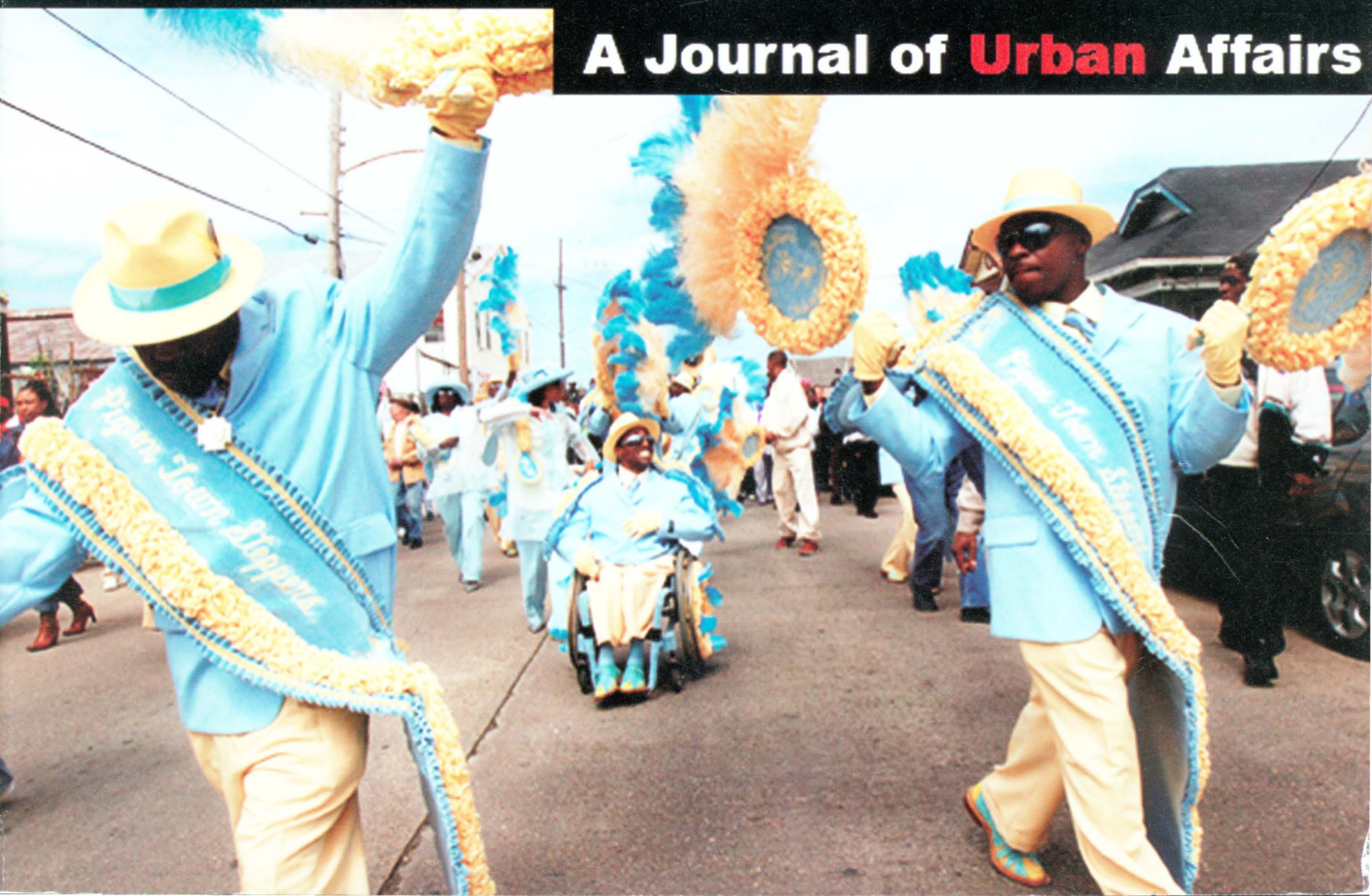
URBAN ACTION 2007

A Journal of Urban Affairs



URBAN ACTION 2007
A Journal of Urban Affairs

Urban Studies Department
San Francisco State University

Managing Editors
Alexandra Iselin Waldhorn
Andrew Sullivan

Production Manager and Layout
Andrew Hyder

Faculty Advisors
Professor Richard LeGates
Professor Ayse Pamuk

Editorial
Melissa Ortiz
Michelle Jacques-Menegaz
Michelle Reyes
Kasey Asberry
Sarah Morris
Ian Thomas
David Field

Cover Design
Erik Hillstrom
Andrew Hyder

Images
Yu Hanakura
Julia Robinson
Alexandra Iselin Waldhorn
Gena Lindsay
All images by authors unless specified

Printing
A.Maciel Printing
www.amacielprinting.com

Urban Action
Urban Studies Department
San Francisco State University
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94132

bss.sfsu.edu/urbanaction
ua@sfsu.edu

Alexandra Iselin Waldhorn is graduating this semester with a degree in Latin American History and a concentration in Urban Studies. She has lived in a multitude of neighborhoods in San Francisco, Buenos Aires, and Paris and has used her experiences abroad and locally to fashion a more global perspective on issues involving poverty, social welfare and justice, the environment, and public health. For the past four years she has been working at Koret Family House, which serves low-income families with children suffering from cancer. More recently, she has been engaged with affordable housing issues with her involvement at Bay Area LISC as an intern.

Andrew Sullivan is a graduating senior in the History Department at San Francisco State University. He has focused upon the social, cultural, and ethnic aspects of U.S. History throughout his college career and plans to attend graduate school and earn a teaching credential. He is specifically interested in the relations between different cultural and ethnic groups in the U.S., and how they are shaped and affected by both the urban and rural dynamic. An avid traveler, poet, and lover of music, he has strove to "keep it real" for all his peoples in West Virginia throughout his educational experience.

Andrew Hyder is an Urban Studies senior. His research focuses on international sustainable development case studies. He believes that clever urban design techinques can bring about a more equitable vision of a city, and that grassroots movements can reclaim our surroundings and transform them into a more livable habitat. Graffiti art inspired him at a young age to analyze his surroundings, and taught him that all that is built is ephemeral.

Erik Hillstrom is a native San Franciscan completing his junior year in the Urban Studies program at San Francisco State University. He is currently focused on researching issues related to sustainable urban design and has a special interest in the redevelopment of the Eastern Neighborhoods. Erik aspires to study City and Regional Planning at the graduate level before entering the field of Real Estate Development. He also has a passion for photojournalism and would like to eventually apply his experience in development to the production of educational publications that will provide insight into the issues of urban development on a global scale.

Michelle Jacques-Menegaz is a senior in the Urban Studies undergraduate program at San Francisco State University. Upon graduation this spring, Michelle plans to continue her involvement with social justice issues including public education, economic equity and sustainable development. The mother of two amazing girls, Michelle is committed to making San Francisco and the Bay Area more livable and socially equitable for everyone.

Melissa Ortiz is a graduating senior at San Francisco State University. She will be receiving her Bachelors of Arts in Sociology, focusing on Urban Studies this spring 2007 and plans to take time off school to work and travel. Her interests are in Social Inequalities in specific to how they develop in urban centers, such as through residential segregation, public school placements, and social service disparities. She is particularly interested in the Public Education school system and hopes to bring better insight through her interest in Public Policy, to children affected everyday by top decision-makers. In her spare time, she loves going out and tasting all types of food, enjoys good music to shake her hips to, and is a fan of hot sunny days.

Kasey Rios Asberry is an information architect who studies geography to extend her work in technology and community planning.

David Field is a senior at SFSU majoring in English who will be graduating this coming Fall. He is currently working on four short stories in an Independent Study Class. He coaches kids soccer twice a week and he focuses on making his community a better and safer place by volunteering once a week at St. Anthony's Foundation. He wants to thank everyone for being a part of the urban Studies Department by reading the journal.

Urban Action is published annually by students in the Urban Studies program at San Francisco State university with funding from SFSU Instructionally Related Activities Program. Views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the University or the Urban Studies department. Correspondence and request for additional copies should be sent to Urban ACTION, urban studies program, HSS 263, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94132

For additional copies please enclose a check or money order for $5.00 each. (includes postage and handling) made payable to Urban Action

Letter from the Editors

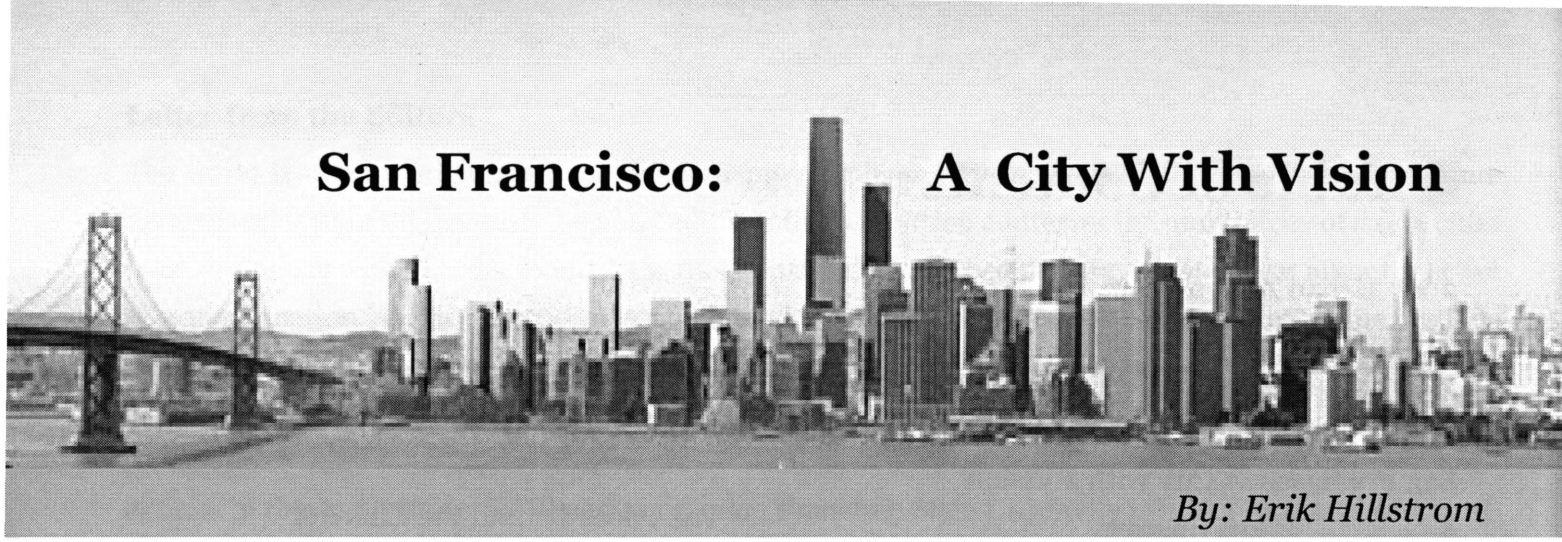
The world is rapidly urbanizing. As this is happening large cities especially are becoming worlds unto themselves. Within this context, the 2007 edition of Urban Action addresses the multiplicity of issues cities must deal today with in order to incubate vital, sustainable, and healthy communities that allow for active civic participation. As it is a multidimensional task the field of Urban Studies has accordingly broadened its scope. Students and academics in the Urban Studies field now utilize a variety of approaches to understand the diverse needs of different communities living shoulder to shoulder in today's cities.

Articles in this student journal illustrate how San Francisco State University is in the vanguard of institutions addressing important issues facing all cities today. We are fortunate to have found student authors who have contributed detailed empirical studies that explore issues such as housing in Hayes Valley, parking regulation in San Francisco, and gentrification in Istanbul, Turkey. Some articles suggest new approaches to policy issues including how to reconcile the natural habitat with the built environment in San Francisco and to how to truely end educational inequality in the United States. This year, many articles provide a close look at neighborhoods in San Francisco where new policy innovation and community activism is needed to cope with new problems stemming from the legacies of institutionalized racism and poor planning in the past.

The editorial team of this issue wishes to thank a number of people who have played an important role in its shaping. The Urban Studies Faculty have nurtured and prepared students to become equipped for such an important field—they have also undeniably given the authors of this journal the skills needed to write such thoughtful and articulate articles. Professors Richard LeGates and Ayse Pamuk oversaw the production of this year's journal and provided their invaluable assistance to help overcome every obstacle we encountered over the course of this yearlong process. Graduating Urban Studies student Michelle Jacques-Menegaz helped us with more than just editing—as she was managing editor of last year's impressive issue, she lent us her very important insights on how to be most efficient. Geography student Kasey Asberry was especially helpful with setting up an online community for production through the iLearn website. We want to thank Dr. John Mollenkopf, a distinguished academic in the field of Urban Studies, for providing his thoughts on how to ameliorate the social polarization isolating so many people in the United States today. Alexandra would also like to thank Jim Gollub, Senior Vice President of ICF International, for his guidance and advice, which has undeniably aided her throughout this process and beyond. The entire editorial team wants to express their special gratitude to journalism student Sarah Morris. Finally, this entire journal is a team effort and we were fortunate to have a skilled and committed group of academically diverse students who made up the editorial team. It has been quite a journey to get this journal in your hands, we hope it motivates, educates, and inspires you to become urban citizens of the finest quality.

Peace,
URBAN ACTION 2007

Table of Contents



San Francisco: A City With Vision

By: Erik Hillstrom

"Besides being architecturally stagnant, there's another danger when 'contextualism' becomes nothing more than an exercise in painting by numbers. What gets ignored is the fact that the context itself keeps changing."

- John King, 2006

What is good design? What makes a good-looking city? At a planning commission meeting for the City and County of San Francisco on February 2, 2006, Mayor Gavin Newsom gave a speech stating that the City of San Francisco needed to raise its quality of urban design. He urged the commission to think creatively about ways that the City could become more desirable, to challenge developers and architects to compete for improved quality of design, and to look toward the future rather than focusing on conserving the past.

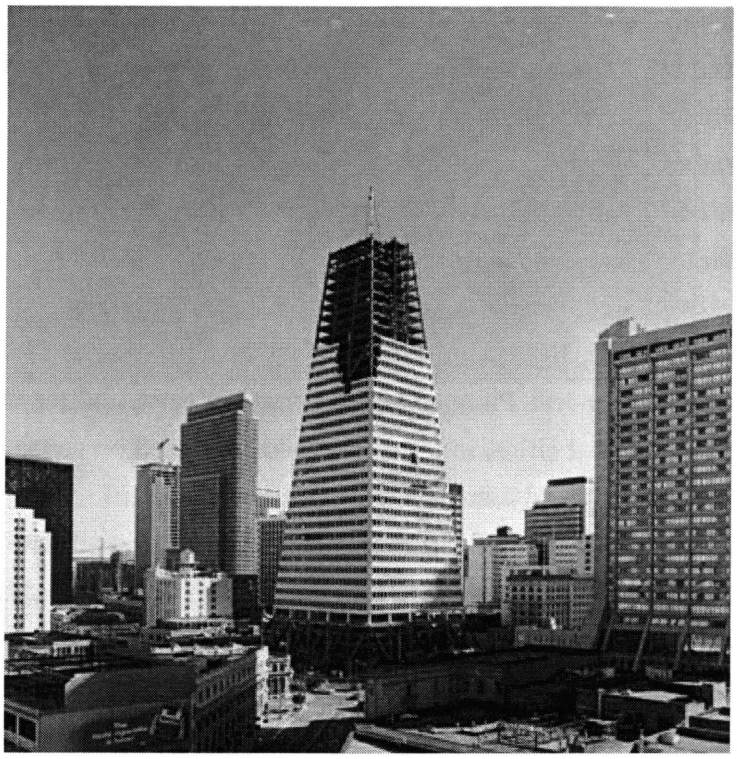
Urban Design in San Francisco

San Francisco has a reputation in the field of Architectural Design for being "too conservative and risk adverse," as quoted from John Schlesinger, representative of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). Beginning with the design appraisal of 1968-1970, and the consequential master plan, San Francisco planners established a goal of strict neighborhood character conservation through a rigorous public outreach process. This goal is still paramount today. However, recently there have been concerns about the city's ability to adapt to changing market forces, and well intentioned architects have been repeatedly discouraged in exercising both their right to freedom of expression and their ability to satisfy changes in demand.

With the passing of Proposition 13 in 1978, which constricted increases in real property tax revenue, San Francisco was faced with a great limitation in meeting the growing demand for public services. Since the city was already built out horizontally, the solution was to build up. The Transamerica Pyramid, the Bank of America building, and a number of other highly dense buildings that were built downtown during the 1970's led to an anti-growth initiative and subsequent passing of Proposition M. This measure capped building heights at 550 feet in order to preserve the city's skyline and it reinforced the overwhelming public desire for neighborhood character preservation (King, 2006). These measures

have contributed to many of the public problems in the city, such as the lack of affordable housing and transportation services, because they have limited the city's ability to generate revenue. Moreover, they have limited the city's ability to meet the demand for business expansion and population growth, thus rendering it less competitive.

Cities around the world such as Beijing and Shanghai are growing rapidly and attracting many great business operations, in part because of their commitment to providing innovative urban design (Newsom, 2006). If the new goal of San Francisco's leadership is to improve the city's quality of design, then a clear vision of the future needs to be defined. Architecture should not only represent the past, but it should also embody the present and the future. Schlesinger argued that the best designs capture innovation and originality, contrary to the intentions of Prop M. At first, some new ideas are controversial. However, as in the case of the Transamerica building, they can become icons as their context changes. If Mayor Newsom and the AIA expect to raise the quality of urban design in San Francisco, they will need to work with both the planning department and the public to let go of their current ideas about neighborhood character conservation and establish a new framework that will allow cutting edge design to flourish.



Courtesy of SFImages.com - division of Business Image Group

Urban Design Guidelines of Yesterday

San Francisco is known for having one of the most demanding sets of design controls of any major city in the United States. Its general plan includes elements ranging from land use and density to circulation, housing, and conservation of the natural environment and open space. Its four objectives focus on preserving the city pattern, conservation, moderating new development, and improving the neighborhood environment. It also provides controls that govern key aspects of building codes, which combined to set unprecedented constraints on architectural forms across the city. As a result, critics complained that the plan all but dictates the actual architectural drawings for buildings. Further-

more, the plan designated six conservation districts to "facilitate preservation of the quality and character of the area as a whole" and included 251 historic buildings; of which, 42 were allowed to be altered providing the "consistency of architectural character" of new adjacent buildings (Punter, 1999). The guide suggests using adjacent buildings as a model to determine details such as façade, ornamentation, and shade. However, neighborhood groups went even further and requested citywide design control guidelines, which made use of original deed restrictions and community review participation. The Bernal Heights Plan guidelines prepared by a 47 member committee aided by a community planner analyzed and illustrated the problems of urban design in their neighborhood and proposed a means to address them. Their intent was to maximize the possibilities for diversity while striving for harmony between dissimilar features on neighboring buildings so that they fit in to a "satisfying whole" (Punter, 1999). However, in the process of deciding what was best for the members of the community at that time, they devised a set of guidelines that would restrict the design possibilities and the rights of future residents to express different values and their sense of good aesthetics.

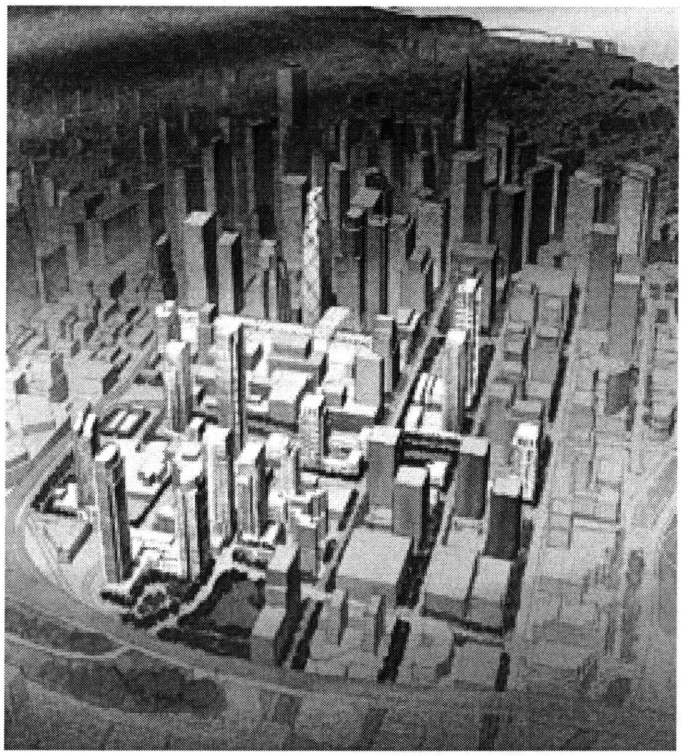
Unlike administrative review, which refers to ordinances that limit personal discretion by requiring projects to satisfy clear, precise, and measurable standards, design review refers to ordinances in which the decision rests on the reviewers' personal discretion in judging how well a project fits within accepted guidelines (Punter, 1999). Design review is relatively new, and like zoning, it is used by local government to control the aesthetics and design of real estate projects. Design review may evaluate many factors such as architectural excellence, visual bulk or scale, but it most often evaluates the compatibility of projects with their surroundings. This is seen as a major problem to critics who believe that San Francisco is too conservative and infringes on individual rights to freedom of expression. To avoid such problems, communities need to understand how specific modifications of their physical environment will affect their community's appearance, and they need to develop clear guidelines to support their objectives. They may also reduce problems in the discretionary review process through replacing ambiguous or unstated criteria with clear, specific, and explicit instructions (Nasar, 1999).

Ideally, a city's general plan would contain a vision of the community's future, and would identify hopes and aspirations and translate them into a set of policies that lays out the community's physical development (Fulton, 2005). Although San Francisco's General Plan addresses that objective better than most cities, much of its vision is based on conservation and values of the past.

To make a beautiful, functional, and sustainable environment, a master plan such as San Francisco's must include a set of flexible regulations to guide the urban design and architecture of the city based on the needs of the future. One of the key benefits in the process of developing guidelines is the practice of defining the city's character. It is necessary then, for San Francisco leadership to define the making of a beautiful, functional, and sustainable city as a goal for all of its citizens. A declaration such as the one mayor Newsom made in 2006 was a much needed step in the direction of an improved quality of life in San Francisco based on urban design guidelines that will serve the needs of the present and the future.

The Transbay Design for Development

"This is the future of Transbay"



Courtesy of the TPJA Transbay Transit Center

In an attempt to meet the many needs of a booming city, the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency defined a plan for a redevelopment project area within the rapidly changing South of Market district. The plan, which is centered on the regional transit hub that acts as a terminal for many intercity bus lines, includes a framework that established a goal of creating a whole new neighborhood. Included with the redevelopment plan is a document that has been referred to as 'groundbreaking.' This document, The *Transbay Redevelopment Project Area Design for Development*, is highly innovative and includes a set of design controls that are based on professionally directed public consensus. Previous design guidelines allowed for control on a functional level, but left much of the aesthetic control up to the discretion of the planning commission review board (Punter, 1999). However, with the *Design for Development*, the commission can now apply general standards to aesthetics the same way as planning codes. This will allow architects to provide innovative design solutions that will meet the demands for growth within the city while respecting the values of the present community.

Despite the intentions of Prop M, this new plan allows for the development of a series of towers that will redefine the city's skyline and change the face of one of the city's oldest neighborhoods. Precisely articulated language based on the contemporary 'smart growth,' transit oriented urban development theory specifies the type of architecture that will be allowed, and expresses the vision for the arrangement of master planned blocks. These blocks will include one tower on the corner of each with retail spaces built into the ground floor level. In between the towers will be low to mid-rise townhouse buildings and shared open spaces. This will form a wavelike-height effect that will not only be aesthetically pleasing, but it will also ensure ample public space within the neighborhood. Furthermore, the towers will be staggered in a checkered pattern making certain that the buildings will receive adequate privacy, sunlight and airflow, and that they will preserve as many views as possible. Additionally, the buildings will be set back at least 15 feet from the street and will be raised above the sidewalk with landscaped stoops to provide a sense of privacy within the densely populated community (Redevelopment Agency, 2003). These changes would represent a sharp contrast to the form of architecture present in the area prior to redevelopment.

At the time of this research, one of the many new towers is currently under construction. The Millennium Tower stands to be the fourth tallest build-

ing in San Francisco and the highest built since the enactment of Proposition M (Wilson, 2005). In consideration of the proposition, the community spent a remarkable amount of time and energy to ensure that the city's skyline was treated with great respect. In doing so, the placement of the towers was arranged so that they would not be too tightly clustered. Moreover, to retain the skyline's existing rolling hill effect, which is so highly regarded; the building's heights will be set so that the tallest towers will be placed near Market Street and then subsequently step down until the new Rincon Hill project where heights will step back up again. Additionally, the new towers will be made slender do to extensive setback requirements that are designed to allow the optimum utility with the least amount of environmental impacts. Furthermore, rather than applying the traditional practice of superimposing a historical veneer to an otherwise modern building, the new towers are proposed to consist of high quality glass facades with faceted panels designed to fragment light and change the building's appearance as seen from different angles, "Millennium Tower is a sleek, prismatic gem we can all live with" (Holden, 2007). By having such a complete plan, developers and their architects are able to supply towers such as these quickly and efficiently. To that effect, they will be able to meet the city's needs for both office space and housing as fast as the market can absorb it. Moreover, with the highly stylish buildings and the tremendous sensitively to the living environment, more affluent people will be attracted to the area. These new people are likely to afford higher property taxes and provide a good source of retail sales tax revenue that can be applied to the funding of needed city services.

Courtesy of SocketSite.com

Urban Design Guidelines of Tomorrow

If the purpose of urban design is to repeat old patterns, as Prop M is perceived to encourage, then there would be no opportunity to design new responses to changes in our urban environments (Scheer, 1994). Currently, the most significant problems in design review are that it is expensive, easily manipulated, lacks expertise, and it is not efficient. All of these problems have a stifling affect on innovative design, and are the very same issues that Schlesinger and the AIA proposes that the planning commission address. Administrative review and zoning ordinances are great for controlling the economic growth and sustainability of the built

environment. They provide valuable information for developers to devise efficient plans that meet the regional goals. They are also useful in protecting communities against undesirable or problematic uses of adjacent land. However, they can also be very binding in the pursuit of improved urban design.

The city cannot continue to be developed based on opinions of the past. It must continue to evaluate its changing needs and revise its identity. Above all, it must define its goals clearly if it can expect to make plans to meet those goals. Thus, it is crucial that San Francisco leadership continue to take steps toward community consensus based planning and communicate it in a way that would ensure that potential developers will not misunderstand it.

The *Transbay Design for Development* includes years of community participation by the affected public in the defining of new goals, objectives, and prescriptions for the urbanistic criteria and appraisal of architectural design around the new Transbay Terminal area. If Mayor Newsom expects the commission to do anything about changing the urban design of the city, he must work to ensure that the needs of both today's and tomorrow's communities are taken into consideration; and he must work to develop procedures that will allow for the development of innovative design. Clear and detailed guidelines will ensure that all development will meet aesthetic standards. In turn, more funding will be available with the omission of long review processes, and architects will be able to experiment and bring new technology to the city.

The city is constantly evolving. Changes in population size, demographics, and the economy all influence the shape and form of the city's growth. Past attempts in satisfying the demand for higher and better uses of land within the city have been criticized for lacking consideration or compassion for the affected members within the community. During the Urban Renewal period of the 1960's, areas within the South of Market district were bulldozed in order to make way for highly desired improvements. However, many residents were displaced in the process, and some critics still believe that the Yerba Buena Gardens area would have been much more desirable if the community had some control over its design (Hartman, 1974). This issue lies at the heart of redevelopment and the question of whose needs should take precedent is always in debate. Major redevelopment projects such as the Moscone Convention Center and the Yerba Buena Gardens provide great benefits to the city at large including those provided from the function of the facilities and the revenue that they generate. However, nearby community residents often bear the burden of their negative impacts. This is often the case when community members are not consulted and allowed to ensure that negative consequences are mitigated. However, if handled successfully, as in the case of the Transbay Terminal area where extensive public outreach and professional consultation are combined, a consensus on excellent design can be achieved. This process should serve as a good model for future procedure, because only through ongoing community participation with imaginative planners and architects can an ever changing city adapt to the demands that it faces.

The *Transbay Design for Development* provides an example of a specific plan that satisfies the needs of a rapidly growing city It also lays out the whole character of an entire neighborhood and presents clear guidelines for the development of highly dense buildings within a pleasantly landscaped environment. However, as the context of the area chang-

es and new people move in, the values of the community will change. Subsequently, urban design guidelines should also be changed to reflect the new values. Broad, ambiguous guidelines within a static framework put too much strain on the bureaucratic process; it leaves too much of the city's future at the mercy of political manipulation, and it limits the city's ability to respond to rapid changes in market conditions. Through ongoing community planning, would be political manipulators can work with the community before developers commit to great risks, and an ever-changing public can decide on the city's future through a democratic process assisted by professional planners and thoughtful architects. This will allow the urban design planning process to keep up with the increase in the demand for productivity, while ensuring that community values and a neighborhood character are maintained. For Mayor Newsom, the public, and the real estate industry, a well-developed set of guidelines is worth the time and effort for good design and a good looking city.§

"It is only reasonable that a prerequisite for design regulation and review be the adoption of a public policy and plan that specify in advance the precise urban design objectives and the standards that the community is committed to enforce and against which the design of private development can be gauged without prejudice or arbitrariness."

- Richard Tseng-Yu Lai, 1988

References

City and County of San Francisco Planning Commission Meeting. February 2, 2006. http://sanfrancisco.granicus.com/ViewPublisher.php?view_id=20

"Heart of Glass." San Francisco Magazine article by Martin Holden. 2007. http://www.sanfranmag.com/archives/view_story/1263/

King, J. May 25, 2006. "City Proposes Tower Cluster for Transbay Terminal Area." *San Francisco Chronicle.*

Nasar, J. L.1999. "Design Review Reviewed." *Journal of the American Planning Association.* Vol. 65, No. 4, Autumn.

Wilson, L. July 29, 2005. "Condo Tower Ready to Soar." *San Francisco Business Times.*

Fulton, W. 2005. Guide to California Planning. Point Arena, California: Solano Press Books.

Hartman, C. W. 1974. Yerba Buena: land grab and community resistance in San Francisco. San Francisco: Glide Publications.

Punter, J. 1999. Design Review Guidelines in American Cities. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Scheer, B. C. 1994. Design Review: Challenging Urban Aesthetic Control. New York: Chapman & Hall.

San Francisco Redevelopment Agency and Planning Department. *The Transbay Redevelopment Area Design for Development.*

Housing in Hayes Valley: A Shifting Profile

By: Robin Abad Ocuillbo

Introduction

Hayes Valley occupies a central location in the city of San Francisco. It is a dynamic neighborhood, comprised of cultural and civic spaces, burgeoning shopping districts, fine-grained residential areas of mixed housing types, socio-economic and ethnic diversity. Major auto corridors and multiple transit lines also cross the area and make it accessible from the whole city and vise versa.

This array of amenities makes Hayes Valley an increasingly desirable place to live. The neighborhood has a wide range of housing types – old and new, public and private – serving a spectrum of residents. Recent infrastructure changes – such as the removal of the Central Freeway and installation of Octavia Boulevard – have helped restore the area's urban fabric, and provide exciting opportunities for future housing developments.

Two U.S. Census Tracts define the neighborhood (Fig. 1). The upper tract (no. 162) contains the principal shopping district along Hayes Street, parts of the Civic Center, and public housing projects (Fig. 1). The lower tract (no. 168) contains Octavia Boulevard (formerly the elevated Central Freeway) and the UC Extension Campus. Residential areas of varying character pervade both tracts.

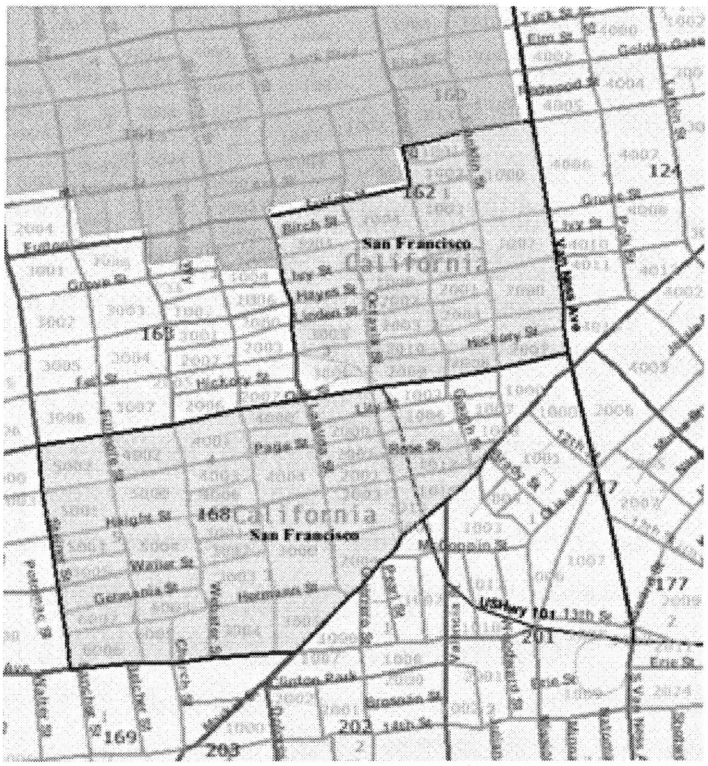


Fig. 1 U.S Census Tracts 162 and 168.

Former Urban Renewal area to the northwest, shaded.

(U.S. Census Bureau, 2000; SF Planning Dept. 2002)

A general survey of current housing stock

Hayes Valley exhibits a wide variety of housing types. Like many neighborhoods in San Francisco, the housing stock in Hayes Valley has strong roots in Victorian and Edwardian architecture. These range from historic single-family mansions in the high Victorian style (Fig. 2), to smaller two-storey "marina-style" homes (Fig. 3), to multifamily structures of flats and pre-war apartment

Fig. 2 Traditional Victorians (Marilyn Driscoll Real Estate)

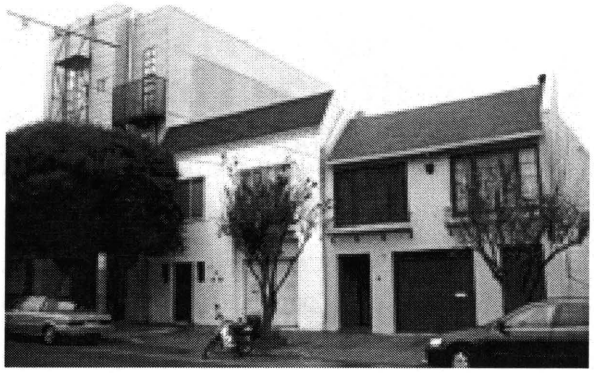


Fig. 3 Single-Family Homes (Ocubillo and Lucas)

buildings. Many of these buildings model traditional mixed use, especially along the Hayes Street shopping strip (Fig. 4). The retail spaces at street level provide local services in the form of restaurants, a produce market, cafes, drugstores and the like. Since the demolition of the Central Freeway, new developments in the neighborhood have diversified the local architecture to include modern and post-modern structures (Fig. 5).

As Hayes Valley becomes increasingly prestigious, many high-end specialty boutiques have opened in neighborhood retail spaces. These include designer furniture and housewares, clothing, wine shops and art galleries (Figs. 4 & 5). Some people criticize the elite character of the neighborhood, citing encroaching gentrification and a dearth of basic services like hardware stores, banks, a selection of grocery establishments, and cheap restaurants. Shifts in the neighborhood's character are marked by the closures of several longtime businesses along the Hayes Valley strip. Powell's soul food, previously located at 511 Hayes, closed in April 2004 (Berne, 2005). Emmit Powell, proprietor of the restaurant for 31 years, was forced to relocate by rental rates which doubled that year: "'it's forcing me out. I didn't want to leave. But I have no choice.'" (Garofoli, 2004).

In contrast with the expensive establishments on and south of Hayes Street, the northern portions of Hayes Valley are occupied by public housing

Fig. 4 Traditional Mixed-Use Architecture

Ground-Level Retail with Apartments (Ocubillo and Lucas)

Fig. 5 Postmodern Architecture

Boutique Retail with Apartments (Ocubillo and Lucas)

projects (Fig. 1). The projects, comprised of large parcels in upper Hayes and the Western Addition to the north, were originally part of Urban Renewal plots in the 1950's. They include affordable housing units, mixed-income complexes, and government-assisted (Section 8) renters (SF Redevelopment Agency, 1994). Despite several reincarnations in the last half-century, these dense institutional projects stand out sharply against the rest of the area's more traditional layout and architecture.

Ownership, rental, and demographic dimensions

While the housing stock in Hayes Valley varies greatly, its population is less mixed in terms of homeownership. The neighborhood's vast majority of residents are renters. At present, small condominiums in Hayes Valley start at $750,000 – a sharp increase from just a few years ago (Zito 2005). The average percent of home ownership across the two Census Tracts is a meager 10.05%: Tract 162 has a 6.8% homeownership rate, while Tract 168 is at 13.3% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

The housing market in Hayes Valley – both in terms of buying and renting – follows state and regional trends of increasing competition. Rent Burden is when a household allocates more than 30% of its income towards housing (mortgage or rent). 1 out of every 5 Californians pays more than half of their income towards housing (Zito, 2005). According to the Public Policy Institute of California, the rent burden in San Francisco afflicts 48.2% of households (Zito, 2005). The housing situation in Hayes Valley fits consistently within these state and regional rent burden statistics.

The ethnic composition of Hayes Valley also seems sharply split according to affluence. The two largest ethnicities in the area are African American and Caucasian. The geographical distribution of these two groups is relatively distinct. For instance, much higher concentrations of African Americans are found in public housing projects, while Caucasians are more evenly dispersed.

Age demographics give further evidence of the area's dynamic demographic development. For instance, Hayes Valley hosts a sizeable senior community. Persons over the age of 65 average about 5.75% of the population across the two Census Tracts – Tract 162 at 6.2% and Tract 168 at 5.3% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The one major provider of Elderly Housing in the neighborhood is called AgeSong. This family-run organization operates two elderly housing communities on opposite sides of Laguna Street, at Hayes. One community houses 47 senior residents, while the other newly-opened building houses 56 (Shabahangi, 2005). These senior care residences form a prominent part of the community. Even more elderly housing is being discussed for the redevelopment of the UC Extension site (discussed later).

Infrastructure changes and future housing opportunities

The Central Freeway, a raised double-deck structure that formerly bisected Hayes Valley, tore through the neighborhood's fine-grained fabric of residential streets and alleys (Figs. 1, 7), blighting the neighborhood for decades. This phenomenon is closely associated with the work of Donald Appleyard, who coined the term "livable streets" in his work studying and documenting the negative effects of heavy traffic on neighborhoods. As an urban designer and civil engineer, Appleyard developed a model for center-city improvement, which focused

on resolving the conflict between motorized transport and pedestrian mobility.

The Loma Prieta Earthquake of 1989 damaged much of the highway structure, which was then condemned for safety reasons. After, the residents of Hayes Valley rallied for the destruction of the entire Central Freeway. In 2005, the high- way was replaced by a broad street-level Boulevard that more sensitively balances the city's circulation needs with the livability needs of Hayes Valley residents. The effects of this infrastructure change have manifold effects on the neighborhood. The roadways are less polluted, and less dangerous for pedestrians and cyclists. Furthermore, the parcels previously occupied by the highway structure are now open for housing redevelopment (Figs. 6), a key priority for city planners. However some believe that the neighborhood is evolving in the opposite extreme, arguing that the new Boulevard fuels gentrification. They project that in the long term, new housing developments will be inaccessible to lower classes, even with rent control and affordable housing quotas set by the city.

Fig. 6 Octavia Blvd, facing south from Hayes Street

Hayes Green and empty lots along the East side of the Blvd.

(Ocubillo and Lucas)

Fig. 7 Hayes Valley contains numerous one-way Residential Allleys.

Lily Alley, facing east from Laguna Street towards Octavia Blvd.

(Ocubillo and Lucas)

The highway demolition freed 7 acres of land – 22 parcels total – that now belong to the city of San Francisco (SF Planning Dept, 2002). The guidelines for developing these infill sites comes from the city's General Plan, and the Better Neighborhoods Plan (BNP) for the Market and Octavia Neighborhood. Approximately half of the parcels are slated for affordable and senior housing, to be implemented by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (Levitt, 2005). The other parcels will be sold by the city to private developers, for high-density mixed-use projects that emphasize housing choices.

The BNP for the Market and Octavia Neighborhood strongly prioritizes mixed-use buildings, which incorporate retail on the ground floor and residences above (Figs. 4 & 5). Multifamily housing and mixed-income complexes are also

envisioned. The Plan discourages any demolition of existing housing stock, with stringent replacement requirements: a 2 – 4 replacement rate for every 1 unit lost (SF Planning Dept, 2002). The Plan also requires every affordable housing unit lost or demolished to be replaced.

Much of this future development lies along the eastern side of the newly constructed Octavia Boulevard. These lots vary greatly in shape and size, making orderly construction a challenge for city planners and developers . In 2005 an international architecture competition was held to find solutions that would meet the various demands of irregular lot size, mixed-use, and multifamily units on the sites (King, 2005). The city granted $55,000 towards the hosting of this event (Blum, 2005). 1,000 new housing units are projected for six blocks alone (Blum, 2005).

The current UC Extension Campus has been the focus of much local debate. Located at Laguna and Market Streets and comprised of two whole contiguous blocks (Fig. 1, block 3000), the parcel provides yet another prime location for dense development. The UC closed the site in 2003, and has been refining development proposals for it since (Jones, 2005). One initial proposal placed multi-family, mixed income housing on the site: up to 500 one, two, and three bedroom apartment units were considered (Raine, 2004). The initial proposal also met the city's 12% affordable housing quota.

The plans have undergone extensive revision, mostly due to active participation of Hayes Valley residents. One major criticism of the plan involves the necessary re-zoning of the parcel from Public to Private – some argue that the land should remain an accessible public asset, and not become another fortress-like complex segregated from the surrounding community. The latest plans show an increase in the amount of open space, and a high number of affordable housing units – up from 12% to 20% (Jones, 2005). The most striking addition to the proposal includes plans for senior housing serving the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community (Jones, 2005). This elderly housing community forms a niche market within a niche market, perhaps the most progressive of our time.

At present, the future of the UC Extension Campus is uncertain. Its development is part of the San Francisco Planning Department's Market-Octavia Better Neighborhoods Plan, which passed in the beginning of April of 2007 after years of debate and revision (Olsen, 2007).

Conclusion

Hayes Valley enjoys a prominent position in the geography of the city, wonderful amenities and a colorful, active population. The area is extremely diverse, not only in terms of ethnicity and socio-economics, but also in terms of architecture, housing types, and types of households. Its residents are devoted citizens and activists – as dynamic as the larger civic context in which their neighborhood lies. Many recent changes in the neighborhood provide exciting opportunities for development, especially in the realm of urban housing. The next decade will see a dramatic increase of housing in the area, with sizeable allocations to lower-income and elderly populations. Although city policy closely guides future development here, many outcomes are yet to be seen. Will the neighborhood's prominence and prestige have long-term, irreversible affects on affordability in the area? How will the current residents fare, as rents gradually increase and elites occupy the newly built flats and apartments? Will the varied demo-

graphics of the neighborhood get swept away, as the debris from the old highway was? Nonetheless, the activities in Hayes Valley form a fascinating urban experiment, whose evolution and execution captivates the attention of policymakers, city planners, and residents alike.§

Robin Abad Ocubillo holds a B.A. in Industrial Arts with an emphasis in Sustainable Design, and a minor in Urban Studies with an emphasis in Planning from San Francisco State University. He currently serves as Assistant Project Manager at the Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy, a nonprofit organization that conducts research, education, conservation and restoration programs throughout Bay Area National Parks. His other involvements include activism with the San Francisco Bicycle Coalition, environmental education at the Crissy Field Center, and lgbtq advocacy with the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center.

References

Blum, Andrew (2005, May). Replacing a highway with homes. Architectural Record, Volume 193, Issue 5.

Berne, Amada (2005, December 7). Powell's Place offers comforts of eating at home. San Francisco: The San Francisco Chronicle. p.F3

Garofoli, Joe (2004, March 28). A changing Hayes Valley wants to retain funky vibe. San Francisco: The San Francisco Chronicle. p.B1

Jones, Carolyn (2005, December 2). Hayes Valley: More housing, open space in the new plan for UC site. San Francisco: The San Francisco Chronicle. p.F1

King, John (2005, March 4). Boulevard has architects drooling.
San Francisco: The San Francisco Chronicle, Urban Design. p.B1
Levitt, Robin (Sept – Oct 2005). Looking to the September Meeting.
San Francisco: The Hayes Valley Voice, Volume 5, Issue 5. p.1
Olsen, John (Mar – Apr 2007). UC Extension Update.
San Francisco: The Hayes Valley Voice, Volume 7, Issue 2. p.4
Raine, George (2004, March 31). Apartments planned at UC Extension site;
Retail-commercial uses proposed for ground floor of planned center.
San Francisco: The San Francisco Chronicle, Business. p.C2
San Francisco Planning Department, Better Neighborhoods Program. (2002, December).
The Market and Octavia Neighborhood Plan, Public Review Draft.
San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department.
San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (1994, October 3). Projects: Western Addition A-2.
http://www.sfgov.org/site/sfra_page.asp?id=5607
Shabahangi , Ali Kia (2005, Sept 18). Laguna Grove Care Senior Community Opening in Hayes Valley.
San Francisco: The Hayes Valley Neighborhood Association.
http://www.hayesvalleysf.org/html/archives/2005/2005_09-10/laguna_honda.html
U.S. Census Bureau (2000). Census Tract Demographics, American Fact Finder.
http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?_lang=en
Zito, Kelly (2005, August 18). How do they afford it? San Francisco: The San Francisco Chronicle. p.A1

Image Sources

Abad Ocubillo, Robin and Lucas, Roxie, 2006 February 17 (Figs. 3 –5 , 6 – 11)
Fieldwork and photo documentation
Friends of 1800, 2006 (Fig. 14)
http://www.friendsof1800.org/ADVOCACY/ucextension.html
Marilyn Driscoll Real Estate, 2006. (Fig. 2)
http://marilyndriscoll.com/images/Neighborhoods/HayesValley01.jpg
Pirman, Rick, 2005 (Image on Cover)
http://gallery.passion4art.com/members/lazerbeam/Temple_Detail_02_1000.jpg
San Francisco Planning Department, 2002 (Figs. 12 – 13)
Market and Octavia Neighborhood Plan, Public Review Draft
http://www.sfgov.org/site/planning_index.asp?id=25188
U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact Finder, 2000 (Figs. 1, 6 – 9)
http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?_lang=en
Livable City ,Livable Neighborhoods, accessed 05/02/207
http://www.livablecity.org/campaigns/livableneighborhoods.html

Residential Parking Regulation in San Francisco: The Unintended Consequences of Residential Parking Minimums

By: Zach Kerwin

"For a concert hall, Los Angeles requires, at a minimum, 50 times more parking spaces than San Francisco allows as the maximum. This difference in planning helps explain why downtown San Francisco is much more exciting and livable than downtown Los Angeles." - Donald C. Shoup

Introduction

Lurking just beneath the surface of many policy discussions in San Francisco, such as ones on new housing developments around the neighborhoods of Upper Market Street or the addition of a Bus Rapid Transit system on Geary Boulevard, is the issue of parking. From the 1950's to near present, San Francisco zoned a 1:1 parking to unit minimum for residential development, unlike the existing housing stock. The City's enactment of this parking regulation followed a nationwide shift to auto dependency after WWII, based on the tacit assumption that virtually every household included a driver or soon would. The transportation paradigm of the mid 20th century was built upon public transit being viewed as outmoded.. Thus, this regulation was part of a set of beliefs, now being challenged, that more off-street parking would decrease traffic congestion, reduce pollution and ultimately make the city more competitive with the suburbs. Today, many experts successfully argue that these requirements have actually increased congestion, decreased the stock of affordable housing, spread development away from transit, and reduced density, which restricts overall housing supply. In recent years, San Francisco has begun to implement more progressive parking policies that have legislated parking maximums, rather than minimums in transit rich areas.

Though planning in San Francisco has typically followed the same path as most other cities and suburbs by imposing parking minimums in residential areas, planners did embrace a transit first approach when creating the High Rise Financial District we see today. According to SPUR, "From 1965 to 1983, in fact, 30 million square feet of office space were added to the downtown while vehicular traffic decreased by 3.7%". Today only a third of the trips workers make downtown are made by private car and of those a third involves carpooling (SPUR, 2005). The vision of the Bart system was to allow suburban commuters access to jobs in a rapidly densifying downtown San Francisco with limited and expensive parking. Now 40 years later, the idea of transit first is starting to be applied to the array of other transit rich neighborhoods in San Francisco and in nearby cities.

Zoning and regulation of development

Zoning is the set of regulations that govern land use as part of the police power that governments exercise over private property. Most often Euclidian Zoning is used to separate uses that are incompatible and often has the secondary effect of protecting existing residents. This practice stems from the Supreme Court's first major decision, from the Euclid v. Ambler Realty case, to uphold a jurisdiction's

right to zone land use (Callies, 1998). In the Euclid case, the Supreme Court upheld a zoning law, which excluded businesses from residential districts. This exercise of police power was upheld on the grounds that the exclusion rationally related to community health and safety, and thus, did not violate the Due Process clause of the 14th Amendment to the US constitution.

As zoning evolved, parking, along with most other aspects of development, were subject to regulation. Off street parking requirements were implemented with the argument that they would reduce or avoid congestion, reduce pollution and manage scarce street parking in residential neighborhoods. Starting in the 1940s, U.S. cities began to require residential and commercial parking in new developments.

Beyond San Francisco, courts have made it clear that local jurisdictions have the right to regulate off street parking as they see fit as an exercise of their police power. Parking requirements have specifically held up to constitutional challenges by landowners and developers in cases such as City of Aspen V. Stroud (Lewyn, 2006). In this case, the Colorado Supreme Court rejected a Takings Clause challenge to a city's minimum parking requirements with the justification that the ordinance was a legitimate exercise of police power because it would reduce air pollution by having residents drive around less to look for parking. Still, though parking maximums have not been challenged in the courts specifically, they appear to not infringe upon the rights of a given community, in or outside of San Francisco, to the extent that they do not contradict rights guaranteed under the Constitution.

The impact of parking neighborhood use

Residential parking required in post WWII developments fundamentally changed the look of many neighborhoods in San Francisco. Mixed use and compact walkable areas that once had continuous store fronts were increasingly filled in with businesses that included parking lots for the new drivers and residential buildings that included curb cuts to accommodate the first floor designated for parking. This had the effect of making the neighborhoods less accessible and attractive to pedestrians.

A large number of curb cuts and private parking lots decrease on-street parking, reduce pedestrian safety, and generally take up space that degrades retail and slows public transit. Also, some requirements, which in part stem from environmental concerns of congestion, have produced indirect costs , including the encouragement of driving, decreased transit use, lowered urban densities and exacerbated sprawl (Litman, 1995). Such effects, characteristic of the mid to latter part of the 20th Century, degrade the aesthetics and function of urban neighborhoods in San Francisco. This line of thought dictated that those neighorhoods built out after WWII, such as

Car centric development on Mission Street

(Source: Zack Kerwin, 2006)

much of the west side of the city, have lower densities with more accommodation for autos.

The impact of parking on housing affordability

The allocation of space and resources for providing parking has a direct impact on the cost of housing. Inclusion of a minimum number of parking spaces in residential developments requires not only land but also construction materials and increased labor, thereby increasing the cost of development. The increased need for land to provide parking takes place in the early stages of the development process and, thus, adds to the initial finance costs. The high cost of parking is felt beyond the acquisition of land and funds stage. A 1996 study of San Francisco housing uncovered that, on average, single family houses were 11.8% more costly when off street parking was included while condos were 13.8% more costly. In addition, it was shown that only the size of the unit and the number of bathrooms had a larger effect on the sales price than did off-street parking (Jia, 1998). In a national study conducted in a number of markets, it was shown that one parking space, on average, increased a unit price by 12.5% and two spaces by 25% (Litman, 1995). According to the SF Planning department, in dense urban areas high rise buildings that include parking can add up to $50,000 per unit (SF Planning Dept, 2006).

Considering the price differential in the San Francisco study, the authors concluded that at the time (1996) an additional 16,600 households could afford a single family home without parking requirements and 26,800 could afford a similar condominium. This would amount to a 20% increase in the number of households that could afford to buy (Jia, 1998). Even with considering the high price of land in San Francisco and the relatively smaller size of units, parking still comprises a disproportionately large percentage of the total costs for potential homebuyers. According to the SF planning department, "If we build just one parking space for every one dwelling unit needed by 2020, we will need 130 acres of land just for parking. If the parking is on-site we will have to build higher" (SF Planning Dept, 2006). One study estimates that across all types of development (including commercial) parking constitutes a 10% tax on citizens (Litman, 1995). This "tax" is exceedingly regressive for low-income people who are less likely to own a car.

Mixed use development on Mission Street

(Photo Zack Kerwin 2006)

Traffic congestion and public transit

As a rule, in all but the densest of downtown areas parking is assumed to be available and usually free. In San Francisco, as in most places, it can be assumed that people who have at-home parking and hold the expectation that their destination will have parking are more likely to own and regularly drive a car. In a study conducted by Todd Littman it was found that car demand is elastic. A 10% increase in the cost of car ownership reduces it by 4-10%. Up-

wards of 30% of households in San Francisco do not own a car and this often correlates with the age, density, and availability of parking characteristic of a neighborhood. The percentage of car-free households in transit-rich areas exceeds 50%, including up to 70% car-less in the Mid-Market and Tenderloin neighborhoods.

"If North Beach were built today, with parking requirements, up to a third of the the space that people live in would be used for parking."

Traffic congestion degrades public transit service. The streets of San Francisco are approaching capacity and, consequently, this phenomenon directly slows public transit. Ineffective transit is a vicious circle; unreliable transit results in fewer riders who may then decide to drive, thereby increasing congestion. By the year 2030 it is projected that an additional half million trips will be made to and within the city of San Francisco each day, constituting a 12% increase (SFCTA, 2006). According to SPUR research, adding an average of just one minute of delay to Muni trips along Mission Street increases costs by $43,000 per year. In addition, at this pace, 70 percent of downtown intersections analyzed are projected to perform at a failing rate (level F is defined as delays of greater than 60 seconds) by 2020. Thus, it is clear that San Francisco cannot simply continue to add parking and residents without greatly affecting the quality of life in San Francisco (SPUR, 2006).

Housing density and decentralization

In a city like San Francisco, the required inclusion of parking induces decentralization and regional sprawl. Littman found that when a substantial amount of space is allotted to car parking, housing densities decrease pushing development outward and exacerbating sprawl. One off street parking spot requires 300 feet of service area. If the requirement for parking were for 2:1 for an 1100 square foot apartment it would result in a 37% increase in needed land per unit (Litman, 1995). In very small units such as we have in San Francisco it is possible that up to a third of the land could be needed for the parking for the unit. Assuming a constant zoned height limit in San Francisco neighborhoods it is easy to see that the increased land needed for parking decreases the maximum housing density at the building, neighborhood and city level. If North Beach were built today, with parking requirements, up to a third of the the space that people live in would be used for parking (SF Planning Dept, 2006).

Transit first planning in San Francisco

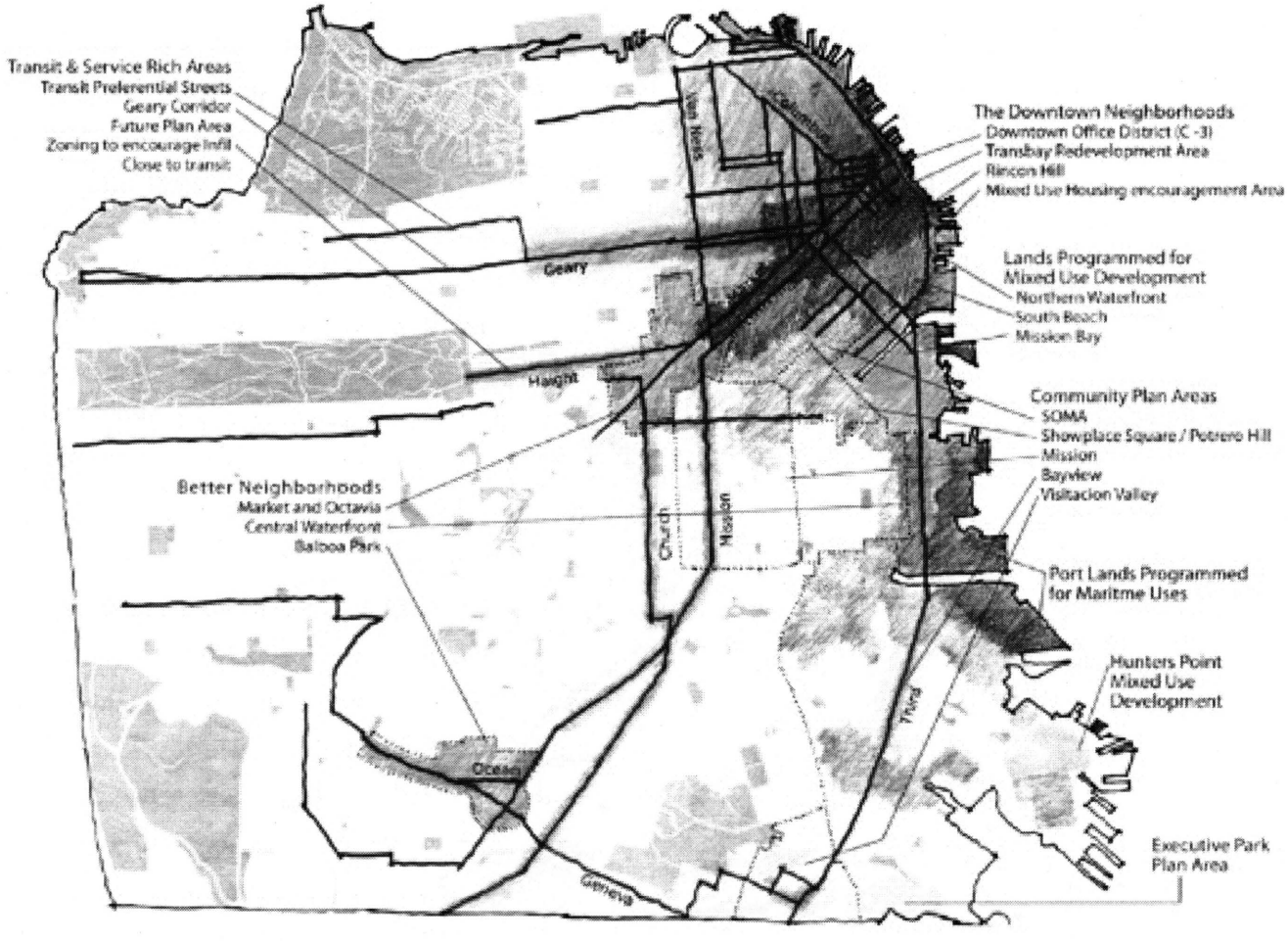
As part of the Citywide Action Plan (CAP) and the Better Neighborhoods Program the San Francisco Planning Department is rezoning some areas in close proximity to transit with parking maximums and revisions to density allowances. Though the City adopted a "Transit First" policy in 1973, the issue of parking has been addressed only recently in those areas where it makes sense to build upon the model of older successful neighborhoods such as North Beach and Nob Hill

Legislation passed in the summer of 2006 eliminated minimum parking requirements for housing in the downtown commercial (C-3) zoning districts. Once in full practice it will enforce maximums of three spaces for every four units while allowing developers to use valet and stacked mechanical parking when possible to effectively manage space. The new legislation also requires below-

ground parking and ground level public frontages for good urban design. Another important aspect is that in developments with more than 10 units parking will be debundled from the cost of the unit. This will allow a separate market for the purchase of off street parking. With this new and progressive legislation, people who do not own cars can save up to 50 thousand dollars on the price of their condos. Other requirements such as mandated bicycle parking and spots reserved for car sharing programs will also make car-free living easier and more enticing (Livable City, 2006). Furthermore, these changes will impact upwards of 20 thousand potential units in the areas adjacent to downtown and create high-rise, high-density neighborhoods.

The Planning Department, as part of the Better Neighborhoods initiative, and the CAP are proposing parking maximums and new policies in transit corridors as well. An example is the draft proposal for the Octavia & Market plan where a large public investment in the new Octavia Boulevard was made. The draft plan calls for .5:1 parking rations in neighborhood commercial areas and .75:1 residential maximums. Other ideas include elimination of curb cuts on transit-preferred streets, encouragement of off street parking, accessible by side streets or alleys,

Citywide Action Plan Map proposing potential opportunities for zoning changes to decrease parking and improve transit (San Francisco Planning Department)



and increased allowable densities to improve mass transit. Eventually this new zoning may be implemented in other San Francisco neighborhoods.

Conclusions

Though the reduction of parking to improve the City may seem counter-intuitive to some, the tradeoffs and unintended consequences of abundant parking are persuasive when considered as a whole. The decrease in housing affordability, ineffective urban design, reduced density, sprawl, weakened public transit, and increased congestion is all clearly detrimental to the built and natural environment. Decoupling parking and housing allows a market for both so that the true cost of each can be determined by demand. The implementation of this policy, along with new parking maximums, encourages and supports public transit and makes housing more affordable and diverse. Smart land-use maximizes the public's investments in new transit infrastructure and improves the environment for pedestrians.

Though the implementation of new policies and zoning is not always simple, as evidenced by the protracted planning process for the Octavia and Market plan, it is vital to get legislation passed in applicable neighborhoods that need to be relieved of congestion to both act as a successful model for the future and for an overall improvement in the quality of life. It will take education and a gradual change in attitudes before a shift can occur in peoples thinking. For the betterment and support of neighborhoods and public transit, the new paradigm must be that parking is a commodity rather than an entitlement.§

Zack Kerwin is a former Urban Studies student at San Francisco State. He is interested in urban planning and policy and loves to travel - especially to Tokyo, which he believes is the most fascinating urban environment in the world. He is currently applying to graduate school for City and Regional Planning. *He would like to thank Professor LeGates for his support and encouragement. This paper originated from Professor LeGates' Politics, Law, and the Environment class.*

References

Shoup, D. 2005. High Cost of Free Parking. APA Planners Press

Callies, D., Robert Freilich, Thomas E. Roberts. 2004. Cases and Materials on Land Use 4th ed.

Jia, W., Martin Wachs. July 1998 . Parking Requirements and Housing Afford ability: A Case Study of San Francisco.

Lewyn, M., Shane Cralle. 2006. Planners Gone Wild: The Over Regulation of Parking.

Litman, T. 1995. Parking Requirement Impacts on Housing Affordability.

Livable City. 2006. Parking reform webpage. http://livablecity.org/campaigns/c3.html

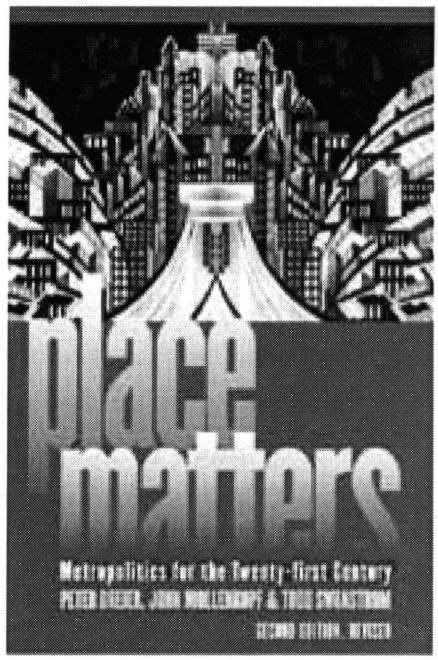
SFCTA. 2006. Countywide Transportation Plan. http://www.sfcta.org/cwtp.htm

SF Planning Dept. 2006. Rethinking San Francis co's Parking Requirements. http://www.sfgov.org/site/planning_index.asp?id=25134

SPUR. 2006. Parking and Livability in Downtown San Francisco. .http://www.spur.org/documents/050101_report_01.shtm

Understanding the Importance of Place: A conversation with John Mollenkopf

By Alexandra Iselin Waldhorn



John Mollenkopf is Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Sociology and director of the Center for Urban Research at CUNY Graduate Center. He has applied his research, which encompasses such subjects as urban politics and public policy, immigrant political representation and participation, to ten books he has authored or edited. Before his teaching career in New York, Mollenkopf worked with local government agencies and advocacy organizations on both sides of the country, including as director of the Economic Development Division of the New York City Department of City Planning. His book, co-written with Peter Dreier and Todd Swastrom, Place Matters, Metropolitics for the 21st Century, won the Michael Harrington Award for "the book that best demonstrates how scholarship can be used in the struggle for a better world." As Harrington's The Other America roused the public to support and wage a War on Poverty, Place Matters also has also shown the ability to galvanize readers to respond to its argument.

In *Place Matters, Metropolitics for the Twenty-first Century*, the authors creatively attempt to refocus the national discussion on poverty into a new vein. The book, which has received great attention from city and regional planners, suggests policies to cope with the politically and socio-economically spawned urban sprawl that has resulted in residential segregation along income and race/ethnicity lines. This form of urban development has created two phenomenons that bring inequalities in the United States into sharp focus. First, for many in the upper rungs of American society, auto-dependent and spatially erratic metropolitan growth has severed the social relationship between people and place. At the same time, Mollenkopf et al. show that those residing in inner city neighborhoods and older suburbs - often in the first geographic ring around cities, severed from the labor force, good schools, environmentally protected areas, political dialogue and representation, and socioeconomic infrastructure - are perpetually grappling with problems resulting from the isolated places in which they reside.

The book illustrates that obstacles such as federalism, separation of powers, and the creation of numerous special districts require a state and federal political solution. The authors suggest a number of policy innovations that could help overcome the isolation and lack of resources facing many low-income persons and they argue the time is right for the creation of new coalitions and a revision of social welfare programs to bridge the interests of the rich and the poor, the city and the suburb. Underlining the entire book is the new recognition that the most fundamental urban planning problems facing this country must be addressed by considering the importance of economics, politics, and place.

In this context, I posed the following questions to Dr. John Mollenkopf in a written interview:

AW: *I would like you to make some remarks about San Francisco, as it is one of the most liberal cities in the country - it has rent control, inclusive zoning, a somewhat humane homeless policy, a transit first transportation policy, along with a raft of other progressive programs. Of course, at the same time San Francisco has relentlessly become a city for the affluent. What lessons do you draw from San Francisco's experience, what might we do better, where can solutions only be addressed at the state and federal level?*

JM: San Francisco stands on the desirable end of the spectrum in terms of how much people would like to live there and how many opportunities and amenities it can offer. Because it has this kind of leverage it has also been able to adopt a wider range of local land use and development regulations than other, less desirable municipalities. Combined with the built-out nature of the city and the geographic limits on its expansion, this has produced some of the highest land prices and housing costs in the nation. Despite some protections from market forces, this has meant that, gradually, only residents who can pay can stay. Similar trends can be observed in large parts of many other cities, for example New York and Boston.

The conservative answer about how to counter these forces does not seem plausible. It seems unlikely that enough market rate housing will ever be built – or be allowed to be built – to drive down prices. Alas, the liberal or left answer also seems unlikely to work – it is hard to see how large enough parts of the housing stock could be taken out of the private market to ensure that most people of modest means would have a decent place to live. (Not only would this be quite expensive, given that current owners would have to be compensated at market rates, but it would also raise the thorny question of how to decide who should be entitled to this housing).

So, as long as these cities continue to have strong corporate and high level social service economies, with lots of professional jobs, and as long as they remain attractive to people who hold these kinds of jobs, the trend toward gentrification and the slow expulsion of the poor and working class is likely to continue. This is of course a problem that city leaders and even neighborhood residents in many places – like Newark or Detroit – would like to have.

Within these general constraints, however, the city's citizens have the potential power to tax themselves to provide non-market amenities that make the city a more just and humane place to live, and to provide as many protections against the inroads of market forces as the citizenry can afford.

Larger interventions would really require regional, state, and national regulation over metropolitan land use patterns and the creation of funds to support the development of owner-occupied, but still not private market housing, such as limited equity arrangements. We have not had a new moderate-income housing program in the U.S. for more than a quarter of a century. The stress has been on promoting traditional home ownership while ignoring the costs of sprawl and reliance on commuting by auto. It is time for a new national land use, housing, transportation, and public amenity development program where the parts are designed to fit together in a different way.w

AW: *The argument in your book, <u>Place Matters</u>,*

shows how detrimental or beneficial one's residence is, especially for low-income persons. What are the most important steps to be taken to diminish the disparity in America?

JM: We call for ramping up mobility programs that help the central city poor disperse themselves throughout the other parts of the metropolis, away from the old neighborhoods of concentrated poverty. If all parts of the metropolitan area pitch in to do their share and the overall scheme is designed and managed properly, this can be done without harming any of the places receiving the center city poor. The whole region will gain. Obviously, creating a jurisdiction that could capture some of these regional gains and plow them back into undertaking the process would make sense from a public finance perspective.

AW: *Do the recent elections show that new political coalitions are forming around cities?*

JM: In all the polarized elections of the last 40 years, cities have been Democratic and rural and far suburban areas Republican. In the past, Republicans were able to bring much of the suburban vote to their side, making the city line the main front of the political battle. Now, that line has shifted outwards into the suburbs, and many of the older suburbs have become fairly solidly Democratic. A lot of the old cleavages around race are subsiding somewhat. This offers fertile ground for creative thinking about designing a new federal agenda for metropolitan policy and building new metropolitan political alliances to enact it.

AW: *How do your book's findings apply to the Bay Area where there are pockets of low-income people concentrations-such as East Palo Alto in the center of Silicon Valley.*

JM: Unfortunately, the low-income people in places like East Palo Alto are experiencing a serious squeeze too. That is why regional or metropolitan development planning is needed, with a clear emphasis on regional housing equity.

AW: *How can neighborhood groups and nonprofits in communities be strengthened?*

JM: Well, this is an age-old question in American society. There has been much discussion of the "decline of social capital" in America, especially in big, diverse cities. It seems to me that forming cross-race and cross-ethnic political alliances – finding ways to work together for the common good, learning to see each other's points of view – lies at the heart of this challenge.

AW: *In the conclusion of your book you call for an array of steps to encourage the integration of America's impoverished populations. What will it take to galvanize the greater public about confronting poverty in the United States?*

JM: Poverty isn't really the right lens from which to look at the problem. It is only a consequence of the more general ways in which we organize society. Income distribution has been growing steadily more unequal, and the way things have been going has placed increasing stress on families in the middle as well as the bottom. If we build a majority coalition to address the fundamental reasons why this has been happening, that will help the metropolitan poor as well.§

References

Mollenkopf, John. e-mail interview. 28 Feb 2007.

Drier, Peter, John Mollenkopf, and Todd Swanstrom. Place Matters Metropolitics for the Twenty-First Century. 2nd ed, Revised. University Press of Kansas, 2004.

Making it in Education:
A Personal Comparison of Public and Private Education

By Melissa Ortiz

Public education in the United States is in need of aid even after the 'Brown v. Board of Education' ruling of 1954, which outlawed racial segregation in public education. More than half a decade later, schools in the US have still not truly provided African Americans, Latinos, and students from other minority groups with the same facilities and standards available to white Americans. Today, these same institutions continue to suffer through federal budget cuts, after-school program shortages, and a lack of extra-curricular activities such as music and sports outside of traditional school life. This leaves little hope for students from low socio-economic backgrounds. Racially segregated schools, institutionalized racism, poor and unhealthy school conditions, under-qualified teachers, insufficient course materials, and inadequate support services all demonstrate the need to improve public education. There is a deep need for more public discourse as we continue to face the challenges that jeopardize the public school system.

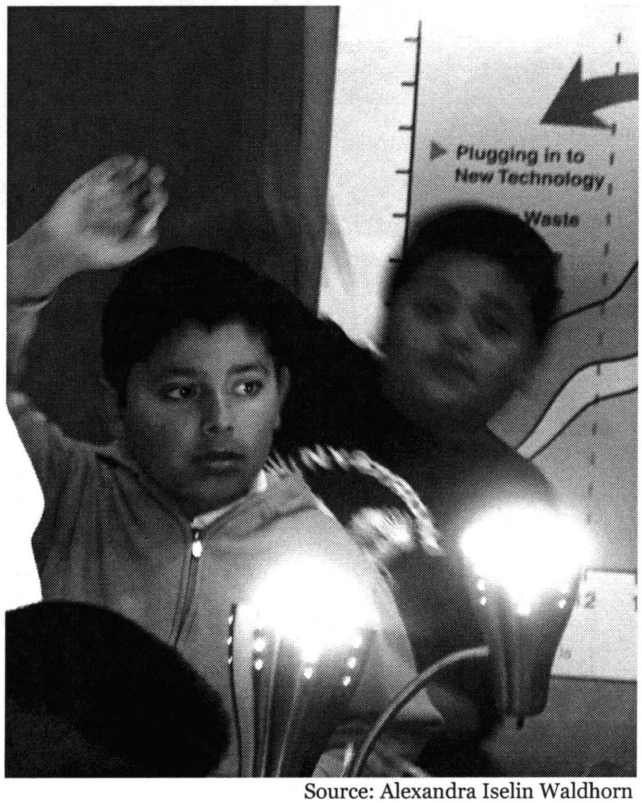
My experience and educational training as a prospective "teacher of color" described here is meant to highlight the disparities that exist between private and public schools. These disparities are not limited to the physical facilities and the amount of access to resources provided by these schools to students themselves, but they extend to the meanings we have given to public versus private school educated students. Many private schools aim at diversifying their schools through the integration of teachers of color. This teaching experience challenged me to think about the usual obstacles such as credibility and equal pay faced by people of color, who are sought out for different reasons such as, bringing a "multicultural" perspective to the school community and overall an affirmation of people of color as citizens of this country able to hold leadership positions. It helped me reflect on the challenge of either playing the race game in order to become the "model minority" or being okay with just fitting in to another quota of a social institution so it can proclaim itself to be "diverse" and "multicultural." Over time such terms have adopted a "dirty word" nuance because of their exclusivity. Public feelings on this can easily be observed through the vote against Proposition 209 by Californian voters, in 1996, which banned Affirmative Action programs in public institutions throughout the state.

With statewide actions like these that speak on public sentiment, the difference that sets public schools apart from private schools is the projected monetary investment of its students as future leaders. Public schools carry a lead stereotype in the media. The stereotypical picture of inner-city schools filled with disrespectful kids who cut class, damage

school property, and generally misbehave serves as a distraction for those who hold negative attitudes against these schools. It helps explain why schools are being shutdown, why there is a lack of funding for public education, and why these problems still persist. Usual indicators for why this is happening are the disenfranchisement from local taxpayers, under-enrollment in schools, as well as war and prison industries receiving more federal money than the education system. A race issue is clearly at hand and if we continue investing only in educating the "future white CEOs and white Presidents" of this country. What else is left for the rest of us, who are the minority, public educated citizens?

This summer I participated in a teaching fellowship at an all-boys prep school in Manhattan's wealthy Upper West Side. What was presented on paper as an intensive two-week training for teachers of color turned out to be a mechanism to diversify "independent" schools: the elite segment of private education.

The program took us from the basics of teaching (i.e. lesson planning and classroom management) to the hiring process of how to sell oneself to an elite school. Although independent schools recruit teachers of color, the ratio of faculty of color to white faculty proved that they have had little success.



Source: Alexandra Iselin Waldhorn

"A race issue is clearly at hand and if we continue investing only in educating the 'future white CEOs and white Presidents' of this country."

One of the first activities was a trip to P.S. 07, one of Manhattan's best-noted public elementary schools, located a few blocks from the all-boys prep school. Upon entering the school I signed in showing my ID to a police officer at the front-desk. The school is famous for recruiting students from all over the city, making the student body fairly-well integrated, while the majority of teachers are white. The school was in good condition and the students outspoken. I sat in on a first-grade class where the teacher asked the students for their feedback on the substitute teacher from the week before. One student eagerly responded, without raising his hand, that substitute teacher had taken time out of their play time, which was unfair. Other students empathized with him, either by nodding their heads or by raising their hands to add on to what he had just said. The teacher seemed perplexed by his feedback and assured him that they must have misbehaved for the substitute to have come to that decision. This was an interesting moment inside the classroom, where the teacher was cautious of how she acted in front of us, the visitors. This was also towards the end of the school year and most teachers appeared overworked.

As we continued our visit, walking down the hallways, I was happy to find a music room devoted to the school's music program. We got to meet the music teacher, who told us that only the fourth and fifth graders are able to participate because they did not have enough instruments. Even though because of limited materials, I was happy to find a music program that had not yet been cut, especially in a city that is supposedly active in preserving the arts.

"We were told that in putting on a new 'hat', we had to speak properly, dress a certain way for the frequent cocktail parties, and deal with conflict indirectly in order to 'fit in' to this independent world."

After leaving the school, we spent only fifteen minutes debriefing our observations. For the next nine days our focus was looking exclusively at private schools. It was clear that the purpose of the trip to P.S. 07 was to show us a public school before presenting the alternative they wanted us to choose—independent schools.

I quickly learned independent schools act as mini-corporations where wealthy parents attempt to solidify their status by enrolling their children in top schools like New York City's Spence, Dalton, and Calhoun. These schools begin as early as preschool (known as "Baby Ivies" by those who attend them) and cost as much as $24,000 a year. They serve a minute fraction of the fifty million school-aged children in the US. Aside from limited scholarships, these schools are inaccessible to families unable to pay such demanding tuitions. According to the teachers I spoke with, some sixth-grade parents evaluated their child's performance as either being University of Pennsylvania or Harvard "worthy," explaining how these institutions signify different strata of intellectual superiority very early on in a child's life.

To attract teachers of color, my fellowship cast these elite schools in the brightest possible light. We visited Jamestown, a boarding school with an amazing campus in central New Jersey, designed to prepare students for the world of over-achievement. The school had eye-popping facilities: a full size ice-hockey rink inside the gym, a newly built music and arts complex with its own recording studio, and a science laboratory the size of an Olympic sized swimming pool. Walking down neat cement paths along grassy areas under the scorching summer sun, gave me the feeling of being on an Ivy-League campus.

At lunch we sat with the teachers of color from the Teachers Fellowship (a competitive summer fellowship for independent teachers from all over the country) and were given the superb rhetoric of why we should join these schools. School-financed Masters degrees, housing, free tuition for teacher's children and childcare, not to mention generous gifts from parents such as keys to their summer home here and abroad or front row tickets to baseball games. According to the Teachers fellows, all these perks came in the name of "professional development" and "personal well-being." They made working at independent schools look like winning a lottery ticket, a game of chance and pure luck where if you play the cards right you can get yourself inside a world of financial and personal security.

However, it was clear from the beginning that in order to work in an independent school, we had to learn how to behave inside of them. We were told that in putting on a new "hat," we had to speak properly, dress a certain way for the frequent cock-

tail parties, and deal with conflict indirectly in order to "fit in" to this independent world. It is obvious that there is no room for students to experience other people's realities without an artificial coating if teachers have to behave a certain way.

These schools call themselves "independent" overlooking the fact that they replicate all the other institutions that cater to the white and wealthy. The word independent obscures their elitism and so do these recruitment programs aimed at teachers of color. Independent schools need teachers of color to avoid the embarrassment of graduating "the future CEO's and leaders of this country," as one faculty member put it, without having encountered people of color in leadership positions.

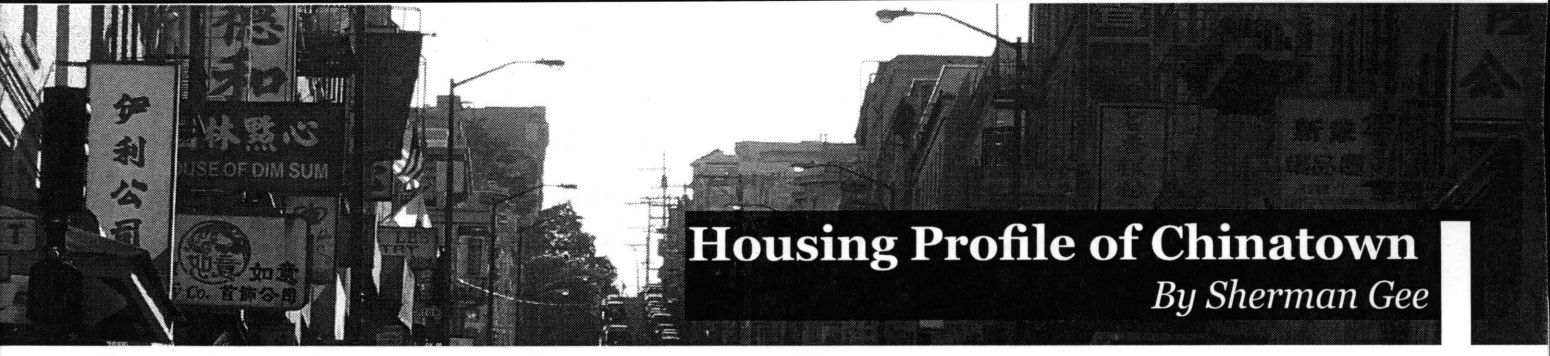
While walking around Jamestown, I thought about my own overworked teachers growing up, most of whom disciplined students as much as they taught. My family immigrated to California when I was three after my parents lost their jobs to a twelve-year civil war in El Salvador. I grew up in San Francisco's Outer Mission District going to public schools with other kids of color and newly arrived immigrants; the majority of us qualifying for free lunch.

My teachers often took money out of their own pockets to provide supplies when they wanted to incorporate creative lessons into our learning. I thought about how different school would have been if they had been given these opportunities that were being flaunted to us now. By the time I was in high school, I felt lost and behind in my course material from the lack of leadership I experienced in middle school, which I now know resulted from a lack of resources. Math teachers came and left after just the first week of school leaving us with substitute teachers for the rest of the year. This is the type of resemblance I saw when I visited P.S. 07, when the student found the substitute teacher to be unfair.

It is not news why public schools face a larger challenge than elite schools, aside from an obvious lack of resources, they need to first teach students the value of their education and then let them know that college is in fact an option and further prepare students towards that goal. Positive reinforcement from my teachers motivated me to pursue college because they saw things that I did not see in myself at the time.

The reality outside of these schools is that teachers of color comprise only 14 percent of all teachers nationwide. These perks I heard are not enough to convince me to pose for a photo for an elite school to add to its pamphlet. If my teachers did not choose to teach at public schools then who would have taught me? As a young prospective educator, I believe I will be more rewarded teaching at public schools even if I have to shell out the extra $500 from my own pocket for classroom supplies or develop the mantra, "Little Johnny needs to start easting breakfast." I see myself living up to a school's mission by creating opportunities for children who might not have them otherwise. The art of teaching itself is a skill, one in constant mastering because as children grow, you can learn from them if you allow yourself to grow up with them. This opportunity definitely allowed me to value that work. §

I would like to thank Rinku Sen, Executive Director of the Applied Research Center for encouraging me to write this piece and guiding me with my writing. Also to students who are products of the public school system who have impacted me in wanting to commit to this type of work once I graduate from college.



Housing Profile of Chinatown

By Sherman Gee

Introduction

Chinatown is both a beacon for Chinese immigrants, a popular tourist attraction and historical landmark in San Francisco. The neighborhood offers tourists a taste of Chinese-American culture and immigrants an array of services and housing. Many generations of Chinese immigrants have come through Chinatown, seeking both a place of refuge and familiarity. Fifty years ago, it was the only area of residence for Chinese Americans in San Francisco. Today, as Chinese families have moved into the Sunset and other districts of San Francisco, the once highly concentrated population has spread noticeably throughout the city. Belying its fame in the San Francisco community, Chinatown spans a mere three to four square blocks, creating a housing environment very unique in comparison to other neighborhoods. Typical single-family houses, characteristic of the rest of San Francisco, are nowhere to be found in Chinatown. However, its oft-congested streets are called home by hundreds of residents. The purpose of this housing profile is to uncover the housing conditions in Chinatown, availability of housing, and the types of people who live in the community. Moreover this paper provides a snapshot on what it is like to live in San Francisco's Chinatown.

Chinatown is a community I am personally familiar with. My parents were Chinese immigrants characteristic of those found in Chinatown today. I was born in Chinatown hospital, and grew up on its streets. I have since moved to the Bayview district. However, I am an active member of the Chinatown community I am currently working there as a youth educator. Yet, to fully understand housing as it pertains to Chinatown requires a more in-depth look.

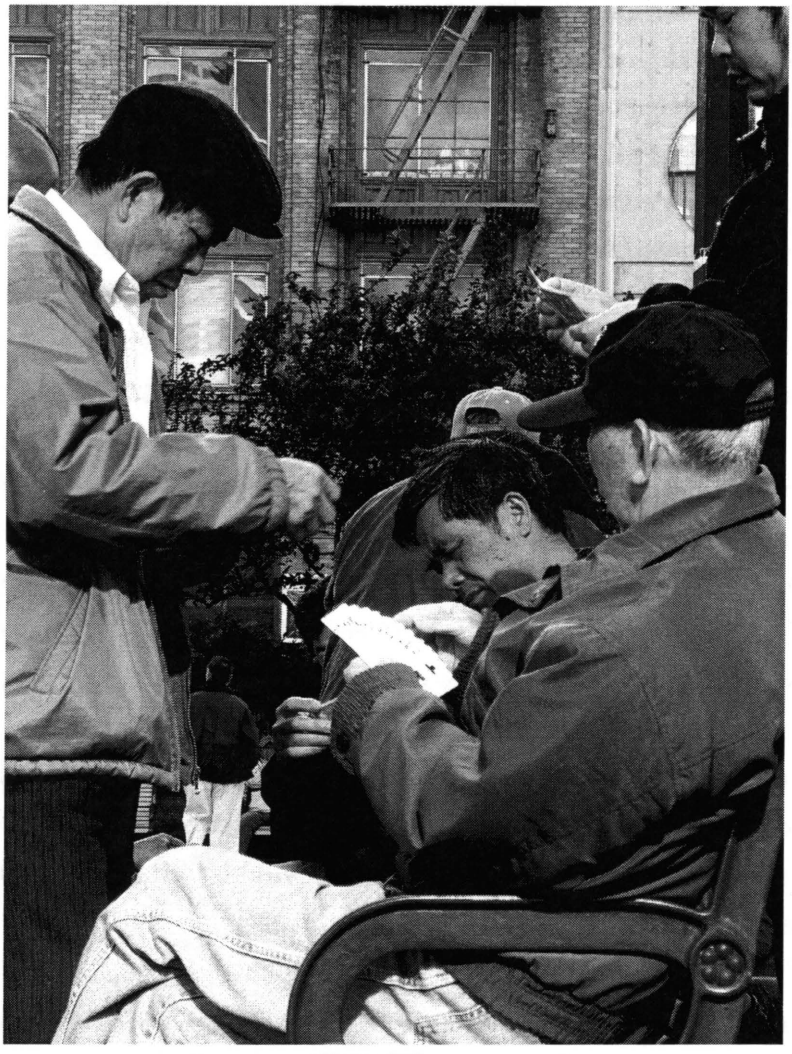
Established in the 1850s, Chinatown is located adjacent to downtown San Francisco, between the Financial District, Nob Hill, and North Beach, encompassing the streets between Sacramento and Broadway. On the census, most of Chinatown is located on census tract 114. Of the 3,171 people in census tract 114, half are immigrants who have moved there within the last decade. They are not Silicon Valley entrepreneurial imports from Hong Kong, but rather economic refugees from Mainland China. (Hendrix, 2002) For the purposes of this article, census related statistical data regarding Chinatown is from census tract 114.

Observations

The first step in my analysis was to do a field visit to take a closer look at the houses and people that are in the community. Using the latest (2000) census housing and demographic statistics on census tract 114, I am able to have both a quantitative and qualitative aspect in my research methodology. I began by looking at the people in the neighborhood. This visit took place on February 26, 2007 at one in the afternoon. My initial focus was on the demographic composition. I wanted to know the people who lived in this neighborhood were.

I was greeted with a common sight of Chinatown – a bustling marketplace, crowded streets, and shoppers of primarily Asian descent. While some of

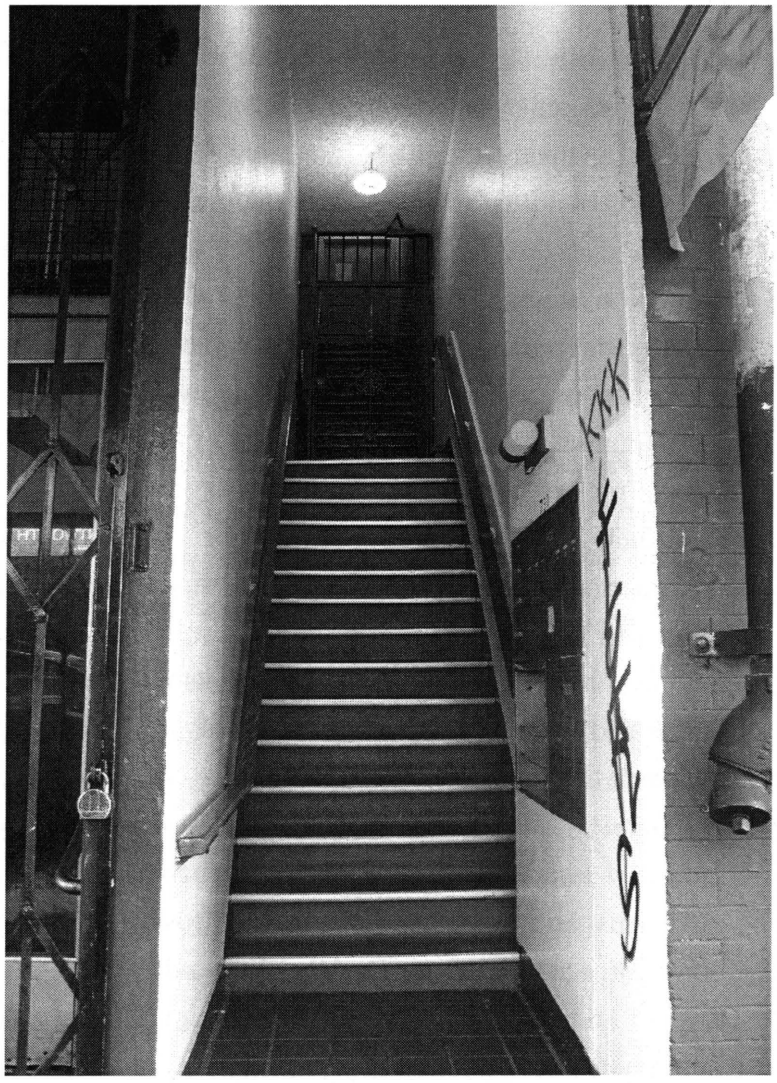
the shoppers are definitely residents of Chinatown, many were not and commuted from other communities in San Francisco. The area attracts outsiders for reasons such as access to some of the freshest fruits, vegetables, fish and poultry, and specialty Asian foods. In addition, the prices are usually lower than local supermarkets, leading to crammed sidewalks, strange smells, and a flurry of grocery bags. Also present in the neighborhood, along Grant Ave, lines of less authentic shops cater to tourists.


(source: Ali Waldhorn, 2007)

In terms of age, there is a fair amount of youth in Chinatown. However, the majority of people in Chinatown are older, in their 60's and 70's. The census data supports this observation, as over 20 percent of the overall population is reported between the ages of 65 to 74. Walking down Stockton Street, it became clear that the median age of the population in Chinatown is comparatively high. This would have a correspondence with the rental prices in Chinatown as well as the type of housing that is provided. Many of the elderly living in here are likely living on fixed incomes. There are a couple parks and recreation centers, in a neighborhood characteristic of sparse open space, where elderly often congregate. Inside a recreation center some older gentlemen play ping-pong. Outside in the parks, other people practice tai-chi. Furthermore, a noticeable landmark, Portsmouth Plaza, is another spot where many elderly gentlemen congregate and play games of Chinese chess. The first signs of homelessness also emerge in this area. In addition, though outnumbered by the older gentlemen, there are children on the play structures.

The other aspects I looked at were the types of housing in Chinatown. The buildings are tall, often five stories high or taller. There are small apartment buildings and single-room occupancies (SRO); the multitude of mostly

tourist shops, markets, and restaurants take up the ground floor, with apartments beginning on the second floor. There are also quite a few alleyways, which cut across the tightly contained area. Several stores are located in these alleys; however many more apartment buildings and SRO buildings are found here. By its architecture, it is apparent that all of the buildings in Chinatown are substantially old. Underscoring this is that nearly 95 percent of the buildings were built prior to 1959, with 68 percent built in 1939 or earlier. Two of the oldest buildings, Cameron House and the First Baptist Church of Chinatown, were built with clinker bricks, which were from the remnants of the 1906 earthquake. A few of the newer buildings, such as a retirement home, are high-rise apartment buildings. The construction of such a facility and high-density buildings further confirms that the majority of the population is elderly, Asian immigrant and non-native speakers. Residents are mostly low or fixed-income renters, living in either an apartment or SRO complex. Over 96 percent of census track 114 is renter occupied. They are also tall, fitting more apartment and SRO occupancies. Almost 63 percent of the buildings reported having 20 or more units and 19 percent with 10-19 units.



(source: Alexandra Iselin Waldhorn, 2007)

The above description alludes that one of the forefront problems Chinatown faces is overcrowding. Defined as having over 1.5 individuals per room, overcrowding is rampant in Chinatown. Space is highly limited, and new buildings cannot be built. Thus, as a desirable place to reside for new immigrants and immigrant retirees, space is often shared and living quarters smaller than regular sized rooms. The conditions within these cramped quarters, which overlay fish and produce markets, are problematic. Vanessa Hua, a reporter with the San Francisco Chronicle that specializes on Chinatown, states that 87 percent of tenants

report at least one code violation, with 62 percent reporting multiple violations. Thirty-five percent reported rodent or insect infestation. Moreover, most violations go unreported, due to educational and language barriers. (Hua, 2005) Most residents are reluctant to make a fuss; as this is the only place they feel they can live.

Single Room Occupancies

To further understand this phenomenon I examined the inside of one of Chinatown's SRO buildings. SRO buildings are very common, making up 60 percent of all the buildings. This particular SRO was located on Stockton Street, located above an herbal teashop and next to a local bakery. Behind the door, a long narrow case led to an equally narrow hallway. I was amazed that the elderly who live in the building can make it up and down the slippery staircases on a daily basis. The building had four stories of apartments. In the middle there were shared restroom and kitchen facilities used by tenants who do not have their own. The stoves and toilets were old, but looked as if they had been well maintained. The air inside the building had a peculiar odor, and walking down the hall I could hear chatter from inside the doors and walls. Windows in the kitchen area, restrooms, and along all the hallways provided the only source of ventilation. Luckily, signs indicated in English and Chinese that smoking was not allowed in these halls.

The particular room I visited was one of the better ones. It contained its own kitchen and restroom. Everything about it was compact. The living room fit a sofa, television and not much more. The one bedroom had bunk beds and no closets. The kitchen only fit two people at any time. Some of the walls had paint peeling from them and many were discolored. Evidently, they had not been painted in decades. Despite this, people who live in such places are happy with what they have. Chinatown has the highest incidence of units lacking in kitchen facilities in San Francisco. Other buildings are either in need of repair; contain mold, pest infestation, or other problems. Often, these places are all that are left to desperate new immigrants.

Chinatown also contains public housing projects, known as the Ping Yuen. The literally translation is "Stable or Peaceful Garden". There are three such buildings in Chinatown, which are differentiated by the direction they lay—East, West, and South. It is very competitive to get in these housing projects, because the apartments offered there are as good if not better than private sector housing in Chinatown. They often offer the most space and are up to date in terms of regulations and safety. Having visited the Ping Yuen public housing projects compared to other low-income options, I can see why it is highly competitive to live there. Unlike other neighborhoods in San Francisco, low-cost housing has been available in Chinatown, as it has been able to avoid gentrification. However, the hidden costs of keeping affordable housing in Chinatown has been a lack of repairs, dangerous living conditions, and the high incidence of housing violations. Even then, over a third of residents in Chinatown are rent-burdened, defined as having rent cost 35% of income or more. Groups such as the Chinese Progressive Association and Asian Law Caucus are two of Chinatown's neighborhood organizations looking to make improvements to the community. One step for residents is the Chinatown land trust project, which is improving a dilapidated building on 53 Columbus, the Fong Building. It grants a limited equity stake to its residents, who will own a home for the first time.

(Hua, 2006) Many city officials are beginning to acknowledge that improvements need to be made to housing in Chinatown, with stiffer penalties likely resulting for negligent landlords.

Conclusion

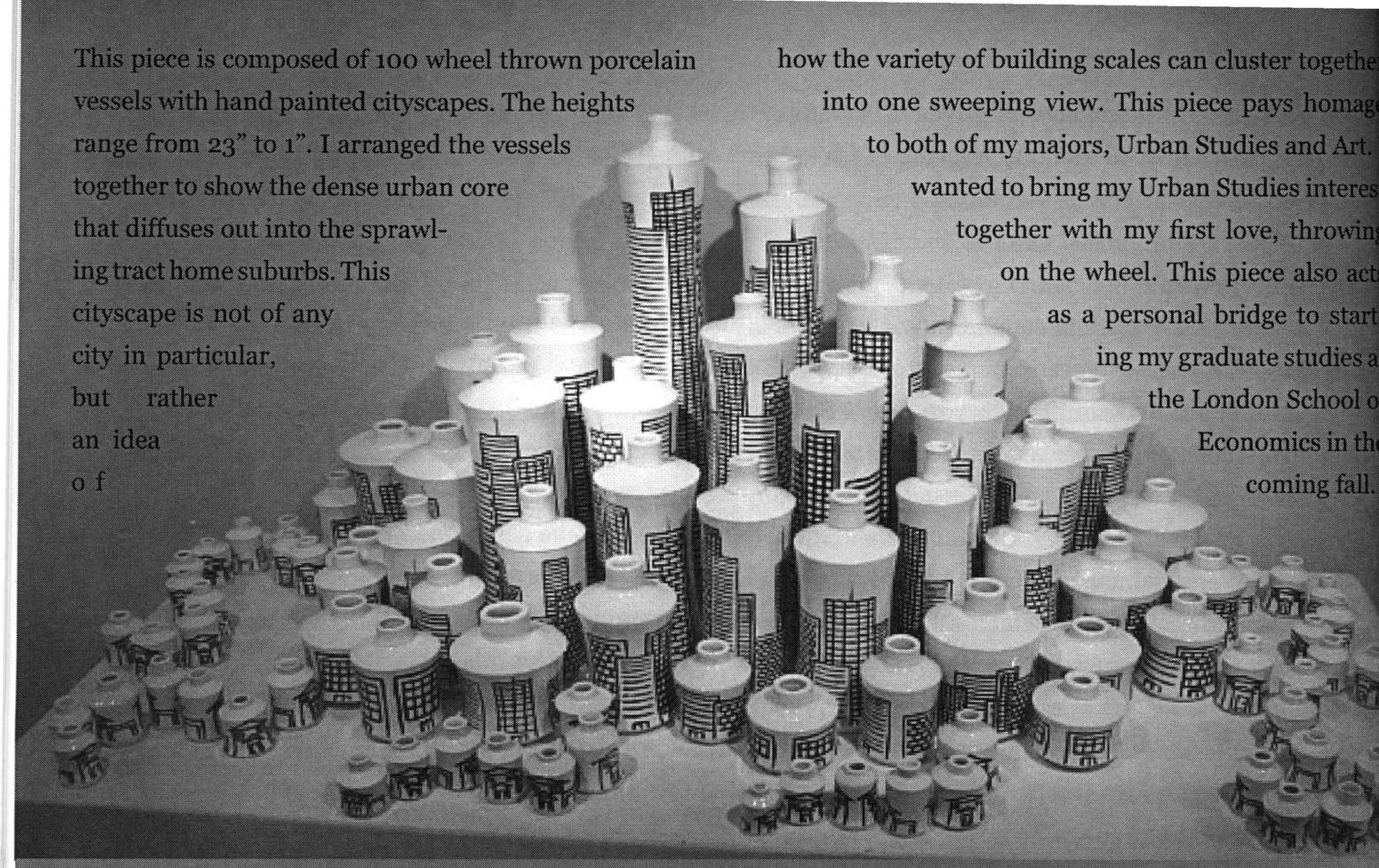
In the years to come, Chinatown will continue to be a vital community in San Francisco. As a robust community with a rich history and a center for culture and tourism, it is easy to forget that some of the city's most vulnerable populations reside within its borders. While the problems of overcrowding, lacking kitchen facilities, building disrepair, and rent burden are not going to be relieved overnight, it is essential to understand the problems of the community so that gradual improvements may be made and to relieve the pressures on its dominating elderly population. Chinatown is a beautiful community and one I grew up in. It has taught me a lot, and I am still learning. My hope for this community is for its leaders to vocalize the problems of Chinatown so that it may continue to better serve the generations there today and the generations yet to come.§

Sherman Gee is a junior majoring in Political Science. He volunteers with the service fraternity Alpha Phi Omega and works as the Bilingual Youth Program director at Cameron House in San Francisco's Chinatown. This paper originated from Professor Ayse Pamuk's Housing Policy class at SFSU.

References

Hendrix, Anastasia (August 27, 2002) "S.F's Chinatown: Almost All Residents Foreign Born".
San Francisco Chronicle, pg. A13. Retrieved February 26, 2007 via ProQuest
<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=155664211&Fmt=3&clientId=17866&RQT=309&VName=PQD>

Hua, Vanessa (September 23, 2005) "Chinatown: Housing Riddled with Violations /
Neighborhood Shows Rampant Problems in Single-room Occupancy Unites".
San Francisco Chronicle, pg. F1. Retrieved February 26, 2007 via ProQuest
<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=155664211&Fmt=3&clientId=17866&RQT=309&VName=PQD>
Hua, Vanessa (July 25, 2006) "Reaching for the American Dream /
Chinatown Renters Unite to Own Homes".
San Francisco Chronicle pg. B1. Retrieved February 26, 2007 via ProQuest
http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?did=1082609031&Fmt=3&clientId=17866&RQT=309&VName=PQD
U.S. Census Bureau "Census 2000 Tract 114 – Graph DP-1, DP-4"
<http://factfinder.census.gov> Last Accessed March 2, 2007>

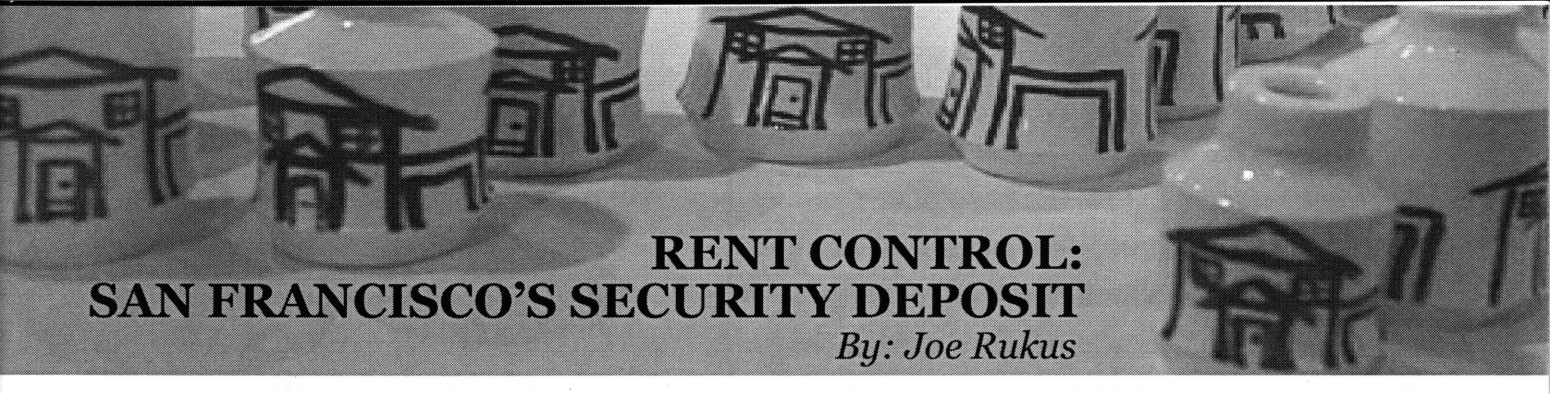


This piece is composed of 100 wheel thrown porcelain vessels with hand painted cityscapes. The heights range from 23" to 1". I arranged the vessels together to show the dense urban core that diffuses out into the sprawling tract home suburbs. This cityscape is not of any city in particular, but rather an idea of

how the variety of building scales can cluster together into one sweeping view. This piece pays homage to both of my majors, Urban Studies and Art. I wanted to bring my Urban Studies interest together with my first love, throwing on the wheel. This piece also acts as a personal bridge to starting my graduate studies at the London School of Economics in the coming fall.

If You Build It, They Will Come

By Annie Dods



RENT CONTROL: SAN FRANCISCO'S SECURITY DEPOSIT

By: Joe Rukus

"San Francisco is a city of many renters - 65% of San Francisco's occupied units were rented in 2000, compared with only 34% nationally" - Joe Grubb

Introduction

Anna Rodman[1] is a proud, stubborn woman in her 80s. She is devoutly religious and takes great pride that she is still mobile and active. She has lived in her San Francisco apartment longer than anyone can remember. She is a walking history book on the city and remarks that there is very little that she hasn't seen although occasionally San Francisco can still surprise her. She enjoys her neighborhood for its enduring vitality and for its walkability; allowing her to do her daily errands.

The rent for Mrs. Rodman's one bedroom apartment is approximately $600.00 per month. The amount constantly draws disdain from her landlord who believes she should have moved out ages ago and consequently, is never in a rush to make repairs when something breaks.

Anna Rodman and many others like her are at the core of the debate on rent control. Her landlord is able to rent an identical unit in the building to new renters at $1,500.00 per month, but due to San Francisco's restrictive rent control ordinance, he cannot raise Mrs. Rodman's rent more than a few dollars each year. Mrs. Rodman is a widowed senior citizen on a very tight fixed income with no immediate family. If it were not for her $600.00 per month rent, she could not afford to live in San Francisco and would not have another place to go to. Is the city putting an unfair burden on her landlord by forcing him to lease to Anna Rodman at a rate substantially below market? Should the law permit Anna Rodman to be evicted, so that a natural state of economic equilibrium can occur in the San Francisco rental market?

History

Modern rent control in San Francisco stems from Proposition 13 which passed in 1978. Proposition 13 dramatically altered property tax collection in California by setting a state wide property tax rate of 1% of assessed value with a maximum annual assessment increase of 2% until property sale at which point the property would be reassessed (CA State Constitution, 2006). It may seem odd that a proposition benefiting property owners would give impetus to legislation protecting renters, but in order to get renter support, Prop 13 proponents made the following arguement: lower rents would follow lower property taxes incurred by landlords because landlords would pass tax savings to their tenants.

The promised savings never materialized for most renters as landlords elected to pocket the savings. Only approximately 7,000 tenants in San Francisco received Proposition 13 rent reductions (Forbes, 1999). One large landlord, Angelo Sangiacomo, instead significantly increased rents for his tenants. The increase, coupled with the high inflation rates

1 Name changed

which existed at the time, led to fear among San Francisco's middle class renter population that they would be bombarded with rent increases which they would not be able to afford. As two-thirds of the city's residents were renters, their dismay could not be ignored by San Francisco politicians (Byrne, 2000).

In response, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors enacted a temporary moratorium on rent increases in April of 1979. While designed as a temporary 60 day ordinance, it led to a more permanent arrangement in June of 1979 with the passage of the Residential Rent Stabilization and Arbitration Ordinance, which created a board whose duties included "setting forth guidelines for rent increases" (SF Code 37.1). Rent control had begun in San Francisco. The initial act set the life of the board at 15 months, however, numerous extensions were given until the board became a permanent fixture. Over the years, the reach of rent control has expanded. New categories of units have been added and the amount of allowable rent increase has decreased. Tenant protections have also been added to prevent landlords from evicting below market paying renters (Rent Board, 2006).

Rent Control

As it currently stands, San Francisco has one of the most restrictive rent control ordinances in the nation which covers, as shown in Figure 1, 71% of the city's rental units. It applies to most older units in the city and exempts most new construction. Rent in a rent controlled unit is negotiated between landlord and tenant at the time of lease signing based on current market conditions (SF Code 37.2). After occupancy, rent increases are set annually by the San Francisco Rent Board and are calculated as percentage equal to 60% of the increase of the previous years' Consumer

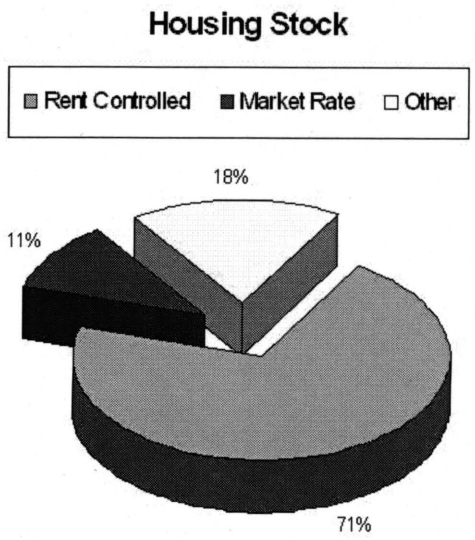


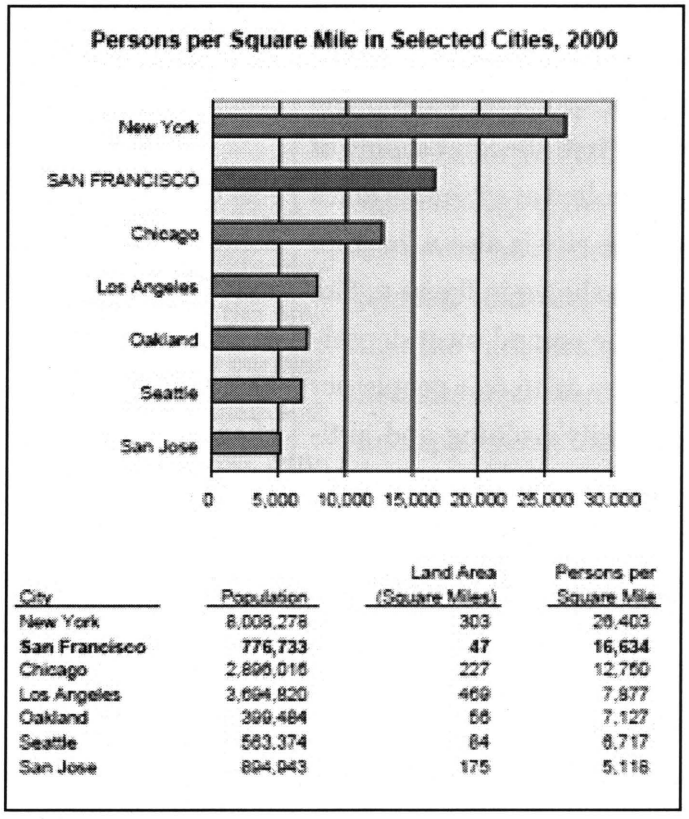
Figure 1 *SF Housing Data Book, Grubb 2002*

Price Index and are capped at a 7% maximum. Some additional increases may be allowed for specific expenditures such as building capital improvements, excess water usage, and certain voter approved bond measures. The amount of these increases must also be approved by the San Francisco Rent Board (SF Code 37.3). Landlords are required to keep their buildings maintained and continue to offer all amenities available at time of lease renewal. Tenants have the right to petition for a rent reduction if amenities are withdrawn (SF Code 10.10). Eviction is not an easy process. Landlords may only evict for a valid cause such as non-payment of rent, violation of lease provisions, illegal use of residence, or creation of a nuisance. Tenants are also offered opportunities to correct problems or appeal evictions. Eviction for the purpose of getting a higher paying tenant is not permitted. In limited circumstances, non-cause evictions are permitted but are highly regulated. Reasons falling into these categories are for owner move in or approved conversion of building. In these circumstances, landlords are required to compensate tenants up to $16,500.00 per unit based on a rent board formula (SF Code 37.9).

The Critics

One would have hoped this legislation would have moderated rents, but this has not occurred in San Francisco. Median rent for new rentals rose at a rate of 8.1% between 1979 and 2001, compared to an overall Bay Area inflation rate of 4.8%. The rental vacancy rate, as measured in the year 2000, was 2.5%; well below the healthy standard of between 4%-5% (Grubb, 2002). This, at a cursory glance, would seem to indicate rent control has been a failure and has added fuel to the fire of rent control's many critics.

One of the most outspoken critics of rent control is William Tucker. Tucker, who has a knack for getting his word out in the popular media, describes rent control as "a disease of the mind which soon becomes a disease of the market." His critique of rent control is based on the standard arguments used by most economists which is that rent control is an unnecessary and unhealthy policy intervention into the rental market. The result is that all parties, landlord, tenant, and the community, are left worse off by the intervention. He believes that rent control creates a shortage of rental units as those who benefit from below market rents hoard their units and keep them off the market. This shortage results in higher prices for available apartments as per the basic laws of supply and demand leaving those unprotected by rent control paying artificially high prices. He supports this conclusion by observing that rent controlled cities have much lower vacancy rates than cities without rent control such as Dallas, Houston, and Phoenix which routinely have vacancy rates of 15%. He further asserts rent control creates an environment where builders will not build housing out of fear of rent control ordinances. The result is an untenable situation for urban areas which may experience increased rates of homelessness.



City	Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Persons per Square Mile
New York	8,008,278	303	26,403
San Francisco	**776,733**	**47**	**16,634**
Chicago	2,896,016	227	12,750
Los Angeles	3,694,820	469	7,877
Oakland	399,484	56	7,127
Seattle	563,374	84	6,717
San Jose	894,943	175	5,116

Figure 2 *Source: San Francisco Housing Data Book, Grubb, 2002, taken from 2000 Census*

He believes that cities are better served by elimination of all rent control. He cites the example of the state of Massachusetts where state legislation eliminated rent control in three cities, Boston Cambridge, and Brookline. He acknowledges that unregulated rents rose but that the increase was counterbalanced by increases in rental housing construction which ultimately lowered rents due to increased supply. A safety net also helped those who qualified for hardship status to assure a smooth transition. This, he claims, is a model which should be duplicated in all rent controlled municipalities (Tucker, 1998).

"The shortage, created by tenants holding onto below market priced units, permits the landlord to charge what could be termed, a 'rent control premium.'"

San Francisco's Model

If one were applying standard economic theory, Tuckers conclusion would seem logical, however, San Francisco has proven again and again that standard notions of economics do not function here as it appears we are unable or unwilling to take the steps required to create an open market. Leaving current rental housing subject to the laws of supply and demand would create social and economic havoc. The reason for this is two fold. First, the land supply of San Francisco is extremely limited at 47 square miles and is unable to expand. The city is also a location which is highly desirable. As shown in figure 2, San Francisco's small space is the second most densely populated area of the country at 16,634 people per square mile. Secondly, the city's zoning and anti-growth ordinances restrict any hope of significantly denser development. While city policies such as inclusionary housing have helped, they supply too few units to make any significant dent in the city's housing shortage. The city's economy relies on an educated, middle class workforce. In 2004, 79.4% of the city's residents worked in the city (Franklin, 2005). According to the Housing Element of the San Francisco General Plan, the income required to afford a two bedroom housing unit in the city is $98,000 per year and most middle class workers make significantly less with wages ranging from $15,000 to $70,000 a year (SF Housing, 2004). An exodus of the middle class workforce, due to lack of finding affordable housing, would have dire consequences on the city's economy. The ability of this work force to be able to live a middle class life style and afford shelter is essential. For the city, as a whole to prosper, this must be protected.

The result of lifting rent control would create a situation where the supply of new housing, due to geographic and political constraints, would not compensate for the effects of market forces. Even William Tucker, a very outspoken rent control opponent, grudgingly acknowledges, "San Francisco...does so much to discourage construction of new housing...that with a 1% vacancy rate, the city adds just 500 residential units a year" (Tucker, 1998).

San Francisco, faced with these challenges, has crafted ordinances which provide an equitable solution to this quandary. Rent control, in its current San Francisco form, has altered the dynamics of the housing market, so that its middle class can be maintained. The nature of a residential lease has changed from a short term renewable living arrangement to a long term housing contract and the market has adapted to this change.

At the time of new rental, where price is allowed to be set by market forces, landlords are able to factor rent controls effects, long term tenancy with below market annual rent increases, by charging a higher rent. The shortage, created by tenants holding onto below market priced units, permits the landlord to charge what could be termed, a "rent control premium." Due to the transitory nature of the city, San Francisco's annual turnover rate is 10% which gives landlords ample opportunity to charge new rent control premiums (Grubb, 2002). In addition, the landlord receives a benefit which comes with long term tenancy; not having to worry about the costs associated with an empty unit.

The tenant receives, in return for payment of the rent control premium, the security which comes from a stable rent. Because annual increases are

photo credit Alexandra Iselin Waldhorn

priced below the inflation rate, the tenant is able to get a return on the rent control premium paid in the form of below market housing rents during later periods of the lease. If rent should go down, the tenant has the option of renegotiating with their current landlord or to find other housing arrangements at the time of lease renewal. One final indirect benefit to the tenant is that as the market price for new rental units increases, employers are forced to pay workers higher wages to live in the area. These factors shift the landlord/tenant relationship slightly in to the tenant's favor, however, the landlord is compensated for this shift through payment of the rent control premium.

Rational economic behavior dictates that the existence of a rent control premium on new rentals would encourage landlords to try to turn their apartments over as quickly as possible when market prices are increasing. The lanlord can obtain the rent control premium only because other tenants are taking below market units off the market and that the premium would disappear if all units were rented at market rates. Due to this fact, the city has had to put numerous protections in place to protect tenants from landlords looking to rent their unit at market. These protections are sorely needed for the system to work effectively.

The Poor

Rent control is a solution which helps the middle class, but it does little for the city's poor. In 1990, William Tucker published a highly publicized and influential study stating that rent control caused homelessness. A later study, conducted by Richard Applebaum and Michael Donnely found fault in the methodology of the Tucker study and concluded that there was no statistical relationship between homelessness and rent control. Their analysis showed that the variables most statistically associated with homelessness were high mean temperatures, high unemployment, high percentage of renters in a city, and low vacancy rates (Applebaum, 1991).

While academics debate back and forth about the chicken and egg syndrome of whether homelessness is caused by low vacancy rates resulting in rent control or whether homelessness is caused by rent control resulting in low vacancy rates, San Francisco's poor continue to suffer. As of May, 2005, there were an estimated 6,248 homeless individuals and families in the city and only 3,600 new affordable units in the pipeline. As 40%-50% of the homeless are estimated to be suffering from mental illness and 40% have substance abuse or dual-diagnosis issues, expanding the economic base will do little to help these individuals as they are not currently employable (Franklin, 2005). The city must deal with this situation and come up with funding and zoning variances

"As of May, 2005, there were an estimated 6,248 homeless individuals and families in the city and only 3,600 new affordable units in the pipeline."

to rectify the problem. This must become a priority of the highest order.

Future Study

The argument I have presented for rent control is based on a theoretical model and needs empirical data to support it. The theory of rent control premium's effect on the market needs further study. It would be interesting to attempt to quantify the amount of the premium. My intuitive feeling is that the premium is lower when the market rents are increasing at quick levels as there is a greater possibility of tenants moving out when the market goes down.

Anecdotally, there appears to be no significant difference in prices between rent controlled and non rent controlled apartments of similar size and quality. The theory of a rent control premium would expect to find a price difference between the two because rent controlled apartments carry the insurance that comes from below inflation rate rent increases. Rent controlled apartments should cost more than non rent controlled apartments. I would like to see if indeed there is a price differential and if one does not exist, propose the theory that the reasoning for this is the market has already accounted for the fact that these apartments will, at some future point, become subject to rent control and has priced accordingly. A finding of this nature could have profound policy implications.

Conclusion

Rent control, in its San Francisco form, is an ideal solution for a city with severe geographic and political impediments toward the development of new rental housing. Rent control, in essence, alters the dynamics of the market and changes the nature of the lease into a long term housing contract. Landlords receive a rent control premium at the beginning of each lease to compensate for the fact they will only be allowed below inflation increases for the lease duration. Tenants get the benefits of a secure tenancy in an under supplied and unpredictable rental market. Payment of the rent control premium protects them from market volatility while allowing them to enjoy the benefits of decreased rents when the market goes down. Strong anti-eviction ordinances protect tenants from most landlord attempts to force them out of below market apartments. As loopholes are found, San Francisco voters see to it that amendments are added to the rent control ordinance to close them. The latest loophole involves the conversion of units into "Tenancy in Common" and with housing prices rising much quicker than apartment rents, it is changing from a nuisance to an all out assault on rent control. The San Francisco Tenants Union and other community organizations are actively working to make sure adequate safeguards become enacted (SF Tenant's Union, 2006). Unless San Francisco plans to fill in more of the Bay or allow more development, rent control is one of the few ways to protect the lifestyle of middle class citizens which the city's economic base relies on.

So where does that leave Anna Rodman and her landlord? Her landlord will continue, as he has for many years, to complain that rent control and Anna Rodman are costing him a lot of money. He will continue renting out vacant apartments at market rates and enjoy the rent control premium resulting from the market shortages created by long term tenants like Mrs. Rodman. Until age finally does catch up to Anna Rodman, she will continue to enjoy the diversity of her adopted city and each day go to local merchants to run her errands. To her landlord's chagrin,

she probably will live to be 100 and never pay more than $700.00 a month for her one bedroom apartment in a trendy San Francisco neighborhood.§

Joe Rukus is attending San Francisco State to receive a second Bachelor's Degree in Urban Studies. Joe returned to school out of a passion for social justice issues. He realized that idealism must be combined with hard research skills in order to be successful and feels San Francisco State's applied curriculum has given him many skills to make him a more effective advocate. He lives the Castro District where he has leased a rent controlled apartment for the last ten years.

REFERENCES

Applebaum, R., & Dolny, M. (1991). Scapegoating rent control. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 57(2), Byrne, P. (August 9, 2000). The case for ending rent control. SF Weekly

Article 13. California State Constitution , Article 13. April 2006, Retrieved 2006. _____Web site: http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/.const/.article_13A

City of San Francisco Rent Board, (n.d.). Ordinances. Retrieved Apr. 13, 2006, from SFGov, Web site: http://www.sfgov.org/site/rentboard_index.asp?id=2146#ordinances

Franklin, M. (2005). San francisco's affordable housing. San Francisco: City and County of San Francisco

Forbes, J., & Sheridan, M. (1999). The birth of rent control in San francisco. *Apartment Magazine.*

Grubb, J. (2002). San francisco housing databook. San Francisco: City and County of San Francisco.

San Francisco, City and County (2004). Housing element: *An element of the san francisco general plan.*

San Francisco Tenant's Union, (2006). Tenant's Rights Information. Retrieved April 22, 2006, Web site: http://www.sftu.org/

Tucker, W. (1998). Rent control drives out affordable housing. *USA Today Magazine*, 127(2638), 20.

The Faces Behind the Ellis Act

By Ian Thomas

Introduction

The Ellis Act, passed by the California Legislature in 1986, gives landlords the right to evict tenants if they wish to get out of the rental business. The impetus for passing the law was, in part, to acknowledge the burden of insurance, constant repairs and litigations faced by some property owners. In passing the Ellis Act, politicians recognized that some property owners with problematic tenants felt hampered in recovering the value of their property and desired to get out of the rental market to avoid the hassles of renting to supposedly difficult tenants who were allegedly often late paying their rent. Real estate interests were behind the passage of the legislation, which resulted in a significant amount of rental housing being converted into condominiums and sold at market rate. There are hidden implications of the Ellis Act, however, adversely affecting a disproportionate number of people in some of the most affluent areas of California, the highest concentrations being in San Francisco and Santa Monica. Innumerous people have been forced to move from their homes, and in some cases their neighborhood or even city, after receiving Ellis Act eviction notices. Each person and family affected has their own unique story; following are the stories of one family and one individual who face Ellis Act evictions in San Francisco. Their experiences illustrate the struggles of tenants plagued by the manipulation of this legislation.

The act

The Ellis Act is a complex piece of legislation that can easily be misunderstood by tenants and manipulated by landowners. The Ellis Act stipulates that landlords must remove their property from the

rental market for ten-years, unless they provide an option for the evicted tenants to re-occupy the unit at the original rent-controlled rate (adjusted for city-determined yearly increase of approximately one percent), before another party may rent the property. While the owners themselves can move into an "Ellised" property, the originally intended use for the law, many tenants rights groups contend the Ellis Act is consistently used to evict long-term tenants who pay below market rate in order to increase rental income amounts or to sell the properties at market rate, which constitutes a "change of use" of the property. This is occurs frequently in high demand cities such as San Francisco where, according to the San Francisco Tenants Union (SFTU), owners employed the Ellis Act on over 650 properties between January 21, 1998 and October 31, 2006. Over eighty percent of these rental units were inhabited by senior and/or disabled tenants. Regardless of the specific circumstances, property owners claim the right to decide how to use their properties.

The Ellis Act has resulted in a new facet of an already speculative housing market. In San Francisco, owners who have controlled the property for less than five years initiate eighty percent of Ellis Act evictions. This does not fit with the myth promulgated when the act was introduced that its primary intent was to allow long time owners to inhabit properties occupied by rent-controlled tenants.

Landlord manipulation

"Ellised" properties are often partitioned and converted into condominiums, allowing the owners to sell the property in sections at market rates, thus circumventing the requirement that the owner move into the property. Through these "conversions" landlords are able to avoid the stipulation that the specific unit(s) may not be re-rented unless first offered, at the original below-market rate, to the previous tenant evicted through the Ellis Act. The San Francisco Board of Supervisors sees the Ellis Act as a convenient tool for real estate speculators to reap absorbent profits in a "hot market" while purging the city of ethnic minorities, low-income families with children, elderly people, disabled people and in general, long-term tenants.

In an attempt to balance property rights with tenants' rights and meet San Francisco's demand for rental units, the Ellis Act requires that the property not be re-rented for ten years unless first offered to the evicted tenants. The same rate also applies if it is re-rented within five years, regardless of who moves in. However, low-income advocates at the SFTU, say the law has been used to force tenants out of apartments they have lived in for many years, and that property owners re-rent the units at much higher rents if tenants are unaware of the rules. Tense relationships with landlords during the process of eviction under the Ellis Act also affects the ability of tenants to either move back into the property or get a reference for another residence.

The SFTU believes the law has had a particularly deleterious effect on low and middle-income residents in San Francisco. With the removal of hundreds of rental units from the San Francisco housing market through misuse of the Ellis Act, minorities, the elderly, disabled people, and families with small children are effectively being removed from their homes, and often their communities. The law contributes to the destabilization of long-standing neighborhoods, and tenant advocates are convinced that the Ellis Act places too much decision-making power in to the hands of property owners, limiting tenant rights in San Francisco.

The number of Ellis Act evictions attests to the large impact it has on communities in San Francisco and in other constrained housing markets in cities such as Santa Monica. According to San Francisco Rent Board records, the number of filings for Ellis Act evictions jumped by 59% between 2004 and 2005, from 177 to 282. The current number of evictions in the city is even higher than in 1999 – 2000, when it jumped from 144 to 384, a 166 percent increase. The rent board noted that Ellis Act evictions had declined a bit since the tech-boom and bust of the late 1990s but is on the rise again.

San Francisco residents Veronica Campos, Raul Velasco, and Ceola Greene are examples of people affected by Ellis Act evictions in the city. Campos and Velasco have lived in the same apartment in the Mission District for more than 26 years. Ceola Greene, 77, was notified by her landlord to move out of her apartment in the Fillmore District, where she has lived for more than 35 years. Both this family and this individual are ethnic minorities with important cultural ties to their neighborhoods. Both had rent control that prevented their landlords from raising the rent more than the roughly one percent per year allowed by the city of San Francisco. The San Francisco Board of Supervisors has grappled with various ways to curtail misuse of the law, however, the future for these people is still uncertain.

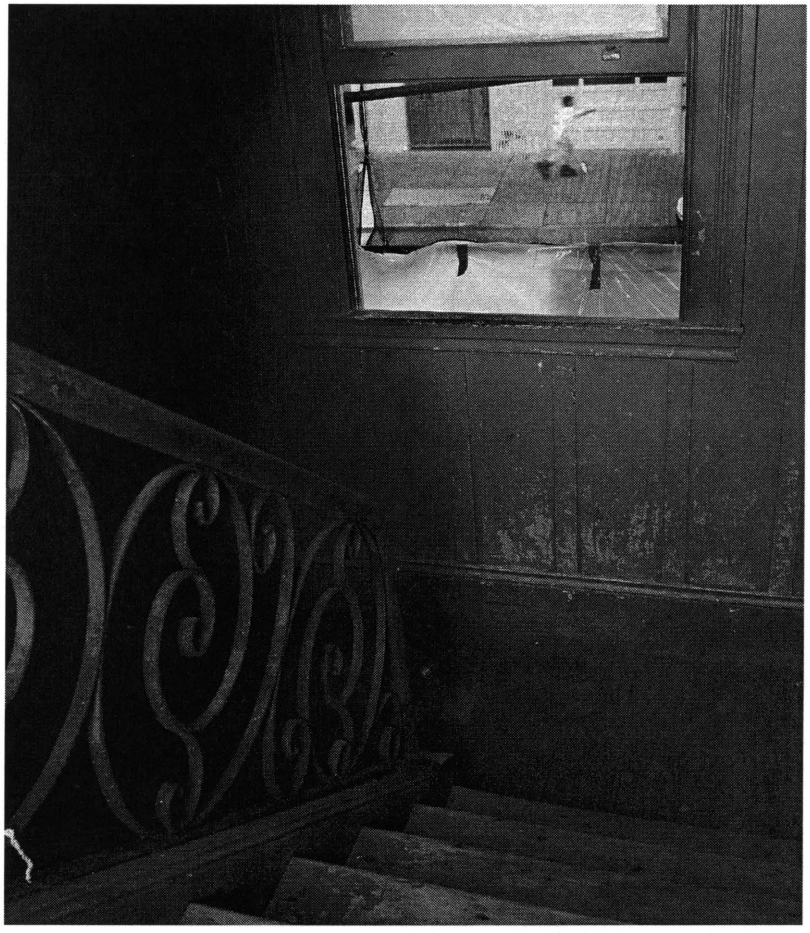
The Mission District and the Fillmore District are two neighborhoods that have been particularly hard-hit by Ellis Act evictions, as both neighborhoods' populations are composed of minority communities. Campos, Velasco and Greene are among the hundreds of tenants in the city currently on notice that they must move out of their homes, but are either unable or unwilling to do so. These people have lived in their homes for years and many are now either elderly, economically disadvantaged, or, in some cases, disabled.

Holding On

Some people steadfastly contest eviction under the Ellis Act. Such residents often experience intimidation and neglect of long-needed repairs and services to their homes. Veronica Campos and her uncle were informed approximately three years ago that the five-unit building where they have lived for over 26 years had been sold. Initially, the new owner, San Francisco Garage Company, told them to move out by February 2007. Velasco has a disability that prompted the San Francisco Rent Board to postpone the eviction. Under the Ellis Act, landlords must pay relocation benefits up to $13,500 per household, with an additional $3,000 for each disabled or senior person evicted. Campos declines to say how much she will be paid to move but the money will barely cover her moving costs. After living in the Outer Mission District for nearly 30 years, she worries that she will be forced out of the community she loves and depends on.

Ironically, San Francisco building inspectors have filled over two pages full of violations on Velasco and Campos' building, including a note that an unhealthy amount of lead was detected inside the apartment, according to Campos. Veloso reported that in the past two months the landlord has done repairs and notices from an attorney have ceased.
Ceola Greene, who has lived in her apartment on Hayes Street in the Fillmore District since December 24, 1972, is faced with a similar dilemma. Greene's heat stopped working and her new landlord promised to complete necessary repairs, but has not returned since June of 2006. Greene received notices that the other tenants in the building purchased their apart-

Source: Julia Robinson
Hole in Ceola Green's wall where she says mice enter.



Source: Julia Robinson
Corridor where Raul Velasco and Veronica Campos live

ments. However, Greene cannot afford to do this because she is on a fixed income. Greene has a host of health problems as well – diabetes, coronary heart disease, sleep apnea, degenerative joint disease and high cholesterol. She is on the waiting list for housing at El Bethel Arms for seniors and disabled people, just blocks from her home. Last December, she was number 508 on the list; El Bethel Arms has 255 units. She says she does not know what she will do if she is not accepted by September 1, 2007, the date set for her eviction.

Attempts to rein in Ellis Act abuse

Ted Gullicksen, manager of the San Francisco Tenants Union, says that Ellis evictions are the number one reason people seek the San Francisco Tenants Union's advice. "The Ellis Act is virtually indefensible. Under state law evictees have little, if any, recourse. This is a gross perversion of what the Ellis Act is originally intended for," Gullicksen said. In addition, the San Francisco's Board of Supervisors are concerned about the rising use of the Ellis Act, and they are considering a ban on condominium conversions of properties involved in Ellis Act evictions. San Francisco voters passed Proposition B, sponsored by Supervisor Chris Daly and the San Francisco Tenants Union in May 2006. Proposition B was designed to address the misuse of the Ellis Act in San Francisco. The measure requires landlords to disclose an El-

lis Act eviction to potential buyers of their property. Though the measure was not expected to stop Ellis evictions, tenant advocates expect Proposition B to turn some buyers away. The proposal was previously passed by the Board of Supervisors and later vetoed by Mayor Gavin Newsome.

Source: Julia Robinson

Ceola Green reviews letters from her landlord

In sum, balancing the needs of renters and property owners in a high-demand city is complex. More advocacy and education is needed to curb misuse of the Ellis Act. Complaints that the Ellis Act essentially purges communities from their neighborhoods need to be addressed both by state and local authorities. Reforms should include a way to help the law evolve to address the concerns of parties on both sides of the equation. The efforts to make housing fair to both tenants and landlords are prone to be manipulated and, as these case studies illustrate, tenants undoubtedly suffer from the inadequacies of the Ellis Act.§

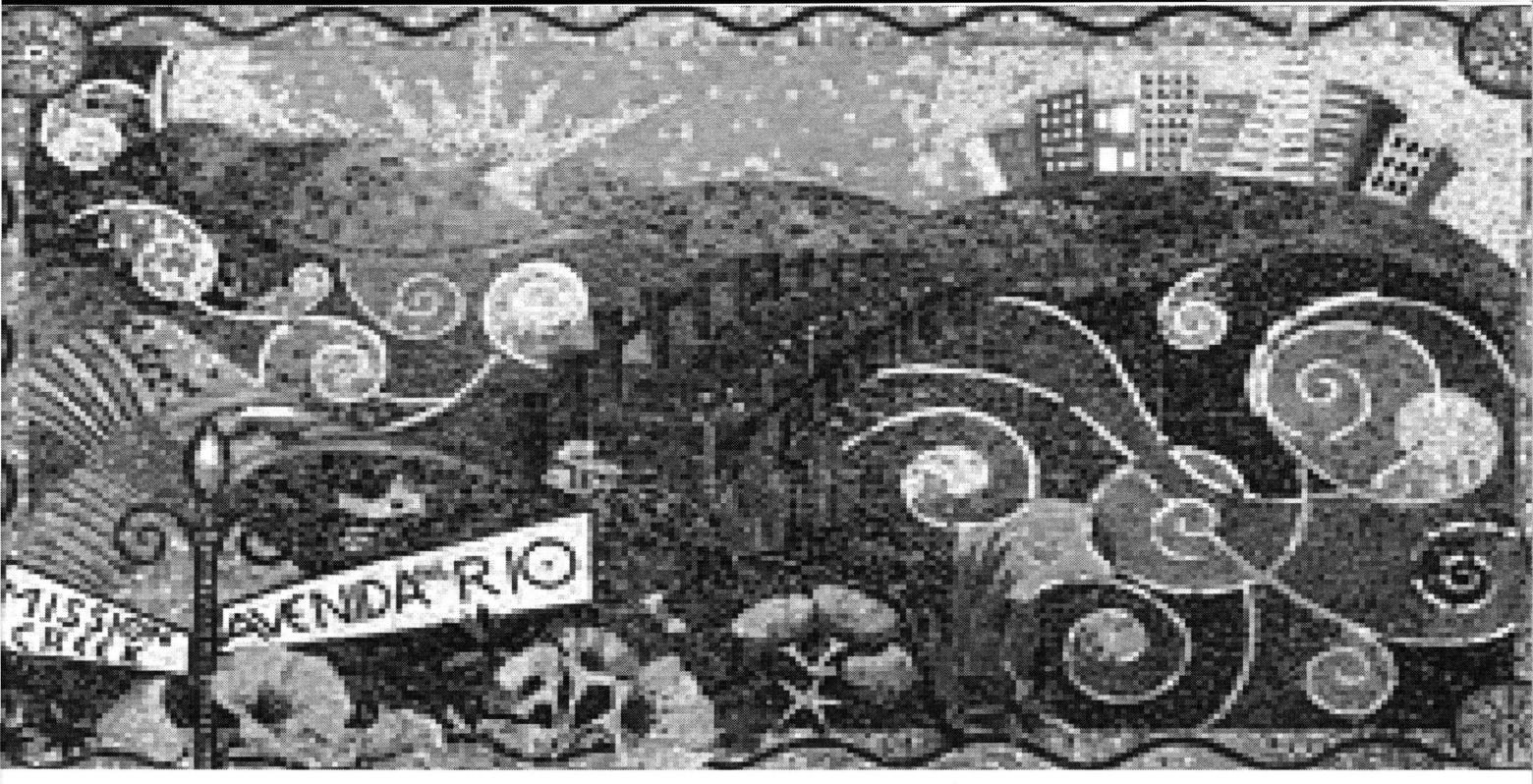
Ian Thomas a journalism major and international relations minor at SF State graduating in 2007. He is currently the editor of The Golden Gate [Xpress student newspaper at SF State. Ian plans to embark on a career as a social entrepreneur, combining international reporting with sustainable development at home and abroad. His mother and father are his biggest influences. He loves to laugh frequently and uncontrollably.

References

The information presented in this article was based off an extensive series of personal interviews and conversations between the author, Ian Thomas, and San Francisco residents' Veronica Campos, Raul Velasco, and Ceola Greene between December 2005 and April 2007. All other information was retrieved from the San Francisco Tenants Union, both from written resources and personal communication, and the San Francisco Rent Board.

San Francisco Tenants Union, http://www.sftu.org/, April 2007

San Francisco Rent Board, http://www.sfgov.org/site/rentboard_page.asp?id=6014, April 2007



The Mission Creek Watershed: From Prehistory to Postmodernity

By: Robin Abad Ocubillo

"There should be a place for community utopias; for historic, natural, and anthropological evocations of the modern city, for encounters with the truly exotic."

-Allan Jacobs and Donald Appleyard

Introduction

The Mission Creek watershed is a key feature in the history of San Francisco. Since early days it provided habitat and fresh water to native wildlife and peoples, later it supported settlers, agriculture and livestock. Like many other watersheds in present-day metropolises – including the Los Angeles River, Tennessee Hollow in the Presidio, and Mission Creek of Fremont in the East Bay – San Francisco's Mission Creek was subjected to significant alterations. The effects of settlement bear directly on local drainage and hydrology (DelVecchio 2004, March 1998), as well as the health of waterways and their ability to support life (Lee and Roth, 2001).

During previous decades, development practices destroyed the natural landscape of Mission Creek watershed. Natural systems were compromised in order to accommodate human ones: urban housing, roadways, transporation, commercial and industrial activities. This paper explores the watershed's gradual transformation, and documents development plans – currently in various phases of implementation – in the region's former delta.

The urbanization of a watershed

Mission Creek originated in the eastern foothills of Twin Peaks, at a small waterfall feeding a willow-lined pond (Sward, 1998). On its winding course eastward towards the Bay, it formed the backbone to a variety of habitats, most notably the wetlands

and marshes in a delta adjoining Mission Bay. Over the centuries, and especially since the Industrial era, this watershed has experienced increasing levels of exploitation and alteration. The stream and wetlands have been filled in through succeeding phases of San Francisco's urban development. Mission Bay itself, once a naturally occurring cove, has reduced to a short, narrow channel.

The stream figured significantly in the lives of the native Ohlone Indians, who inhabited the Bay Area before becoming displaced and eventually decimated by European settlement. Mission Creek functioned as a major inland transportation corridor, which the Ohlone navigated in tule reed balsas (Hart 2006). The current location of the Mission Creek Mosaic Mural, at Harrison and 16th Streets, is said to be a historic Ohlone streamside landing ground (Hart 2006). The Creek provided habitat and fresh water to both native wildlife and peoples. Recognizing it as a key resource, Spanish missionaries of the 18th century established Mission Dolores, part of which survives today, near the western headwaters of the creek (Hart, 2006).

Through the pre-Columbian to Mercantile and Industrial periods, this quadrant of San Francisco served as an important shipping and distribution center. Western settlers, in practical imitation of the Ohlone, used skiffs on the stream to transport goods and people as far inland as Mission Dolores (Hart 2006, Sharpsteen 1941, Sward 1998). During the Mercantile and early Industrial eras, Mission Bay (also known as "China Basin") was lined with docks for lumber schooners and hay scows (Zane, 1992).

Industrialization of San Francisco had manifold effects on the watershed, transforming it unrec-

Harrison and 16th Streets

Former streamside landing ground of the Ohlone Indians. The Mission Creek Mosaic Mural, on the brick building on the right, was created by Lillian Sizemore and Laurel True to commemorate the former Mission Creek streambed (also pictured on the report cover). Beyond the buildings, the former path of the railway and streambed veers off the street in a northeasterly direction (Ocubillo 2006).

ognizably. As neighborhoods developed upstream, the creek and its tributaries were paved over, fragmented and grafted onto man-made strormwater drainage systems (Sward, 1998). Downstream, manufacturing plants were located on the banks, where the water was used for cooling and powering industrial equipment. The stream also served as a convenient sewer for industrial effluent.

The legacy of industrial society's burden upon river systems manifests itself in a variety of problems, which city governments are now challenged with correcting. These problems include storm water management, flooding, and effective sewage treatment.

Until the late 1980s, San Francisco funneled both domestic sewage and storm water runoff to the same treatment plants (Ostler, 2000). As a result, Mission Creek itself became a sewer, with raw sewage overflows becoming even more acute during and after heavy rainstorms (Adams, 2003). Houseboat residents in the Mission Creek Marina, with characteristic good humor, called their neighborhood "Sh*t Creek" (Adams, 2003), and recall that methane gas bubbles, dead rats, and large gobs of black fungus were regular features of the waterscape (Ostler, 2000).

The city has invested in considerable infrastructure reconfigurations to mitigate the toxic conditions at Mission Creek Marina. According to Michael Carlin, planning director of the Public Utilities Commission, "We now treat all storm water that comes through the sewer" (Adams, 2003, p. A27). In 2002, the city completed a storm water pump station at Mission Bay that separates storm water from the sewage flow (SFRA, 2006).

The geography of Mission Bay was altered considerably during the Industrial era. Most of the marshes and Bay were filled-in to provide land for warehouses and rail yards . Santa Fe Railway owned the site, and took advantage of the even grade provided by the streambed. The San Jose and San Francisco rail line tracks were laid over the paved waterway (Hart 2006). By the 1940s, the waterway west of Seventh Street had been paved over completely (King 2004).

To this day, the infrastructure of the district contrasts sharply with neighboring areas. Portrero Hill (to the south) and South of Market (to the northwest) have a relatively fine-grained street fabric, whereas Mission Bay became one huge parcel, comprised of broad roadways and rail right-of-ways. The landscape has been characterized by massive transit infrastructure – railways in historical times, and freeways in recent times - that cut paths through the orderly street grids of neighboring areas.

Post-industrial challenges

Like many cities in developed nations, San Francisco experienced rapid de-industrialization in the latter 20th century. As manufacturing activities were exported to countries with cheaper, exploitable labor, districts such as Mission Bay were abandoned. In the face of this economic rearrangement, the associated shipping and distribution activities at the Port of San Francisco re-located to Oakland. At present, Mission Bay is a section of the city in transition, a typical feature in post-industrial transformation. The district's function in the urban system is shifting from industrial purgatory to residential, and its economic base in biotechnology research anchored with the new UCSF campus.

The area is currently experiencing radical redevelopment by its owner and master builder, Catellus (a ProLogis Company, formerly the Santa

Fe Railroad) (Beedle 2006). Redevelopment plans capitalize upon and enhance the district's many amenities: vast open space, waterfront location, and proximity to the Central Business District. In keeping with its longtime legacy as a transit node, the neighborhood is directly served by Caltrain, Muni buses and Metro (including the newly established 3rd Street Rail line), and highways 80, 280, and 101.

Catellus – in alignment with the San Francisco General Plan and development suggested by the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG) – is building a dense, mixed-use neighborhood on site that will expand the city's housing stock by 6,000 units (SFRA 2006). 1,700 (28%) of these units are slated for moderate, low, and very low income households, the majority of which are being built by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (SFRA, 2006). The plans, heavily influenced by New Urbanism design principle, emphasize neighborhood services and retail, including: a new public branch library, a 500-student public school, new fire and police stations, childcare centers, a senior service complex (SFRA, 2006), grocery stores and restaurants.

Ecological and environmental dimensions

Despite decades of alteration, Mission Creek still serves as a wetland habitat to a variety of wildlife. These include sixty-one bird species (such as the great blue heron, snowy egret, black crowned night heron) and seven fish species (shiners, pile perch, baby herring, anchovies) that use the waterway as a nursery. (Sward, 1998) Fortunately, the natural heritage of the Creek figures prominently in the projects of both Catellus and the community of 20 houseboats that occupy the southern bank. The houseboaters, relocated in the early 1960s from Is-

Bird Perches in Mission Creek

The houseboat residents of Mission Creek Marina are very active custodians of their unique environment. These perches (foreground) were built from old driftwood. The new, high-density mixed use developments are seen in the background. (Source: Ocubillo, 2006)

Huffaker Park and Butterfly Garden

The houseboat residents lease their berths from the Port of San Francisco (Weir 2006). The southwest end of Mission Creek Marina is planted and maintained by the residents (Source: Ocubillo, 2006).

lais Creek to the south (Adams, 2003), planted a butterfly garden and greenbelt along the southern shore (Zane, 1992). Butterflies include the Vanessa annabella and anise swallowtail (Adams, 2003).

Preserved wetlands and parks have long been envisioned along Mission and Islais Creeks (Levy, 1998). Mission Bay plans contain 49 acres of open public space, including 13 acres of waterfront parkland (Adams, 2003). According to Carolyn Weir, Assistant Manager of the Mission Bay Parks System, public amenities will also include a kayak launching facility, basketball and tennis courts (2006).

The most interesting development proposal linked with the Mission Creek watershed is the Mission Creek Greenbelt and Bikeway. This project was conceived by the SF Bicycle Coalition and the Madrina Group (Adams, 2003), and would directly link the Mission District with Mission Bay, expanding access to the adjacent SOMA and Financial Districts. The positive implications of a tree-lined bicycle expressway are many, especially with regard to ubiquitous auto-oriented urban problems like surface traffic, air pollution, and physical safety. According to Josh Hart of the SF Bicycle Coalition:

"Rail-to-Trail conversions have become important tools for urban planners seeking to provide human-scaled environments in today's car-centered cities. Rail lines recycled into greenways are often a seed that sprouts into tangible economic, social, and environmental benefits to the surrounding community. Groups such as the Northeast Mission Business Association are supporting the Mission Creek plan... because of the many studies that have documented the link between new rail-trails and an invigorated economy" (2006).

The Bikeway project clearly expresses the increasingly sophisticated ideology espoused by urban residents, who in trademark postmodern fashion connect the ancient legacy of transportation along Mission Creek with possibilities for contemporary, sustainable urban infrastructure. The bikeway would appropriate the path of the former Santa Fe rail line, which in turn was built along the buried stream (*Figure 2*). The parcels forming the right-of-way were sold to different companies when Santa Fe disbanded. Thus, full realization of the Greenbelt-Bikeway would entail complicated land acquisi-

Mission Creek Park, South Bank *(Ocubillo 2006)*

A panoramic taken from the 4th Street Bridge facing south and east. The new parks were designed by world renowned landscape architect Laurie Olin and the environmental design firm EDAW (Adams 2003).

tions along a contiguous path (Hart 2006). The cost of the project – together with land acquired through eminent domain or direct purchase – is estimated in excess of one million dollars (Adams 2003).

Conclusion

The ravages of industrial development on Mission Creek are gradually turning over to more humane and ecologically oriented built environments. While the watershed can never be completely restored, the city government, private developers, grassroots organizations and residents are all working towards preserving what little natural environment that remains. The new development plans seem to balance local ecological concerns with the acute housing shortage, while at the same time enhancing the area's natural amenities. These amenities, in conjunction with newly installed public services such as transit and shopping, make Mission Bay an increasingly prestigious place to live. There seems little evidence of low-income homeownership opportunities in Mission Bay, or the investment for locally owned businesses in the area, hinting towards impending gentrification. In the early planning stages, the project was widely criticized as a sweetheart deal between the Mayor's Office and developers (Levy, 1998). Do the housing developments serve the city's moderate and low-income residents – the residents that most need affordable housing choices – or are they in fact only accessible to people with ample financial resources? The same thing may be asked of revitalization projects in any district of any city; in San Francisco, Hayes Valley, Rincon Hill, and the Dogpatch – just south of Mission Bay on the shoreline – come to mind. Despite these questions, the changes at Mission Bay are markedly progressive compared to developments in past periods. Perhaps one day, the essence of the bygone Mission Creek will resurfcae, and San Franciscans will enjoy bicycling along a tree-lined expressway from backyard to ballpark.§

This paper originated from Professor Guo's Urban Geography course at San Francisco State University.

References

Association of Bay Area Governments (2001, August). Smart Growth Strategy: Regional Livability Footprint Project. California: The Association of Bay Area Governments

Adams, Gerald D (2003, April 10). Creek rising; New parks, development will transform S.F.'s Mission channel area from funky to fashionable. San Francisco Chronicle. P.A27

Beedle, Tim – Associate Vice President, Catellus, a ProLogis Company (2006, 27 March, 11:00 A.M.) Phone Interview. San Francisco, CA

Cartier, Robert, and Crane, L., James, C., Reddington, J., and Ruby, A. (1991). Ethnographic Background, The Santa's Village Site CA-SCr=239. Cupertino, CA: Field Methods in Archaeology Class, De Anza College

DelVecchio, Rick (2004, April 23). The secret underground; Fremont's Mission Creek rehabbed to near-natural status. San Francisco Chronicle, East Bay Friday. p.F1

Hart, Josh (2006). Mission Creek Bikeway Proposed for Industrial Zone. The Tube Times, San Francisco Bicycle Coaltion, Issue 71. Mission Creek website. www.missioncreek.org/backgound.html

King, John (2004, December 16). Mission Bay's time will come -- but be patient. San Francisco Chronicle, Daily Datebook. p. E1

Lee, Suart and Roth, Wolff-Michael (2001, June). How Ditch and Drain Become a Healthy Creek: Re-Presentations, Translations and Agency during the Re/Design of a Watershed. Social Studies of Science, Vol. 31 No. 3. pp. 315 – 56.

Levy, Dan (1998, October 19). High-Stakes Feud Ends Today With Vote on Mission Bay Plan. The San Francisco Chronicle.

Marsh, William M. (1998). Landscape Planning: Environmental Applications. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Scott Ostler (2000, May 1). World Moving In on Mission Creek. San Francisco Chronicle. p.A-2

San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (2006). Mission Bay. San Francisco Redevelopment Agency website. http://sfgov.org/site/sfra_page.asp?id=5597

San Francisco Redevelopment Agency (2003, June 16). Mission Bay Affordable Housing. San Francisco Redevelopment Agency website. http://sfgov.org/site/sfra_page.asp?id=5597

Shaprsteen, William Crittenden (1941, June). Vanished Waters of Southeastern San Francisco: Notes on Mission Bay and the Marshes and Creeks of the Potreros and the Bernal Rancho. California Historical Society Quarterly Vol. 21, No. 2

Sward, Susan (1998, July 27). Planned Mission Bay project worries houseboaters, environmentalists.). San Francisco Chronicle, Bay Area. p.A-13

UCSF Campus Planning (2006). Walk on Water at Mission Bay. UCSF website. http://pub.ucsf.edu/missionbay/

Weir, Carolyn – Assistant Property Manager, Mission Bay Parks System (27 March 2006, 10:30 A.M.) Phone Interview. San Francisco, CA

Zane, Maitland (1992, October 3). Auction to Benefit Mission Creek Park / Residents selling art to finance greenbelt in huge S.F. project. San Francisco Chronicle. p. A-16

Image Sources

Picker, Alon (2006). Mission Creek Mosaic Mural, by Lillian Sizemore and Laurel True. Mission Creek Bikeway and Greenbelt website. http://www.missioncreek.org/posters.html

Ocubillo, Robin Abad (2006, March 26). Fieldwork and Photodocumentation.

Postcard From Marrakech

by Andrew Sullivan

Nestled at the base of the Atlas Mountains, and surrounded by citrus groves is the city of Marrakech, in Morocco. Located on a southwestern oasis and comprised of predominantly Arabic speaking peoples, Marrakech is a rapidly growing tourist destination and second home for many Middle Eastern and European elites. A contradiction between modernity and tradition, Marrakech attracts rural migrants who seek employment in the fast growing tourism and service industries. Surrounded by irrigated agricultural areas, the outer lying regions are dry and desert like. As a central location for regional trade, migration, travel, and business, the city has always been of interest to the governing bodies of the country with both its site and situation serving as key components to the political and economic function of the region.

The influx of migrants and foreign investors into Marrakech has created a construction boom, with the creation of several new hotel resorts and rapid development of "big block" housing complexes. These complexes are the homes to the majority of working and middle class Marrakech residents. The upper class typically resides in traditional Riyads, larger estates located on former agricultural lands. The Riyad/Riad includes privacy from the street and an enclosed courtyard, which can contain a garden, pool, fountain, or patio for relaxing. Today, many Riyads are being converted into tourist lodging or taken as second homes by foreign investors.

The French influence upon Morocco, and Marrakech, is evident in the Ville Nouvelle section of the city located outside of the Medina, where food, shopping, and entertainment are concentrated. Although the French controlled Morocco from 1912 until the early 1960s, they left a majority of the City of Marrakech untouched by developing alongside of the original central business district (on

what was then agricultural land). This has created a multiple–nuclei pattern in the city, which serves two competing populations. The original central business district was and still is the Jemaa el Fna, where the entertainment, restaurant, and retail businesses thrive. This is also the location of large public gatherings for political, social, and religious occasions.

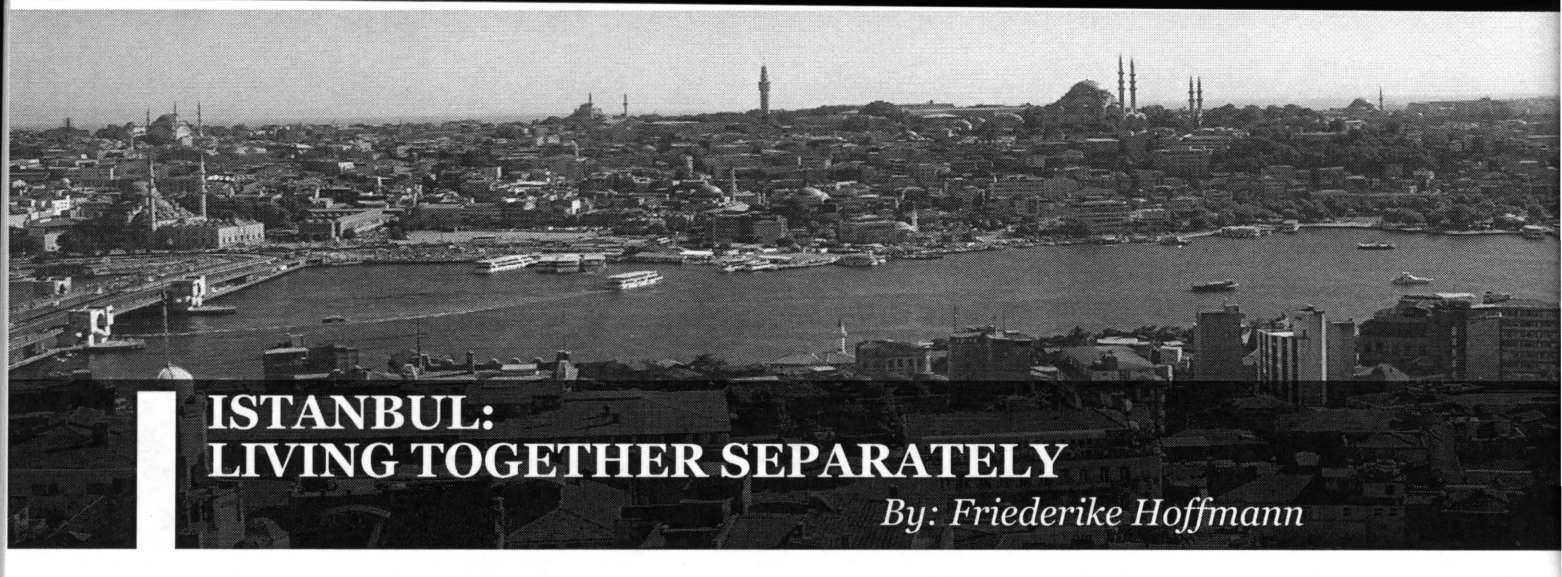
Source: Mouna Benmoussa

Wide avenues lined with modern dual use structures in the Gueliz sector of Marrakech.

Over time, the influx of new investments and developments has created an economic boom in the city, albeit without much needed social improvements such as a public transit system or access to the inner city. Without a centralized transportation system, air quality has suffered as many people get from place to place in cars, taxis, or on scooters or motorcycles all of which are powered by gasoline. In addition, most new developments are being erected in the palm, olive, and orange groves, which are creating even more adverse implications for the bourgeoning city. Specifically, the lack of air cleansing trees and vegetation has a standardized effect upon the air quality and pollution of Marrakech, and now with the rapid new developments the further decline is evident to both residents and visitors.

The growth of modern Marrakech is contributed to by the overwhelming amount of new structures that are being built for foreign investors and conference attendees. Although the new planning and growth of the city has provided some advantages such as economic growth, the lack of oversight in planning is apparent. European influences are noticeable in the wide tree-lined avenues, and the multi-unit/dual use housing and commerce structures that line these newer thoroughfares.

The original pattern of the city included the walled Medina, where almost all city residents lived, worshipped, and participated in commerce. Outside of this walled city is where the agricultural, livestock, and irrigation works that once sustained the city were located. Although these areas still serve the same purpose, they are rapidly being converted into locations for housing and business. The Medina is full of narrow, covered throughways, which are lined with purveyors of all types of goods and services from spice vendors to leather artisans. This concentrated commerce area has been the center of business in Marrakech for centuries, and is now the center of tourism for Marrakech. The Medina district with its rich traditional commercial focus, and strong cultural heritage, is unlikely to change in stark contrast to the rest of the city located outside of the walls. As this Moroccan city strives to develop and modernize, it faces the problems of overpopulation, pollution, and resource stresses. Marrakech must embrace a new planning paradigm, one that respects the inherent limitations of an oasis, and focuses on the real value of the city - its people.§



ISTANBUL: LIVING TOGETHER SEPARATELY

By: Friederike Hoffmann

Gentrification is a process happening both with and without government influence in the city of Istanbul. However, the process has a serious impact on the old inhabitants of newly renovated inner-city districts – every renovation process in the city so far has led to the almost complete transformation of the population. The gentrification process today does not only lead to urban renewal and revitalization, but is moreover accompanied by a change of the original character of the gentrified districts. Three districts will be examined in this paper, each representing a distinct case of gentrification in Istanbul. The first case is the quarter of Cihangir, a former and now again representative district, the second is the neighborhoods of Fener and Balat in the Fatih district, which are renewewed by international donor agencies of United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the European Commission, and third, the "French Street", a whole street that was renewed and opened to the public in 2004 in order to reestablish the traditional appearance.

Istanbul is the geographic and historic gateway between East and West, a growing megacity and a cosmopolitan melting pot. For Turkey, Istanbul is one of the driving forces for the cultural, societal and economic developments in the country, is today's informal capital, and the largest city, inhabited by 13 percent of the total population of Turkey. (Kelekci & Berköz, 2006: 77) Burgeoning urbanization in Turkey brings together modern and more traditional lifestyles. Thus far, clashes of lifestyles have been avoided by an unintentional and planned separation of living spheres within Turkey's cities. This phenomenon is relatively new to Istanbul where living spheres used to be mixed because of the city's long-standing history of immigration. Recently gentrification has started to impact the multicultural inner city districts, fostering separation among the population.

Historically, Istanbul's multicultural neighborhoods of Cihangir, Nisantasi and Beyoglu[1] located in the city center, attracted foreigners and traders, as well as modern Turkish elites. Most were Armenians, Greek, Russians and Sephardic Jews, who left Turkey. The following inhabitants have been mostly

1 The districts of Nisantasi and Beyogly were among the first to be gentrified, however, they will be not included in the analysis as the gentrification is similar to Cihangir.

poor migrants from rural Anatolia, without the financial resources to maintain the housing stock. In the 1980s, along with continuing economic development and reforms, these former prestigious inner-city districts gained new popularity among higher-income families, attracted by their location close to the financial district. (Ergun, 2004: 391)

The structural change in Istanbul also reflects the political and economic situation in the country. While the crisis in the 1970s led to the abandonment of Istanbul's city centre by the elites after ethnic minorities had left in the 1960's, the stability achieved through international loans and during the EU accession process fostered urban renewal of the centre and speculation by real estate agents.[2] Today, with the renewed economic stability, the affluent have moved back in the centre. This process of separating the poor from the rich by displacing the poor from the city centre is best described as gentrification.

The living sphere, which remains affordable for the urban poor are located at the outskirts of the city. These squatter settlements, or *gecekondus*[3], made up about 65 percent of the total settlement area in the city in 2000. (Yalcintan & Elbas 2003, Bayhan, 1997) The immense growth of the gecekondu is owed to the internal migration of peasants to Istanbul settlements,[4] which pushed the number of permanent residents from 4.1 million in 1980 to 6.4 in 1990 and to over 10 million in 2000.[5] (SIS, 2002). This, migration, as well as the renewed attraction of districts in the city center left the government unable to meet the demands upon infrastructure and services. This is due to lack of housing policies to meet housing demand of migrants, on the one hand, and, as examined in the case of the French Street, the active revitalization efforts on the other. The changes in the architecture of the city took two remarkable directions in the last 10 years, adding to the further division of the urban rich and the urban poor in Istanbul: the illegally growing slum-like areas in the outskirts for the urban poor and the gentrification of traditional inner-city neighborhoods for the cosmopolitan rich.

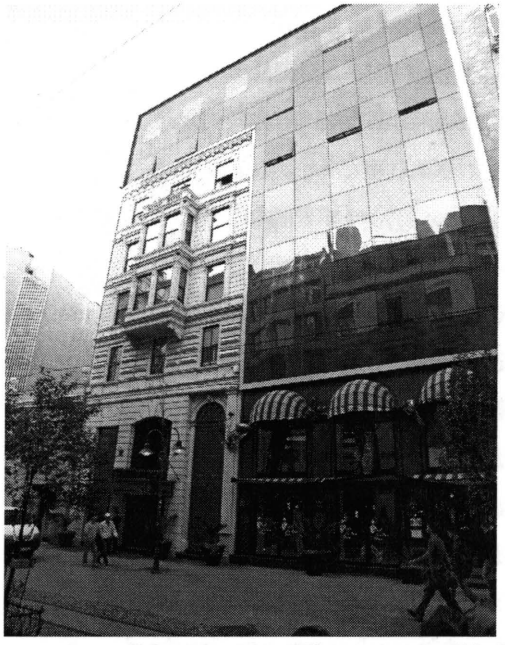


Photo 2: *Gentrification in Cihangir, Istiklal Street. Photo by Dominik Lorenzten, published with permission of the author.*

2 The last economic crisis has been fostered in 1997 by the Asian crisis and in 1998 by the Russian crisis.

3 *Gecekondu* is best translated as: "built overnight".

4 The waves of migration are owed to both economic changes in agriculture, as well as to the conflict in the South-East of the country. (Mill 2005: 449).

5 There has so far been no new attempt to publish an updated survey on the population growth since 2000; furthermore it is especially difficult to estimate the actual population. The *gececondular* inhabit a large unregistered population, which has no ability to register their newborn children remain.

Gentrification

One definition of gentrification is given by Uzun (2003: 365) as the unit-by-unit acquisition of housing, restoration and upgrading of the neighborhood, along with the displacement of low-income residents by high-income residents in abandoned and dilapidated neighborhoods. Kennedy and Leonard (2001) define gentrification with an additional focus on the "character of the neighborhood" as a "process by which higher income households displace lower income residents of a neighborhood, changing the essential character and flavor of that neighborhood". They further argue that gentrification has to be separated from revitalization, which is described as a

> *"process of enhancing the physical, commercial and social components of neighborhoods and the future prospects of its residents through private sector and/or public sector efforts. Physical components include upgrading of housing stock and streetscapes. Commercial components include the creation of viable businesses and services in the community. Social components include increased employment and reductions in crime. Gentrification sometimes occurs in the mist of the revitalization process." (Kennedy & Leonard 2001: 6)*

Thus they argue for three distinct components which all must be met in order to qualify for gentrification: "*displacement of original residents, physical upgrading of the neighborhood, particularly of housing stock; and change in neighborhood character.*" (Kennedy & Leonhard, 2001: 6)

Marcuse (1999) points out that the definition of gentrification is generally possible with two distinct focuses: first as physical, and second as socioeconomic neighborhood restructuring. He argues that the definition will greatly impact the evaluation of gentrification:

> *"If gentrification is considered in geographic/physical/financial terms as investment in the construction or improvement of buildings in an area previously run down, it is likely to be viewed as benign. If, [on the other hand], gentrification is defined as the displacement of lower-income households by upper-income ones, it will be measured more in terms of demographic change and will be viewed negatively."* (Marcuse 1999: 790)

However, I will argue that this differentiation does not need to be made for the examination of the case studies in Istanbul, and use the definition of Kennedy and Leonard (2001:6) for this paper. It will indeed be difficult to find physical upgrading of neighborhoods without displacing low-income residents in Istanbul. The only exception might be the second case of Fener and Balat, where the upgrading of the neighborhood is supposed to be carried out with the specific objective to keep the current residents in the area.

Cihangir Neighborhood

The first district examined is Cihangir, close to the city centre, next to Taksim and the central business district of Istanbul. Settlement in Cihangir dates back to the 15th century, however, the original wooden architecture has been completely destroyed over time through six fires. It was not until 1916 that the district was rebuilt with new 19th century style stone houses. Non-Muslim minorities, for example Russian migrants who settled there after the 1920's, almost exclusively occupied the district. (Ergun,

2004: 398). In the 1980's, the area was occupied by transvestites and homosexuals, who enjoyed relative freedom in the area, but most of the district was run down and occupied by low-income groups and the area was known for crime and drug abuse. The district is right next to the popular Istiklal Street, which was renovated during the 1980's and is today the main pedestrian shopping zone. With the growing importance of this street, artists, academics and writers who valued the nostalgic ambience and the historic buildings of the district, first rediscovered the area and purchased and renovated the apartments according to their original characteristics. There is no distinct event or date that marks the beginning of the gentrification in the area, since it is especially difficult to initially distinguish between maintenance and renovation activities. (Uzun, 2003: 367). The first wave of new inhabitants of artists, academics and writers did not lead to the displacement of the original inhabitants. With the strengthening economy and the renewed importance of the financial district, the need for apartments close to the former abandoned city center increased. Investment brokers and housing agents recognized the potential of the area and a radical social renovation took place.

Photo 3 *Cihangir, Balo Sokak. Photo by Dominik Lorentzen, published with permission of the author.*

The gentrification of the neighborhood was thus mostly initiated by economic calculations of private investors, not through activities of the municipality. The enormous price for renovated apartments since the late 1990's led to the overall displacement of low-income residents. Most of the houses have been renovated and the apartments have been individually sold, while popular bars, restauranants, and little boutiques have opened in the area. In addition to the central location on top of a little hill, the view to the Bosporus, described by Uzun (2003: 367) as "one of the best views in Istanbul", is an additional asset valued by the affluent. The gentrification took place without government intervention; only private investments fostered the gentrification of the district after the artists made the location desirable. Today, most of the artists who made the district popular among especially educated and higher income Istanbulites and foreigners are out-priced. Gentrification has clearly changed the appearance of Cihangir, the decay of the houses has stopped and most of them have been restored according to their original appearance, but the former population cannot afford to stay in the area. Thus, one could argue that the characteristics of the quarter until the 20th century have been reconstruction, when the district used to be a residential area inhabiting the educated elites and foreigners, and thus gentrification would not apply. However, since low-income inhabitants have clearly been displaced and cannot enjoy the revitalization of their former neighborhood, gentrification

does apply with all three characteristics as defined by Kennedy and Leonard (2001).

Fener and Balat Neighborhoods

Another old neighborhood of Istanbul, Fener and Balat in the Fatih district, is currently being restored as a comprehensive project aiming to achieve both physical and social reconstruction of the area, thus avoiding gentrification. (Ergun, 2004: 401)

The Fatih district is one of the oldest neighborhoods in Istanbul and Turkey, with Fener being a former Greek area and Balat a former Jewish district. The area has never been as representative as Cihangir; yet, the old middle class houses of no more than two stories still exist on enchanting narrow streets. The neighborhood is located directly on the water, and had a very strong economic tie with the shipping industry. The industry has long been gone, and today's inhabitants are mostly immigrants from the Black Sea and the Marmara region, all of whom are extremely poor. The houses are in bad condition with too many people living in too little space and in overall poor infrastructure. There is only limited access to running water, no central heating, and little public health care for the residents. (Williams, 2000: 22) However, in order to support the inhabitants and prevent the houses from further decay, the United Nations labeled the neighborhood a World Heritage Site along with the Golden Horn. A seven million Euro rehabilitation plan was set up for Fener and Balat in order to preserve the neighborhood from decay in 2003. UNESCO, the European Community, Fatih municipality and the Institut Francais d'Etudes Anatoliennes, after the 1996 Habitat II conference in Istanbul, introduced and set up the project idea, aiming to recreate the architecture and protect the community in Fener and Balat.

The buildings are being restored and refurbished, a community centre will be built and additional support to the inhabitants in the form of improved infrastructure will be provided. Thus, gentrification should be prevented. In total 200 houses will be refurbished and restored. (Ergun, 2004: 401) The project management set up contracts with the house owners in order to keep rents low and prohibited the selling of the restored houses for the next five years. The idea is good, however, it is ignoring the reality in the quarter. As much as four or five families live in un-restored houses, originally built for no more than two families. After restoration, only two families will be allowed to move back in, which means that even when the rent stays the same for the house, it will rise for the respective families and result in displacement.

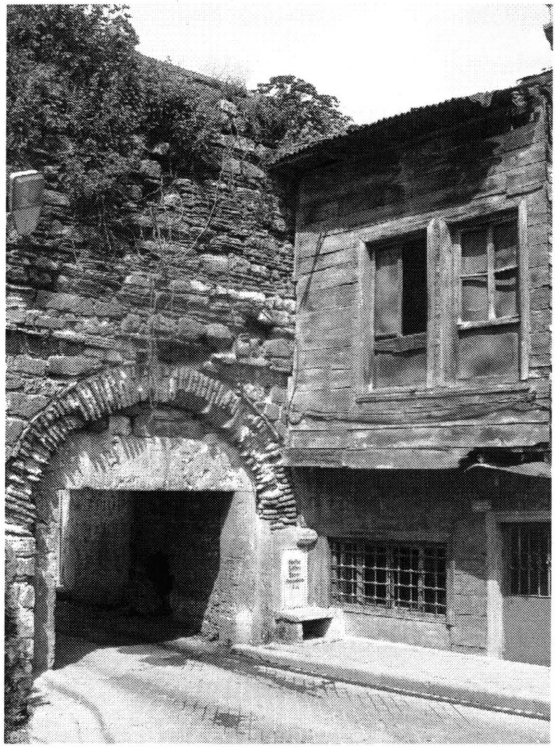


Photo 4 *Decaying Building in Fener and Balat, Summer 2005. Photo: Friederike Hoffman.*

The project started the restoration process successfully, while investors already started to view the area as a new hotspot with the possibility to attract affluent and culturally interested buyers. The Fatih municipality is officially involved in the project and supports the activities, but due to limited resources, not financially. The EC and UNESCO, the main financiers of the activities, make the main decisions, such as what houses are included in the project.

The goal to preserve a traditional quarter of Istanbul is ambitious and honorable, however, the social and structural implications that go along with it are questionable. The district is located by the water and close to the city centre and the beautification and clean up of the area has already led to renewed interest in the district. The housing market in the growing megacity of Istanbul is especially tight, and old restored houses are another attraction for the booming housing market in the inner city, and it will be unlikely for the population to find affordable housing in the long run. The question is if the gentrification of Fener and Balat can be avoided in the end, even though the attempt is to keep the families who have been there before the project started in their homes. Finally, it can be argued that there needs to be political will and participation of local stakeholders in order to both improve the living situation and to keep the residents in the centre.

French Street Area

Beside the gentrification of old neighborhoods, there is a phenomenon in Istanbul that is best described as Disneyfication. One neighborhood that is a good example for this is the French Street in the city centre close to Istiklal Street and Cihangir. The former elite neighborhood of mostly Greek minorities, abandoned after the forced deportation of the Greeks in 1923, was run down because of unresolved legal statuses and squatters. The area was the first place where the former residents of the gentrified Cihangir district went, forming an eclectic mix of artists, students, Gypsies and Kurdish migrants, all unable to afford the higher rents in Cihangir. (Mills, 2005: 450).

One street was picked by the city administration, to reclaim the "French" history of the district- even though that district that never had a French history or tradition. During the EU Accession process the question of how Turkey treats its ethnic minorities was often brought up, in particular was how the Turks treated the Kurds, Greeks and Armenians. Some argue that Turkey did not fulfil the required standards and aimed to prove with projects such as the French Street that the culture of minorities is indeed preserved and protected. Thus, the street formerly known as "Algeria Street" was renamed after the complete renovation of the buildings into "French Street", claiming to rediscover its true French roots. (Mills, 2005: 451). The buildings in the street have not only been renovated and painted in pastels, Mills (2005: 451) states that according to nearby residents, several buildings have been destroyed and entirely rebuilt in order to fit in. The street is protected by guards and has one entrance and one exit point, the visitor can enjoy bars, restaurants and some boutiques with French soaps and perfumes without being disturbed by beggars and street vendors. Thus, a single street in the former Greek neighborhood was transformed into a Disney-like, grotesque shopping and entertainment street in art-deco colors, secured in order to keep out whomever is not desired in this new world. Surprisingly enough, the French Street, without its original inhabitants and directly perpendicular to one of the busiest shopping streets in all

of Turkey, has become a Mecca for the young and beautiful in Istanbul. The street is offered as a big Istanbul attraction in the numerous travel guides, while independent local magazines criticize the French Street as another gentrification project in the city. (Pelit, 2005).

Being designed for tourists and the European public to show the multicultural face of Istanbul, which could have been achieved in a less damaging way to the truly multicultural structures of the city, the French Street is a symbol of who and what is taken into consideration when it comes to urban planning-certainly not its inhabitants. The question remains why the historic city of Istanbul would need to copy the image of French lifestyle. The economic success is unquestionable, but its critics fear further gentrification of this kind.

Conclusion

Presented here are three distinct cases of gentrification in Istanbul, the case of Cihangir without government involvement, one with formal involvement of the municipality in Fener and Balat, and the gentrification of the French Street under full authority of the city administration. Many inner-city districts in Istanbul have been reconstructed and became valuable investments in recent years, with the direct effect of the social structure being lost. The urban poor is replaced by the more affluent ones, foreign residents, and visitors, all of whom can afford to enjoy the atmosphere and the comfort of the renewed districts. At the same time the living situation worsens for the displaced inhabitants – they are pushed into mostly illegally constructed housing in gecekondu neighborhoods, without adequate infrastructure. Along with the social consequences of gentrification, the advantages that go along with it can be observed in the preservation of the original architecture in Cihangir. The project in Fener and Balat tries to rescue the original buildings while attempting to prevent gentrification. However, the case of gentrification in the French Street proves that, in some cases, it neither benefits the original inhabitants from better living conditions, nor the original buildings are being preserved. The French Street will hopefully remain an exception, even though a remarkable one. Gentrification might not be a new phenomenon to the city of Istanbul, but it is one that needs to be carefully examined in order to avoid the mistakes of the past and to keep the original multicultural face of the city.§

Friederike is a Political Science graduate student from Free University, Berlin, Germany. She spent a semester at Sabanci University, Istanbul, which is one of the best decisions she thinks she has made thus far. To her, Istanbul is an amazing melting pot, and one of the best places to be right now. The focus of her studies is on international relations, development policies and European Union enlargement. Friederike works part time at a German development agency, which supports new and future EU member states with the adjustment to EU rules and norms, especially on environmental issues and rural development. The future is unknown and unsure for a social scientist, the only thing one can know for sure in Berlin is that the summer starts as soon as the rain stops and the beergarden opens.

References

Bayhan, V. 1997. Turkiye'de ic gocler ve anomik kentlesme in II.
Uluslararasi sosyoloji kongresi toplum ve goc, Ankara, DIE and Sosyoloji Dernegi, pp.178-191.

Ergun, Nilgun 2004. "Gentrification in Istanbul" Cities 21, no. 5: 391-205.

Yalcintan, M.C., Elbas, A.E. 2003. "Impacts of 'Gecekondu' on the Electoral Geography in Istanbul"
International Labor and Working-Class History 65, no.3: 91-111 (Fall 2003).

Kellekci, Oe. E., Berkez, L. 2006. "Mass Housing: User Satisfaction in Housing
and its Environment in Istanbul, Turkey"
European Journal of Housing Policy 6, no.1: 77-99 (April 2006).

Kennedy, Maureen; Leonard, Paul. 2001. Dealing with Neighborhood Change:
A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Changes Washington, DC. The Brookings Institute.

Marcuse, Peter. 1999. "Comment on Elvin K. Wyly and Daniel J. Hammel's '
Island's of Decay in Seas of Renewal: Housing Policy and the
Resurgence of Gentrification'" Housing Policy Debate 10, no 4: 789-797.

Mills, Amy. 2005. "Narratives in City Landscapes: Cultural Identity in Istanbul"
Geographical Review 95. no. 3: 441-462 (July 2005).

Pelit, Atilla. 2005. "Unreal Estate" Time Out Istanbul, 20 February.

S.I.S. 2002. State Institute of Statistics, Census of Population 2000. Ankara.

Uzun, C. Nil. 2003. „The Impact of Urban Renewal and gentrification on urban Fabric:
Three Cases in Turkey" Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 94. no. 3: 363-375.

Williams, Sue. 2000. Rehabilitation not Gentrification UNESCO 119: 22-23 (Jan. 2000).

San Francisco's Tenderloin: A Photo Essay

by David Field

Making a difference

Moving to the Tenderloin, in June of 2006, was a learning experience even though I had lived in San Francisco for the past 6 years I had little idea of exactly what I was getting into. For the past years I had spent my time helping the homeless at places like Glide Memorial Church and St. Anthony's Foundation. Both of these organizations specialize in assisting low-income individuals and homeless people get food, shelter and in some cases rehabilitation for drug or alcohol abuse. It was eye opening as I met individuals my same age, race, ethnicity, and with very similar cultural backgrounds. Little was I aware that within the next 2 years I would be living in the same area where I had helped an innumerous group of neglected people.

June came and went and I began to notice things interesting about the area. Parks, murals, playgrounds, children, families, computer centers, schools, churches, many non-profit agencies, and housing projects dedicated to individuals with low socio-economic status were all around me. The long lines of homeless were there but as obvious as they were, distracted from many of the beautiful things in the area. I was struck with the thought that in order to change people's perceptions of the Tenderloin a story had to be told and a difference had to be made.

Created between 1985 to 1986, this bronze sculpture symbolizes the diversity of people that come to Boedekker Park in the Tenderloin. The faces in the sculpture are of people that actually frequented the park in the late 70's. Smith took molds of their faces and sculpted them in to bronze. His sculpture represents hope for the community in the Tenderloin.

Killings and cameras

But just when I started to believe in the beauty of the area something happened: A woman in her 50's was murdered on my street. The police tape, the emergency services and the change in mood for the next week of the residents

that live here provided me with a different opportunity. I noticed then that the streets between Ellis, Taylor and Leavenworth had signs put up stating that the city was installing safety cameras. These cameras were only "passive" cameras and would do very little to help in the immediate need for protection in the Tenderloin.

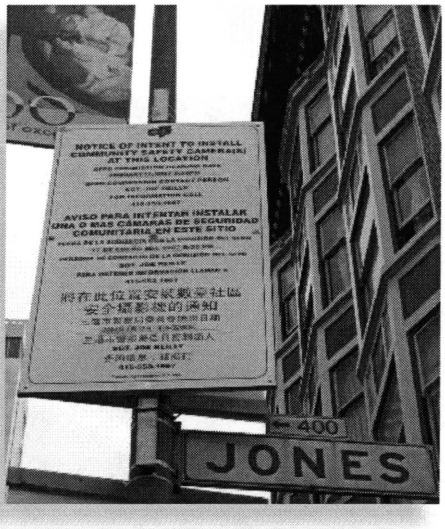
Interviews

Those signs went up four months ago and they are still there and since then have had four more murders occur. I decided to interview a few people and get their perspective on crime in the Tenderloin. I posed the following three questions:

1) Do you think that cameras in the Tenderloin will prevent or lessen crime in this area?
2) Do you object to the cameras being put in this area and if so, then why?
3) If you had the opportunity to change the area to rid it of crime what would you do?

The responses were intriguing and intelligent and represented a good cross section of people in the neighborhood. I interviewed a business owner, a neighbor, and a building manager; all people who had been in the area for more than a year and who could attest to the recent current events in the Tenderloin. Their answers, their emotions, and the subtle things found, are what constitute this essay.

A side view of the Janice Marikatani Children's Center. Just one of the many buildings in the Tenderloin instituted to make a difference. The center offers assistance to families including a day-care for children up to 13 years old. Associated with Glide Memorial Church, the center has been open for four years and is a courageous effort put together by the Reverend Cecil Williams and his wife Janice Marikatani. The side mural offers a glimpse of children in the Tenderloin.

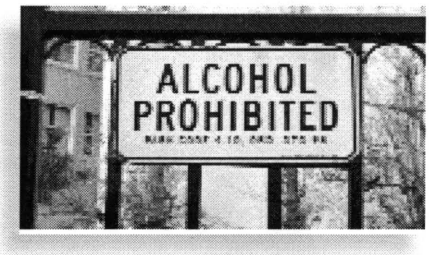


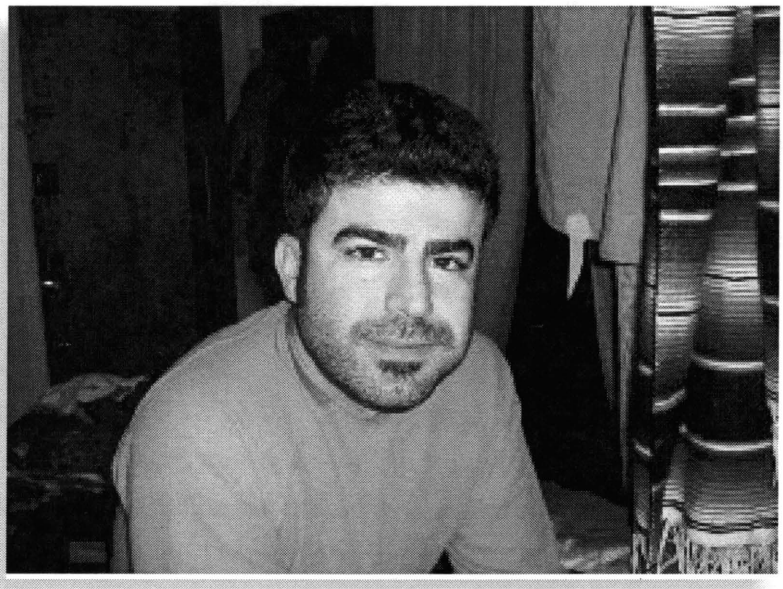
One of the signs put up by the city of San Francisco explaining the "notice of intent to install community safety cameras on Jones and Taylor Streets." A total of eight of these signs in English, Spanish, and Cantonese are placed actually on Jones, Taylor, and Leavenworth Streets. The homeless in the area had no reaction to the signs because a large percentage of them can not read or write.

Mimi Yee, Owner/Proprietor of Manor House Restaurant on Leavenworth Street in the Tenderloin.

I have always believed that this area was relatively safe. As the owner of a business in this area I believe that the cameras will make a difference and that they are good for the crime at night. I do, however, think that they invade the privacy of the public. I think that if the police foot patrolled in the area more often then crime would decrease better than using the cameras. My restaurant caters to the homeless population, I strive to make everyone comfortable and accommodate every individual. The fact that there has been so much crime that the city has to add cameras make it a little unnerving to me. However, I remain optimistic because I have seen this part of the city flourish before.

Just one of the many signs posted in the Tenderloin prohibiting alcohol. Signs like these do little to reduce the amount of drinking since 24 hour liquor stores sell 1 can of beer for as little as 75 cents making it easy for people to obtain alcohol.

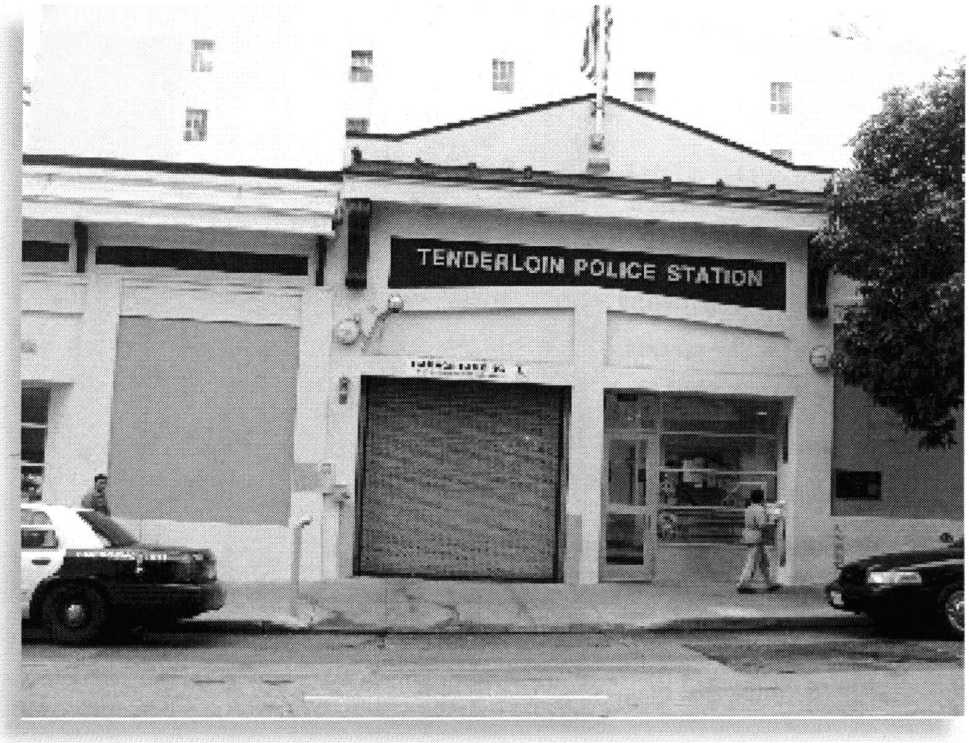




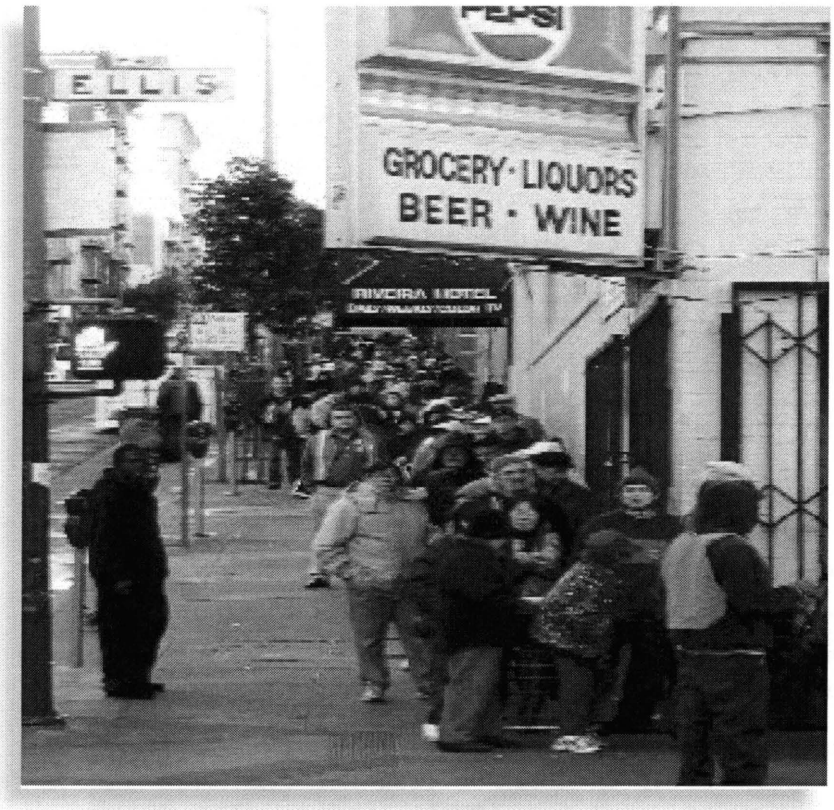
Henry (Resident on Ellis Street)

Cameras in the Tenderloin would not prevent crimes or lessen it because by the time when these crimes occur people are so angry with each other that they do not care if there are cameras at all. I say the more cameras the better because I have nothing to hide when I am out in the neighborhood. Anyone who does have something to hide would be bothered by the idea then. I think money is the main reason why the city has not put up the cameras. It cost a lot to install, maintain, and operate those cameras and even then they will still not be very effective. If it were up to me, I would have the police patrol 24 hours a day to keep the crime down.

A beautiful mural on Leavenworth Street. This mural was created in an effort to bring the community together. It is comprised of three paintings which have three separate quotes. "People should know more about this place." "There is good people, there is bad people." " So I think I just want people to know that just don't judge a book by its cover. There's a lot more inside."

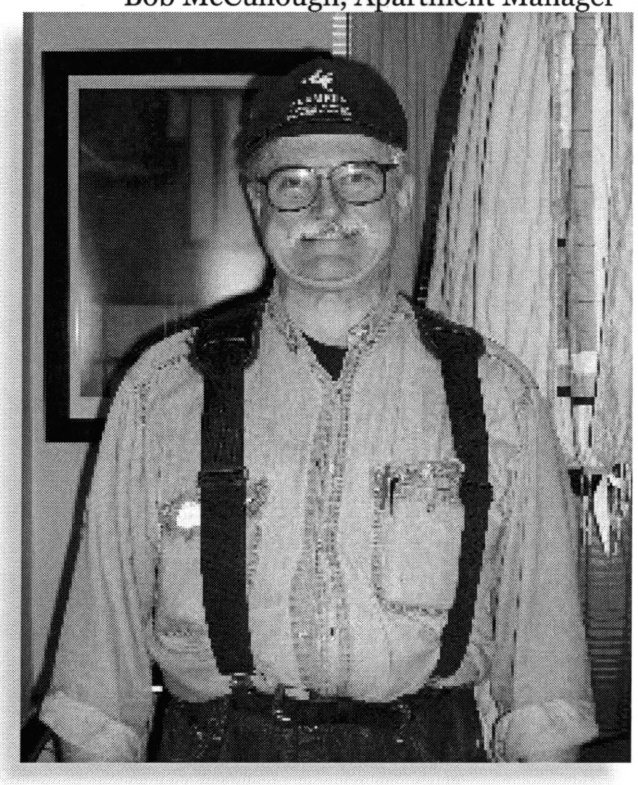


The irony of the crime in the Tenderloin is that much of it occurs in the area that is around the police department. I tried to contact the officers who staffed this station on three separate occasions but they declined to comment for my essay.



Christmas day in the Tenderloin. You can see the back of the signs on the Ellis St. sign. Thousands of homeless or people in need filled the streets waiting for food and gifts to be given to them from Glide Memorial Church. Each day Glide services over 2500 people with food, shelter, clothing, and counseling and drug and alcohol rehabilitation. The impact of this photo is obvious. There are many more individuals that need help in the Tenderloin. Cameras are not needed in the Tenderloin- funds are. The money that it costs to install the cameras here could easily have been diverted for necessities for these people.

Bob McCullough, Apartment Manager



Originally the city had instituted the cameras as "live action" cameras but those would have cost the city almost double so they went with "passive" ones instead. "Passive" simply means that these cameras can only record the action on the streets. They can not be moved and sound can not be heard. With the active cameras, if a gunshot was fired the camera could trace where the shot was fired within 50 feet. I was on the board helping to make decisions on whether the cameras should be active or passive. I voted "active" because since late 2005 there have been 4 shootings in the Ellis and Taylor Street locations which, to me, justified the use of these types of cameras.

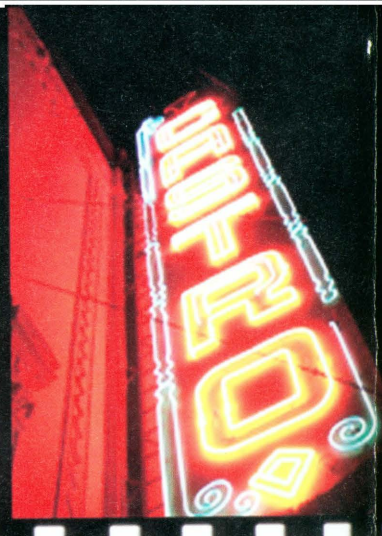
Conclusions

The experience of photographing the Tenderloin enabled me to have an understanding that went far beyond the conventional stereotypes that exist here. The Tenderloin is a living, breathing, beautiful, yet misunderstood place, much like the people who inhabit it. The plethora of parks, murals, playgrounds, schools, churches, and non-profits that exist in the Tenderloin serve the residents and their families out of their own good will.

Apathy and turning a blind eye towards the violence and crime in this area is just one more obstacle to overcome. The city of San Francisco can offer more funding towards projects that actually help ameliorate the array of problems people in the Tenderloin typically face. Rehabilitation and restoration are the key to resolving issues in the area. If the city wants clean streets and people, than it should stop photographing them and start interacting with them.

Communication is key. It is the element that is underused and abused here. If elected officials would take out the time to talk to the people, assess their true needs, and together come up with a resolution, than the Tenderloin would be on its way to a positive, true, faithful recovery. Making a difference in this area means that communities, non-profits and churches such as Glide Memorial Church and St. Anthony's Foundation need not only financial support but emotional support as well.

This photo essay and the people who participated in it, all offer resounding ideas on how to positively make a change in not only their own community, but also in the world at large. If one positive idea can resolutely make a difference in one small area then it can make a difference for a large one as well.§


NACHO