



Swans Market Cohousing

Oakland, CA

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Summary

This report evaluates the cohousing estate of Swan's market, located in downtown Oakland, California, by showing its origins, its most important features, the urban setting and its current state. The leading objective of this report is to provide the context surrounding the entire project, as well as a point of view in regard to its future. The cohousing is located in a former market building which fell into decline during the 1980s. After the Loma Prieta earthquake the Oakland Redevelopment Agency (ORA) wanted to restore the city of Oakland. The aims of the redevelopment of the Swan's Market building block in Oakland was to create housing and mix-use development, taking into account the historic values of the Swan's market building while also creating a community place where people would gather. This has been executed by the redeveloper EBALDC (East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation), who proposed the following program: housing for low to moderate income households, cohousing, offices, catering, the housewives market, parking and other commercial functions. The redesign of the Swan's Market was in line with the architectural style of the original building, which can be called a typical marketplace style. The redevelopment of the Swan's Market was initiated by both parties (ORA and EBALDC), featuring many local stakeholders as well as advisory experts as the original building was to be retained. The complexity of the financing indicates the difficulty the development of mix-use programs, as many different stakeholders are to be included.

Moving on to the urban

The cohousing community which houses in the Swan's Market consists of 20 condominiums, which are owned by the residents. After 19 years, about 1/3 of the original inhabitants are still present, with 65% of the total residents being female, and 14% being children. The cohousing community uses their communal garden to produce food, and generally 70% of the food that is used to cook the communal meals with has been locally grown or sourced. The cohousing is an equal society with no clear leader, who share about two to five meals per week. The population consists of a wide range of people, representing the population of Oakland, which is characterised by a great ethnic diversity. As the Swan's Market cohousing and redevelopment project are excellent examples of their kind, rather than proposing a redevelopment plan, lessons for other

projects have been deduced.

Those lessons comprise:

- Urban location of cohousing;
- Say in the design of the cohousing dwellings;
- Support of a cohousing organisation;
- Diverse population in the cohousing community and the entire estate; - Equal cohousing society;
- Redevelopment of vacant buildings;
- Diverse program on the entire estate;
- Parking facilities in the neighbourhood;
- Influence of infrastructural and planning decisions.



Figure 1. Swan's Market. Reprinted from BARTable website, by BARTable, n.d., retrieved from <https://bartable.bart.gov/featured/oakland%E2%80%99s-best-dining-food-court> Copyright by BARTable



Figure 2. 10th Street Market (Swan's Market) Oakland. Reprinted from Swan's Way website, by Swan's Market Cohousing, 2017, retrieved from <http://www.swansway.com/about-us/> Copyright by Swan's Market Cohousing

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Oakland Policy

At the time of the redevelopment of the Swan's Market the City of Oakland housing policy included the realisation of housing opportunities for individuals of all different levels of income, subsidising development for very low and low income households (City Planning Commission, 1999). Furthermore, during the previous housing policy period, the Housing Element from 1988 to 1992, the City implemented a rent adjustment to prevent rapid rent increase due to the tight rental market (City Planning Commission, 1999). Besides, greater accessibility of housing for people with a disability has been brought about, amongst others by supporting organisations or programs that provide housing to individuals with a disability (City Planning Commission, 1999).

The current housing legislation in the city of Oakland focusses on the occurring housing shortage as well as a fair housing choice, counteracting housing discrimination and the provision of housing accessible for everyone (Housing and Community Development, 2015; Rose & Lin, 2015). In short, by this is meant that all people should have access to affordable and good quality housing, and should not be refrained from obtaining such housing due to discrimination based on 'race, color, religion, gender, disability, familial status, national origin, actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender identity or marital status' (Housing and Community Development, 2015, p. 6). These goals all relate to the Fair Housing Act or the Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, that protects renters and buyers from discrimination by parties such as landlords, sellers, financial institutions. In this way those parties cannot refuse to sell, rent or provide funding for a residence on any other basis than the financial capabilities of the individual (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). The original act included the protection based on religion, race and national origin, to which in 1974 gender was added and lastly in 1988 disability and familial status. In this act

sexual orientation is not covered, yet the city of Oakland does include this.

Additionally, the city dealt with racism and discrimination of non-white people. The current housing legislation reflects on this, as there is a great focus on the fairness of housing. The City of Oakland also reflects on this on their website by stating that one cannot change the past, but definitely learn lessons from it, which explain their current tendencies (City of Oakland, 2018). In relation to the redevelopment of Oakland and the current housing policies, it is remarkable to notice that due to this improving of the city, gentrification occurred. This becomes very clear when looking at gentrification figures (see Table 1).

Governing determined if gentrification occurred by looking at the demographics, if there was a significant increase of the median household income and home value in that particular neighbourhood. The definition of gentrification used by Governing considers the change of a neighbourhood as a new class of more affluent residents move in, which is followed by development triggering the housing prices to increase sharply, with the possible cause of forcing long time residents out (Maciag, 2015). These figures indicate that around the time the Swan's redevelopment project was executed, gentrification started to increasingly happen in Oakland, which would go against the fairness policy the City of Oakland fervently pursues, as the increase of housing would mean that very low to low income families would be forced to leave that area.

There have several features in the East Bay Express, a local media of the East Bay Area, addressing the possible causes and effects of gentrification in Oakland (BondGraham, 2018; Morris, 2018; Richards, 2018).

	Share of Eligible Tracts Gentrifying	Tracts Gentrifying	Did not Gentrify	Not eligible to Gentrify	Total Census Tracts
Since 2000	29.3%	24	58	31	113
1990 - 2000	2.7%	2	73	38	113

Table 1. Extend to which neighborhoods in Oakland, California gentrified. Reprinted from Governing. Copyright by 2009- 2013 American Community Survey and US2010 Longitudinal Tract Data Base. Retrieved from <https://www.governing.com/gov-data/oakland-gentrification-maps-demographic-data.html>

Swans Market

What is Swan's marketplace?

- A redevelopment project in the “Old Oakland” historic district in Oakland (California) containing a mix of rental housing, co-housing, a children’s museum and commercial, retail and outdoor space.
- Transformation of old buildings and adaptive reuse of a 200x300 feet block in downtown Oakland.
- Twenty co-housing units within the building block and 18 low- and moderate-income apartments.
- Space for restaurants, shops and offices with a total of 26,800 square feet.
- An important contribution to the old Oakland District and the General Plan of Oakland.
- Together these uses establish a mini-neighbourhood within the block, connected both internally and on the streetfront and therefore integrating both public and private use of the building.

Major Goals of the Swan's marketplace.

- Incorporate small local businesses and give them an opportunity to build their enterprises.
- Converting a vacant block into a central hub for the community.
- Create a diversified block with a mixture of uses ranging from artistic, cultural and culinary to serve a diverse downtown.
- Attract middle- and upper-income households to live and invest in and near Downtown.
- Attract new investment downtown without displacing existing residents and businesses.
- Preserving a unique historic landmark and prevent it from demolition by the City of Oakland.

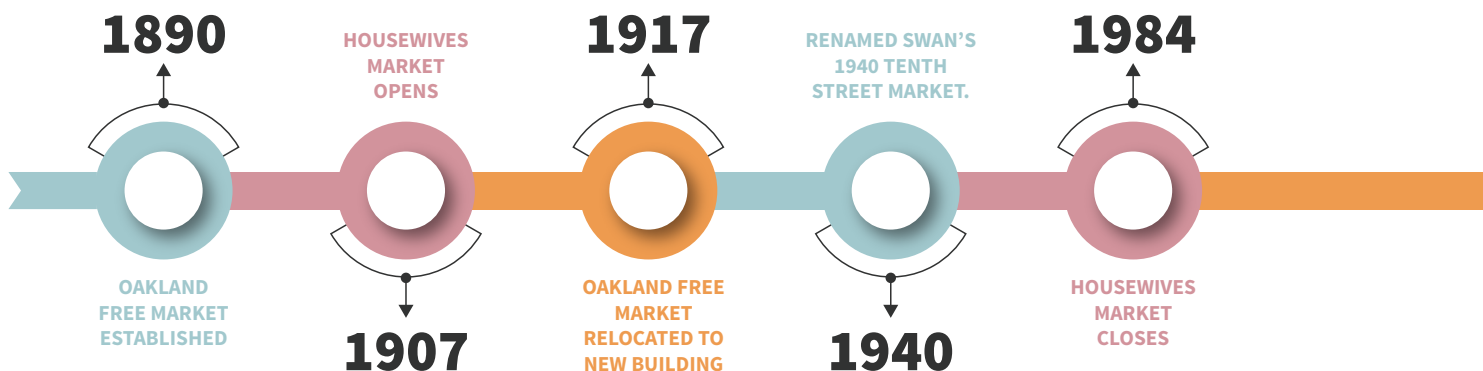


Figure 5. Swan's Market timeline

Design

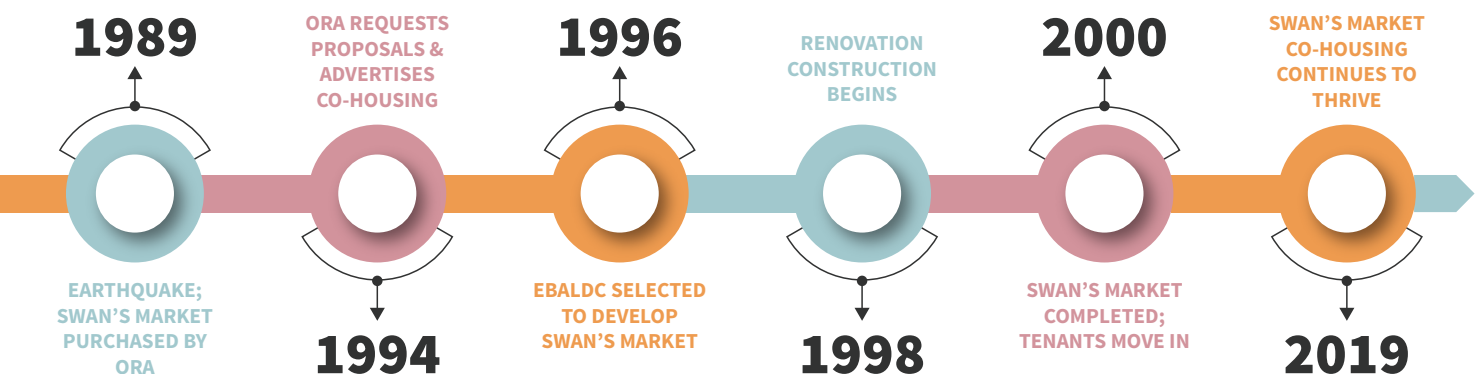
By the time Swan's Market was transformed into a housing estate in 2000, the building had become a local landmark for two generations of people who remembered it reminiscently as a popular shopping destination. It is now the only surviving historic marketplace in the area which makes it significant in the commercial redevelopment of Oakland even currently (Pyatok Architects Inc, 2017). Having been purchased by the Oakland Redevelopment Agency in 1989, the initial plan for the development was for three blocks of affordable housing including the Swan's Market block, and in 1994 the Co-housing Company advertised for parties interested in a new residential development in downtown Oakland. The East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation (EBALDC) was selected by ORA and the City Council as the developer, with the construction completed in 2000 (Wener et. al., 2001, p. 124).

Architecture

Architecturally, the original Swan's Market building represented the typical marketplace style of the time, with white brick and terracotta facades and ornamentation, extensive storefront glazing, clerestory windows and white tile interior finishes characterising the 'Market' style typology (Pyatok Architects Inc, 2017). The elements were used consistently during the expansion of the building over 23 years of building additions, helping give the building a unified appearance

(EBALDC, 2019). The damage sustained by the building throughout its history was recognised and the facades for subsequently restored following the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake. Its restoration has deemed Swan's Market eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, owing its architectural and historical significance success to EBALDC, who won the development rights over two other submissions due to their proposal to save the existing structure and incorporate an ambitious mixed-used program (Pyatok Architects Inc, 2017). Opinions were initially divided between preservationists and those who opposed EBALDC's decision to retain the existing structure, with criticism deriving from the low number of units planned compared to the competitive proposals. Thus, only one of the three blocks' development rights was granted to EBALDC. However, the new retail establishments, restaurants, job-creations and the impact of the mixed-use integration of co-housing to activate and densify street life are just some of the successes of the Swan's Market development (Wener et. al., 2001, p. 130).

The new design for Swan's Marketplace was completed by architect Michael Pyatok, who continued the tradition of respecting the original architecture, resultantly receiving the 2001 Rudy Bruner Silver Medal Award for Excellence in Urban Design (EBALDC, 2019). The derelict building was transformed into a \$17.5 million, 11,000m² community containing a mix of rental housing, co-housing, a children's museum and commercial, retail and



outdoor space (Impellizzeri, 1999). The housing block accommodates residents of low-to-middle incomes in a segregation of co-housing condominiums and rental properties (EBALDC, 2019). Together these uses establish a mini-neighbourhood within the block, connected both internally and on the streetfront and therefore integrating both public and private use of the building. The co-housing development consists of 20 units within the retrofitted building, as well as a 325m2 common house, and a shared playroom, workshop, laundry, gym and outdoor areas (EBALDC, 2019).



Figure 6. Swan's Market in Old Oakland. Reprinted from HKIT Architects website, by HKIT Architects, 2016, Retrieved from <http://hkit.com/swans-market-in-old-oakland/>. Copyright by HKIT Architects.

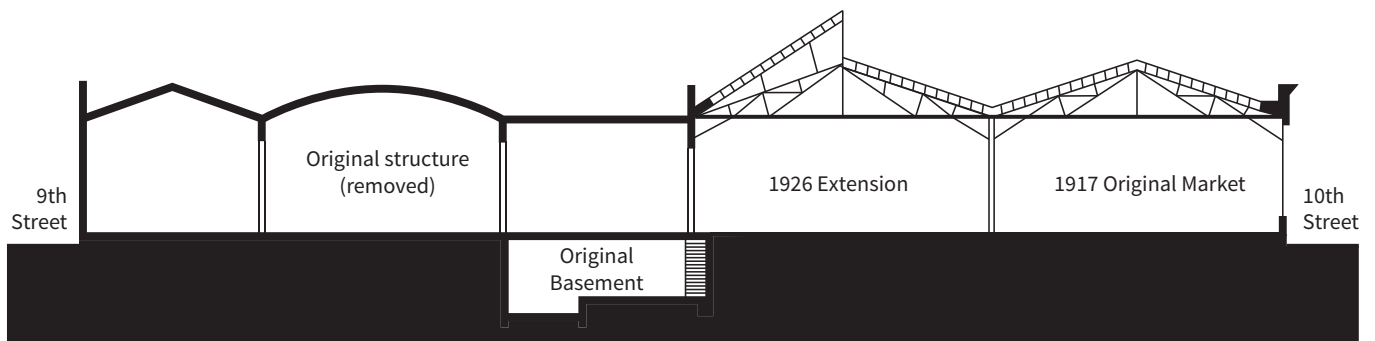


Figure 7. Section A: original condition

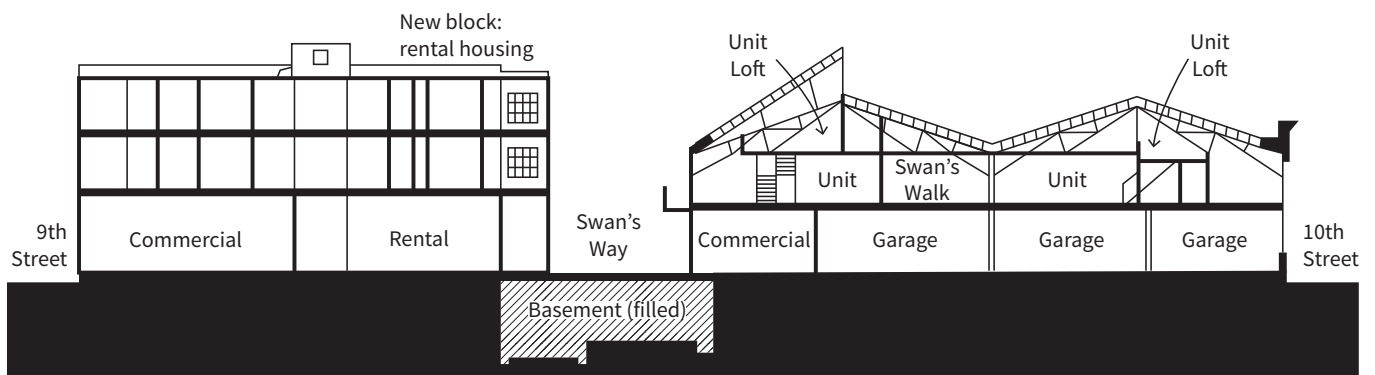


Figure 8. Section B: post renovation



Figure 9. Ground Floor

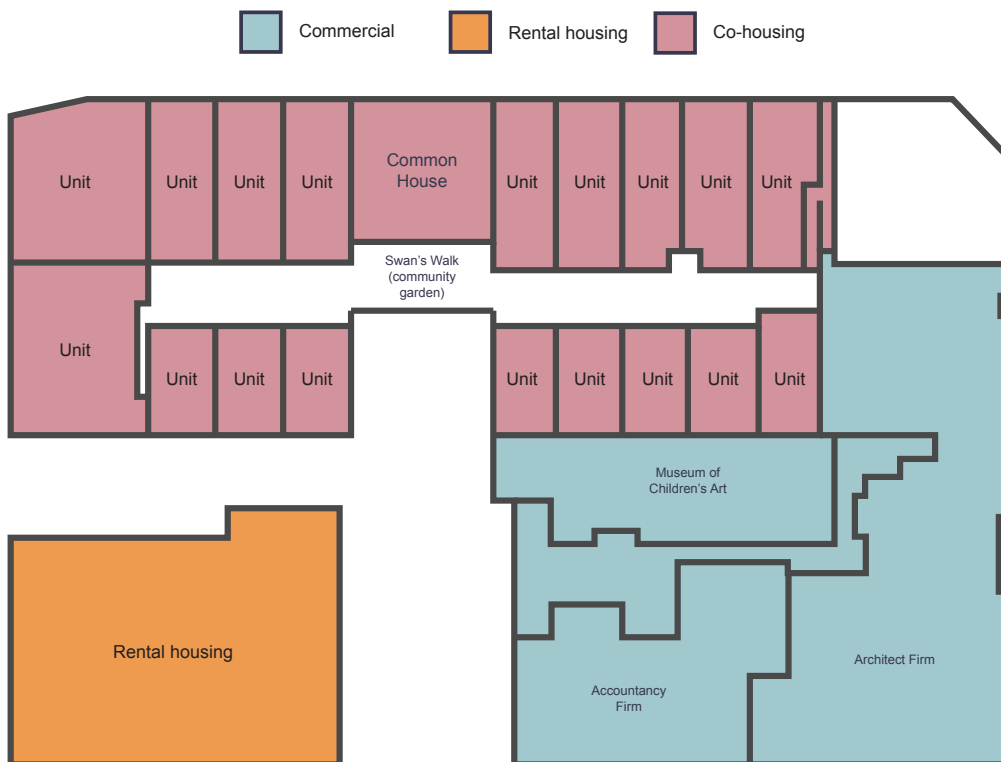


Figure 10. First Floor

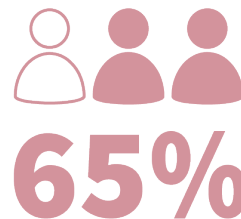
Co-Housing Company

Part of the success of Swan's Market is owed to its diverse selection of inhabitants of both the co-housing units and rental units. An initial meeting held in 1994 saw 15 families register their interest in the co-housing development, which later diminished to 5, over the course of the development process. However, the 20 co-housing condominiums were all sold prior to completion of construction at the market-rate price of \$325,000, as well as 18 1-2 bedrooms apartments were rented to low-income families. The decision to purchase the co-housing units by middle-to-upper class buyers gave a sense of validity to the entire project and created a convincing argument supporting the gentrification of downtown Oakland (Wener et. al., 2001, p. 135). Swan's Market is not the only co-housing development in the area; the city of Oakland's high demand for affordable housing has led to many initiatives supported by various governmental and community organisations. These include the Emancipation Village for fostered youth, Merritt Crossing to improve homelessness, Tassafaronga Village Apartments sustainable green housing, the Altenheim to support German immigrants and Eastside Arts and Housing which combines housing with the commercial performance arts industry (Planning History of Oakland, n.d.). Thus, it is evident that there is strong support for co-housing in Oakland as a desirable place to live.

Practices within the community include all the typical elements of co-housing. Common meals occur three times per week, monthly work parties, regular work days and committee meetings are held. Food is harvested from community gardens, with up to 70% of all food sourced locally and residents committing to cooking rotations. Neighbours share tools, skills and resources and socialise. Maintenance schedules and other tasks are also upheld by residents to support the self-management of the community. Homeowners pay up to \$370USD per month for shared expenses. Swan's Market does not have a unified leader nor core leadership group, unlike some other co-housing communities. All homeowners are equal and its government style is democratic, with decision-making being a consensus vote in which everyone agrees (Fellowship for Intentional Community, 2004).

A wide diversity of people live in the complex, with interested buyers of homes registering their interest on the community's website. As of 2017 there are 35 residents: 30 adults and 5 children, with 60-70% being women. The community is ecumenical with all spiritual practices and atheism accepted: common faiths include

buddhism, judaism and unitarian universalism. Dietary practices are divergent: many residents are vegetarian but the community also accommodates omnivorous, vegan, kosher, dairy and gluten-free, GMO-free and organic diets (Fellowship for Intentional Community, 2004).



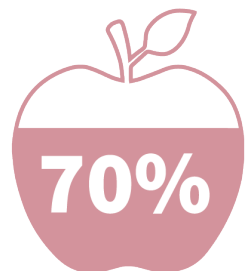
of current residents are female



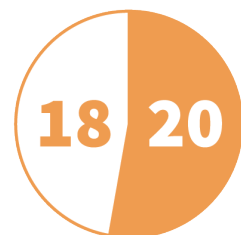
of residents are original members of the cohousing group



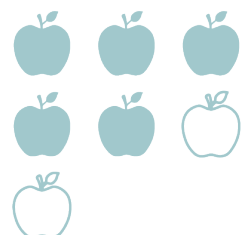
of current residents are children



of food in the community is locally grown or sourced



20 of the 38 units are co-housing, the remaining are rental



Up to five weekly meals are shared by the community

Urban Integration

Oakland History

The city of Oakland, which was formally incorporated in 1852, is known for its multiculturalism. Oakland is considered a 'melting pot' of ethnicities with a unique culture that is the result of years of urban formation and reconstruction (The planning history of Oakland, 2013). In the 1770's Spanish explorers discovered the area which was until then the home of the Ohlone people. The Spanish expedition along the west coast is known as the 'mission era' and led to rapid expansion and establishments in the coastal region. Most of the cities in California thank their name to this expedition, such as 'San Jose', 'San Francisco', or 'Santa Barbara'. The Spanish conquest disrupted the Ohlone social structures and after years of living under Spanish rule, the Ohlone culture began to diminish and eventually became extinct. The Spanish colonization embarked a drastic change in the physical layout of Oakland. It became a colonial establishment centered on religion, shifting away from the complex, resource-oriented network from the Ohlone people. Thereby one could also see a shift in land-use, from a functional time where the land's resources dictated its use towards a time where the land is focused on cultural manipulation (Lee, 1990; The planning history of Oakland, 2013).

After the Spanish settlement, Oakland was long in the hands of the Mexican when in 1848 they decided to give it back to the U.S.. Coincidentally in 1848 the California Gold Rush began, this brought about an increased flow of people and opened up new land uses. Under the U.S. settlement in combination with the Gold Rush Oakland evolved tremendously in its functionality within the urban space. The collective action of the settlers eventually resulted in the incorporation of the Town of Oakland in 1852 (The planning history of Oakland, 2013).

After the establishment up until the 1906 earthquake Oakland saw exponential population growth and it transformed into the major port that it currently is. Thanks to the industrial revolution and its favourable location in the East Bay Oakland grew significantly. The Oakland wharf and the Central Pacific Railroad - who were built between 1870 and 1880 - resulted in Oakland becoming the central hub between the transcontinental railroad and the entire Bay area, which had a huge impact on its economy (The planning history of Oakland, 2013).

In 1906 Oakland was hit by earthquake on the

San Andreas fault, with a magnitude of 8.3 on the Richter scale. It was the deadliest in the history of the Bay Area, with a human toll of 700 people. Despite the earthquake Oakland continued to grow and by 1910 the city had around 150,000 inhabitants. In order to house all the new inhabitants new areas were annexed and the city started to expand rapidly. Between the earthquake and WWII Oakland became known as the "Detroit of the West". As the automobile became a popular mean of transportation the city gradually adapted to automobile travel with the construction of tunnels, streets and bridges and became known as an automotive city (The planning history of Oakland, 2013; Urbanist, 2015)

In 1917 the Oakland Free Market - later becoming the Swan's Market - was built at the current location of the cohousing estate. It was in downtown Oakland, closeby to the railway's central station, where a dynamic neighbourhood emerged with several shops, hotels and other services for travellers.

Oakland saw an economic boom brought by the Second World War. Oakland profited from its strategic location, its large seaport and the terminus of major rail lines. This led to another increase of 100,000 new inhabitants between 1940 and 1945. This growth led to increased diversity because of the massive migration of both black and white shipyard workers. It created an unattainable situation and from 1950 racial segregation occurred, constituted by police and government regulations, causing West Oakland to be a separated area consisting of mostly black inhabitants (Rhombert, 2004). The suburbia on the other hand were meant for white people, contributing to white residents leaving the West Oakland area. Between 1960 and 1970 urban renewal, freeway construction, and other government action destroyed over 7000 housing units, almost 5100 which were located in West Oakland.

Due to the suburbanization Downtown could not keep pace with the city and tied into a downward spiral and deep decline in the 1980s. The Swan's Market survived until 1984 but inevitably closed down and became abandoned for the next couple of years. After the Loma Prieta earthquake the Oakland Redevelopment Agency (ORA) finally started to restore the city with the general plan of 1998. The plan focuses on industry, commerce, transportation, downtown, waterfront and its neighbourhoods in order to revive its city centre and make Oakland attractive again (The planning history of Oakland, 2013).



Figure 11. Oakland 1857

Oakland, 1857

Oakland started out as a Spanish settlement and has been long in Mexican hands when in 1848 the Mexicans decide to give it back to the Americans. Short afterwards the city gets its city rights and starts to grow.

- 1852 - Oakland is now recognized as a city
- 1860 - Estimated population of 1543 people
- 1869 - University of California created
- 1871 - Oakland Long Wharf

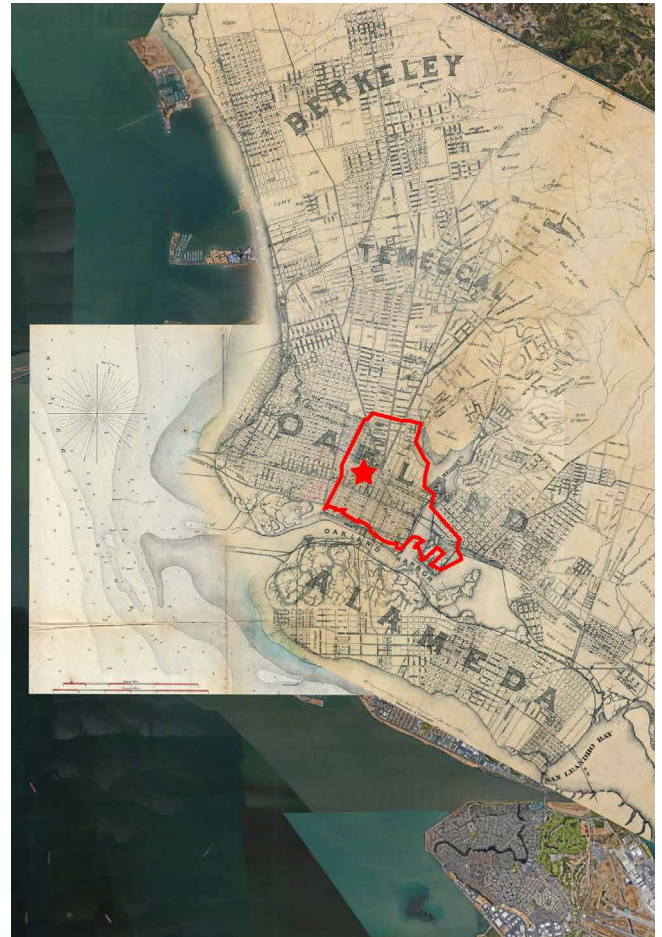


Figure 12. Oakland 1884

Oakland, 1884

The industrial period is starting, Oakland is booming and is called "Detroit of the West". The city is taking shape around the car. Tunnels, roads and bridges are being built.

- 1890 - Oakland's first electric street car
- 1900 - Estimated population of 34,555
- 1906 - San Francisco's Earthquake
- 1917 - Swan's Market
- 1936 - San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge
- 1930 - Great Depression
- 1937 - Golden Gate Bridge

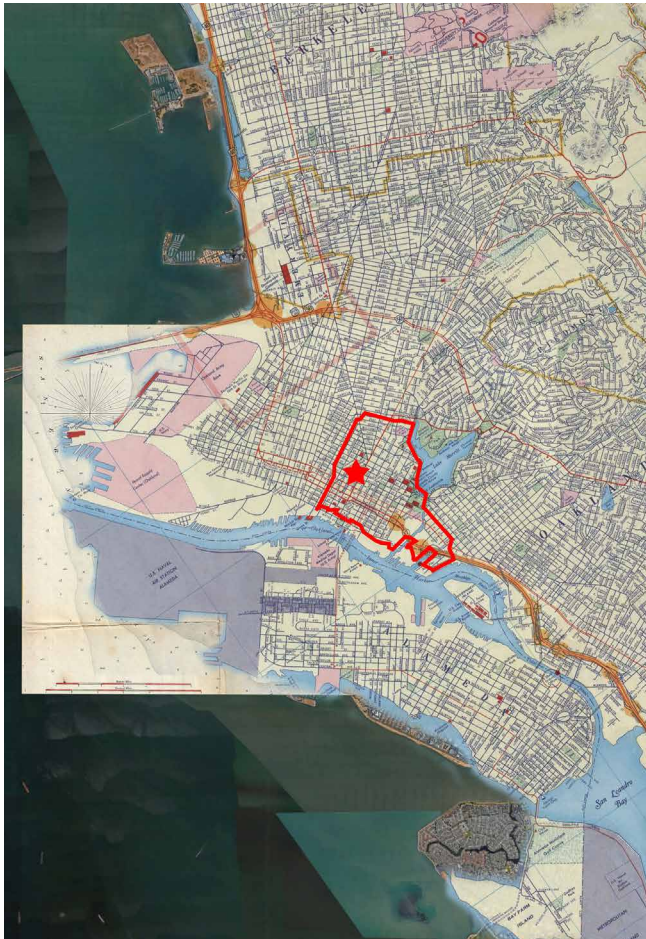


Figure 13. Oakland 1956

Oakland, 1956

After World War two, large scale demographic change became a problem. Downtown is abandoned and set into decline. Major infrastructural projects started who were decisive for the face of Oakland.

- 1945 - Estimated population of 405.301
- 1951 - BART: San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit Commission formed
- 1950 - Construction of the Interstate 880 started
- 1960 - Construction of the Interstate 980 started
- 1980 - Downtown decline



Figure 14. Oakland 1993

Oakland, 1993

After years of car focused urban planning, leading to decline and flight to the suburbs, Oakland's land use plan is introduced. The plan focuses on industry, commerce, transportation, downtown, waterfront and its neighbourhoods in order to revive its city centre and make Oakland attractive again.

- 1890 - Loma Prieta earthquake
- 1998 - General Plan of Oakland
- 2010+ - Initiatives in sustainability and housing development to support diverse population, environmental preservation, citizen health, and economic growth.

Urban Fabric

Downtown Oakland is a result of the Kellerberger grid designed in 1852. This plan consisted of a grid structure with 224 city blocks measuring 300 by 200 feet each. The grid provided a foundation on which Oakland extended during the industrial era. Thanks to the central railway station at the south, the area around the swans market became a vibrant neighbourhood with a great variety of facilities. In the first years of the industrial era Oakland expanded towards the west side, to the Oakland Dwarf, and towards the North, resulting in Broadway street becoming an important axis (Urbanist, 2015). After the second World War and the enormous population growth, people started to move to the suburbs, towards the San Antonio district, and away from downtown. The suburbanization combined with the local renewal

program contributed to decline of downtown and herewith the closing of the Swan's Market in 1984.

Four infrastructural developments in and near Old Oakland particularly contributed to the decline of downtown and had its influence on the Swans Market (see Figure 16). Along 10th street a new convention center was built that cuts off Old Oakland from the city center to the north and resulted in a 600 foot - two building blocks - long blank wall towards the Swan's block. Further, 10th Street was terminated at the end of this convention centre in order to construct a new office building. Also of major influence on downtown were the construction of the Interstate 980, which separated Old Oakland from the waterfront to the northwest. And the construction of the Interstate 880, which separated Old Oakland from the waterfront and blocked access for Swan's customers. This led to a physically isolated and largely abandoned

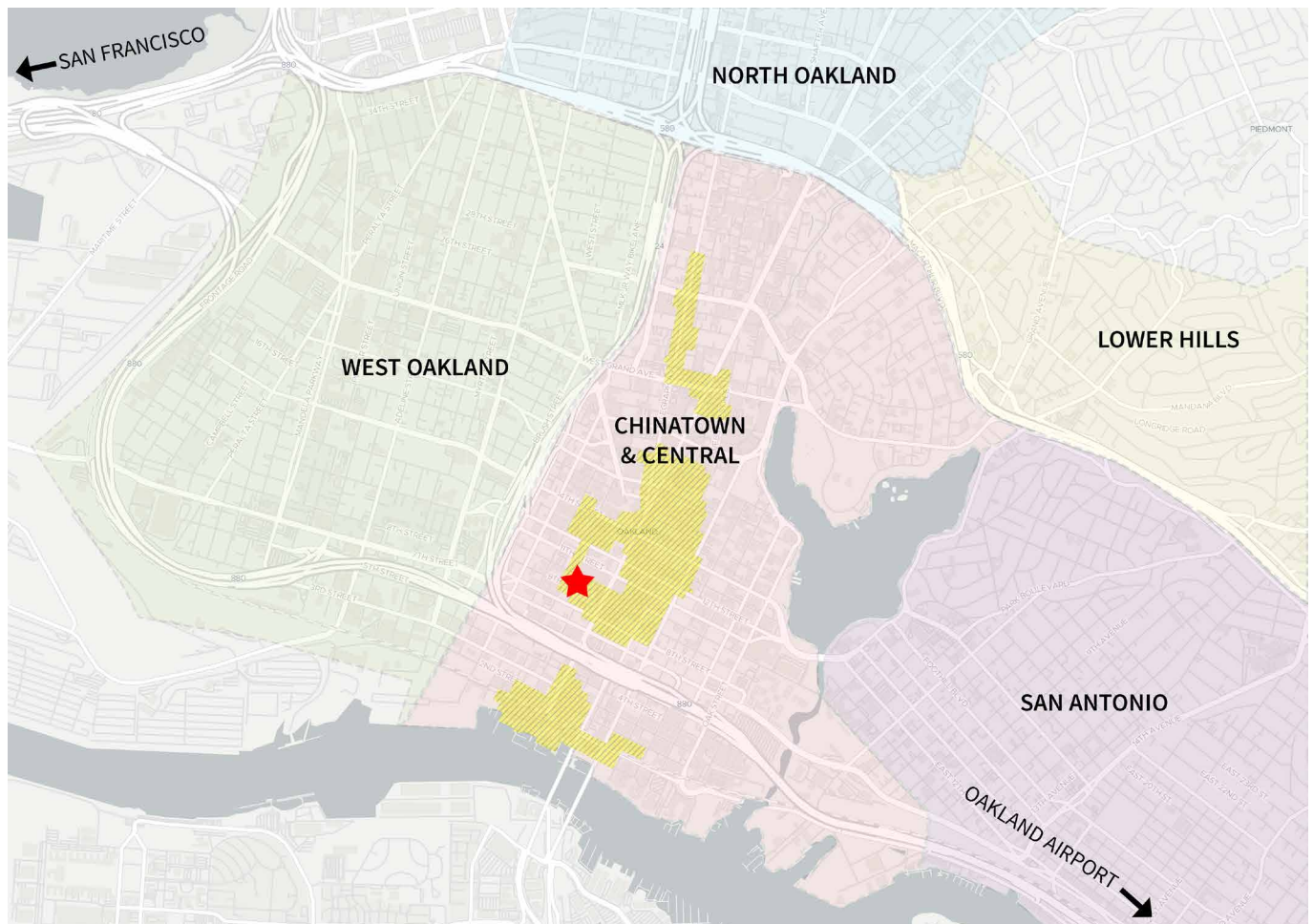


Figure 15. Districts of Oakland

area surrounding the Swan's block (Wener & Bruner Foundation, 2001).

After 5 years of vacancy, in 1989 three blocks of Old Oakland including Swan's market were purchased by the City of Oakland Redevelopment Authority (ORA). Due to the complexity of the site and the apparent lack of suitability for housing led the ORA to suggest to demolish the building blocks. The city issued a request for proposal and the EBALDC proposal was eventually chosen. It was a controversial proposal, especially for its time, suggesting to retain the structures and work with the historic fabric it offered. The EBALDC plan was appointed to the Swan's block which led to a dense and complex program accommodating a variety of uses. The EBALDC's understanding of the importance of mixed uses and the need of high density together with a team of architects and tenants led to a vibrant marketplace and a start of

development projects who will support the renewal of Oakland Downtown (Pyatok Architects, 2002; Wener & Bruner Foundation, 2001).

Legend

- ★ Swans Market
- Places of Interest
- Highway
- Railroad
- Railroad Central Station
- BART Transit
- BART Central station

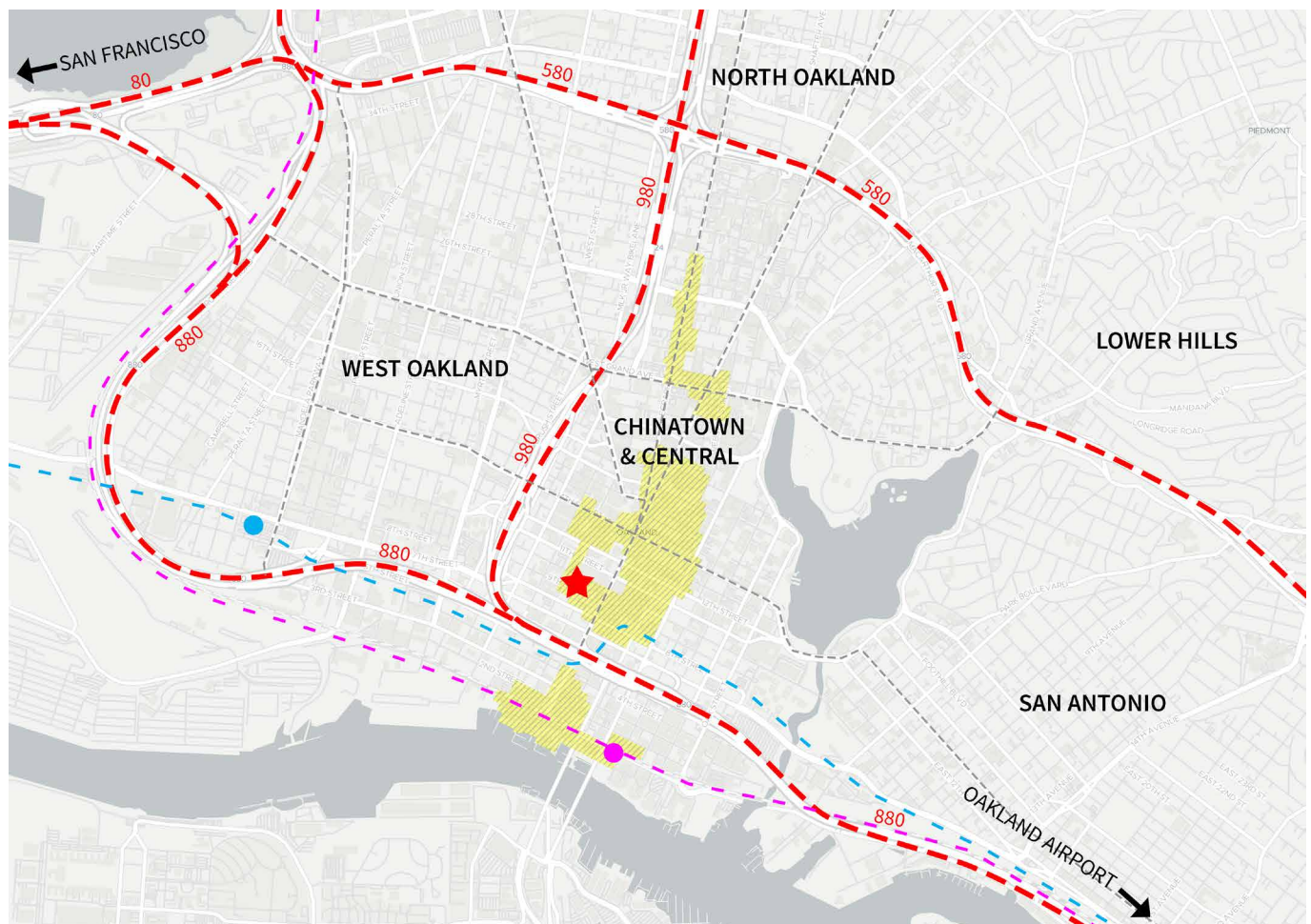


Figure 16. Infrastructural projects

Facilities

The Swan's Market is situated in Downtown Oakland and in a Place of Interest (PoI), meaning the area attracts a lot of people (see Figure 16). If one looks at the facilities surrounding the Swan's market (Figure 17) what is noticeable are the commercial functions at the right side and the housing blocks at the left side. The right side is a vibrant and mixed use environment while the left side lacks a mixture of uses and density needed in a downtown area. This side extends towards Broadway street, which is an important and crowded axis of Oakland, and its influence can be seen in the mixture of uses and density. On the top is the convention centre situated. This centre closes off Washington Street and creates a blind wall of 600 feet long, covering two hole building blocks. The Swan's Market itself is a mixture of

facilities combined with working and living. In contrast to the surrounding blocks where the space inside the building blocks is filled with parking, the Swan's Market utilizes this space as an integral part of the CoHousing development and the facilities.

Legend

■	Commerce
■	Food/drinks
■	Office
■	Living
■	Hotel
■	Convention centre
■	Vacant

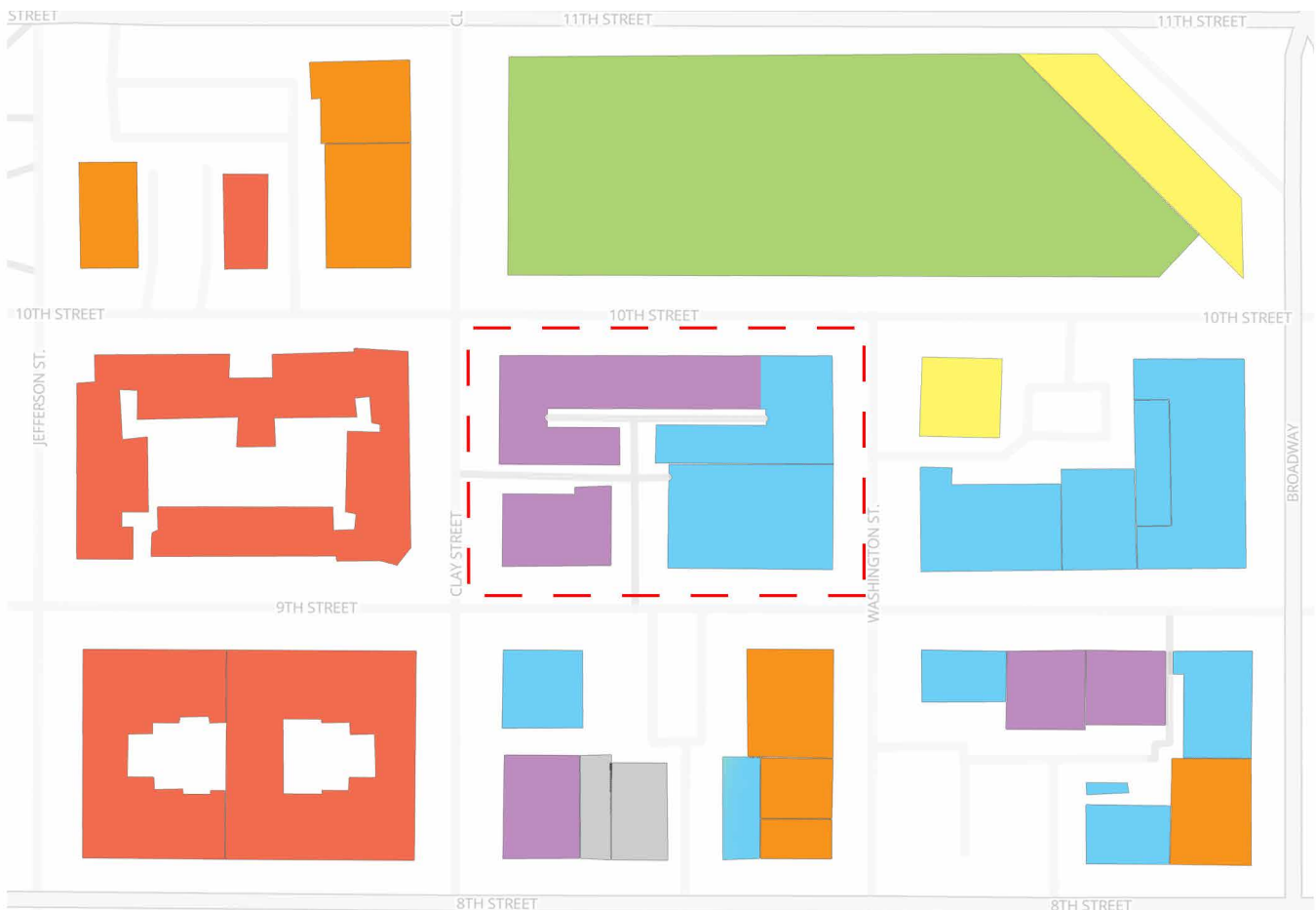


Figure 17. Facilities around the Swan's Market

Surrounding

Looking at the surrounding streets and blocks of the Swan's Market what is noticeable are the frequent gaps in the building blocks, which leaves a shattered urban fabric (see Figure 18). These gaps are all filled with parking spaces. These gaps in the urban fabric results often in streets that feel desolated and unsafe because of the lack of sidewalk amenities (see Figure 20). The red areas (see Figure 18) are preserved historical buildings who also accommodate a great variety of facilities. These old buildings provide, together with some new development, a nice mixture of old and new buildings, making it an interesting place to visit and an economically attractive surrounding. The Swan's Market is also a historical landmark and an example of a mixture of uses which attracts people. Every Saturday a part of Washington

Street and 9th Street is closed off to accommodate the Farmers Market (see Figure 18), which is a market with fresh fruit and vegetables from the farmers in Oakland (LokalWiki, 2018a, 2018b)

Legend

- Historical Landmarks
- Parking
- Farmers Market

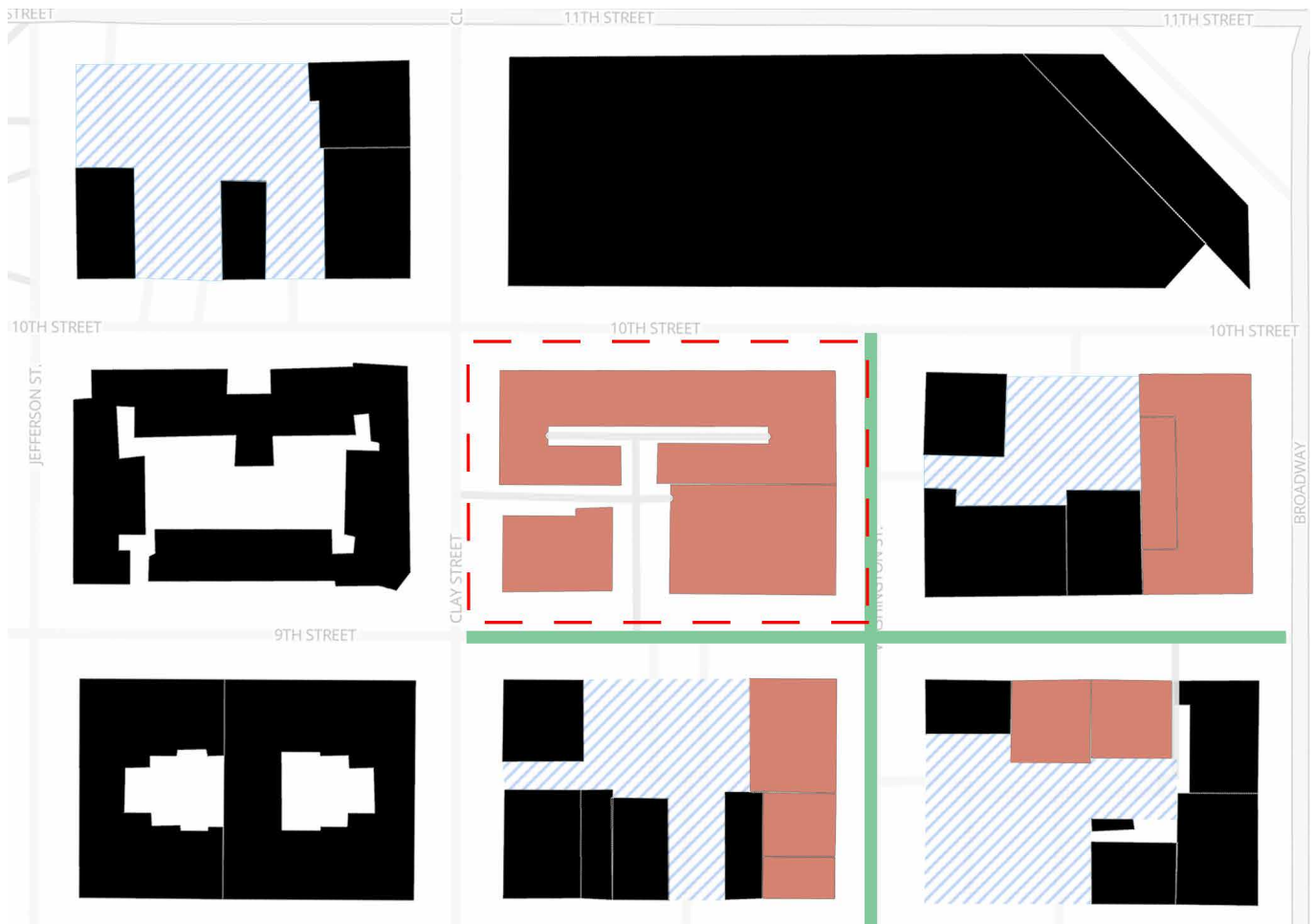


Figure 18. Surrounding of Swan's Market

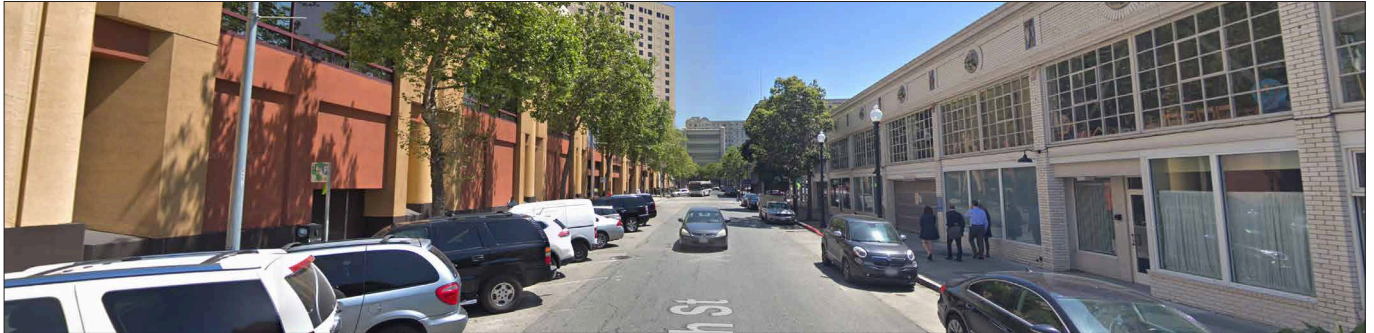


Figure 18. 10th Street facing Washington Street. From Google Streetview, by Google, 2018, <https://www.google.com/maps>. Copyright by Google

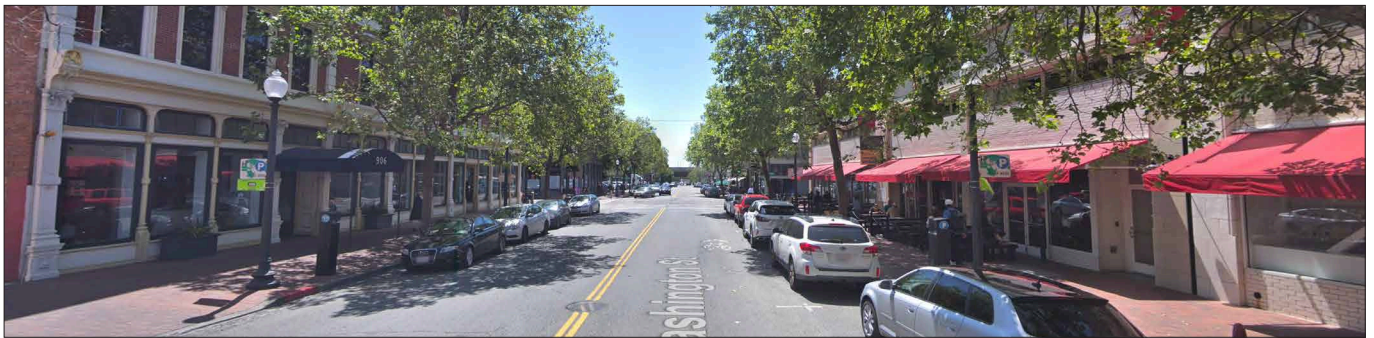


Figure 19. 1st Washington Street facing 9th Street. From Google Streetview, by Google, 2018, <https://www.google.com/maps>. Copyright by Google

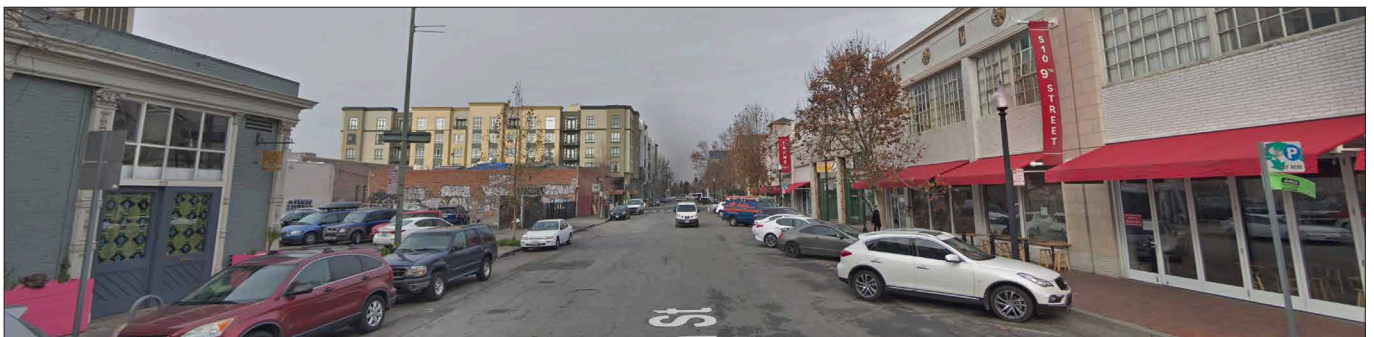


Figure 20. 9th Street facing Clay Street. From Google Streetview, by Google, 2018, <https://www.google.com/maps>. Copyright by Google



Figure 21. 9th Street facing Clay Street. From Google Streetview, by Google, 2018, <https://www.google.com/maps>. Copyright by Google

Stakeholders

As previously mentioned, after the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake the ORA purchased three blocks that were in decay, including Swan's Marketplace and issued a request for proposals (RFP) for those blocks, containing housing and a diverse program. In the end, three developers responded to this call, with EBALDC's proposal being controversial as it suggested co-housing as part of the program.

Therefore it can be concluded that the Swan's way cohousing project was initiated from two sides: namely in the proposal of EBALDC, the winning submission of the redevelopment of Swan's Marketplace and the Co-housing company. Prior to the ORA's involvement in the redevelopment of Old Oakland McCamant of The Co-housing company initially gathered families interested in the possibility of co-housing in Old Oakland (Wener et al., 2001). The fifteen original families

were enthusiastic in the opportunity to live in an urban co-housing conidium. Eventually, due to the long process taking several years, only five families were left from this original group. This was not the end as McCamant recruited new interested people, resulting in the sale of all 20 units before the completion.

An overview of the stakeholders is provided schematically in figure X, based on an overview provided by the architect Pyatok Architects and the developer EBALDC (Pyatok Architects, 2001; Wener et al., 2001).

For this relatively small project, it highlights that a lot of different parties were involved. Part of this can be explained due to the Swan's market building being refurbished, with the corresponding need to take the history of the building and the urban fabric into account. Moreover, as the EBALDC proposed housing for low to

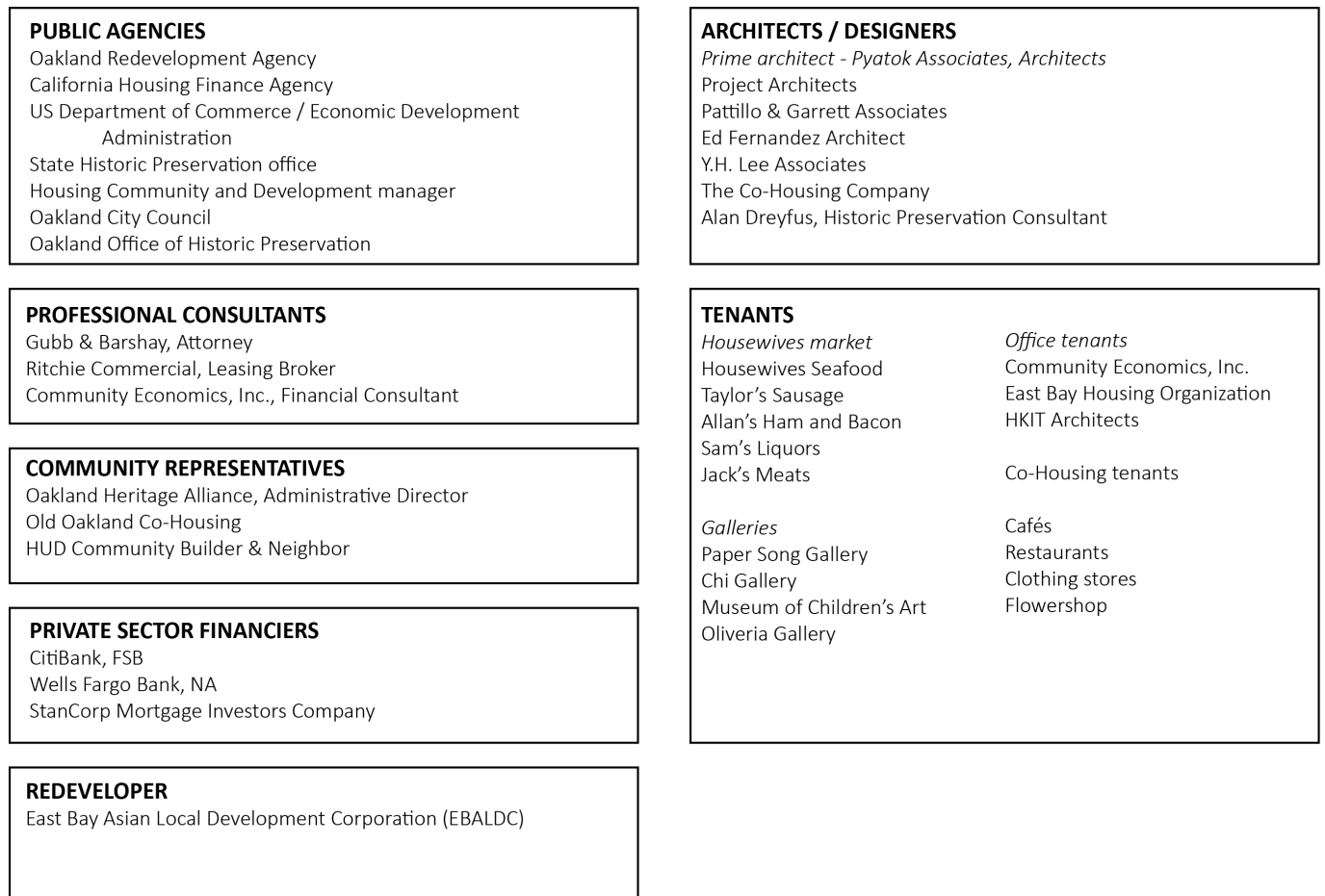


Figure 22. Stakeholder involved in the redevelopment of the Swan's Marketplace, Old Oakland, California

middle income the financing turned out to be rather complicated, which can also be seen in the image as there are two legal advisors concerning finances.

An unique feature of the development of the co-housing at the Swan's Market is the fact that the tenants themselves were involved during the design process, together with McCamant of The Co-Housing company. The variety of stakeholders is also caused by the varied program that the redesign of Swan's Marketplace consists of, including co-housing, apartments for low to moderate incomes, the housewives market, restaurants, offices, galleries, the children's art museum and retail shops. Furthermore, locality played an important role in this redesign as a lot of parties were all Oakland based: EBALDC, Pyatok Architects, the tenants of the Housewives market, The Co-Housing company, a local contract and other participants.

An overview of the functions per area is provided in figure 23 (converted from imperial to metric) (Wener et al., 2001).

The finances of the project were rather complicated as there were a lot of separate stakeholders for the different parts of the entire project (see Figure 24), showing the financial information supplied by the EBALDC (Wener et al., 2001).

In regard to the financing of the co-housing units, it was simpler as less parties were involved. The future owners of the co-housing units loaned money to the project via a limited liability corporation, thereby establishing a solid economic base (Wener et al., 2001). The twenty units were sold for at an average of \$315,000, which would be around €400 000,- taking inflation into account. Legally seen the co-housing project therefore could be regarded as a condominium, as the individual families own their respective apartments.

Areas	
Office space	1617 m ²
Storefront retail	2369 m ²
Live/work rental	123 m ²
Retail parking garage	520 m ²
Residential (with a total of 36 parking spaces)	4722 m ²
Circulation and utility space	937 m ²
Courtyard	730 m ²
Total	11 018 m²

Figure 23. Functions per area

SWAN'S MARKETPLACE FUNDING SOURCES

EBALDC AFFILIATE - SWAN'S MARKETPLACE LP (COMMERCIAL AND EDA PARCELS)

LENDERS	LOAN	TERMS
WELLS FARGO*	\$3,350,000	CONVENTIONAL LOAN
ORA	1,150,000	3% SIMPLE-30 YRS DEFERRED
HHS-OCS GRANT	500,000	GRANT
EDA GRANT	1,700,000	GRANT
PREPAID TENANT IMPRV.	1,700,000	
PREPAID RENTS FOR TI	1,700,000	TI FUND
CAPITAL CAMPAIGN	1,150,000	EQUITY
STAN CORP MORTGAGE INVESTORS	3,500,000	CONVENTIONAL LOAN
HISTORIC TAX CREDITS (CEF)	2,100,000	EQUITY INVESTMENT
SUB TOTAL	\$13,500,000	

EBALDC AFFILIATE - SWAN'S MARKETPLACE LP (RENTAL HOUSING)

LENDERS	LOAN	TERMS
WELLS FARGO*	\$1,561,830	CONVENTIONAL LOAN
FANNIE MAE PRI LOAN*	200,000	1% INTEREST ONLY - 2 YRS
ORA	600,000	3% SIMPLE - 55 YRS DEFERRED
ALAMEDA COUNTY HCD	500,000	3% SIMPLE - 59 YRS DEFERRED
SHP GRANT (CITIBANK)	90,000	0% DEFERRED
FANNIE MAE GRANTS	65,000	GRANT
CHFA TAX CREDIT BRIDGE*	730,000	6.75% 5 YEARS - 5 PAYMENTS
CHFA	775,000	6.75% 40 YEARS
CHFA-HAT LOAN	240,000	3% SIMPLE - 40 YEARS RESIDUAL
TAX CREDIT PURCHASE (CEF)	1,350,000	EQUITY INVESTMENT
SUB TOTAL	\$3,620,000	

EBALDC AFFILIATE - INNOVATIONS FOR HOMEOWNERSHIP (CONDOMINIUM)

LENDERS	LOAN	TERMS
WELLS FARGO	2,810,000	LENDER'S PRIME + 1% - 15 MTHS.
OLD OAKLAND GROUP LLC	315,000	10% SIMPLE, 18 MONTHS
ORA	750,000	6% SIMPLE, 18 MONTHS
PROCEEDS FROM SALES	675,000	PAID FOR UPGRADES & CHANGES
SUB TOTAL:	\$4,550,000	

GRAND TOTAL: \$21,670,000

SHORT TERM LOANS, NOT IN TOTAL*

Figure 24. Swan's Marketplace Funding Sources

Future of Swans Market

The Swan's Marketplace is an excellent example of the redesign of a vacant, detriment plot which helped to revitalise a neighbourhood. The estate shows that not co-housing by itself, but the varied program besides living, influences the direct environment, as happened for example with the restaurants attracting new people as well as generating new job openings. During its 19 year existence, there have been no signs that the Swan's market complex had trouble of properly functioning. This redevelopment strategy therefore will not focus on aspects that can be improved in the estate, but rather the lessons we can take from it, which can be applied in different situations. To evaluate the design more in depth a SWOT-analysis has been executed, evaluating the various positive and negative aspects of the estate, both internally and externally. Those will be discussed starting from the internal strengths and weaknesses to the external opportunities and threats.

Currently, the future of the estate within the old city of Oakland is very positive, not only because there are no vacant co-housing units, but also as its redevelopment sparked the development of five new

restaurants, three new stores and two new hotels (Wener et al., 2001). The urban aspect of the co-housing definitely constituted to this, as such outcomes are less likely to occur if the co-housing would be located on a secluded sub-urban location. The communal spaces connecting the co- housing buildings enhance the relations of the dwellers in the Swan's Market building, as space has been created which can be used by both and where people can run into each other. In this case it considers their communal house, the garden, and Swan's Way.

Moreover, the diverse population living in this estate represents the actual diversity in Oakland, yet instead of being separated in different neighbourhoods, they live together. Similarly, Swan's Market co-housing consists of an equal society, meaning there is no set leader, which in this case works well, which has also been pointed out by the residents themselves as this video on Swan's Market Cohousing in particular shows us (Respectful Revolution, 2013). Another rather special aspect of this project is the fact that the people that were interested in co-housing through the Co-Housing Company had a say in the design of the new Swan's

	<i>Favourable</i>		<i>Unfavourable</i>
<i>Internal</i>	Strengths		Weakness
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Co-Housing • Communal spaces • Diverse population • Equal society • Co-Housing company • Mixed-use • High density 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lenient community • For sale only
<i>External</i>	Opportunities		Threats
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setting an example for future redevelopment in Old Oakland • Downtown location • Historic design elements • Communal spaces tenants • Housing for low to moderate income families • Creating job opportunities for locals in local shops • Parking spots in neighbouring blocks • Saturday Farmer's Market (carfree) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gentrification: housing and rent prices increase • Financing complexity • Separation of the tenants • Blind wall facing 10th street • Limited public parking spaces in estate

Market. Usually, co-housing communities will built their own estate, whereas in this case they moved into an existing complex. Furthermore, the estate is an excellent example of a mixture of uses and a high density development, which serves downtown Oakland well.

Moving on, a weaknesses of the co-housing can be found in the fact that the lenient community does not force people to meet and interact with one another. The forced interaction that enhances the community bonding are the dinners that tenants have to attend thrice a week. Furthermore, the co-housing consists of units that are only for sale, which means that people have to have a certain amount of money and income to be able to join this community.

Continuing, the overall opportunities of the estate are numerous as can be seen in the SWOT diagram. The successful redevelopment of Swan's market can be seen as setting an example in Old Oakland, as previously discussed. Cooperating stakeholders were key to the successful completion of Swan's market redevelopment. They played a crucial role in the feasibility of the project, in regard to finance, but also in regard to recruiting people to actually live and work there.

Another aspect contributing to the succession of Swan's market, is it being specifically located in downtown, usually the centre area of a city, which definitely can be seen as a strength. The location contributes to the enhancement of the overall urban experience of the estate, but also with the triggering of other developments, creating local job opportunities not only on the Swan's Market block but in the entire neighbourhood.

As mentioned before, the architectural qualities of the former Swan's market building have been kept and have been enhanced spatially by keeping the old structural elements, as well as the same façade. As usually co-housing communities built their own community, this redevelopment of an existent vacant building can be seen as an opportunity for other similar locations which are in need of redevelopment.

Moving on, the overall estate provides housing for low to moderate income families, in combination with the homeowners of the co-housing this provides an attractive mix. However, to accommodate interaction between those different groups, the tenants and the cohousing populations are located in two separate buildings, a communal garden and public plaza (Swan's court) have been designed that connects those two.

Another aspect contributing to the successfulness of the block is the availability of parking spots in the neighbouring blocks, as the spots are limited in the Swan's Market estate itself. However this may be useful for the Swan's Market, it has to be noticed that it also leaves a shattered and unattractive urban fabric. More favourable would be parking beneath the ground or making extensive use of public transport. Lastly, the Saturday Farmer's Market causes the street to be closed on Saturdays, facilitating a great walking environment,

Nonetheless, there are threats that should be avoided in future redevelopment plans. The successful redevelopment of the Swan's Market and the neighbourhood of Old Oakland caused gentrification: the housing and rent prices went up, as new people moved to an underinvested and generally poor area. The Swan's market rental apartment counteract this slightly as they are meant for low income households, but the greater neighbourhood did experience the gentrification.

In regard to the redevelopment of Swan's Market itself the complexity of obtaining financing for all different aspects of the varied program proved to be risky. There were many stakeholders involved, which all had a certain level of influence on the overall design. As an example, during the transformation of the estate, both the people that were interested in cohousing (self-owned property) and in low-income renting the apartments indicated that they would like to be mixed, yet the money lenders decided they did not want this. In the end, as the financial aspect is crucial in the realization of any project, the lenders got their say and the two different types of dwelling have been separated. A mix of the tenants might have enhanced the overall design, but the financial aspects weighed stronger in this case.

In addition, an aspect that changed the urban environment for the worse, namely the declined liveliness of tenth street was caused by the change of the façade facing tenth street. Originally being the front of the Swan's market, it now has become a backdoor due to there being no entrance to the block and just providing access to the parking spaces without any other activity in the plinth. Nevertheless, the cohousing does look down on tenth street, in a sense providing eyes on the street. Yet, the amount of parking spaces created in the block are too little. This can be seen in contrast to the previous design tendency in Oakland, which was primarily car-driven, where much more priority would have been given to such a matter. It is fortunate that the surrounding

blocks still provide parking spots.

An aspect that constituted to the decline of the neighbourhood before the redevelopment of the Swan's Market, was the construction of the interstate 980 highway. The Old Oakland neighbourhood got cut off from its surroundings due to it, causing it to become a solitary area. Due to this very significant planning decision a neighbourhood changed completely, which is something to take into account.

Concluding, the lessons one can take from Swan's Market:

- Urban location of cohousing;
- Say in the design of the cohousing dwellings;
- Support of a cohousing organisation;
- Diverse population in the cohousing community and the entire estate; - Equal cohousing society;
- Redevelopment of vacant buildings;
- Diverse program on the entire estate;
- Parking facilities in the neighbourhood;
- Influence of infrastructural and planning decisions.

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