

From Thoroughfare to Destination

Community Perspectives on The Alameda's Plan for the Beautiful Way in San Jose



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Cover photo source:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Alameda_1.2.jpg

Introduction

In the changing landscape of Silicon Valley, The Alameda is an anomaly; a historic district with a small-town feel adjacent to the rapidly growing global tech epicenter that is Downtown San Jose. Named after the street that runs through it called “The Alameda” (also known as “The Beautiful Way”), The Alameda district has evolved from a pass-through on the way to Downtown San Jose to a walkable commercial district. Completed in 2018, the Plan for the Beautiful Way served as the blueprint for this transformation and was informed by a robust community-engaged process praised by city officials, business owners, and residents alike.

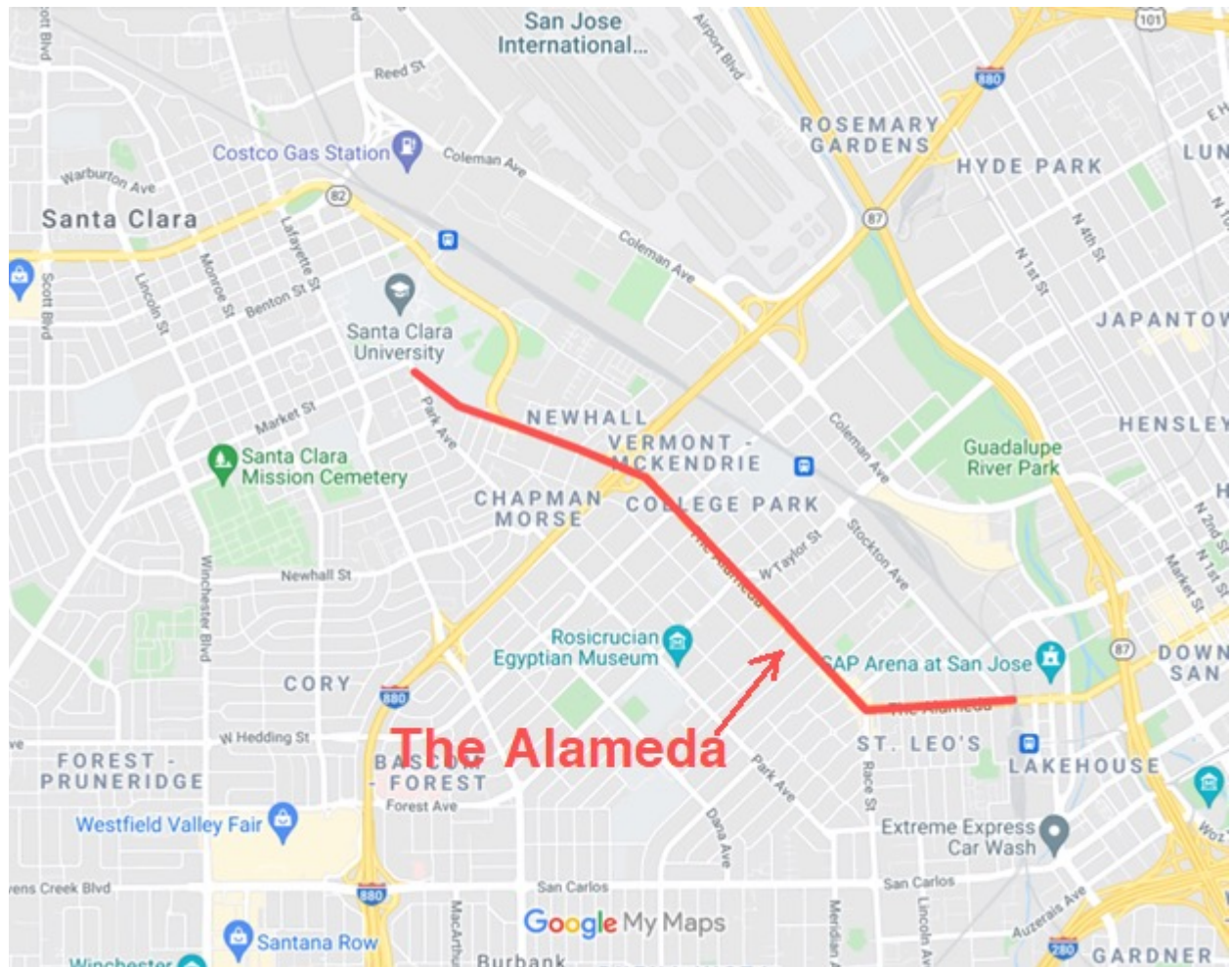
Today The Alameda is at a critical juncture. While The Alameda’s surrounding community has enjoyed the improved vibrancy of the district, it faces significant challenges. The district’s small businesses have suffered due to COVID-19, and plans for transit-oriented development and a sprawling Downtown San Jose Google campus three miles east have raised concerns about displacement. Now many of the community leaders who were involved in shaping the Plan for the Beautiful Way are participating in efforts to ensure that future investment is coupled with robust community benefits.

Drawing from 10 interviews with community leaders, residents, business owners, and city officials, this case study uplifts local perspectives on neighborhood change in The Alameda district. Specifically, this case study investigates the last decade of community engagement processes during and after the implementation of the Plan for the Beautiful Way in order to inform future coordinated anti-displacement and sustainability strategies.

I. The Alameda: The Street and the District

“The Alameda” refers to both a segment of California’s historic El Camino Real and the district that surrounds it. This three-mile stretch of the El Camino Real begins at Santa Clara University and ends at Diridon Station, a transportation hub adjacent to the SAP Arena, the home of the San Jose Sharks ice hockey team. The district passes through eight distinct neighborhoods and three City Council districts [Figure 1].

Figure 1: The Alameda in San Jose (Source: Google Maps)



During the mid- to late-19th century, The Alameda was part of a major rail thoroughfare connecting the northern and southern parts of California. Starting in the early 1930s, the Cahill Depot at the southern end of the street served as a hub for the San Francisco-Los Angeles train. Affluent neighborhoods developed in the surrounding areas, filled with Victorian mansions and large setbacks. By the late 1930s, The Alameda's streetcar system was replaced by buses and then cars shortly afterwards. Since then, The Alameda transformed into a car-centric transportation corridor, eventually becoming part of California State Highway 82. As the character of the street changed, however, it remained an important cultural center of San Jose.

Between 1896 and 1969, The Alameda was the site of rose-themed festivals celebrating the area's tree-lined streets and the San Jose Municipal Rose Garden, now a 5.5 acre public park and garden. Single-family Victorian homes and California bungalows were developed to the west of The Alameda in what is now known as the Rose Garden neighborhood. As residential development proliferated, a number of critical community institutions were established, including the First Presbyterian Church (now Westminster Presbyterian Church) and Sacred Heart Community Services. Both of these long-standing community-serving institutions, which

were established in 1930 and 1964, respectively, played key roles in efforts to revitalize the district in later years. In the 1980s, the Billy DeFrank LGBTQ Center was founded, confirming The Alameda's status as a growing epicenter of LGBTQ culture outside of San Francisco.

Despite the district's cultural vibrancy, parts of The Alameda began to experience disinvestment and increasing crime rates. Laura Winter, a resident of The Alameda and former business owner, explains that the area was considered a "disposable neighborhood" in the late 1980s and early 1990s:

"When we first bought our house here in 1989, [The Alameda] was not desirable. There were a lot of absentee landlords who really didn't take very good care of the units...There was some gang and drug infiltration. It was just really seen as a disposable neighborhood. Streets didn't get maintained and repaved, street trees didn't get trimmed [and] broken sidewalks didn't get repaired. The businesses on The Alameda at the time were businesses that had literally been there for decades. Not a destination street, there were no cafes and very few restaurants. There was a drugstore here and there, the occasional dry cleaner. Not much of anything that anybody would want to spend any time there."



El Camino Real bell marker (Credit: Ken Lund)

Budget motels and adult entertainment theaters dominated the southern end of The Alameda, perpetuating crime and prostitution. During these years, newly formed civic organizations like The Alameda Business Association (established in 1991) and the Shasta Hanchett Neighborhood Association (established 1985) spearheaded efforts to make The Alameda and its surrounding neighborhoods safer and more vibrant. In 1994, the Cahill Depot — renamed Diridon Station — was restored, and became a major stop on the Caltrain commuter line and the Pacific Coast Amtrak line. New multi-unit housing development soon followed and by the 2000s, developers began acquiring former industrial properties in the district en masse. Gradually, numerous Victorian mansions converted to office space, and small cafes and restaurants opened in the district.

After decades of transition, today The Alameda and its adjacent Rose Garden neighborhood are moderate and mixed-income areas, largely composed of white residents with a median household income exceeding the City of San Jose averages (Table 1). According to the Urban

Displacement Project’s analysis, The Alameda is surrounded by low-income neighborhoods in transition to the east (closest to Downtown) and increasingly affluent enclaves to the west (Figure 2).

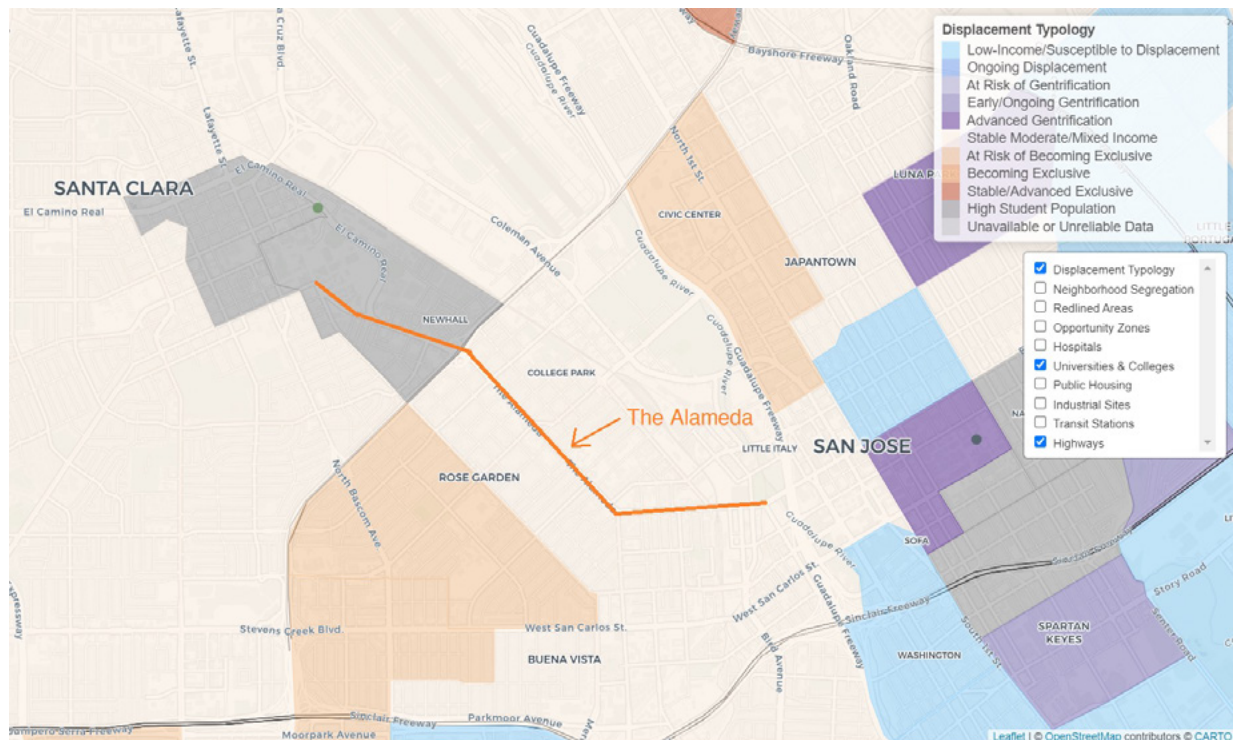
In recent years, pedestrian safety has been one of the greatest concerns among residents and business owners in the area, not just along The Alameda but on the El Camino Real more broadly. From 2007 to 2011, 18 pedestrians died along El Camino Real as a result of car collisions, making State Route 82 the deadliest road in the Bay Area. In 2006, 19 cities, counties, and local and regional agencies came together to kick off the Grand Boulevard Initiative, a comprehensive effort to improve pedestrian safety and multi-modal transit accessibility along the 43-mile stretch of the El Camino Real that starts in Daly City and terminates at Diridon Station in The Alameda. Parallel efforts emerged to translate the larger goals of the Grand Boulevard Initiative into a locally tailored streetscape design strategy specific to The Alameda, which formed the basis of a Plan for the Beautiful Way.

Table 1: Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of Neighborhoods Spanning The Alameda in San Jose

	The Alameda	San Jose
Population (2020)	18,295	1,013,240
Dominant racial/ethnic groups (2020)	41.7% White 29.1% Hispanic 18.0% Asian	23.3% White 31.2% Hispanic 38.2% Asian
Median Household Income* (2019)	\$117,365	\$109,593

Source: 2020 Decennial Census; American Community Survey 2019 5-year. Note: Data on White, Black, and Asian populations are all Non-Hispanic only.

Figure 2: Gentrification, displacement, and exclusion patterns around The Alameda (Source: The Urban Displacement Project, 2020)



II. The Plan for the Beautiful Way

In 2008, The Alameda Business Association (ABA) approached the San Jose City Council, the City of San Jose Department of Transportation (DOT) and the former San Jose Redevelopment Agency about developing a comprehensive streetscape improvement strategy to slow down traffic, improve pedestrian safety, and spur local economic development in the district. In response to ABA and continued public outcry about traffic safety on The Alameda, in 2009 DOT secured a \$300,000 grant from the State of California Highway Safety Improvement Program to fund a community-engaged streetscape improvement strategy (Table 1).

Table 1: Funding Breakdown for Plan for the Beautiful Way Implementation

	Agency	Funding Program	Amount
PHASE 1: The Alameda between Stockton Avenue and Fremont Street		Community Based Transportation Planning	\$250,000
	Metropolitan Transportation Commission	Transportation Livable Communities Grants	\$3,132,000
	City of San Jose DOT	Matching Grant	\$1,318,000
	City of San Jose	Misc. Funding	\$1,600,000
	PHASE 1 TOTAL COSTS		\$6,300,000
PHASE 2: The Alameda between Fremont Street and CA-880	Valley Transportation Authority	Vehicle Registration Fee Grant	\$350,000
	Metropolitan Transportation Commission	One Bay Area Grant	\$3,150,000
	City of San Jose DOT	Matching Grant	\$929,000
	City of San Jose	Misc. Funding	\$1,650,000
	PHASE 2 TOTAL COSTS		\$6,079,000
TOTAL COMBINED COSTS			\$12,379,000

Source: City of San Jose DOT

DOT subsequently established a community steering committee — led by Larry Clark, the President of ABA at the time — to help organize the planning process. Pastor Bryan Franzen of Westminster Presbyterian Church and Reverend Steve Kim of Saint Leo the Great Parish (both located along The Alameda) were instrumental in organizing residents around the plan.

Throughout the course of a year, more than a hundred residents, business owners, and community leaders participated in a series of design workshops that culminated in the creation of the Plan for the Beautiful Way. While there was broad consensus around the overall streetscape design features, property owners ultimately voted down a proposal for a Business Improvement District (also known as “Maintenance District”) to support street maintenance. This would have required property owners on The Alameda businesses to pay a property tax, assessed on their square footage, to fund ongoing sidewalk cleaning and additional planters.

There were already regional plans proposing bike lanes and Bus Rapid Transit along The Alameda, which DOT workshopped during the outreach process. However, businesses and property owners ultimately pushed back on the addition of bike lanes along The Alameda, raising concerns about reduced business activity due to the removal of parking spaces required for any proposed bike infrastructure. As a compromise, DOT proposed moving the bike lanes to Park Avenue, which runs parallel to The Alameda.

Completed in April 2010, the final plan illustrated how two travel lanes would function along The Alameda, with pedestrian features including a raised median with trees, bulbouts, ramped

curbs, and crosswalks. Implementation of the plan, however, would not be possible without local acquisition of The Alameda right-of-way. Because El Camino Real was designated as a state highway and owned by the California highway agency Caltrans, any changes to The Alameda required a lengthy state legislative process. In 2011, following a traffic assessment funded by the Metropolitan Transportation Commission and continued local momentum around the Plan for the Beautiful Way, Caltrans transferred ownership of a 12-mile stretch of El Camino Real including The Alameda to the City of San Jose.

Over the next two years, DOT pooled over \$12 million in regional transit authority and local government funds, including \$2.2 million of its own matching funds, to implement the project (Table 1). The Beautiful Way project was then implemented in two phases. Completed in 2014, Phase 1 included the 2-mile stretch of The Alameda that extends from the center of the district at Fremont Street to Stockton Avenue (near Diridon Station). Completed in 2018, Phase 2 included the northern segment of The Alameda that extends from Fremont Street up to Interstate 880.

While the final implementation of the “The Beautiful Way” was largely in alignment with the original 2010 plan, some benches and street features were cut because the Maintenance District was voted down, as previously mentioned. Overall, however, residents were pleased with the street’s improved walkability. Pastor Bryan Franzen of Westminster Presbyterian Church explained,

“We...got the medians put in, [and] some other development on the street but we didn't get...benches and the other stuff along the street that we were hoping to get. But it is far more walkable now than it was before.”

As noted by Ramses Madou, Division Manager of DOT,

“[The Beautiful Way project] lowered the temperature on the whole corridor, slow[ing] people down, and...allowing bicyclists and pedestrians to exist in that space without taking their lives into their own hands.”

III. Community Responses to The Beautiful Way Project

Overall, the community response to The Beautiful Way project was overwhelmingly positive. Community leaders and business owners lauded DOT for turning the residents’ vision into a comprehensive plan for action. As noted by Helen Chapman of the Shasta Hanchett Park Neighborhood Association, the prospect of replacing a traffic lane with a street median concerned some residents and business owners initially, but DOT played an important role in providing both technical and practical explanations for why and how the project could best move forward:

“There were some neighbors that were like, wait a minute, I'm used to going out on my street and being able to turn left or right. Well, now I can't because now there's

a median, I can't cross that median. So I have to turn right. And if I want to go down this north on the Alameda, I have to make a U turn. And so there was some of that navigation. So you needed staff that were patient with [the] community process that could answer questions that could lead people through how, why it was needed, why what was justified, and if changes needed to be made."

Importantly, DOT made changes during and after the construction process to balance the concerns of commuters with local residents, business owners, and bicyclists. This included altering bulbouts after construction to better accommodate bicyclists and reinstating a right turn lane in response to commuter complaints. As noted by Zahir Gulzadah of DOT,

"We eliminated...a right turn traffic lane at the intersection at The Alameda...In the middle of the construction...we realized, Oh, we have another [group of] stakeholders which were the commuters. When they got stuck behind the right turn...because the signal wasn't green...they start[ed] calling the city. And the council member[s]...the politicians respond to complaints...We actually went out there and we...modified the design on the spot to address those concerns."

Increased pedestrian activity along the corridor has also helped spur local economic development in recent years. Resident Laura Winter explained,

"People want to walk on The Alameda now so it's a much more lively place, and we got a lot of new businesses since then that have much more of a sidewalk presence."

Multiple businesses have opened since The Beautiful Way project's implementation, including a Whole Foods Market, which opened across the street from Diridon Station in 2014. Other luxury multi-unit housing developments soon followed, such as the Modera by Mill Creek apartments located further north in the heart of the business district.

Community leaders noted that The Beautiful Way project has helped to preserve the homegrown feel of The Alameda, unlike other gentrifying commercial districts in the area. Pastor Bryan Franzen noted that The Alameda's local businesses set it apart from places with more typical chain stores and restaurants, explaining,

"If the Beautiful Way project had not happened as planned, The Alameda...would be bigger and probably more akin to what you get in Downtown Los Gatos or Campbell, or Willow Glen, or even Japantown. You still have a nice community, but it's not that sort of destination atmosphere."

IV. The Alameda and Silicon Valley Development

Overall, interviewees regarded The Beautiful Way project as a successful example of community-driven planning. However, some residents and community leaders raised concerns about the impact of the district's overall transformation on rising housing prices. Like in other parts of the San Francisco Bay Area region, rising rents and related displacement have

been cause for concern for decades. From resident, Laura Winter's perspective, rising rents contributed to a mass exodus of long standing residents in recent years as well as an influx of new development:

"I've lived [on] a block off the Alameda for 32 years now. My husband and I bought in this neighborhood in 1989 because it was affordable. We couldn't afford to buy our house today."

"The price of houses for sale and units for rent has increased dramatically because everybody is now speculating. That has caused a rather alarming exodus from people who think, 'Hey, I'm never going to get a higher price for my house, so I might as well sell now.' [For others] landlords increased the rent[s] on their unit to such an extent that they simply couldn't afford to stay. I really never thought I would see an exodus like I've seen in the last three years. It's scary, and it's disheartening and it's not necessarily a good thing, as you can imagine."



Historic Santa Clara County Superior Court House (Credit: Will Buckner)

Some interviewees noted that housing affordability in The Alameda and its surrounding neighborhoods is critical for retaining long-time residents. However, some interviewees and residents in general have conflicting perspectives about increasing housing density as a strategy for achieving long-term affordability in the area. As noted by Poncho Guevara of Sacred Heart Community Service,

"We're a community at war with ourselves. Some leaders pay lip service to the things that we know that we need to do as a community such as increasing density, and affordability, but they're not really willing to take action on the hard stances."

Some interviewees felt that displacement pressures will worsen with Google's planned campus

in Downtown San Jose, a centerpiece of the Diridon Area Plan. Released in October 2019 and approved by City Council in early 2021, the plan for the 80-acre Google campus proposes adding 4,000 new housing units, 10 parks with bicycle and pedestrian infrastructure, and 7.3 million square feet of new office space to accommodate over 25,000 new Google employees in the area. As noted by Helen Chapman, even the announcement of the Google campus drove speculative investments in the area, raising concerns about residential and commercial displacement.

However, perhaps the greatest concern among residents and business owners today is the economic impact of COVID-19 on the district. While some residents reported that rents have decreased during the pandemic, helping to cool off the hot housing market slightly, others have witnessed increased homelessness which they have attributed to worsening residential displacement during the pandemic. Alameda Business Association board member Pat Tietgens explained,

“I've noticed in the last year, you can really feel people are suffering. It's hard not to go into personal safety mode when [homeless people are] right next to your bedroom... We need to be dealing with displacement issues...I've definitely felt it up and down The Alameda.”

According to Helen Chapman, the recent lack of activity along The Alameda due to COVID restrictions has resulted in an uptick in street crime:

“With the lack of... people...walking along the street and utilizing those small businesses [and] the small businesses being shuttered...we've seen some of the elements that we fought so hard to get rid of [now] return. So we've had police incidents...we've had a death, we've had some attacks...When I was on the board [of Shasta Hanchett Park Neighborhood Association in the 1990s], we tried to remove prostitution from the Alameda...Now we're seeing some of that come back, because we don't have the businesses being active.”

Despite these challenges, The Alameda community sees reason for hope and is actively participating in efforts to help the district rebound from COVID-19. Larry Clark of ABA noted that a number of initiatives are underway to help support local economic development:

“[We have a] working group that is trying to come up with ways that we can invigorate the street, even in light of all the constraints...We've found funding for [new] window displays..and then we're going have a little contest with the residents. In March, there will be an [event planned around the] disposal of electronic equipment...to get [people] back to doing things here on the Alameda. And we were trying to come up with other ideas to promote the district [even though] we don't know when this is going to be over.”

Current ABA president Dana Harris explained that her art studio, the School of Visual Philosophy, obtained a grant to start a monthly event called the Second Saturday Art Walk. The event encourages pedestrians to patronize local businesses:

“Our vision is really to have this area be a creative hub and [...] arts district [...] Our idea was to have live music [...] in front of businesses, restaurants, cafes [...] and then also help them to kind of provide infrastructure so that [local businesses] can showcase artwork.”



Downtown Santa Clara (Credit: Enrio Strocchi)

Reflecting on these new initiatives, Pat Tietgens of ABA expressed excitement about The Alameda’s future:

“I’d really love to see more community involvement and an interesting diversity of businesses coming together to make our district a unique destination in the City of San Jose. There’s so much potential here. With our newly revamped business association and other organizations like SHPNA, The Billy DeFrank Center and DANG responding to changes it feels like the beginning of a new chapter for our neighborhood.”

Many of the same neighborhood associations and community leaders who were deeply involved in The Beautiful Way Project also play a major role in local planning processes, including shaping the community benefits plan for the Google campus project. Laura Winter and other community leaders established the Diridon Area Neighborhood Group (DANG), a coalition of residents and neighborhood associations that have led negotiations around the Google campus plan. DANG’s goals are to support community-responsive investment and to ensure that resident concerns are addressed in the final Google campus plan. As described in the 2019 press release announcing the group’s founding:

“The DANG’s intention is not meant to stop development, stop Google or to stop the evolution of the City that we dearly love. The DANG will communicate and advocate for our neighborhoods in a timely and constructive manner. We will continue to be stewards for all our neighborhoods and look forward to change and welcoming new neighbors and development that is appropriate and complementary.”

Winter explained that the group’s core focus is to leverage its collective institutional knowledge to hold the City and Google accountable to The Alameda district and its surrounding neighborhoods:

“Those of us who have been neighborhood leaders, which [is] all of us in the Diridon Area Neighborhood Group, collectively have over 200 years of civic involvement. We [hold The

Alameda's] institutional knowledge. We remember the plans that were done years ago, what worked, what didn't. So, we're the ones..holding the City and Google...to a higher standard."

These efforts have paid off; in April 2021 Google released its \$200 million community benefits plan, which includes initiatives to preserve affordable housing, services for the homeless, workforce development for adults and youth, and small business support. The plan was presented at San Jose City Council and unanimously approved in late May 2021.

V. Leveraging The Beautiful Way's Successes for The Alameda's Future

The Beautiful Way project positioned residents, community leaders, and other civic organizations to shape the district as it enters a period of economic growth and demographic change. As interviewees reflected on The Alameda's future, they discussed desired policies that could help preserve and sustain the district.

Some interviewees stated that strategies to help retain long-standing residents and businesses of The Alameda are particularly important today. In addition to temporary residential eviction moratoria, the City of San Jose has made important strides in this regard through its Citywide Residential Anti-Displacement Strategy, approved by the City Council in September 2020. The Diridon Affordable Housing Implementation Plan — which incorporates the same anti-displacement principles and strategies as the Citywide Anti-Displacement Strategy — provides a guiding framework for the Google campus plan and its accompanying community benefits plan. Community institutions such as Sacred Heart Community Services have served as an important support system for housing insecure residents particularly vulnerable due to COVID-19's economic impacts. By providing cash relief, legal support and case management to residents at risk of becoming homeless, Sacred Heart Community Services sees itself as an “anti-displacement mechanism” for The Alameda district.

For businesses, in addition to county-wide eviction moratoria for commercial tenants which address immediate COVID-related rent burdens, the City of San Jose “Al Fresco” program has expanded the use of public streets, sidewalks and city-owned parking lots to help businesses move operations outdoors. With a grant from the Knight Foundation, Westminster Presbyterian Church has worked with local neighborhood associations to plan a summer 2021 restaurant walk event to support the district's businesses' recovery. Residents and businesses in The Alameda recognize that COVID-19 recovery strategies are anti-displacement strategies.

Interviewees also shared that more action is needed to balance climate change mitigation efforts with other planning and policy goals. The Beautiful Way project has slowed traffic and encouraged pedestrian activity, but as Alex Shoor of Catalyze SV noted, “there are still cars flying down The Alameda.” Despite attempts to replace parking with bike lanes in many areas around The Alameda, congestion may worsen. As a result, as Zahir Gulzadah of DOT notes, “the buses are going to be stuck in traffic like everybody else.” During the pandemic, while decreased car

usage due to remote working has reduced greenhouse gas emissions somewhat, traffic fatalities have not decreased. Furthermore, there is now increasing demand for new cars as demand for public transit has dropped due to remote work and fear of COVID-19 infection. As interviewees noted, car traffic will not disappear, so streetscape strategies must acknowledge this rather than assume that new bike and pedestrian infrastructure will force people to abandon their cars.

Finally, interviewees stressed the importance of community-engaged planning processes, but acknowledged that they can require tough negotiations. Helen Chapman of Shasta Hanchett Park Neighborhood Association noted that effective community engagement “is a commitment to a process ...that [is] not going to be a smooth road [or] a ‘check the box’ and you’ve got this perfect plan.”

As residents, community leaders, and local officials move beyond the COVID-19 pandemic and plan for The Alameda’s next phase, The Beautiful Way project provides an important precedent for future community-driven planning.

Endnotes

- 1 The El Camino Real (Spanish for “the Royal Road” was known as the first true road in California and connected presidios and missions beginning in 1769. The El Camino Real was routed on pathways that had been long used by Indigenous people to travel up and down California’s coast.
- 2 See The Alameda: The Beautiful Way, a historical account of the “first true road” of California published in 2006 by the Alameda Business Association.
- 3 historysanjose.org, “History of the Shasta-Hanchett Park Neighborhood – History San Jose,” 2021, <https://historysanjose.org/history-of-the-shasta-hanchett-park-neighborhood/>.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 See also <https://www.rwbsj.org/history.html> and Alameda Business Association (2010). Roses on Parade: A Santa Clara Valley Tradition, a history of parades in San Jose and on The Alameda since 1895 (publication of the Alameda Business Association).
- 6 Laura Winter, Interview with Laura Winter, Alameda resident and business owner, 2021.
- 7 Shasta Chapman, Interview with Helen Chapman, Shasta Hanchett Park Neighborhood Association, 2021.
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- 9 Laura Winter, Interview with Laura Winter, Alameda resident and business owner.
- 10 Karen Chapple., & Thomas, T., and Zuk, M. (2021). Urban Displacement Project website. Berkeley, CA: Urban Displacement Project.
- 11 Zusha Elinson, “Car Is King in Street Design, to Detriment of Pedestrians,” Reveal, April 30, 2013, <http://reveal-news.org/article/car-is-king-in-street-design-to-detriment-of-pedestrians/>.
- 12 SAMCEDA, “Grand Boulevard Initiative | SAMCEDA,” 2021, <https://www.samceda.org/grand-boulevard-initiative>.
- 13 The Alameda neighborhoods are defined as Census Tracts 5003, 5004, 5005, and 5006. Median household income for The Alameda neighborhoods is a weighted average of the median household incomes for the four tracts.
- 14 In 2010, former Governor Jerry Brown dissolved redevelopment agencies across California due to statewide budget cuts.
- 15 Zahir Gulzadeh, Interview with Zahir Gulzadeh, City of San Jose Department of Transportation, 2021.
- 16 Ibid.
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- 18 Winter, Interview with Laura Winter, Alameda resident and business owner.
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- 20 Gulzadeh, Interview with Zahir Gulzadeh, City of San Jose Department of Transportation.
- 21 A Plan for the Beautiful Way design criteria proposed to “maintain four travel lanes, two in each direction until a detailed traffic study and environmental analysis can confirm that reducing the road to two lanes is viable.” Source from Larry Clark of The Alameda Business Association.
- 22 Active Matrix Networks, Inc., The Alameda - The Plan For A Beautiful Way, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YARhISSlqWw>.
- 23 Andrew Boone, “Proving to Caltrans That El Camino Real Can Be a Safer Street – Streetsblog San Francisco,”

October 17, 2013, <https://sf.streetsblog.org/2013/10/17/proving-to-caltrans-that-el-camino-real-can-be-a-safer-street/>.

- 24 Tracy Seipel, "San Jose May Take over Three Thoroughfares – The Mercury News," March 21, 2010, <https://www.mercurynews.com/2010/03/21/san-jose-may-take-over-three-thoroughfares/>.
- 25 Bryan Franzen, Interview with Bryan Franzen, Westminster Presbyterian Church.
- 26 Ramses Madou, Interview with Ramses Modou, City of San Jose Department of Transportation, 2021.
- 27 Helen Chapman, Interview with Helen Chapman, Shasta Hanchett Park Neighborhood Association.
- 28 Chapman.
- 29 Zahir Gulzadeh, Interview with Zahir Gulzadeh, City of San Jose Department of Transportation.
- 30 Winter, Interview with Laura Winter, Alameda resident and business owner.
- 31 Bryan Franzen, Interview with Bryan Franzen, Westminster Presbyterian Church, 2021.
- 32 Laura Winter, Interview with Laura Winter, Alameda resident and business owner.
- 33 Poncho Guevara, Interview with Poncho Guevara, Sacred Heart Community Services, 2021.
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- 38 Tietgens.
- 39 Chapman, Interview with Helen Chapman, Shasta Hanchett Park Neighborhood Association.
- 40 Larry Clark, Interview with Larry Clark, 2021.
- 41 Dana Harris, Interview with Dana Harris, 2021.
- 42 Pat Tietgens, Interview with Pat Tietgens, Alameda resident and business owner.
- 43 City Council of the City of San Jose, "Development Agreement By and Between the City of San Jose and Google LLC Relative to the Development of Property Located in the Diridon Station Area Plan."
- 44 Grace Hase, "Diridon Neighbors Form Coalition to Shape Google-Spurred Growth," San Jose Inside, September 24, 2019, <https://www.sanjoseinside.com/news/diridon-neighbors-form-coalition-to-shape-google-spurred-growth/>.
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