

**De-capitalizing San Francisco's Waterfront through  
the Collective Memory of Resistance**

by

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Dalhousie University is located in Mi'kmaq'i,  
the ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi'kmaq.  
We are all Treaty people.

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# **Abstract**

For over two centuries, San Francisco's Waterfront has been a mechanism for capitalism, fostering an environment of economic "advancements" that harbours capital greed. As a line of exchange, the Waterfront is a capitalist district unto itself, creating a severance from the rest of San Francisco. Designated as a zone of trade and reinforced by infrastructural projects, land accumulation, and increasing tourism, the Waterfront is constituted as a crucial yet unprotected district of resistance and collective memory at the intersection between the past and future, and the forgotten and forsaken.

This thesis investigates reclaiming San Francisco's Waterfront through a series of kinetic interventions that abstract, layer, and choreograph an architectural event through the highlighting of memory, thereby creating alternate futures. By de-constructing and re-constructing collective memory, a processional engagement of community based activities will facilitate a means of de-capitalizing the Waterfront, reawakening the memories it holds.

# Acknowledgements

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San Francisco's capitalized Waterfront viewed from Pier 7, one of the only remaining Piers open entirely to the public.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past. (Nora 1989, 8)

### De-constructing San Francisco's Waterfront

San Francisco's Waterfront finds itself locked within a convoluted intersection of post colonial development, mass immigration, gentrification, and extreme vulnerability to climate change. The city in and of itself continues to suffer due to the opposition between memory and its associated, yet conflicting, history. These notions are upheld as a result of capitalism, furthering the divide between publicly held and privately owned spaces, as well as the tangible and intangible. Universally, we have a tendency to tell one sided versions of history resulting in memories being overlooked, tailoring the built environment to favour those who hold power over others (Hayden 1997, 7). This is exacerbated for regimes that continue to thrive under capitalism. Forgotten memories of individuals and collective groups who acted in resistance to the city's capital development are looking to reappear, in an attempt to challenge the idea that San Francisco only contains one history widely known to the public. As such, the Waterfront itself is destroying its larger narrative, both physically and metaphorically, as a result of the capitalist tendencies bestowed upon it. In unveiling the distinct patterns between capital history and communal memory, this thesis uncovers nodes that summon a path of forgotten memories held by San Francisco's hidden actors.

## **The Erasure of Memory**

When thinking of distinguishable features of San Francisco, the city's topographic formations overlooking the vast bay, the manually operated cable car system, the Golden Gate Bridge, or Fisherman's Wharf immediately come to mind. It is without question that San Francisco features a plethora of destinations intended to capitalize upon the city's reputation as a Northern California vacation destination. Yet, the city continues severing memories of its residents from the surrounding landscape to highlight and capitalize upon histories that are deemed most valuable. These history's are permanently preserved through monuments and capital development which look to celebrate the successes of the ever changing city, while burying the memories of its citizens treated as separate entities from the city widely known and perceived as "San Francisco".

## **The Value of Collective Memory**

Memory can be thought of as an intangible entity, contrasting how we proceed through a tangible world, only perceiving what we can comprehend through the tangible. We remember things we experience, things we touch; and as these experiences are buried, so are the memories associated with them. Collective memories serve parallel to lieux de mémoire, or "sites of memory" as described by Pierre Nora. Nora states that there are lieux de mémoire, because there are no longer milieux de mémoire, or real environments of memory (1989, 7). The importance of collective memory must also be examined through a lens that highlights the importance of preservation. This is essential to the conception of permanence in place, whether through

the tangible intervention, or the intangible memory inflicted by the intervention itself.

With this considered, San Francisco's Waterfront situates itself within a condition where the preservation of memory has been unsuccessful for decades, resulting in a disconnect where neither sites nor environments of memory exist. As per Pierre Nora's statement: "We speak so much of memory because there is so little left of it" (7).

### Actors and Resisters

During the last few decades, community organized protests and resistance movements have become widely accepted as a method of inciting action or change. Whether preserved in monuments, recorded experiences of history, or through memory itself, San Francisco been a continuous example of resistance for over 100 years, yet is rarely highlighted in such a manner. Memories within the city have faded as they remain unpreserved and unsuccessfully carried through to the present day.

This thesis examines the memories of selected events where citizens, as a group of actors, choreographed movements of resistance against the capital exploitation of San Francisco's Waterfront. This pattern of redevelopment and resistance persists to this day, creating a continuous cycle of burying memories underneath layers of asphalt and capitalized history. An additional resister is considered in the narrative in the form of the water itself. Given the infilling and exploitation of San Francisco's Waterfront over the past 150 years, water as a proposed "animate object" resisting its artificial edge condition, will act in parallel with human resistance actors within this thesis.



Memories of resistance acts within San Francisco (Base images from Starr 2006, Open SF History 1934, and Carlsson n.d.)



## Capitalism in San Francisco

Capitalism shapes cities and how they function within a larger system. Land is considered to be a commodity where its value lies within its exchange, and as land becomes more desired, its value increases (Cosgrove 1984, 62). San Francisco and its Waterfront are no different. San Francisco has been considered an “instant city”, notably being restructured following the California Gold Rush, the 1906 Earthquake and Fire, and the rise of Modernism through the 1960's (Godfrey 1997, 309). Like many American cities, both urbanization and industrialization have established a series



1915



1958



1972



1992

The ever changing San Francisco Waterfront Skyline viewed from the Bay, over the course of 77 years, showcasing the extremities of capital development. The Ferry Building can continuously be seen in the bottom left corner. (Godfrey 1997, 311)



Cyril Magnin and Governor Brown “pointing to the future” of the Waterfront (Rubin 2011, 104)



Figure 4. “Let ‘em eat cement.” Governor Brown, wearing the Ferry Building as a presumed trophy-crown, holds an “Imperial Edict” directing the construction of the Panhandle Freeway as angry demonstrators, some of whom are depicted wearing liberty caps, protest against his purported dictatorial manner. Source: ©San Francisco Chronicle, July 10, 1964. Reprinted with permission.

“Let ‘em eat cement” comic depicting Governor Brown wearing the Ferry Building as a trophy-crown; drawn by an unknown artist (Isseel 1999, 628)

of roots within the city’s urban context and vast history. San Francisco’s Waterfront land in particular became extremely sought after to the point where capital development has made the land stale. Creating a segregation between public spaces and privately owned semi-public spaces has become commonplace along the Waterfront.

In this thesis, it is most important to denote the difference between the Waterfront’s documented history of capitalism that becomes disguised as progressive development, and the collective memory experienced over time. Following tragedy, displacement, or methods of capital greed, citizens of San Francisco begin creating collective groups in an attempt to resist exploitation and to reclaim space, protecting areas of important cultural and social memory. Having transitioned from a maritime industry of exchange, labour, and immigration, to an area of exploitation, consumption and recreation (Rubin 2011, 12-13), the Waterfront emerges as the main district of concern within the city, with this spread looking to continue further inland, uplifting capital greed over the well being of its citizens.

### The Waterfront as a Catalyst

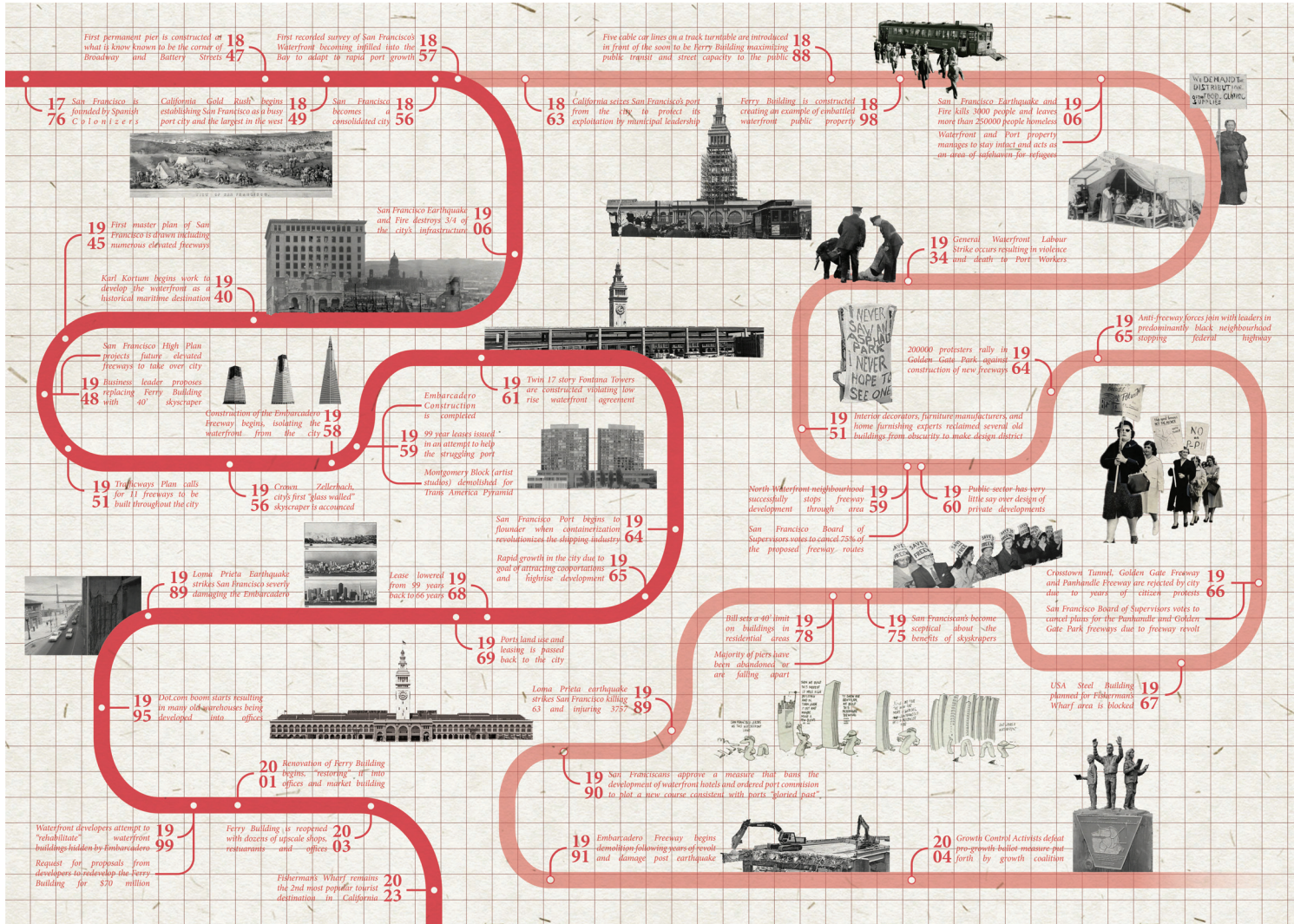
After containerization changed the shipping industry, the Waterfront and its Piers fell into a state of “decay”, creating an uncertainty for the future of the land (Rubin 2011, 53). To this day the Waterfront continues to be the victim of capital exploitation through the creation of tourist traps that falsify memory and privatize spaces making it inaccessible to citizens. Those who fought for the Waterfront when it was once severed from the rest of the city are no longer considered welcome, their memories being buried along with the ruins of buildings following the city’s redevelopment.



The Waterfront known to the world as the gateway of the west is no more, instead overtaken by a non-union service economy based on tourism and entertainment (Carlsson, Peters, and Brook 1998, 68-69).

Creating a timeline of the Waterfront requires it to be separated into two branches. One branch features the recorded history focusing primarily on the monetary value it has incurred as a result of developers and exploitation. The opposite branch focuses on the memory of resistance held by a key group of citizens of San Francisco following their forced displacement and collective reclamation. These memories have been attempted to be disguised by the publicized history that the city deliberately upholds. It is important to note that, like every city, San Francisco has countless narratives and memories waiting to be retold; this thesis can only begin to highlight a selected few.

Rubin states that: "it was once observed that the story of San Francisco is the story of its waterfront" (2011, 17). The events surrounding the resistance memories that are to be dissected throughout this thesis serve as major catalysts to the narrative, solidifying the Waterfront as a backdrop where the city acts as a theatre for memory. Continually evolving, neither memory or architecture is static and is transformed through human interpretation and expression. The citizens that acted in revolt and resistance against the capital development serve as the actors, in past, present, and alternate futures.



Timeline of San Francisco separated into two branches, one of the recorded history of capital development, and the other of the disguised memory of community resistance.



## Thesis Question

How can the collective memory of community resistance act as a catalyst in de-capitalizing and reclaiming San Francisco's Waterfront?

## Definitions

For the purposes of this thesis, there are multiple terms that need to be redefined to better suit the context in which they will be used.

- De-capitalization: The creation of a program acting against the current models of capitalism, generating a counter memory that benefits people over profit.
- Re-constructing: Following de-construction, both physically and analytically, excavated elements of memories are abstracted and reassembled as a method of reclaiming space within the public realm



Anti-wish image collaging San Francisco's Waterfront with the intentions and development projects inundating the city's urban fabric.

## Chapter 2: The Shaping of Cities

### On Capitalism

The basis of capitalism can be defined as a mode of production that uses surplus labour extracted by economic means through the operation of a market meant to be self regulating as determined by supply and demand chains (Cosgrove 1984, 43). While keeping this idea of capitalism in mind, this thesis focuses primarily on the idea of land value and labour as the primary source of profitability for a city or developer. This idea dates back to the colonization of North America and proceeds to the present through Yeoman capitalism: the accumulation of land as private property to achieve status (173) and is furthered through feudalism, where land value lies within its use for the furthering of production creating a measure of status for those who own land (61). Capitalism can also be thought of on multiple planes, allowing for the layering between realms. Capitalism within a vertical realm sees history and class distinction as a ladder to climb creating a hierarchy of needs benefiting those at the top, whereas the horizontal realm looks at the uses or holdings of space and programs that will bring profitability. This leads into uncovering the plague of commodifying memory as a social exchange – through production, labour, and material goods – within the developer landscape.



Vertical capitalism benefitting those at the top, with workers and the landscape exploited at the bottom.



Horizontal capitalism looking for land that can create profitability through its programming and use or holding of space.

## **The Developer Landscape**

The commodification of land within the developer landscape can be seen widely across the world but is particularly prevalent in the United States. In many cities, San Francisco included, land that is adjacent to the Waterfront is considered to be the most valuable. It is sought after to construct private developments including hotels, offices, and condominiums as a way to profit off of land that once held a much different — and no longer active — maritime program. The ways in which capital is used to finance urban development hinders the build-up of the complex urban fabric on which resilient cities depend (Sudjic 2017, 148). This complex urban fabric in San Francisco can be found along its Waterfront, in its transformation from working class ports and piers, to its burial and reformation under freeways and corporate offices, creating the financialization of real estate we see today. Within this fabric, the holding of land by developers in the form of parking lots and souvenir shops negates interest from the Waterfront as a way of investing in land at peak market prices while waiting for the addition of large scale redevelopment projects. This results in the loss of memory as the continued use from citizens of the past is slowed to a stop.

## **Public Space Commodification**

As a result of the developer landscape, comes the inherent increase in the value of preferred public land as a tactic of capital real estate. More often than not, land adjacent to a city's Waterfront is considered the most valuable land in the city (Rubin 2011, 33). In the case of developers, this value is a financial commodity, whereas in the eyes of citizens, the value of Waterfront land lies within its social potential

and ability to create a rich public space along the edge of the city. Public space becomes a subject to reclaim the commodity in a way that restricts financial gain and shuts down the privatization goals set out by capital investors. “If the commodification of space is based upon the concept of limited or restricted access and the increasing privatization of the public realm then to reclaim it is to oppose such a reading of space” (Carless 2009, 7). Working in opposition to the commodification of San Francisco’s Waterfront, this thesis will seek to redefine the use of public programming in a way that engages the user with sites of memory rather than through the need for commodification and financial gain.

### **De-constructing Capitalism in the Public Realm**

Monuments and architecture have no reason to exist; they do not “say” anything to us. Such positions clearly take on an ideological character when they pretend to objectify and quantify urban artifacts; utilitarian in nature, these views are adopted as if they were products for consumption. (Rossi and Eisenman 1982, 48)

It is often misconstrued that the erection of monuments within the public realm is a successful way of commemorating what once existed within a given space. In uncovering precedents that specifically work towards the reclamation of public space, it is key that each make use of the themes of obstruction, public engagement, and anti-capitalist programming. One example of such precedents can be found in the work of Viennese experimental design group Haus-Rucker-Co. The group looked to explore the performative potential of architecture through installations and experiences that are meant to alter the perceptions of space by the users. As a critique of bourgeois life (creating temporary, disposable architecture in the installation form), prosthetic devices were meant to enhance sensory experiences of the everyday



(Architectuur, n.d.) transforming short term experiences into long term memory.

The installation “Oasis No 7” constructed in 1972 in Kassel, Germany, comprised of an inflatable structure suspended from the side of the Fridericianum Museum, acting as an emergency exit from inside the museum leading users to another realm (Bonnemaison and Eisenbach 2009, 18). The 18th century museum and the installation contrast each other in a peculiar way, as the intent to reclaim space against a neoclassical architecture relic becomes apparent by the use of artificial palm trees and a hammock, offering users a place of rest in what feels like a futuristic dream space, completely opposite to the museum they just escaped from. This seeking for a new way of inhabiting the space aids in a



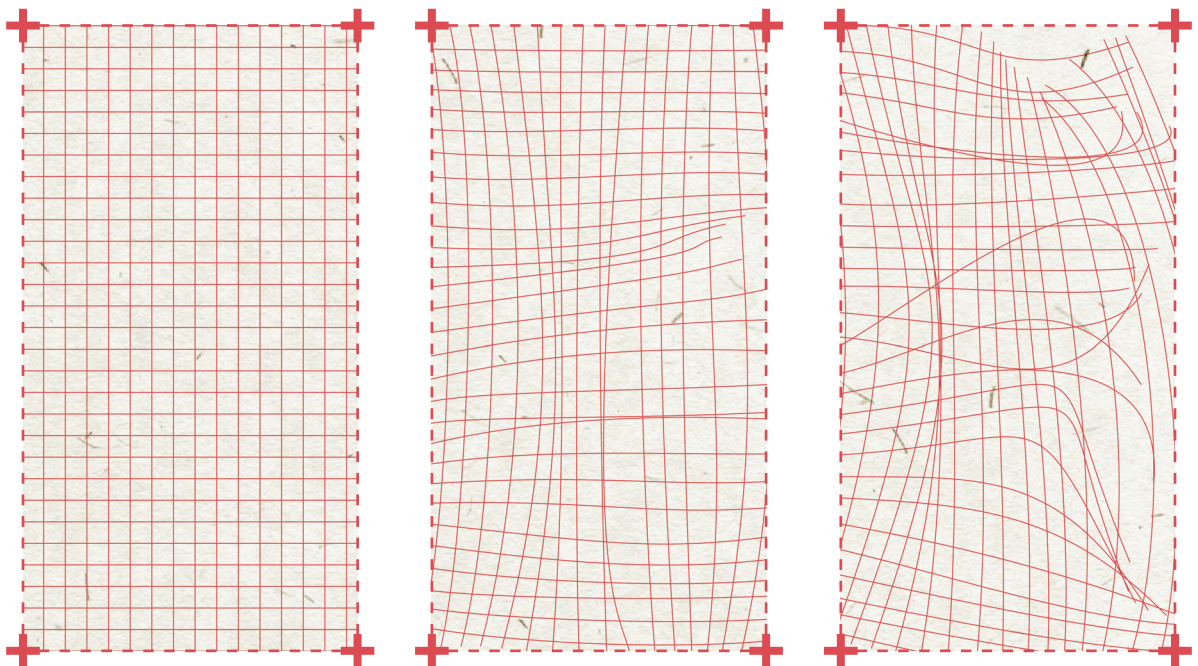
Haus-Rucker-Co's installation titled Oasis No. 7, 1972, as a method of occupying and obscuring space; photograph by Carl Eberth (Hsieh 2015)

temporary escape from the rigidity of the city, allowing users to take a break from what was considered conventional and creating the idea of an alternative future away from the bounds of the capital grid. As the group's installations were only temporary structures, once again disposable within a capital society, it reminds users of the return to the mundane, yet with the possibility of hope for what is ahead, as a way of reclaiming space through interactive experiences, this time in a more permanent setting.

### Undoing Capitalism

In 1840 Pierre Josef Proudhon published a book entitled *What is Property?* Proudhon's answer was: "Property is theft." Proudhon wrote: "When someone asks me, 'What is slavery?': I would answer in a single word, 'murder'! And everyone should understand why. And if someone should ask me 'what is property,' I would also respond with a single word: 'Theft.' (van den Berg 1999, 76)

It is difficult to move away from capitalism with ease, as it has been deeply ingrained into how people proceed through their lives. Capitalism exists within an urban landscape without us realizing such notions are upheld by it, or alternatively



Capitalism engrains itself within the grid, while natural forms and movements look to escape it.



how they developed up to this point. Without having thought of land as a capital commodity as well, we would assume that capitalism in San Francisco is only shown through its industries of trade and technology. Capitalism prevents the build up of an urban fabric through development creating a disconnection between a city and its residents (Sudjic 2017, 132), instead ingraining itself into the grid favouring urban formations of a city over the natural formations of the landscape, fabricating new edge conditions.

Utilizing the Waterfront's landscape as a social element produced through memory is the ultimate outcome of this thesis. However, with the Waterfront's perceived economic value and its adjacency to San Francisco's downtown, there are ever prevalent forces attempting to maintain a volatile environment. One where private investments within an ever changing city have the power to completely destroy the remaining memory, which is already struggling to be unveiled on its own.

## **On Resistance**

Resistance acts in opposition to capitalism within cities – it aids in creating ways to deconstruct structures, programs, and institutions that capitalism has attempted to build – whether throughout history or the happenings of today as perceived through an increasingly moral lens. Our perception of the past is determined by the present (Stone 2019, 33), and therefore becomes a contemporary way of approaching resistance through design within the American city, and more specifically, the Waterfront in San Francisco. Much like writings on capitalism's shaping of cities, resistance can be examined and elaborated upon through Bagchee's *Counter Institution: Activist Estates of the Lower East Side*

which examines the re-highlighting of public spaces as a result of citizen demonstrations (Bagchee 2018). Equally, Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* publicly calls out and organizes rallies for citizens against city planners like Robert Moses for their disregard towards public space, and urban life of citizens as they attempt to force freeways through major American cities (Jacobs 1961).

### Community Revolts

With the rapid urbanization of America over the last 75 years, citizens have begun to act in resistance to not only the cities in which they live, but government regulations seeking to impose oppressive ideologies before the needs of communities. A series of examples include the ACT UP movement of the late 1980's that worked to end the AIDS epidemic with branches of the grassroots organization forming in San Francisco. Most recently this can be seen in the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* by the Supreme Court, the March for Our Lives movement, in an attempt to advocate for more strict gun control laws, and notably Black Lives Matter protests within the last 10 years highlighting racially motivated violence. Although all three of these movements



Examples of community revolts that have started within the United States but have gained traction becoming international movements of resistance against corruption and power.

as examples have started within the United States, the ripples that these movements have created can be felt worldwide. With all of these internationally recognized revolts, it is important to note there are a significant number of revolts that became prominent in many American cities that got their start in San Francisco.

San Francisco is the home base for many 1960s civil rights and anti-war activists, who later turned their attention to the city as organizers for low-income housing, tenant rights, urban environmentalism, and neighborhood preservation. The role of activists is just about lost in most current theorizing on social movements, which talks in terms of structures, opportunities, and resources, but activists are essential to social change, as long argued and demonstrated by sociologist Richard Flacks (1988). (Domhoff 2011)

Throughout the city, activists took to the streets promoting Harvey Milk throughout LGBTQIA+ neighbourhoods, fighting against bulldozers in the Fillmore District, and imposing height limitations throughout the city (Carlsson, Peters, and Brook 1998, 7). Additionally, a number of grassroots activist groups including the freeway revolt, protests against port development and the destruction of historic buildings (Bi-Matsui 2014, 156) worked to intrinsically link the community's actions to the resolutions seen within the city at the time, albeit unexpectedly. In particular the freeway revolt, being the first of its kind, became the longest and also most successful cancellation of a series of freeways to be constructed through San Francisco neighbourhoods and historic districts (Kamiya 2019).

### **Resistance in Place**

The gathering of resistance activists on publicly owned land is an important driving method in bringing groups together to form a revolt. This and the outrage towards the oppressive forces that inspired the revolt to begin with. "The power of

place—the power of historic urban landscapes to help nurture ordinary citizen’s collective memory—remains untapped until these relationships are better understood” (Hayden 1997, 227). Tapping into memory by citing resistance within the significant allocated spaces within the urban landscape creates a stronger connection as an act of protest against higher powers. Hayden furthers her argument saying “It is possible to enhance social meaning in public places with the modest expenditures for projects that are sensitive to all citizens and their diverse heritage, and developed with public processes that recognize both the cultural and political importance of place” (9). The design responses within this thesis intend to do just this by tapping into the memory of the Waterfront and establishing itself where it was once forgotten, reopening the sites as an accessible and tangible entity for all community members.

### **Re-constructing Resistance in the Public Realm**

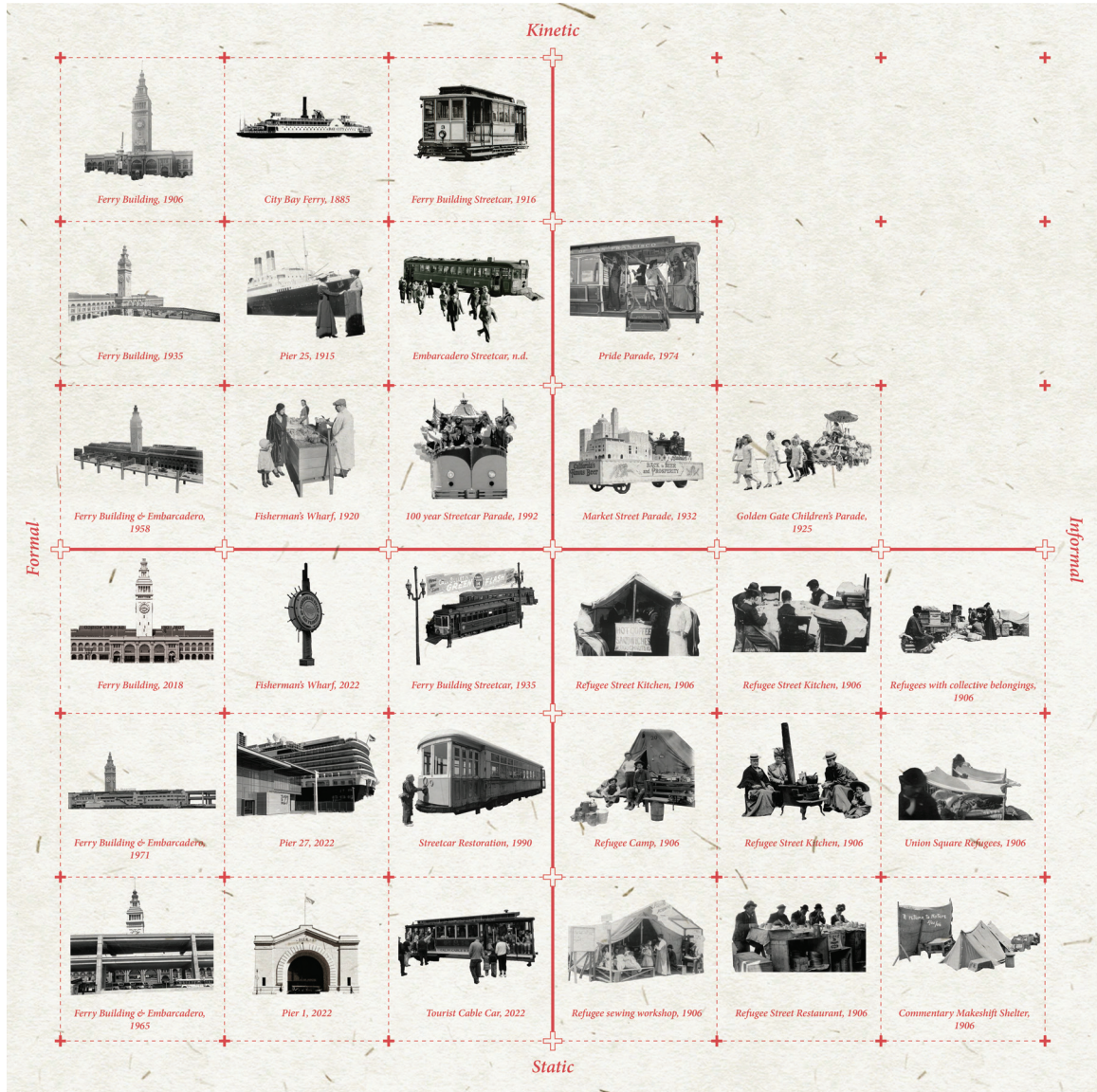
Resistance within public spaces can be seen through both formal and informal methods, as well as various examples of kinetic and static movements. However, within San Francisco this existence is convoluted. There exists countless precedents of resistance acts by citizens within the city, spread upon a matrix that can be divided into four categories, each to a varying degrees of intensity. Even as these acts have been attempted to be buried, they are preserved through photographs requiring analysis to understand the intentions of these groups of citizens. Moving clockwise from the top left is kinetic-formal in the form of civil marches, kinetic-informal can be considered celebrations and parades, static-informal as the building of temporary shelters to mitigate an in-between space as a result of unforeseen circumstances, and static-formal is the building





Matrix of Kinetic vs. Static and Formal vs. Informal resistance acts within San Francisco





Matrix of Kinetic vs. Static and Formal vs. Informal Development within San Francisco

of long term group settlements within public spaces. Every example that falls between the four quadrants situates itself somewhere within this designated spectrum.

Where the disconnect occurs is when looking at the forms of resistance in relation to infrastructure. In the same vein that categorized resistance acts by citizens, there is a gap in the corner of kinetic-informal infrastructure, where parades by use of streetcars and floats are the closest examples known. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the static-formal, lies the Embarcadero Freeway, reinforcing the idea of a physical and metaphorical concrete wall that severed the Waterfront from the rest of the city to benefit transportation. This thesis will bridge the gap of the kinetic-informal infrastructure, creating devices that move in tandem with themselves, but also between each other.

### **Applying Resistance**

These acts of resistance are subdivided into four distinct categories creating what can be known as: the occupation of public space/pathways, messages – be it signs, banners or flags – to communicate through a non verbal methodology, the building of temporary structures, and the use of objects/ programs that develop meaning for a larger public purpose. These four types of acts can then be abstracted and combined into different configurations and each located on a map of San Francisco. In doing this, the Waterfront is revealed to act as a space where multiple categories intersect together successfully, reinforcing it as the chosen site for the design interventions.





Map overlay of San Francisco showing locations of resistance acts and typologies (Base map made from DataSF)



## Chapter 3: On Memory

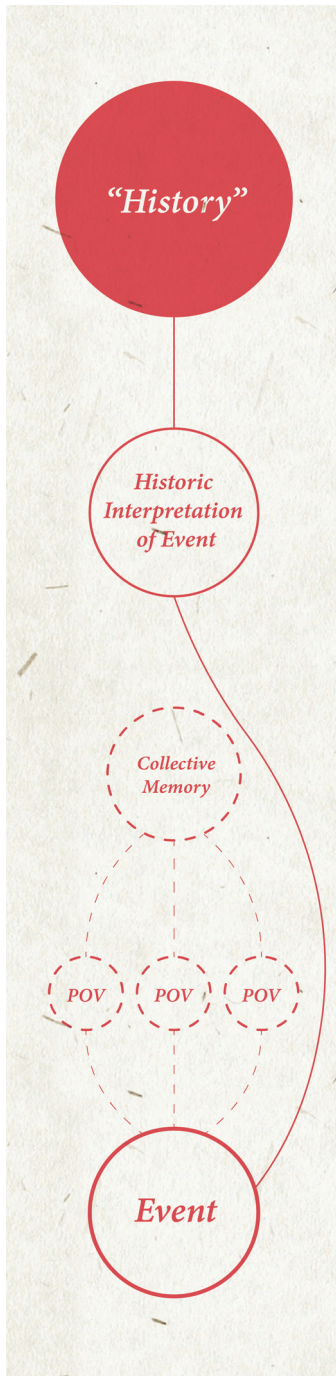
Memory is being removed from San Francisco with the rubble of old buildings, the demise of nonchain businesses, the outmigration of economically uncompetitive people and the arrival of newcomers who live in a city as though it were a suburb. Memory is being evicted. I think we move forward as rowers do, facing the receding shore of the past, and memory provides the landmarks ashore that let us navigate a coherent path. The commemoration of the past becomes a path into the future, just as parades and processions are commemorations of past events that let participants lay claim to present power or the creation of a future. (Solnit and Schwartzberg 2002, 116)

Pierre Nora, Christine Boyer, Dolores Hayden and Maurice Halbwachs all contribute towards a conversation highlighting the importance of memory within the built environment. Each approaches the idea of memory through an alternative lens with Halbwachs' definition of collective memory serving as the leading catalyst. However, Nora's work titled *Between Memory and History: les lieux de mémoire* supports the prime notion exemplified throughout San Francisco that we are not in the realm of true memory, but of history, left through traces in the urban environment (Nora 1989, 8). San Francisco is a city of history instead of memory; we must uncover memory and ensure it is restored to be seen as an elevated counterpart to history.

### History vs. Memory

Memory is inherently linked to historical experiences, it is difficult to have one without the other. Pierre Nora distinguishes the difference between history and memory as:

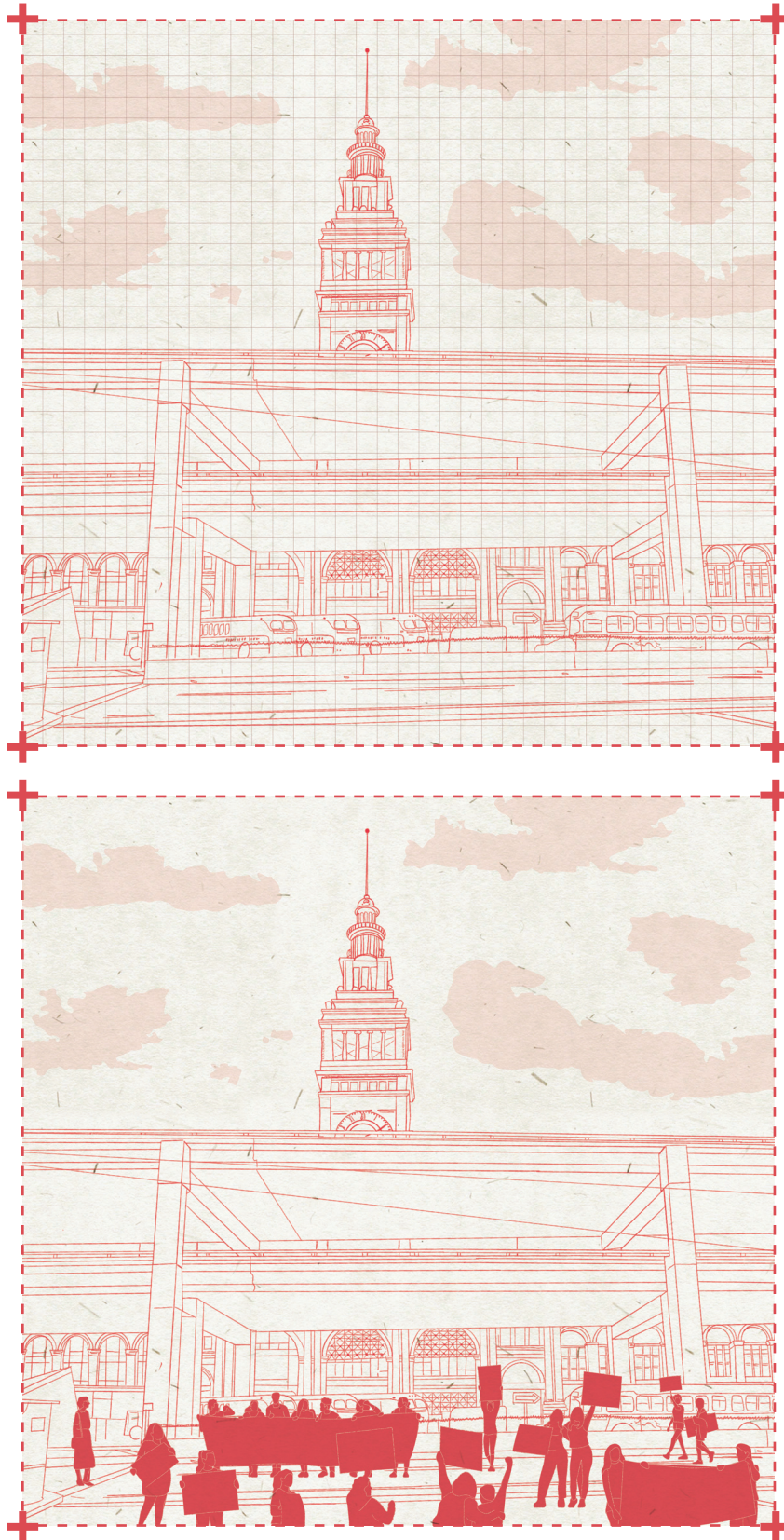
Memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual. History, on the other hand, belongs to everyone and to no one, whence its claim to universal authority...Memory is absolute, while history can only conceive the relative. (Nora 1989, 9)



Translation of the event into the point of view(s) experienced by individuals and groups, creating a collective memory. The historic interpretation of the event creates the hierarchy of recorded “history” as it is upheld and solidified by the ruling class.

This is where the basis of this thesis situates itself; distinguishing how memory can create different meanings for individuals as well as the collective, yet how history dictates a universal authority maintained through its museumification. When a “historic” event occurs, there are numerous points of view from those who experience or perceive it. These points of view are then preserved and passed down through generations. However, as history is a biased discourse, the recorded interpretations and empathy have always directed towards a ruling class (Stone 2019, 33). In addition, history upholds the profitability that comes from tourism, an aspect that is a driving force in keeping San Francisco’s Waterfront lively in the eyes of the city and the consumer.

We often perceive sites of memory as imaginative attachments, whereas sites of history attach themselves to permanent events (Nora 1989, 22). When creating a transitional environment where memory can be represented in a more interactive way than history is presented, it creates a more impactful and long-standing relationship between the user and the memory on the site. The memories of suppressed groups look to restore the truth that is only partially told throughout history, after being buried underneath the overlays, begging to be peeled back. The history of San Francisco that has been favoured is destruction, rebranded as upward development, one that looks to create a metropolis of office towers and freeways. The suppression of the memory of resistance destroys the attempted communal spirit and causes the promotion of a history that will be capitalized upon.



Sites of History vs. Sites of Memory exemplifying the disconnect caused by capitalist development and the resulting community revolts.

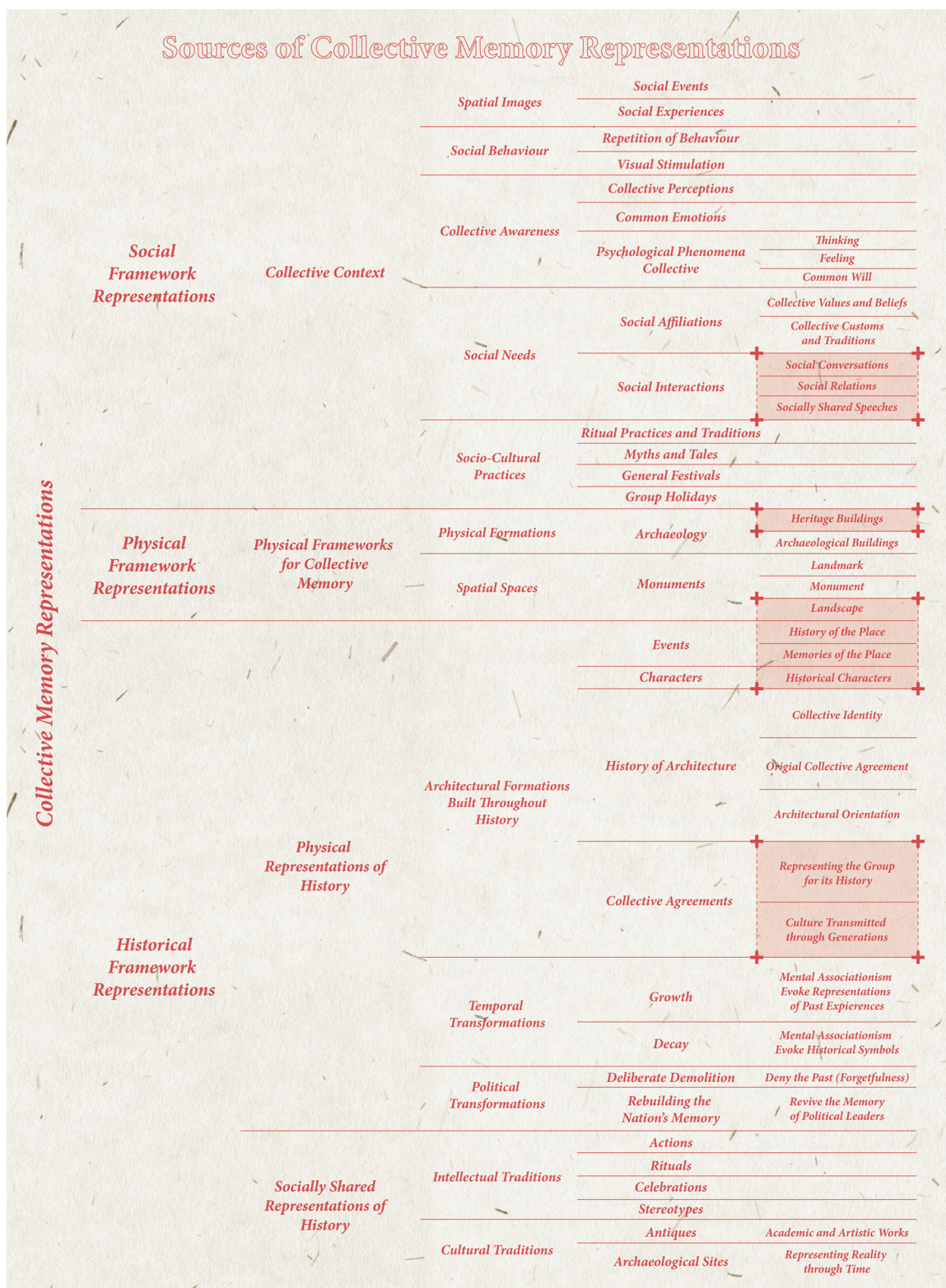
## Collective Memory

“While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember” (Halbwachs 1992, 22). Maurice Halbwachs coined the term collective memory describing it as a system to recall images and put forward representations that possess meaning within a larger group. These mental images and representations of past events are fleeting and thereby create a disconnect between time, place, and memory (Hamza, Al-Yousif, and Abdullah 2021, 2). Collective memory binds our most intimate experiences and remembrances to each other, this is obstructed when memory is held through monuments instead of through systematic interventions and rituals intended to include the public within memory. The ideology of erecting structures enables the place to contain memories, and the installation of memories turns that structure into a place (Halbwachs 1992, 22).

Urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbours, as well as streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes. Decades of “urban renewal” and “redevelopment” of a savage king have taught many communities that when the urban landscape is battered, important collective memories are obliterated. (Hayden 1997, 9)

The social formation and reformations of San Francisco’s urban context holds countless memories buried within the infilled Waterfront domain. As the city was forced to restructure its street grids following development and destruction, San Franciscans were placed in a precarious situation of losing both their role within the Waterfront, and the memories attached to it. It is important to note going forward, that not only do citizens carry collective memories,





Matrix of Sources of Collective Memory Representations with notation of key values to be carried forward. (Base data from Hamza, Al-Yousif, and Abdullah 2021, 7-8)

but so does the natural landscape, most of all water. It remembers and is looking for a way to resurface.

## **Memory in Design**

Incorporating memory into design is a common circumstance through its perception of individual and collective experiences. Specifically, installations regarding memory can successfully reveal both the recorded history of an event while also recognizing the politics of memory that caused it to disappear (Bonnemaison and Eisenbach 2009, 123). Spaces that public installations occur create an imaginative experience of real events within inhabitants' minds; stories of past events begin to enliven spaces due to the intractability of these installations (114), working against the culture of museumification.

Berlin is an example of a city that utilizes memory within installation and counter-monuments in a cohesive manner. Attempting to move past its authoritative history of the early 20th century, Berlin critiques its recorded history through a new lens of memory, specifically within the groups that were continuously oppressed. Only one of many examples of this type of intervention is the *Wrapped Reichstag* by Christo and Jeanne-Claude unveiled in 1995. With the Reichstag's notable presence as a German nationalist monument sitting within Berlin's political corridor, there is no question that creating a counter "installation" would generate a conversation towards its presence. Huysen described the veiling of the Reichstag, but the unveiling of the *Wrapped Reichstag*, as "uncannily beautiful...its spatial monumentality both dissolved and accentuated by a lightness of being that was in stark contrast with the visual memory of the heavy-set, now veiled architecture" (Synenko

n.d.). Creating art layered upon an oppressive structure, yet leaving the building itself unchanged, creates conversation about the building's use or disuse of its original function, as well as solidifying a symbol against power and regimes. This manifests irony within design that is preserved through its conversation to this day, demonstrating its lasting impact through memory.



Wrapped Reichstag by Christo and Jeanne-Claude, 1995, unveiled in Berlin; photograph by Wolfgang Volz (Synenko n.d.)

### **Forgotten Memory in San Francisco**

Taking forgotten memories in San Francisco and transforming them into a series of devices along the city's Waterfront creates a set of kinetic markers that will situate themselves within memories of the participants. Memory situated in a forgotten place should encapsulate the human ability to connect with both the built and the natural intertwining within an environment while also defining a public past to further trigger memories of the inhabitants (Hayden 1997, 46). It is important to remember that not all memory is positive, as exemplified in Berlin. Public memory consists of euphoria, cultural practices, and celebrations, but can also embody trauma, social discord, political oppression and resistance which are often the memories that end up being buried.



## Chapter 4: Capitalizing Memory

In a sense, I grew up with the Embarcadero Freeway. On every one of the scores of trips to the city, it was always there, blocking the view of the water and the Ferry Building and casting a huge shadow on underlying streets and sidewalks. Indelibly etched into my memory, I still vividly see it, even though it has been demolished. (Hinshaw 2002, 132)

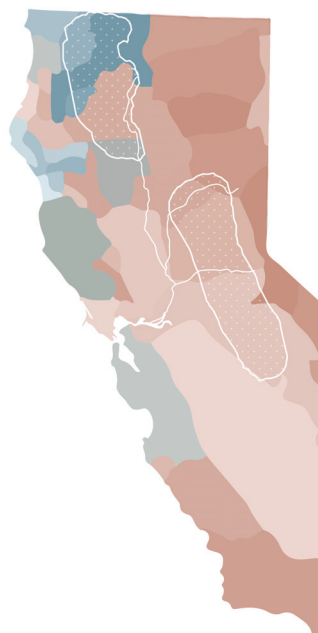
History in its earliest use can be categorized as a narrative account of events (Williams 1976, 146). Proceeding through San Francisco's history of development and resistance by way of narratives not written but recorded in photographs unveils a contrast where emerging memories and artifacts can be used to reinterpret history into a series of vignettes and events, glimpsing into memory. When abstracted, these vignettes form a procession through the Waterfront as both a spatial and temporal corridor – a site of permanence and impermanence – where memories will be revealed, showcasing unbuilt and unrealized potential programs through kinetic devices intending to reimagine a time and place of resistance and community. Both the Waterfront and selected buildings are considered and referred to as “actors” going forward. Resistance congregates around these seemingly inanimate objects, creating and highlighting nodes of memory yet also unveiling the disconnect caused as a result of memory's capitalization.

### **A Stolen Waterfront**

To uncover these lost narratives, we must start from the beginning, the theft of the Waterfront, an edge seen as an independent entity, thriving on its liminality. Historically this edge was the locus for movement, both human and natural, and a place where indigenous communities would gather food centuries before European colonization (Corbett 2010, 17). This is the last point in which water was free. The edge



would become a point of departure and arrival as a zone of exchange, beginning organically but escalating to a hub of global trade, where the land became exploited and manipulated to enable the efficient exchange of material goods via ships and rail lines.

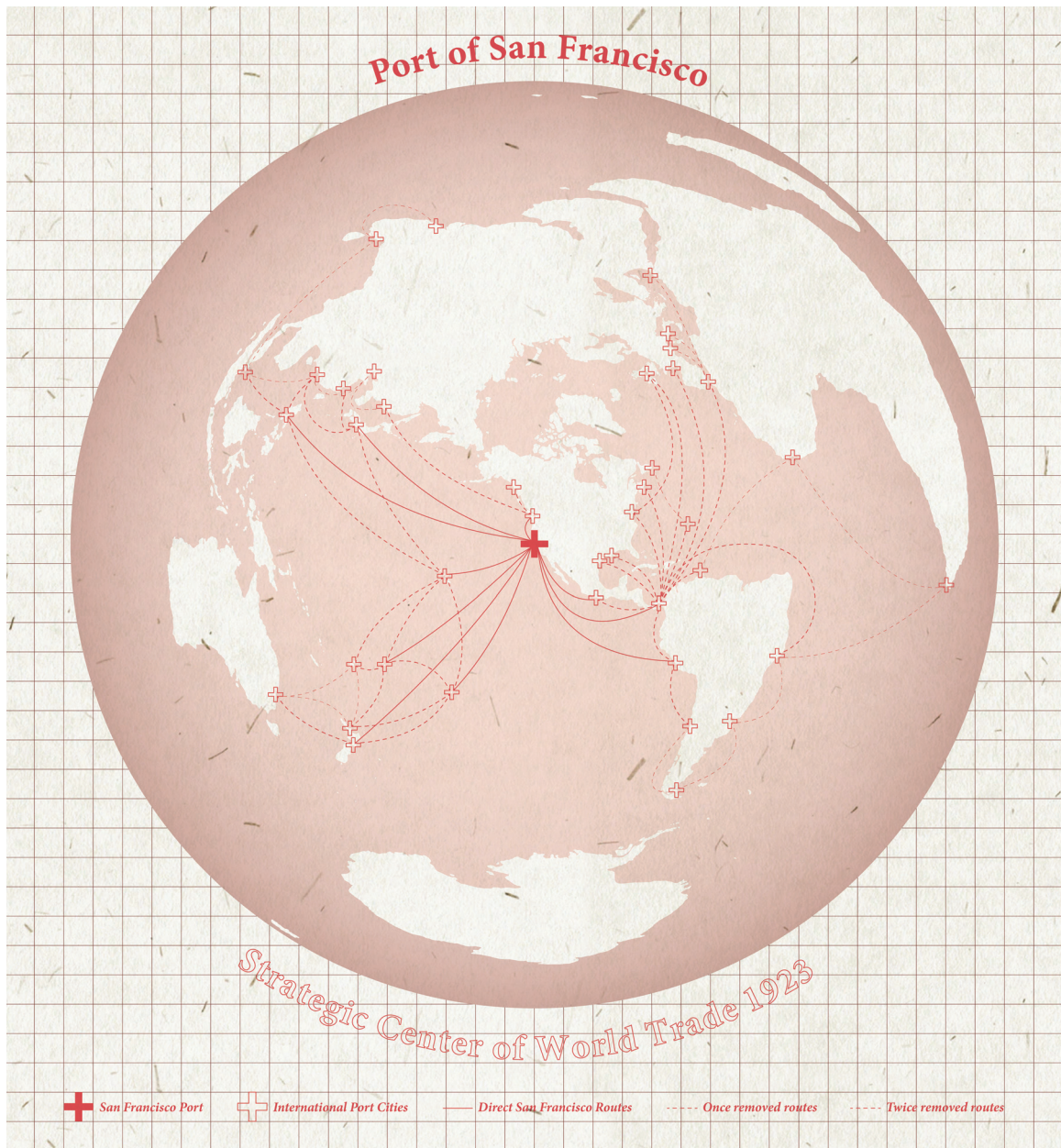


Map Northern California and the Indigenous Land separated by tribal groups. The California Gold Rush settlement pattern began in the Bay and moved north and east, over taking the newly colonized state (Base map made from Coyote 2018, and Hall 2012).



View of the Waterfront looking east from Nob Hill; photographer unknown (OpenSFHistory 1853)

San Francisco and the surrounding Bay Area was built off the back of resource extraction, most notably the 19th century Gold Rush. Gold, being a controlling figure in the newly colonized continent, dictated settlement patterns and the destruction of indigenous land as a way of maximizing profit (Cosgrove 1984, 165). As the region continued to be colonized between 1849 and 1875, San Francisco grew to become the largest city on the west coast (Godfrey 1997, 312), transforming somewhat instantaneously where the new city was founded on dreams based on greed and conquest. With this new found power, the Waterfront became the main catalyst for the development of the city, acting as the primary migration and transportation route for new citizens, material goods, and most importantly to San Francisco: newly discovered capital wealth. San Francisco eventually was considered to be the center of world trade, serving as a main artery and gateway to the west (Rubin 2011, 49). The importance of maintaining the Waterfront was clear at the time. Without its frontage on easily navigable waters and close access to the Pacific Ocean, the economic structure of the city would have crumbled under the immense pressure of its formation, hindering trade that would result in the disconnection between continents. It was crucial the Waterfront remain a busy and welcoming port of entry, and it continued as a successful example of maritime commerce even as the transcontinental railroad reached



Global map showing San Francisco as the Strategic Center of World Trade in 1923 (Base map from Corbett 2010, 66)

what would become Oakland in 1869 (On the Waterfront: San Francisco' Future as a Port City 1983, 7).

Leading up to the beginning of the 20th century, the Waterfront maintained its status as the key catalyst to San Francisco's prosperity, beginning its expansion on all sides to accommodate for the growth required to feed capital



The first Ferry House pictured in 1885, it would eventually be demolished and reconstructed as the Ferry Building; unknown photographer (Laubscher 2022)



Streetcars approaching the active Ferry Building; unknown photographer (SanFranGone: The City as it Was n.d.)



Seawall in 1877 showing the constructed Waterfront edge condition to be like a grid (Corbett 2010, 67)

investments that became significant to maintaining the city's port businesses (Corbett 2010, 56). However, an additional actor was required to create an official thoroughfare as the city's growth continued, this time as a way of aiding in the movement of people in contrast to the port's usual trade of commercial goods. The resulting introduction of the Ferry Building was used to mediate the liminal zone of the Waterfront and became an important figure in San Francisco's narrative.

When the Ferry Building opened in 1898 that connection was obvious. At the foot of Market Street, the city's major thoroughfare, the gray-green Colusa sandstone building was San Francisco's gateway to the world. The continental railroad ended in Oakland, and passengers and freight finished the journey by ferry. Fifty thousand people a day flowed through the terminal. (Ybarra 2003, 2)

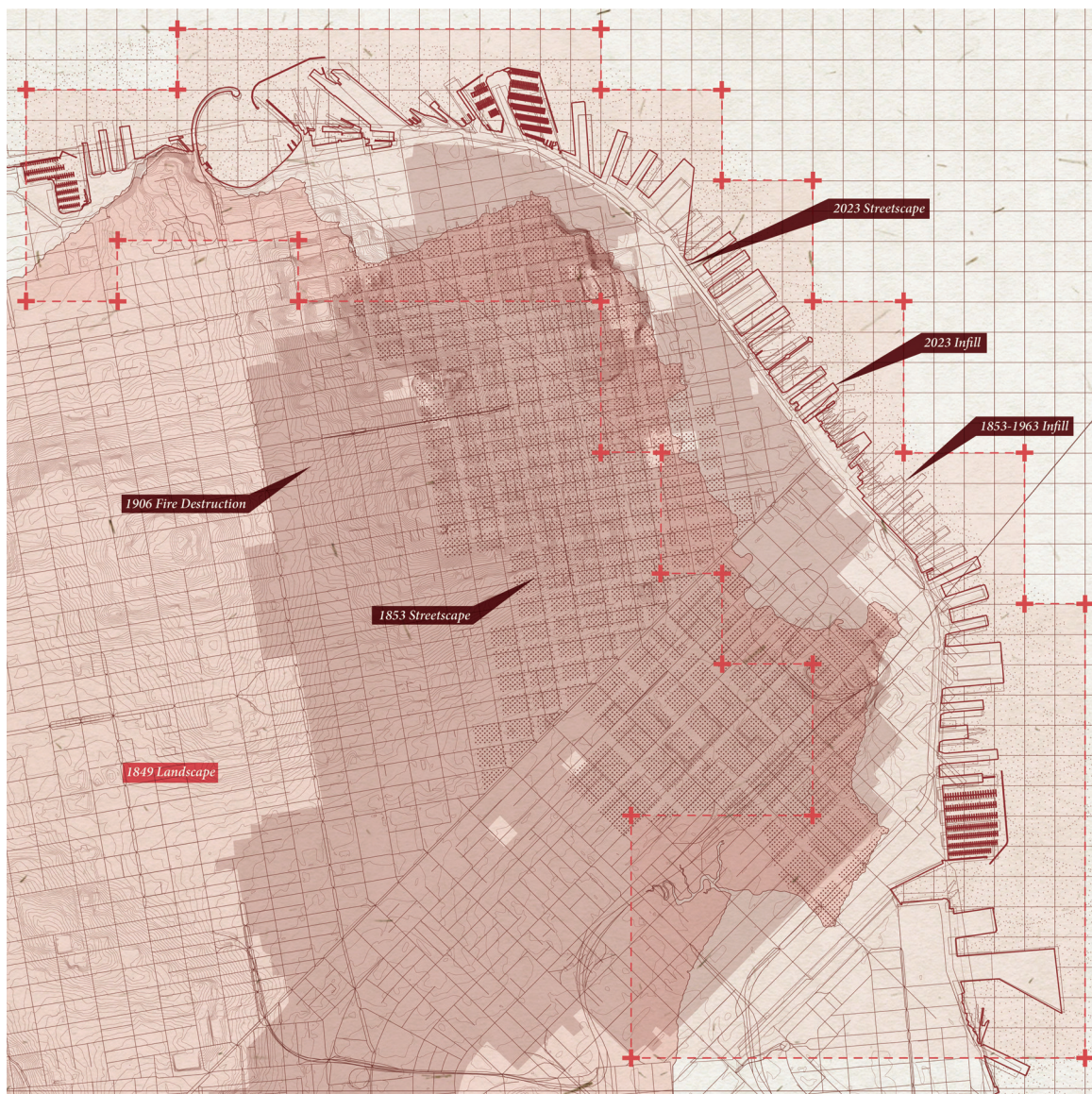
The location of the Ferry Building and its prominence as a maritime landmark is to be thought of as a main actor of the Waterfront's narrative. Many plot points of the Waterfront's folklore will circle back to this building and the city's treatment of what was once considered the heart of San Francisco and the tallest building at the time; one that greeted 50 million ferry passengers a year at the turn of the 20th century (Lockwood 1996, 66).

### **Infilling the Waterfront**

Over the course of San Francisco's development since the mid-1800s, the city's natural edge condition has been abstracted and altered countless times to create new Waterfront conditions by extending land both north and east. This alteration would suit the construction of finger Piers emerging from the ends of the newly constructed street grid. As a result of the new grid meeting the natural edge condition from two directions, development was forced to create an orthogonal grid of wharves built off infilled land extending



into the Bay. The first Pier built in 1847 was located at what is now considered the corner of Broadway and Battery Streets in the heart of the current financial district (Rubin 2011, 56-57), proving just how far the land has been infilled to suit the needs of the city's capital interests. As a crucial actor within this thesis, the water's fight against its containment gives rise to an additional "animate" resistor (refer to Appendix A for Historic Maps of San Francisco showing the changing of the edge condition and city arrangement over time).



Map of historic change of edge condition (Base map made from David Rumsey Map Collection 1849, 1853, 1870, 1906, 1934, 1963 and DataSF)



## Memory 1: Destroying the City

The first memory to be unarchived is destruction in the form of the Earthquake and subsequent Fire of 1906. In the early morning hours of April 18th, a 7.8 magnitude earthquake struck San Francisco shaking the entirety of the city for over a minute (Henderson 2006, 37). Buildings were destroyed almost instantly as their facades crumbled, while older structures were ruined completely (Starr 2006, 45). What followed challenged the instant destruction from the earthquake by destroying nearly 60 years of communal memory, as a series of fires broke out for 3 days, resulting in \$350 million in damages and 28000 structures being destroyed (Henderson 2006, 37). Through all of this, the Waterfront managed to remain mostly unharmed, with the Ferry Building being a key survivor, acting as a beacon of hope and safety for the city. Records and testimonies obtained by the Library of Congress state:

[The Ferry Building] The gateway of escape for hundreds of thousands of refugees on their way out of the doomed city. The clock in the tower stopped with the hands pointing to 5:13 AM the moment of the first shock. All traction lines of the city center here. One of the busiest places on the coast. Built of structural iron faced with sand stone. The tower is 230 feet high. The refugees in their flight brought many a strange burden. One man wheeled a barrow with one shoe in it. Others carried canary birds and empty cages and one dragged a lawn mower after him over the bricks and stones and debris. (Library of Congress 1906, 66)



Partial map of San Francisco's showing destruction post Earthquake and Fire (David Rumsey Map Collection 1906)

With destruction inundating the city, rebuilding and redevelopment efforts immediately began reimagining the city even more grand than before. With this restructuring beginning so quickly, coping with loss of both physical history and intangible memory became difficult as higher powers immediately strategized how to better the city from a development standpoint, while disregarding the struggles citizens were immediately facing in the aftermath of tragedy.



Minor repairs to the Ferry Building while still in use for rescue and relocation efforts, 1906; unknown photographer (Laubscher 2022)



While buildings were destroyed the Piers remained intact, 1906; unknown photographer (OpenSFHistory 1906)



Refugees camped near the Ferry Building, 1906; unknown photographer (Henderson 2006, 44)

This is an example of disaster capitalism, where capitalist interests exploit disasters for economic and political gain creating a reconstruction tactic where development and the modernization of infrastructure can thrive (Dyl 2017, 12).

### On Loss

Memory before the destruction of San Francisco is difficult to uncover to this day. The destruction of both the city and its social structures was poorly documented as the federal government did not consider it a real topic of interest nor something to preserve (Seltzer 2022). The “elaborate developments of a highly cultured civilization” was destroyed within less than a day (Library of Congress 1906, 44); citizens were forced to fend for themselves, as the government looked to the edge as a way of rebuilding. Here at the Waterfront with many of its Piers remaining intact was a clear answer to how to bring materials into the city for the rebuilding effort. Yet, few plans were made for those who had lost everything while the shared collective experience allowed citizens to maintain memory and reclaim space when they were given little assistance elsewhere.

### On Displacement

Over two-thirds of San Francisco’s population was forced to relocate, with over 75% of refugees leaving the city via the Ferry Building (Henderson 2006, 38), taking their collective memories with them. The Piers and beaches of the northern shore became additional sites of evacuation (Dyl 2017, 64), as land not close to or on the mainland peninsula offered the idea of safety, abundance, and allowed people to quickly resume their lives. This mass relocation of refugees triggered Oakland’s development by accepting a large influx of people (Henderson 2006, 61), resulting in

the segregation of families and social groups, but just as importantly, of memory. Those that decided to stay within San Francisco faced an entirely separate series of issues. Refugees awaited government aid that never came and as a result were forced to turn to their neighbours for sources of mutual aid, food, and shelter (38).

This post-disaster displacement didn't just mean loss of home, however. For many, especially women, loss of home also meant loss of work and many looked to save their tools instead of personal possessions. One account recalls a woman pushing her sewing machine along the city's uneven terrain to safety (47). With the loss of countless personal possessions that often triggered memory within groups of people, refugees were forced to create new sources of memory with the crucial artifacts they were able to salvage.



Harbour View Camp completing sewing lessons for refugees, 1906; photographer unknown (OpenSFHistory 1906)





Refugee camps and their reclaiming of public space with salvaged artifacts of personal worth and memory. (OpenSFHistory 1906)

## On Reclaiming

With the city destroyed, refugees resorted to the Waterfront as a beacon of safety, a place where memory was preserved. Originally, unharmed parks, squares, cemeteries, and vacant lots served as temporary spaces for refugees to create an abstracted home (Library of Congress 1906, 56), as after April 18th refugees were forced to forfeit privacy when their domesticated life became property of the city to exploit and capitalize upon (Henderson 2006, 55). Many of these refugee camps were soon relocated to the North Waterfront. Relief camps employed the use of artifacts salvaged from homes to serve as important communal catalysts in advancing the reclaiming of space as a group. Henderson gathers:

Regardless of quantity or monetary value, disaster artifacts connected survivors to the physical space of the disaster. For those hit hardest by the disaster, rescued bits and pieces of property both reasserted their identities and reweave their family bonds as they rebuilt their homes after the disaster. (Henderson 2006, 47)

With the salvaging of street stoves, collective cooking and pooling of materials was common at this time and served as a central component of the domestic realm that took over the public sphere; during meal times one could see the entire neighbourhood out on the street cooking communally (42). The role of women as central actors within the narrative becomes increasingly apparent through refugee mobilizations, where they were engaged in public speaking, direct actions and quieter methods of advocacy on behalf of their families (Dyl 2017, 97).

Shown through images and testimonies, many women saved their sewing machines before saving objects of historic value within their homes. Not salvaging pieces of history but instead



saving pieces of personal value reinstalls the important distinction between history and memory. These objects solidified a group's way of producing new clothes, mending the old, and symbolized a collective disaster experience, while reclaiming the previous connection to the family's economic place within the city. The making and production of both clothing and food within a communal group, without the assistance of the government or higher financial powers, was an early step towards an anti-capitalist and resistance rhetorics. It is most important to realize the efforts of citizens to reclaim space and community built through the shared experience. These memories are held deeply and preserved through photographs and testimonies, but are attempted to be hidden as the city began its restructuring very shortly after.

The idea of creating new sources of production and exchange through communal gathering is the specific collective memory that counters disaster capitalization post destruction. Empowering citizens through the creation and upholding of skills that value an individuals self worth, in addition to reclaiming the public realm by the holding of space, will be carried forward into the design narrative that represents this memory.



Harbour View Refugee Camp reclaiming public space adjacent to the Waterfront (OpenSFHistory 1906)



Ferry Building welcoming those to the redeveloping San Francisco, c. 1920; unknown photographer (Corbett 2010, 34)



Pier 21 welcoming home Columbia Park Boys Club following 9 month trip to Australia, 1910; photograph by Turrill & Miller (OpenSFHistory 1910)



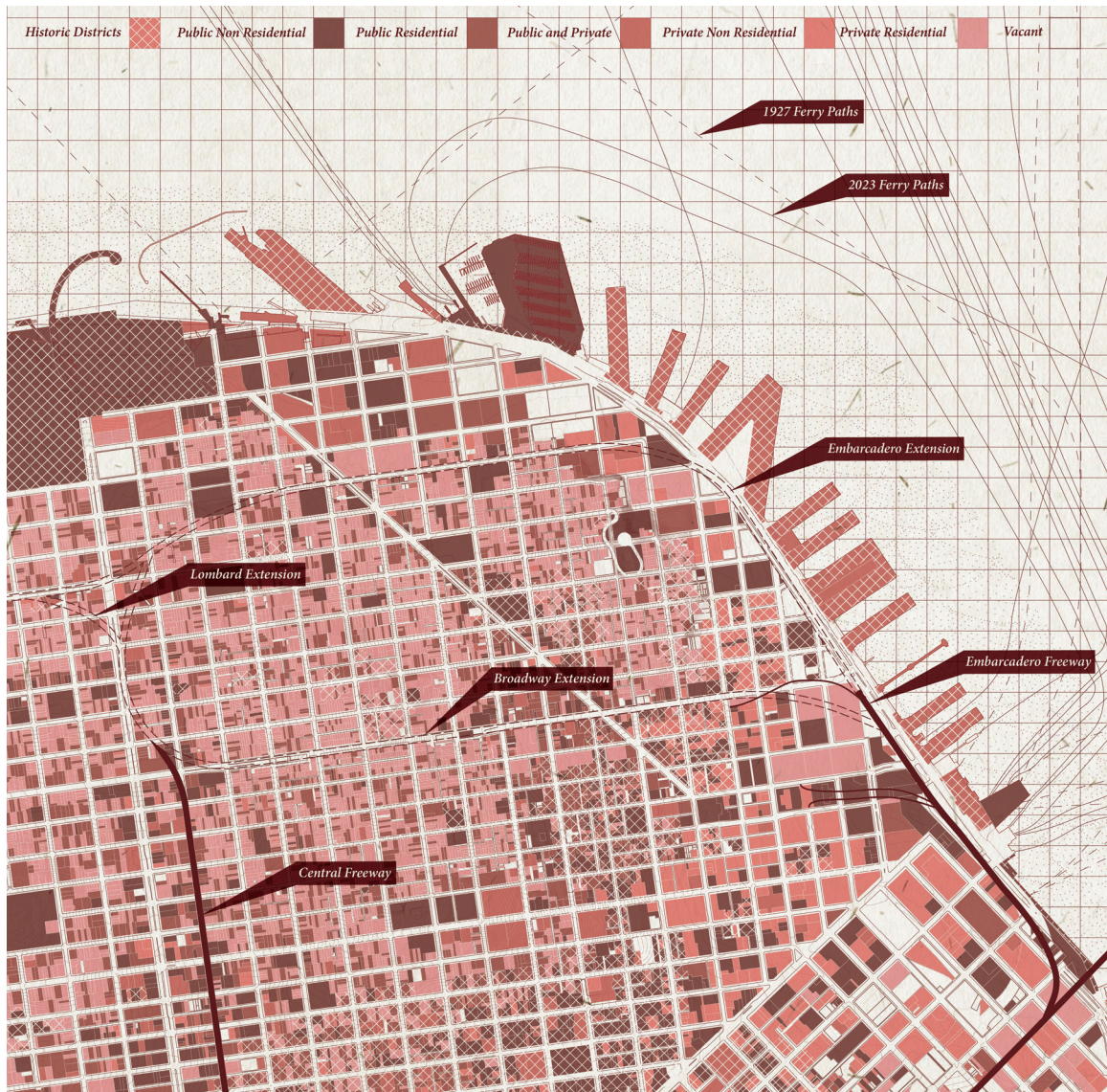
Piers 23, 19 and 17 following the destruction of Pier 21 allowing for the expansion of 23, 1936; unknown photographer (Corbett 2010, 31)

## Memory 2: Rebuilding the Waterfront

In the decade following the Earthquake and Fire, the city's rebuilding offered an opportunity for a complete restructuring. This played a large part in the conceptualizing – initially in theory but realized physically – of “air rights”, furthering the commodification of space vertically. This introduces our second unarchived piece of memory, rebuilding.

The downtown core adjacent to the Waterfront became reconstructed as a high density landscape of hotels and apartments purpose built for “businessmen, saleswomen, clerks, longshoremen, and the whole gamut of the urban labour force” (Walker 1998). The newly formed downtown gave rise to skyscrapers and privately owned hardscaped plazas; as described by Godfrey, this was San Francisco's second instant city (Godfrey 1997, 314). At this point, many of the Piers along the Waterfront had already been constructed and been in use since the mid 1800's, however many were de-constructed and re-constructed as a way of attempting to adapt to the modernization of the shipping industry. Pier 21, a transit shed, was completely demolished to make way for the expansion of Pier 23, valuing the industry of capital exchange over human movement. Today, the Piers still standing architecturally and symbolically recall the vanishing role of San Francisco's commercial and trade port. The livelihood, function, and memory of the Waterfront was a resulting casualty, only exacerbated with further infrastructural developments that became key actors to the narrative of the Waterfront, furthering its disconnection from the city.





Map showing capital redevelopment of the North Waterfront (Base map made from DataSF, Google Maps 2023, and Fischer n.d.)

## Waterfront Strikes

Historically, San Franciscans as a collective of workers have been well organized to be able to hold their own against exploitative working conditions through union militancy and political activism (Walker 1998). Following the introduction of containerization and mechanization (Rubin 2011, 72), labour unrest along the Waterfront reached a breaking point. Leading up to the General Strike of 1934, numerous votes and walkouts were organized by labour unions, including Harry Bridges International Longshoremen's Association as a call to action on working conditions for Waterfront workers. When agreements were not reached, the San Francisco General Strike officially began on July 16th, 1934, being the first strike of its kind to cause a major US port city to be shut down (University of California 2005). The strike would impact over 150,000 workers including teamsters, butchers, laundry workers, from more than 21 different unions. Unfortunately ferryboatmen, printing trades, electricians and telegraph workers were not included in the strike with typographical workers and reporters forced to work on newspapers that spewed anti strike propaganda (Carlsson, Peters, and Brook 1998, 71). The Waterfront and its newly redeveloped bulkhead Pier buildings served as the backdrop for the strike, harbouring a dual metaphor of top down redevelopment while also serving as a reminder of what would continue to be lost without the holdings of citizen resistance.

What's the matter with us that we sat dumbly by and allowed this little boys' fight ... to reach such savage proportions?" A quiet, fifty-year-old worker: "The strike is labor's only weapon. We'd still be working sixteen hours a day and for starvation wages if we waited until capital volunteered us any chance. They'd bottle up the sun and the air if they could and make us pay for it. (Selvin 1996, 224)



Labour workers during the General Strike of 1934 (OpenSFHistory 1934)



The strike would conclude three days after it commenced on July 19th, ushering in the New Deal and the ensuing accommodation between capital labour that resulted in eight-hour days, and weekends (Carlsson 2020, 80). With the idea of all work, and no play continuously bombarding workers, the Waterfront became an area rich in the memories of labour workers and their fight for equity.

### **Building Bridges, “Building Connections”**

San Francisco prior to World War 2 was primarily a cargo port, with non-metallic minerals and vegetable food products as the principal commodity, and the remainder composed of textile fibers, metals, wood and paper, inedible vegetable products, and animal products (Corbett 2010, 74). During World War 2 the port served as a West Coast logistics center for the shipment of troops, equipment, and supplies (Brown 2009, 39). Post World War 2, many of the Piers ended up dwindling into disrepair as shipping found new routes for modernized trade as containerization continued its growth in popularity, and the Waterfront could not expand further to accommodate. Containerization required larger machines to handle the cargo, and acres of open space for storage, both of which the North Waterfront did not have (Brugmann and Sletteland 1971, 95). All the room inland was being developed for alternative capital purposes, and the idea of infilling the Bay even further had its limitations.

With the decline of its port activities, any remaining cargo activities were shifted to the Southern Waterfront instead of the North. This immediately promoted the commercial development and exploitation of the Northern Waterfront given its newly vacant and now usable land for new investments (Bi-Matsui 2014, 151). The Golden Gate Bridge



Construction of the Golden Gate Bridge connecting San Francisco to Sausalito, 1935; photographer unknown (OpenSFHistory 1935)

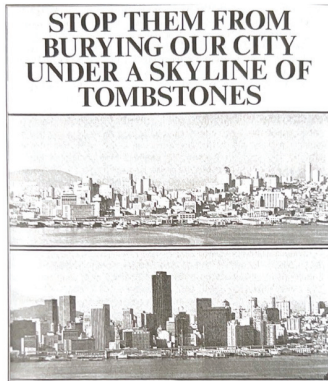
and San Francisco Bay Bridges, both finishing construction in 1937, in addition to freeway construction and the rise of the automobile aiding in the transformation of the Waterfront, leading to an influx of parking garages within San Francisco's core (Godfrey 1997, 315), specifically the Waterfront. The opening of both these bridges had automobiles flooding the city creating successive repercussions such as the use of Ferries to connect San Francisco to the rest of the Bay Area significantly slowing. The Ferry Building became "a run-down, ghostly shadow of its former self." (Lockwood 1996, 66). The kinetic memories the Ferry Building held were no longer utilized, and the building would eventually become repurposed.

### **Waterfront Land Grab**

Continuing the Waterfront's disuse, developers looked to create new uses for the Piers as a way of capitalizing on the Waterfront's valuable land. With the Piers falling into disuse, the idea of expansion became a conversation topic amongst competing developers over who could claim the



View of Waterfront during construction of the Bay Bridge connecting San Francisco to Oakland, 1934; photographer unknown (OpenSFHistory 1934)



News ad of images taken 12 years apart comparing San Francisco's Skyline (Isenberg 2017, 346)

highly sought after land first. As a result, the land continued to increase in value given the competitive nature of capitalist land grabs. In 1948 business leaders immediately proposed the demolition of the Ferry Building to be replaced with a 40 storey skyscraper (Hartlaub 2019). The emergence of concerns regarding urban revitalization creating a sterile city of affluent professionals, tourist attractions and franchise store fronts were about to become a reality if not for the citizen revolts to follow (Godfrey 1997, 310).

The redevelopment process is a sugar coated aspect in the tradition of American land grabs (Hartman and Carnochan 2002, 56). In agreement with congress and the port's administration, the manipulation of the price of Waterfront land resulted in its selling at wholesale value to developer companies for real estate and capitalist urban planning interventions, transforming it from a place of production to one of consumption. The rules of a low rise Waterfront were violated with towers, and large scale urban "renewal" projects in the form of offices and retail were implemented (Isenberg 2017, 7). The intention of the Waterfront land grab was to create an "Embarcadero City" stretching from the Ferry Building to Fisherman's Wharf (Brugmann and Sletteland 1971, 107). It was unaware at the time that the Embarcadero was being eyed for yet another developer intervention soon to be implemented.

With the capitalized memory of rebuilding, the counter memory of the re-holding of space by community groups through necessary programming to the Waterfront is what is carried through to the design. The Waterfront has been held as parking lots awaiting condominiums and offices for decades, a reimagining of this is overdue.

### Memory 3: Furthering Disconnections

I believe that cities are for people, and I want to make this city a joy not only for this generation of San Franciscans, but for the generations to come...The Northern Waterfront, a jewel among the waterfronts of the world, belongs to all San Franciscans. Its development must follow the highest and most carefully considered design principles. Its existing beauty must be preserved with discretion, making it available to more rather than fewer citizens. (Jack Morrison Papers. San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, California, 1968, 6-8)

The Waterfront's land was in a complete disarray at the hands of developers with more power than they knew what to do with. San Francisco's central business district began to face pressures to rebuild existing structures and to adapt land uses to more lucrative ends (Godfrey 1997, 312), however much of the land in downtown San Francisco had already been redeveloped, with the Waterfront as the remaining piece. High-rise development in San Francisco's downtown threatened to spill into the Waterfront District, transforming the "breathtaking vistas" and "sacred view corridors" into "any other skyscraper-plagued metropolis" after the original function of the Waterfront was no more (309). One community activist, using the pseudonym Gustav Knecht, ensured her voice was heard by city supervisors reinforcing that the development of the Northern Waterfront was unwise (see Appendix B).

The land containing communal memory was no longer considered sacred as the influx of automobiles caused the city to have to imagine new solutions to transport cars efficiently around the city. The proposed solution in the form of freeways in and about the city, sparked San Francisco's freeway revolt, where a group of citizens saved the city from its social obliteration. This is the third selected memory of the narrative, disconnection.





Construction of the Embarcadero in front of the Ferry Building in 1958; photographer unknown (Van Niekerken 2017)



The Embarcadero Freeway in 1961; photographer unknown (Van Niekerken 2017)



The Embarcadero Freeway furthered the disconnection between the Ferry Building and its users, 1987; photograph by John O'Hara (Arredondo and Feldberg 2022)

## The Embarcadero Freeway

The Embarcadero Freeway cut off the downtown from the water that gave birth to it, and it left the iconic Ferry Building – a statuesque survivor of 1906 – stranded behind a dark wall of car exhaust and noise,” Chronicle architecture critic John King wrote in 2004, “Oppressive does not begin to describe it. ... Take a walk today on the 2 1/2-mile promenade between Fisherman’s Wharf on the north and China Basin on the south, and it’s hard to believe that an elevated freeway ever scarred the open air. (Chamings 2021)

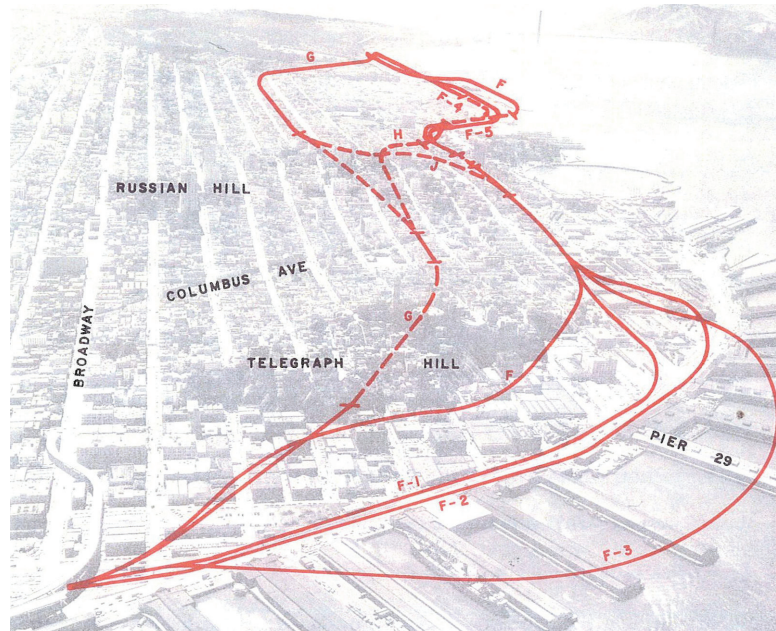
The most crucial freeway for the purposes of this thesis is what was known as the Embarcadero Freeway. Completed in 1959, the Embarcadero Freeway was a double decker disaster designed to connect the Bay Bridge to the Golden Gate Bridge, resulting in the severance of the North Waterfront from the remainder of San Francisco not only physically but socially. The Embarcadero was constructed in an attempt to separate traffic from the Piers that were still in use as a way of easing conditions for the Waterfront against the adjacent growing downtown (Rubin 2011, 80). It would instead cut directly in front of the once significant piece of



The Embarcadero freeway severing the Waterfront from the remainder of the city, n.d.; photograph by Ken Mclaughlin (Arredondo and Feldberg 2022)

memory and activity – the Ferry Building – signifying a further assault on the city, its scale, and the remaining memory that was still held symbolically by the Waterfront as a site. The Embarcadero was described as a half-mile-long freeway that “effectively operated like an ancient city wall, blocking the city from its historic waterfront” (Lockwood 2001, 84). Citizens had grown accustomed to the Waterfront having an edge where the landscape ended and the water began, even as this edge changed overtime. Yet the introduction of the Embarcadero created a new barrier that symbolized a more distinct segregation of the landscape.

The introduction of the Embarcadero resulted in a significant political impact and revolt from the citizens causing the freeway to be partially cancelled, ending halfway down the Waterfront, never extending to the Golden Gate Bridge (Garcia 2008, 55). The attempted cancellation of the Freeway altogether was unsuccessful as there was no alternative solution to moving vehicular traffic around the



Suggested routes to complete Embarcadero Freeway segregating the Waterfront from the city and cutting through adjacent neighbourhoods. (Carlsson n.d.)

city until the 1980s, which still failed to pass through the city's approval (56).

The long lasting impact the Embarcadero had on the Waterfront is felt to this day as the memory and social life the site once held has never fully returned. With its construction obsolete, the scraps of maritime activity, and points of refuge this corridor once provided, were tarnished, and subsequently forgotten. Some things are worth maintaining, by holding pieces of memory within them. However, the Embarcadero only contains memories of the separation and destruction of a lively Waterfront, thereby aligning itself with history and capital. This history must be reinterpreted by piecing together evidence of the community resistance against it.

### **Revolts and Protests**

For years, neighborhood voices were largely ignored when it came to freeways, partly because they tended to be working class and thus lacked political clout. By the mid-1950s, however, freeway plans threatened much larger and more affluent sections of San Francisco. The residents of those neighborhoods spoke out loudly — and they were heard. (Kamiya 2019)

The Embarcadero's construction along with a series of other freeways through the city resulted in the most successful freeway revolt in history. "The Freeway Revolt" began to pit environmentalists and residents against the city and state planners as they utilized their distaste of districts being cut in half by freeways, these plans only benefiting modern mass transit in America (Chamings 2021). Proposed freeways for Golden Gate Bridge access were to cut through middle class neighbours but were successfully cancelled in their tracks by anti-growth coalitions. This left behind tangible evidence of the revolt as portions of these freeways had begun construction already and large cement freeway



pillars were not dismantled (Domhoff 2011). As a result, the city lived amongst a disjointed partial freeway network for multiple decades as freeway construction around the remaining Bay Area and the rest of California continued (Livable City 2019).

At the time, the Waterfront in the eyes of the city held no value, appearing as a blank slate of land to develop upon as the Piers continued to fall into disuse, resulting in the city's socialized urban fabric slipping away. Through public assembly, citizens disagreeing with the Embarcadero successfully won over organized labour groups who eventually opposed the freeway plan, aiding in the argument that not only would memory be lost, but jobs, land, and citizens if the city were to continue its pattern of becoming "one long strip of concrete for commuters with bigger and better ghettos." (Carlsson n.d.).



Examples of revolts and protests against the Embarcadero and other freeways throughout San Francisco (Carlsson n.d.)

Activists of the mid-20th century not only were able to cancel multiple freeway developments, but were able to contribute to by-laws that set up certain parameters to protect the areas of the Waterfront from being profited upon. In 1951, a resistance group was able to cancel the plans to demolish the Ferry Building for it to be replaced with a 30 story tower containing restaurants, shops, and offices (Bi-Matsui 2014, 151). Most development projects, especially through the Waterfront district, failed to gain approval as a result of public revolt against said projects. The San Francisco Freeway Revolt paved the way for similar revolt groups to take action around the country, altering the landscape of American Liberalism (Issel 1999, 617). Without the Freeway Revolt groups, it is undoubted that San Francisco's Waterfront would have a completely different form than what we see today.



Final citizen campaign for the Embarcadero's destruction following the Loma Prieta Earthquake, 1991; photograph by Jeff Tefler (Arredondo and Feldberg 2022)



Demolition of the Embarcadero Freeway following the Loma Prieta Earthquake in 1991; photograph by Greg Gaar (OpenSFHistory 1991)



The Great Nave of the Ferry Building in 1910; photographer unknown (Davis 2019)



The reconstructed second floor of the Ferry Building (Schulenburg n.d.)

## Re-destroying the City

Over 80 years after 1906, another severe earthquake, the Loma Prieta, hit the Bay Area on October 17, 1989, killing 63 people, injuring 3757, and resulting in severe damage to both decks of the Embarcadero Freeway (Hartlaub 2019). With the earthquake hitting the city, it gave citizens an opportunity to reclaim and revitalize the memory of the once lively and now neglected Waterfront. With the damage inflicted as a result of the earthquake, the dismantling of the Embarcadero was put up to a vote through the Board of Supervisors, barely passing with a vote of 6 to 5 in favour of its destruction (Bi-Matsui 2014, 153). With the Embarcadero taken down, the Ferry Building was once again in clear sight of the rest of the city, yet it had become so decrepit from years of neglect and disuse. Offices had been crammed inside, the original skylights no longer existed, floors were covered in linoleum, and Beaux-Arts details were replaced with cheap mid-century fixes (Ybarra 2003, 1).

The capitalized memory is the construction of the Embarcadero Freeway and the disconnection it created for the Waterfront, benefiting only developers in lowering the value of the land at the edge of the water. The counter memory is the processional revolt over four decades that worked to reinvigorate the Waterfront. Without the consistent gathering and upending of the top down development by community revolt groups, memories of the Waterfront would be buried even further. The Embarcadero's destruction resulted in the possibility for a reconnection point, allowing for the metaphoric communication between the Waterfront and citizens.

## Exploiting the Waterfront

San Francisco's Waterfront is and has always been a place of complete disarray. Based on the current state of the Waterfront's redevelopment efforts, there still has not been successful efforts made to reinvigorate the memory that once existed. Quickly after the Embarcadero's deconstruction, the land where the freeway once stood rapidly increased in value, and as a result was considered to be too valuable to be redeveloped with factories (Domhoff 2011). With memories of labourers from the 1934 Waterfront Strike still living along the Waterfront, further exploiting the land for profit would devalue memory. The remaining untransformed Piers became one storey parking garages, while others are considered somewhat of a "shipping cemetery" (Egan 1995).



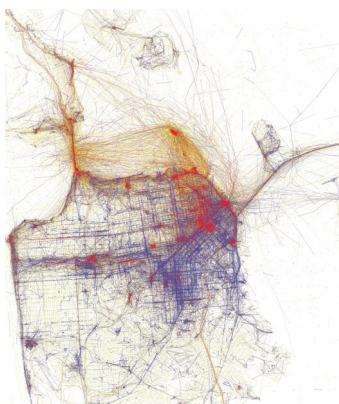
View of the Waterfront before and after Embarcadero's destruction (Loma Prieta Earthquake before and after: San Francisco Waterfront 2014)



Once receiving thousands of incoming passengers a day, the Ferry Building has been redeveloped to hold a first floor public market attempting to increase foot traffic to the site, while a plethora of offices overtake the upper floors. From in person analysis of the site on two separate days, the site remains almost barren, with few people walking along the once lively Waterfront considered the heart of the city 100 years prior. At the foot of Market Street, meeting the current Embarcadero, there sits a large, widely unoccupied plaza space, acting somewhat like an empty stage as though a performance is to suddenly begin. Two large obscuring monuments cap the ends of the plaza, their size competing with the surrounding palm trees of the rest of the site. Hinshaw speaks of the Ferry plaza saying “Moreover, the public space is off...The space is neither a grand urban piazza nor an intimate public square. It merely looks left over” (2002, 131). There is not a sense of public engagement connecting the Waterfront, meanwhile a historic streetcar system still moves through it, bringing tourists from one side to the other, glimpsing at the capitalized remains that are still standing.

### On Tourism

“San Francisco is one of the great waterfront cities in the world and yet there was no connection with the water except in the tourist zone” (Ybarra 2003, 2). With every shortcoming impacting the Waterfront, exploitation largely felt through tourism remains the Waterfront’s main economic income point to this day. San Francisco’s tourism industry employs a large group of people in restaurants, hotels, additional “services” aiding in the underpinning of an endless stream of tourists to the city (Carlsson 2020, 82). With the privatization of many of the Piers to function as office



Locals vs. Tourists within San Francisco, red dots being tourists, blue being locals and yellow being both. (Fischer n.d.)



Museumification of memory in the form of “History Walks” within the Piers



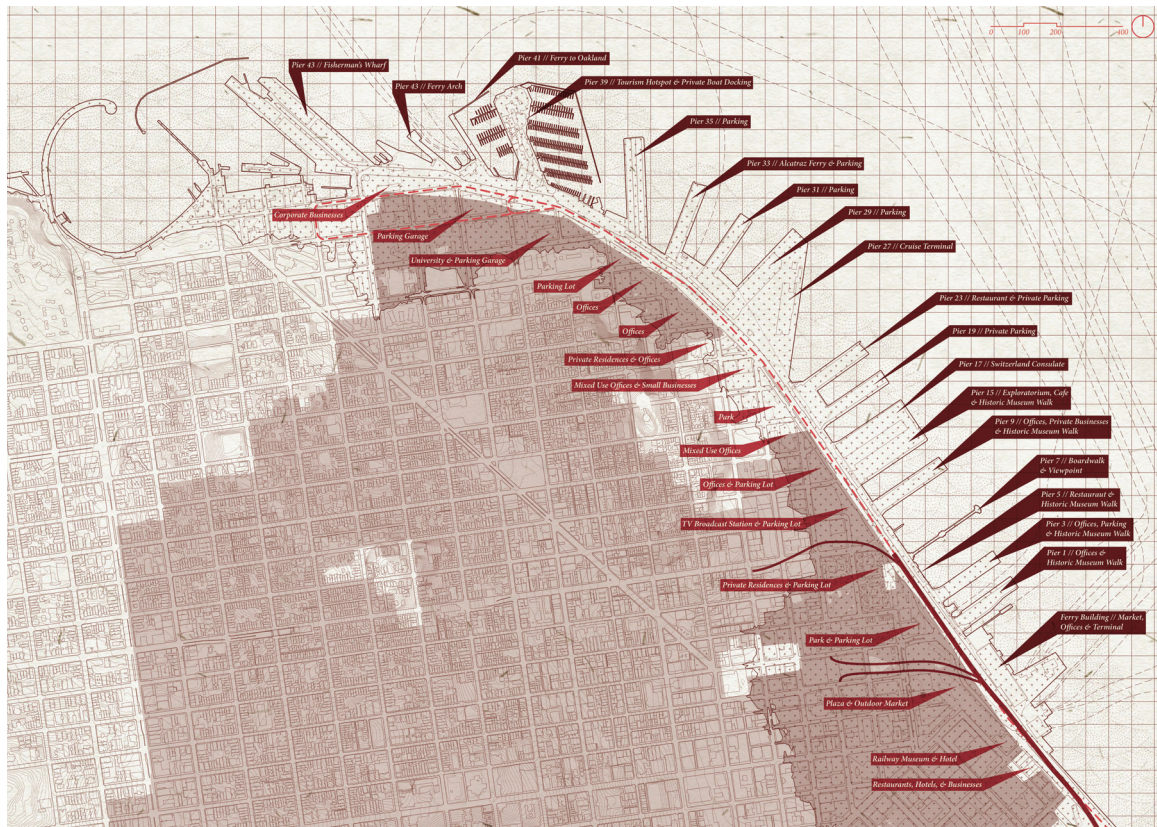
Fisherman's Wharf sign, located at the Northwest end of the Wharf

buildings and parking, it is important to note the inclusion of “history walks”. The redevelopment agency has attempted to incorporate a public aspect to the Waterfront, creating a museumification of the port’s history. Discovered inside Piers 1 through 15, metal inlays in the floor indicate where original rail track locations within the buildings existed, in addition to photographs that show its original function creates a small public sector within privately owned buildings. It is extremely apparent from this attempted history acknowledgement that developers do not care about the history, or preservation, or de-capitalizing the Piers for public use, but instead use false sensitivity to redevelop the majority of the Waterfront, all while neglecting to incorporate its real memory.

Fisherman’s Wharf is the second most popular tourist destination in California after Disneyland, capitalizing on tourism and development interests to create somewhat of a theme park. Pier 39 is another attempt to reinvigorate the Waterfront through capital gains (Reynolds 2000, 2). Tourist attractions as layering techniques have been successful at concealing the presence of the fish-loading, packing, and processing operations that are semi-hidden in the sheds on Pier 45, the historic center of the Waterfront’s fishing industry (Rubin 2011, 39). The city has failed to learn yet again that its historic qualities that appeal to developers, is blocking the Waterfront from becoming a reclaimed public space for the citizens of San Francisco.

## Reframing the Waterfront

After examining the three memories discovered through San Francisco's Waterfront narrative: destruction, rebuilding, and disconnection, it has been made evident that the city has attempted to fill the Piers and once occupied high value land, with programming benefiting capital interests and investments as a method of holding the Waterfront edge for further redevelopment. There needs to be recognition of collective memory by incorporating a mixed set of interests to the site as a way of working against this developer centric programming that is being implemented. Reframing the memory of the Waterfront through its de-capitalization is the method to move towards this notion.



Site map of Waterfront showing adjacent programming on either side of the Embarcadero (Base Map made from DataSF and Google Maps 2023)



## Chapter 5: De-capitalizing Memory

The decapitalized city is redolent with openings into abandoned landscapes of the mind that countermand the order of the physical world and logic of social life. For here, in the parts of cities and towns where purposive activity has yielded to indolence, straight and narrow journeys curve, and precise itineraries meander. The diversions of youth, the structuring of life from random and personal encounters, may be experienced anew. (Schwarzer 1998, 16)

### De-capitalizing the Waterfront

In order to de-capitalize memory within San Francisco we must redefine the meaning behind the Waterfront. The Waterfront's eventual disuse of the water itself has been a driving force behind its fall into disarray and disuse, forcing the water of the Bay to resist its exploitation. Capitalism was once allowed to flow freely, where the practice of production and exchange eroded and discarded the original ambitions of the site (Schwarzer 1998, 19). When the Waterfront was no longer self-serving to capitalism, what was left over could no longer function within the realm of public space. This thesis seeks to redefine the Waterfront through a methodology that aims to reintegrate it with community members through programs of exchange, empowerment, and performance within public space, countering the existing and previous intentions laid out for the site by capitalism, through programs of necessity.

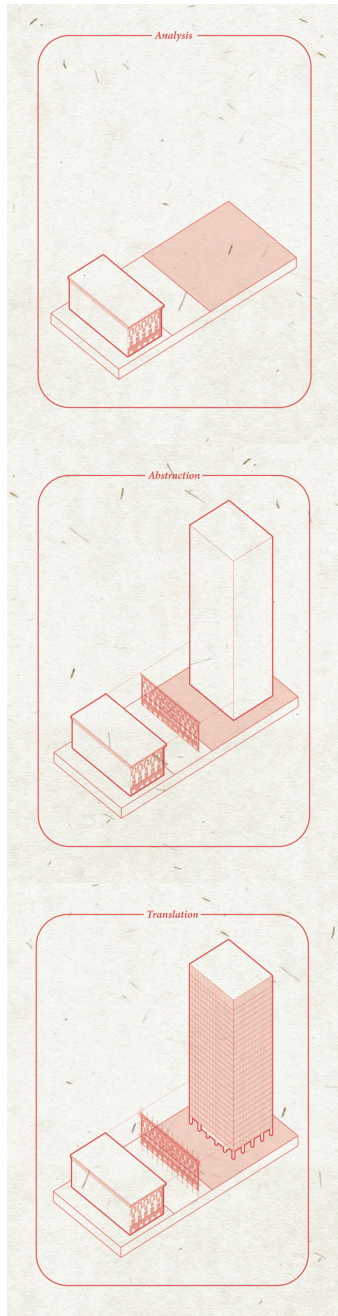
The design responses within this thesis are merely one possibility of how the selected memories of the Waterfront can be reinterpreted; that is to say my interpretation is singular. With the proposed design methodology, the idea that memory is ever changing and evolving, in contrast to history being singular and fixed, is brought forward. The programs and structures are thereby unfixated, allowing

for reinterpretation as memories are further created and proceed into the future. For the purposes of this thesis however, the memories selected – both individual and in tandem – are abstracted to be considered the event, while the design interventions mark the event.

## Design Methodology

Abstracting the three selected memories from Chapter 4 into their respective design interventions is achieved through a three-step process. The process begins with the examination of each of the three memories by compiling artifacts, photographs, and stories into vignettes that analyze the site as it was, to how it exists now, comparing both history and memory. The second step is the abstraction of these vignettes into a series of elements to be used as methods of modernized communal resistance against capital gain. The third step is the translation of the abstractions into a design intervention acting as a mechanism for de-capitalizing the individual site of memory.

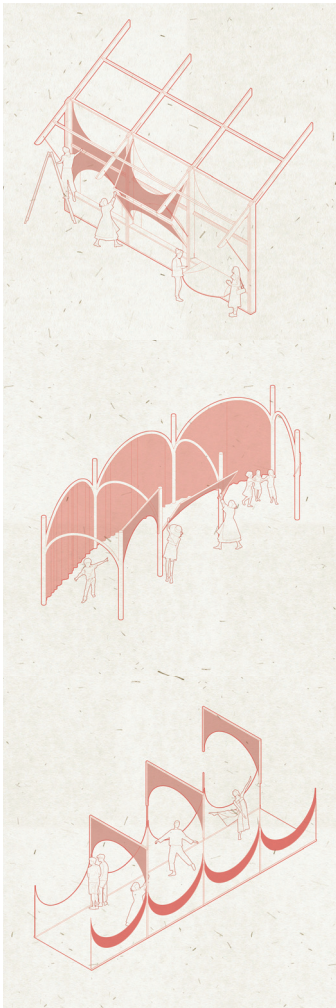
Each intervention must be public, not for profit, interactive, and reflect the importance of memory in the use of the site. The proposed programs and design interventions are intended to exist within a realm of partial unreality, where a series of potential futures for the site are imagined in a way that questions what could happen and what will continue to happen under capitalism. As the three interventions are constructed and maintained in tandem, there is a series of elements connecting them to each other, concluding one can not function properly without the other two. Additionally, each of the designed memory elements utilize the following four methods for maintaining themselves as objects of de-capitalization.



Three step design methodology applied to Seagram Building with adjacent building, 370 Park Ave

### ***Procession through Memory***

The use of procession and enactment through the selected sites is intended to leave a lasting impact and uncover the memory of resistance. It is used in a way that anticipates the memories applied and acquired during the procession will transgress into further walks of life within San Francisco's Waterfront and beyond. The use of the procession will prove to be equally as important to the methodology of each individual intervention, as they occur in the order of the narrative events, carrying one into the next. It is difficult to imagine a memory without understanding what may have come before it; without understanding the full memory through the procession, only certain strategies of resistance will be understood by the users.



Assembly of panels as they move between each intervention, signalling the change in program and form as they are attached and removed.

### ***Kinetic-Informal Design***

As discovered throughout this research, the kinetic-informal event is the missing link in re-constructing resistance within the public realm. With this considered, each of the interventions adapts and transforms to benefit its singular programming, but additionally, to work in tandem with each other, completing the enactment. Allowing for the movement of the interventions about each site counters the impermanence of land holding seen in capital development methods leading up to this point.

### ***Dual Programming***

As the devices work in tandem with each other and have pieces taken away or altered to suit the construction of the following piece, each device will make use of a dual program. This creates a method of continuously activating the site so as to prevent its disuse when another intervention





Methodology of procession through the Waterfront as a series of design interventions, de-capitalizing and creating alternate futures.

is requiring the construction elements. Additionally, not only do the physical structures work in tandem with each other, but the programming of each facilitates the procession to aid the devices function as a larger event for the Waterfront.

### ***Layering***

With San Francisco's layered history of Waterfront manipulation, there is a re-construction of edge conditions that must occur to protect the memory that exists beyond the edge. Layering through design but also through memory in the horizontal and vertical realms will be approached. With the history of layering constantly looking for development and reconstruction tactics, it conveys capitalism's intent to use things to partial fulfillment before they fall into disuse once it no longer serves its purpose of creating profit. This applies to the redevelopment of the Piers but also the constant re-layering of infilled land into the Bay, altering the original Waterfront edge as it did not suit the city's trade industry.

### **De-constructing Memory, Re-constructing Memory**

With the dissection of artifacts through the narrative, the Waterfront itself is also considered a major artifact as per the definition of a city through the division into individual buildings and dwelling areas (Rossi and Eisenman 1982, 21-22). To be able to go about re-constructing the Waterfront to house these new design interventions, we must de-construct the way we perceive memory. Collective memory is in constant flux in the consciousness of a group yet an event experienced by the group is most often memorialized into a monument (Bilsel 2017, 5). This thesis looks to reinterpret the idea of monument, as a way of creating an

anti-museumification and capitalization of history in the form of an event that instead awakens memory. It is crucial to remember history is often one point of view of the larger narrative. We have since dug deeper to uncover what is lying directly underneath the surface level of recorded history with multiple perspectives from individuals and collective groups.

One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory. This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artifacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. (Rossi and Eisenman 1982, 130)

By reinventing history, we are instead able to highlight the importance of memory. In particular, the collective memories experienced by the selected resistance acts, unsuccessfully carried through in memory up until this point, will be uplifted to reinvigorate the determination of resistance actors creating a new set of collective memories for participants in the event.

### **Creating Alternate Futures**

The objective of this thesis is to create a series of alternative futures along the Waterfront. In acknowledging capitalism's roots that it has set up not only within San Francisco, but also around the world, it is difficult to imagine how to go about de-constructing a mindset we have been placed under for centuries. However, the beginnings of the changes to this idea will be realized within the design interventions as the unfolding of a set of building blocks aim to reclaim the Waterfront. There are countless areas along the site that are looking to be occupied by programs to benefit citizens. These design proposals are only three of the countless possibilities that could begin to de-construct capitalism as a way of reclaiming the Waterfront and the memories it holds.



## Procession through the Waterfront

The procession begins at the Ferry Building, journeying to Fisherman’s Wharf, moving next to the destroyed Pier 21, and concludes its journey once again at the Ferry Building.

The Waterfront acts as the backdrop in the same vein that the city acts as a theatre for memory. Though only one of the three interventions is officially labelled programmatically as “theatre”, the memories created during the procession enables the reenactment, allowing citizens to unintentionally participate in the play as they explore the Waterfront, recontextualizing the idea of exchange, before concluding with the official performance.

As the procession starts at the Ferry Building, community participants approach the site via Market Street or from the Bay itself and board the newly adapted Streetcar to advance to the furthest site north at Fisherman’s Wharf. By repurposing the existing streetcar for specific use as the event’s transportation method, we are confronted with the memory of the Waterfront’s exploitation through tourism as historic streetcars from around the world have been brought to San Francisco’s Waterfront rail line for commercial profit, whereas the streetcar was once used specifically and persistently for light commuter rail between the 1890’s and the 1930’s.

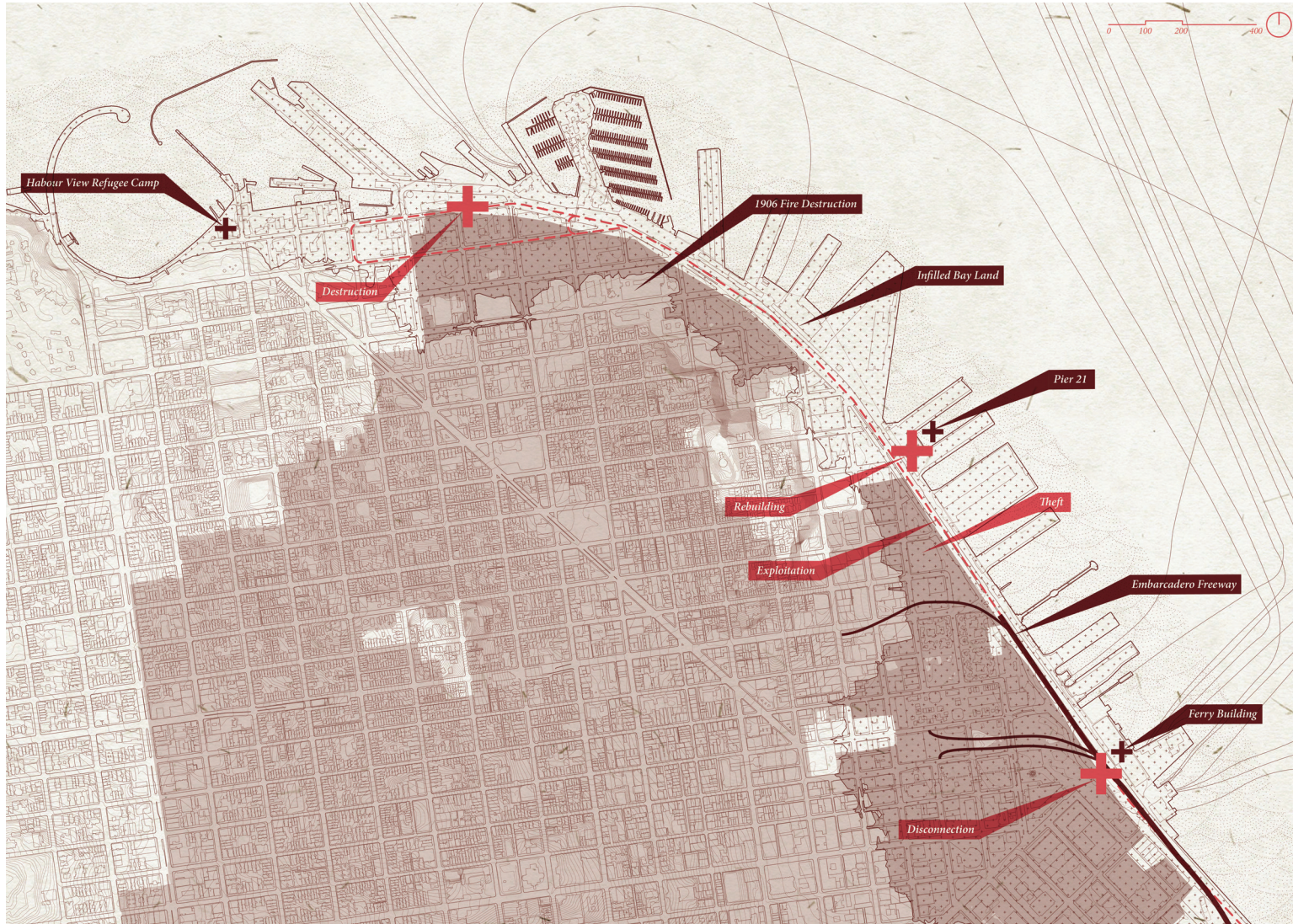


Historic streetcar brought from Mexico City passes directly in front of the Ferry Building heading south.



Examples of historic streetcar fleet running along the Embarcadero and Market Street, San Francisco, Chicago, Mexico City, Toronto (San Francisco’s Historic Streetcars n.d.)





Site map of Waterfront with chosen sites and site limitations (Base Map made from DataSF and Google Maps 2023)



## Event 1: Destruction

Disembarking the streetcar at the far north end of the Waterfront, we arrive at the first memory, destruction; as a result of the Earthquake and Fire of 1906.

Following the examination of the history and memory of the site, the existing context of Fisherman's Wharf is vastly different than the memory it holds, even when it did function as a zone of exchange for the Waterfront's maritime industry. With Pier 39 and the Fisherman's Wharf sign alone



Analysis of History vs. Memory of Destruction



bringing swarms of tourists, an adjacent cruise terminal only escalates this inhabitation of the site. These tourists keep Fisherman’s Wharf activated, yet only economically, through the purchasing of souvenirs, furthering its exploitation and allowing it to continue to thrive under the capital investment of trinkets and t-shirts. Through analysis of the site in person, tourists were seen standing or sitting next to the Fisherman’s Wharf sign after taking family photos, before heading elsewhere to grab food. It is quickly apparent the site is not one where locals are often found.

In abstracting the pieces of memory found within the refugee camps, this event functions as a dual programmed textile workshop that transforms into a community kitchen. These programs were determined through the unarchiving of the memories of the sewing workshops and street kitchens that existed post disaster as a way of exchanging knowledge and resources instead of material goods. Abstracting these memories created the condition of a series of “tents”, pitched in form, taking on the materiality of a light timber framed structure, clad in fabric, based on images of the community and domestic tents once existing on the site. It was also crucial that each structure be unique in scale, form, function, and aesthetic qualities as this was the lacking element of the refugee camps. All the tents appeared uniform, not allowing for individuality or self expression through the inhabitation of the reclaimed site.



Existing parking lot chosen as intervention site located within Fisherman’s Wharf (right image: Google Maps 2023)



Breaking down the abstraction of the Event of Destruction to the Textile Workshop and Community Kitchen





Translation of Destruction to Textile Workshop and Community Kitchen

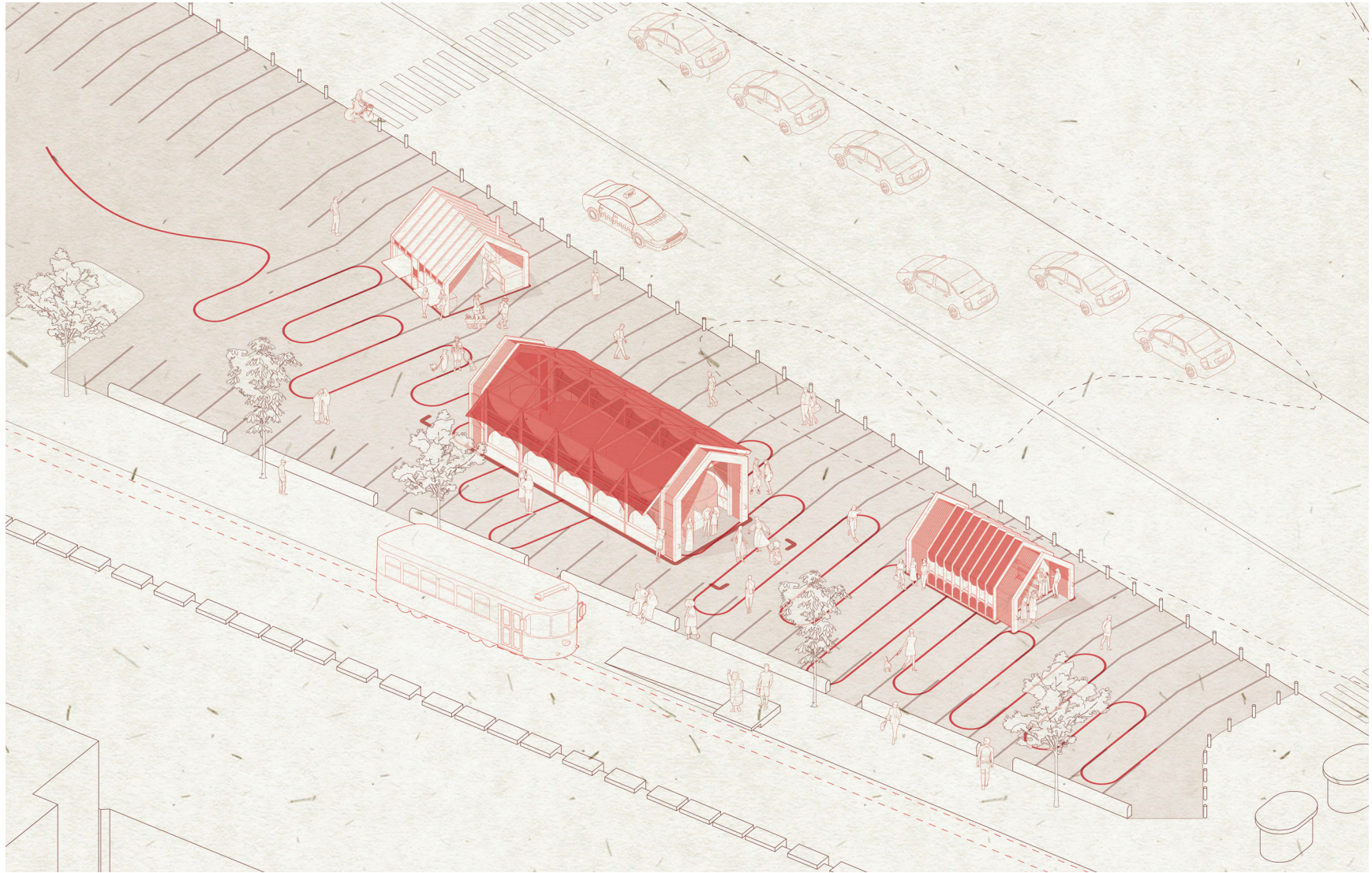


The interventions are located on an existing parking lot adjacent to the flagship Boudin Bakery — the longest continuously running local business in San Francisco — and Fisherman's Wharf sign, the latter of which is located on the far west of the same parking lot. Divided into three structures, their orientations and arrangements on the site mirror the locations of lumber storage that existed before the site was altered. The Waterfront lies north of the site with the availability of Ferry transportation to and from Sausalito and Tiburon. To the south are corporate shops and restaurants.

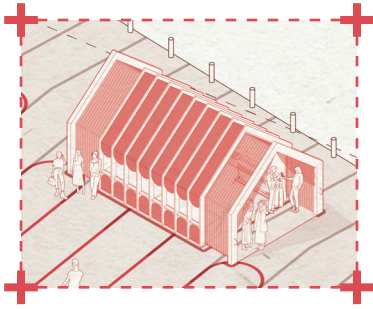


Site plan projection of Textile Workshop and Community Kitchen at the scale of the Waterfront



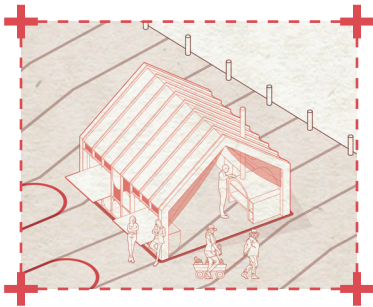


Site Isometric view of Textile Workshop and Community Kitchen facing northwest



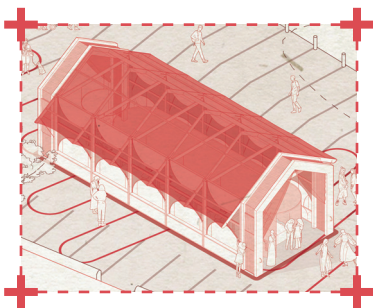
Textile Structure

The structure located furthest to the east of the site functions specifically for textiles. With space for two textile printers that can be used through Wi-Fi from anywhere within the city, the structure allows for the printing and cutting of fabrics with tables overlooking the courtyard conditions created by the arrangement of the structures. Through its expansion and contraction much like an accordion, arched window-like openings are revealed allowing for views into the site, signaling its use to passersby. The contraction of the accordion allows the structure to close off for the night or circumstances of extreme weather. The facade of the structure is clad in painted and sealed wood, the pieces stacked to create reveals of the natural wood underneath, furthering a metaphor of peeling back the superficial layers of history to uncover the memory of the site.



Kitchen Structure

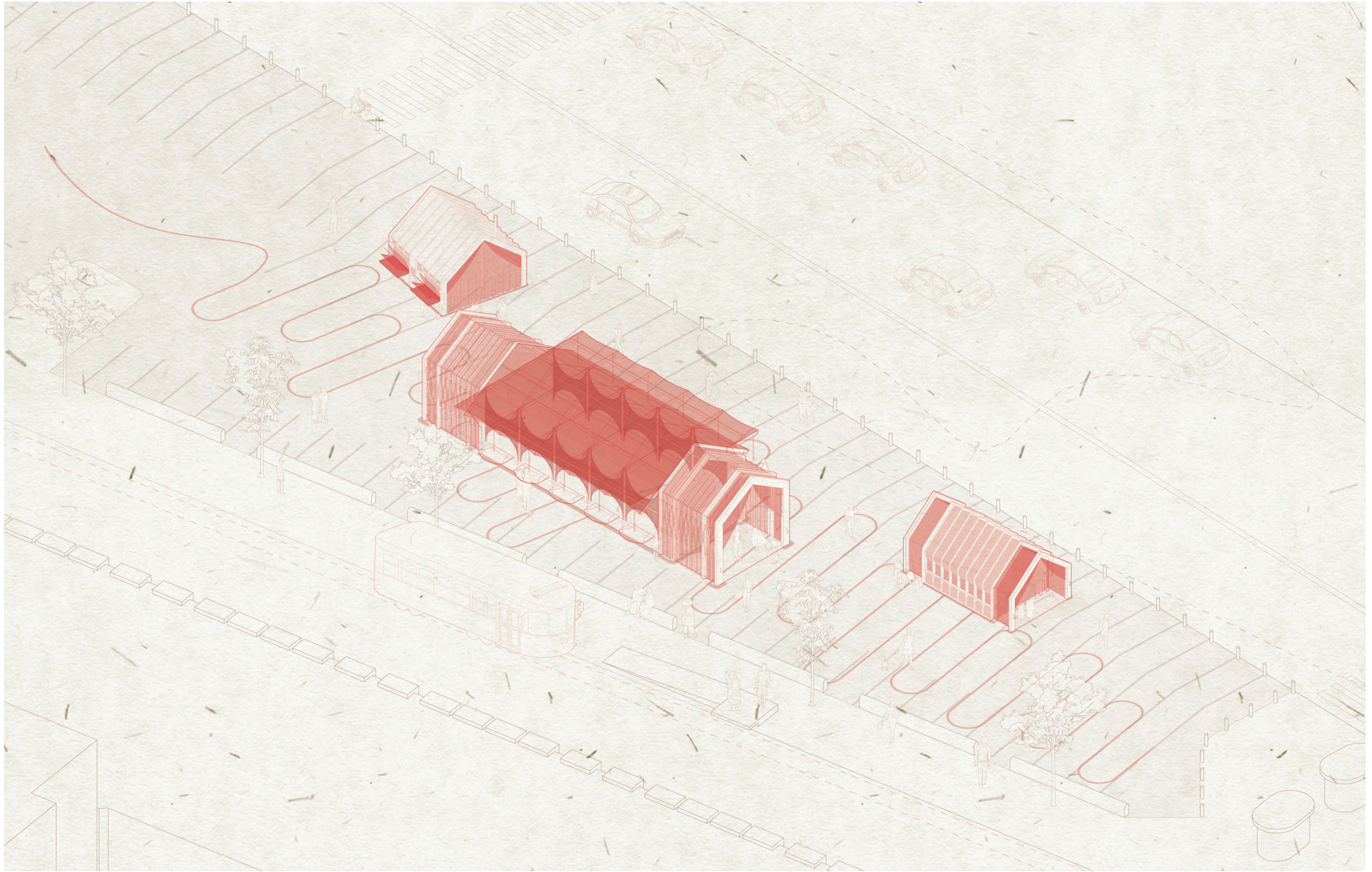
The structure furthest west functions as the kitchen featuring a pizza oven, fridge, preparation space and storage. In locating the kitchen program closest to the existing bakery, resources and goods would be shared between the two, fostering an area for the public consumption of food, alternative to the restaurant style existing currently. Drop down tables allow for the structure to open and close, fostering a connection between the inside and outside of the structure, a typology often found within street food vendors.



Communal Structure

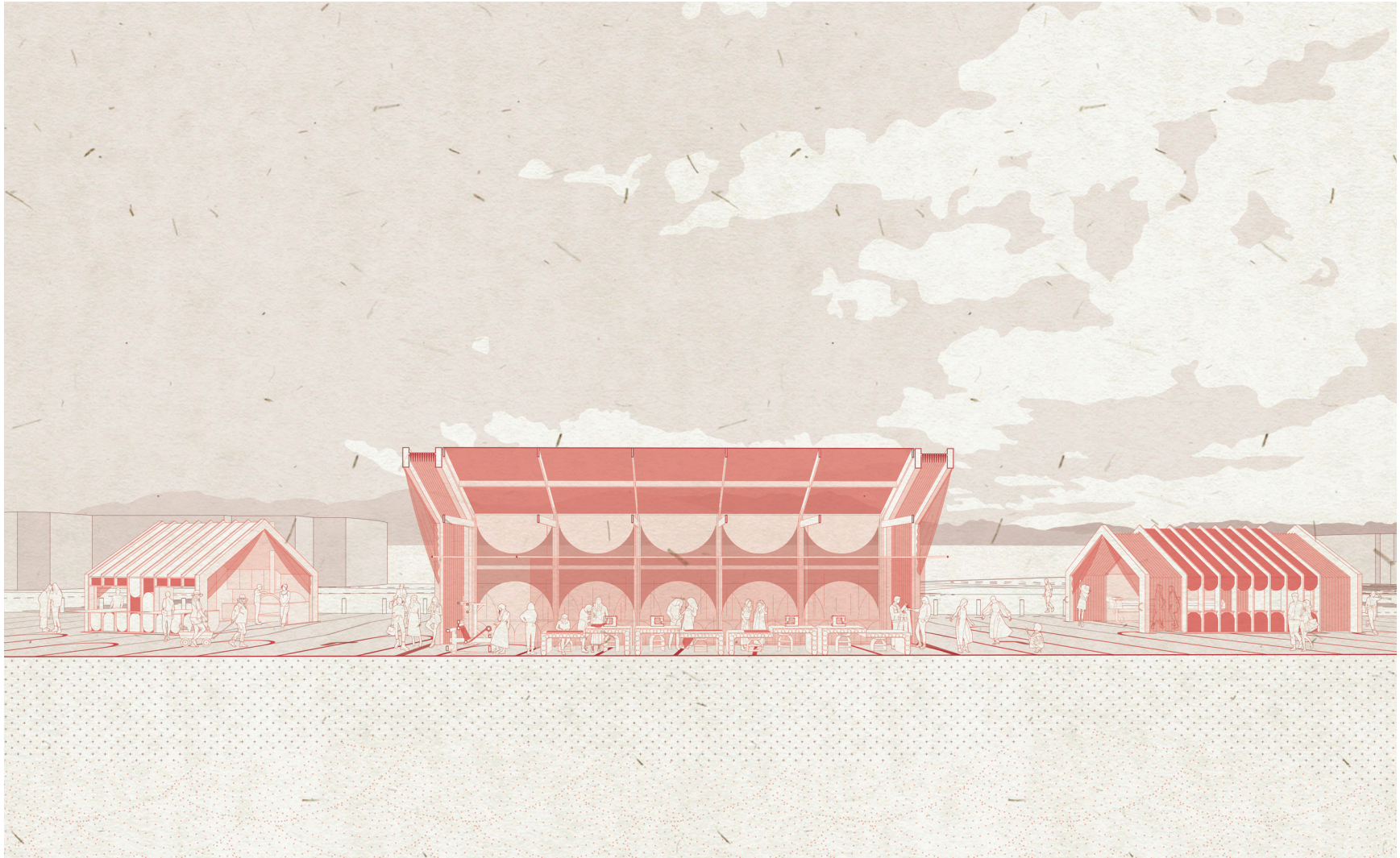
The largest structure located in the center of the site serves as both a textile workshop and community kitchen. When closed, the roof appears flat until community members arrive at the site and use the attached cords to pull the roof into its pitched form, similar to how tents were constructed when the site was used for refuge. Much like the textile specific structure, the front and back of the communal tent acts as an accordion where it can expand and contract when





Kinetic movement and translation of Textile Workshop into Community Kitchen





Site section of Textile Workshop and Community Kitchen facing north. Each of the structures is occupied throughout the day to facilitate the exchange of knowledge and handmade goods as a method of de-capitalizing the exploited site.

more covered space is required. A curtain and figure eight track is suspended from the joists, surrounding the central tables, creating a physical barrier between the makers and their surroundings. This is common practice within textile workshops. Within this structure exists eight sewing machines, and a full size hand loom machine at the west entrance. The tables and chair are designed to allow for the strategic storage of textile rolls and tools, creating cubbies for efficient access while working. Additionally, cabinet storage is designed into the assembly of the structure against the north and south walls to allow for the sewing machines to be stored away when not in use.

When it is time for the site to transition to host the program of a community kitchen, the curtain moves to surround the loom machine protecting it from wear and tear during meals. Additionally, 20 arched panels that make up the exterior facade of the structure are removed by participants, creating drop down standing tables for eating and socializing. The existing qualities of the site remain unchanged, but are instead adapted as parking spots are layered upon and woven together, emulating the remaking of textiles and the urban fabric both physically and socially post 1906.

The intention of the textile workshop and community kitchen is for its use to be public for any fabrication requirement or desired meal, while also aiding to further the ever changing design of the theatre. The central table acts as a conversation element for the storyboarding of the play, while the creation, repairing, and layering of costumes and set elements occurs during its use as a textile workshop. During this programmatic handover, the 20 removable panels are then loaded onto the streetcar by community members to be brought to the next site of memory.





Site use as a Textile Workshop showing textile printing, sewing, and mending of costumes and set props.





Site use as a Community Kitchen as food is prepared and consumed whilst conversation regarding the play is held at the communal table.





Pier 23 facing the Embarcadero, post expansion, taking over Pier 21, and now exists as a parking garage.

## Event 2: Rebuilding

Disembarking the streetcar for the second time, brings us to our next site of memory, rebuilding, following the exploitation of the Waterfront and its workers.

The proposed event situates itself at what was once Pier 21, a transit shed demolished in 1931 to make way for an enlarged Pier 23 (Corbett 2010, 191) to act as a site for cargo storage and trade. It now exists as an indoor parking garage. In comparing the history and memory of the selected site, the



Analysis of History vs. Memory of Rebuilding



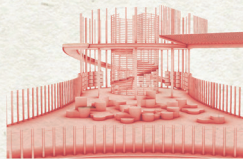


Existing parking garage on the site where Pier 21 was demolished (Google Maps 2023)

memory of resistance by workers and community groups has long since been buried underneath the redevelopment and land holdings for proposed high rise development over the last 50 years. With the skyline of San Francisco's adjacent downtown inching closer to the Waterfront to look at vacant land and parking lots as sites for exploitation and profit, the use of a group of people countering this programming with an intervention of necessity will prove to work against the city's proposed future of development.



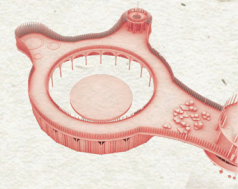
"All Work, No Play", 1910's +



Playground



Waterfront Strike Soap Box, 1936



Central Rehearsal Stage



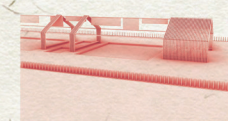
Pier 21, 1910



Pitched Roof Form



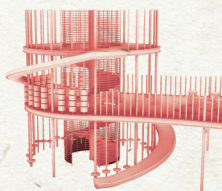
Ship Flags, 1940



Moving Pool Banners



Vertical Land Grab, 1975



Play in the Vertical Realm



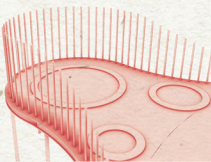
Movement of Striking Workers, 1936



Circular Movement & Form



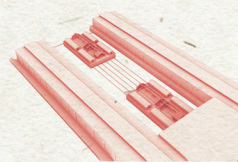
Passenger Ship Masts, 1915



Vertical Screen Barriers



Destruction of Pier 21, 1931



Moving Pool

Breaking down the abstraction of the event of Rebuilding to the Playground and Rehearsal Space

Abstracting the memories of workers, the 1934 Waterfront Labour Strike, and the attempted land grabs and holdings of the Waterfront created the condition for the dual program of a playground and rehearsal space. The saying “all work and no play” and using the notion that children are inherently anti-capitalist within space aided in developing the resulting programming. By inviting children to inhabit the public realm, they become appropriators of the city space, working outside of the mechanisms of control and consumption through play (Carless 2009, 11).

If children are not able to explore the whole of the adult world round them, they cannot become adults. But modern cities are so dangerous that children cannot be allowed to explore them freely... If the child's education is limited to school and home, and all the vast undertakings of a modern city are mysterious and inaccessible, it is impossible for the child to find out what it really means to be adult and impossible, certainly, for him to copy by doing. (Alexander, Ishikawa, and Silverstein 1977, 294)

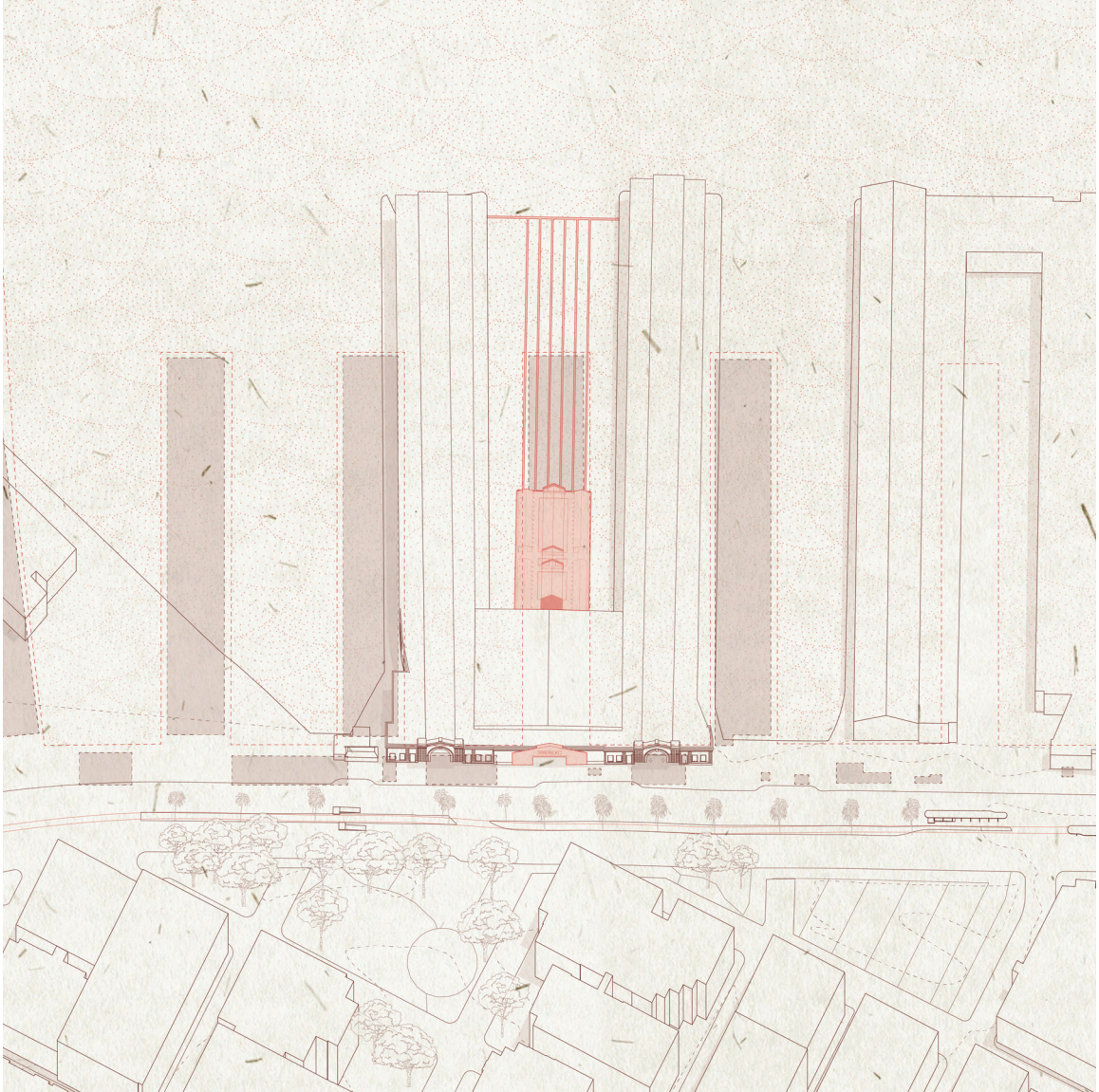
The existence of Pier 21 is somewhat of legend, being one of the only numbered Piers to no longer exist on the Waterfront. There are limited photographs and recordings of what the Pier functioned as before it was inevitably demolished, however photographs uncovered reveal its simple pitched roof form and timber construction countering what the redeveloped Piers would become as obstructive attempts to create neoclassical relics along the Waterfront. The early timber form welcomed locals, immigrants, and visitors creating a sense of home and warmth, domesticating the arrival to the Waterfront while maintaining its publicness. Once demolished and replaced with a larger concrete structure, the memory of the domestic realm vanished, capitalizing on labour exploitation and the exchange of goods. The exterior form of the entrance to the event facing the Embarcadero recreates the facade of old Pier 21, and





Translation of Rebuilding to the Playground and Rehearsal Space



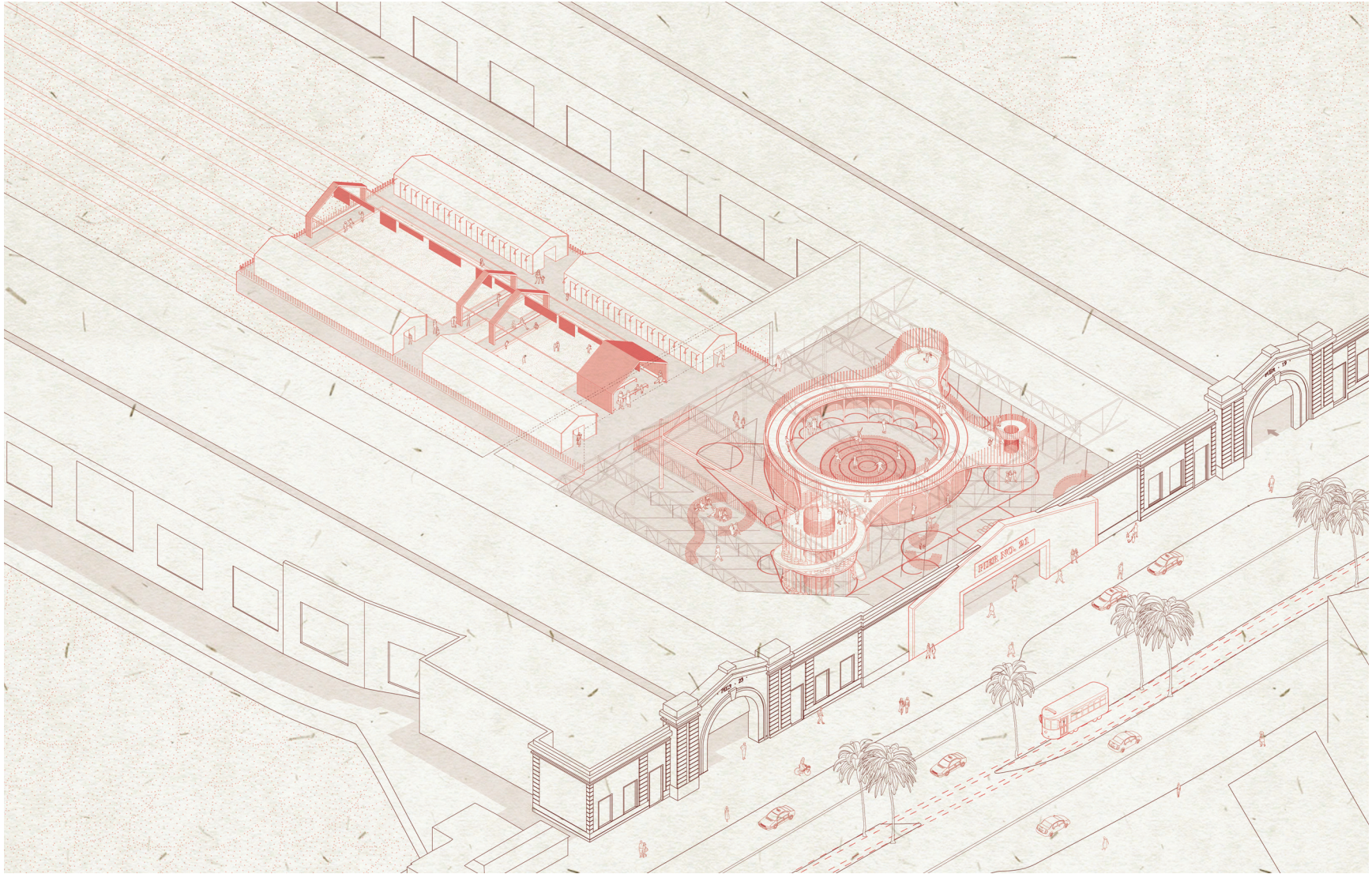


Site plan projection of Rebuilding to the Playground and Rehearsal Space at the scale of the Waterfront

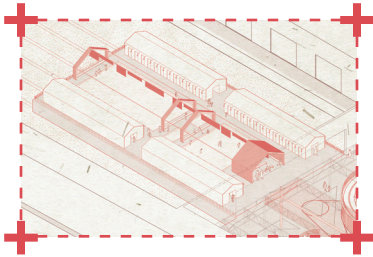
extends into the Waterfront aligning itself with where the Pier once stood.

The new playground situates itself inside the existing parking garage with the extension from the rear acting as a moving raft, supporting a series of public pools of various sizes and uses. The raft also features change rooms, washrooms, and showers, public to users of the Waterfront, while also providing seating and shade for those not wishing to interact with the water feature. Above the pools exists a track allowing



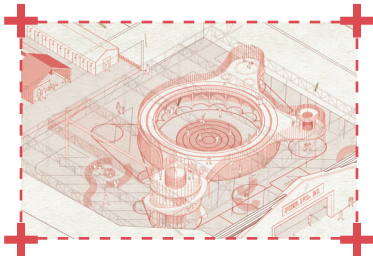


Site Isometric view of the Playground and Rehearsal Space facing southeast



Moving Pool Raft

for movement of banners, signs, and messages abstracting the memory of strike posters marched in front of the site once it was transformed to a Pier of labour and exchange. The raft can then detach itself from the Waterfront edge and float to the end of the existing Piers, as a result of a constructed track system that attaches itself to the adjacent Pier 23 and 19. The form of each built element on the moving raft follows the gable roof form present in Pier 21, with the same timber construction and cladding, reawakening the shed that once existed.

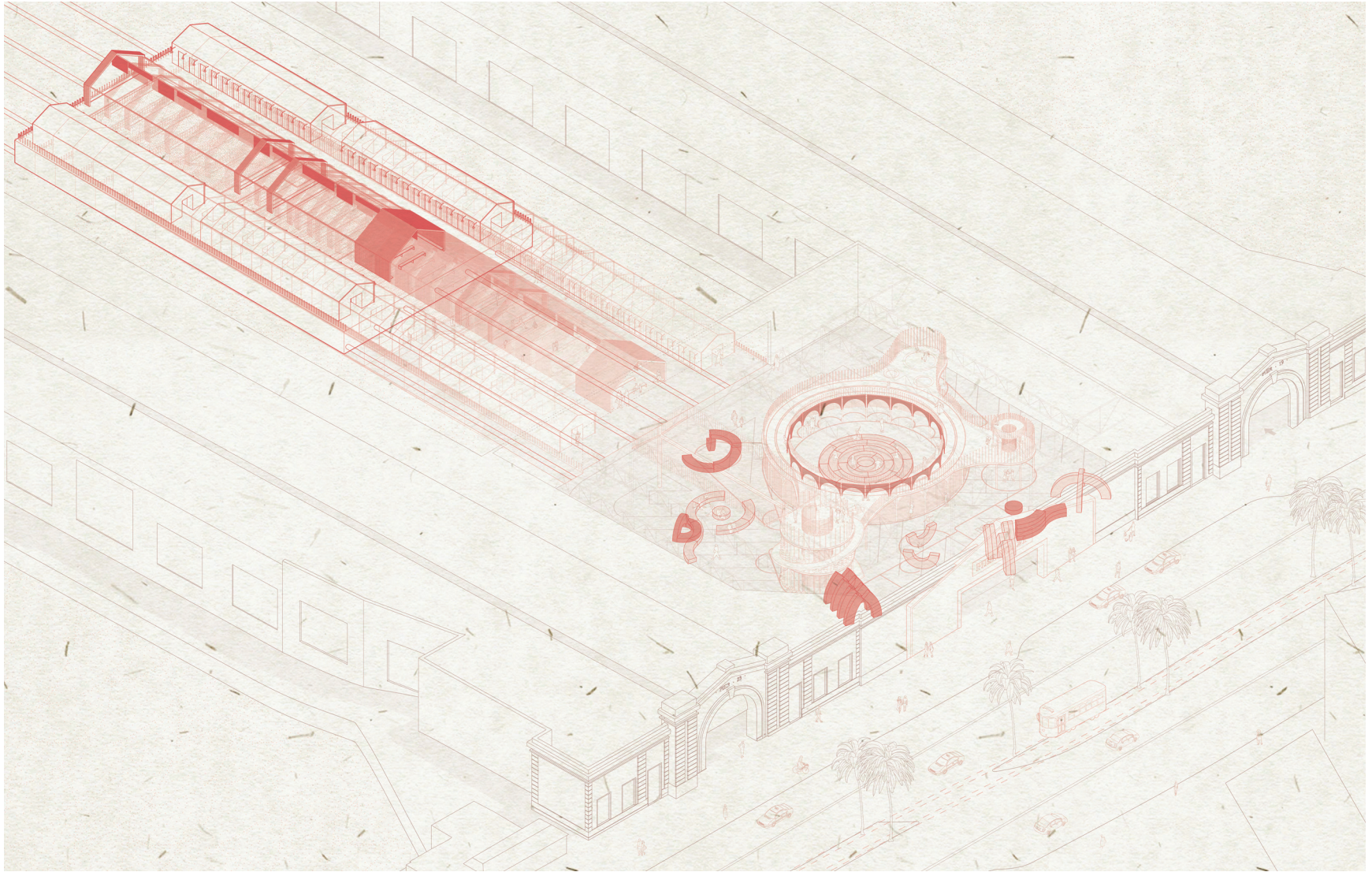


Interior Playground and Rehearsal Space

Inside of the parking garage exists the newly constructed playground, with areas for play on different levels and of different typologies. Featuring trampolines, slides, tracks, nets, swings and areas for climbing and interactive play, the playground exists at a scale and quantity allowing participants of all age groups to enjoy the site. The verticality of play within the existing infrastructure of columns and trusses interprets the idea of the proposed vertical development along San Francisco's Waterfront, creating a sense of irony in the notion of building up as children overtake the space no longer considered to be an economic stakeholder. Circular in plan with adjacent breakout play areas, the form allows for a separation from the grid system capitalism attempts to fit developments into.

Whilst play occurs throughout the rest of the playground and pool, a central stage emulating the concept of the soap box is assembled from movable pieces that are otherwise used for play. This programming of a rehearsal space for the concluding Waterfront theatre allows for choreography within a similar footprint whilst granting the theatre its alternate programming throughout the day. The stage assembly can change size and form due to the tangibility of the pieces



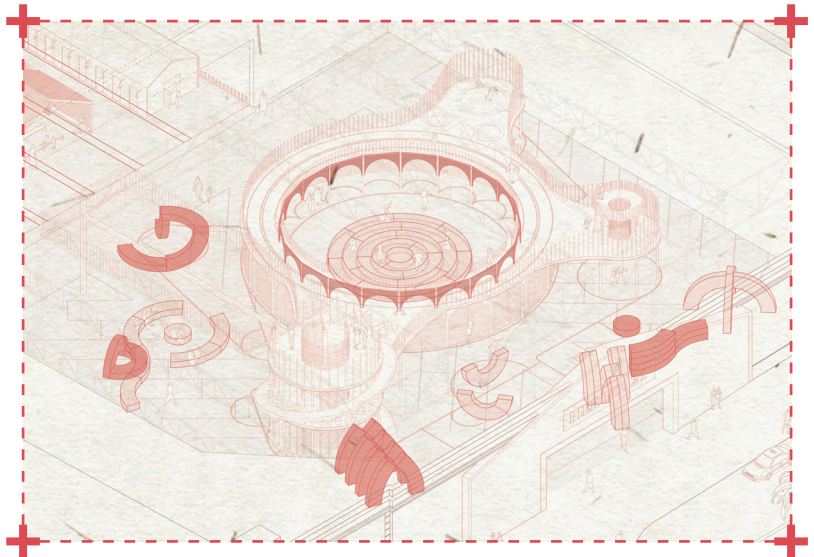


Kinetic movement and translation of the Playground into the Rehearsal Space

used to construct it, while also allowing for the pieces to be moved during rehearsals, similar to the movement of the final theatre set. Additionally the 20 arched panels from the textile workshop are added and removed from the structure accordingly, providing proper rehearsal props given their use within the theatre.

In the same vein as the prior intervention, the existing qualities of the site are not changed, but adapted as the playground is constructed around the existing structure and playful ground markings are layered on top of parking spots, creating play on a two dimensional level in addition to the vertical realm.

Once rehearsals are completed for the day, the panels and actors board the streetcar once again journeying to the final site of memory. As the journey continues along the Waterfront, the playground remains in use with its programs of necessity remaining open to the public as the pool raft moves repeatedly back and forth along the footprint of Pier 21.



The arrangement of kinetic elements transforms the playground into a rehearsal space. The 20 arched panels are added and removed, while the stage is constructed and deconstructed.



### Event 3: Disconnection

Christopher Alexander states: “A town needs public squares; they are the largest, most public rooms, that the town has. But when they are too large, they look and feel deserted.” (Alexander, Ishikawa, and Silverstein 1977, 311). The third site of memory is that of disconnection, as the double decker Embarcadero Freeway stood directly in front of the Ferry Building between 1959 and 1991, socially and physically severing the Waterfront from the rest of the city. The Ferry

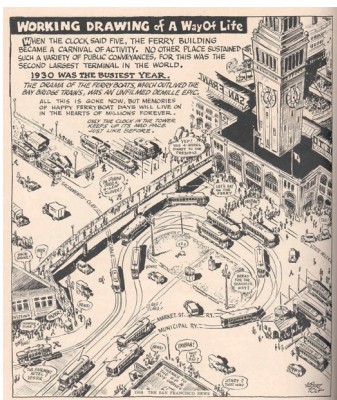


Analysis of History vs. Memory of Disconnection





Harry Bridges Plaza directly in front of San Francisco's Ferry Building; the selected site is capped by two monuments indicating a central thoroughfare that is widely unused by citizens and thereby sits vacant.



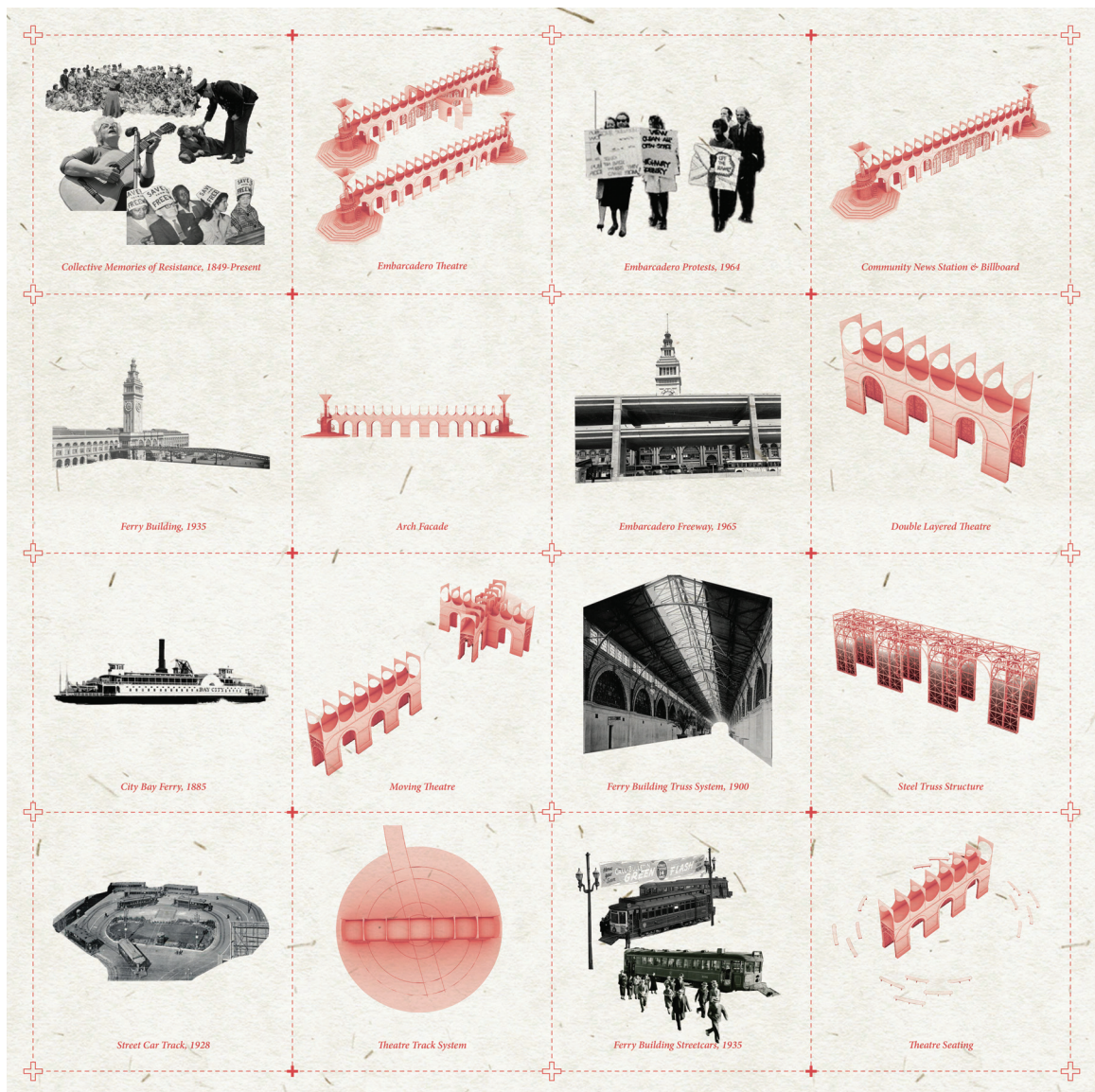
Comic recalling activation of Ferry Building during the 1930's, showing bridge and Streetcar track (Laubscher 2022)

Building, once the locus of movement not only for the Waterfront but for the entire Bay area, has fallen into disuse and is now largely used for offices and market spaces.

Throughout the entirety of its lifespan, the Embarcadero Freeway faced countless citizen revolts calling for its demolition that would reinvigorate the connection between the Waterfront and the city. These revolts in addition to the entirety of the Waterfront's resistance memories creates the programs of a theatre and a community news station as the concluding pieces of the processional event.

Looking at the history and memory of the selected site reveals layers and changes that ripped apart the social fabric and connecting elements which once existed. Proceeded by the Ferry House, the Ferry Building was not constructed until 1898, with multiple renovations throughout the entirety of the 1900s and early 2000s. Once constructed, the site became densely populated with working commuters. This inhabitation resulted in a bridge connecting the Ferry Building to the opposite side of the street, allowing pedestrians to easily cross without interacting with streetcars and other vehicles on the ground level, attaching to what was once a post office. The original streetcar turntable track was installed in 1888 following the increased inhabitation of commuters in the Bay Area in the years leading up to this point as San Francisco grew and the Waterfront changed to suit its new capital interests. An additional unbuilt proposal looked to have an elevated streetcar track bring people directly to the second level of the Ferry Building, allowing pedestrians to walk directly onto and off of the Ferries. At this point the Ferry Building was the second busiest thoroughfare in the world, acting as the crossing point for 250,000 people every day (Laubscher 2022).

The form and movement of the theatre derives from the Ferry Building itself, and abstracts the purposes of the Ferry Building Bridge and the form of the Embarcadero Freeway as a double layered theatre, instead of the obstructive monument the freeway existed as for decades. Memories of the movements of ferries and streetcars around and about the site inform the movement of the theatre as a new track is installed, layering on top of the existing plaza condition.



Breaking down the abstraction of the event of Disconnection to the Theatre and Community News Station





Translation of Disconnection to the Theatre and Community News Station

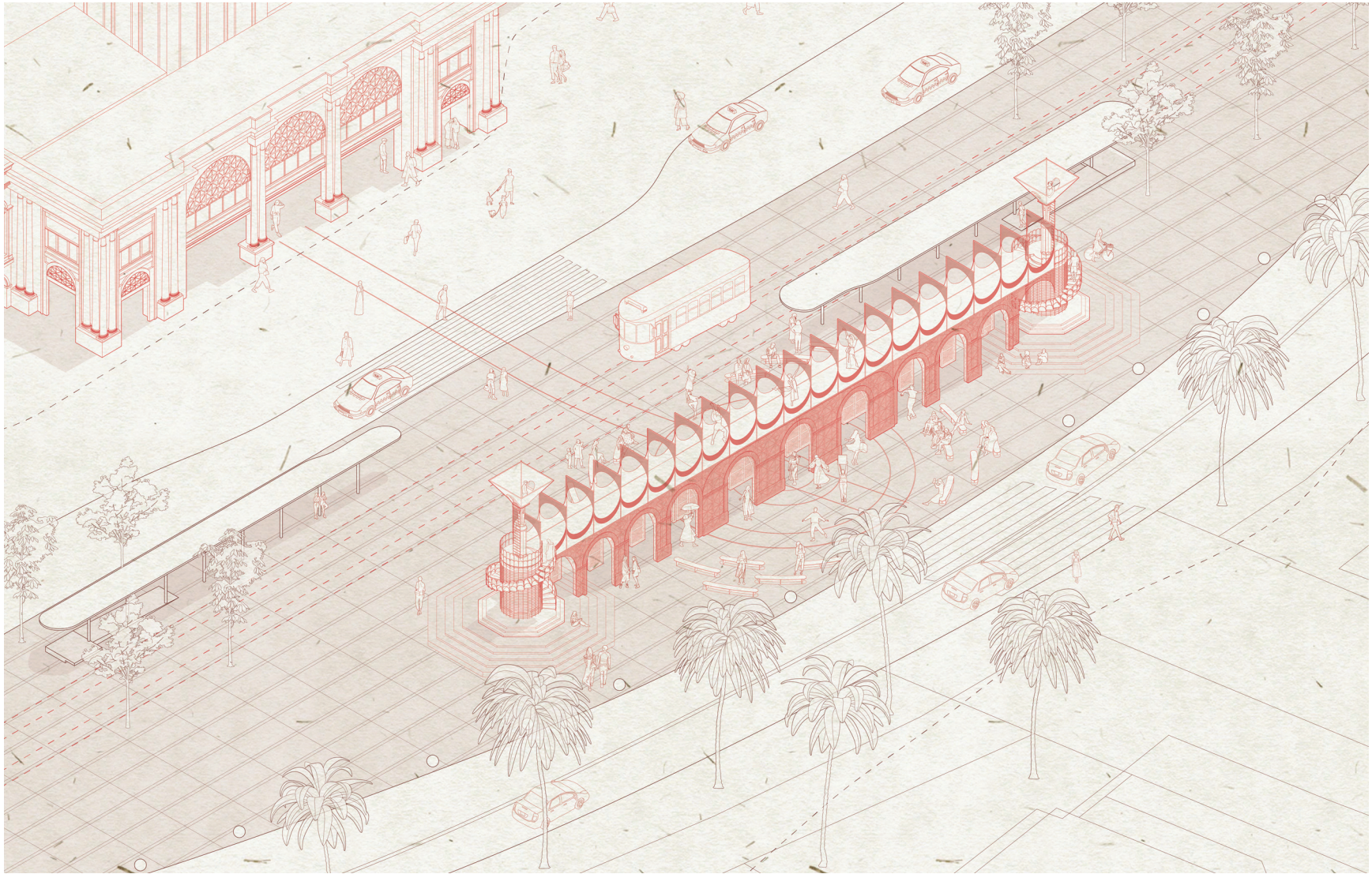




Site plan projection of Disconnection to the Theatre and Community News Station at the scale of the Waterfront

Located upon Harry Bridges Plaza, a relatively vacant connecting site between Market Street and the Ferry Building, the theatre attaches itself to the existing monuments that have been adapted and layered upon as staircases leading to the upper level of the structure. The monuments have also been altered to allow for light and sound boxes located above the theatre inconspicuously, whilst pop up bench seating emerges from the ground of the plaza. In plan, the arrangement of the benches simulates the historic streetcars





Site Isometric view of the Community News Station and Theatre facing southeast





Moving theatre

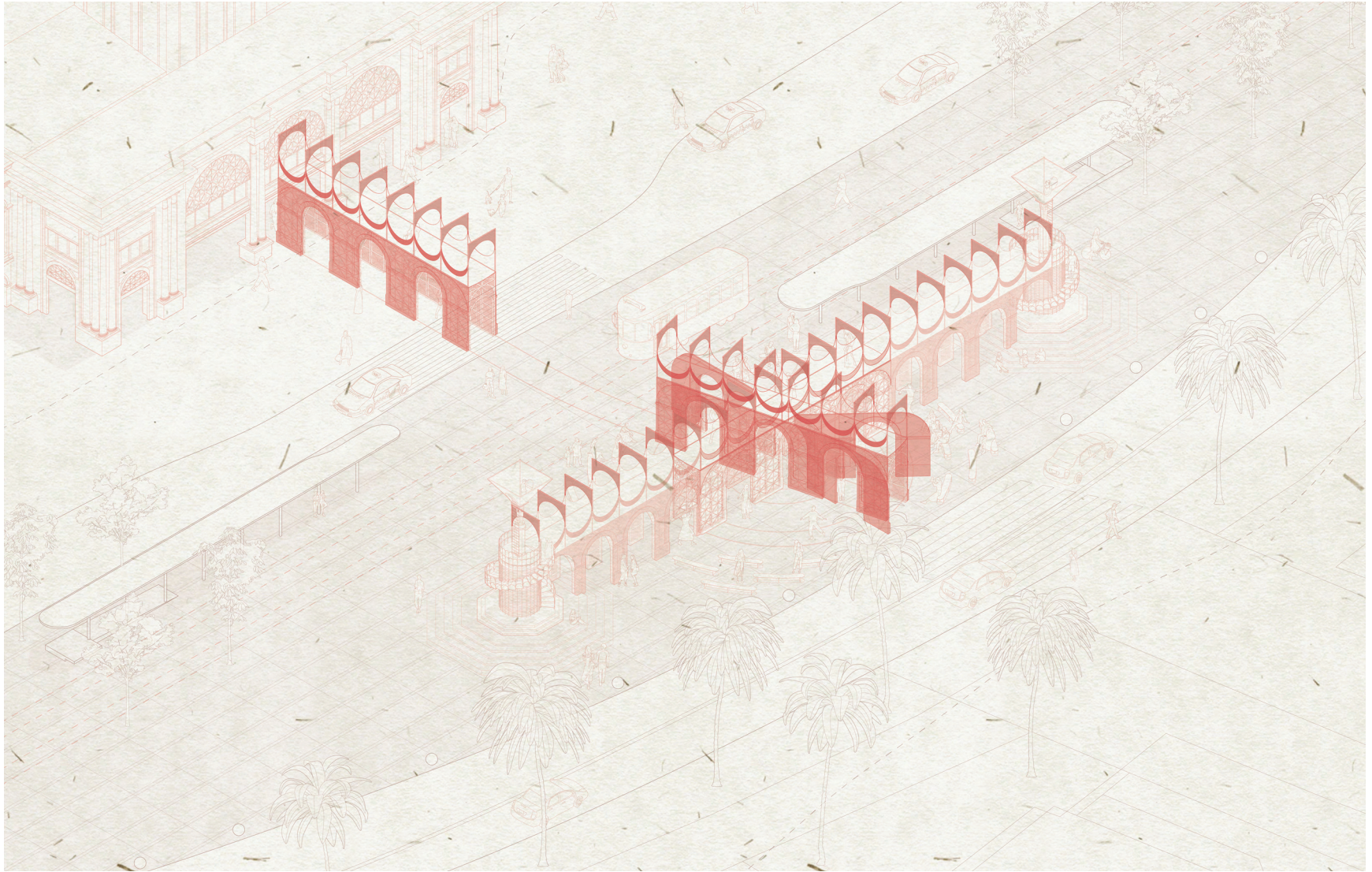
and track that existed on what is now the plaza adjacent to the Ferry Building. The structure is assembled from a light steel frame construction, its form and materiality abstracted from the Ferry Building's trusses and windows. The light structure allows for the ease of movement of the central stage, as no mechanics are involved in its movement about the site. The entirety of the structure's facade is layered with fabric that is produced within the textile workshop, acting as a scrim. The scrim functions in different ways as it is lit from different angles (see Appendix C), appearing opaque or semi-opaque until lit from behind or above, dependent on the fabric construction. The intention is for the theatre to appear as one thing, until it is revealed to be another, similar to the uncovering and revealing of memory narratives throughout this thesis.



Community News Station

When not existing as a theatre, the structure functions as a community news station. The door panels of the central structure open and the steel frame construction is exposed. This transformation allows for citizens to adhere and remove brochures, newsletters, and zines regarding community activities as a way of communicating without the need for social media, another realm that has been capitalized upon within the Bay area. This brings communication within the physical realm back to the site after the once existing post office was demolished.

Upon the approach of the actors and community members aboard the streetcar from the previous events, the structure transforms to suit its role as part of the set of the play where the Waterfront itself acts as the larger theatre. Disembarking with the arched panels in tow, the actors enter the Ferry Building and head to its second floor where the official "play" begins and the final piece of the event commences. The



Kinetic movement and translation of the Community News Station into the Theatre





Site Section of Disconnection to the Theatre and Community News Station facing north





Site use as the Community News Station showing the adhering of pamphlets, newsletters, and zines to the exposed light steel structure.





Site use as the Theatre as actors move about the site and throughout the two levels of the structure, re-constructing the memories of resistance along the Waterfront through the play.

center stage rotates atop the new track and moves across the Embarcadero with the aid of community stage hands pushing it across the street. The actors exit Ferry Building landing on the upper level of the theatre, and attach the panels whilst the stage is moved back into its original position.

Throughout the play, the theatre — the choreography of memory, ever evolving and layering — the structure, and the actors continue to move, transform and rotate upon themselves, recreating a kinetic intervention on a currently stagnant site. The structure continues to open its set of doors exposing the interior form and dividing the site and play into four quadrants.

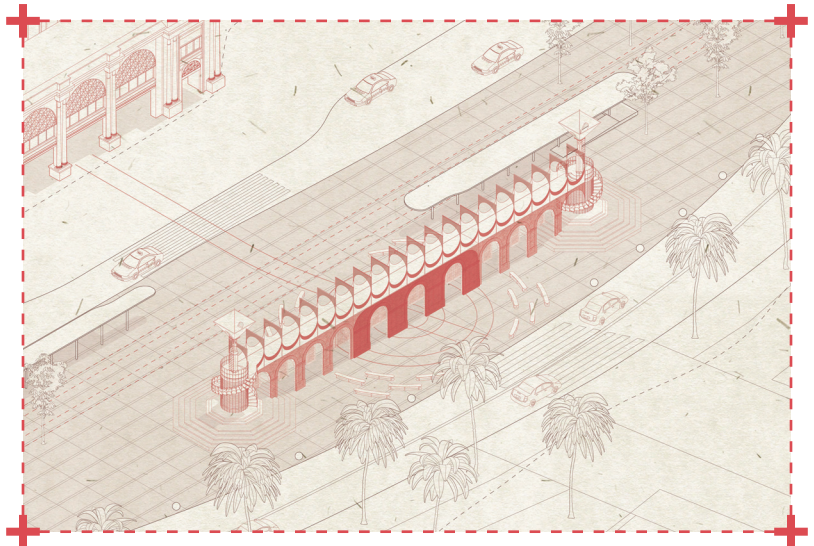
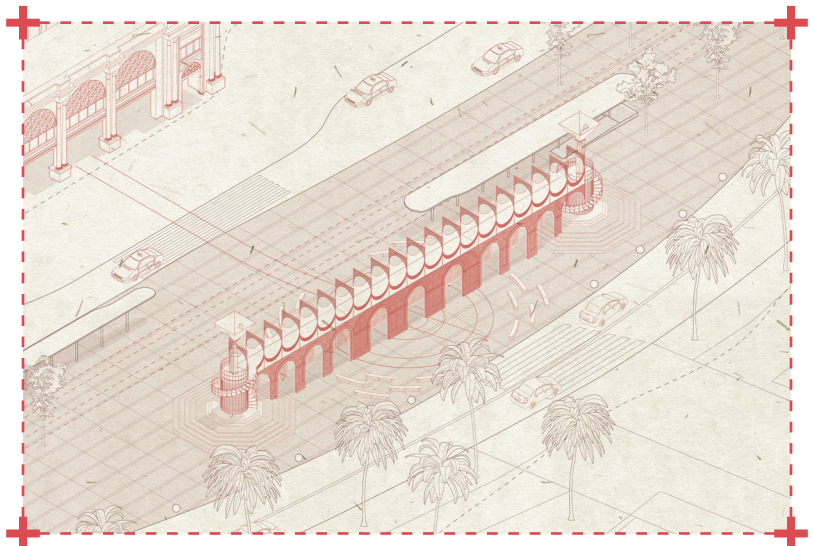
### **The Waterfront as a Theatrical Event**

The theatre acts as a vehicle for memory starting with the infilling of San Francisco's Waterfront in the 1850's, moving through countless resistance acts and concluding with the artificial flooding of the site as water's final act of resistance against its displacement almost 200 years ago, finally free from its bounds within the realm of capitalism. This represents the memory of theft of the Waterfront after its continuous infilling and exploitation.

As the play continues its performances throughout time, memories are continuously added onto its plot, furthering the event narrative. Fabric from the textile workshop is continuously layered onto the facade of the theatre creating a condition that changes the experience for both the actors and viewers. As the fabric continues to be layered, it acts as a metaphor for how the continuation of capital greed has resulted in the loss of resistance memories as they continue to occur throughout time, but become buried amongst other

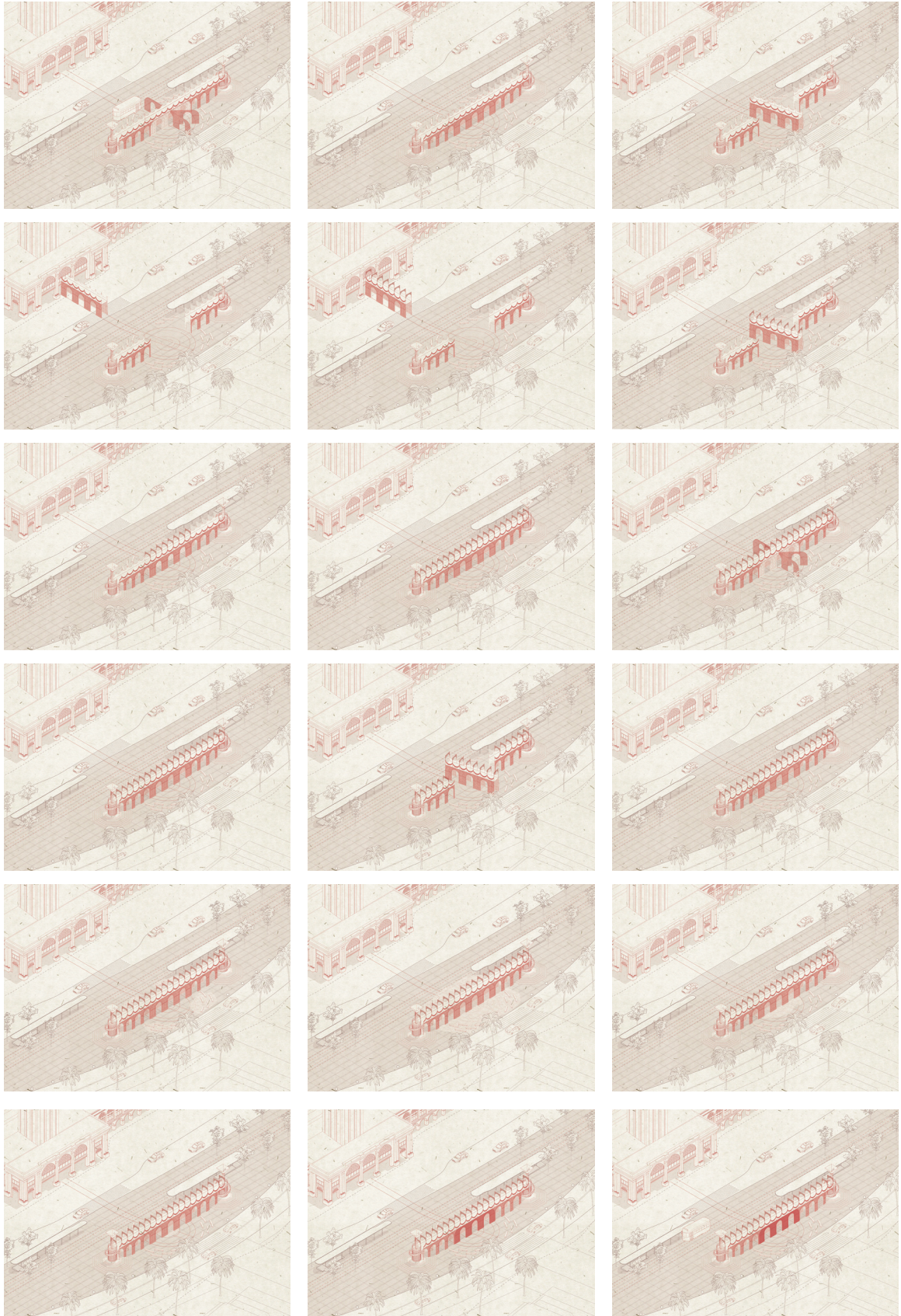


forgotten actions. The play concludes and the cycle starts anew, moving the arched pieces and participants back to the textile workshop via the streetcar. The Waterfront as Theatre at the city scale has recommenced, allowing new and returning citizens to participate in the theatrical event.



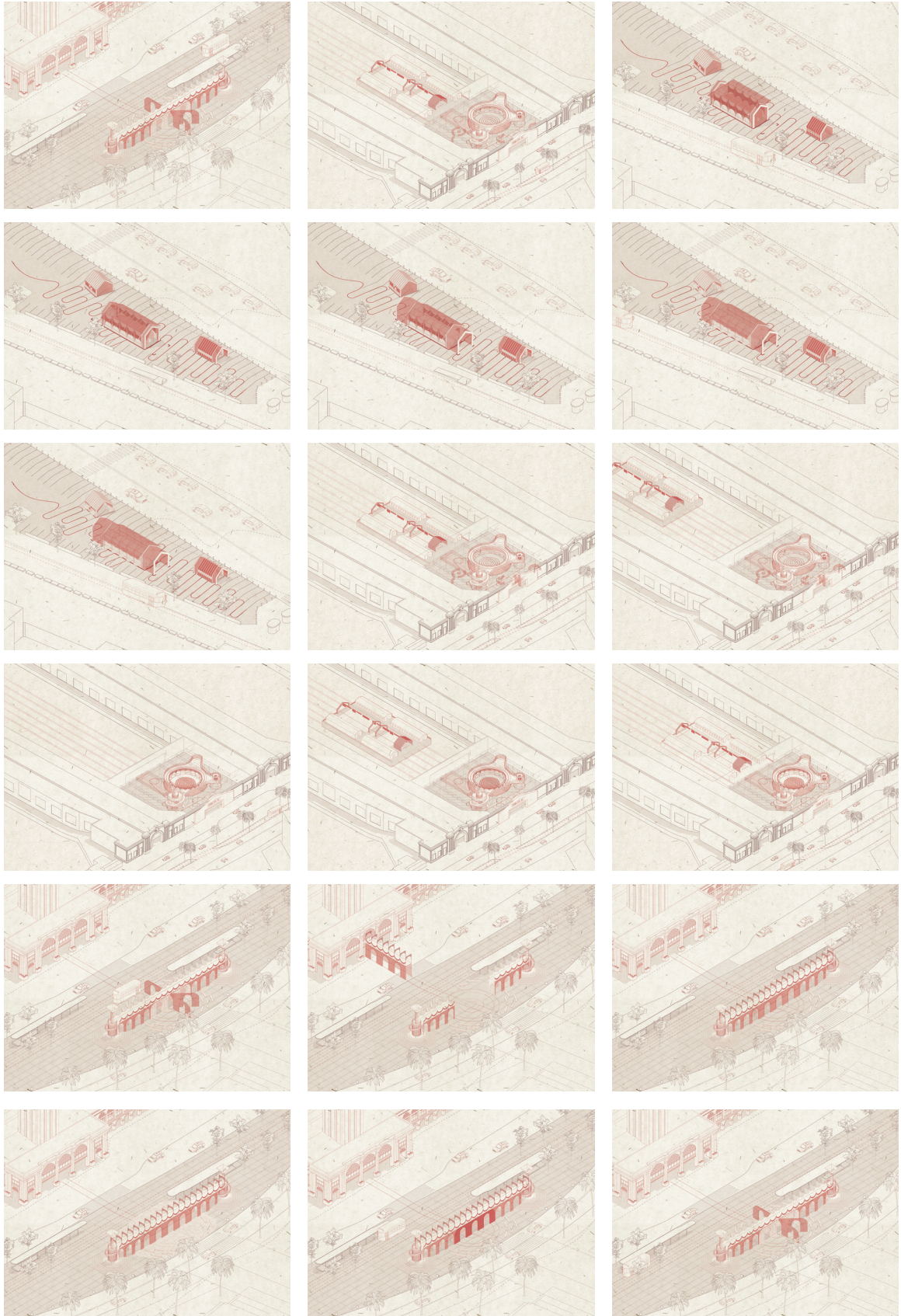
The layering of fabric upon the facade of the Theatre creating different opacities, representing the burial of memory and the changing the conditions the play creates for both the actors and observers.





Storyboard of the Waterfront as Theatre, at scale of the Theatre.





Storyboard of the Waterfront as Theatre, at the scale of the city.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

Through the examination of collective resistance memories, this thesis has uncovered and highlighted selected events throughout the timeline of San Francisco's post colonial development. These memories could be triggered in a variety of different ways. However, their examination through resistance acts was the selected method to go about unpacking and dissecting the layered and convoluted realm that has caused their burial, as a result of capitalist exploitation.

Creating a procession of people and designed architectural elements, both kinetic in nature, allows for the Waterfront to be choreographed as an event, functioning as a driver, and ultimately a theatre, for memory. My goal within this thesis was conclusively to reclaim public space along and within the Waterfront corridor, a once lively edge even after its transformation within San Francisco, a city ever evolving under capitalism. The city, within history and even more importantly within memory, should belong to the collective, solidifying it as an inclusive public realm for all wishing to explore it.

The creation of alternative futures, imagining a place where community led projects would reconstruct the narrative of the selected site, is only one idea of a way out of the capitalist cycle we have become trapped within. It is my hope that the methodology and proposed design interventions would act as a jumping off point for the remainder of the Waterfront. This thesis leaves off with the intention for additional events along San Francisco's Waterfront to be adapted with the same methodology of using resistance memories to de-capitalize the remaining sites that are eagerly awaiting their



revitalization, as a way of adding and layering onto the processional event and theatricality of the site. However, as only my own interpretation of abstracted memories is captured within this thesis, I believe it is most important going forward for the collective to be involved in the gathering of a wider interpretation of the remaining pieces of memory along the site. This would further the re-construction of the resistance acts that were brought forward by the forgotten groups once inhabiting the Waterfront, to be recreated by a new communal group within San Francisco.

The proposed design interventions and events within this thesis may even begin to change visually and programmatically over time, layering themselves but never becoming physically buried like the memories that came before them. With this new layering of perspectives for the procession over taking the Waterfront, there becomes a way of moving through it that does not need to feel as structured as this thesis proposes, eventually existing within a realm of kinetic chaos, further contrasting the rigidity of capital development.

The methodology within the thesis can eventually be translated and applied to additional cities suffering due to capital exploitation, as a way of reclaiming public spaces by retelling the memories of resistance narratives through community programming and collective engagement. It is difficult to imagine a world post-capitalism as we have been living within its grasp for centuries now, with no clear end in sight. It is up to the collective to make the idea of de-capitalization a reality going forward, solidifying memory as an equal counterpart to history.

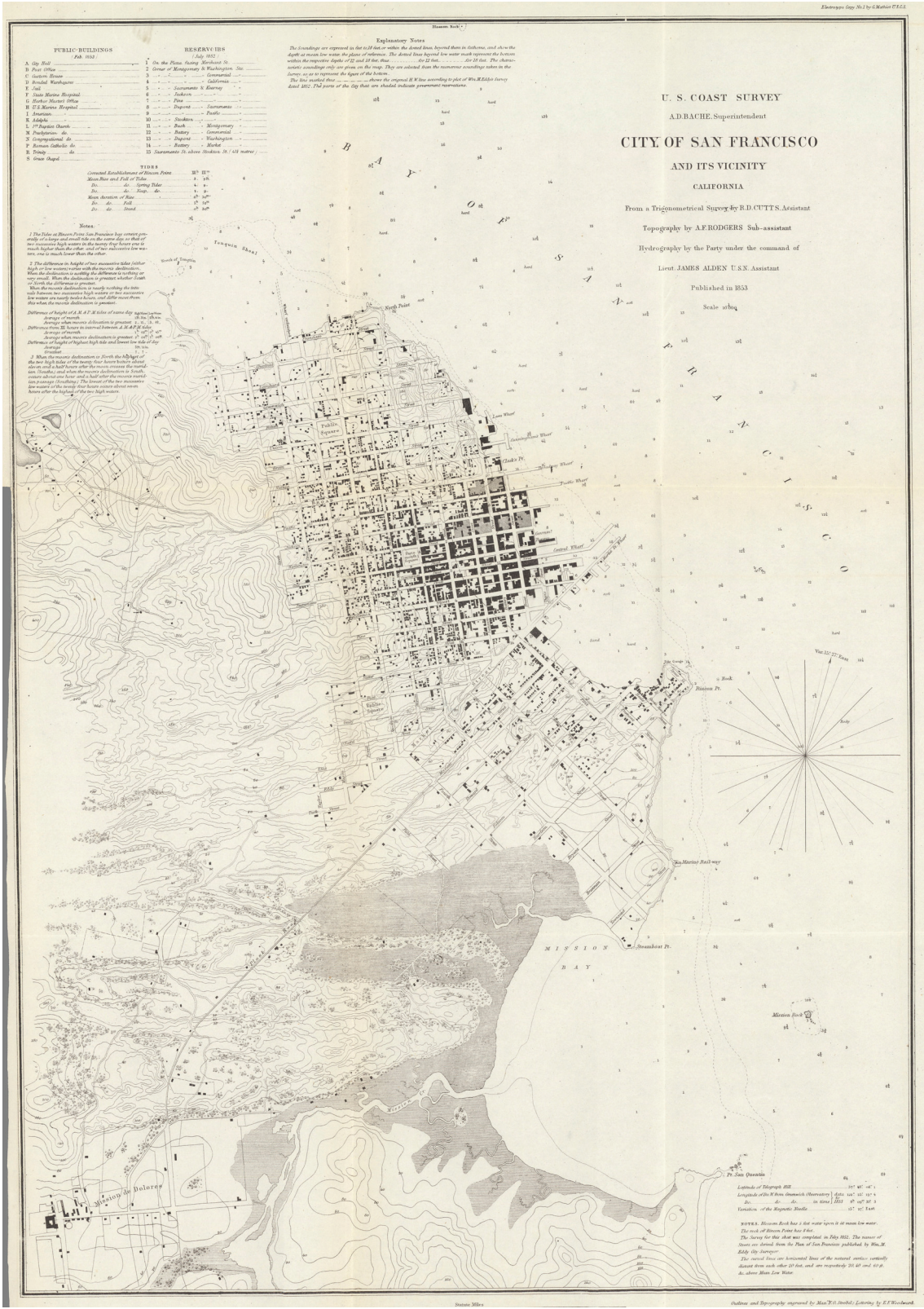
I first visited San Francisco with my family when I was 16 years old. Now, in completing this thesis, I had the opportunity to revisit the city that I was captivated by, almost 10 years later. At the beginning this process I felt as though I was writing a love letter to San Francisco, diving into research, and combining my passion for history with my interest in anti-capitalist rhetoric that I have gathered throughout my education. This was in hopes to uncover what was hidden within the city, providing me with further avenues of knowledge and exploration previously unknown. I feel as though this thesis has unveiled within me a continued curiosity, creating a million more avenues to be explored within San Francisco and beyond, but also helped further define my own interests within the realm of architecture.



Left: My first visit to San Francisco as a tourist, March 2014, pictured with my brother  
Right: My first visit to San Francisco as a researcher, November 2022

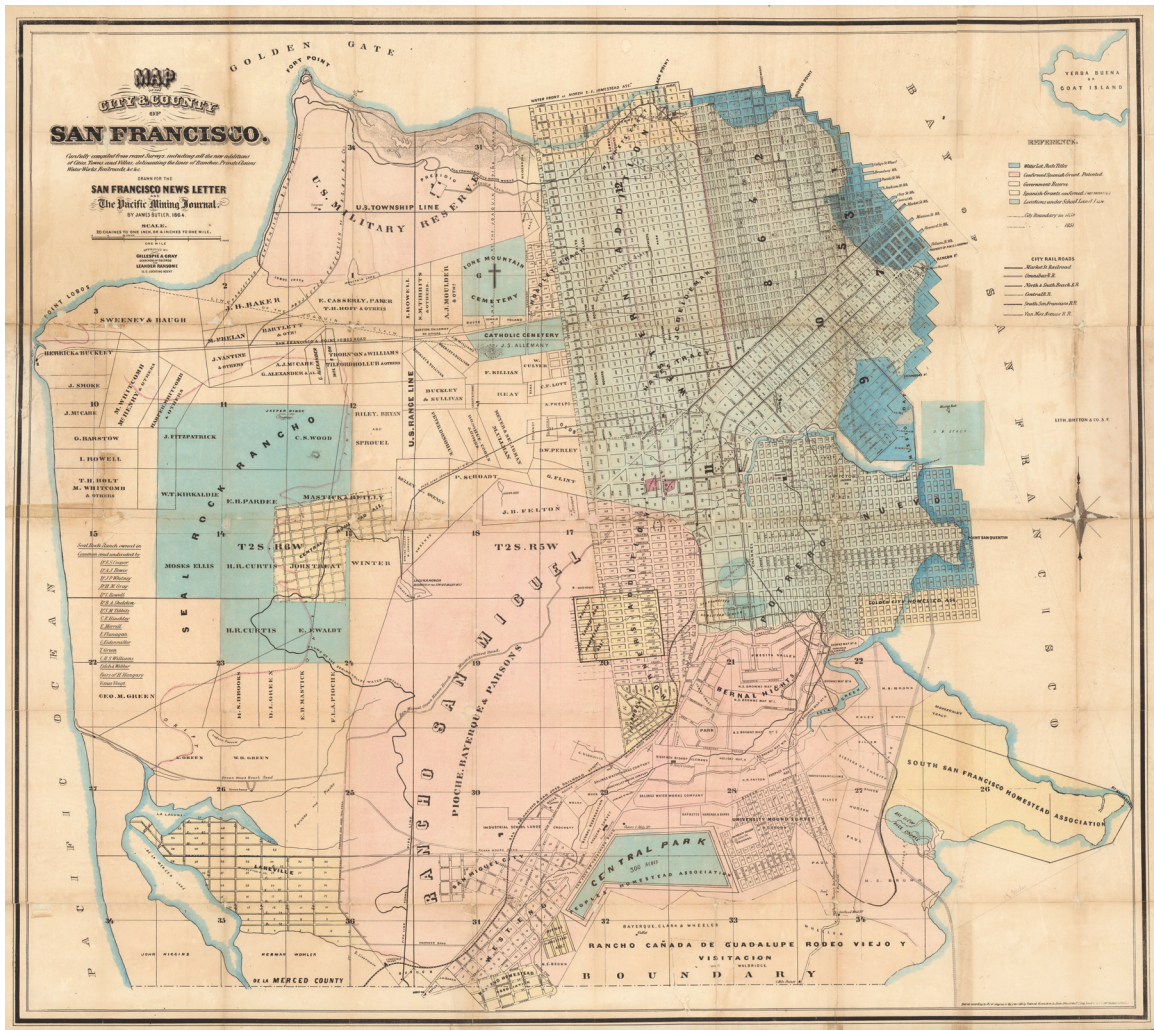


# Appendix A: Historic Maps of San Francisco



Map of San Francisco before infilling of Waterfront, 1853 (David Rumsey Map Collection 1853)



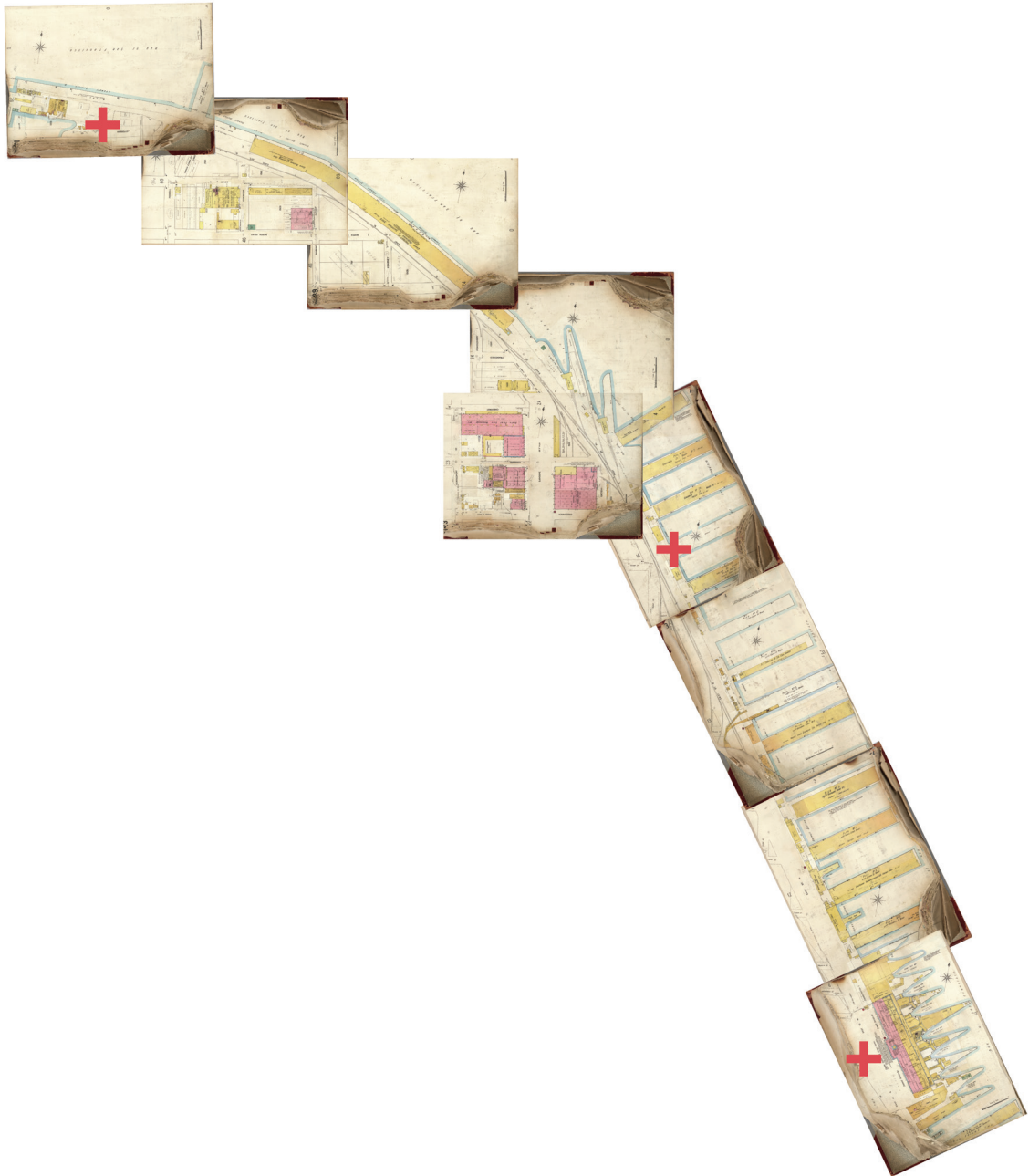


Map of San Francisco after infilling of Waterfront creating gridded edge condition, 1864 (David Rumsey Map Collection 1864)





Map of San Francisco after infilling of Waterfront, 1904 (David Rumsey Map Collection 1904)



San Francisco Sanborn Insurance Maps collaged of the Waterfront with selected intervention sites, 1905 (David Rumsey Map Collection 1905)





Map of San Francisco showing Piers and maritime activation, 1915 (David Rumsey Map Collection 1915)











## Appendix B: Letter from Mrs. Gustav Knecht Jr. to Supervisor Jack Morrison

MRS. GUSTAV KNECHT, JR.  
2517 Pacific Avenue  
San Francisco, California 94115

January 28, 1966

Supervisor Jack Morrison  
Chairman, Transportation Committee  
Board of Supervisors  
City Hall  
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Morrison:

When Mayor Shelley was campaigning for his present office, he cheerily promised to get rid of the Embarcadero Freeway. Preposterously enough, he is now conducting a campaign which, if successful, will ensure that San Francisco will have not one but two repent-at-leisure freeways by the time he leaves office.

Do you remember the atmosphere in which our Board of Supervisors voted to accept the State Highway Division's design for the Embarcadero Freeway? Do you remember the Board's anxiety about added costs (the guess was \$3,000,000 to \$15,000,000) if it were put underground in front of the Ferry Building? Do you remember the Board's concern about the delay entailed if it were redesigned?

Delay! That was 1955. Ten years later we're still wondering what to do with it, wondering if we can just ignore it, this freeway we thoroughly disliked before it was even built.

Have we learned our lesson? Or ten years later, is the atmosphere surrounding the debate over a new freeway as murky as it was then? Does the Board of Supervisors now have before it a modern transportation plan designed by and for the City of San Francisco? Does this plan show where the freeway logically and aesthetically belongs? Does the Board of Supervisors recognize that if that earlier Board had delayed its acceptance of the freeway, had been willing to "lose" the Federal money in 1955, we might today be enjoying a well-located freeway instead of flailing ourselves over the monstrous Embarcadero Freeway?

Last week's papers told us clearly that we need to replace our worn-out municipal transportation system. The new skyscrapers of the Wells Fargo Bank and the Bank of America tell us, by providing no parking facilities, that we need to expand enormously

Letter to Jack Morrison condemning the Embarcadero Freeway (Jack Morrison Papers. San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, California, 1966, 1-2)



Supervisor Jack Morrison  
January 28, 1966  
Page 2

our capacity for moving people, not cars, into the downtown area.

The problem of transportation is more complex than just moving cars by freeway into garages or onto other freeways. As Chairman of the Transportation Committee, you must be aware of the varied and bold transportation experiments undertaken by the Federal Government this past year in cities throughout the country. Fortunately, we are required to develop a new and greatly expanded transportation system at a time when so much new knowledge is becoming available. If we plan well, San Francisco can look forward to moving goods and people throughout the City with speed, pleasure and safety by many different methods.

You are cognizant of the value of good city planning; so, now, are the citizens of San Francisco. Spare us a repetition of the blunder we made in 1955 by tabling all freeway proposals until we have taken the first step, that of designing a city-wide transportation system of which the freeway is an integral part.

Sincerely yours,

*Dorothy F. Knecht*

(Mrs. Gustav Knecht, Jr.)

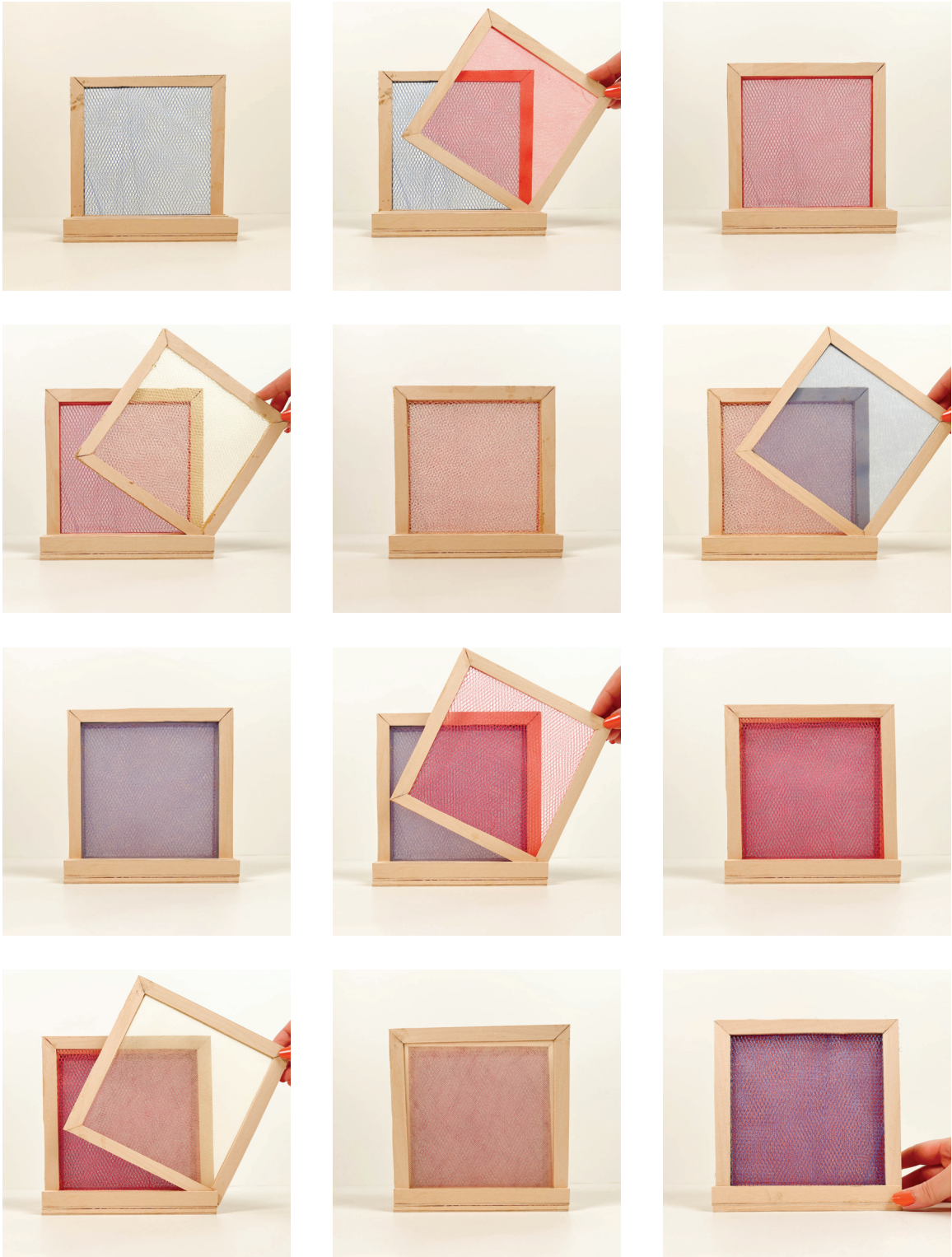
DFK:me

cc: Mr. Templeton Peck  
Editor, San Francisco Chronicle

Mr. Richard Pearce  
Editor, San Francisco Examiner

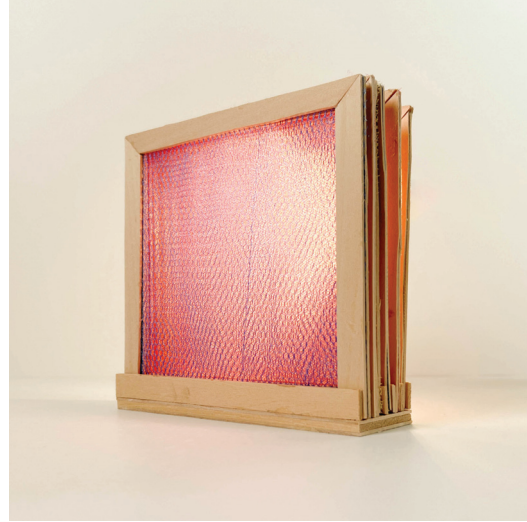
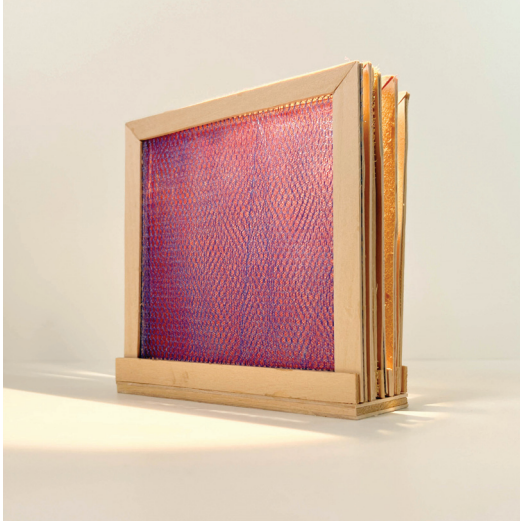


## Appendix C: Theatre Scrim Material Model



The layering of fabric exemplifies how the Theatre's scrim facade would appear as layers are added over time, creating a metaphor for the burial of memory. The changing colours and opacity allows for a unique experience of the play upon each performance. The model was created using blue, red and yellow toule and crinoline.





Scrim change their appearance as light is cast above, behind, and front of them. The appearance created as light is cast behind the scrim reveals a metaphor for the upholding of history over memory, showing one interpretation, but layered beneath is countless others.

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