Outreach. Currently HIP offers little outreach to potential clients. Potential homeowners generally learn of the program through a realtor after they have investigated the possibility of home ownership. There are probably many low- and moderate-income families who have not investigated purchasing a home because they know they cannot afford the initial costs and hence have not contacted a realtor. Therefore, increased outreach through public service announcements on the radio and television are suggested.

Race. HIP has done an outstanding job of helping the Mexican-American community in San Antonio. Since they constitute the majority, it makes sense that they should be overrepresented in their participation in the program. The planning office at SADA even provides a bilingual pamphlet to aid Mexican-Americans who do not read English. While the figures for Mexican-Americans are disproportionately high, the participation of African-Americans is disproportionately low. They represent approximately 7-8 percent of the population in San Antonio but constitute only 3 percent of HIP participants. Since families with low and moderate incomes are often disproportionately Mexican-American and African-American, their numbers should be higher still. It is therefore recommended that outreach efforts be specifically targeted to the African-American community.

HIP's 120 Percent Income Policy. If a home is located in a SHTA, the income regulations allow an increase from 80 percent of the city's median income to allow for families with up to 120 percent of the median to receive a HIP subsidy. This policy is aimed at promoting the movement of families into SHTAs. Out of the 461 families, only 58 chose this option. Additionally, it seems that it is a difficult task to induce families with incomes 120 percent above the city's median to move there. It is therefore recommended that this policy be maintained but that some other incentive be attached to induce families of this income level to consider moving into these areas, especially those who are originally from the enclave. Also, it is recommended that an additional deep subsidy be offered to low-income families that purchase homes in these areas, especially those that are from the area.

FHA loans. HIP offers a combined HIP/owner rehabilitation subsidy for families that wish to purchase homes in need of a significant amount of repairs. According to SADA, however, there have been only a very small number of clients who have chosen this option. An avenue to explore is to emphasize this aspect of the program more to help promote the improvement of the city's housing stock.

Council District 2 Plan. The deep subsidy program provides that in order to qualify a family's income may not exceed 80 percent of the median income of all residents in the city. This provision is only available to the residents of City Council District 2. It is recommended that the program be expanded to include other Council Districts.

## PUBLIC HOUSING

This section will perform three functions: (1) provide a history of tenant management as a public housing resident empowerment issue; (2) describe the status of San Antonio resident leaders' interest in the issue; and (3) recommend ways in which San Antonio's resident leaders might emulate the achievements of the past.

**Tenant Self-Management**

The concept of tenant management was put forward in St. Louis in 1968. St. Louis Legal Aid Society lawyer Richard Baron's original goal was not to encourage tenant self-management as we know it today. Rather, he sought to force the St. Louis Housing Authority to change what the residents perceived as needlessly draconian policies. They did not set out to change overall public housing policy either in St. Louis or the nation. In the event, however, Mr. Baron and residents of St. Louis's public housing projects changed the way residents interacted with city housing officials and, in the process, lent credibility to tenant self-management as a means by which residents of public housing may come to exercise autonomy over their living situation.

Initially, St. Louis residents organized a rent strike to protest a seemingly endless series of rent increases. When this proved successful, Mr. Baron and the resident leader began to put into place the organization needed to translate residents' newfound rights into meaningful, comprehensive reform. Mr. Baron approached the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and elicited a positive response and some aid. Eventually, this HUD involvement helped to produce the National Tenant Management Demonstration project (NTMD), designed to test the effectiveness of the concept.

The St. Louis initiative came to be viewed in three broad ways: as an employment opportunity, as a badly needed housing management opportunity, and as promoting community stability. In June 1975, HUD and the Ford Foundation designated the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) as manager of the nascent program. They charged it with the responsibility of determining feasibility, selecting participating cities, conducting training, providing technical assistance, monitoring site operations, and evaluating the results. MDRC chose six demonstration sites: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; New Orleans, Louisiana; Louisville, Kentucky; Jersey City, New Jersey; Rochester, New York; and New Haven, Connecticut. Each city was to establish a Tenant Management Corporation (TMC), which was to sign a management contract with the local public housing authority. The contract would call for the implementation of the tenant management concept and the delegation of progressively larger amounts of management responsibility to the TMC through the completion of a series of steps:

Step #1: The Planning Phase: interested residents fashion preliminary distribution of management functions, outline scope of TMC training, and assess amount and kind of technical assistance;

Step #2: The Election of a Board of Directors;

Step #3: The Incorporation of the TMC: residents and the housing authority take legal steps to make the board a nonprofit corporation and to allow it legally to solicit funds;

Step #4: Board Training: residents and the housing authority familiarize the board with the policies and practices of the local public housing authority, present real estate management principles, and establish procedures for recruitment and hiring of TMC staff;

Step #5: Recruitment, Hiring, and Training of TMC Staff;

Step #6: Negotiation and Signing of Management Contract: legal specification of the responsibilities of the TMC and the local public housing authority and gradual delegation of increasing management responsibility to the TMC;

Step #7: TMC Assumption of Management Responsibility: TMC's full assumption of day-to-day project operation and the TMC board's full assumption of policymaking and community relations functions.

Several lessons can be learned from the success of these endeavors. First, a basis for mutual trust must be established early in the process. Second, concrete results must be achieved quickly to achieve good faith efforts on both sides. Third, the organizing effort must take place around issues of mutual self-interest. At the A. Harry Moore housing project, for example, an improved security system was of benefit to the residents and the housing authority. Finally, organizational efforts must develop and sustain the participation of community-based groups.[100]

Since that time, tenant management has come to be regarded as a credible means by which residents of public housing may come to exercise autonomy over their living situation. It is not a solution imposed from the outside. Rather, tenants manage all aspects of the project in which they live. Self-management, in turn, engenders the willingness and ability to implement specific programs of great benefit to all the residents. When residents decide to implement a security system, for example, it is far likelier to be effective in deterring crime than one imposed upon them from outside. The reason for this is clear: the residents know best where, why, and how crimes are committed in their project. Likewise, when residents decide upon a day-care program, it is with the unique employment and demographic characteristics of their own project in mind.

### The Initial Stages of a Tenant Management Initiative

The Our Casas Resident Council is an informal association of resident leaders from eleven housing projects. Its president is Mary Lou Casillas of the Villa Tranchese project. A former member of the San Antonio Housing Authority (SAHA), Lupe Torres-Venema, serves as an informal consultant. The group is currently registered as a nonprofit organization and plans to incorporate into a management corporation. San Antonio's Our Casas group public housing resident association will soon be awarded an $88,000 HUD grant to determine the feasibility of a tenant management initiative.

The $88,000 will be used primarily to hire two outside consultants -- a housing management specialist and a community development specialist. These two professionals will develop an implementation plan -- a blueprint -- for an eventual resident management scheme. Our Casas hopes to attract VISTA volunteers to help upgrade project buildings and grounds and to provide training to residents when needed and requested. Finally, Our Casas proposes to create two advisory boards -- one to be composed of social service agency representatives and one to offer professional advice (e.g., on legal matters, architectural matters, etc.). "The key to successful self-management," argues staff from the National Housing Law Project, "seems to be the establishment of strict systems of accountability, performance review, and internal controls. It may be advisable during the first year. . .to retain consulting services. . .on a fee basis."[101]

For San Antonio, the HUD grant is timely. A conference was held on Saturday, December 9, 1990, in Arlington, Texas, the purpose of which was to discuss ideas for the implementation of resident management initiatives in San Antonio and elsewhere in the state. A delegation of San Antonio resident leaders attended.

**Policy Recommendations**

Mary Lou Casillas believes that the primary reason for implementing a tenant management program in San Antonio is to improve security and maintenance at the participating housing projects. A second major reason is to develop job-training programs for the projects' youth. If these and other arrangements are to be achieved, Ms. Casillas and other resident leaders will need to develop an organized implementation plan. They should be at no loss for programs to emulate. They might borrow from the A. Harry Moore housing project's security system. They might also take ideas from such successful programs as St. Louis's tenant-managed Cochran Gardens. "Tenants run several day-care centers, programs to bring together the elderly and the young, food service companies, a security service, and a new community center."[102]

A cooperative strategy whereby resident leaders work side by side with Housing Authority officials to develop a workable solution to the problems of the projects is an ideal approach. If SAHA's leadership can be convinced of the merits of supporting resident initiatives, Our Casas may be able to work with them in an efficient and mutually beneficial manner. If not, resident leaders may need to work around SAHA. Either way, tenant management is indeed an idea whose time has come to San Antonio.

## Chapter 7. Media in the West Side

Ask people throughout San Antonio what the West Side represents, and you'll get a bundle of contrasting responses. Some will say that the West Side of San Antonio is a culturally rich area of the city, the heart of the Hispanic community, and an area steeped in tradition. Others will tell you that the West Side is an area characterized by poverty, high crime, drugs, and underachievement. Ask the same people where they get their perceptions of the West Side, and the majority will say from the media.

In an effort to diffuse the effects of the negative images of the West Side that appear in the media, City Councilman Walter Martinez, representing District 5, the heart of the West Side, recently implemented a positive marketing campaign entitled "West Side Si!, Working for a Better San Antonio." The program, approved by the San Antonio City Council and sponsored by area business and community leaders, aims to inform San Antonians of the many positive projects, programs, and activities in progress on the West Side of the city.

This chapter investigates the impact of media on the economic development of the West Side of San Antonio. The role of the media in presenting the image of the West Side and the effects of the resulting image on the social, cultural, and economic activities of the predominately Mexican-American community in the West Side will be discussed. Using the West Side Si! campaign as an example, this chapter will present various ways that policymakers and community leaders can use the media as a tool for positive promotion and development. Further, recommendations for further research into the impact of the media on the economic, social, and political development of ethnic communities such as the West Side will be provided.

### MEDIA EFFECTS

Historically, the theory of media effects has had three stages. The first stage (before the 1930s) saw the media as all-powerful and able to "shape opinion and belief, change habits of life, and mold behavior actively."[103] These views were based on the popularity of the press, film, and radio and not on scientific observation. Researchers began to study, survey, and experiment. Many studies were conducted on the effects of a particular type of film or program. Attention was focused on using film or radio for planned persuasion or on assessing "the harmful effects of media in respect of delinquency, prejudice, aggression, and sexual stimulation."[104] Over the course of this second stage (1930-1960), researchers became more and more disillusioned with this kind of media effect research and began to see media as having much more modest effects. A summary by Joseph Klapper (1960) concluded that "mass communication does not ordinarily serve as a necessary or sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions through a nexus of mediating factors."[105] These factors include a preexisting structure of social relationships and context and tend to be primary in the shaping of opinion, belief, and attitude.

Stage three followed quickly after stage two and rose as a challenge to the limited effects model. Some researchers believed that media might indeed have important social effects and be key instruments for exercising social and political power. One reason for this resurgence of the powerful media model was the development of television and its tremendous attraction. This stage, which is still with us, differs from the first in that the attention of researchers has shifted toward

"long-term change; cognition rather than attitude and affect; the part played by intervening variables of context, disposition and motivation; collective phenomena such as climates of opinion, structures of belief, ideologies, cultural patterns and institutional forms of media provisions."[106] In other words, the power of the media is acknowledged but within the context of institutions, cognition, and society.

One example of long-term unintentional effects is the theory of media dependency. Within this perspective, people become increasingly dependent on the mass media for their versions of reality. Proponents of this theory argue that in simple societies people's realities stem from their life histories, personal experiences, and social connections. As society becomes more complex, the opportunities for personal experiences become more scarce. People know very little about what goes on in society outside of their immediate surroundings.[107]

The mass media has become an increasingly important source of information in our society and people are becoming more and more dependent on mass communication for visions of what is real and unreal. From this perspective it follows that "the more dependent people are on mass media for the information the more likely they will change their opinions as a result of that information."[108]

Given the created reality presented by the news media and the climate of media dependency that exists in our complex society, what kind of effects does this media situation have on economic development? Literature that addresses economic effects of the mass media is somewhat limited. Most studies deal with the economic effects of advertising, not news. This study attempts to take a first step toward addressing this aspect of television news.

Based on the media dependency perspective, we assume that people in San Antonio rely pretty heavily on mass media for their perceptions of reality -- of the country and of the city of San Antonio. The reality presented to audiences by TV news is somewhat fabricated and thus may cause a somewhat distorted view. This distorted view could possibly have effects on how a person deals with the reality around him. If one perceived an area to be dangerous or run down, one would tend to stay away from the area. This hypothesis is that a negative view of the West Side presented by the San Antonio media would tend to be detrimental to economic development there.

This study involved two steps: (1) a content analysis and (2) a series of interviews with San Antonio media representatives. Step one, the content analysis, was performed in an attempt to ascertain the types of media images San Antonio residents were getting of the West Side. The analysis was of two local television news programs, one an English-language program with the highest ratings on KENS-TV, channel 5, and one Spanish-language program on KWEX-TV, channel 41, and of the two daily newspapers in San Antonio, the San Antonio Light and the Express News. It is generally accepted that a sample of five days will give a relatively good indication of the kind of coverage that is typical of the program/paper. The time period for this study was the five-day week (excluding the weekend) of November 8-15, 1989. The limitation of this approach is that it does not allow for atypical events that affect news coverage at specific points in time.

The unit of analysis was the individual story. Stories were selected if they were about the West Side, took place on the West Side, or were in some way easily identified as having to do with the West Side. Those stories were then coded as to topic and the tone of the presentation (positive, negative, or neutral) was determined. Stories were coded as positive if they promoted individuals, events, and activities in the West Side. Stories were coded as neutral if they reported events

without a perceived bias. Stories were coded as negative if there was a distinct negative bias in the reporting.

The second part of this study was a series of interviews with San Antonio media representatives. The purpose of these interviews was to get the perceptions of media professionals as to the effects San Antonio media have on the West Side. One representative from each of the TV stations (Henry Bonilla, executive producer, KENS-TV and Amparo Ortiz, community and public affairs director, KWEX-TV) and one representative from each newspaper (Gabe Martinez, city hall reporter, the San Antonio Light and Mark Kilpatrick, managing editor, the Express News) were interviewed. Interviews were approximately 30 minutes long and were somewhat unstructured, though the focus of each was the same.

## CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SAN ANTONIO NEWSPAPERS

In conducting our research, we performed a content analysis of the two major San Antonio daily newspapers over a constructed one-week period in November of 1989 to determine what types of stories are typically covered in the printed media concerning the West Side of the city (table 12).

**Table 12. San Antonio Newspaper Coverage of the West Side Story Topic and Tone**

Express-News

| Subject | Number of Stories | Tone |
|---|---|---|
| Education | 5 | Positive |
| Crime | 1 | Neutral |
| Cultural | 1 | Positive |
| Social Programs | 2 | Positive |
| Business | 1 | Positive |
| Kelly AFB News | 0 | NA |
| Community | 0 | NA |
| Politics/Government | 0 | NA |
| Other | 0 | NA |

**Table 12. (continued)**

San Antonio Light

| Subject | Number of Stories | Tone |
|---|---|---|
| Education | 1 | Positive |
| Crime | 1[a] | Neutral |
| Cultural | 0 | NA |
| Social Programs | 2[b] | Positive |
| Business | 0 | NA |
| Kelly AFB News | 0 | NA |
| Community | 0 | NA |
| Politics/Government | 0 | NA |
| Other | 0 | NA |

[a] Continuing headline indicates West Side
[b] Housing stories

The above results show that the printed media do not necessarily cover only crime or other negative stories about the West Side. In fact, as seen in these results, the majority of the stories covered positive subjects and were reported in a positive tone. One thing that must be noted, however, is that the crime story was a front-page story and therefore received more exposure than some of the other stories reported. However, one education story also received front-page coverage. From the results of this preliminary content analysis of one week of the San Antonio newspapers, we can conclude that the printed media does not present the West Side in a negative light. In fact, the balance of the stories reported positive images of the West Side. Therefore, although the news must report negative events that occur in the West Side, the media cannot be blamed for producing the negative images that are perceived about the West Side.

## CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TELEVISION NEWS PROGRAMS

One difference between the newspaper analysis and the television analysis was the inclusion of the Spanish-language programs. Since KWEX-TV is itself located on the West Side and in many ways caters to the West Side and other Spanish-speaking people in San Antonio, we felt it would be interesting and valuable to see how the West Side is presented in their local news program.

**Table 13. San Antonio Television Coverage of the West Side**

| | Channel 41 | Channel 5 |
|---|---|---|
| Total Stories | 55 | 50 |
| Total West Side Stories | 8 | 4 |
| Percentage | 14.5% | 8.% |

From the table above, it is interesting to note that channel 5 only covered four stories that could easily be identified as referring to the West Side, making up 8 percent of the total stories covered that week by the station. Channel 41 had twice as many stories about the West Side and those eight stories made up 14.5 percent of the total news coverage. Given that channel 41 is the Spanish-language station, this difference is not surprising. Overall, neither station devoted an extraordinary amount of time or space to the specific area of town called the West Side.

**Table 14. Television Story Topic and Tone**

Channel 41

| Subject | Number of Stories Positive | Tone |
|---|---|---|
| Education | 3 | Positive |
| Crime | 1 | Neutral |
| Cultural | 0 | NA |
| Social Programs | 0 | NA |
| Business | 0 | NA |
| Kelly AFB News | 2 | Neutral |
| Politics/Government | 1 | Neutral |
| Community | 0 | NA |
| Other | 1 | Neutral |

Channel 5

| Subject | Number of Stories | Tone |
|---|---|---|
| Education | 0 | NA |
| Crime | 0 | NA |
| Cultural | 0 | NA |
| Social Programs | 0 | NA |
| Business | 0 | NA |
| Kelly AFB News | 1 | Neutral |
| Politics/Government | 0 | NA |
| Community | 2 | Positive |
| Other | 1 | Neutral |

As far as covering general topics, the two stations seemed to differ greatly. The only topic both stations covered was Kelly Air Force Base news. The channel 5 emphasis seemed to be on the community and community improvements whereas the emphasis at channel 41 news was on education. As with the two newspapers, the overall tone of presentation of these stories was neutral but tended toward the positive. Five of the twelve stories covered by both stations were positive. Although both stations covered negative subjects (crime, fires, etc.), the overall tone presented was not negative.

From this analysis (table 14) it can be concluded that to the extent that the West Side is covered, a variety of topics were presented. Channel 5 seemed to emphasize the community, and channel 41 seemed to stress education by their repetition of these topics in their newscast.

However, one cannot be sure of such an emphasis without questioning the editorial policies of each station. Although negative events were covered, the tone of the presentation was either neutral or positive. Given this analysis, one could fairly say that the television news images of the West Side were generally not what people have assumed. The images presented to the people of San Antonio are more positive than negative but represent a reasonably true picture of events that occur in San Antonio.

One of the aspects of great concern to us was the perception of media images by media professionals. To what extent did media representatives feel that negative images or positive images of the West Side were actually being presented by the San Antonio media and to what extent did they acknowledge the effects of positive and negative images, specifically the economic effects.

Overall, the four media professionals interviewed felt that their station or paper presented the West Side realistically. None of them felt that the general portrayal of the West Side was either positive or negative. Most made the point that it was the job of the press to cover the news the way it happens. If a crime happens on the West Side, they cover that story just as they would cover a crime on the Northeast side of San Antonio -- as it happens.

When asked how San Antonio media, in general, presented the West Side, both newspaper representatives accused the television stations of playing up crime. Both reporters were quick to fault the television news for any inaccuracies about the West Side. From their point of view, this was a function of ratings, irresponsible journalism, and the system of television news in general. Neither of the television news representatives expressed the same attitude about the print media.

Asking media professionals about the effects of negative or positive images proved more difficult. When asked, "Do negative images have a negative effect on an area?" or "Do positive images have positive effects?" All four basically said yes -- but were quick to distinguish between the image that existed historically within the community and the image presented by the media. The reporter from the Express News stressed the history of the Mexican barrio and its image that is difficult to counteract but felt that over the long haul a positive image would help improve the community.

Economic effects were very difficult to address directly with these journalists. Extensive probing and clarification was needed, but even so answers were muddled. When we asked the question in terms of businesses locating on the West Side or banks loaning money for businesses on the West Side, they felt a negative image would negatively affect these processes. In other words, if businesses think that they will be vandalized or burglarized in a certain area of town, they certainly won't want to take their business to that area. While conceding this fact, all were quick to reemphasize that the image that exists of the West Side is historical and real, not something created by the media.

## INTERVIEWS WITH SAN ANTONIO MEDIA PROFESSIONALS

As discussed above, we have concluded that the San Antonio media does not necessarily produce the negative perceptions of the West Side. The interviews conducted with San Antonio media professionals revealed that the basic philosophy of the media is that they report the news as it occurs, without negative slants or tone. However, the media can be useful in promoting positive

events. The media representatives projected their willingness to provide a balanced coverage of events in the West Side. However, they can only report what has been reported to them. Thus, if policymakers or community leaders want to make changes in the perceptions people have of the West Side as a result of media coverage, they must provide the media with accurate information about events, people, and decisions that affect the West Side.

The West Side Si! campaign serves as an example of current initiatives to use the media in a positive way to promote change. The campaign involves the media as financial sponsors and as tools for the promotion of positive images throughout the San Antonio community. The media are valuable tools because their reach is extensive within the community of San Antonio as a whole.

West Side Si! uses public service announcements to focus attention on positive events and people in the West Side. The various media representatives have covered the kickoff of the project, outlining the objectives and participants involved. The project is developing a newsletter to help publicize economic development, housing opportunities, cultural and social issues, organizations, and worthy projects and events in the West Side. This newsletter will be published and distributed by one of the San Antonio newspapers as part of its corporate sponsorship of the campaign. The newsletter will reach influential residents of the city, voters, community organizations, businesses, churches, and the news media. Also, the campaign is developing a five-part news series to be presented by the television sponsors. The series will concentrate on positive aspects of the West Side, such as housing, economic development, culture, arts, religion, and human resources development.

One of the most important aspects of the campaign is the creation of a committee of community leaders to work together in directing the project and building pride in the West Side, something that will continue beyond the current campaign. One newspaper representative to suggested that efforts of this kind are the key to solving many of the problems that plague the West Side. The West Side Si! campaigners are taking the first step in meeting these criteria. Overall, the West Side Si! project hopes to promote pride in the West Side, to bring about attitude changes within the West Side, and to increase general awareness that the West Side is an important contributor to the city. By involving city business and community leaders, the project has greater promise for success in developing a unity of purpose throughout the city for the promotion and development of the West Side and San Antonio.

Another way that the media can serve as a tool for positive policymaking is through the active exchange of information between the policymaker and the media. One media professional said that West Side leaders need to provide the media with stories and input about events occurring in the West Side. In response, Walter Martinez and other West Side leaders are compiling a reference list of residents and experts in the West Side for the media and other interested parties. In this way, West Side leaders can participate more directly in the media process and create opportunities to diffuse negative perceptions

The media representatives pointed out that the structure of the media allows for participation through issue forums, talk shows, editorial columns, and letters to the editor. The two newspaper journalists commented that the news media highlight community problems in order to promote action to bring about changes. They also pointed out that newspapers have open editorial boards that allow community leaders to present their views about various issues. The media representatives said that they were very receptive to the input of West Side and other community leaders and that the system provides for their participation.

Thus, as long as the citizens of the West Side and their leaders are willing to take advantage of the opportunities for participation that the media offer them, the media can serve as a very useful tool in promoting policy and attitude changes in San Antonio. The media representatives provided many criticisms of the West Side and its leaders. However, they displayed their willingness to work together with West Side leaders, businessmen, and citizens in efforts to present the reality of the West Side to the city.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has determined that the manner in which the news is reported in San Antonio is not necessarily negative. However, this is not to say that what is reported is not negative. The major source of images of the West Side is its historical development both in terms of crime and culture. Thus, the style in which the media covers events in the West Side does not have a direct effect on the West Side, economically or otherwise.

In addition, West Side policymakers and leaders can potentially use the media to counter the current negative "reality" of the West Side. Social and economic problems that exist on the West Side could, over time, be alleviated through constructive cooperation between media representatives and West Side leaders. By working together to promote the positive reality of the West Side, it can become a vital and viable economic sector of San Antonio.

The results of this study are rather limited in that (1) the content analysis conducted covered a very short time span, (2) a limited sampling of the media was interviewed for their perspectives, and (3) the results reflect media perspectives only. For broader results, the following is recommended:

1. A survey of residents both within and outside of the West Side to determine perceptions of the West Side and the impact of the media on the development of perceptions.

2. A survey of business people both within and outside of the West Side to determine the effects of media image on economic development and general business.

3. A broader content analysis of the various forms of media to determine a general pattern of coverage of West Side events as well as a comparison of the coverage of the different sections of San Antonio.

4. Conduct interviews with community leaders, prominent business leaders, public officials, media representatives, and typical residents to determine the effect of the media on the West Side, its development, and its image.

## Chapter 8. The Effects of the Avenida Guadalupe Association on the West Side

Within the West Side neighborhood, one grassroot community and economic development organization, the Avenida Guadalupe Association (AGA), has worked for ten years to promote and revitalize the neighborhood through a variety of AGA-sponsored initiatives (appendix I). Initially, the AGA's activities concentrated revitalization on the physical renovation of the neighborhood church, the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Today, the AGA, along with the City of San Antonio officials and Community Development Block Grant funds, has facilitated the infrastructure improvements to the Guadalupe Street, curbs, improved water drainage passageways, and the newly remodeled marketplace, El Parián, scheduled to open in May 1990. The current activities represent different AGA-sponsored initiatives. Concentration is now placed on the need to promote economic activity for the area, (e.g., El Parián) which would encourage individuals to become more self-sufficient.

Similar to other grassroots groups, the AGA has no performance evaluation documents which determine the effectiveness of achieving goals, increasing the level of community participation, or measuring the residents' approval rates of the AGA initiatives. This type of evaluation is beyond the scope of this analysis. Therefore, the AGA is not identified as a model program.

### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANTS

The Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program is a federally funded program that provides block grants or funds to state governments and local communities. Since, the program's inception over 25 years ago, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has developed the criteria for awarding funds. Also, the HUD agency determines federal priorities for programs, handles the administration, and allocates funding level to state governments.

In August 1974, the CDBG program was enacted as the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 or Public Law No. 93-383. To date, the funding has continued through various mandates. For example, from August 1974 through the federal fiscal year 1989, congressional funds were enacted through the Housing and Community Development Acts of 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984, and 1987.

The primary purpose of the CDBG program is to "preserve and develop" urban communities in the U.S.[109] Once the funds are awarded to the local communities, the majority of CDBG monies are used to increase the opportunities for improvements in the "conditions or persons of low and moderate income" and the "physical and economic development of older and distressed areas" in a community.[110]

Monitoring functions are often completed by a local government community development department. In the City of San Antonio, the Community Development Office collects and evaluates quarterly reports and evaluations, approves funding revisions, assists in ordinance passages, and assures that CDBG programs achieve their goals. Also, the Community Development

Office conducts neighborhood meetings and training to include localities in the city's CDBG program planning. During early spring 1989, sixteen meetings and two public meetings were held in San Antonio prior to the final adoption of the current annual CDBG Budget.

Within program guidelines, the target population characteristics are specified and indicate that people in poverty and low socioeconomic income levels must be served. In 1986, approximately 90 percent of the CDBG programs met HUD program standards. This indicated that most programs were reaching the poor. HUD's intent to serve and reach the underserved continues to be a priority.

The procedures to receive CDBG funds are clearly outlined by the HUD agency from the federal down to the local government level. Once the HUD agency receives requests for proposals, it determines the awards for the various local communities and monitors the CDBG-related activities. The local governments determine the use of the funds and distribute the monies into its communities. In San Antonio, the city council members help constituents by making sure that their districts receive monies.

Funds can be used in various ways. For example, projects will often involve the (1) rehabilitation of homes and structures; (2) construction of additional public facilities; (3) creation of more economic opportunities; and (4) infrastructure of an area by constructing streets, drainage systems, and recreational facilities. In a recent evaluation of the CDBG program, the Congressional Task Force on Community and Natural Resources presented a positive evaluation on the effectiveness of programs. The Task Force believed that the program had "proven value in cushioning the impacts of neighborhood decline."[111] The task force found that the CDBG program worked "well in redistributing urban infrastructure maintenance and service investments to lower income areas where cities might not otherwise sustain an adequate commitment."[112]

## ECONOMIC AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In order for the City of San Antonio to receive CDBG funds, a statement of purpose developed by the city's Community Development Office is submitted to the HUD agency. The statement explains the city's community development projects and proposed projects. During this application procedure, the city is required to follow the HUD-approved Housing Assistance Plan. This requires the city to (1) survey San Antonio's housing stock to determine areas with high concentrations of low- and moderate-income families; (2) specify a realistic annual goal for the number of families to be served and assisted; and (3) indicate the general locations for proposed new residential construction or housing in need of substantial rehabilitation.[113]

The Community Development Division, located in the city manager's office, works closely with CDBG programs in the city limits and is responsible for monitoring the CDBG-related activities. Also, the division provides information on the acceptable and unacceptable types of programs which will receive block grants. For instance, funding is not provided for political activity, income payments, general city government expenses, buildings for spectator events (in stadiums, auditoriums, museums, or central libraries), or the acquisition, construction, or operation of structures used for religious purposes.[114]

In San Antonio, the CDBG funds are issued annually by program year periods which begin in September of the first year of operation through October of the following year. According to the development office, the city is in its 15th year operating the program from October 1, 1989, to September 30, 1990. The city received $14.4 million for this period and received approximately $241 million from the federal government. In January 1983, the Avenida Guadalupe neighborhood was officially designated by the City Council as a "slum and blighted" area in city ordinance no. 56420.

## INFRASTRUCTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Infrastructure has played a vital role in America's major societal changes. Four historical stages of infrastructure development related to the process of urban change are identified by Joel Tarr in Perspectives on the Urban Infrastructure, chapter 1. The first stage is Urban Networks and Walking Cities: A Period of Foundations, 1790-1855. During this stage the infrastructure was used primarily for stimulating urbanization and economic development. The critical development that occurred during this period was the construction of a transportation network connecting the various urban nodes that existed.

During the second stage, Constructing the Core Infrastructure in the Central Cities, 1855-1910, the urban population increased from 6 million to approximately 46 million. During this period cities grew in area as well as in population. Developments in infrastructure were critical to the growth of the cities. Of the developments during this period the most significant were improvements in water pumping systems, and the rapid diffusion of water, sewerage systems, and the planned rebuilding and improvement of streets, roads, parkways, and bridges.

The third stage, The Domination of the Automobile and the Enlargement of the Federal Role, 1910-1956, was affected by primarily two factors, one being technological and the other governmental. The critical technological innovation was the internal combustion engine, which was used most commonly in the automobile. This invention sharply altered the pattern of urban life which then created more need for infrastructure and infrastructure improvements. With regard to governmental developments, the crucial shift involved an enlarged role of the federal government, beginning in the 1930s with the New Deal and continuing into the postwar period, but at a reduced level of investment.

The final stage was The Rise of the Outer City and Recent Trends Influencing Urban Infrastructure, 1956-1982. Several interrelated demographic, fiscal, and social trends have severely affected urban infrastructure in the 1960s and 1970s. Central cities lost population while the suburbs continued to increase at a rapid rate. In addition to central city losses was the massive regional population shift from the older cities of the Northeast and the Midwest toward the cities of the Sunbelt. These shifts in population created an increased need for infrastructure and services which needed to be responded to immediately.

More recently infrastructure and public works has been used by government for counter-cyclical employment and political patronage purposes.[115] Several studies also show that preferences and perceptions of different actors, such as politicians, business leaders, and professionals, in a particular city at a particular time may be more important in the city building process than another generalized set of forces.

Historically, federal involvement in infrastructure has been very different from state or local involvement. Traditional reasons for federal financing of infrastructure are (1) to absorb interstate externalities (e.g., interstate highways or water projects) or (2) to promote and share the financial burden of new areas of national concern (e.g., pollution control or housing for the homeless).[116]

Federal financing of urban economic development, however, is based on the equity-oriented goal of redistributing public investment to localities and neighborhoods that otherwise would be unable to sustain needed levels of expenditure. Two current forms of federal funding that are funnelled to urban areas for infrastructure are UDAG and CDBG funds. UDAG expenditures are intended to divert private investment from economically healthy areas to distressed urban locations. CDBG expenditures generally provide new infrastructure associated with a specific development rather than addressing standards-based needs. Both of these federal programs would be considered spatial programs due to their focus on specific geographical areas.

Funding from the state and local government has been primarily through the use of federal grant receipts.[117] State and local spending rose steadily from 1947 through 1967, then dropped off and stabilized in the early 1970s.[118] The decline is attributable primarily to an increasing insistence that residential developers supply their own infrastructure. Due to declining funding from state and local governments, communities all over the country are experimenting with new ways of financing infrastructure to support new development.[119]

The revitalization of communities across the country has been part of the nation's agenda for 40 years. During this time 3,000 communities have participated in revitalization strategies.[120] Communities know first hand their needs. As the infrastructure ages, it proves incapable of handling the demands times place on it. If not maintained, the infrastructure begins to limit the possibilities for community development. These capacity constraints pose an upper limit upon the amount of growth and development a community can undertake.

Infrastructure facilities are not an end in themselves; however, infrastructure facilities are extremely critical for economic activity at the community as well as federal level.[121] In the case of the Avenida Guadalupe area, infrastructure and physical improvements have immediate impact: the improvements are visible (streets and curbs become accessible, sewer and water services are expanded, etc.); the property value of residential and business buildings increases; and the West Side residents experience one type of "revitalization."

In economically and socially disadvantaged communities there is an added need for the infrastructure to be intact. In a community such as the Avenida Guadalupe Association area or the West Side, adequate physical infrastructure is a necessity for economic activity, development, and growth.

All the information available indicates that $1,496,239 has been spent in the AGA area since 1922 (this figure does not include the funds spent prior to 1940 due to lack of information for those years). Of this, $1,494,795 (99 percent) was spent in the AGA area since 1979. What can be assessed from a cursory examination of the area is the extraordinary difference in the physical condition of the immediate AGA area and the surrounding West Side area.

The Public Works Office of the City of San Antonio provided information on all capital improvement projects (CIP) for the AGA area from 1922-1989. The AGA area is bordered by El Paso, Brazos, Montezuma, and San Jacinto streets (appendix I for map). The Public Works CIP

information is limited to streets, sewer, and curb improvements. The earliest sewer improvements occurred in 1922. The Public Works Office has scheduled no projects in the current five-year Capital Improvement Project Plan. Table 15 is a list of all past, present, and future Capital Improvement Projects in streets, drainage, and sewer projects.

**Table 15. Infrastructure History for AGA Area**

| Project | Type | Status | Date | Constr. Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| El Paso Street<br>Brazos St.-Trinity St. | sewer | completed | 4/14/22 | not available |
| S. San Jacinto St.<br>Colima N.-Guadalupe<br>Colima N.-Guadalupe | sewer | completed | <br>2/16/25<br>3/1/25 | not available |
| Guadalupe Street<br>Brazos St.-Zarzamora | sewer | completed | 5/4/29 | not available |
| Montezuma Alley<br>Brazos St.-Zarzamora | sewer | completed | 1/1/31 | not available |
| Elvira Alley<br>Kicaster W. Fite | sewer | completed | 1/31/40 | not available |
| Fite Alley<br>El Paso St. N. | sewer | completed | 2/9/40 | not available |
| Kicaster Alley<br>Guadalupe N.-El Paso<br>El Paso N.-San Fernando<br>San Fernando N.-San Luis | sewer | completed | 1/12/40 | not available |
| S. San Jacinto St.<br>El Paso St. | sewer | completed | 12/11/69 | $1,444 |

**Table 15. (continued)**

| Project | Type | Status | Date | Constr. Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fite Alley<br>N. of Guadalupe St. | sewer | completed | 1/3/73 | $322,000 |
| El Paso St.<br>Hamilton-24th | st. & curb | completed | 7/21/81 | $458,000 |
| Guadalupe St. | st. & curb | completed | 7/21/81 | $200,000 |
| Guadalupe St.<br>Brazos-San Jacinto | sewer & st. | completed | 10/6/89 | $199,795 |
| Guadalupe St. | storm drainage | completed | unknown | not available |
| Guadalupe/Castroville<br>Alazan Creek-Cupples Rd. | sewer | under construction | | $637,000 |
| Las Tiendas/El Parián<br>S. Guadalupe-N. Colima<br>Betw. San Jacinto-Brazos | misc. | under construction | | private |

Source: City of San Antonio Public Works, "Summary Report of Capital Improvement Projects in Avenida Guadalupe Area and City of San Antonio," Capital Improvement Program for 1982-1987, adopted September 1981.

## THE AVENIDA GUADALUPE ASSOCIATION: A REVIEW OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD COMMITMENT

In 1979, the Avenida Guadalupe Association originated as a grassroots project to rehabilitate the neighborhood's nearby church. Today, the association continues to succeed in its interdisciplinary approach that works by promoting activities for increased economic and community development in the Guadalupe neighborhood. Finally, the association exemplifies long-term and well organized activities which appear to work and address the community's immediate needs.

The Avenida Guadalupe area, along Guadalupe Street in the West Side, is one of the oldest Mexican-American communities in San Antonio. The area developed and prospered after men that served in the war returned with new resources (i.e., the G.I. Bill), which they invested in their community to make the "American dream" come true. Through improvements, residents of the community were able to offer a higher standard of living to their offspring.[122] Much like

other communities, the increased standard of living allowed them to move out of the "barrio," leaving behind an older, poorer community. The deterioration of the economic base had several negative affects. These included an increase in rental properties (which meant an increased number of rental problems), more crime, and an increased number of substandard housing units. During the 1960s and 1970s the problems worsened.

As in most Mexican communities, the church in the Guadalupe area, Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, was the focal point in the community. In 1979 under the leadership of Father Rodriguez a group of parishioners formed a committee and organized to try to improve the physical surroundings in their community. In the first year the committee was successful in securing $16,000 to improve the facade of the church.[123] Their first major goal was to have the city council declare their neighborhood an urban renewal area, which would make them eligible for CDBG monies and other state and local grants. This goal was accomplished in 1983.

Since then, the Avenida Guadalupe Association has grown from a one member operated office to the city of San Antonio's fastest growing community development organization with a staff of six and a contracted support group of six firms. By pulling these resources together the association has been able to carry out accounting, architecture and planning, grantsmanship and development coordination, urban renewal planning activities, and public relations.

The Avenida Guadalupe project is unique in having the first and only official urban renewal program planned and administered by a neighborhood based or grassroots organization in cooperation with the City of San Antonio and support of the San Antonio Development Agency. A primary objective of the project involves the acquisition of blighted and problem properties -- substandard housing, vacant lots, and deteriorated underutilized commercial structures. A secondary objective involves the assembly of land for the development of projects which fulfill the needs and priorities of the neighborhood and the city. Besides these objectives the association has one primary goal which is

> to strive to reverse this situation (of deterioration) and promote physical, economic, and cultural revitalization which supports the neighborhood's reattainment of its traditional role (commercial and cultural center for San Antonio's Hispanic community).[124]

Currently the association is attempting to become self-sufficient. This is very important because they currently require soft funds (allocated on a yearly basis) and therefore are not secure. They feel that by going into business for themselves they can secure funds that will ensure their existence and growth into the future. The project they hope will accomplish this is El Parián. The association and its boundaries are located on the West Side of San Antonio. Membership in the association is limited to those individuals living within the boundaries (the south and east by Alazan Creek, the north by West Commerce, and the west by Zarzamora Street). Currently the association asks for a 50 cents yearly donation from all members.

The association functions under the control of a ten-member board. The board is voted in by the members every two years.[125] Recently, the association hired the current executive director, Mr. David Garza. In the history of the association only two executive directors have existed, and the board has retained 50 percent of its original members.

The association operates under three primary contracts with the city and several grants designated for special projects The first contract is the General Fund-Avenida Guadalupe Project (GF-Avenida), which is for the operating expenses of the Avenida Guadalupe project. They have been receiving funds through this contract since they began in 1979 ($16,000). For fiscal year 1989-90 they received $115,066. In the past ten years they have received a total of $1,144,071.[126]

The second contract with the city began in fiscal year 1985-86. This contract was also under the General Fund-Plaza (GF-Plaza); however, it was for the operating expenses of the Plaza Guadalupe. The plaza is technically a public facility, therefore the expenses are covered by the Department of Parks and Recreation. The Parks and Recreation Department pays the salary of the plaza director and the individual that handles the maintenance. In the 1985-86 fiscal year they received $20,000; for 1989-90, $37,987; for the five years between 1985/86 and 1989/90, a total of $157,734.[127]

The third and largest contract administered through the city is the CDBG contract. Funding from the CDBG program began in fiscal year 1982-83 with a $600,000 dollar grant. These monies are for the activities and projects the association undertakes. The funds also cover purchases, renovations, and new construction. For fiscal year 1989-90 (15th year CDBG program) the association received $350,100 (of $15 million that San Antonio received in CDBG monies for 89-90).[128] In the eight-year period that the association has received CDBG funds, they have received a total of $4,962,500.

The association also received funds from several other sources for specific projects. Table 16 shows the special projects funds awarded to the association. Table 17 identifies the different types and amounts of funding the association has received in the past ten years.

**Table 16. Special Projects Funds Awarded to the Avenida Guadalupe Association**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1985-86 | Economic and Development Administration (EDA) for Plaza Guadalupe Phase II ($240,000). |
| 1987-88 | EDA for El Parián Phase I ($600,000). UDAG Vista Verde South Grant (city loan) for El Parián Phase I ($322,000). |
| 1988-89 | Dept. of Health and Human Services (HHS) Office of the Community Services for El Parián Phase I & II ($500,000). Center for Law and Education (L&E) for Urban Garden ($12,500). |

Source: Avenida Guadalupe Association, Funding History Report, 1989.

**Table 17. Avenida Guadalupe Association Funding History (in thousands)**

| | CDBG Funds | GF Avenida | GF Plaza | EDA | UDAG | HHS | L&E |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1979-80 | 16 | | | | | | |
| 1980-81 | | 50 | | | | | |
| 1981-82 | | 40.4 | | | | | |
| 1982-83 (8th YR)* | 600 | 131.7 | | | | | |
| 1983-84 (9th YR) | 992.4** | 131.7 | | | | | |
| 1984-85 (10th YR) | 800 | 138.3 | | | | | |
| 1985-86 (11th YR) | 587 | 134.1 | 20 | 240 | | | |
| 1986-87 (12th YR) | 683 | 129.9 | 30 | | | | |
| 1987-88 (13th YR) | 450 | 129.9 | 27.8 | 600 | 322 | | |
| 1988-89 (14th YR) | 50 | 126.7 | 41.8 | | | | |
| 1989-90 (15th YR) | 350.1 | 115 | 37.9 | | | 500 | 12.5 |
| Total | 4,962.5 | 1,144 | 157.7 | 840 | 322 | 500 | 12.5 |

Grand Total: 7.9 million dollars

Source: Avenida Guadalupe Association, Funding History Report, 1989

* CDBG funding year program
** This figure represents two grants the association receives through CDBG (one was a Jobs Bill grant and the other a regular CDBG grant).

**Program Development**

In a ten-year period the Avenida Guadalupe Association has accomplished several community development projects. Some of these projects are as basic as a sidewalk and others as complex as a market analysis and development plan for the association's site. Table 18 lists the major accomplishments of the association.

**Table 18. Avenida Guadalupe Association Major Accomplishments**

| Date | Milestone |
|---|---|
| Fall 1980 | $50,000 Planning and Administration Grant from the City of San Antonio. |
| Fall 1982 | Urban renewal area defined and adopted by council, which allocated $500,000 to AGA for acquisition and demolition plus CDBG funds of $131,720 for planning/administration of Plaza Guadalupe. |
| Winter 1982 | Market Analysis and Development Program completed. AGA development office created mortgage package for medical office building completed. |
| Fall 1985 | Medical Office Building completed. City grants AGA $587,000 CDBG funds and $160,000 in General Revenue Bonds for land acquisition. Yearly General Revenue funds of $135,000 set aside as well. |
| Summer 1987 | City of San Antonio authorizes $322,000 loan for development of Las Tiendas (El Parián). |
| April 1988 | EDA awards $600,000 grant to AGA for development of Las Tiendas (El Parián). |
| | City commits $160,000 for labor and material relating to Las Tiendas (El Parián) parking lot. |
| | U.T.S.A. commits $55,500 for technical assistance for Las Tiendas (El Parián) tenants/vendors. |

Source: Avenida Guadalupe Association, Department of Health and Human Services Grant Application, Office of Community Development, San Antonio, Texas, April 18, 1988.

The physical improvements to the Guadalupe area are varied and the plaza itself represents an achievement. Its presence has been a catalyst for other positive changes including repavement of the streets and reconstruction of the sidewalks in the immediate area. The plaza includes retail, commercial, main plaza cultural (which includes a stage), museum, arcade, and bench areas. These sections of the plaza have all been completed. Unfortunately, physical improvements have not expanded to other areas of the West Side.

Management and administration of the plaza is done entirely by the association. The plaza was the first great accomplishment of the association and represents a focal point for the community. The design of the plaza was coordinated with the existing Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which is visible through the a portal of the plaza (appendix J). The plaza was intentionally designed this way to create a feeling of unity.

The projects for 1988-89 included:

1. completion of Guadalupe Plaza: (a) picnic area phase; (b) play lot phase; (c) site work of (three) rehabilitation homes; and (d) rehabilitation of a fourth home;

2. development of San Jacinto St. Elderly Housing Project;

3. development of an 18,000 square foot marketplace, "El Parián;" funds in the amount of $922,000 for El Parián were raised by January 1988; and

4. completion of El Parián parking lot.

## EL PARIÁN RETAIL INSTITUTE

As mentioned above, the association currently depends entirely on soft monies for its existence. In order to secure funds for the its continued existence, the association has taken on El Parián (which means neighborhood market) Retail Institute. The concept of a retail institute is to provide through retail incubation a combination of ownership incentives, support mechanisms, strong retail management training and follow-through to substantially raise the success rate of minority retailers in the El Parián project.[129] The mission of this project is to develop approximately 20 to 30 businesses among the estimated 40 small retail tenants and vendors. The objective would be to achieve a 60 percent success rate or better as compared to the prevailing failure rate of 90 percent (within the first five years of operation) for small minority-owned businesses.[130]

In this venture, the association has formed an alliance with The University of Texas at San Antonio Business Development Center to provide the training needed to give these small entrepreneurs the tools necessary to ensure success. All participating tenants must go through UTSA's course and receive a good recommendation. In order to ensure access UTSA is providing the course in the Guadalupe neighborhood and providing a Spanish-speaking instructor.

The physical structure of El Parián is approximately 18,000 square feet and presently is 62 percent preleased (appendix K). It is located directly in front of the Plaza Guadalupe (appendix J). It was built and financed in two phases. The first phase included the renovation of the outside of the building. The total estimated cost for this phase was $922,000. The association obtained a $600,000 grant from the Economic Development Administration (EDA) for this phase. The difference was financed through a loan by the city. The EDA contract stipulated that some of the contracts for the construction had to be made with minority-owned business or minority-employing businesses. The second phase was funded by the Department of Health and Human Services. They gave the association $5 million for work in the interior of the market and for staff and operation expenditures. This will be sufficient to complete El Parián and have it ready for the grand opening on May 5, 1990. The Levis Strauss Foundation has also supported this project with $45,000 to hire a leasing agent and cover overhead expenses of El Parián.

El Parián has economic development goals:

1. to create a long-term economic and commercial generator for low-income families, displaced workers, and at-risk youth of the Guadalupe community;

2. to reverse a long-standing deterioration of this new central-city urban area by providing opportunities for ownership, self-help assistance, private capital and participation by local banks, City of San Antonio CDBG funds, The University Texas at San Antonio, Small and Minority Business Development Administration Public Works funds;

3. to foster on-going partnerships between and among private business people and local institutions resulting in economic self-sufficiency, commercial expansion, long-term employment, and innovative and successful business development.

## THE AVENDIA GUADALUPE NEIGHBORHOOD

In January 1989, the Avenida Guadalupe Association received a free community profile of its geographic area. The survey was conducted by San Antonio's KSAT channel 12 in 1988. It includes seven zip code numbers, 78207, 78205, 78204, 78225, and 78226, which encompass the Guadalupe neighborhood. The sample size used for this survey instrument was not explicitly stated in the document.

A review of the survey instrument indicates methodology drawbacks. However, David Garza, the executive director of Avenida Guadalupe Association, believes that it can be used to get a better understanding of the residents in the immediate Guadalupe neighborhood. In fact, the association will probably use these data to plan future projects for the Guadalupe area. KSAT channel 12 provided the following observations for residents of the Guadalupe Area by zip codes 78207, 78205, 78204, 78225, and 78226, in San Antonio, Texas, 1988:

> 95 percent of residents are of Hispanic origin.
> Females make up of 65 percent of the neighborhood population.
> Approximately 59 percent of households have incomes of $20,000 or less.
> Over 50 percent of the residents do not have a high-school education.
> Approximately 53 percent of the families have children younger than 18 years of age.[131]

Additional information indicates that the majority of residents are in the occupations of homemakers (18.7 percent), laborers (17.0 percent), retired (17.0 percent) or service workers (11.9 percent).[132] According to the findings, most residents shop at the H.E.B. grocery store. The nearby Handy Andy was the second most frequented grocery store. Three department stores--K-Mart, J.C. Penney, and Sears--are used by the residents. Also, the South Park Mall and Ingram Mall are the shopping malls most residents frequent.

Finally, the observations presented financial information of the residents. For example, in 1988 less than 80 percent of the residents 1) purchased major appliances; 2) purchased television sets; or 3) conducted home improvements costing more than $200.[133] Also, according to the survey, the San Antonio Savings Association is used as the primary financial institution.[134] While this may not be an all-inclusive survey of the neighborhood residents, it is a useful addition in attempting to get a better understanding of the Guadalupe neighborhood.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The case study of the Avenida Guadalupe Association has been useful in reviewing past, current, and future community and economic efforts that have essentially empowered one San Antonio neighborhood in the West Side area. Fortunately, the city's Community Development Division and the Avenida Guadalupe Association seem to have a good working relationship. This appears helpful in ensuring funding and a better understanding of the neighborhood long-term revitalization initiatives.

The AGA and the city should begin to document community and economic success to demonstrate the worthiness of these types of projects and verify whether or not the AGA activities can be models for duplication. A thorough economic analysis is necessary. This requires detailed documents of the association's past CDBG funding, city ordinances passed, and future plans, especially those pertaining to the renovation of the public housing units close by. The analysis could measure the short- and long-term economic impacts of the association's program development.

Our preliminary findings indicate that the successes of the association's neighborhood plan have been possible with a well-organized and long-term planning tool. Duplication of the neighborhood plan or perhaps revisions to such a plan may prove beneficial for other distressed communities. Finally, the AGA strategies appear to get community and economic development projects completed because of two factors: (1) a plan of action, a list of goals, and support systems for all individuals involved in the projects and (2) support systems within the City of San Antonio Community Development Division that recognize the need for successful local economic and community development.