the community's well-being, could not adequately handle this role. Numerous people paid lip-service to the organization, yet there were few actually around to provide support when action was needed to move the organization into a position of power in the community.

This unwillingness to work as a body was only one factor blocking community unity. Other components of the community also lacked a sense of identity with the total Filipino population. The majority of the younger generation had grown away from a concern to preserve a unique Filipino identity. Even those who had participated in the cultural aspects of the Filipino tradition were blind and inactive when confronted with the reality of Filipino problems. Many youth were removing themselves from the problem entirely and escaping into the larger cities. The young who remained in Stockton detached themselves from the established groups. Very few joined the organizations that were founded during their parents' generation. The clannishness, stiff formality, and inflexibility of the groups did not stimulate any desire in the younger Filipinos to become affiliated with them. Those who had expressed some interest in membership wanted first to alter the constitutions to make the organizations more active and responsive to the needs of the community. But moves of this type were blocked by the organizations.

Another factor which widened the rift among community peoples, though to a lesser degree, was the evolution of classes among Filipinos. In their earlier history, most Filipinos were basically on the same impoverished level. But some Filipinos managed to squeeze ahead to a slightly higher position. And too, the younger Filipinos were edging into a higher economic bracket. Many of these people lost touch with the heartbeat of Filipino existence after moving away to other sections of town. Even the growing number of professionals immigrating to Stockton contributed to the widening gap. Their presence seemingly stirred anxious misgivings among some of the more established residents who felt that the newer arrivals generally looked down upon the older pioneers as having failed to raise themselves up the economic ladder.

In other cases, what appeared to be apathy about one's people was merely an absence of communication with their compatriots. Most people were forced to contend with problems of mere subsistence and found it impractical to get involved in other activities.

These varied causes of disunity proved not insurmountable when several organizations joined together under the name Filipino Organizations of San Joaquin County, to work towards a Filipino Community Center for the benefit of its poor as well as for the poor of other racial groups. This will be discussed in more detail.

FILIPINO SITUATION TODAY

When Orientals were finally allowed to own land in 1945, Filipinos began to move out of the central core of the city into homes, locating mainly in South Stockton. Today the majority of Stockton's 6,000 Filipinos still reside in South Stockton, many in the same homes they purchased in the late 1940's.³⁶ In addition to homes, the majority of Filipino businesses, lodges, and meeting places are also in South Stockton.

The highest concentration of Filipinos live in the south and southwest corner of Stockton, an area bounded by Charter Way and Marengo Road on the north, the Western Pacific Railroad tracks on the east, Clayton Avenue on the south, and French Camp Slough on the west.

Within this area live approximately 46.8% of the Filipino population.³⁷ Most of them live in the Corona Park - McKinley Park tract. The McKinley Park area is a very old section which was finally annexed into the city limits in 1969 after fifteen years of badgering from local residents. Presently a number of homes on the west edge of this tract are being demolished in order to construct access-roads for the Interstate freeway that is dividing this section from the Conway Homes-Lever Village area which also houses a sizable percentage of the Filipino population.

Little is known of the fate of the remainder of homes in the McKinley Park area. The majority of these homes are far below standard building codes and are overcrowded. The streets are uncared for; lighting is poor; there are no sidewalks or gutters, and the homes in this area are not connected to the city sewage system. Residents feel that since its annexation, the city has done nothing to improve the area even though they are now paying higher taxes. Most residents would probably move out of this "eye-sore" if there were some other type of low-rent housing available; but in Stockton, low-rent housing is at a premium. The Corona Park area immediately north of the McKinley Park tract is a housing subdivision built in the late 1940's. Although the homes in this area are more modern and have better facilities than the McKinley Park tract, it is speedily declining.

The Lever Village tract was built in the mid-50's and has relatively modern accommodations. Adjacent to Lever Village is the Conway Homes, a federally financed housing project of duplexes and triplexes. It is predominantly non-white and over 25% overcrowded.³⁸ The waiting list of families for this project is extremely long since it is the second of only two low-cost housing projects for families. The other project is the Sierra Vista complex in East Stockton. The area just north of Lever Village was annexed at the same time as McKinley Park and shares much of the same characteristics as that tract.

The Homestead tract is older than both the Corona Park and Lever Village developments. Some of the homes date back to the 1930's if not further. Many other homes in the area have been remodeled or replaced. The neighborhood is generally well-kept although the value of the property is considerably lower than property north of Main Street.

The next significant number of Filipinos reside in the central core of Stockton, part of which comprises the West End Urban Renewal area. The central core is bounded by Park Street on the north; Madison and El Dorado Streets on the west. It is also in the path of a Crosstown Freeway that will completely wipe-out the last of the cheap hotels where most Filipinos make their home. In this area lives 14.2% of the Filipino population.³⁹ The area where Filipinos reside is in actuality only about two blocks of the central core since much of it has been leveled for redevelopment and the remainder of the tract is out of the Filipino's income bracket. So 14.2% of the Filipinos live in a two to three block area of the central city which are the last surviving blocks of "Little Manila." The residents are mainly elderly single men who live in hotels that date back to the 1890's.⁴⁰ Their rooms are tiny with the barest of accommodations--usually a bed, table and chair. Maintenance is poor and services nil. Many places do not have showers, forcing men to use public bath-houses. There are also a few families still living in these hotels.

The blocks between the central zone and Charter Way account for about 7.1% of the Filipino population.⁴¹ This is composed of the Edison Villa, Lincoln, Jackson, Fiberboard, and Mormon Channel neighborhoods. Those dwellings on the periphery of the old downtown section are probably as old as the city itself. Many of them house more than one family and are from 15% - 19% overcrowded.⁴² There is little space between the multifloored homes, and insufficient area for children to play.

The remainder of the Filipino population are scattered throughout the city, most of which are in the southeast parts of Stockton. A growing number are moving north of Main Street. Many Filipinos also live in the farming communities surrounding Stockton. In general, South Stockton lacks the benefits enjoyed by residents in the north part of the city. Shopping centers and businesses are up north and more shops in the south plan to move north. Bus transportation out to these areas is slow and unreliable. Very few doctors and dentists have offices in South Stockton. Even the social service agencies are not located within the communities which use them predominantly. Education in this area is widely known to be inferior to that of the schools up north. There is only one high school for South Stockton. This is old and poorly equipped. There is no library branch and the bookmobile visits the areas only occasionally.

Though most Filipinos have fled the hotels of "Little Manila" to raise families in homes they could buy in South Stockton, the area downtown is still known as the central meeting place for Filipinos, especially the older Filipino. This is not much the case with the younger Filipinos. Many of the activity areas for dancing, bowling, billiards, and eating are not provided in the south section of Stockton. All seem to be moving north. But the young too are aware of the **historical significance** of "Little Manila"--all that remains of the six blocks or so that flourished in the early half of the century.

Within this area remain eleven Filipino owned or operated businesses.⁴³ Ethnic foods are purchased here and the card rooms and pool halls are a favorite gathering place. Filipinos visiting town need only drop into these places to find old acquaintances. Once this area is destroyed the men will probably be scattered to the various lodge halls for meeting places, but none of these will really ever replace the old turf that they have frequented for so long.

Economics

Although some Filipinos today no longer rely on agriculture for their livelihood many Stockton Filipinos still depend on agriculture for seasonal jobs as laborers, supervisors, foremen, or contractors. A large number of Filipinos are also employed by the federal government. This is primarily at the Sharpe Army Depot in Lathrop, Tracy Defense Depot in Tracy, and the naval annex on Rough and Ready Island.

The average income for Filipinos in Stockton is somewhere between \$4,000-\$7,000 annually.⁴⁵ The laborer makes from \$2,500 to \$4,000 annually, while the government employee can make approximately \$4,500 to \$7,000 a year, depending on his position.

There are also Filipinos employed by the city and county offices in Stockton. A large number of Filipinos have started private businesses such as beauty and barber shops, groceries, etc.

Those who have remained in agriculture are mostly the "oldtimers" who were so busy at merely surviving that they did not get a chance to cultivate other skills. Any hopes of upward mobility rest with their children since most of the first immigrants were denied positions that had any mobility.

Relation with City Government

South Stockton is much like a community banished from the official body, left to struggle on its own, surviving only on occasional tokens granted by city hall. As one resident phrased it: "They don't care about down south, everybody knows that all they care about is up north." This statement bluntly expresses the remote, flimsy relationship that South Stockton has with its absentee city government.

Filipinos, though not admittedly aware of it, also express a feeling of rejection--or sense of not belonging--when they refer to Caucasians as "Americans" as if they themselves were not! Having been treated as if they were unwanted guests of America, many have internalized the concept that the Caucasians are the Americans and the Filipino only a Filipino with American citizenship papers or a "permanent resident." And so as his culture has taught him to be, he behaves as a polite guest, trying not to be rude by not "rocking the boat" or doing anything else to place him out of his hosts' favor.

In the fifty years that Filipinos have been in Stockton, they have worked hard to attain the position they have today. Theirs has been a long, hard, silent struggle. Having gone this far, many Filipinos are under the illusion that by some miracle of quiet persistence they have finally woven their way into the very fiber of the Stockton community. Thinking that they have been accepted by the Stockton community, they are somewhat confident that Stockton will eventually take care of the problems of the Filipino community since they too are voters and should be represented by city officials.

But as most minorities in Stockton, they are not represented by city government. They rarely see or hear from their representative. Their representative does not even live in their area. Of the three councilmen representing the southern half of Stockton, only one lives in his district. Complaints that are brought to city hall are listened to, but never acted upon--"We have gone to the city council before, but they don't do anything!" This lack of any kind of power could account for the fact that in many city elections, some Filipinos do not even bother to vote. They have taken on the attitude that it wouldn't make much difference which persons were elected, they would probably all be the same.

When minority groups in Stockton attempt to help themselves, they receive only negative responses from city officials. In May of 1970, the city council was confronted by requests from a coalition of Mexican-American organizations asking that the city create a human relations commission to deal with the problems of Mexican Americans. City council response was that "the city is already meeting the needs."⁴⁶ They failed to see that the Mexican-American request to set up a new vehicle that would see to their needs was testimony that their needs were not being met.

Refusing to face the issue themselves, the council merely passed the buck to other groups such as ministers and churches saying that they could provide much of the information that Mexican-Americans need. They even questioned the idea of having the commission "try to find trouble and then seek ways to correct it."

Earlier, a member of the Filipino community had proposed that the city acquire a building to serve as a much needed community center for Stockton's Filipino community. The request was flatly rejected. The city manager stated that the city could

not legally spend funds for a center that would be used exclusively by one group.⁴⁷ There was opposition within the Filipino community. As one Filipina put it, some Filipinos abhorred the thought of a "handout". She felt that this request "for a building for Filipinos puts us back over 30 years." Her concern was that the relationship between Stockton's browns, blacks, and whites, "has greatly improved" in the intervening years and we must not backtrack; we must move ahead"--in effect saying again that "we must not rock-the-boat, we should not endanger our position." She concluded that "all we ask is that the city fathers be alert to the needs of South Stockton...."

Nevertheless, the city government funds the Senior Citizens Center, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce which are all white. These may not proport to be restricted to whites, but much like conditions resulting in defacto segregation of schools, these groups result in being all white.

The city's major objection to giving funds to an ethnic group seemed to be the fear that "if you give funds to one ethnic group then all of the rest of them will be asking for funds too, then where would we be?"

This attitude of not doing anything with the excuses that none will be served unless all can be served dictates much of city government's stance towards minority groups.

In the past two years, there seems to be a general awakening among the Filipino community, a feeling that as a group they must do something about their own problems. The young have been making efforts of their own to reach and unite its community. Filipino students at San Joaquin Delta College have been taking steps towards recovering the feeling of community. They began by introducing Filipino studies to the junior college campus. Then they extended their reach into the community. In the fall of 1969, letters were sent out to all the Filipino organizations asking them to meet with the students to discuss the status of their community and to possibly make the first small steps to a common ground. This letter was received unenthusiastically by the community people, but the group had at least made the first attempts at communication.

In the older community people started to come together around the proposal for a Filipino sponsored low-moderate housing project. This struggle has turned out to be a uniting factor for many components of the community.

HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF A FILIPINO COMMUNITY CENTER

From interviews with members of the Filipino community of Stockton, it seems that the concept of some sort of Filipino Center has been tossed around time and again dating back to the 1930's when Dr. Nacario Bautista was president of the Filipino Community, Inc. "Social boxes" were held as fund-raising activities at the Filipino Community dances for the "building fund." (Social boxes are special dances where men or women pay to dance with young Filipinas who are either participating to help raise money for a particular event or participating as queen candidates to gain votes. Generally each dollar collected counts as a vote.)

In one interview, a middle-aged Filipino who had been one of these social box participants, went on to say:

"There was nothing degrading about it because that was the thing. You wanted to raise money for a Filipino Community Center that until this day we do not have because the money either went to pay for a lot and the lot taxes, and somehow we still don't have it. But there is money in the bank. I understand there is a fund that Dr. Bautista still has which will eventually be turned over, I think, to our center...."⁴⁸

Other sources have also stated that there is an approximate \$2,100 building fund which the Filipino Community, Inc. intends to give to the Filipino Community Center should the center ever become a reality.

Many of the various Filipino organizations in Stockton also have their own "Building Funds". The Legionarios Del Trabajo Building on San Joaquin and Eighth Streets was built approximately seven years ago from funds specifically raised for the building by that organization. Across from the LDT Building on San Joaquin Street is the Filipino Federation of America Building which serves as lodging for some of its members as well as a meeting place. The Manuel A. Roxas Post and Auxiliary #798 of the American Legion have been raising money for years for their building. They have even chosen a land site in southwest Stockton. Social boxes and social nights are the main money raising activities for their Building Fund. The American Legion building was to be comprised of a large hall to be used for different activities, a kitchen, bathroom, and small meeting rooms. In general, this is the basic makeup of most Filipino halls.

A few of the Stockton Filipino organizations already have their own buildings where they hold their meetings, social nights, and other small gatherings. Some of these rent out their halls to other groups for meeting purposes. Provincial organizations which, in most cases, cannot afford their own halls, usually meet at a home of one of their members or use halls belonging to other organizations.

The need for a community center arises from the situation of these Stockton Filipino organizations. Because the tendency is for each organization to meet in

its own abode, the disunity of the Filipino community is further perpetuated. There is not a common meeting ground to bring the organizations nor their activities together, although there have been efforts toward this goal. There have been occasions where several groups have participated in a single event such as fiestas, picnics, and religious affairs.

There have been several attempts by Filipinos in the city of Stockton to work towards the goal of a Filipino Community Center, one of the most recent being the case of a Filipino who went before the Stockton City Council in Nov. 1969 to propose that the city acquire a Community Center building for the Filipinos. He was making this request on behalf of the Filipino Community, Inc. This plea was met with critical repercussions from some members of the Filipino community who banded together to express their dissent in a letter to the City Council. "This request for a hand-out does not represent the opinion of all of Stockton's Filipinos," wrote a spokesman of the group to the Stockton City Council.⁴⁹

Though this response may or may not have been representative of the majority of the Filipino community, the fact remained that a plea for a community center delineated the need and desire that the Stockton Filipino residents have been harboring since the 1930's.

An active and intense effort for a Filipino Community Center has for the past two years been in contention. This time the group is working for an FHA funded project that would not only provide facilities for a Community Center, but also provide much needed housing for low and moderate income families and single people, commercial space, and such services as a medical clinic, Child Day Care Center, and youth hall which are also much in demand in Stockton.

This Filipino group's efforts date back to March of 1968 when the Filipino Catholic Association of Stockton resolved to undertake and support a federally financed project in Stockton's West End Renewal Area.

The two main initiators of this project were Jose Bernardo and Ted Lapuz, both of the Filipino community who were helping to conduct a census for the Catholic parishes when the idea began to take form. Jose Bernardo has come to be known as the chief spokesman of the sponsoring Filipino groups because of his close involvement in the project. A relatively young family man and now present director of the VACOP (Valley Area Construction Opportunity Program), Bernardo had been a rather inactive member of the Filipino community during his previous 12 years of residence until he became aware of the housing situation of Filipinos living in downtown Stockton. When asked how he got involved in the project, Bernardo gave the following account:

"I was one of the census workers and I had to report back to St. Mary's. And so I finished my count on the block that I was assigned. I went back to the hall, St. Mary's Hall. That's where all the census workers were. And Ted came in. He had finished his (assignment). So Ted and I and Father Leonard got to talking about the whole situation. And Father says, 'Well, why don't you do something?' And I says, 'All by myself?' I don't know what to do. And that's when he says to go see Ted Lee.

And that was the first move, and I became involved. And I became involved because prior to that, believe me, I just, I had a world of my own. I was earning enough money for my family...Come Sunday we'd go to church. After that we'd take off and we'd go on our own way. But we never really went to the community. Participation in the community?...never. And so I really didn't know very many people, and my contact with the Filipino people was up to the church. And you separate me from that--I didn't know anybody. To go to say Rizal Day and... I didn't do that.

Then, how I started to be really active with the community was when I saw the problem. And until prior to that, if you had told me this condition exists in El Dorado Street where those people are living, I'd tell you, 'you're fibbing.' Because I wouldn't have believed the condition that those people were in. That was the first time I have ever been exposed to it. And like I said, if anyone had ever told me that this was the condition, I would never have believed it until I got there and knocked on doors and they opened. And there you see. But prior to that, it's just...how could people possibly live that way? And yet here is the condition.

So from then on when I got started on it, I couldn't let go because I had made up my mind that, by George, all the years these people have lived here, nobody has ever done anything really. And in a lot of cases, when you knock on those doors, people open a little crack in the door, peek through. I mean, it's like they're afraid of opening the door to the people. And you think about that. You say, 'why?' really, why?" ⁵⁰

Ted Lapuz was a more active participant in the Filipino community than Bernardo had been before the two of them got together to work on the Filipino project. His previous involvement has made him a valuable link to the people in the community. He has been able to maintain contact with those Filipinos he had worked with, answering their questions and promoting the center among other interested persons as well as the general Filipino community. As the owner of a Philippine import shop, Lapuz committed himself to recruiting commercial prospects for the center. Many people, learning of the facilities available at the Center, have contacted Lapuz about reserving commercial space. In the initial stages of the proposal, Lapuz was the important tie with the community. Today he continually works to stimulate enthusiasm for the project. His attitude from the beginning has been one of determination and optimism. His faith in the project and the people behind it has never dwindled, even at times when the project teetered on the brink of vanquishment. His spirit is expressed in his own words: "We're going to fight; we're going to get this center."

Ted Lee, the urban consultant whom Father Leonard had suggested is of Chinese heritage and was born in Stockton. He had an impressive background of experience as a specialist in real estate law, especially housing and urban renewal development under federal programs before establishing his office in Stockton in 1966. His interest in minority communities is evident by his involvement as attorney for the Filipino community in Salinas, the Chinese communities in Sacramento and Oakland, and the Japanese community in San Francisco. He is also affiliated with the Fillmore Community Development Association in the Western Addition of San Francisco. Lee has stated that he is doing this type of work because he is an Asian attorney. He feels there is too much discrimination taking place and wants to do as much as possible to alleviate the pressures minority people must work against when dealing with the establishment. In an address at a conference of Chinese communities in Canada in 1969, Lee asserted:

"I am an advocate of maximum participation in economic development by as many people as possible, particularly by the less privileged in the United States. This often means the racial minorities. I believe that even at the expense of efficiency, it is desirable to allow many individuals to participate in the decision-making process as it relates to urban renewal, and that the benefits of urban renewal should pass directly to as many individuals as possible."⁵¹

INITIAL STAGES OF FILIPINO PROPOSAL

Prior to meeting with Bernardo and Lapuz, Lee, aware of the housing situation in Stockton, had already been taking steps toward building some sort of housing project in the West End Urban Renewal Area to be sponsored by a minority group. He had written the redevelopment agency in Stockton, inquiring about one of the project blocks in the West End Area. His plan was to build some type of center on that block possibly sponsored by a Mexican-American group in Stockton. The Mexican-American population in Stockton is approximately 18,000 and most of the problems of housing encompass a large segment of their people.⁵² But their group was not ready at that time to take on such a task. They hesitated at taking advantage of the offer and so lost the opportunity when the project was accepted by the Filipino group.

The initial contacts with Lee were gratifying to Bernardo and Lapuz. Not really knowing how to go about funding or acquiring a center, they both were eager to learn what they as citizens could do. Lee offered a partial solution to the growing housing problem that plagued their people. Their enthusiasm, but lack of experience in this type of endeavor, was greatly compensated by his knowledge. The complexity of the procedure involved in building a project of this magnitude placed Lee on a level hardly accessible by those people who employed him. This gap between him and the Filipino community supporters of the project proved to be very disturbing. Few people actually saw Lee at work. His work took him out of the view of the community people leaving him vulnerable to suspicion when the project went sour. When he took a vacation in 1969, he was under fire for "leaving the project". At one point, Bernardo recalls venting his frustrations as he reprimanded Lee: "I want you to tell me whether you want to go through with this project or not!" He, of course, wanted to stay with the project, but he still could not devote much more time than what he was already working. His other projects demanded him to be in different cities on various days of the week making it difficult to pin him down for much consultation. (Trying to arrange an interview with him was difficult since his time was committed to his other projects. When he did have time to talk, it was only about the project in general terms. He was conscious of speaking over our heads and so did not paint a very comprehensive picture of what actually was happening with the project.)

The community at large knew very little about the project and received very little explanation or comfort from Lee. What they had thought would be a two-year project had not even been passed as a feasible project in that two-year span of time. Confusion and the lack of information bred distrust, and distrust led to a falling out of the ranks. This in turn, made it appear as if the project had the support of only a select few. Bernardo and Lapuz were often called upon to give progress

reports of the status of the project. But they too had only scanty information and often found it difficult explaining the consequences of all the "red tape" that had to be unraveled.

In the months that passed, as the project continued to move only inches, tension began to grow among those who would be held responsible if the project failed. Warren Wong, architect for the project, in a position much like Lee's, was sometimes the brunt of criticism from both sides. Many times his designs were returned to be modified and altered. These delays only triggered exasperation from Lee and the community people. Half way through the first year of the project's history, a second architectural advisor, Terry Tong of San Francisco, was taken on to help expedite the building plans.

The initial project plan called for funding from the Federal Housing administration under 221 (d) (3), below market interest rate, an amendment to the Housing Act which allowed persons whose incomes were too high for low-rent public housing and too low for standard housing in the private market to qualify for federal assistance. This program authorized 100 per cent mortgage to public bodies, non-profit organizations, and cooperatives, and 90 per cent mortgages to corporations willing to limit their return to not in excess of 6 per cent per year on their 10 per cent equity investment. The Filipinos could easily qualify as a non-profit organization. This plan for funding was later changed to Section 236 of the Housing Act which offered better benefits for the project.⁵³

Convinced that this group seriously wanted to sponsor this project, Lee extended feelers to the Redevelopment Agency in March of 1968 requesting that they hold the land for the Filipinos. Upon receipt of this request, the Redevelopment Agency notified Lee that they were unable to make a commitment to the project until the group submitted a formal proposal and deposit of five per cent of the land value which amounted to \$10,150.

The Redevelopment Agency which operates from federal funds is a separate body from the city government. Stockton's agency is run by a board which hires a director. The director of Stockton's agency is Ed Griffith. He is a rock-like man and appears to be firm, immovable, and immune to emotion. He has an air of control and aloofness from the masses of people. During an interview, he was business-like in the beginning, but seemed to have warmed up by the end of the short session. He revealed little inside information, speaking only of areas already known to the public. He never went into any detail assuming that it would be too difficult for his listeners to understand. His approach is very much the same at community meetings. He speaks only when he has to, never giving any extra comments or information. He appears most of the time to be only an outside observer as he sits back and scrutinizes the room. From the outside he appears to be cold and intimidating. This is probably

why very few ordinary community people approach him for the routine after-meeting small talk, only addressing him to say "thank you for coming".

During the remainder of March, 1968, a campaign ensued to elicit the support of the Filipino community at large. Mr. Lee, Mr. Bernardo, and Mr. Lapuz worked actively to get in touch with as many people as possible hoping to win support for the project concept. Lee drafted a memorandum giving as much factual information as possible, without snowing the reader with material that might not be understood. This information sheet was circulated in the countless meetings that were attended.

The reception at various organization meetings wasn't exactly unanimous, but it wasn't expected to be. Some people were receptive to the idea of a Filipino center while others were not. Too many proposals like this had been floating around since 1930--none of which resulted in an actual center. Some bouts with similar ideas had even ended with a personal monetary loss to the individuals who contributed to building funds. One organization, for example, had been attempting to save funds from the time it was first organized in the 1930's. The funds which had been raised somehow never produced a center, and the money often mysteriously disappeared. When the ledgers were turned over to a newly-elected treasurer of one particular organization, he found that the stubs recording the expenses of the organization had been torn out.

Some meetings evolved into heated debates as the more cautious people--conditioned by negative experience in the past, proceeded to block support for the project. It usually took more than one meeting to convince the members that this proposal could be a reality if it received the support it needed. The issue had to be explained again and again in order to assure the people that this possibly was not another sure failure. There were too many unanswered questions and not enough information available about the project to easily convince the people to join in support for the proposal. Who was to run the center after it was built? Would each organization have equal power? Would their name appear on a plaque that would commemorate the sponsors who spearheaded the project? Should they contribute all the money that they had been saving for their own building?

There was also some apprehension about the people who were coordinating the project. Who were they? What would they get out of this? These questions were examples of the burning issues that caused a split among members of one organization. When the membership voted to support the center concept by contributing a large part of the money earmarked for its own building to the "seed money" fund for the proposed center, the organization's leader resigned.

By April of 1968, Lee and Wong were ready to make an oral presentation of the project plans to the regular meeting of the Redevelopment Agency of the City of

Stockton. Mr. Lee relayed that the project which was originally started by the Filipino Catholic Association, the Filipino Post of the American Legion, and the Women's Club, now had the support of the entire Stockton Filipino community.

He expressed that the 150-unit low-income housing project would seek 100% federal financing through the 221 (d) (3) building loan section of the Federal Housing Act. In addition to the housing units, the project would include 20,000 - 25,000 square feet of commercial development and 5,000 - 10,000 square feet for use as a child care center which would also be utilized as a community meeting hall in the evenings. He also pointed out that within 30 days, the \$10,150 deposit would be given to the Redevelopment Agency. The 30-day period was needed to give other Filipino organizations, which had expressed an interest in the project, time to participate and possibly contribute to the \$10,150 deposit.

Filipino community members in the audience also spoke in favor of the project:

"I have lived here for the past 25 years and I have found that my people have had a hard time to locate a place where they could live decently. It is true that the Filipino people work hard, but our earnings are just enough to get by on. When Mr. Lee extended this project to us, I was so happy to have a place we could enjoy and where we could live decently. Up to this time, we have not had such a place. I hope our appeal that this project be given to us will be approved."⁵⁴

Another Filipino commented:

"I have lived in Stockton for the past 18 years. During all the years I have lived here, this is the first time I have seen the Filipino people as a group making a move toward one goal--this project. I believe that with the efforts of each and every one of us, we can make this dream come true--to contribute to the city of Stockton, which as a whole would be proud of the project...."⁵⁵

All expressed the need for housing, which is scarce in Stockton, and the pride in contributing to an undertaking that symbolized realistic response to the concerns of low-income people. The week following this meeting, Lee again met with the Redevelopment Agency. He explained to them that the money had been collected for the deposit. He was encouraged when Ed Griffith indicated that FHA would be favorable to the project. As he pointed out, FHA would undoubtedly like the idea because "it is housing in a central core area, and FHA has been directed by Secretary Weaver to look favorably upon such housing; a minority group is making the application and FHA has likewise been directed to look favorably upon such minority group requests; and San Joaquin County as a redevelopment area with a high unemployment rate is also a situation which FHA has been instructed to look favorably upon."⁵⁶ In addition to this, the project has the advantage of providing housing for families which is not the case with the Lee Center.

After the months of planning and persuading, the proposal to build a low-income housing project with some commercial space was finally given the go-ahead by the

Redevelopment Agency on May 2, 1968. Representatives from each of the sponsoring organizations arrived at the Redevelopment Agency meeting to present their share of the \$10,150 "seed money" deposit for the 4W block of the West End Urban Renewal project. The five sponsors were the Filipino Catholic Association, the Filipino Women's Club, the Manuel Roxas Post of the American Legion, and their Women's Auxillary, and Santo Nino. Later on, the Filipino Professionals also came in as a sponsor. For those who had worked so tirelessly for this moment, as well as those who for years had hoped that a center would someday be built, this was indeed a momentous occasion in the history of Filipinos in Stockton.

Not really realizing what the next few months--years--would unveil, this group naively felt that the reality of a center was very near. It was felt that at least within two years' time the Center they had dreamed about for so long would be standing and in operation. But this was not what happened in the following two years; this was but the initial step in a long involved journey to get to the decision even to build. Now that the Redevelopment Agency had consented to holding the land, the project sponsors faced the Federal Housing Administration.

The Redevelopment Agency's role became secondary. They acted only as a liaison between FHA and the project's sponsors and consultant. Never did the agency come out strongly in favor of the project, requiring it to sell itself. Considering the administration of the agency, it was not surprising. Griffith feels that it is not within his jurisdiction to make active contact with minority or other local community groups interested in the land within the West End Urban Renewal area. He feels that contact should initially be made through the city planning office in city hall and then referred to his agency after the needs of the group has been heard by city officials. This policy of waiting for developers to come to the agency instead of seeking possible developments may be related to the slow rebuilding of the West End project.

FHA: THE ONLY ROAD, BUT YET A ROAD BLOCK

The experience with FHA did not prove to be a simple matter. The process by which a non-profit group secures financing is long and rigorous. The first step (even before an application for financing can be made) involves a feasibility study. Such a study requires FHA to judge whether or not a project would be a safe risk financially.

In May of 1968, the Redevelopment Agency of Stockton requested that the Sacramento FHA office study the feasibility of the Filipino Center project. In June, 1968, the feasibility study was not yet finished. FHA stated they needed more information from the Stockton groups to be able to make conclusions about the project. They wished to know: (1) the total number of units and unit composition; (2) specific plans for the amount of parking space; and (3) amount of commercial space and information supporting the marketability of the space. The Redevelopment Agency passed these requests on to the project consultant who made arrangements to gather the information.

Once this information was collected, it was given to the Redevelopment Agency who forwarded it to FHA. Warren Wong, the architect, sent prints of the modified plans to FHA. The Redevelopment Agency sent seven pages of plans for the Center in addition to a list of commercial commitments compiled by Lapuz and Bernardo. For the next three months there was no word from FHA. Warren Wong was at work trying to modify details of the project plans. He estimated that it would cost \$18.83 per square feet to build.

During this time, a Work Committee was set up to begin making recommendations to expedite the project plans. They recommended that Filipino professionals be hired to do work that was presently needed. No action was ever taken on the recommendation. To this day, not one of the paid professionals employed for the Center is Filipino.

On October 3, 1968, finally responding to the materials sent in June, FHA requested additional information. They needed: (1) income levels of prospective tenants; (2) marketability of commercial space involved; and (3) marketability of both the commercial and residential space in connection with the Lee Center project. Until the requested information could be received and evaluated, the project would be held in abeyance; that is to say, the request had been denied.

Now work to prove the value and advantage of this project really began in earnest. FHA had questioned the marketability of the building as a whole. The factors most responsible for this uncertainty was attributed to the observation that the Filipinos in Stockton had not been a major component of the city. Their activities were usually confined to their own community. Thus FHA had reservations about

the Filipino community's ability to carry through to completion a project of this magnitude. To secure some evidence of their competence, the Filipino people were given tasks to complete to illustrate that they, in fact, knew what they were talking about when they claimed they needed a community center.

For the next nine months, community people spent countless hours after work struggling to gather this information requested by FHA. While the community worked on this aspect of the project, Lee was trying to solicit support for the project from Congressman McFall. Through their correspondence, it was decided that Section 236 of the Federal Housing Act should also be considered for possible funds. Soon after this, Lee concentrated on seeking funds through Section 236 rather than Section 221 (d) (3). Section 236 offers more benefits to the non-profit developer. In addition to the 100% financing that 221 also offers, 236 requires the federal government to assist in making monthly payments on the mortgage to reduce the owner's interest payments by 7½%, making his interest rate only 1%. This means lower rents to tenants. Section 236 also allows the redeveloper in an urban renewal area to pay lower land acquisition costs.⁵⁷

The first task was to show the demand for low to moderate income housing and for commercial space. The sponsors of the project were asked to estimate the number of Filipinos in the area, their income level, and their interest in utilizing the project facilities. This was a perplexing undertaking, especially since few people had attained a high school education and even fewer had any experience with surveys.

Not knowing exactly how to approach the task, they made various attempts to get the data. Their first try was to get the membership lists from the various organizations and use these for a head count.

From this preliminary study, it was estimated that the number of Filipinos in San Joaquin County was approximately 27,000 and that they earned from \$4,000 to \$7,000 per year.⁵⁸

These findings were quickly forwarded to Griffith on December 19, 1968 asking him to again request a feasibility study from FHA. The information was mailed to FHA a few days later.

In January, 1969, FHA responded by commenting that since their request of October 30, 1968, "no information had been submitted which would tend to resolve the matters referred to in that latter." In other words, the data that the people compiled has not been acceptable. This meant that FHA was unwilling to undertake a feasibility analysis until information acceptable to them was received. This in effect was the second rejection.

In order that FHA could be persuaded to resume feasibility studies, it was decided that the Filipinos would have to conduct a door-to-door census to get the

required information. In March 1969, with volunteers from every Stockton neighborhood, the names of all people of Filipino ancestry in the city neighborhoods, and in the small farming communities of the San Joaquin County, were collected. Much effort was expended in this particular project. Most of the work was done in the evenings. Often it was difficult to round up volunteers. Some came consistently, others came only when they had time. College students from Delta and Filipino nuns were among the volunteers. James Smyth, a sociology instructor at Delta College, offered guidance and experience. As the census was winding up in April, an article appeared in the Stockton Record asking those who were missed to call Mr. Bernardo. The names collected in this census were compiled into a card file and later used for a survey of Filipinos' opinions regarding the community center.

In order to get an estimate of the Filipino population in Stockton alone, James Smyth conducted a study using statistics compiled by the Stockton Unified School District. The SUSD report used the following categories: (1) Spanish surname, (2) other white, (3) Negro, (4) Chinese, Japanese, Korean, (5) American Indian, and (6) other nonwhites. Since Filipinos made up nearly all of the "other nonwhites" category, he had a fairly accurate number of Filipino students in SUSD. Using the "other nonwhite", he first figured out what percentage this was of the total SUSD student population. He then applied this percentage to the city population as a whole and estimated that there were 4,000 to 6,000 Filipinos in the city of Stockton.⁵⁹ (These figures can be compared to the 1970 census when available.)

Using the names gathered in the census, Smyth then conducted a survey to learn the opinion of Filipino-Americans concerning the proposal to construct a Filipino center in downtown Stockton.

This survey revealed that over 80% of the 104 randomly sampled favored without reservation the general idea of the center. Ninety percent endorsed the idea of including low-income apartments and apartments designed for the elderly. Eighty percent favored the general location of the center, and approximately two-thirds approved this inclusion of a child care center. Other public facilities such as a laundromat, bowling alley, library, store, youth hall, community hall, restaurants, and playground were recommended.

In addition the survey revealed that the majority of those interviewed were born in the Philippines, were over forty years of age, were married, and owned their homes. The largest number of people were employed as agricultural workers. The second largest group were employed by the federal government.⁶⁰

By August 1969 all of the data gathered by the community had been forwarded to FHA through the Redevelopment Agency in hopes of satisfying their inquiries. The Lee Center, similar to the Filipino proposal in many respects, was not required to

make any type of studies or provide information about the population and income of Chinese in Stockton. Ted Lee seems to feel that this type of "special" treatment stems from the fact that the Lee Center was represented by a well-respected, white attorney who had had previous contact with FHA. He also believed that his own previous confrontation with FHA concerning a Chinese housing project in Sacramento, cast an unfavorable shadow on this project because of his connection with it. A few community people began to feel that FHA's doubts about this project might also have some connection with the stereotypes of Chinese being successful businessmen while the Filipino is not widely known to be successful in his business endeavors.

Whatever the underlying reasons, the fact was the project was being delayed again. The Filipinos' efforts were acknowledged, but the data was not accepted as being valid enough to fulfill the requests made by FHA. Roland Sherman and Charles Barnaby of the Sacramento FHA office revealed in an interview that the studies were "brief" and "not giving pertinent information." They responded as if the Filipino community did not know what they were doing and that this project involved much more "professional experience" than was offered by the Filipinos. This explanation and response to their studies was not generally known in the community. Was this known, disappointment and disheartenment would have been rampant among the Filipino people who had worked diligently to meet FHA's demands only to have FHA dismiss their efforts.

The obvious failure of the already built Lee Center was another block to the Filipino proposal. The Lee Center is also a low cost housing project in the re-development area located only two blocks from the proposed site of the Filipino project. It was opened during the beginning of 1969 and at present does not seem to be doing well. Of the 200 units, only a little more than 60% of the rooms are occupied. Although the rooms are rented strictly to aged singlemen, the project is in every other way identical to the proposed Filipino project. The Lee Center was also financed through the FHA and rather than to go ahead and finance another possible failure in the same area, FHA has stated that it would prefer to wait until the Lee Center began to show more promising signs of success. Those working for the Filipino project felt it was unfair that they were being punished for the failure of the Lee Center.

Much correspondence went on during the period from the time the community began its surveys in March 1969 to the time they submitted their results in August 1969. Congressman McFall had corresponded with Ted Lee to keep in touch with the progress of the center. Warren Wong was continually sending plans and modified plans for the structure to FHA. He also wrote people asking for their support for the project. Groups with vested interests wrote to Lee whenever they were worried about the possible failure of the project. There always seemed to be a problem with the structural

scheme of the center which involved much work on the part of Wong, Terry Tong, Ted Lee, and possible contractors. It was during this time that Lee notified McFall of the status of the proposal and McFall initiated a congressional inquiry in Washington. A congressional inquiry generally calls for reconsideration of the project. In September of 1969, Sherman of FHA wrote the Stockton Redevelopment Agency instructing them to complete an application for a feasibility study. It was also in this letter that FHA indicated that they saw no need for a housing consultant (Lee) and that they would rather work directly with the Redevelopment Agency. Had Lee taken this seriously, the project probably would have died soon after. Thus, the Filipino group had been finally granted an application for a feasibility study! Their efforts for the past year and a half had gotten them only this far.

What was the mood of the people at this time? While waiting for the decision on the feasibility study, some had already given up. Many who were against the project from the start were now convinced that the attempt was a total failure, struggling "I told you so." Others who favored the project but were not actively involved, sat back patiently wondering whether things would come out all right. Some had already forgotten about the center, thinking that it was just another silly idea someone had thought up and abandoned. Then again, there were those who never gave up and kept on fighting.

There was a terrific need for a boost in the people's spirits. Many were tired of waiting. Now that the application for a feasibility study was in, it would probably take several more months before they would hear the results.

In November, 1969, Congressman McFall indicated that he would like to meet with the Filipinos in December or January to discuss the status of the center.

The people were anxious and some community people expected McFall to give them answers. They assumed he knew the latest scoop on the center and would be able to tell them what was to happen next. But others actively involved in the project knew that this would really be a meeting that would be informative to both McFall and the community people. The meeting would give him some sort of indication as to the terrific need for a community center, the support behind it, and the progress of the project. This would also be the time for the gripes to come out. A meeting was set for January 25, 1970 at Bernardo's home.

Invited to this meeting were approximately twenty-five Filipino community people representing various concerned organizations, the researchers of this report, Carmen Perino, county supervisor of District No. 1 in San Joaquin County, Ed Griffith of the Redevelopment Agency, Ted Lee, Warren Wong, and John Olhasso, McFall's aide from Manteca.

The meeting began late. It wasn't until half an hour after the meeting was scheduled that McFall arrived with his aide. He came in smiling and the people

watched him enter. He spoke very little; but what he did say was encouraging, although it had little substance to it. It was a politician's talk. What he said basically was that the project was undergoing a feasibility study, which everybody already knew; and the people would hear from FHA after thirty days. If the project was feasible, which he was most confident it would be, the Filipino project would have top priority when time came for funds to be distributed.

After hearing Lee and Griffith briefly explain the red tape and other details involved with the project, McFall then asked the same questions FHA was asking about the financial feasibility of the project. Would the commercial rental rates be too high? "Are two too many?" This was in reference to the Lee Center and the problems it had. As one Filipino later pointed out, this last question reminded him of a car salesman who upon finding out that you're interested in buying, says "yes, yes" then after hearing your \$10 despositary offer, says, "but are you sure you can afford it?" McFall had heard the arguments against the feasibility of the Filipino project; and he, like many of the public officials, had his doubts, too. "Yet, we've got to let the people know that we're with them. After all, what is our job, isn't it?" is the attitude most politicians seemed to have and McFall was no exception.

Nor was Perino, for that matter. Carmen Perino, an Italian, is a big name with the Stockton Filipino community. At Filipino functions, he is often the main speaker, Perino's contact with the Filipino community is more visible than any other politician's in Stockton. His role at this meeting was not clear except that he seemed to be there to observe.

It did not take long before the community people found themselves on the defensive trying to prove to McFall, who obviously didn't know much about the Filipino community, that there was a need for the Center. Ted Lapuz, a commercial tenant at the Lee Center, knew why the Lee Center was failing: "poor management". At this point, the researchers were called upon to make some comment on their study. After stating the purpose of their research in the Stockton Filipino community, they presented a map illustrating how the Filipino section of downtown Stockton was to be totally wiped out by the oncoming crosstown freeway. This map graphically depicted the doomed area and people and business that would be displaced. The proposed freeway would destroy or force the relocation of approximately fifty per cent of all Filipino businesses in the Stockton area.

Many people hadn't realized the effect of the crosstown freeway upon the Filipino community and this became the topic of discussion. McFall seemed to agree that for at least the men in this area, there is a definite need to find adequate housing and that the proposed Center could be a possible answer to this problem. He stated that the meeting had been very enlightening for him and that he would see what he

could do to help the cause.

McFall left before the end of the meeting, and in less than a minute after he left, the meeting ended. There seemed to be no reason to keep it going if McFall was not there. People stayed for refreshments and conversed in small groups in a much more relaxed atmosphere. Had McFall stayed, he would probably have found the post-meeting session as "enlightening" as the meeting.

COMMUNITY RALLIES TO THE DEFENSE OF THE CENTER

After the meeting with McFall at Mr. Bernardo's home, most people were optimistic that the project would soon be approved. McFall was friendly and noncommittal. People were sure that now McFall knew that the community was behind the project, that there was a real need, and that the Filipinos were sincerely willing to work for the project. No one knows whether he ever did anything to follow through; because by the time he once again received communications about the project in February, 1970 from FHA, he was told that the project had been rejected. On the same day that FHA sent him the notice of rejection, another letter was mailed by the Stockton group now calling themselves the Filipino Organizations of San Joaquin County. They asked McFall to request the FHA offices to expedite the feasibility study. But it was already too late.

In a letter from the FHA offices in Sacramento word was sent to Griffith of the Redevelopment Agency saying: "We regret to inform you that our analysis indicates that further processing of your proposal is not warranted."⁶¹

The letter pointed out that the 68 efficiency units were "aimed at somewhat the same market as the Lee Center project approximately one block away", which is still less than 60 percent occupied. Secondly, the "lack of schools and appropriate play areas in this part of Stockton" led them to believe that there would not be any market for the two and three bedroom units that were designed for families with children. Also, they felt that the 50 parking spaces that were allowed for the tenants was inadequate. Lastly, since the commercial space available at the Lee Center was still partially vacant they feel that there was not need for the 36,000 feet commercial space that is included in this project.

FHA felt that satisfactory market absorption of this project proposal could not be anticipated. No mention was made of any alternatives, nor any of their past efforts acknowledged. The rejection was cold, direct, and as far as FHA was concerned, final.

Griffith immediately wrote to Lee saying that the project was found to be infeasible and that "because of this finding, the Agency will probably want to put the property back on the open market for sale unless you have some possibilities of securing an early reversal of FHA's decision".⁶² He obviously planned to accept the decision and take back the land unless the others had any other quick ideas. He seemed to think that after two years the Filipino community would drop the whole project. They had gone too far to turn back now; they were to committed to the idea of a Filipino Center to give up so easily.

Although there were those who were ready to go along with the FHA decision-- seeing this project as another failure--the majority of the people responded with a

a third will to fight. It was clear to them what their next move must be; they could not allow this to fail; they would have to rally their people to an offensive position. A new defense began to take shape bringing in other forces from the community.

Lee started off the replay almost immediately with a letter to Montgomery discussing the allegations in the refusal. He reviewed the events of the past two years and brought the project up to its present state. He then began to present his defense of the project:

1. Additional Section 236 housing is needed in Stockton, Sacramento's Chinatown has had two Section 236 projects approved for feasibility, both with substantial commercial components--why should Stockton be treated differently?
2. The Lee Center vacancies are due to poor planning. Those units that have not been rented are those that were not equipped with kitchens.
3. Many families will be displaced by the cross-town freeway soon and housing will of course be needed. In addition the Stockton Unified School District is willing to operate a child care facility at the proposed location.
4. As far as parking goes, they were already informed that a full block of parking already exists directly northeast of the proposed location, and the City of Stockton is prepared to provide parking directly west of the location when needed.
5. In regards to the commercial space, a survey that the Filipino community made showed that a large enough Filipino community existed to give the project the kind of support it would need. But, if necessary, they are willing to reduce the amount or otherwise change the commercial component of the project.
6. Finally, the city has invested quite a bit of money into the redevelopment area which still has many vacancies. In addition, HUD has issued a concurrent to sell the land for this project at a price considerably lower than its market price.

Lee's statements, meant to be emphatic, were quite mild considering the concessions that he was willing to make and his parting request that read: "Please review your feasibility report and let us know whether you might agree with us."⁶³ It wouldn't have been so surprising for FHA to receive a militant-sounding letter that was hot with demands and accusations since FHA had in effect insulted all their previous efforts outright. The attitude that was expressed in Lee's letter did not convey the urgency of the situation, nor did not indicate how much support was gathering behind the project.

Lee did not even get the courtesy of a direct response to his letter. FHA sent a letter to the Redevelopment Agency expressing that in reply to Lee's request, FHA was unwilling to budge an inch in its position. This letter was from E.P. Green, presently the Director of the Sacramento FHA office. Over the past two years the

Filipino project has been handled by Roland Sherman, Keith Montgomery, Charles Barnaby, Archie McCulla, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Green of that office. This policy of spreading the responsibility for the correspondence for the project makes it difficult to pin down just who is responsible to the complaints of the people affected by FHA's decisions. Furthermore, experience in meetings with FHA officials--as will be later described in this report--suggests that representatives may not necessarily be knowledgeable about each others' correspondence on the project.

Since the Sacramento office was not going to yield in its decision, Lee went directly to the regional office in San Francisco. This office under the directorship of Arthur Timmel, is the center for seven western states. With this move, a community meeting with FHA was **scheduled for April 2, 1970 in Stockton.** Congressman McFall claims to share responsibility in setting up this meeting.

Before April 2, news of the meeting spread by word-of-mouth into the community. Anyone interested was invited to attend and make his presence felt. Letters were written to community influentials asking that they send letters of support for the project to FHA. The only person to respond to this request was a leader in "grass roots" activities in Stockton. Others ignored the plea for support.

Government officials were also invited to attend the meeting. Congressman McFall was again requested to participate and express his support. But he could not make it. Instead, he asked to meet with the group at a later date which was never set. His involvement with the project is more of a behind-the-scenes act. His actual work is unknown to the general public and at times seems to be only superficial. The only group actually aware of his interest was FHA which was once subject to a congressional inquiry that he had previously initiated some months ago.

Through the grapevine, news of the forthcoming meeting was dispersed. Filipino men presently living at the Lee Center were asked to attend and spread the word among the residents of the last block of "Little Manila." They were offered transportation to the meeting place which was about a mile from their hotels. Delta College students were notified. The Stockton Record on March 30, carried a story reporting the refusal of the project and the forthcoming appeal.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the story gave the wrong date for the meeting. Though a small corrected article was printed in the back pages of the Record the day preceding the meeting, attendance was nevertheless affected.

The meeting began at approximately 2:30 on the afternoon of April 2, 1970. By that time, practically all the citizens who were to attend were there. Although those in attendance did not quite fill the meeting room it was gratifying to see that in addition to the "die-hards" who had nurtured the project from the beginning, there were new faces. About 50 Filipinos made up the 70 or so people who did come.

The rest were whites or Chicanos. Seated at a long table in the front of the room, looking much like a panel discussion group, were Arthur Timmel, Regional Director of FHA; Montgomery and Barnaby from the Sacramento FHA office; Ted Lee and Warren Wong, consultant and architect for the Filipino group; and arriving a little late was Ed Griffith, from the Stockton Redevelopment Agency. All appeared to be a bit nervous about what would soon take place, watching the crowd as it grew, and smiling congenially.

Lee began the session with a general description of the area. The description was taken over by Griffith when he walked in.. He spoke in generalities for the benefit of the audience which was probably not very familiar with the plans for the West End area aside from their own project. As the meeting progressed, it became evident that this description was also of benefit to Timmel who through the questions he asked, showed that he knew very little about the area and about this project. Timmel, who was in a position to decide the fate of this project, had apparently done very little homework before coming. What was more surprising was that Montgomery and Barnaby who supposedly had been following this project for the last two years seemed equally lost at times. Lee reviewed the reasons for the project refusal and his rebuttals to them.

Except for the parking space problem, which Wong dismissed with a reported estimate of 931 spaces in the immediate area, the points that were mentioned in the letter of refusal were only casually mentioned in the ensuing discussion. The overriding concern expressed by Timmel was "why this site?" and "who had chosen it?" Lee? His inference to Lee seemed to indicate a personal dislike for the man. He closed his initial comments to the audience by saying, "I want you to tell me what your feelings are about the site and tell me where you want it to be."

The audience was amazed! Was this what had hung them up for so long? Was this all they wanted to know? If this had not been clear, why hadn't FHA asked this a long time ago? The answer was so elementary, of course they could tell him why they chose the site. A Filipino man immediately rose to answer the question:

"Lee did not choose the site; the people picked the site. This site was chosen because it is in the vicinity where many of the elder Filipinos already live. This site has been the focal point of Filipino activities ever since their migration into this country. It is less expensive living in this area, especially for the elder Filipinos since it is in close proximity to the services they want and need. The Greyhound Bus Depot is right there (across the street) for the older bachelors who like to go to Lake Tahoe to gamble. If he wants to buy bagoong, he can just go down the street, because the shops where he buys his special foods are right there. And they don't have to worry about transportation, because downtown is nearby and the bus is right there."⁶⁵

He further elaborated on the popularity of this location by saying:

"Filipino immigrants are coming all the time."

This particular topic was interrupted when Arthur Becker, Associate Superintendent of Stockton Schools, was asked to comment on the child care center. He said that the school district was "very much interested" in operating a child care center which is badly needed in Stockton. He also added that a skills center will be built by the district only two blocks away from the proposed center.

Montgomery then asked if the younger people were interested in the center. He was answered by one man who pointed out that many young Filipino families without college backgrounds arrive in Stockton with "only a suitcase." They need a decent place to live. He went on to say, "Filipinos take good care of their children and wouldn't allow them to play in the streets."

A Delta student then got up and declared that a question like "why this site?" was an affront to the Filipino people. It was like asking "why do Germans live in 'German Town'?", or "why do Italians live in 'Little Italy'?" when the answer is simple: they just want to be with their own people.

Timmel was quick to the defense saying that they were merely "trying to get some answers to learn about the Filipino community." He also added that, "if you people really want this building, there is no reason why we can't put it up." The audience was again stunned. Hadn't they shown that they really wanted this building by the persistent struggle they had waged over the past two years? Of course they wanted it! What did it take to prove this to FHA? They had complied with every one of FHA's requirements.

Sensing the atmosphere of the room, Lee pointed out to the gathering that "the fact that these people (indicating those at the headtable) came down today shows that they are willing to learn." Timmel then received a barrage of responses from the audience--students, farmers, whites, and Filipinos alike--all reiterating everything that had already been pointed out in favor of the project. "Hadn't they been listening?" seemed to be the attitude of the audience.

Realizing this slip, Timmel moved into another area. He expressed concern as to who would be moving into the three-block area west of the proposed site. He seemed to be fishing for the answer that "undesirables" would undoubtedly occupy that space. He seemed to be hinting that the "undesirables" that resided in what remained of the old "skidrow" would migrate to the area around the proposed site, degrading the whole general area. What he failed to recognize was that many of the residents of the old "skidrow" are the same elderly Filipinos that this project is attempting to attract. To the Filipino, these men are not "undesirable," they are old, lonely, and need some type of decent place to live in their remaining years. Lee remarked that the people dislocated by the construction of the freeway would

probably move there and the subject drifted off into another topic as others spoke.

Then a Stockton businessman asked:

"...when getting down to the actual financing of the project, what alternatives does FHA have? What are the alternatives to the proposed site?... The Filipinos are low-income people and need some assistance. There seems to be no other alternative to financing; FHA is a reality and the only alternative. There is no telling how long the people would have to wait if FHA didn't back them up." 66

This was reinforced by other statements which noted that there is no other location for either the proposed center or the child care center, and that "if they could build it anyplace else, we wouldn't want it." Again the question of other alternatives was posed, but Timmel never answered.

Instead, Montgomery read off a rent schedule for the proposed project and asked "What is the capacity of the people to pay this?" Numerous people responded assuring him that the rent could be paid.

As the meeting drew to an end, Timmel commented that he would have liked to have heard more responses from other community people present, and he was treated to a host of responses. All covered pretty much the same ideas that were previously expressed in favor of the site, income, and community base.

The speakers seemed to be bringing the meeting to a close, but before it was adjourned, Timmel was asked, "Are all your whys, whys, whys answered?" His only reply was that he was not in any position to say if the "whys" had been answered, and he would have to consult with his colleagues. He would try to get an answer quickly. The meeting lasted approximately an hour and forty-five minutes. People thanked those at the head table as they left the meeting room.

It had been a good meeting. The people came through strong. The "experts" however seemed to flounder at every turn. They closed the meeting with little encouragement for the people. Now, all that could be done was to again wait to hear from FHA.

FHA REVERSES DECISION--PRESENT STATUS OF PROPOSAL

Three weeks after the meeting with Timmel, Lee announced at the Filipino Fiesta, held at Delta College, that he had received unofficial news that FHA had approved their feasibility study. The people seemed not quite able to believe him. He did not say positively that the center was finally going to be a reality; yet he was saying that it had received approval. It was somewhat confusing. It was good to hear that the project was now more certain. But the people would not allow themselves to believe that it would be real until they saw the actual ground breaking.

Lee's announcement was based on recent developments. After the last community meeting, Green had written McFall informing him of the results of the meeting. He stated that "considerable constructive progress was made towards resolving the many problems we have encountered in connection with this proposal," and that "as a result of the meeting, we feel that the various problems that were identified in our original analysis can be resolved." It was with this vote of confidence that Lee made his public statement on the feasibility of the center.

In six weeks came the official news of the feasibility approval for the center. A newspaper article released by the Redevelopment Agency appeared in the Stockton Record, June 17, 1970, was entitled: "Filipino High-Rise Plan Ok'd".

However, the community had difficulty distinguishing what was actually meant by this approval. Did it mean that the concept of the center would again be placed under evaluation by FHA offices, or that FHA had come out to declare that the project would be built? Many community people believed that it meant that the center was approved and would be funded. In actuality, this statement meant only that FHA had approved the concept of the Filipino Center, but had not yet committed any funds to the project. This was the last major step before construction could begin.

The next encounter came soon after. In June 1970, Lee and Bernardo met with James Roberts, the contractor of the project; the soil engineers, architect, and the mechanical and structural consultants, to discuss the cost estimate for the project. They decided that a base of \$20.86 per square foot would be a fair price. But, at the same time, FHA had decided that they would allow the project a cost figure based on \$18.70 per square foot--much below the contractors' expected price. Thus, a battle of the budget quickly ensued. Meetings were held to iron out the budget with FHA. This particular matter has not yet been resolved as of this date (September 1970).

Things were getting bad on other sides too. At one point it looked as if their project was going to be undermined by another one. The attorney who had acted as consultant to the Lee Center was again proposing a project for the West End. He planned to ask FHA to fund a housing project for the elderly, only a block away from

the proposed Filipino Center and three blocks away from the already existing Lee Center. He was going ahead with this project fully aware of the controversy about the Filipino Center and its fight for funds. Since this man is considered to be influential in Stockton, the Filipinos became worried that he would be the object of "favoritism" from both the Redevelopment Agency and FHA. In order to avert this type of political game playing, the project activists went before the Redevelopment Agency to demand that they guarantee that the Filipino project have the highest priority and first claim to funds when they are distributed. The Filipino project received this assurance, and so, the other proposal was refused.

Other minor conflicts developed. The first concerned the raising of a sign. Since the feasibility had been approved, and the sponsors were confident of financing, they wanted to raise a sign on the project site to announce their plan to build a center there. Given the permission to use the old billboard that already stood on the property, the Filipino sponsors requested the Redevelopment Agency to pay for the expense of repainting it. The Redevelopment Agency refused. This came as a surprise since the Redevelopment Agency had incurred the expenses for the signs on other plots. So the sponsors were again contacted to contribute money for the painting of their sign. They responded and the sign was designed.

Then the sponsors asked that the Redevelopment Agency place their official sign under theirs, as was the case with the other blocks. The agency again refused. This time Bernardo paid for the redevelopment sign, not wanting to ask for any more money from the supporting groups.

Warren Wong then requested that the Redevelopment Agency assume the expense for curbs and gutters on the project block in order to bring down the cost of the center. They again refused. Wong had not acted out-of-precedent. He had assumed that since the Redevelopment Agency had paid for the street mosaic of a pathway on the Lee Center block, and since they had agreed to give the Lee Center some money for an advertisement campaign to attract more tenants, the Redevelopment Agency should likewise invest some money into this project. Bernardo comments on this by saying:

"...Redevelopment is a HUD program so that any money they spend is government money. In all fairness, whatever they do for one, they should do for the others on an equal basis; treatment should be the same."⁶⁷

Even though this project is assured of first priority from the Redevelopment Agency, it has yet to receive any kind of commitment from FHA. Nevertheless, the project's sponsors are relatively confident that they will be funded. Their faith is based on the belief that each county receives a share of the monies that each FHA office receives from HUD each fiscal year. Since the Filipino project is the only proposal from the San Joaquin County, and the Redevelopment Agency has promised that it will not place another project at a higher priority than theirs, the sponsors

are sure they will be funded.

The remaining hurdle is that FHA has not yet received its 236 monies. If FHA does decide to fund the Filipino Center project, they are only willing to give the project a figure based on \$18.70 per square foot.⁶⁸ In contrast, the consultants know they will need at least \$20.87 per square foot. Roberts, the contractor, has built other FHA projects similar to this proposal and some have been funded for more than the \$18.70 figure. His last project, the Ping Yuen in Sacramento, was funded for over two million dollars at more than \$23.00 per square foot.⁶⁹

This project, which has had opposition from its very conception has traveled a long, rough road despite the continual efforts to discourage the people supporting it. FHA was the only road that these people could take, and yet it has been their major roadblock.

But the experience has not been a wasted one. From this encounter, the Filipinos have had a closer look at the American bureaucracy in operation. Having been challenged time and again to keep going even when there was only a vague hope of success, they have come to recognize the actions of agencies for what they really are:

"Now they're finding some more excuses just like what they have already done. Now, they're saying, 'sure, here's the money'--but can you build it for that much?, when as a matter of fact, they realize that you couldn't possibly do it for that much. It's a stall for time again.....Well, we'll call for a meeting again if nothing is resolved price-wise. We don't want to have a building that looks just like a box. The budget has got to be realistic.

They begin to understand what it takes to get anything out of this system:

"....letters, speeches, they're cheap. What you really need is action, participation. When the letter (the one demanding first priority) was read to the Redevelopment Agency, we had Filipino people in the audience to support the letter. No one showed up to support the other projects. Before the Board of Directors made a decision they looked at the audience, then they looked at each other--they hesitated, they paused--then they decided in favor of our project. Bodies present are effective. If they say 'no' and there's just one person there, then????....We had good participation at the April 2nd meeting. People understood what we had to convey. This is where we need the people, where the decisions are made. Now mind you, this is all that FHA respects. They don't respect letters, not anything else...."⁷¹

They begin to interpret the treatment they receive with a unique perspective:

"....They say it's our society, but the more you get exposed to the problems, the conditions....I think it's the reasoning behind it that really sickens the person. Why do they think that way? What is this clamor that their're saying, 'we're fair, we're equal'? I think what they're saying is, look, you Filipino people are awfully quiet....you stay that way. It shouldn't be that way....all the big guys who can borrow from somebody else are the ones who know how to take advantage of it. Instead of going to the banks, they go to the government that has low interest. But you can't really blame them for being given, so that the only one that can be blamed is the giver. So the poor are left where they were."⁷²

CONCLUSION

Within the next six years over 2,175 people will be displaced by the construction of freeways.⁷³ These are mainly low and moderate income people who reside in the path between Washington and Lafayette Streets. This also applies to those Filipinos living in the old "Little Manila" section of El Dorado Street.

The City Planning Commission, realizing the colossal problem that it must face, attempts to contend with the housing shortage thusly: it plans to follow the recommendations in the Housing Element of the new Stockton General Plan which outlines a policy emphasizing rehabilitation of homes, rather than the creation of new houses. It suggests that, in the six years of the plan-span, an urban affairs expert be hired, a dead committee of local, state and federal administrators be reactivated, and numerous studies and investigations be undertaken. No plan to build any houses is mentioned.

Not only is city government doing nothing about the building of homes; but it seems to be promoting a policy of discouraging proposals for low-income homes made by private developers. A black contractor submitted a proposal to build fifty-one housing units in French Camp, a tiny community on the southern edge of Stockton. Half of these units were to be used for low-income families. The proposal was rejected. A group of residents had organized to block the endorsement of the proposal. A petition had been signed by 459 people and presented to the Board of Supervisors. Two-hundred residents also showed up at the meeting to make known their views. A spokesman for the group insisted that opposition was based on "potential overcrowding of the French Camp school and intrusion into agricultural land." The contractor believed that, "...the predominating factor involved in this opposition is one of racial prejudice."⁷⁴

Another proposal to build 26 duplexes and two sixplexes in north Stockton was also rejected. The developer was blocked by residents from the area surrounding his proposal site. They were afraid that all the units might become rentals which in turn would "completely destroy the integrity of their neighborhood."⁷⁵ This type of residential territoriality also blocked the French Camp proposal.

While city planners reject these types of projects that are important to the low-moderate income people, they go on to approve proposals which perpetuate the growth of north Stockton. The construction of a development of luxury apartments in north Stockton was approved by city planners.⁷⁶ This project will do little to alleviate the need for low-moderate income housing. How this can meet the needs of the people is questionable.

The Filipinos are in need of low-moderate income housing and actively sought solutions. But in their attempts, the Filipinos have been met by roadblocks at every bend in the road.

FHA representatives who have spoken in Stockton on several occasions, continually encourage groups to take advantage of Federal programs. They claim that they "want to provide more assistance to elderly and low-income persons." Yet when they are presented with an offer to sponsor a project, their response to it is negative.

FHA is very much aware of the demand for housing in Stockton. Despite this they have done little to encourage or assist the Filipino proposal. The proposal is intended to house all low-income people, but FHA treats it as if it were going to house only Filipinos. Paradoxically, FHA claims that it does not see this project as an exclusively Filipino project, yet they have asked the Filipinos to provide special data about population and income concerning themselves. The merit of FHA demand for this information is questionable since the project continued to move even after FHA found the data to be unsatisfactory.

The chronology shows these requests to be highly suggestive of delay tactics. But the commitment of certain individuals, who are willing to try every alternative before they allow the proposal to die, has kept the project alive.

By the time the proposal had withstood the third refusal, all the questions had been asked and answered; Barnaby, of the FHA offices, admits that at this point it would be "difficult to turn it down."⁷⁷ However, FHA refuses to change their cost estimate to one which is acceptable to the consultants of the project and past experiences suggest they will continue to resist until confronted again by the efforts of the Filipino people.

The budget issue could mean the difference between a complete center as the Filipinos envision or the 'box' that FHA seems to suggest.

The effects of the hard climb from March 1968 to the present situation, is beginning to show on some of the people. Attitudes of Filipinos who were tolerant at the onset of the project, are becoming tinged with bitterness as they review the last two and a half years to find some logical reason for all the roadblocks.

"There's no reason why our project should have taken this long. We have all of the qualifications....we're poor people, we're supported by the community...we have enough people to actually do the project...we have the sponsor to do the project as a non-profit organizations and this is all that's really necessary. But look at what happens. We've been at it for two and one half years. A project like this could be turned up in six months. FHA, if they wanted to, could have cleared it up in six months. But you see what they've done to us???...they've enumerated details for us to do....to discourage us...

"The only thing that we could really think of right now is that FHA in Sacramento, just really has something against this project. Maybe it's because we're Filipino people. The Filipino people have never done a project like this....Maybe they're afraid of that?...."⁷⁸

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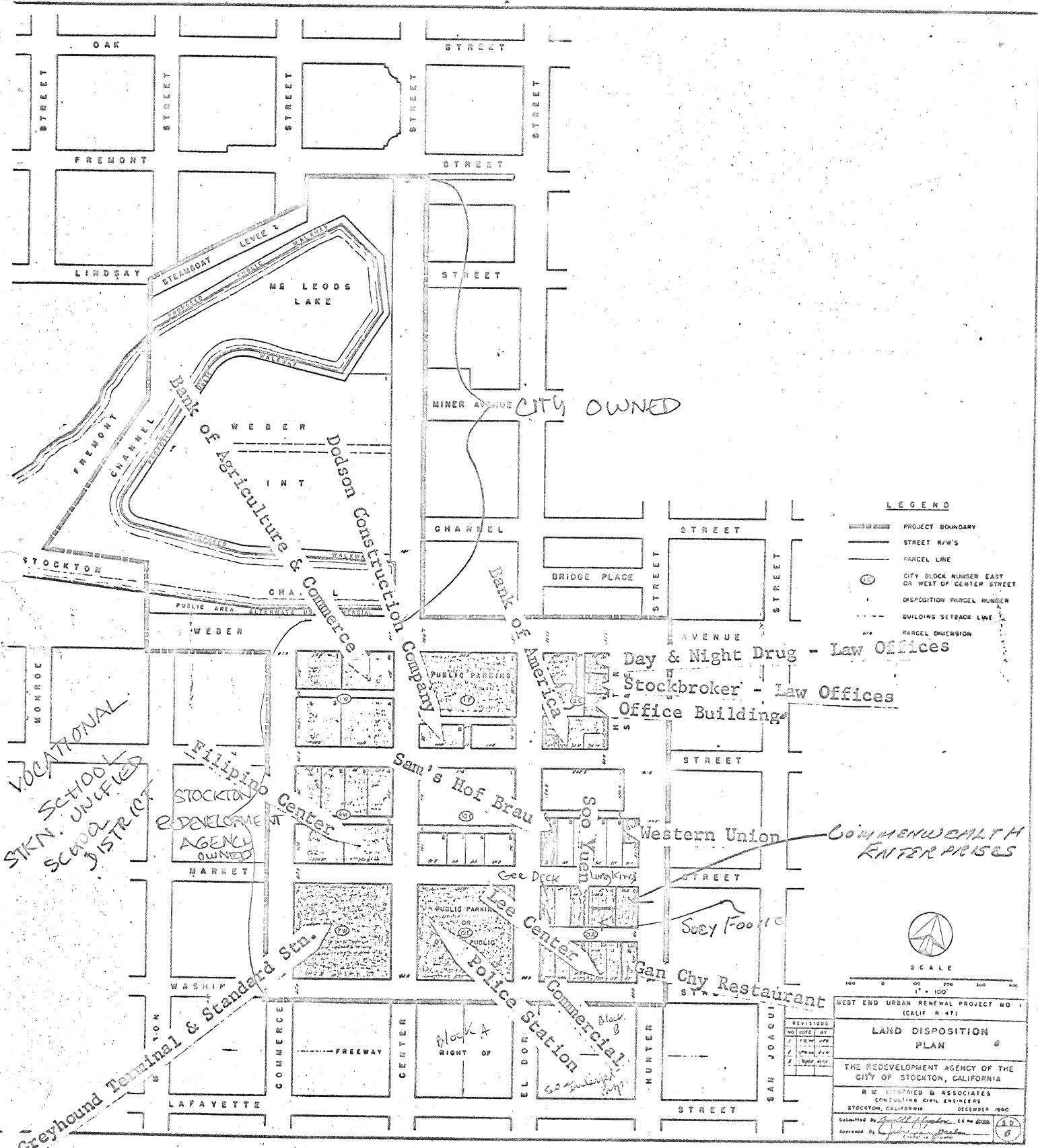
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APPENDIX A



LEGEND

- PROJECT BOUNDARY
- STREET R/W'S
- PARCEL LINE
- CITY BLOCK NUMBER EAST OR WEST OF CENTER STREET
- DISPOSITION PARCEL NUMBER
- BUILDING SETBACK LINE
- PARCEL DIMENSION

WEST END URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT NO. 1 (CALIF. R-47)	
LAND DISPOSITION PLAN	
THE REDEVELOPMENT AGENCY OF THE CITY OF STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA	
R. W. STODIFIED & ASSOCIATES CONSULTING CIVIL ENGINEERS STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA DECEMBER 1960	
REVISIONS NO. DATE BY 1 12/10/60 RWS 2 12/10/60 RWS 3 12/10/60 RWS	3.2 5

- Complete or under construction
- Committed (proposed) w/ deposits

APPENDIX B

FILIPINO ORGANIZATIONS OF STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA

1. Filipino Community of Stockton-- Johnny Latosa, President
1771 S. Church, EN8-0972
Lodi, California 95240
2. Filipino Women's Club -- Mrs. Bill Samson, President
308 W. Third Street 464-0008
Stockton, California 95206
3. Filipino Federation of America, Inc. -- Mr. Victor Ramajo
2049 S. San Joaquin St. 462-9339
Stockton, California 95206
4. Iloilo Circle -- Mr. Federico Luntao, President
1771 S. Church EN8-0972
Lodi, California 95206
5. Ang Filipino -- Mrs. Purita Latosa, President
1771 S. Church EN8-0972
Lodi, California 95240
6. Numancia Aid Association -- Mr. Ernest Mabalon
608 W. Jefferson Res: 462-9460, Bus: 463-0786
Stockton, California 95206
7. Sons of Naga -- Mr. Teofilo Suarez
Pt. 1, Box 2325
Manteca, California
8. California Credit Union #1 -- Mr. Delfin Bohulano
633 Chicago Ave., 462-3826
Stockton, California 95206
9. Manuel A. Roxas Auxiliary of the American Legion, Post #798
Mrs. Lorraine Alicaya, President
10. Manuel A. Roxas Post #798 of the American Legion
Mr. Alicaya, Commander
11. Filipino Catholic Association -- Mr. Ted Lapuz
7305 Westland Avenue
Stockton, California
12. Santa Catalina -- Mr. Johnny Rabacca
2275 E. Lafayette
Stockton, California
13. Sequihor Association -- Mr. Pacifeco Bantilan
3007 Loomis Road 464-1819
Stockton, California

14. Talisay Association -- Mr. Celestino Mabuga, President
c/o Irene Cabanero
2131 S. Pilgrim Street
Stockton, California 95206
15. Filipino - American Guild of St. Linus Church -- Mrs. Dolores Supat, Pres.
463-0284
Stockton, California 95206
16. Carcar Organization -- Mr. Orello
17. Bohol Organization -- Mr. Jhao, President
634 Boston Avenue 464-9502
Stockton, California 95206
18. Clarin-Tubigon-Calate Aid Association -- Mr. E.B. Olamit, President
920 S. Harrison 462-1182
Stockton, California 95206
19. Filipino Cultural and Educational Society -- Mr. N. Navarro, Pres.
2028 S. American Street 948-1778
Stockton, California 95206
20. Cebunga Aid Association -- Mr. Alicaya, President
21. Filipino Professionals Association -- Priscilla Magapale, President
22. Mayon Lodge -- Mr. Reciciano, President
23. Filipino Medical and Allied Professionals -- Mr. R. Roxas, President
24. Loayanos of Stockton -- Mr. Adiong, President
25. Luai Luai Organizations -- Mr. Bague, President
26. Sons of Batac
27. Gran Oriente

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Legionarios Del Trabajo -- Mr. Antonio T. Santos, Grand Master
2154 S. San Joaquin 463-6516
Stockton, California 95206

2. Daguho Lodge, L.D.T. -- Mr. Isidro Samporna
114 E. 4th Street
Stockton, California 95206
3. Mabini Lodge, L.D.T. -- Mr. Federico Luntao
211 W. 9th Street 465-4470
Stockton, California 95206
4. Teodora Alonzo, L.D.T. -- Mrs. Concepcion Lagura, Wor. Matron
2111 S. American Street 462-2220
Stockton, California 95206
5. Lapu-Lapu Lodge, L.D.T. -- Mr. Bart Jomaoas
322 E. Sonora 463-0383
Stockton, California 95206
6. El Pidio Qurino Lodge, L.D.T. -- Mr. Ignacio Rafael
318 S. San Joaquin Street
Stockton, California 95206
7. Eureka Lodge, L.D.T.
Mailing Address: 203 E. Hazelton
Stockton, California 95206
8. General Lim, L.D.T.
Mailing Address: P.O. Box 302
French Camp, California
9. General Luna, L.D.T.
Mailing Address: 203 E. Hazelton
Stockton, California 95206
10. Maria Clara Lodge, C.D.A.-- Mrs. Paula Daclan
1224 S. Lincoln 463-1450
Stockton, California 95206
11. Sofia de Vera Lodge, C.D.A. -- Mrs. Felicidad Ramirez
Rt. 1, Box 1774, Manila Rd. 464-3706
Lathrop, California
12. Regidor Lodge, C.D.A. -- Mr. Pastor Engkabo
365 W. 7th Street
Stockton, California 95206
13. Ricarte Lodge, C.D.A. -- Ted Requepo
c/o Mr. Ernie Paji
2129 S. Sutter Street
Stockton, California

ATHLETIC ORGANIZATIONS

1. Fils (Basketball team) -- John Amen, President
1037 S. Harrison 463-4653
Stockton, California 95206
2. Centaurs (Basketball team) -- Rupert Asuncion
51 West Eighth Street
Stockton, California 95206
3. Filipino Mixed Bowling League (El Dorado Bowl) -- Joe Bulawit, President
2157 S. American Street 465-8389
Stockton, California 95206

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

1. Legionarios Del Trabajo Junior Lodge -- Michael Bulawit, Jr. Commander
2111 S. American Street 462-2220
Stockton, California 95206
2. Filipino Student Association of San Joaquin Delta College -- Jim Tamsey, Pres.
3301 Kensington Way
Stockton, California 95204
3. Manuel A. Roxas Junior Auxiliary of the American Legion Post #798
Lurlene Unsod, President
Manteca, California
4. Sons of the American Legion, Manuel A. Roxas Post #798

APPENDIX C

To comply with a Federal Housing Administration requirement, members of the Filipino community in 1969, conducted a door-to-door survey of the Filipino population in Stockton. When they were completed with their census, the names that were collected were compiled into a card file of Filipinos in Stockton and the surrounding area. The researchers of this report then used those names to obtain an indication of the distribution of Filipinos in Stockton. Taking a five percent sample, the addresses on the cards were plotted onto the already-established census tracts of Stockton. Having done this, the following map was completed to give a visual summary of the distribution of Filipinos in Stockton and the outlying areas.

The letters on the map designate those census tracts with the higher percentages of the Filipino community. The percentages and neighborhoods are compiled into a KEY as follows:

KEY

Area on Map	Neighborhoods	Percentage of Filipino Community Residing Here
A	(Tract 24) -- Corona Park; McKinley Park neighborhoods	21.2 %
B	(Tract 25) -- Conway Homes; Lever Village; Moss tract neighborhoods	15.0 %
C	(Tract 23) -- Homestead neighborhood	10.6 %
D	(Tract 1) -- Lafayette neighborhood	14.1 %
E.	(Tract 7) -- Fiberboard; Lincoln; Jackson; Edison Villa; Mormon Channel neighborhoods	7.1 %
F	French Camp/Lathrop/ Manteca areas	7.1 %
G	(Tract 22) -- Knight's Addition; Fair Grounds; Sierra Vista; Morrison neighborhoods	4.4 %
H	(Tract 21) -- Nightengale Manor neighborhood	4.4 %
I	(Tract 31 & 32) -- North of Calaveras River neighborhoods	3.6 %
J	(Tract 19) -- Diamond Walnut; Fair Oaks South; Fair Oaks North; Stribley neighborhoods	2.7 %
K	(Tract 4) -- Stockton East; Stockton West neighborhoods	1.8 %
L	Islands of the Delta	1.8 %

Remainder are scattered throughout the city

DISTRIBUTION OF STOCKTON FILIPINO COMMUNITY



46.8% of Stkn.
Filipino population
live in these areas.

- A - Corona Park - McKinley
- B - Conway Homes - Lever Village
- C - Homestead

APPENDIX C

In 1965, Arthur Little, Inc. completed a study of the City of Stockton called Stockton Community Renewal Policies and Program. The results of that report were published and given to city officials for their use in developing Community Renewal projects. The report documented the inferior conditions under which the majority of Stockton's minority community live. By recording the status of neighborhoods, the report emphasized the predominant need for more low-income housing. Although these facts were made known to city officials, they were not made public to those people who are most effected by the substandard conditions. City officials have done very little to alleviate the situation that the Little, Inc. report reveals. It is hoped that this brief summary of the report findings which affect the Filipino people in Stockton the most, will trigger a movement to make city government more responsive to those conditions which need immediate attention. (For a more complete picture, the booklet can be purchased at the City Planning Commission for \$3.50).

APPENDIX C

Area On Map	Neighborhoods Included	Percent of Filipino Population Residing Here	Percent of Neighborhood Employed
A	Corona Park McKinley Park	21.2 %	26-30 %
B	Lever Village Conway Homes Moss Tract	15.0 %	21.4 %
N O T I N C L U D E D I N			
C	Homestead	10.6 %	31-35 %
D	Lafayette	14.1 %	Greater than 45 %
E	Fiberboard Lincoln Jackson Edison Villa Mormon Channel	7.1 %	26-30 %
F	French Camp/ Manteca/ Lathrop	7.1 %	N O T
G	Knight's Addition Fair Grounds Sierra Vista Morrison	4.4 %	23.8 %
H	Nightengale	4.4 %	31-35 %
I	North Calaveras	3.6 %	36-40 %
J	Diamond Stribley North Fair Oaks South Fair Oaks	2.7 %	31-35 %
K	Stockton West Stockton East	1.8 %	41-45 %
L	Islands of River Delta	1.8 %	N O T

* Percentages were derived from a directory of Filipinos compiled by individuals who conducted a census of Filipinos in 1969.

** Stockton has a Population of 15 % non-white.

Percent of Families w/ Less than \$3,000 Income	Percent of Neighborhoods Non-white	Available Income for Shelter	Median Value of Structure	Overcrowding Percent of Dwellings w/ 1.01 or more Persons Per Room
10-19 %	35 % or more	\$3,001-4,000	\$7,700	20-24 %

More than 30 %	35 % or more	\$3,001-4,000	\$8,400	Greater than 25 %
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L I T T L E, I N C. S T U D Y

Less than 10 %	25-34 %	\$5,001-10,000	\$7,900	20-24 %
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More than 30 %	25-34 %	Less Than \$2,000	Owned \$8,000 Rent \$20-50/mo.	
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More than 30 %	35 % or more	\$2,001-3,000	\$7,400	15-19 %
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I N C L U D E D I N L I T T L E, I N C. S T U D Y

More than 30 %	35 % or more	\$3,001-4,000	\$7,900	32 %
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10-19 %	15-24 %	\$5,001-10,000	\$12,500	Greater than 25 %
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10-19 %	Less Than 15 %	Above \$10,000	\$18,000-20,000	
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20-29 %	25-34 %	\$4,001-5,000	\$7,800	15-19 %
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Less Than 10 %	Less Than 15 %	\$4,001-5,000	\$11,500	
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I N C L U D E D I N L I T T L E, I N C. S T U D Y

APPENDIX D

The following illustrations show the two blocks, in the path of the new crosstown freeway, which make up the Filipino section of downtown Stockton. The illustrations indicate which businesses are:

Filipino owned or operated --



Filipino used --



No longer operating or demolished. Was Filipino operated. --



Most of Block A is demolished. There are only a few remaining buildings which will soon be torn down. Exact date is not known. It was difficult to fill in the area as it appeared before the buildings were vacated and/or demolished.

The buildings on Block B still remain standing. These should go down within three to five years. This block is heavily populated by Filipino, Chinese, and Mexican-Americans. Most of the businesses are either Chinese or Filipino owned.

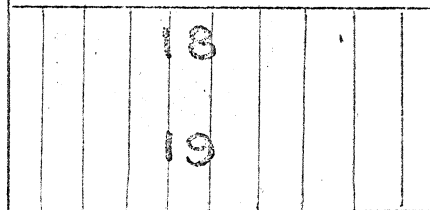
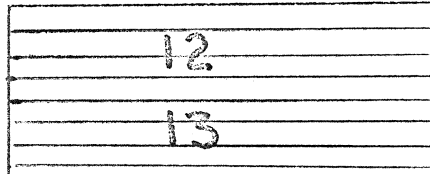
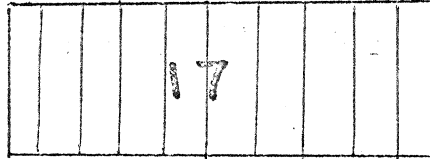
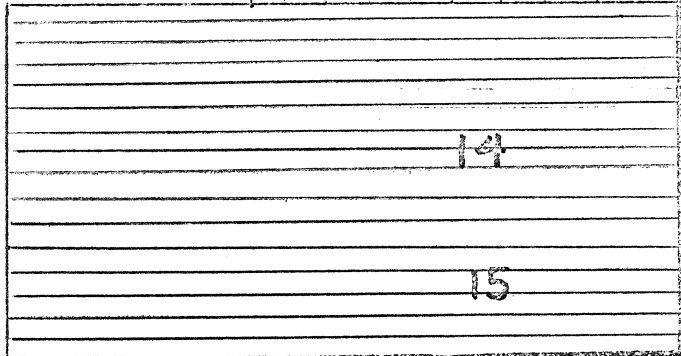
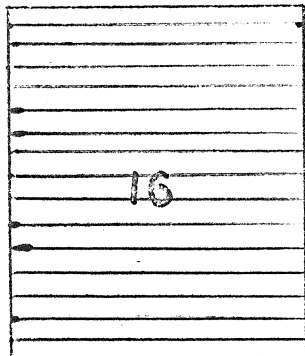
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2. Quezon Hotel Lodgings, 228 El Dorado Street
3. Modern Barber Shop, 234 El Dorado Street
4. Hotel American, 238 El Dorado Street --
- 4a Hotel American entrance, Lafayette Street
5. Box Office: tickets to athletic events and to Reno, El Dorado Street
6. Fred's Barber Shop, 244 El Dorado Street
7. Mabuhay Cafe, 109 Lafayette Street
8. Paul's Barber Shop, 115 Lafayette Street
9. Filipino Gardeners of America & King of Lawn Club, 127 Lafayette Street
10. Stockton Market, 148 Washington Street
11. Sim's Barber Shop, 143 Washington Street
12. Manila Inn.-Club.-Cigar Stand, 227 El Dorado Street
13. Manila Hotel, 229 El Dorado Street
14. Bataan Hotel
15. Bataan Pool Hall-Cigar Stand-Club, 245 S. El Dorado Street
16. Aklan Hotel, 31 E. Lafayette Street
17. Gan Chy's Restaurant, 215 El Dorado Street
18. Stockton Pool Room, 231 El Dorado Street
19. Bow Bow Cafe, 237 El Dorado Street
20. Bobby's Club Room, 104 Washington Street
21. Lucky's Cafe, 218 El Dorado Street

22. Samly Delicatessen, 248 El Dorado
23. Hotel Palace, 125 Lafayette
- 23a Hotel Palace annex, 131 Lafayette
24. Virano's Club Card Room, 129 Lafayette
25. Square Deal Liquors, 245 Hunter
26. Bonanza Hotel, 241 Hunter
27. Main Check Room, 235 Hunter
28. Fung Lee Grocery, 215 S. Hunter
29. Kwong Tuck Wo Grocery, 221 S. Hunter
30. Kon Sun Grocery, 225 S. Hunter
31. China Noodle Factory, 227 S. Hunter

WASHINGTON STREET

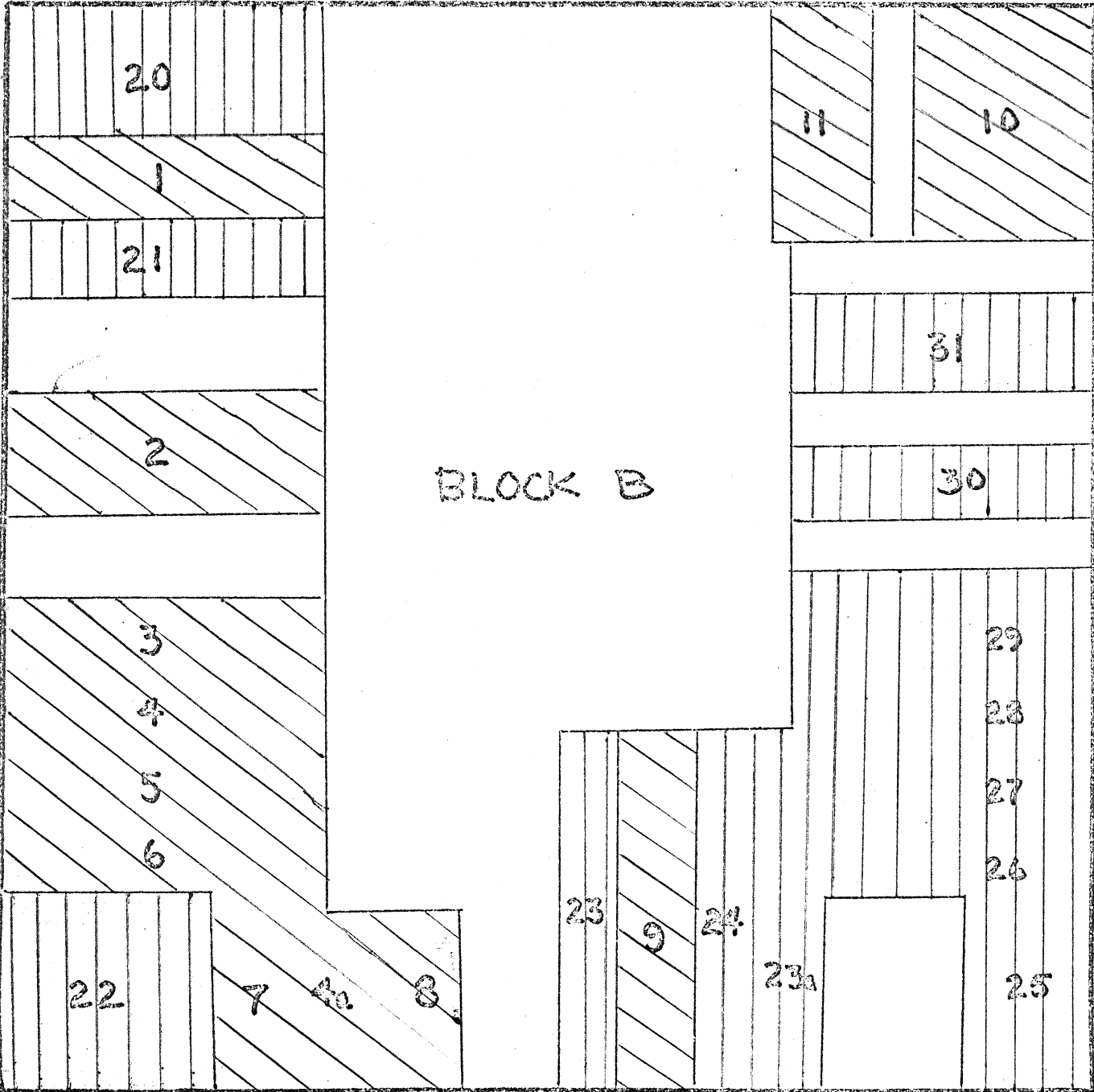
BLOCK A

EL DORADO



LAFAYETTE STREET

WASHINGTON STREET



BLOCK B

HUNTER STREET

LAFAYETTE STREET

APPENDIX E

LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO URBAN RENEWAL

by
Brian Tom

I. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LEGISLATION

The federal government has been involved in public housing since World War I.¹ However it wasn't until the crisis of the Great Depression that the federal government took a large role in public housing. The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 created the Public Works Administration (PWA) which included a housing division.² PWA was authorized to build housing itself and by 1937 had either completed or contracted for over 21,000 dwelling units.³ In 1935, however, a federal district court ruled that the federal government could not use the power of eminent domain to acquire property for low-rent housing and slum clearance.⁴ Shortly after the federal court decision, a New York court in 1936, ruled that local governments could condemn for housing projects.⁵ The result of these two decisions meant that the focus was taken off of direct federal involvement and placed on indirect federal assistance with the actual implementation of housing projects by local governments.

In 1937, Congress passed the United States Housing Act (sometimes called the Wagner-Stegall Act). This act was the country's first major housing act. It established the United States Housing Authority (USHA) within the Department of Interior.⁶ Many of the public housing projects in our inner cities today were built under the authority of this act.

For the next twelve years the Housing Act of 1937 remained virtually unchanged. The war had shifted the priorities of the nation from fighting the depression to fighting fascism. After the war, two of the major reasons for the housing act -- that housing construction would put middle class workers back on the job; and that the housing would give the "submerged middle class" a place to live until it could get back on its feet (for good discussion see 54 Cal L. Rev. 648) -- were no longer crucial. The prosperity during and after the war eliminated these two considerations.

In 1949, Congress finally acted and passed another Housing Act.⁷ This act laid the foundation for the federal urban renewal program. In addition, this act set forth a national policy on housing, greatly expanded the federal public housing program, and initiated a construction and repair program for farm dwellings.

No major legislative changes were made until the Housing Act of 1954.⁸ This act changed the emphasis from slum clearance to slum prevention and rehabilitation. The act also contained sections which added a workable program requirement, allowed for non profit sponsorship through Sections 220 and 221 mortgage insurance, and encouraged urban planning through assistance grants and demonstration grants.

From 1955 to 1959 no major legislation was passed as the legislative emphasis was on strengthening and redefining the earlier housing laws.

The Housing Act of 1961⁹ enlarged the segment of the population which could qualify for housing under federal plans. Persons whose incomes were too high for low-rent public housing and too low for standard housing in the private market were qualified for federal assistance through an amendment to section 221. This amendment commonly known as the 221 (d) (3) below-market interest rate (EMIR) program authorized 100 per cent mortgage to public bodies, nonprofit organizations, and cooperatives, and 90 per cent mortgages to corporations willing to limit their return to not in excess of 6 per cent per year on their 10 per cent equity investment.

The Housing Act of 1964 further stressed the importance of rehabilitation by authorizing 3 per cent loans to property owners to rehabilitate their property located in urban renewal areas. This act also made federal assistance available to states to establish programs to train professionals in community development. Federal fellowships for graduate students in urban planning were also made available.

In 1965 the Housing Acts became the Housing and Urban Development Acts.¹⁰ The rent supplement plan was approved under this act. Under rent supplement, a family qualified for public housing, could rent an apartment from a private owner who had a market rate mortgage issued by FHA. The family would pay 25 per cent of its monthly income to the owner and the remainder of the rent would be paid by the federal government. As the income of the family increased, the family's share of rent would increase until, theoretically, the family would pay the full rent. In addition, the act also provided that local public housing authorities would be eligible for federal assistance if it wanted to lease units in privately owned buildings for eligible low income families, rather than constructing their own housing. Congress also established the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) at this time.

In 1966, Congress passed the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Develop-

ment Act.¹¹ This act recognized that it was not sufficient simply to renew the physical character of a neighborhood, but that improvement of the social and economic conditions of an area were also needed. The act authorized federal grants to certain federal aid projects in urban areas where it was demonstrated that comprehensive planning for an area was being carried out.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 is the most comprehensive bill passed by Congress thus far in the area of housing. One of the contributing factors to its passage were the riots in Detroit and Newark in the summer of 1967.

The act can be broken into three major components. The first part covers housing: section 235 which provides for homeownership and section 236 which is the multi-unit counterpart of 235. Section 236 will be dealt with later in this paper. The second part of the act is concerned with urban development. Older programs such as rehabilitation and grants for code enforcement were strengthened. At the same time, the neighborhood development program was established.¹² The program, similar to urban renewal, allowed the local government to plan on a short term basis, thus giving the cities more flexibility in meeting urban decay. On an area-wide level, the act provided for a "new communities" program.¹³ Under this program, developers interested in building new communities will receive federal insurance on the mortgages they assume. The third part of the act has various miscellaneous provisions. One important one is the Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act which requires a developer who deals in the sale of undeveloped lots (50 or more) file with the Secretary of HUD a statement of record containing information about the land as well as about the developer.

One unique feature of the Housing Act of 1968 is that Congress set forth an explicit goal of 26 million new or rehabilitated housing units in ten years.¹⁴ The president is required to report at the beginning of each year as to the progress being made.

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969¹⁵ strengthened and expanded existing programs and did not enact any new major programs.

II. URBAN RENEWAL

Urban renewal is the process of rebuilding the nation's cities with federal assistance. The federal government involved in two ways: technical assistance

and financial aid. Technical assistance is provided for by the establishment of a working local urban renewal agency, fully staffed and supported by the necessary technical personnel. Financial assistance is provided through a variety of means. Some of the means are:

- (1) One hundred per cent advances for planning urban renewal projects.
- (2) Loans for temporary working capital.
- (3) Capital grants to defray most of the net cost of carrying out the work.
- (4) One hundred per cent grants to cover the costs of relocation of family and businesses.
- (5) Rehabilitation grants and low interest loans to eligible property owners.
- (6) Other forms of credits and grants for a variety of projects.

A. Eligibility Requirements

Before a community may begin an urban renewal project it must meet certain eligibility requirements. These requirements are listed in the Urban Renewal Handbook at RHA 7205.1 and include generally:

- I. Applicability of Federal, State and Local Laws.
This requirement is simply a general requirement that the project conforms to all relevant laws.
- II. Conformance of Project to Workable Program.
This is an important requirement and will be discussed separately below.
- III. Definition of Urban Renewal Area.
"An urban renewal area must be a slum area or a blighted, deteriorated, or deteriorating area (or an open land area) which is approved by HUD as appropriate for an urban renewal project."
- IV. Qualifications for Urban Renewal Assistance.
"To qualify for assistance, an urban renewal area (other than an open land area) must contain deficiencies to a degree and extent that public action is necessary to eliminate and prevent the development or spread of deterioration and blight. At least 20 per cent of the buildings in the area must contain one or more building deficiencies, and the area must contain at least two environmental deficiencies."

There are six types of building deficiencies listed and in general they mean the building should be in bad shape. There are eight environmental deficiencies listed and they generally mean that buildings currently existing are not beneficial to the proposed project area.

V. Appropriateness of Urban Renewal Treatment.

"Additional criteria must be satisfied to establish the appropriateness for clearance and redevelopment (see 7207.1, Project Planning, Chapter 1), or for rehabilitation (see 7210.1, Rehabilitation, Chapter 1, Section 2)."

The additional criteria listed under RHA 7207.1 include minority group considerations, low and moderate-income housing considerations and coordination with the highway program. In addition, some consideration must be given to the boundaries of the project area to insure that it will be a viable area once renewal is completed.

The additional criteria listed under RHA 7207.1 include minority group considerations, low and moderate-income housing considerations and coordination with the highway program. In addition, some consideration must be given to the boundaries of the project area to insure that it will be a viable area once renewal is completed.

The additional criteria listed under RHA 7210.1 concern only rehabilitation projects and generally require that the area is in a condition to benefit from rehabilitation.

VI. Distribution of Deficiencies.

"Either building deficiencies or environmental deficiencies necessary to establish the eligibility of a project area must be present to a reasonable degree in all parts of the area."

VII. Retention of Data Supporting eligibility.

The local planning agency is required to keep on file all working papers concerning project eligibility.

B. The Workable Program

The Workable Program for Community Improvement (WPCFI) is a "comprehensive program to prevent blight and improve the entire community. It includes analysis of the problems that face the community and what is being done to solve

them. It sets forth immediate and long term community objectives and outlines a program for accomplishing them."¹⁶ Before a city can even apply for any federal assistance, it must have a workable plan on file and certified by HUD.

For the researcher beginning research or urban renewal in a given community the workable plan should be the first document he should read. It is a source of valuable information and gives the researcher a general idea of what the city is trying to do. However reading the workable plan is only the beginning of the research effort. A number of additional reports and plans must be filed with HUD. These additional documents will be discussed in a following section.

The workable plan actually contains several different elements and is generally not a single document.

The latest Urban Renewal Handbook (1969) does not in fact list the elements.¹⁷ This is contrary to the former practice. Rather the latest Handbook refers interested parties to the nearest regional office for further information.

Without stating what the elements of the workable plan are, the Handbook does tell us what the standards for a certifiable workable plan are:

"No Contract for Loan and/or Grant may be entered into for a project which received Federal recognition on or after August 10, 1965, unless HUD finds that (1) the Workable Program presented by the locality is of sufficient scope and content to furnish a basis for evaluation of the need for the urban renewal project, and (2) such project is in accord with the Program.

This requirement will be deemed to have been met if, as a result of a continuing comprehensive planning process, the Planning and Programming element of the Workable Program is sufficiently developed to have:

- (1) Identified and analyzed the major physical, social, racial, and economic problems of the slum or blighted areas within the community or major portion thereof which includes the project area;
- (2) Programed specific actions directed toward the solution of these problems; and
- (3) Identified the project area or significant portion thereof to be in need of renewal assistance to overcome the problems contained therein."

No reason is given as to why the elements of the workable plan are no longer specified, but apparently the new method allows for greater flexibility. Many communities in the past have viewed the workable plan as a "paper exercise" only. Thus, when projects were approved on the basis of the workable plan, many proved to be unworkable.

A general description of the former seven elements of the workable plan is in order though, because these elements still form the basis of what HUD wants under their new workable plan.¹⁸ (This section based on Citizen's Guide, pp.35-41).

- A. Codes and ordinances. There must be construction and housing codes. Many cities were operating under codes thirty to forty years old and standards contained in them were obsolete. There are several modal codes which HUD accepts as a matter of course.
- B. Comprehensive Community Plan. This is a statement of a community's long range objectives for physical development. Its purpose is to guide development and redevelopment toward the achievement of a desirable environment. This plan does not have to be complete prior to certification by HUD, but a substantial beginning must be made. Within the Comprehensive Community Plan are six separate plans.
1. The Land Use Plan describing how land is to be used (residential, commercial, industrial or public).
 2. The Street Plan.
 3. The Community Facilities Plan. The location and type of present and future public facilities -- schools, parks, libraries, fire houses, and so on.
 4. The Public Improvement Program. Covers the methods and priorities of the proposed improvements.
 5. The Zoning Ordinance and Map.
 6. The Subdivision Regulations. Standards for the development of land.
- C. Neighborhood Analysis. The Community is divided up into various neighborhoods for a closer evaluation of redevelopment problems. Elements A and B should be completed before this analysis begins.
- D. Administrative Organization. HUD requires a workable organization to administer the urban renewal projects. The administrative framework should include a planning board, a redevelopment agency, an inspection agency to handle code enforcement, and a relocation agency (which may be in the redevelopment agency).
- E. Financing. The community must have an adequate financial structure to handle the financing of urban renewal.
- F. Housing for Displaced Families. Some plans must be made to see that the families that are affected by one of four following items are provided for: (1) Code enforcement, (2) Acquisition of their property for public use, (3) Urban renewal, and (4) Highway construction.
- G. Citizen participation. This section is probably the most misunderstood

and most difficult to enforce element of the workable plan. The requirement for citizen participation was initially vague and indefinite. HUD later added the mandatory requirement that there be a city-wide committee of citizens representing a cross section of the community. A later requirement was that there be a mandatory subcommittee responsible for assisting in minority group housing problems.

The issue is a continuing one. San Francisco's workable plan was recently denied re-certification primarily on the issue of inadequate citizen participation.¹⁹

There are two sides to this issue. First, poor people have complained that the power structure hand-picks other establishment leaders as committee members. On the other side, local governmental leaders complain that Washington is intermeddling in local affairs by establishing a new power base. The last complaint is similar to ones made about local EOC boards.

In general the workable plan requirement can be viewed as an assurance given to the federal government that the community is serious about their renewal effort. The federal government wants to know that the community has given the program a lot of thought, has made detailed plans concerning redevelopment, and recognizes all the consequences that flow from undertaking any urban renewal project.

C. Funds for Planning Urban Renewal

There are four different programs available to secure federal assistance (loans or grants) for urban renewal. The first three are for long range planning and will be dealt with generally. The fourth has immediate impact on a renewal area and will be considered in more detail.

1. Community Renewal Program (CRP).²⁰ This planning program is the only one under Title I which is available on a capital grant basis. It is a long range working plan which covers the city's need for urban renewal. This program should include the following (Citizen's Guide, p. 168):
 - a. A detailed analysis of the nature and degree of blight in the city.
 - b. An evaluation of existing programs.
 - c. Evaluation of local resources.
 - d. Establishing Community Renewal Objectives.
 - e. Establishment of the program and priorities of urban renewal.

f. General recommendations of the program and priorities for urban renewal.

2. General Neighborhood Renewal Plans (GNRP).²¹ In contrast to a CRP, a GNRP is paid for out of advances from the federal government rather than outright grants. However, ultimately the federal government pays the major share of the costs of the GNRP because these advances are repaid out of funds allocated to projects in the neighborhood area. The planning costs are includable within the project costs, most of which are paid out of federal grants.

The GNRP is designed for a lesser area than the CRP but too large for the community to undertake physically or financially as a single urban renewal project. The GNRP is a "preliminary plan which outlines the urban renewal activities proposed for the GNR area, provides a framework for the preparation of Urban Renewal Plans, and indicates generally the land uses, population density, building coverage, prospective requirements for rehabilitation and improvement of property, and any portions of the area contemplated for clearance and redevelopment." ²²

To be eligible for GNRP grants the area must delineate to (a) provide reasonable protection against blight influences outside its boundaries, and (b) have logical boundaries such as major streets or highways. In addition the area must be of such size that (1) urban renewal activities may be carried out in stages, (2) local resources will be available over an 8 year period, and (3) proposed urban renewal activities can be plans throughout the entire GNRP area. ²³

3. Feasibility surveys. ²⁴ Feasibility surveys are also funded by federal advances. It is used when "serious questions exist as to whether a contemplated urban renewal project can reasonably be expected to be planned and carried out. Such questions might involve adequacy of existing legal powers, feasibility of necessary relocation, type or size of project the locality can financially support, or whether land to be disposed of in a reasonable time." ²⁵

The feasibility surveys are not too important. In fact, the Renewal Handbook specifically says, "In most instances, however, such a survey is unnecessary...." ²⁶

4. Specific Urban Renewal Projects. ²⁷ This category covers not only

planning for specific projects, but also the execution of a project. It can best be looked at by considering the two types of applications the LPA sends to HUD.

- A. Survey and Planning Application. The survey and planning application is a formal document which contains statistical information, budgetary estimates, legal papers and reports on the proposed projects. (The complete list of data and documents HUD requires is listed in the Urban Renewal Handbook under Survey and Planning Application Checklist, RHA 7206.1. A copy of this checklist is included in the appendix to this paper.)

When the survey and planning application is approved, the federal government will advance funds to begin the planning. The project area the local planning agency (LPA) decides on will have to meet certain criteria established by HUD. These criteria are listed under RHA 7207.1 of the Urban Renewal Handbook. These criteria were mentioned early in this paper in the section on general eligibility for all urban renewal projects and generally include a showing that the area selected is a reasonable area in relationship to the city's needs, that it has a good chance of long term success, that some consideration be given to minority group members, that low and moderate cost housing is included if the use is predominately residential, and that there be some coordination with the highway programs.

The planning and survey done by the LPA results in part in an urban renewal plan. The urban renewal plan must be approved by the governing body of the locality, with findings that:²⁸

- (1) The Federal financial aid to be provided is necessary to carry out the project in accordance with the Urban Renewal Plan.
- (2) The Urban Renewal Plan will afford maximum opportunity, consistent with the sound needs of the entire locality, for the renewal of the project area by private enterprise.
- (3) The Urban Renewal Plan conforms to a general plan for the development of the entire locality.
- (4) The Urban Renewal Plan gives due consideration to the provision of adequate park and recreational areas and facilities, as may be desirable for neighborhood improvement, with special

consideration for the health, safety, and welfare of children residing in the general vicinity of the project.

The Urban Renewal Plan contains the following information:²⁹

1. Description of the project.
 - A. Boundaries of the Urban Renewal Area
 - B. Urban Renewal Plan objectives
 - C. Types of proposed renewal actions
2. Land use plans
 - A. Land use map
 - B. Land use provisions and building requirements
3. Project proposals
 - A. Land acquisitions to show real property to be acquired for:
 - (1) clearance and redevelopment,
 - (2) supporting facilities,
 - (3) rehabilitation, and
 - (4) historic and architectural preservation.
 - B. Rehabilitation
 - C. Redeveloper's obligation
 - D. Underground utility lines
4. Other provisions necessary to meet state and local requirements
5. Procedure for changes in approved plans.

I have described the Urban Renewal Plan in some detail because it forms a major part in the community's next application for funds. But in actuality a number of other surveys and reports are also being prepared under the planning and survey funds. These include: (1) project area report, (2) report on planning proposals, (3) report of minority group considerations, (4) community organization data, (5) report on citizen participation, (6) rehabilitation data, (7) land acquisition report, (8) relocation report, (9) project improvement report, (10) land disposal report, (11) cost estimate and financing report, (12) legal data, (13) community requirements data, and (14) project photographs.

The number of these reports, I am sure, account in no small way to the utter confusion a person feels when he first approaches any community work on urban renewal. Where does one begin? To track down all the major documents is a job in itself. But one must go further and read

all of them and interpret them in light of the HUD regulations.

But a more serious problem is that the day to day operations of officials may bear no resemblance to the reports. Yet it would be very difficult to intelligently question an official without having first read the report, unless one has lived in the community and seen the various controversies develop in the formulation of the reports.

B. Loan and Grant Application. When all the various reports are completed the community is then in a position to make the actual application for federal funds to carry out an urban renewal project. The various items required to be submitted include the reports mentioned in the previous section. (A checklist of the items required for the Loan and Grant application is found in Urban Renewal Handbook RHA 7206.1. A copy of this checklist is found in the appendix to this paper.)

When the federal government approves the Loan and Grant application the planning stage of urban renewal is basically complete and the execution stage begins. The local planning agency then proceeds to purchase the urban renewal land from private parties, arrange for relocation, tear down or rehabilitate buildings according to the urban renewal plan, and finally resell to developers or otherwise dispose of the cleared land. Every one of these steps would involve a paper in itself. Relocation in particular has been an area of much litigation and misunderstanding. A separate paper covering these aspects of urban renewal will be completed in the future.

To give the reader a better perspective on the whole renewal process, I have outlined below the various stages of an urban renewal project.

1. Certification of a workable plan.
2. The submission and approval of a survey and planning application to develop an urban renewal project (see appendix for checklist).
3. The completion of planning reports.
4. The submission and approval of a loan and grant application based on reports completed in step 3 (see appendix for checklist).
5. The relocation of all families and businesses in the urban renewal area.

6. The demolition of buildings scheduled for clearance.
7. The rehabilitation of buildings according to urban renewal plans.
8. Construction of public facilities according to the urban renewal plan. These would include schools, sidewalks, parking lots and parks.
9. The resale or other disposition of cleared land by redevelopers according to plan.
10. Completion of new construction.

C. Financing the project -- the local perspective. The financial aspects of urban renewal are rather puzzling to the general public. The confusion seems to lie in who is actually paying for the urban renewal and how the costs are shared. How does the city contribute its share?

Take a project with the following costs: ³⁰

Planning and Administration Planning, Marketability Studies, Real Estate Appraisals, Local Staff Salaries, and Overhead	\$ 75,000	
Cost of Acquiring Properties	800,000	
Demolition of Structures	50,000	
Public Improvements Streets, sewers, etc.	75,000	
	<u>\$ 1,000,000</u>	Gross Project Cost
Subtract the resale value of the cleared land	200,000	
	<u>\$ 800,000</u>	Net Project Cost

The "net project cost" of \$ 800,000 is the actual cost to carry out the project. This cost is shared between federal and local government in one of two ways:

- (1) Three to one with the federal government paying the larger share (\$ 600,000 federal to \$ 200,000 local) if the community meets one of the three following qualifications:
 - (a) It is a community under 50,000 in population,
 - (b) It is a community under 150,000 in population and has been officially designated a depressed area,
 - (c) Communities over 50,000 who have chosen to use local

funds rather than federal funds for planning.

- (2) All other cities share costs on a two to one basis with the federal government paying the larger share (\$533,333 federal to \$266, 667 local). Since almost all larger cities have elected to use federal funds for planning, costs are generally split on a two to one basis.

The local government can pay its share in cash. It may also pay for its share in credit for certain work performed for the the urban renewal project. One of the most common work for which credit is given is the construction of schools in the urban renewal area. As a result of this credit system, a large number of new schools have been built in or near urban renewal areas. (See Citizen's Guide, pages 138-145 for a more detailed discussion of how this credit system works.)

II. SECTION 236

After the loan and grant application is approved and acquisition of property is underway, the local planning agency begins its preparation for disposal of the cleared land. Sales promotion activities are started so that by the time redevelopment is ready, disposal of land to redevelopers can be completed.³¹ The local planning agency is required to dispose of land in a fair and equitable way. Both private and public persons or bodies may purchase the land. In the case of private persons a redeveloper may be a department store or a person desiring to build a large apartment complex. Since 1968, under section 236, the role of non-profit corporations as sponsors or low and moderate cost housing has been emphasized.³² Section 236 has essentially replaced section 221 (d)(3) enacted in 1961 and section 202 enacted in 1959. The new section has much more attractive terms for a non-profit redeveloper.

There are two reasons I focus on section 236. First, a large number of community service organizations can qualify under its provision. These organizations form a viable organizational power base in the communities in which they exist and because of a non-profit organization's ties in the community they are in a very good position to design and manage a housing project. As the program becomes better known we can expect to see it begin used by a greater number of organizations. Secondly, it is under this program that five Filipino non-profit organizations have banded together to sponsor the Filipino Center in Stockton.

A. Basic elements of the program. Under Section 236, the federal government assists in making monthly payments to the mortgagor to reduce the owner's interest payments from the market rate (currently 8 1/2%) to 1%. The owner must pass the benefit of this interest reduction to his lower income tenants by charging lower rents. A basic rental charge is determined for each unit on the basis of operating the project with payments of principal and interest under a 1% interest rate mortgage. A tenant then pays either the basic rental or 25% of his monthly income. A family's income is recertified every two years and its rent adjusted accordingly.

A Section 236 project may be placed in a community which does not have a workable program. No specific approval of a local government body is required (except in cases of rent supplement). It need not be in an urban renewal area, though if it is it may receive an additional benefit of lower land acquisition costs (see section below).

B. Eligible tenants

To be eligible, a family's adjusted income generally must not exceed 135% of the income limit established for initial admission in public housing projects in the same area. Up to 20 per cent of the funds authorized for Section 236 may be used to contract for interest reduction payments in connection with rental units occupied during the initial rental period by families not exceeding 90% of the community's 221 (d) (3) mortgage limits. This limitation is applicable only during the initial rent-up period and not after that time.

The family's adjusted gross income (receipts from all sources before taxes) excludes residual on temporary income, and deducts \$300 for each minor

Under the HUD act of 1969 40% of the units in the project can be occupied by tenants receiving rent supplemental assistance.

C. Eligible Sponsors

To be eligible for FHA mortgage insurance under Section 236, a mortgagor must be a non-profit, limited distribution or cooperative corporation or entity, as defined by FHA under Section 221 (d) (3).³³ In addition, the builder-seller arrangement for cooperatives are also permitted (ibid.). Public bodies do not qualify as mortgagors under this program (ibid.).

D. Eligible projects

Eligible projects under Section 236 consist of five or more units which may be detached, semi-detached, or row houses, and may be located in walkup, or elevator multi-family structures.³⁴ Units need not be located on contiguous sites if they constitute a readily marketable real estate entity located so as to be reasonably and efficiently managed. (ibid.) Projects must generally involve either new construction or substantial rehabilitation. (ibid.)

The maximum mortgage may not exceed the lowest of the following:

- (1) 12,500,000;
- (2) 90% (100% in the case of non-profit or cooperative mortgagors) of the FHA estimate of the cost; or
- (3) 90% (95% in the case of non-profit mortgagors) of estimated income (after certain allowances) divided by the debt service rate. (See section 236 Handbook, Chapter 1, sec. 22.)

The sponsor's architect and FHA staff are instructed to "make every effort to produce maximum livability for the most reasonable expense."³⁵ This goal may be accomplished by using construction techniques and materials that will reduce construction costs and by keeping future operating costs to a minimum (ibid.).

Under these standards the mortgage amounts per unit are indicated below:

<u>Units</u>	<u>Without Elevator</u> Limit after 1969 Act (Sec. 113 (e) (3) and (4) of the HUD Act of 1969)	<u>With Elevator</u> Limit after 1969 Act (Sec. 113 (e) (3) and (4) of the HUD Act of 1969)
0 bdrm.	\$ 9,200.00	\$ 10,925.00
1 bdrm.	12,937.50	15,525.00
2 bdrm.	15,525.00	18,400.00
3 bdrm.	19,950.00	23,000.00
4 bdrm.	22,137.50	26,162.50

E. Special Consideration to Non-Profit Sponsors

To encourage non-profit sponsorship of low and moderate cost housing special consideration is given to non-profit sponsors.

- (1) 100% financing

As indicated above non-profit corporations are eligible for 100% financing.

(2) Loans to non-profit sponsors for pre-construction planning.

Section 106 (b) of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 authorizes the secretary to make loans to non-profit organizations for the pre-construction expenses of planning and obtaining federally-insured financing for the construction and rehabilitation of low and moderate income housing. These loans are made without interest and cannot exceed 80 per cent of the reasonable cost for planning. The loan can pay for the cost of the following items:

- (a) preliminary surveys and analysis of market needs
- (b) preliminary site engineering and architectural fees
- (c) site acquisition
- (d) mortgage commitment fees
- (e) construction loan fees and discounts

This loan is to be paid back either before or at the completion of the project. In addition, the Secretary is authorized to cancel all or part of the loan if no permanent loan for construction is made. (i.e. if the project is not approved).

(3) Housing consultant for non-profit sponsors.

HUD recognizes that non-profit organizations may lack the technical staff and other facilities needed to develop a housing project. Because of this fact, HUD will allow the inclusion of the expense of hiring a consultant in the mortgage commitment. ³⁶

The consultant services may include: ³⁷

- (a) Assistance in the preparation of an application for project mortgage insurance to be executed by the sponsor and the proposed mortgagee.
- (b) Assistance in the selection of a qualified architect and in the negotiations with him for a contract to prepare preliminary and final plans and specifications and to provide architectural supervision during construction, as well as assistance in the selection of and negotiation with a construction contractor and a lender.
- (c) Assistance to the sponsor in negotiations with the Local Public Agency when the site is within an approved urban renewal project area.

(4) Lower land acquisition costs in urban renewal areas.

The general disposal price for land in urban renewal areas is set according to the following standard: ³⁸

"Each disposal of land, except disposals under Section 107 for low-income housing shall be at a given price that is not less than the fair value of the land for uses in accordance with the Urban Renewal Plan."

Because of the interest the federal government has in providing housing for low and moderate income families a different standard is established for this type of housing. This standard is as follows: ³⁹

"Fair value of project property for such use is defined as being the maximum price that would be paid for the property by a well-informed, prudently-acting buyer who is motivated solely by the objective of meeting housing needs of low-or moderate-income families or individuals, rather than by profit or gain, and who is not controlled or directed, or influenced in his decisions, by persons or firms seeking to derive profit or gain from the undertaking."

Under this standard, appraisers can set the disposal price of land for non-profit sponsors of low and moderate cost housing at lower than the going market price.

For a more complete account of this section see the HUD Handbook, "Financial Assistance for Non-profit Sponsors of Low and Moderate Income Housing."

SUGGESTED READINGS

Federal

- (1) The Urban Renewal Handbook. The Urban Renewal Handbook, issued by HUD, covers the permanent policies, procedures and instructions for the Urban Renewal Program. It is the basic reference work for those researching Urban Renewal. The Handbook, like the law, is at times confusing and poorly organized. The reason for this lies in part in the numerous changes in the laws governing urban renewal. It is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 20402.
- (2) A HUD Handbook. A series of publications covering specific sections of the HUD Acts. "Rental Housing for Lower Income Families" (Section 236) issued October 1968, is helpful for areas covered in this paper. It is available from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410.
- (3) Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs. This publication contains a description of all the Federal Government's domestic aid programs including urban renewal. It summarizes the nature and purpose of the programs, major eligibility requirements, where to apply, and lists printed materials available. It is available from the Office of Economic Opportunity, Information Center, 1200 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20506.
- (4) The Department of Housing and Urban Development publishes an enormous amount of materials. Much of it quickly becomes outdated. They periodically issue a report on a project they consider particularly successful, and these may be useful for generating ideas. In addition, they compile bibliographies on urban affairs. The simplest way to see what is available is to visit the Government Documents section of a library and ask for what's available. In addition, the HUD regional office in San Francisco has a library.

Other

- (1) Urban America, Inc. Urban America, Inc. is a national, non-profit citizens organization dedicated to improving the quality of life in American cities. They publish a series of books on urban renewal. One book helpful for this paper is: Nonprofit Housing 221 (d)(3), An illustrative case, showing step by step the porcessing of an FHA multifamily housing project. (221 (d)(3) has been replaced by 236; however, the U.C. Davis

Law Library has not received the 236 book at this time.) For a complete list of their publications, write to: Urban America, Inc., 1717 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.

- (2) Urban Affairs Reporter by Commerce Clearing House, Inc. This reporter is similar to all CCH reporters in format. This topical law reporter covers urban affairs in general and comes in 3 volumes. The first volume includes recreation, pollution control, housing, transportation, antipoverty, and so on. Volume II covers the appropriate laws and regulations. Volume III includes a directory of officials, bibliography and the index.

Books

- (1) The Citizen's Guide to Urban Renewal by Carl Lindbloom and Morton Farrah. A good general introduction to urban renewal. The book is confusing in discussing certain aspects of urban renewal and as the authors do not footnote sources, it is difficult to trace what their authority is for statements they make. Revised edition (1968), Chandler-Davis Publishing Company, West Tranton, New Jersey, 08628.
- (2) Urban Renewal and American Cities by Scott Greer. An interesting perspective on how urban renewal actually works. Author is well known writer on urban renewal. Bobbs-Merril Company, Inc., New York, 1965.
- (3) Citizens Participation in Urban Development, 2 volumes, edited by Hans C. Spiegel. Volume I covers concepts and issues, volume II covers cases and programs. Particularly good is the article of "Citizen Participation" by Edgar and Jean Cahn. The Cahns accuse the professional urban renewers of structuring a situation where "the poor may speak only in one capacity-- asking for help, acknowledging need and dependency." (p. 217, v. I). The poor are thus looked on as consumers and in that framework they will respond only in one way, "We want more consumer goods." If the poor were independent and could articulate their real needs, that is, if they were looked on as producers, then they would articulate needs from a long-term perspective. Center of Community Affairs, 1201 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036 (1968).
- (4) Urban Renewal: People, Politics and Planning edited by Jewel Bellast and Murray Hausknecht. A standard reader in urban renewal. The quality of articles is uneven, though it does cover the subject well. Anchor Books, Doubleday Company, Inc., Garden City, New York. (1967)

Law Review Articles

- (1) "Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," 66 Columbia Law Review 486 March 1966.
- (2) "The Federal Urban Renewal Program," 25 University of Chicago Law Review 301, 1958.
- (3) "The Federal Urban Renewal Program: A Ten Year Critique," 25 Law and Contemporary Problems 776, 1960.
- (4) "The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968: Landmark Legislation for the Urban Crisis," The Urban Lawyer, Spring 1969.
- (5) "Processing a Non-Profit Multi-Family Housing Project," 6 Law Notes (ABA) 19. October, 1969.
- (6) "Public Housing and the Poor: An Overview," 54 California Law Review 642, 1966.
- (7) "Section 235 and 236: The First Year," 2 The Urban Lawyer 14, Winter 1970.
- (8) "Slum Area Rehabilitation by Private Enterprise," 69 Columbia Law Review 739, May 1969.

FOOTNOTES

1. 32 L&C Prob 491
2. Ch. 90 Title II 48 Stat. 200 (1933)
3. 25 U. Chi 310
4. U.S. vs. Certain Lands in the City of Louisville 9 F. Supp. 137 (W.D. Ky 1935) aff'd 78F 2nd 684 (6th cir 1935)
5. N.Y.C. Housing Auth. vs. Miller, 270 N.Y. 333, I.N.E. 2nd 153 (1936)
6. Ch 896, 50 Stat 888 (1937)
7. 63 Stat. 413 (1949) 42 USCA S. 1441 (1952)
8. 68 Stat. 590 (1954)
9. P.L. 87-70, 75 Stat 149
10. 79 Stat 451 (1965)
11. 80 Stat 1255 (1966)
12. 42 U.S.C. 1469-1469c S 501
13. 42 U.S.C. 3901 et seq SS 401-416
14. 42 U.S.C.A. 1441a
15. P.L. 91-152; 83 Stat 379
16. Citizens Guide, p.33
17. RHA 7204.1
18. Citizens Guide pp. 35-41
19. San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1970.
20. 42 U.S.A.C. 1453 (d) (1969)
21. 42 U.S.C S 1452 (d) (1969)
22. Urban Renewal Handbook RHA 7224.1
23. Ibid.
24. 42 U.S.C. S. k452 (d) (1969)
25. Urban Renewal Handbook RHA 7223.1
26. Ibid.
27. 42 U.S.C. S 1452 (d)
28. Urban Renewal Handbook RHA 7207.1
29. Ibid.
30. Figures from Citizen's Guide, p. 137
31. Urban Renewal Handbook RHA 7214.1
32. P.L. 90-448, 82 Stat 476

33. Section 236, Handbook, Chap. 1, Sec 6
34. Section 236, Handbook, Chap. 1, Sec 10
35. Ibid.
36. Section 236, Handbook, Chap. 1, Sec 8
37. Ibid.
38. Urban Renewal Handbook RHA 7214.1
39. Ibid.

APPENDIX F

Filipino Community Study

by
James Smyth

The major aim of this survey was to learn the opinions of Filipino Americans concerning the proposal to construct a Filipino center in downtown Stockton, just north of the new Greyhound Bus station. In addition, the surveyors hoped to secure some general information about the Filipino American community and to learn of any suggestions those interviewed might have in regards to the proposed center.

A committee prepared a one page questionnaire which was reviewed and revised by a group of Filipino Americans and some student volunteers from Delta College. From a master roster of over 800 Filipino American names, 104 were selected by random sampling to be interviewed. Eight teams of interviewers, each usually consisting of a member of the Filipino American community and a student were assigned approximately thirteen names to contact. At a planning meeting the teams were briefed on a common approach to be used. The interviewing occurred over a two week period in May, 1969.

Approximately one half of the designated group were finally located and completed the questionnaire. The statistical summary and a sample questionnaire is included at the end of this report but the general findings were these:

1. The overwhelming majority (over 80%) favor without reservation the general idea of the center.
2. Nearly all of the respondents (over 90%) endorse the idea of including low income apartments and apartments designed for the aged.
3. There is a strong endorsement (again over 80%) for the general location of the center.
4. The majority favor the inclusion of a child care center but approximately one-third either do not approve or offered no opinion.
5. Those interviewed had a number of suggestions of items to include in the center. While there was a surprising variety of suggestions there were two items which received considerable support. These were: a) recreational facilities; b) laundromat. Additional suggestions included a library, a store or stores, a restaurant, facilities for young people, a hall,

a bowling alley and a playground. Someone also suggested that the center provide someone to teach the Filipino language and culture to children.

6. Nearly all of those interviewed indicated that if the center were built they would utilize it.

In addition to the above the survey revealed that the majority of those interviewed were: born in the Philippines, were over forty years of age, were married and owned their homes. Slightly more than half of the respondents belonged to at least one organization. A list of the organizations is included at the end of the report.

Those interviewed worked in a variety of fields but the largest group were agricultural workers. The second largest group were those employed by the Federal Government.

Because the survey was conducted under the pressure of time by volunteers who were not professionally trained interviewers, the results of the survey may not represent the views of the Filipino American community. Due to time limitations it was impossible to locate the names and addresses of the estimated several thousand Filipino-Americans who live in the metropolitan Stockton area, so the random sampling was taken from the available list of names and addresses. The interviewers, although coached as to procedure, were volunteers who were not trained or experienced in this type of work. In addition, since there were several different teams, there is a question as to the consistency of interviewing techniques used. For these and other reasons it would be advisable to repeat the survey next year when the committee will have a more detailed and complete list of the members of the Filipino American community.

Despite these and other limitations it does appear that in view of the overwhelming approval of this admittedly small sample it is reasonable to conclude that the majority of Filipino Americans in the metropolitan area of Stockton approve of the proposal to build a Filipino Center and if the center were constructed would utilize it.

APPENDIX F

Filipino Population

by

James Smyth

The Filipino group is listed in census data under "other races". Among "other races" are American Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Asian Indians and Malaysians.

The 1960 census for Stockton and adjacent areas lists 13,063 persons in the category of "other races", with 6,361 in Stockton and 6,702 in the rest of the area. Presumably then the maximum Filipino population recorded in the Stockton area in 1960 was probably no more than 13,063.

The special 1967 census report which included only Stockton shows that the "other population" in Stockton has declined from 6,361 in 1960 to 6,016 in 1967. Again, we may assume that the maximum recorded Filipino population in Stockton is no more than 6,016.

While the above data gives us a tentative maximum recorded population of "other races" for Stockton and its adjacent area, it does not answer such questions as:

1. What percentage of the "other races" category are Filipino,
2. How many Filipinos were not recorded by the census.

Fortunately, the Stockton Unified School System has done a study of the racial and ethnic composition of the Stockton school. They have used the following categories:

1. Spanish surname
2. Other white
3. Negro
4. Chinese, Japanese, Korean
5. American Indian
6. Other nonwhite

Since Filipinos make up nearly all of the "other nonwhite" group, (Asian Indians and Malaysians being rare) we have:

- a. a fairly accurate account of the number of Filipino students
- b. by comparing the number of Filipino students to the number of students listed in the categories including Chinese, Japanese, and Korean we can get some indication as to what proportion of the "other races" category in the census is Filipino.

The S.U.S.D. study shows these figures for 1967:

Total enrollment.....	34,098	
Other nonwhite.....	1,009.....	3%
American Indian.....	42.....	12%
Chinese, Japanese.....	1,529.....	4.5%

The total student population for these three groups is 2,580 which represents 7.62% of the total school population. The Filipino group represents 1,009 of the 2,580 students in these groups. This is 39.1% of the "other races". Applying this percentage to the census figures of Stockton we arrive at these estimated figures for the Filipino population:

a. Stockton and adjacent areas 1960.....	13,063 X	39.1% =	5,107
b. Stockton.....1960.....	6,361 X	39.1% =	2,487

It is difficult to determine the reliability of these estimates for several reasons:

- a. we assume that the relationship of the student number to the total number is the same for Filipinos as for the other groups.
- b. we have not included any allowance for those people who were not recorded by the census. Some follow-up studies of the 1960 census indicate that this number may be quite high among certain groups.
- c. we assume that the data for S.U.S.D. applies in the adjacent areas. (Filipinos may makeup more or less of the student body in these areas).

Despite these and other limitations and allowing for a 20% margin of error, we can estimate the total Filipino population in the Stockton area as 4,000 to 6,000.

Composition

The data for students, teachers and the school system shows these figures:

- A. Elementary Schools -- Total Filipino student population of 567 which is 3% of the total elementary school population. There is a Filipino student in every school except Grunsky and Madison but with the largest number of students in these schools:
 1. Taylor -- 143 = 14.6% of the Taylor school population
 2. McKinley - 30 = 11.5% of the McKinley school population
 3. Garfield - 54 = 7.4% of the Garfield school population
 4. Adams -- 40 = 5.5% of the Adams school population

- B. Junior High Schools -- Total Filipino student population--182 = 2.6% of the total. There is a Filipino student in every junior high but they are concentrated in two schools:
1. Marshall -- 103 = 8.5% of the total
 2. Hamilton -- 61 = 4.3% of the total
- C. Senior High School -- Total Filipino population is 235 which is 3.5% of the total. Filipino students are attending all senior high schools, but the largest group is in Edison:
1. Edison -- 159 = 9% of the total
 2. Continuation - 35 = 20% of the total
- D. Adult School -- There are 25 Filipinos in Adult School which is 1.6% of the 1,537.
- E. Employment -- There are 20 "other nonwhite" certificated personnel working in the S.U.S.D. The schools where they work and the number in each school are : Garfield (1); Grant (2); Jackson (3); McKinley (2); Nightingale (1); Oxford (2); Taylor (1); Washington (1); Marshall (2); and Webster (1); Edison (2); Franklin (1) and Continuation (1). These 20 people were 1.27% of the total of 1572.

There are 14 classified personnel who are Filipino and they represent 1.53% of the total of 916.